IMPACT OF TRUST ON PERFORMANCE EVALUATIONS

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Managers are often concerned about the somewhat unclear link that can exist between their own perception of their performance and others' evaluation of their performance. The link can be particularly worrisome when the latter is less favorable than the former. This article focuses on the impact of trust managers develop with their colleagues and superiors, on performance evaluation. Although trust represents an important feature of inter-personal relationships, its influence on performance evaluations remains largely understudied. Based on a study of 105 subjects, we make the case that in addition to other

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factors, the nature of trust strongly impacts how managers' performance is evaluated.

INTRODUCTION

> ... fewer workers believe their abilities and performance are fairly rewarded and recognized. For example, only 41% felt that employers considered their interests, down from 50% in 1995. And those who deem promotions fair fell from 51% to 41%. (Business Week, October 6, 1997, p. 30)

Performance evaluations remain one of the biggest sources of anxiety in modern organizational life. The current generation of managers is evaluated more often and more rigorously than any of their predecessors. A culture of assessment has emerged in flatter, quality-driven organizations that place a premium on benchmarking, measurement, and performance evaluations. Managers focused on rewards and career advancement are understandably concerned with how their performance is evaluated by others, particularly when it is less favorable than their own evaluations. However, developing meaningful insights about performance evaluations can be a complex endeavor, and accurate prediction even more tenuous because they are shaped by a complex combination of objective indicators of performance and subjective interpretations of the evaluators.

Based on a guiding hypothesis that the nature of trust between managers, their colleagues, and their superiors impacts how they evaluate each others' performance, we conducted a preliminary study using 105 subjects from 35 organizations. Our primary purpose was to develop a better understanding of the link between trust and performance evaluations. We drew inspiration from Schoorman, Mayer and Davis (1996a, 1996b), Tinsley (1996), Wekselberg (1996), and Mayer, Davis and Schoorman (1995) who have written extensively about what trust is, and attempted to develop insights about what trust *does* in terms of influencing evaluation of performance in organizations. We initially reviewed the literature to identify multiple dimensions of trust in organizations, and developed scales for their assessment. We then developed scales to assess four key dimensions of performance including the creativity exhibited on the job, level of motivation and energy, propensity to take risks and try new things, and propensity to volunteer for new assignments without being asked. Finally, we developed a questionnaire with Likert scales and administered them to subjects, their colleagues and immediate supervisors. Our preliminary findings yielded a host of insights about the complex links that might exist between trust and performance evaluations.

Our central purpose in this article is to discuss some of our findings that can stimulate the imagination of managers concerned about *how* and *why* their performance is evaluated the way it is. For instance, our study highlights the subjective nature of performance evaluations and confirms some of the worst fears of managers - a superior's evaluation of their performance often has little in common with their own, and being perceived as competent is only *one* among the many factors that shape the evaluation. We initially discuss why we came to focus on trust in our attempt to better understand performance evaluations, and briefly review relevant literature. We also highlight the conceptual framework that served as a basis for our study, and describe our data collection and analysis methods. We then discuss relevant findings and highlight implications of interest to managers.

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND: THE NATURE OF TRUST IN ORGANIZATIONS

Trust refers to one's perception of others' integrity and openness, one's comfort with expected actions of others, one's faith in others' reactions (Sonnenberg, 1994), and one's willingness to become vulnerable to the actions of others (see Boss, 1978; Zand 1972). Adopting the latter view, Mayer, Davis and Schoorman (1995) define it as "the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of their ability to monitor or control the other party (p. 711). The literature is unequivocal in its view that trust figures centrally into a host of organizationally desired outcomes. For instance, trust determines the effectiveness of social interactions (Gambetta, 1988), and the effectiveness of relationships in groups (Golembiewski and McConkie, 1975). High level of trust among people is linked with effective problem solving (Barnes 1981), reducing resistance to change (Bartlem and Locke 1981), improved customer loyalty and profits (Sonnenberg, 1994), improved productivity of teamwork (Schindler and Thomas, 1993) and with managerial and organizational effectiveness in general (Blanchard, 1995; Miles and Snow, 1995; also see Hosmer, 1995). Similarly, developing a culture of trust within organizations and trusting the competence of operating units is strongly advocated by leading scholars (Ghoshal and Bartlett, 1995; also see Blanchard, 1995; Clawson, 1989; Covey, 1991; Handy, 1995; Staub, 1994). As Golembiewski and McConkie (1975) note, no single variable influences interpersonal and group behavior as much as trust. The concept of trust appeared so fundamental a feature of relationships between people in organizations, that we expected it to impact how they evaluated each other.

Our literature review suggested that to adequately assess trust in organizations, it was important to measure its multiple dimensions, i.e., cognitive and affective trust, lateral and vertical trust, and dyadic and unilateral trust. *Cognitive* trust refers to the rational, objective dimensions of one's decision to trust. Cognitive trust is based on the evaluation of the others' dependability, responsibility and competence (Lewis and Weigart, 1985). *Affective* trust, on the other hand, refers to the subjective elements of the decision to trust others based on the emotional investment made in others, and on the care and concern that emerges from interacting with others (McAllister, 1995). Similarly, *lateral* trust refers to the trust toward one's colleagues, and *vertical* to the trust toward one's subordinates and superiors including top-management (McCauley and Kuhnert, 1992). Central features of vertical trust between managers and their superiors include integrity in terms of honesty, *competence* in terms of knowing the requisite technical and interpersonal skills, consistency in terms of reliable handling of problems, *loyalty* in terms of good intentions toward others, and *openness* in terms of willingness to share information (see Butler and Cantrell, 1984).

With the possible exception of trust toward top management, one concern about vertical and lateral trust relates to reciprocity - or the concern with trusting others and being trusted by others. Reciprocal trust is meaningful in the context of interdependent relationships that managers develop with colleagues and superiors since each has the opportunity to observe and attribute trust based on evaluations of character, attitudes, and behaviors.

Trust can also be viewed as a unilateral attribution, and as a personality trait generalizable across situations, without much concern for reciprocity (Mayer, Davis and Schoorman, 1995). Some managers are more trusting, regardless of the extent to which their trust in others is reciprocated (see Rotter, 1967). If a managers' propensity to trust others is a personality trait, it follows that it might remain relatively stable across relationships, time and situations. Similarly, attribution of trust to top-management, unless the organization has few employees or the person is located at the very top, is an example of trust that is more unilateral than dyadic.

Unlike reciprocal trust, the trust attributed to the CEO and top management is based less on direct observation of their behavior and more on the direct experiences with outcomes of their decisions. Hence, managers tend to monitor organizational systems and processes to decide whether to trust top management (Carnevale, 1988). In other words, managers unilateral trust is shaped more by the efficiency and fairness of organizational systems created by top management, than by their personal characteristics or behaviors (McCauley and Kuhnert, 1992). Moreover, the perception of the fairness of organization's performance appraisal systems, professional development opportunities, and job security (organizational systems and processes) appear to explain unique elements of trust toward top management (McCauley and Kuhnert, 1992). Relatedly, trust toward top management is also closely associated with overall job satisfaction (Driscoll, 1978) and organizational attachment - or the extent of employee interest in participating in the organization's activities (McCauley and Kuhnert, 1992).

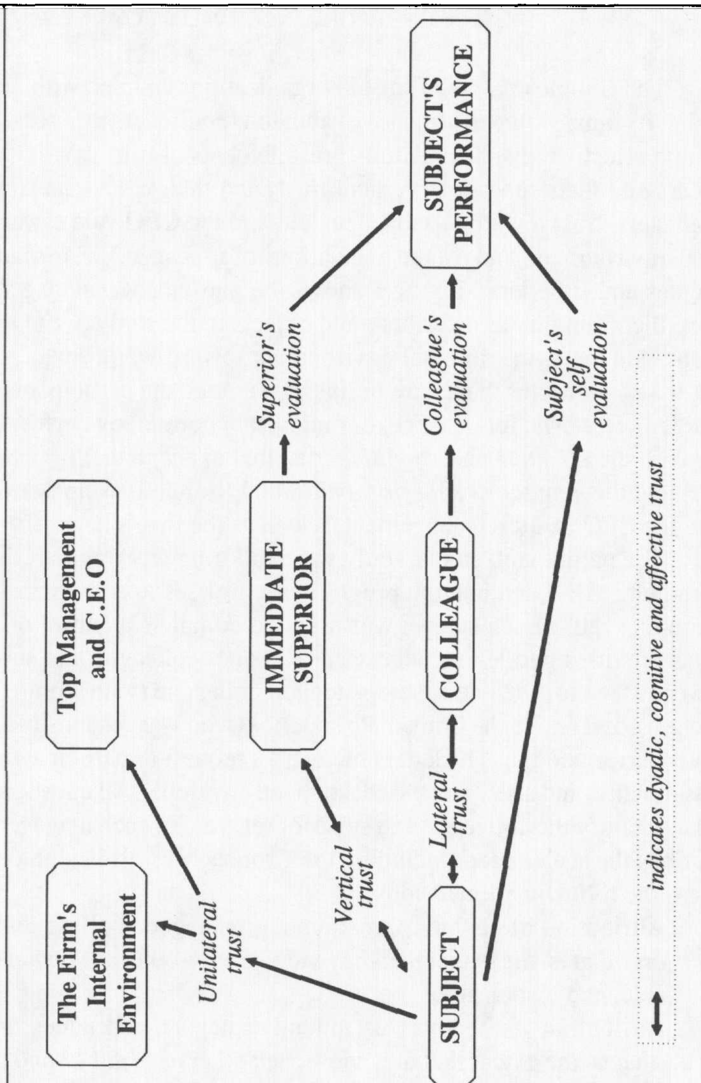
TRUST AND PERFORMANCE EVALUATIONS

The complex nature of trust in organizations coupled with our interest in assessing its impact on performance evaluation required us to assess: (a) the cognitive and affective, dyadic and unilateral elements of trust that existed between managers and their superiors (vertical trust) and their colleagues (lateral trust), (b) managers' trust toward top management and the CEO, and toward the firm's internal environment, and (c) the evaluations of managers' performance by their colleagues and superiors. Figure 1 shows the participants (managers, their colleagues, their immediate superiors), and objects in the study (CEO and top management, and the firm's internal environment toward whom managers attribute trust). It also identifies the nature of linkages among the participants and objects we studied. It shows, for instance, our interest in correlating performance evaluations with the *affective* and *cognitive* trust that exists in the: (a) *manager - colleague*, and the *manager - superior dyads,* and (b) relationship between managers and the CEO and top management as well as the firm's internal environment.

The participants in our study were full time working/part time students in a graduate MBA and nursing program or enrollees in a continuing education program (N=150). Each subject was asked to complete a questionnaire in class and was provided two letters addressed to his/her colleague and superior. Subjects were asked to give one envelope to their colleague (with whom they worked the closest), and one to the immediate superior (who was responsible for evaluating their performance). The letters included a request to participate in the study, a questionnaire, and a self addressed, stamped envelope. All questionnaires were coded to identify the colleague and superior relevant to each manager. Appendix 1 describes the scales used [including the Cronbach's (1951) alpha coefficients] to assess the following dimensions:

a. Attribution of cognitive trust among managers, colleagues and superiors; that is, the extent that they viewed each other as *competent*, dependable, and responsible.
b. Attribution of affective trust among managers, colleagues, and superiors (that is, the extent that they view each other as *likeable*, and the extent of care and concern that had emerged from their interactions)
c. The manager's attribution of trust toward top management (and CEOs), and the firm's internal environment.
d. Evaluation of manager's performance (by managers, colleagues, and superiors).
e. The manager's intent to leave.

Figure 1
Conceptual Framework of Trust and Performance Evaluations



The findings we report in this study relate to 105 completed questionnaire from 35 subjects, 35 corresponding colleagues and 35 corresponding superiors (Table 1 for further details). All were associated with each other in the formal work relationship for at least three years, and had worked at least an average of seven years in the industry (see Appendix 2 for summary of findings). The response rate of 23.3% (i.e., 35 of 150) subjects largely reflects the difficulty in having questionnaires completed by the subjects' corresponding colleagues and superiors.

TABLE

Table 1. Description of Participants

Variables	*Managers*	*Colleagues*	*Superiors*
Sex	65% female	37% female	57% female
Average work experience in years (σ)	7.6 (7.06)	7.09 (5.69)	9.51 (7.25)
Average years in current jobs (σ)	3 (3.79)	2.85 (2.68)	3.72 (3.4)
Average years formally associated with: (σ)	Colleagues: 3.23 (3.04)	Managers: 3.23 (3.04)	Managers: 2.24 (3.04)

FINDINGS

The nature and extent of trust developed by managers in their relationship with colleagues and superiors appears to impact the way their performance is evaluated by others. The managers' evaluation of their own performance appears correlated to the evaluations of the colleagues, but not with those of the superiors. If managers are chagrined by the lack of correlation (.209, not significant in two tailed test), they might seek comfort in knowing that the correlation is positive.

In general, superiors appear to evaluate a manager's performance favorably the longer they have known them. Demographic variables including the managers' gender, tenure in the organization, and status in terms of formal position, on the other hand, fail to influence the reciprocal attribution of trust between managers, colleagues, and superiors. However, managers' tenure their current position appears to influence the dyadic relationship between them and their superiors, i.e., the longer managers hold their current position, the more likely they are to trust their superiors, and the more likely that the superiors are to trust them.

We also find that affect based trust has a more pervasive, more notable influence on the way colleagues and superiors evaluate a manager's performance. In other words, whether managers *like* others, or are *liked* by others figures in more strongly than whether or not they are perceived as *competent* by others when it comes to performance evaluations. Consider that managers' attribution of affective rust toward colleagues is reciprocated by colleagues' attribution of affective trust toward managers. However, there is no such reciprocity when it comes to attribution of cognitive trust toward each other. As such these findings concur with the views of Johnson-George (1982) and McAllister (1995), and raise concerns about the apparent low impact of objectivity in performance evaluations.

We report the rest of our findings by organizing our arguments around declarative statements about associations between performance evaluations (first by superiors, then by colleagues), and trust. Similarly, we discuss the association between trust and the evaluation of a managers' performance in general (i.e., as a composite of multiple dimensions shown in Appendix 1) before we discuss association between trust and individual elements of performance evaluations such as the motivation, energy, risk taking behaviors, and creativity displayed by managers. To simplify discussion, we use the term *like* and *care,* and their variations (such as caring and likability) instead of *attribution of affective trust.* Similarly, we use the term competence and its variations instead of *attribution of cognitive trust.* When we use the term trust by itself, we refer to both its cognitive and affective elements, unless we use it in the context of trust toward CEO and top management or trust toward the firm's internal environment. Hence, when we use phrases such as *when managers liked their colleagues, their performance was evaluated favorably by superiors*, we mean that we found significant correlation (95% confidence) between manager's attribution of affective trust toward their colleague (based on questionnaires completed by managers) and their superior's evaluation of their manager's performance (based on questionnaires completed by their superiors).

A. Superiors evaluate managers' performance more favorably in general when:

- **Superiors *trust* managers.**
- **Managers *like* and *care about* their colleagues.**
- **Colleagues view managers as *competent*, and evaluate their performance favorably.**

We find that superiors evaluate managers' performance favorably when they *trust* them, that is, when they both *like* managers and view them as *competent*. They also evaluate managers more favorably when: (a) they have known them longer, (b) managers say they like and care about their colleagues, and (c) colleagues say that managers are competent, and evaluate their performance favorably as well. It is important to note that superiors attribution of affective trust toward managers is uncorrelated with the latter's attribution of affective trust toward the former; i.e., reciprocal affective trust is less of an issue when it comes to performance evaluations by superiors towards managers. The notion that superiors evaluate managers more favorably when they *trust* them is intuitively obvious, however the view that managers are evaluated favorably when they *like* and *care* about their colleagues, is somewhat less so. It suggests that managers' emotional investment and commitment in getting to *like* and *care* about colleagues can make a meaningful difference in the way they are evaluated by superiors.

Several implications about the *interpretative* processes that characterize attribution of trust and performance evaluations are worth noting. For instance, we find that the cues managers send to superiors in terms of *liking* and *caring* about their colleagues may be *interpreted* as signs of effective performance. If this is true, it offers a clear argument against complaining about one's colleagues to one's superiors. Similarly, we find that when managers send cues to their colleagues - suggesting that they *like* and *care* about them, colleagues respond by attributing the managers with *competence*. The literature's view of reciprocity and lateral relationships suggests, however, that colleagues *ought* to reciprocate in kind, that is, with *affective* instead of *cognitive* trust. We find, however, that they do not. If reciprocity is truly an issue as the literature makes it out to be, then it follows that colleagues *interpret* managers' attribution of *liking* and *caring* toward them as an attribution of competence (versus attribution of liking and caring), and therefore reciprocate with attribution of competence. This interpretation is intuitively appealing because the alternative would require colleagues to believe that they are *liked and cared* about only because they are *likeable* and worthy of being *cared* about. In a work environment, however, colleagues are likely to prefer being viewed as competent versus just plain likeable. Therefore, if the literature derived view of reciprocity reflects what actually occurs in organizations, then the logic of the attribution process, "*you like me, it must be because I am competent, therefore you are competent as well,*" appears to be an ego-defensive reciprocation on part of colleagues. Whether or not this pattern is observed in social, non-working relationships merits additional scrutiny. Regardless, to managers working in teams, and depending on evaluations from other participants for career advancements and rewards, our findings argue in favor of devoting time and energy getting to *like and care* about colleagues - as conceptually distinct from investing time and energy getting others to *like* them. Alternatively, the notion that *because* colleagues believe that a manager is competent, the latter tend to *like and care* about the former - another interpretation of this finding - merits additional scrutiny as well.

A superior's evaluation of a manager's performance also appears vulnerable to the nature of the latter's social relationships. The effectiveness with which managers build social cohesiveness with others appears to be confused with positive performance by superiors. Even though they can be closely related, that is, managers who *like and care* about their colleagues may perform better as well, they remain conceptually distinct. Our findings urge a healthy skepticism toward the attribution of competence by and among colleagues. They also suggest that objective performance evaluation processes ought to differentiate between objective indicators of performance and visible indicators of the managers' effectiveness in building social cohesion. We next discuss our findings related to specific elements of performance evaluation including motivation and energy, and initiative and risk taking displayed.

B. Superiors evaluate managers' performance favorably in terms of high *motivation and energy* when:

- **Superiors *trust* managers (i.e., high cognitive and affective trust).**
- **Managers *like* their superiors and colleagues.**

Although superiors' evaluations of managers' performance in general appear to have little to do with whether managers *like or dislike* the superiors, high ratings on motivation and energy scales are reserved for managers who *like and care* about them. This raises a curious specter of trust attribution. For instance, if managers *like and care* about their colleagues, superiors view their performance favorably. If, however, managers also *like and care* about superiors, the superiors attribute them with high motivation and energy. Moreover, it is important to note that such attributions occur when colleagues view managers as *competent.* The question arises, why do superiors care about being liked, when it comes to rating managers on motivation and energy, and not for other indicators of performance? One explanation is that since attribution of motivation and energy require behavioral references, the logic of the interpretative, sense-making process follows as: *subordinates are energetic and motivated when they like and care about me, that is, when they find out what I like, and what I like done, and then do it.* Managers puzzled by "low performance" ratings from superiors despite meeting objective job criteria may find this notion of interest. It is not what managers achieve in the objective sense of the term, but how much they achieve in terms of what fit's the superior's notion of what needs to be done, that figures into attribution of motivation and energy. The smarter manager, it appears, spends inordinate energies - overtly or covertly - attaining task clarity from superiors and performing according to *those* - sometimes unarticulated - expectations, instead of limiting focus on the objective, collectively agreed agenda, or taking undue risks and investing in actions with high probability of failure. The question arises, how do superiors respond to risk taking behaviors of subordinates?

C. Superiors evaluate managers' performance highly in terms of:

•Risk taking when they view managers as competent.
•Creativity when they also like and care about managers.

Attribution of *high creativity* to subordinates emerges as a clearly emotional rather than a rational response from superiors. Superiors view managers as *risk takers* when they view them as *competent*, and as creative when they also *like and care* about them. This finding sheds new light on organizational rhetoric on risk taking behaviors of its employees which many ostensibly support. If the difference between being perceived as a risk taker and being perceived as being creative is being *liked and cared* about by superiors, it is likely that self-styled, risk taking mavericks fail to garner sufficient organizational support or access sufficient organizational resources to support their activities. Moreover, when organization proclaim that they support risk taking behaviors, it appears instead that they support managers *liked* by the establishment. In a similar vein, our data derived notions that deserve additional scrutiny for possible causal relationships include: (a) managers creativity causes their superiors to like them, and relatedly, (b) managers fail to get support because they are not perceived as creative.

D. Colleagues evaluate managers' performance more favorably in gen eral when managers:

•Trust the firm's internal environment and intend to stay with the firm.
•Like and care about their superiors.
•View themselves as risk takers.

The inherent trusting nature of managers appears to figure strongly into colleagues' evaluations. They evaluate managers' performance favorably when *managers*: (a) trust the firm's internal environment, expect better days to lie ahead, and intend to stay with the firm, (b) *like and care* about their superiors, (c) *trust* the senior management, (d) view themselves as risk takers. Several implications of this finding are worth noting. For instance, the cues colleagues seem to derive from the managers' visible level of comfort within the firm, and from the optimism they reflect in their relationship with others (including superiors and the top management) is reciprocated by favorable performance evaluations. Conversely, it follows that managers' paranoia and distrust of the firm's internal environment results in less favorable performance evaluations by colleagues. We can identify two plausible explanations for this finding. First, it is likely that when managers are visibly re-assured, optimistic and trustful of the firm's internal environment, they also are more re-assuring to others, and function as a source of positive reinforcement. Their contribution to the comfort level, and a comfortable social work environment is reciprocated by colleagues with positive performance evaluations. Second, it is also likely that signs of optimism and comfort signal that the turn of events have favored the manager, and interpreted as indicators of effective performance. Masking one's paranoia and refraining from social commentary that *tells it like it is* a clear implication. Moreover, it is likely that managers capable of communications with colleagues in ways that anchors the discussions closely to the reality that they (that is, colleagues) are comfortable with, results in attributions of positive performance as well. Relatedly, making an emotional investment in *liking* superiors is clearly favored since the cues that emerge from such efforts are interpreted by colleagues as signs of effective performance: *If you like your superior, you must be a good performer.*

It is important to note that when managers view *themselves* as risk takers, and show a stronger propensity to take actions with a greater certainty of negative outcomes (or lower certainty of positive outcomes), colleagues appear to view such behaviors as indicators of positive performance. There is no clear relationship, however, between managers' self-reported perception of their own capacity to exhibit risk taking behaviors and colleagues' perceptions of the managers' risk taking behaviors. Instead, colleagues appear likely to view managers as *risk takers* when managers say that they: (a) believe in the future of the organization and have no intention to leave, (b) trust the firm's internal environment,

(c) *like and care* about their superiors and attribute them with affective trust, and (d) trust the top management. These factors are similar to the correlates of positive performance evaluations, suggesting a close link between managers' perception of their risk behaviors and colleagues' evaluation of managers' performance.

E. Colleagues evaluate managers' performance more favorably in general when:

- **Colleagues *trust* the firm's internal environment and view managers as competent.**
- **Managers view colleagues as *competent.***
- **Superiors view managers as *competent.***

Colleagues evaluate managers' performance favorably when they trust the firm's internal environment, and view the manager as *competent*. Colleagues appear relatively unconcerned about whether or not they like or care about the manager, and utilize other cues for evaluating performance. Moreover, consider that colleagues' trust toward the firm's internal environment correlates with positive evaluations of the managers' performance. This suggests that in situations where managers as well as colleagues view managers as compatible with the firm's internal environment, the colleagues evaluate the managers' performance favorably. Additionally, colleagues appear to evaluate managers' favorably when superiors evaluate managers' performance favorably. Hence, colleagues appear to derive clear cues from the superiors' evaluation of the managers' performance, and as such appear to shape their own evaluation of the managers' performance.

COMPARING SUPERIORS AND COLLEAGUES

A colleague's evaluation of a manager's performance has less to do with whether or not she/he likes and cares about the manager - and more to do with inherent trusting nature of the manager, and with the trust the manager displays with the firm's internal environment. On the other hand, superiors appear more likely to provide favorable performance evaluations when they trust managers, that is, when they like and care about them and view them as competent.

Clear differences exist in the cues utilized by superiors and colleagues in evaluating performance of managers. Colleagues seem to take more cues from the managers' display of trust toward the firm's internal environment. Their evaluations are influenced by managers' relationship with superiors and other constituents such as senior management. Superiors, on the other hand, appear to rely more on managers' compatibility with their colleagues while evaluating performance. Superiors evaluate managers favorably when managers like and care about colleagues, and colleagues evaluate managers favorably when managers like and care about superiors. Our data argue strongly in favor of making the emotional investment in liking and caring about superiors and colleagues, if the interest is in receiving favorable performance evaluations from both.

Two additional differences in the way colleagues and superiors attribute managers with likability are worth noting. First, for colleagues to like and care about managers, managers have to like and care about superiors. For superiors to like and care about managers, colleagues have to like and care about managers (and managers do not have to necessarily like and care about superiors). Superiors, unlike colleagues, like and care about managers with little regard for reciprocation. Colleagues, unlike superiors, reciprocate attributions of liking and caring with attributions of competence and favorable performance evaluations. Second, both colleagues and superiors derive cues about managers' likability from each other: colleagues like and care about managers if superiors like and care about them, and superiors like and care about managers when colleagues like and care about them.

The lack of reciprocity when it comes to perceptions of risk taking behaviors are also worth noting. First, it is colleagues and not superiors who seem to rate the performance of managers favorably when they (managers) view themselves as risk takers. Second, managers who believe they are risk takers also seem to like and care about their superiors, and say that they expect to have a future in the organization. The same managers, however, are not viewed as risk takers by colleagues or superiors. Instead, they are viewed as enthusiastic volunteers by colleagues. It is when managers display low levels of paranoia, on the other hand, that colleagues view them as risk takers. Similarly, superiors appear to view managers as risk takers when they view them as competent and effective performers. Hence, managers' risk taking behaviors are viewed as a indicators of effective performance by colleagues, and competence by superiors.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Our study of trust and performance evaluations using 105 managers sheds light on the nature of their linkage. Our data derived view requires considerable testing in a variety of settings before conclusive implications are derived. Managers interested in influencing their performance evaluations, however, may find it useful to consider the following. First, it is hard to ignore the intensity of relationship between trust and performance evaluations, and between cognitive and affective trust. In other words, managers who are trusted received positive performance evaluations, and vise-versa. Similarly, managers are liked and cared about by others when they are also viewed as competent, and vise-versa. High levels of trust emerges, therefore, as a strong predictor of performance evaluations.

Second, there appears to be a clear advantage in making the emotional investment in (a) liking and caring about colleagues and superiors and (b) trusting the firm's internal environment and developing a positive, optimistic demeanor, since they appear to function as powerful indicators of one's positive performance. Happy, comfortable managers that get along well with others tend to be viewed as effective performers by superiors. Conversely, our findings suggest that high levels of paranoia attract negative performance evaluations from colleagues.

Finally, consider that a particular set of managers' behaviors are viewed as creative if they were liked by superiors, and viewed as risk takers when they were not. On the other hand, colleagues appeared to evaluate managers more favorably when they viewed them as risk takers. Hence, positioning oneself as a risk taker appears advantageous with colleagues, and disadvantageous with superiors. In conclusion, it is important to note that superiors construct their reality, and in this context, construct their view of how managers perform, based on subjective interpretations of the nature of trust that exists in their relationships with managers, and in the relationship between managers and colleagues.

It is important to note that conventional wisdom about fairness and objectivity in organizations holds that performance evaluations must be influenced by objective indicators of performance and measurable results produced by managers, and not by their social relationships with colleagues and superiors. However, since our findings point to affective trust as a key correlate of performance evaluation, the issue of whether or not this linkage is morally, normatively appropriate merits additional discussion. Gaining positive performance evaluations appears far more about being perceived as someone who likes his/her colleagues and superiors, and trusts the firm's internal environment than just being perceived as competent. In flatter, team oriented organizations therefore, socially adept, confident, and comfortable managers appear to win.

APPENDIX 1

The average score on the following items was used to assess attribution of cognitive trust (COMPETENCE) between managers, colleagues and superiors (Likert scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree) along the following items (see McAllister, 1995): (Cronbach's alpha = .9026)

- This person approaches his/her job with professionalism and dedication.
- Given this person's track record, I see no reason to doubt his/her competence and preparation for the job.
- I can rely on this person not to make my job more difficult by careless work.
- Most people, even those who aren't close friends of this individual, trust and respect him/her as a co-worker/supervisor.
- Other work associates of mine who must interact with this individual consider him/her to be trustworthy.

The average score on the following items was used to assess attribution of affective trust (LIKABILITY) between managers, colleagues and superiors (Likert scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree) along the following items (see McAllister, 1995): (Cronbach's alpha = .8966)

- We have a sharing relationship; we can share our ideas, feelings, and hopes.
- I can talk freely to this individual about difficulties I am having at work and know that (s)he will want to listen.
- We would both feel a sense of loss if one of us was transferred and we could no longer work together.
- If I shared my problems with this person I know (s)he would respond constructively and caringly.
- I would have to say that we have both made considerable emotional investment in our professional relationship.

T*he average score on the following items was used to assess TRUST TOWARD THE CEO AND THE TOP MANAGEMENT by managers, colleagues and superiors (Likert scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree) along the following items (See Cook and Wall, 1980): (Cronbach's alpha = .855)*

The CEO and the top management of my organization:

- are sincere in their attempt to meet the workers' point of view.
- are highly likely to treat me fairly.
- would be quite prepared to gain advantage by deceiving workers.
- spell a poor future, unless we can attract better people at the top.

- can be trusted to make sensible decisions for the firm's future.
- seem to do an efficient job.

The average score on the following items was used to assess TRUST TOWARD THE FIRM'S INTERNAL ENVIRONMENT by managers, colleagues and superiors (Likert scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree) along the following items: (Self developed, Cronbach's alpha = .852)

- My firm has a systematic career development program that is available to all employees.
- The company has a history of rewarding high performing employees.
- The people in the organization have a high degree of comfort with the way the career development programs are handled.
- The appraisal system is accurate in its evaluation of my performance.
- I feel that our appraisal system recognizes the unique contributions I make.
- Once people in the organization make a commitment, they tend to keep their word.
- I rarely question the sincerity of people in the organization when they take a strong stand, even if I do not agree with their views.
- In difficult situations, I often rely on the competence of the people in this organization to get the job done.
- When I am in a jam, I feel comfortable relying on others.
- In this organization, we support each other, and that is just the way we are.
- I can always count on people to act supportive of me and my ideas whenever they can.
- Around here, people can separate differences in ideas from differences in personality.

Additionally, the responses to the following items were used as indicators of views toward one's career prospects (Cronbach's alpha = .78)

- I feel safe about my upward mobility plans.
- The company cares about my progress.
- I strongly believe that there will always a position for me in this company.

The average score on the following items was used to assess PERFORMANCE by managers, colleagues and superiors (Likert scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree) along the following items: (Self Developed, except the item on volunteering, see Fandt (1994), Cronbach's alpha = .92)*

- My/his/her level of creativity is generally high.
- I/(S)he display(s) a high level of motivation and energy in my/the job.

- •I/(S)he am/is not afraid to take risks and try new things in my job/try new things.
- •I/(S)he volunteer(s) my/his/her work related views without waiting to be asked.*

The average score on the following items was used to assess the manager's INTENT TO LEAVE (Likert scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree) along the following items (see Mowday 1981): (Cronbach's alpha = .78)

- •All things considered, I would like to find a comparable job in another organization as soon as possible.
- •I will probably look for a new job in the near future.

APPENDIX 2

EVALUATIONS FROM SUPERIORS

(Pearson's correlation coefficients 95% confidence)

SUPERIORS evaluate managers' performance favorably when:

Managers:	Like and care about colleagues (.431).
	No significant correlation exists between managers' self evaluations and superiors' evaluations of managers' performance.
Colleagues:	View managers as competent (.382), and evaluate their performance favorably (.48).
Superiors:	View managers as competent (.614) and likeable (.458).

SUPERIORS view managers as creative persons when:

Superiors:	View managers as competent (.529), and likeable (.449).

SUPERIORS view managers as motivated and energetic when:

Managers:	Like and care about superiors (.339) and colleague (.458).
Colleagues:	View managers' performance favorably (.406) and view them as com petent (.401).
Superiors:	View managers as competent (.595) and likeable (.441)

SUPERIORS view managers as risk takers when:

Colleagues:	View managers performance favorably (.488).
Superiors:	View managers as competent (.476)

SUPERIORS view managers as persons who volunteer when:

Managers:	Like and care about their superiors (.365) and colleagues (.549).

SUPERIORS view managers as competent when:

Managers:	Trust the firm's internal environment (.358).
Colleagues:	View managers as likeable (.451) and competent (.524).
Superiors:	Like and care about managers (.646).

SUPERIORS like managers when:

Managers:	View the environment favorably (.334).
Colleagues:	Like and care about managers (.346).
Superiors:	Evaluate managers performance favorably (.458) and view them as competent (.646).

EVALUATIONS FROM COLLEAGUES

(Pearson's correlation coefficients 95% confidence)

COLLEAGUES evaluate managers' performance favorably when:

Managers:	View the environment as favorable (.365), Like superiors (.363). View senior management as worthy of trust (.356). View themselves as risk takers (.556), and intend to stay in the organi zation (.388).
Colleagues:	View the environment favorably (.376), and view managers as competent (.471) and not when they like and care about the manager (not significant correlation)
Superiors:	View manager's performance favorably (.488).

COLLEAGUES view managers as creative persons when:

Managers:	Are trusting persons (.516), view themselves as risk takers (.401) and view the environment favorably (.347).
Colleagues:	View the environment favorably (.353), and view managers as compe tent (.443).
Superiors:	Evaluate managers' performance favorably (.357).

COLLEAGUES view managers as motivated and energetic when:

Managers:	Like and care about superiors and colleagues (.357).
Colleagues:	View managers as competent (.458).
Superiors:	Evaluate managers' performance favorably (.577).

COLLEAGUES view managers as risk takers when:

Managers:	Believe they have a future (career-wise) in the organization (.405). Have low intention of leaving the organization (.382), view the environment favorably (.377), like and care about their superiors (.374), and trust top management (.367).

COLLEAGUES view managers as people who volunteers for activities when:

Managers:	Believe they are risk takers (.441).

COLLEAGUES view managers as competent when:

Managers:	Trust top management (.381), and like and care about their colleagues (.396).
Colleagues:	Evaluate managers' performance favorably (.471), like the managers (.782), and view them as creative (.443).
Superiors:	Evaluate managers' performance favorably (.382), view them as motivated and energetic (.401), and as competent (.367)

COLLEAGUES like managers when:

Managers:	Like and care about colleagues (.414), but not perceive the colleague as competent..
Colleagues:	View managers as competent (.782).
Superiors:	View managers as competent (.457) and likeable (.346).

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