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INTERPERSONAL AND INTER-GROUP TRUST LEVELS OF A GROUP OF STUDENTS AT A TERTIARY INSTITUTION

by

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DECLARATION

I, Annemarie de Beer, declare that the thesis titled Interpersonal and Inter-group Trust Levels of a Group of Students at a Tertiary Institution that I herewith submit for the degree Magister Philosophae (Human Resources Management) at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

All the resources used for this study are cited and referred to in the reference list by means of a comprehensive referencing system.

A de Beer

22nd April 2008

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SUMMARY

INTERPERSONAL- AND INTER-GROUP TRUST LEVELS OF A GROUP OF STUDENTS AT A TERTIARY INSTITUTION

by

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LEADER : Prof L.P. Vermeulen
DEPARTMENT : Human Resource Management
DEGREE : M Phil (Human Resource Management)

1. Background and Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this research was to assess the interpersonal and inter-group trust levels of a group of students at the University of Pretoria. Furthermore, the relationship between the diversity variables of gender, home language, field of study and previous experience of cultural diversity in high school, and interpersonal and inter-group trust was explored.

The demographic composition of South African tertiary institution campuses has changed considerably in the last thirteen years. Historically Afrikaans institutions in particular have had to adapt to an increasingly culturally diverse student body.

Students share the common goal, inter alia, of obtaining a degree. Contributing, albeit peripheral, factors such as a violence-free campus, adequate facilities and harmonious relationships, provide a supporting academic environment. Trust is the basis of human relationships, and it supports the ethical norms of human behaviour and, if present, assists in creating the macro-environment conducive to academic performance.

Cooperating and co-habiting often involves interdependence, and it implies that people must depend on others in various ways to help them accomplish their personal goals and to obtain the outcomes they value. Trust has been identified as a key element of enhanced cooperation, information sharing and problem solving. Diversity variables such as gender, home language and cultural background may also influence the interpersonal trust between individuals.

Furthermore, people who share the same cultural background are more likely to be attracted to one another and form positive relationships on the basis of 'sameness' or homogeneity bias. Increasing diversity, if not managed effectively, will have a negative influence on outcomes such as relationships in the group, identification with the group, and group integration.

The research comprised of a literature study, covering the theoretical aspects of the different topics related to the study, as well as of a quantitative investigation.

2. Literature Study

This part of the research covered themes related to the concept of trust and the development of interpersonal and inter-group trust. People diversity and the impact of different diversities on interpersonal and inter-group relationships were also researched, using authoritative publications on the subject. In the last instance the relationship between people diversity, interpersonal and inter-group trust, and cooperation was explored.

3. Quantitative Research

A quantitative study was conducted. Questionnaires were used that are designed to measure the following:

- Interpersonal trust levels between students;
- Their acceptance of others;

- Their perceived acceptance by others;
- Their trust levels towards persons from cultures other than their own.

A convenience sample of ± 500 students was recruited from the first year groups of pre-determined university residences; all the students chosen in leadership positions in residences at the University of Pretoria; and also non-residential students enrolled as Human Resource Management students in their second year at the University of Pretoria.

The trust levels of the students were then analysed in terms of their group relationship as is defined by different diversities such as gender, national culture, school background and home environment.

The results indicate that females generally tend to be more trusting than males. Respondents from urban areas also tend to be more trusting than those from rural areas. A difference was also found between the levels of inter-group trust in Afrocentric and Eurocentric subjects.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The demographic composition of South African tertiary institution campuses has changed considerably in the last ten years. Historically Afrikaans institutions in particular have had to adapt to an increasingly culturally diverse student body. The University of Pretoria currently has ± 38 000 residential students, 60% of which is categorised as white and 40% representing the African, Coloured and Indian communities (unpublished University of Pretoria report, 2007).

Students share the common goal, inter alia, of obtaining a degree. Contributing, albeit peripheral, factors such as a violence-free campus, adequate facilities and harmonious relationships, provide a supporting academic environment.

Cooperating and co-habiting between students often involves interdependence and it implies that people must depend on others in various ways to help them accomplish their personal goals and to obtain the outcomes they value. Trust has been identified as a key element of enhanced cooperation, information sharing and problem solving (Tomlinson & Lewicki, 2003a). Trust is the basis of human relationships, and it supports the ethical norms of human behaviour (Chartier, 1998) and, if present, assists in creating a macro-environment that is conducive to academic performance.

Interpersonal trust has also been cited as a prerequisite for cooperation between individuals and groups of individuals from diverse backgrounds.

Corresponding high or low levels of inter-personal, and also inter-cultural trust in diverse groups may explain good or poor interpersonal and inter-group cooperation (Fukuyama, 1995; Huff & Kelley, 1999). Diversity variables such as gender, home language and cultural background may also influence the interpersonal trust between individuals (Kramer & Tyler, 1996).

An individual's membership reference groups can exert a powerful influence on the formation of that individual's trust expectancies of a specific or general trust object by means of their norms and opinions (Huff & Kelley, 1999). Fukuyama (1995) proposes that trust emerges from the acquisition of shared values and that the capacity to trust is learned from rules or habits that give members of a community grounds for trusting one another.

Furthermore, people who share the same cultural background are more likely to be attracted to one another and form positive relationships on the basis of 'sameness' or homogeneity bias (Kramer, 1994; Brewer & Kramer, 1986). Increasing diversity, if not managed effectively, will have a negative influence on outcomes such as relationships in the group, identification with the group, and group integration (O'Reilly, Caldwell, & Barnett, 1989).

1.2 The Research Problem

To attain the University of Pretoria's mission of providing quality learning and development to its students, satisfactory interpersonal and inter-group relations between the diverse students are required. Failing to maintain good relationships will lead to student unrest, dissatisfaction and inability to provide quality training and development. The first step towards achieving good relations is to maintain satisfactory interpersonal and intercultural trust levels among the students.

High interpersonal and inter-group trust is an essential element of all social exchange relations (Kramer & Tyler, 1996; Sitkin & Roth, 1993). As such, interpersonal trust as an important resource can facilitate cooperation and bring about well-coordinated social interactions.

Low levels of trust among different groups of students usually have the following negative influence on the functioning of the groups:

- Low levels of cooperation;
- Unsatisfactory interpersonal communication;
- Heightened levels of interpersonal tension;
- Slower rates of adaptation of the members of the group;
- Polarisation of sub-groups;
- An attitude of apathy towards other groups;
- Decision-making takes longer and decisions are not as good.

It is therefore not in the interest of the University if the inter-group trust of the different groups of students deteriorates to such low levels that it results in a climate which is counter-productive to the main objectives of the organisation, i.e. learning and student development. From this perspective it is imperative that the University remains informed on the interpersonal- and inter-group levels of trust in its student corps.

It is also important for the University as an organisation to know whether or not relationships exist between certain diversity variables such as gender, home language, field of study, previous experience of cultural diversity in high school, and the interpersonal and inter-group trust of students. The determination of possible relationships will add value to pro-active decision-making and the effective managing of the diverse groups of students on campus.

1.3 Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to assess the interpersonal and inter-group trust levels of a group of students at the University of Pretoria. Satisfactory levels of interpersonal and inter-group trust are conducive to developing and maintaining good interpersonal and inter-group relations between students from diverse backgrounds. Individuals with high self-acceptance have an openness to engage in interpersonal relationships and to trust others (L.S. Wrightsman, 1991).

Furthermore, it will be determined whether relationships exist between the diversity indicators of gender, home language, field of study and previous experience of cultural diversity in high school, and interpersonal and inter-group trust.

An ancillary aim of the study was to determine the psychometric properties of the two questionnaires and to determine the content validity and factor stability of the trust measurements in the South African context.

1.3.1 The Value of the Research

The results of this basic research should add value in the following ways:

- The expansion and deepening of knowledge about the existence and dynamics of trust in diverse student groups;
- The knowledge generated by the research can be utilised by the management of the University for strategic decision-making;
- The exploratory nature of the research should also lead to the identification of new research topics on trust and diversity regarding students.

1.3.2 Proposed layout of the dissertation

In the first chapter the purpose and rationale of the study are discussed.

Chapter 2 provides a theoretical overview of people diversity and its impact on the functioning of groups in general. It also touches on the types of diversity, social identity perspective and explores the theoretical basis for the influence of diversity variables on the establishment of social identity. The relationship between diversity indicators and behaviour on an interpersonal and inter-group level is discussed as well as the need to manage diversity in groups effectively.

In chapter 3 a number of themes connected to the concept of trust are discussed. These include the significance of trust, an operational definition, and some models of trust. The roles of trustor and trustee in the trust relationship are considered, as well as distrust and the influence of societal culture on trust.

Chapter 4 deals with the relationship between trust and the functioning of diverse individuals and groups. This relates to cooperation on interpersonal and inter-group levels that can in turn be directly connected to interpersonal and inter-group trust.

In chapter 5 the research methodology is set out and discussed. The research design and the rationales for the tests that were used as well as the characteristics of the sample are set out. The measuring instruments and the reliability and validity data are discussed.

Chapter 6 focuses on the statistical analysis of the results obtained from the questionnaires. The results of factor analysis, reliability, analysis of variance, and multiple analysis of variance are discussed.

Chapter 7 contains the summary and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

PEOPLE DIVERSITY

2.1 Introduction

Organisations such as universities increasingly operate in multinational and multicultural contexts and individuals find employment or study opportunities outside the boundaries of their cultures or countries. As globalisation escalates, it is likely that the frequency with which individuals will interact with people from different cultures will increase (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999:1445).

South Africa has an ethnically diverse population and it follows that graduates entering the workforce will have to function in more heterogeneous workgroups than was previously required. The university campuses also exhibit a highly mixed population with accompanying challenges for students in terms of interaction and cooperation.

Most researchers (e.g. Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Baba, 1999; Bigley & Pierce, 1998; Bonn, 2005) who examine how diversity characteristics such as race, culture, language etc. affect the functioning of groups, have done this in the context of private and public sector organizations because of the access afforded. For the purposes of this research it is assumed that the available literature from basic and applied research on diversity is also applicable to students at tertiary educational institutions because the diversity circumstances and issues prevalent in tertiary institutions are similar to that in organizations and society at large. As is the case in the workplace, the interaction in student groups in terms of interpersonal and inter-group cooperation is paramount for creating an effective working and learning

environment. An additional argument is that the University of Pretoria is an organisation that should be managed like one (Pistorius, 2007).

In this chapter the following aspects of diversity will be discussed:

Definitions of Diversity;

Types of Diversity;

Social Identity Perspective;

Diversity variables:

Culture, Race, Gender;

The relationship of diversity indicators and individual and group psycho-dynamics:

- Values
- Attitudes
- Stereotypes
- Prejudice

Outcomes of Diversity;

The need to utilise diversity effectively

Summary

2.2 Definitions of Diversity

The term diversity often provokes emotional reactions from people who have perhaps come to associate the word with negative outcomes for themselves. It is however, a word that simply means "variety"; "of differing kinds" or "a point or respect in which things differ" (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 2004; Webster's Dictionary of the English Language, 1994).

Humans vary to a great extent. While people share the important dimension of humaneness with all members of the species, there are biological and environmental differences that separate and distinguish individuals and

groups. The biological differences are easily conceptualised and cover for example aspects such as gender, race, length, size, eye colour, handedness and a multitude of other attributes. Environmental differences constitute for example differences in national culture, community structure, social status, life experiences, values and attitudes. Viewed objectively, diversity covers the vast array of physical and cultural differences that constitute the spectrum of humanity. From the subjective or individual point of view, diversity is otherness; those qualities that discern groups to which people belong from other groups (Hayles & Russel, 1997:11; Loden & Rosener, 1991: 18-20).

Definitions that focus on differences among employees / people in terms of affiliation or membership of particular demographic groups such as racial, ethnic or gender categories have long been cited. In the tertiary education environment students also subconsciously tend to group themselves according to broad categories i.e. race, culture, gender and seniority in the institution (Jehn, Northcraft & Neale, 1999).

Recent publications on diversity however, tend to move away from the focus on specific definitions that elaborate on diversity characteristics of individuals and groups, towards more abstract conceptualizations that tend to shift the focus towards the social identity and categorisation of the individual rather than perceived characteristics. Abstract conceptualisations are more functional as they can be applied to a broader range of situations and contents. Jackson, May and Whitney (1995:217), e.g., define diversity as "the presence of differences among members of a social unit". Roosevelt Thomas jr. (1991:10) is of the opinion that diversity includes everyone. "It is not something that is defined by race or gender. It extends to age, personal and corporate background, education, function and personality. It includes lifestyle, sexual preference, and geographic origin".

In a recent publication Roosevelt Thomas (2006:93) defines diversity as "a mixture of differences, similarities and tensions that can exist among the elements of a pluralistic society".

For the purpose of this study diversity is broadly defined to include differences and similarities in race, gender, national origin, ethnicity and also geographical origin (Cox & Blake, 1991; Loden & Rosener, 1991; Thomas, 1991). This definition includes differences and similarities in worldviews resulting in potential behavioural differences and congruencies among cultural groups (Triandis, 1972) and differences and congruencies in identity among group members in relation to other groups (Larkey, 1996:464).

2.3 Types of Diversity

In discussing diversity, it is necessary to mention that humans are more similar to one another than they are different. All humans have language, food habits, art, myths, religious practices, family structures, economic systems, shelter, etc. In all of these abovementioned categories the general category is universal, but there are numerous differences in the details. It is the details of cultural differences that matter most for understanding interpersonal and inter-group behaviour (Triandis, 1994:5).

In an effort to organise thinking about diversity, several researchers (Cummings, Zhou & Oldham, 1993; Tsui, Egan & O'Reilly III, 1992) have suggested ways of categorising different types of diversity. One distinction that these researchers commonly make is that between observable (primary) and non-observable (secondary) types of diversity. These two categories of diversity are not mutually exclusive and it is important to note that observable differences often give rise to associations with underlying attributes presumed

by the observer to be prominent in the person or group that is the subject of scrutiny.

2.3.1 Primary types of Diversity:

The primary types of diversity are observable differences that include race, ethnicity, gender, age, physical abilities, and sexual orientation. These diversities are inborn differences or relatively permanent differences that do not change and have an ongoing impact throughout one's life. They are also part of the core elements through which people shape their view of the world (Loden & Rosener, 1991: 18-20).

Although diversity is generally conceptualised in terms of these readily detectable primary differences, they in turn result in interpersonal or inter-group challenges. When individuals or groups perceive the more easily detectable, or superficial differences, they correlate these characteristics with differences in perspectives, assumptions and causal beliefs. The visible characteristics result in individuals or groups being ascribed certain attitudes or characteristics without justification or verification, simply on the basis of what is observed. The primary differences thus give rise to assumptions about underlying values, attitudes and beliefs that the observer may not find acceptable. It is these implicit differences that give rise to the potential for interpersonal and inter-group conflict (Milliken & Martins, 1996).

2.3.2 Secondary types of Diversity

The secondary or non-observable dimensions of diversity can be acquired or changed throughout a person's lifetime. They include factors such as education, technical abilities, functional background, religion, language,

socio-economic background, personality characteristics and values (Cummings et al., 1993; Tsui et al., 1992).

Certain assumptions or expectations of individuals and groups are established on the basis of observable or primary characteristics as well as non-observable or secondary elements of diversity, and the individual or group is treated accordingly. When interacting with individuals or members of a group that is perceived to be different in terms of a diversity characteristic, individuals use categorization to process their perception of the other group and its differences. The concept of categorization will be discussed comprehensively in paragraph 2.4.2.

2.4 Social Identity Perspective

Individuals identify with different groups that provide them with a social identity. This group identity then becomes part of their personal identity, and therefore influences their perspective in terms of other groups as well as the interpersonal and inter-group relationships that are formed.

Social identity perspective comprises social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and categorisation theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherall, 1987).

2.4.1 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory provides a comprehensive explanation of inter-group relations and social change in socially stratified societies. The social identity theory was developed by Tajfel and Turner in 1979 to clarify the psychological basis of discrimination between groups. It identifies the need of an individual to develop a positive social identity and as such also endeavours

to explain the dynamics of interpersonal discrimination, inter-group bias and ethnocentrism.

In terms of interpersonal and inter-group relationships, individuals must first define themselves in order to know how to feel about and react to others (Tsui et al., 1992). This self-definition is done through a process of self-categorization, in which they classify themselves and others into social categories using specific characteristics. These categories allow the individual to be defined in terms of a social identity. The need for a positive self-identity causes individuals to create a definition of others in relation to themselves, and in comparison with themselves (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

According to Tajfel (1982) identification with a social group comprises of two components: a cognitive component that allows for the individual to be aware of his/her membership of the group, and an evaluative component that classifies the membership as positive or negative. A third component that is frequently associated with the awareness and evaluation of group membership is that of emotional involvement in the group membership (Tajfel, 1982: 2). An individual will, for example, classify him/herself as an avid reader of acknowledged literature and as such identify with the group of knowledgeable and discerning people where literature is concerned. This identification may have and extremely positive valence for the individual and he/she will come to the defence of this group should he/she perceive them to be under attack. The concept of social identity implies that each individual is, in some sense similar to other people in a way that is relevant to the individual.

People generally tend to evaluate themselves positively and they are therefore also motivated to judge those groups with which they affiliate, positively (positive distinctiveness) and to discriminate against groups they feel threaten

their social identity. Social identity provides status and enhances self-esteem through this positive distinctiveness. In the instance of negative distinctiveness, where the in-group is perceived to be inferior in some respects, individuals who categorise themselves with the group tend to minimise the differences between the perceived-to-be inferior in-group and the more superior out-group, so that the own group is seen more favourably (Tajfel, 1982:24).

2.4.2 Categorization

Categorisation is inherent to human beings and as such the process occurs naturally. It would be impossible to make sense of the world without implementing this way of creating order in the surrounding environment. Categorising events and concepts also serves to streamline judgements and it saturates all that the category contains with the same ideational and emotional flavour (Allport, 1954:21). If, for example, a person does not like cats, they will probably group all cats together and have the same negative feelings about every cat they perceive. Individuals also use categorization when cognitively processing their perception of others and their differences. Categorization operates by placing other people in broad categories, such as gender or race. Once the cognitive category is called to mind, additional information about the person is matched with the framework established for that category and is either forced to fit, or ignored. The negative result of categorisation is that, because of the grouping together of individuals that are perceived to be similar, a person may be prevented from noticing individuating characteristics of a specific individual (Larkey, 1996:467).

The categorization process is fundamental to the formation of in-groups and out-groups as well as to the tendency of individuals to prefer homogenous groups of perceived similar others (Tsui et al., 1992). Self-categorization does

not necessarily have to be in terms of visible characteristics. Turner (1984:530) established the notion of the psychological group, which he defined as "a collection of people who share the same social identification or define themselves in terms of the same social category membership". The psychological group is established via perceived similarities in values, beliefs and attitudes and in this respect it is similar to relational demography. Relational demography refers to a feeling of similarity that originates from people living in close proximity. The concept also focuses on the attitudes of individuals as influenced by perceptions of the similarity or dissimilarity of others (Tsui et al., 1992).

Secondary diversity attributes such as attitudes and values serve to create a stereotyped interpretation of ability, status or character that may be interpreted to be negative, neutral or positive (Larkey, 1996:469). The individual / group is broadly categorised and this interpretation influences the inter-personal and inter-group behaviour of the perceiver towards the perceived person / group.

2.4.3 The Role of Diversity in determining In-group and Out-group

Social identity perspective incorporates the concepts of in- and out-groups and a brief discussion of these concepts is warranted for this study in as far as it has an influence on inter-group behaviour and therefore also on inter-group trust. These processes are central to interpersonal and inter-group interaction, and will subsequently be discussed.

Triandis and Trafimow (2001:368) define an in-group as follows: "An in-group is a set of people who perceive each other as having something in common." There seem to be cultural differences in the way in which in-groups are defined and in modern cultures it is often defined as people who

are alike, especially in their attitudes and values. "An out-group consists of a set of people who are not members of the in-group" (Triandis & Trafimow, 2001:369). Individuals generally refer to in-group members as "us" and to out-group members as "them". When inter-group behaviour is interpersonal, i.e. when they engage in a one-on–one encounter, the members of the group primarily perceive the personal attributes of the individual members of the other group. When behaviour is inter-group, individuals react to all members of the perceived other group as if they were the same (Brewer & Kramer, 1985:229).

Categorizing people into groups, even using arbitrary criteria, can result in in-group members perceiving out-group members as less favourable (Tajfel & Turner, 1986:20). This is especially true when in-groups are redefined to fit the needs of individuals such as when a political party, for example, is described in negative terms to engender support for another party. An individual's self-image is partially founded on his group membership and the perceived differences between the groups that the individual identifies with and other groups. Consequently the groups that contain the self will possibly be considered special and are likely to be viewed positively (Tsui et al., 1992). According to Messick and Mackie (1989) the phenomenon of inter-group bias is well established: individuals tend to favour others in their own group relative to individuals in other groups. Trust is extended to fellow in-group members, thereby excluding members of the out-group, and they show positive regard, cooperation and empathy to the in-group (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002:578). Insko and Schopler (1997) provide evidence that negative out-group perceptions can lead individuals to be distrustful and suspicious of out-group members, and to feel that in-group interests have to be protected.

Another result of the differentiation between in- and out-group is that within-group differences become minimized. Individuals perceive members of the in-group to be highly similar. Differences between in- and out-groups are enhanced and the out-group is then perceived to differ from the in-group to a large extent (Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 21).

Individuals identify with groups on the bases of different diversities. It is obvious that individual tendencies to prefer homogenous groups on the one hand, and the organisational and societal goal to promote diversity on the other hand, can result in tension.

2.5 The Influence of a number of diversity indicators on the establishment of social identity

According to the social identity perspective individuals establish a social identity by using their affiliation to and alliance with other individuals and groups that they regard positively. They categorise individuals and groups by means of certain explicit and also implicit diversity indicators that constitute the "differentness" of other individuals and groups. For the purpose of this research the influence of culture, race and gender on the establishment of a social identity will be discussed.

2.5.1 Culture

"Culture is to a human collectivity what personality is to the individual" (Hofstede, 1980:5). The cultural dimensions of diversity flow from the racial and ethnic backgrounds of people. It is generally agreed that the variables constituting a culture, i.e. philosophy, beliefs, norms, values, morals, habits, customs, art, and literature, mutually influence one another and also ultimately influence the behaviour of individuals and groups. Cultures

increase the sense of control over the environment. It minimises the uncertainty that individuals may experience in new surroundings by providing a framework on which to base decisions regarding behaviour and attitudes. They influence the way humans select, interpret, process and use information (Triandis, 1994:15).

There are certain aspects of culture that almost all researchers see as characteristic or typical: culture emerges in adaptive interactions, e.g. humans develop new tools, new skills, definition of concepts and systems of interaction to assist in functioning in a changing environment; culture consists of shared elements, e.g. language, time and place; and culture is transmitted across time periods and generations by means of traditions, values and beliefs (Triandis, 1994:20).

Kymlicka as cited by Song (2005:474) conceptualises cultures as "well-integrated, well-bounded and largely self-generated entities, defined by a set of key attributes". At a deeper level culture determines what the individual perceives as important, and existing norms or behaviour are used to judge unfamiliar norms or behaviour. Culture, in terms of the society to which an individual belongs, thus provides its members with guidelines as to meaningful behaviour across the range of human activities, i.e. social, educational, religious, recreational and economic life. Kymlicka (in Song, 2005:474) furthermore proposes that societal culture tends to be concentrated in terms of territory and is usually based on a shared language.

Cultures are, however, not geographically isolated and are therefore prone to influences from their relevant communities and also from others, who provide their context and points of reference and who shape some of their beliefs and practices. In this sense almost all cultures are multi-culturally constituted and Deveaux (2003) emphasises the permeability of boundaries between cultures.

Triandis (1994:8) also proposes that cultures are heterogeneous. Although a culture is not made up of solely identical individuals, any description of a culture focuses on the individuals that can be described as prototypic of that culture, once again referring to the primary as well as secondary diversity attributes.

The visible and comprehensible manifestations of culture i.e. dress, language, food, gestures, are easier to come to terms with than the less visible components such as values, standards, perceptions, attitudes and priorities. Ely and Thomas (2001) suggest that the impact of cultural diversity on group functioning is influenced by what they refer to as the group's "diversity perspective". A diversity perspective encompasses group members' normative beliefs and expectations about cultural diversity and the rationale that underpins people's efforts to create and respond to cultural diversity.

When individuals have had little experience in identifying and dealing effectively with cultural or other perceived differences, they base their responses on social-categorization processes such as outright stereotyping or out-group perception (Larkey, 1996:470).

2.5.2 Race (racioethnicity)

The term racioethnicity is used to denote a socially constructed combination of racial and cultural characteristics and it is expressed in values, norms and the behaviour that individuals display in communicating with others (Larkey, 1996). Axelrod and Hammond (2003:2) propose the following definition: "Ethnocentrism is a nearly universal syndrome of attitudes and behaviours".

Membership in an ethnic group is typically evaluated in terms of one or more observable characteristics (hair texture, physical features, skin colour) that are

regarded as indicating common descent. Ethnic identity is furthermore meaningful only in situations in which one or more ethnic groups are in contact over a period of time. In an ethnically or racially homogeneous society, ethnic identity is a virtually meaningless concept (Phinney, 1990).

"People of different ethnic backgrounds possess different attitudes, values and norms that reflect their cultural heritages" (Cox, Lobel & Mc Leod, 1991:828). Taking this into consideration it is clear that shared sets of cultural knowledge and behaviour translate into a group identity such that individuals perceive themselves as group members in relation to others. This group identity evokes the sense of self as a member of that group and also perceptions of others not belonging to that group as out-group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1982). In this sense it is easier to understand ethnic boundaries as social mediums through which association occurs rather than as territorial demarcations (Sanders, 2002). As is the case today, individuals from one ethnic group are dispersed in different countries but nevertheless view them as belonging to that specific ethnic group. Ethnocentrism can also be defined as an inclination for viewing members of one's own group (in-group) including their beliefs, behaviours and values as more positive than those of out-groups (Cox, 1993:49). Technically, strong identification with a group is not the same as out-group hostility and should therefore not to be mistaken for racism.

As a diversity variable, ethnicity becomes important in the sense that group membership contributes to self-identification and will often be influential in the sphere of social interaction. Group identities are important components of the self-concept of most people (Cox, 1993:49) and for some, the recognition and preservation of these identities is a matter of personal pride and esteem.

Racial identity can be argued to be of great importance in the South African context, given the strong demarcation of ethnic groups historically and demographically. It is therefore an important diversity variable in organizations and in society.

2.5.3 Gender

The socialization of people in most societies of the world is influenced by gender. In effect then, women as a group, hold a different worldview from men (Cox, 1993:49). Allport (1954:33) reports that for some people, grouping according to gender remains important throughout their lives. Women are viewed as a totally different species (usually an inferior species) from men, and the male may feel in-group solidarity with half of mankind (males) and with the other half (females) an irreconcilable conflict.

Self-identity comprises of two components: a personal component derived from characteristics that distinguish the individual from others, such as personality, intellect, physical attributes, and also a social component derived from the individual's membership of salient groups.

This social component involves a process of self-categorisation and of attaching value to the particular categories (Ely, 1995:591). Gender identity is one aspect of social identity. Turner (1985:77) defines gender identity as the individual's awareness of and feelings for their gender category. It includes personal and social attributes, physical attributes, interests and abilities, social relationships and behaviour and therefore constitutes a large component of a person's self-identity.

Membership of this category can also be associated with positive, negative or ambivalent feelings, depending on the prominence and the nature of

comparative distinctions between the genders in a given situation. If, for example, females are treated with less respect, afforded fewer opportunities for career advancement and stereotyped as incompetent in an organisational stetting, membership of this diversity category will be viewed negatively.

Self-identity is of importance primarily because it influences how the individual approaches almost any type of situation they may encounter. According to Maddux and Brewer (2005:159-162), there is increasing evidence that indicates that gender identity impacts the way in which individuals experience a sense of interdependence with others and the way in which they define their in-groups. In comparison with men, women seem to emphasise relationships and interpersonal connections, while men attach more importance to group identity and depersonalised group memberships such as "old boys' clubs".

The difference in the perception of independence / interdependence between females and males has been shown to affect psychological variables such as self-representation and group attachment. Males and females may therefore differ in their engagement in interpersonal interaction. As such, gender as a diversity variable has a definite impact on the establishment of a social identity and therefore on inter-group relationships.

2.6 The relationship between important secondary diversity indicators and individual- and group characteristics and behaviour

Secondary or non-observable diversity indicators such as values, attitudes, stereotypes and prejudices exert a profound influence on the characteristics and behaviour of individuals and groups.

For the purpose of this study, the focus of the discussion will mainly be on the psychodynamics of the relationship between values, attitudes, prejudices and the characteristics of individuals and groups. Some of these values and attitudes may be common to the society in which the people live, to their cultural group, and also to the membership group they feel affiliated with. These values and attitudes provide standards for behaviour, or norms that become entrenched in the group or culture and that are consequently aspects on which individuals differ.

2.6.1 Values

Values as unique secondary diversity indicators can be described as general standards or main beliefs that are regarded as inherently sought-after ends, such as loyalty, helpfulness, fairness, predictability and honesty (Jones & George, 1998). An individual's values describe an internalised interpretation about socially desirable ways to fulfil needs and as such, are partially influenced by culture (Meglino & Ravin, 1998:356). Robbins (2003:64) cites Rokeach in identifying two types of values: terminal values that reflect desirable end-states of existence; and instrumental values that are preferable forms of behaviour in the pursuance of the individual's terminal values. Values thus directly affect behaviour, and consequently, perceptions of the behaviour of other individuals (Meglino & Ravin, 1998:354). Value systems furthermore guide the interpretation of events and actions in the surrounding world and determine which types of behaviours or people are desirable or undesirable (Jones & George, 1998).

Values affect behaviour and perceptions and therefore they also have implications for interpersonal interactions. Individuals who share similar value systems have an inclination to perceive external stimuli in similar ways. Individuals with similar value systems are furthermore inclined to engage in

similar behaviour which in turn permits them to enhance their prediction of the behaviour of others and in this way to match their actions more effectively. Conversely, differences in value systems of individuals and groups will lead to differences in perceptions of external stimuli and consequently to differences in behaviour.

According to Meglino and Ravin (1998:356), "the most frequently evoked reason for similarities and differences in values is that they are influenced by personal experiences and exposure to more formal socialization forces".

Most theorists see values as products of a specific culture or social system. This results in individuals from one culture or social system sharing the value systems that are salient in that particular environment, and consequently feeling more at ease with one another. They will also tend to seek out individuals with similar value systems and will experience commonality and unity to a larger extent than with individuals who are unfamiliar with their culture.

2.6.2 Attitudes

Attitudes are also secondary diversity indicators that influence the characteristics and behaviour of people and groups. Although attitudes and values are not identical, they are interrelated (Robbins, 2003:71). Attitudes are shaped by beliefs and values. They are strongly ingrained and resistant to change and always contain an affective element.

According to Sherif and Sherif (1969:334) attitudes are inferred from characteristic, consistent and selective forms of behaviour that may be directed towards or against objects, persons and events. They serve a fundamental function by subjectively organising an individual's environment

and by providing an orientation to objects and persons in the environment. Attitudes result in evaluative reactions to an object or person and may be implicit as well as explicit (Dovidio, Kawakami & Beach, 2001:179).

Attitudes can furthermore be viewed as "the knowledge structures containing the specific thoughts and feelings people have about other people, groups, or organizations and the means through which they define and structure their interactions with others" (Jones & George, 1998:539).

The positive or negative evaluation of an object that is fundamental to the formation of an attitude about that object, often determines behaviour. The only possible data from which an attitude can be deduced are observable behaviours. Sherif and Sherif (1969:334) isolate certain aspects characteristic of attitudes that serve as a means to differentiate between behaviour linked to attitudes and behaviour caused by inborn or temporary motives:

- Attitudes are not inborn – they have a cognitive component;
- Attitudes are not temporary states but are more or less enduring once they are formed. They are, however, not unalterable;
- Every attitude is a subject-object relationship, it is formed or learned in relation to identifiable referents and it serves the purpose of stabilising the relationship between the person and the object of the attitude;
- The subject-object relationship has motivational-affective properties. Many attitudes are formed in highly significant social interactions and acquire emotional overtones and directive properties that trigger behaviour;
- The formation of attitudes involves the formation of categories encompassing a small or large number of specific items. The attitude a person forms towards a representative of a social group can also encompass the whole perceived group;

- Principles applicable to attitude formation in general are also applicable to the formation of social attitudes.

Baron and Banaji (2006) suggest that familiarity as presented in the in-group plays a pivotal role in attitude development. What is familiar is more liked than what is unfamiliar, and what is more liked becomes more familiar because familiarity presumably leads to greater seeking of contact.

2.6.3 Stereotypes

Stereotypes are also secondary diversity indicators that influence the distinct characteristics and behaviour of individuals and groups.

Walter Lippmann, who introduced the word "stereotypes" in 1922, argued that individuals form and express opinions about others on the basis of simplistic pictures and images. Stereotypes of human groups may lead to social misunderstanding, tension and conflict and consequently mistrust. "For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see" (Lippmann, 1922:59).

Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff and Ruderman (1978) hypothesize that perceivers will use physical and social primary diversity discriminators such as race and sex to categorise individuals, and that this becomes more probable when the cues are highly distinctive. Categorization will furthermore lead to in-group similarities and between-group differences being emphasised. This gives rise to stereotypical interpretations of the target individual- or group behaviour (Oakes, 2001:4).

Some researchers, for example Blair and Banaji (1996), Devine (1989) and Monteith (1993) emphasise the unconscious automaticity of social category

association. Blair and Banaji (1996:143) are of the opinion that "theories of stereotyping generally hold that stereotype activation is an automatic process that operates when the appropriate situational cue is present". The automatic activation of categories may be so powerful that a highly prominent and visible cue such as skin colour can produce a category content that the perceiver does not really believe in. Perceivers then apply beliefs that are not their own, but are imposed upon them by their cultural environment. Beliefs can to some extent be changed by rational persuasion, but they are usually connected to attitudes, which are more difficult to change.

When individuals are categorized into groups, it results in accentuation of and assimilation to category meaning. A male individual of strikingly short stature may be believed to exhibit a so-called "Napoleonic personality" and will be expected to act accordingly. Accentuation effects reveal that individuals, who are believed to share a prominent group membership, are expected to be similar, more so than when such shared identity is not evident (all women are emotional). Individuals sharing a salient group membership are also expected to be more different from individuals of other groups than when the group membership is not prominent (Oakes, 2001:11).

According to Park and Rothbart (1982), categorisation plays an important role in stereotyping, and stereotyping in turn is a core element of inter-group relations. Inter-group relations are also affected by the perception of individuals of the group they categorise themselves with (in-group) and the group that differs from their own group (out-group).

Stereotypes often over-generalise, misattribute, prescribe and even condemn the behaviour and personal characteristics associated with out-groups. According to Fiske (2000:303), individuals strive to protect themselves and their in-group and consequently they engage in relatively derogatory and

competitive behaviour towards the out-group. In this regard, stereotypes are potentially damaging belief systems, and serve to impair cooperation and positive regard in diverse groups.

2.6.4 Prejudice

Prejudice constitutes the affective component of inter-group bias, and it is a term that is frequently used interchangeably with inter-group bias (Park & Judd, 2005:113). Where stereotyping depicts the attribution of group traits to specific groups and individuals, prejudice represents the evaluations that are made on the grounds of the perceived attributes.

Mueller (1970:547) adheres to the conviction that prejudice is an attitude of which affect is a major component "if not the only dimension of all attitudes". A number of researchers (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson & Gaertner, 1996; Hilton & von Hippel, 1996; Mackie & Smith, 1998) agree with this view and have pointed out that a key element shared by all contemporary conceptualisations of prejudice is that negative affect is a defining characteristic of prejudice. Stereotypes lead to negative affective responses to a target and can give rise to discriminatory practices.

Allport (1954:7) defines prejudice as "an avertive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group". This underlines the fact that while prejudice in any form usually relates to individuals, it also entails unwarranted ideas concerning the group that the individual is associated with.

"Prejudice tends to persist over time within a society, although its nature and expression may be shaped by historical, political, economic and contextual

factors" (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami & Hodson, 2002:90). It is actively resistant to all evidence or knowledge that would prove it to be unjustified. According to Allport (1954:9), individuals become emotional when a prejudice is threatened with contradiction.

In terms of inter-group behaviour, individuals differ in the extent to which they act out their prejudices. Most people who have prejudices talk about them. When they are with others that they perceive to form part of their in-group, they may express their negative feelings freely, but many people never go beyond this mild degree of anitpathetic action. More intense prejudice may lead to avoidance of the disliked group, even although it may be extremely inconvenient. Discrimination refers to the detrimental action taken by a prejudiced individual. This action may be directed at an individual or at all members of the group in question. A severe form of prejudice coupled with heightened emotion may lead to physical attack, for example one gang of adolescents gathering forces against another gang.

Prejudice may, of course, also be positive as in the case when an in-group or in-group member is afforded privileges that are not objectively granted.

2.7 Outcomes of Diversity

The beneficial effects of diversity that are normally cited include increasing of positive relationships, an increase in productivity and achievement of the organization, increased effectiveness in problem-solving and heightened creativity. Broader market intelligence and internationalisation have also been mentioned as some of the benefits that organisational diversity can yield (Lauring & Jonasson, 2004:3). It is furthermore suggested that diversity may have a positive impact on the bottom line in organizations, both through the combined effects of diverse populations working together cooperatively and

through the efforts of individuals (Cox & Blake, 1991; Roosevelt Thomas (jr), 1990).

A group's diversity is defined by the heterogeneity of attributes such as age, race, gender, culture and ethnicity (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998:81). Advocates *for* diversity argue that differences among group members result in varied ideas, knowledge, perspectives and skills that can improve their problem-solving ability and also enhance work accomplishments (Poizer, Milton, & Swann, 2002). Heterogeneous groups in terms of cognitive bases result in diverse interpretations and perspectives. This in turn gives rise to a more extensive discussion of alternatives and leads to a greater set of potential solutions (Bonn, 2005). Job-related diversity also harnesses distinct skills, experiences and perspectives relevant to the cognitive tasks at work (Pelled, 1996:616).

Organisational theorists have, however, also identified potential costs associated with heterogeneity. On the negative side, diversity can be threatening and it can perpetuate stereotyping and prejudice. It requires increased effort to relate to members of less familiar groups and thus creates interaction strain. It may also increase internal dissonance and anxiety (Johnson & Johnson, 2000:454). Generally the following negative outcomes can be expected if the diversity in groups is not managed effectively:

- Lack of respect among group members;
- Intolerance;
- Poor cooperation;
- Low interpersonal trust (Johnson & Johnson, 2000:455).

The negative as well as positive outcomes of diversity in groups seem to be influenced by the composition of the group, the interpersonal and inter-

group relationships and the perceptions of the individuals constituting the groups. According to Larkey (1996:466) these factors will have an impact on whether differences will be positively perceived, or whether the more unfavourable processes of social perception will be evoked.

In general, more visible demographic characteristics such as gender and ethnicity have greater negative effects than variables that are less visible (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998:80). According to Milliken and Martins (1996) diversity in primary or observable attributes of an individual or group has consistently been found to have negative effects on the affective outcomes of diversity, e.g. identification with the group and satisfaction in cooperating with the group. This has been found on both the individual and group levels of interaction. Researchers attribute this to homophily bias (Milliken & Martins 1996:416). Homophily bias refers to the idea that the more similar people are, the more likely they are to be attracted to each other. One reason for this is that people with similar backgrounds may share similar values, have in common certain life experiences and therefore find interacting with one another positively reinforcing (Milliken & Martins, 1996:417). Another explanation is that "group heterogeneity may have a negative impact on individuals' feelings of satisfaction through decreasing their sense of identification or social integration within the group" (Smith, Smith, Olian, Sims, O'Bannon & Scully; 1994:416).

There is a large body of research that offers convincing support for the argument that diversity is most likely to impede group functioning. Milliken and Martins, (1996), Pelled, Eisenhardt and Xin (1999) state that the greater the diversity in a group, the less integrated the group is likely to be and they furthermore argue that members of different social categories tend to view each other through the biased lens of stereotypes and this decreases the effectiveness of group interaction. The disruption is purported to be mainly

on the level of group processes. Conflict researchers Jehn, Chadwick and Thatcher (1997:287-305) have found that relationship conflicts based on personality clashes and interpersonal dislike are detrimental to group functioning. Significantly, the relationship conflict often caused by social category diversity and value diversity leads to alienation and reduced cooperation in groups (Jehn, Nothcraft & Neale, 1999:751).

2.8 The need to manage diversity effectively

The following changes and developments in the field of Human Resource management have increased the necessity to manage diversity more effectively:

- The intersection of two recent organisational trends, i.e. increased diversity in the workplace and growing preference for working in groups and teams (Jehn & Bezrukova, 2004:704);
- The trend to establish flatter organisational structures;
- The fact that the global economy moves labour across national boundaries (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999:1446).

Mutual trust is likely to develop more readily among people who share frames of reference based on traditional cultural values than between individuals with differing frames of reference (Herselman, 2003:144). Fukuyama (1995:9) proposes that the primary causes of lack of work group trust are associated with differences in socio-cultural frames of reference.

Workgroups often fail to realise the potential benefits of cognitive and skills-related diversity due to the fact that groups naturally form on the basis of similarity (Ancona & Caldwell, 1992) and familiarity (Jehn, Northcraft & Neale, 1999). A workgroup's success depends not only on its ability to do the task, but also on the group's ability to manage its own interactions such as

communication, cooperation and coordinating collective efforts. A group whose members fail to work together effectively, cannot capitalise on the benefits of diverse points of view.

The advantages of workgroups to organisations are well documented and companies need to utilise the diversity of their employees in order to attain and sustain competitive advantages in the global marketplace (Ely & Thomas, 2001:229). There is also an increasing trend towards an ageing workforce and legislation enforcing a greater representation of women and minorities in the workplace (Gorski, 2002:86). The effective management and utilisation of diversity has become of paramount importance in organisations. This holds true for any diverse group where cooperation is required.

2.9 Summary

The student body of tertiary institutions in South Africa is becoming increasingly diverse. This is a global trend that is also reflected in the workforce and in society in general. The workforce diversity is increasing on a number of diversity indicators such as ethnicity, gender, and age.

The emphasis in definitions of diversity has shifted from diversity characteristics of students and student-groups towards more abstract conceptualizations. Contemporary definitions (Roosevelt Thomas (jr), 2006:93) reflect this broadening and the more abstract nature of the concept by referring to diversity as a "mixture of differences, similarities and tensions that can exist among the elements of a pluralistic mixture". This approach towards diversity is applicable for the purpose of this study where the focus is on diversity in a tertiary institution.

Students must first define themselves in terms of interpersonal and inter-group relationships, in order to know how to feel about others (Tsui et al., 1992). This leads to self-identification, where an individual/student uses the process of self-categorization to classify themselves and others on the basis of specific characteristics. Because of the need of individual students and individuals in general for a positive self-identity, the groups that they identify themselves with are viewed as positive and constitute the in-group. Groups that pose a threat to the in-group are perceived to be negative and constitute the out-group.

Different diversity indicators influence the establishment of a social identity, e.g. culture, race, gender. The variables constituting a culture, such as philosophy, beliefs, norms, values, morals, habits, customs, mutually influence one another and ultimately influence the behaviour of individual students and student groups. Ethnicity and gender also influence social identity and the perception of in-groups and out-groups, mainly because of implied secondary diversities that are judged in terms of stereotypes. The similarity-attraction hypothesis (Byrne, Griffitt & Stefaniak, 1967) argues that similarity in attitudes is a major cause of attraction between individuals. Similarity in personality, attitudes or beliefs can be deduced from a number of different physical, social and status traits. Theories on selection and socialization (Chatman & Spataro, 2005) also suggest that people prefer similarity in their interactions, their values and their demographics.

The psychodynamic processes influencing the perception of diversity include values and attitudes: people such as students' beliefs and values determine their attitudes and influence their perceptions. Values guide behaviour and determine which behaviours and people are desirable or undesirable (Jones & George, 1998). Values therefore influence interpersonal interaction and also the attitudes students hold towards specific other students and groups.

Stereotypes are the result of broad categorisation usually made on the basis of inferred secondary diversity attributes. Stereotypes generalise, misattribute, prescribe and often condemn the behaviour and personal characteristics associated with out-groups. In this regard stereotyping can be termed to be a core element of inter-group relations.

The beneficial effects of diversity that are normally cited include increasing of positive relationships, increased productivity and group effectiveness. Diversity can, however, also be threatening and can perpetuate stereotyping and prejudice; resulting in diminished cooperation, identification with the group and also mistrust.

The effective management and utilisation of diversity has become of paramount importance in organisations such as tertiary institutions as well as in any diverse group that relies on trust and cooperation for effective functioning.

CHAPTER 3

TRUST

3.1 Introduction

The concepts of interpersonal and inter-group trust are complex. It has been studied from the perspectives of a number of different disciplines, i.e. psychology, sociology, management, economics and political science. Experts in these fields tend to agree that trust is commonly cited as a hallmark of effective relationship (Dirks, 1999:3).

In an organisational context, researchers also agree that trust is a fundamental ingredient for a competitive business advantage and for productive working relationships. According to Romano (2003:1) it is the cornerstone for employee attitudes such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment and consequently, customer satisfaction.

A tertiary educational environment such as a university can be equated with an organisational setting in terms of its requirements for interaction and relationships. The role of trust is therefore also relevant for university students from diverse cultural backgrounds, who share common objectives and ideals and who have to cooperate to attain them.

In this chapter the following trust-related topics will be discussed:

- The significance of trust
- Conceptualisation or definition of trust
- Some models of trust
- The roles of trustor and trustee in the relationship
- Distrust

- The influence of societal culture on trust.

3.2 The Significance of Trust

Without trust, the everyday relational life people (students) take for granted is simply not possible (Good, 2000:33). Costa (2002) believes that trust is important for the smooth functioning of any social system and that it also facilitates cooperation and coordinated action among individuals.

The growing literature on trust across academic fields emphasises its centrality to every area of people's lives (Buchan, Croson & Dawes, 2002), that is, on individual, group, organisational- and societal level. Trust forms the foundation of a large section of intellectual and scientific research, and it supports the ethical norms of human behaviour (Chartier, 1998:183).

3.2.1 Relevance of Interpersonal Trust on Individual Level

It is a major challenge to achieve interpersonal trust on an individual psychological level. People must engage in consistent hard work to obtain it, for it grows incrementally, and humans are finite in nature; they are limited by space, time and energy. As trust between people grows, however, positive behavioural changes become apparent and interpersonal dynamics are transformed (Chartier, 1998:35).

Rotter (1971) found that high-trust individuals (individuals with high levels of trust) were perceived as being more independent than those with low levels of trust. This pertains to making decisions and seeking advice and assistance. High-trust individuals were also considered by their peers to be more co-operative. In addition, they are more likely to be happy and well adjusted and are typically more liked by their friends and colleagues (Good, 2000:35).

Individuals who are willing to trust others have also been found to be more trustworthy, in that they are less likely to lie, steal or cheat. The ability to trust enables people to interact in close relationships and it is essential for psychological health and development (Young & Daniel, 2003:139).

3.2.2 Relevance of Interpersonal Trust in Group (societal) Context

Interpersonal trust is critical for effective functioning in groups, (Jones & George, 1998; Mayer & Davis, 1999; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995; Kiffen-Petersen & Cordery, 1998). When group members trust one another it promotes long-term stability in the group, it also brings about reduction in the operational costs because there is less need for written contracts (Baba, 1999:334).

In the current complex societal world, trust is a necessity when individuals function in any given category of groups, be it on a formal or informal level. Colembiewski and McConkie (1975) are of the opinion that trust probably influences interpersonal and inter-group behaviour more thoroughly than any other variable specifically in situations where interaction between unfamiliar groups or individuals increases and where control mechanisms are reduced or removed.

The reason for this may be that trust effectively reduces complexity by enabling parties with different knowledge bases and experiences to collaborate (Luhmann 1979; Lewis & Weigert, 1985). Thompson (in McAllister, 1995:25) adds to this perspective when he states that when conditions of uncertainty and complexity prevail, it requires mutual adjustment. This is only possible through sustained effective coordinated action, which in turn, is only possible where there is mutual confidence or trust.

Trust also increases mutual acceptance and it has an indirect influence on group performance in that high-trust in groups have the effect of motivating the group to joint efforts and hence to higher performance because it enhances information sharing and problem solving (Tomlinson, & Lewicki, 2003). In groups with low trust, the effort seems to be concentrated on the individual performance (Dirks, 1999:449).

In the last instance, trust is one way in which all societies and groups deal with a central problem of the human condition – how to span the boundary between the self and other, between 'us' and 'them'. This refers to inter-group functioning, which is especially relevant in diverse and socially stratified groups, for example student groups at a tertiary institution.

3.2.3 Trust in Organisations

According to Dirks and Ferrin (2001:450), trust is also beneficial to the functioning of organisations, a statement that is supported by scholars from various time periods and a diversity of disciplines.

Universities in South Africa are complex organisations where students from diverse backgrounds are constantly confronted with conditions of uncertainty, diversity and change that require adjustment from the individual. The students are also required to cooperate and collaborate in a microcosm and in situations that closely approximate an organisational setting; they often work in teams to achieve academic and social life goals. The diverse environment (gender, race, language, etc.) requires them to cope with different and sometimes difficult relationships within their close group as well as with management, academic staff and student bodies. In this regard they frequently have to cross group boundaries to secure cooperation from individuals over whom they have no hierarchical control (Williams, 2001).

Trust is therefore also an important and relevant factor in the interpersonal and inter-group relationships of students in an educational environment, as a result of the interdependence of their co-habitation.

3.3 Definitions of Trust

No single and generally accepted definition of the construct currently exists among researchers (Romano, 2003:1). Although trust definitions often overlap on various aspects of the construct (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt & Camerer, 1998:303), none contain the information needed to define trust across situations (Bigley & Pierce in Romano, 2003:1).

The Oxford English Dictionary (1989) defines trust as "confidence in or reliance on some quality or attribute of a person or thing, or the truth of a statement". As such, trust is an expression of faith and confidence that a person or an institution will be fair, reliable, ethical, competent, and non-threatening (Carnevale, 1995). It requires the trustor to accept without evidence that they will not be detrimentally affected by any action of the trustee.

It is also a subjective perception by the trustor and it involves perceived characteristics of the trustee as well as contextual factors such as the stakes involved, the perception of the level of risk, and the alternatives available to the trustor (Mayer et al., 1995).

A synthesis of the multiple perspectives on trust at the interpersonal level is provided in the definition offered by Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt and Camerer (1998:396). "Trust is a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of other".

Similarly, Lewicki and his colleagues describe trust as "an individual's belief in, and willingness to act on the basis of, the words, actions and decisions of another" (Lewicki, McAllister & Bies, 1998:439).

Mayer et al. (1995:712) conceptually define trust as "a willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that party". Most operational definitions examine interpersonal trust as a belief about whether the 'other' person is dependable (McAllister, 1995:25); cares for your interests (Cook & Wall, 1980:43); is competent (Mishra, 1996:266); and/or will act with integrity (Robinson, 1996:576).

Romano proposes the most comprehensive and integrating definition of trust: "Trust is a subjective assessment of another's influence in terms of the extent of one's perceptions about the quality and significance of another's impact over one's outcomes in a given situation, such that one's expectation of, openness to, and inclination toward such influence provide a sense of control over the potential outcomes of the situation" (Romano, 2003:32).

For the purpose of this research, the emphasis will be on the following important aspects of a trust relationship and characteristics of trust:

- An individual's belief or expectation;
- Behaviour of an "other" person/group;
- Sense of control over the outcome – positive or negative;
- Implied vulnerability and risk.

The above-mentioned aspects are subsequently elucidated.

3.3.1 Trust as an Expectation.

Trust is based on an individual's theory (seen as a synonym for belief, expectation, subjective assessment) about the behaviour of another person on some future occasion, based on the target person's present and previous assertions, either implied or overt, as to how they will behave (David Good in Gambetta, 2000). A student (A), for example, trusts that a student (B) from another diversity group, who forms part of their study group, will be able to do the research required for their joint project.

Trust is therefore an attitude (Jones & George, 1998; Rousseau et al., 1998) and it refers to a psychological experience that consists of cognitive, affective and behavioural components (Romano, 2003)

3.3.2 Behaviour of an "other" person/group

Trust is embedded in a complex social system as it reflects one party's attitude toward another party in a specific situation (Mayer et al., 1995). This attitude exists within a source (trustor), is directed toward a recipient (target), and occurs within a setting (context). As such, trust is about how one's interests are influenced when a trustor, target and context interact (Bhattacharya, Devinney, & Pillutla, 1998; Robinson, 1996). Trust is therefore an assessment of the influence that interaction among a trustor, target and context might have on one's perceived outcomes, rather than an assessment of the individual factors that contribute to such influence. The example of the student serves to illustrate that the context (joint project) and the target (student B from different diversity group) influences whether the trustor (student A) is prepared to trust that the required research will be done comprehensively and adequately.

3.3.3 Trust as a Sense of Control over the Outcome

According to Zand (1972) the purpose of a trustor's attitude centres on the notion of control, where control refers to the perceived ability of being able to manage one's outcomes and protect one's interests.

Some researchers (e.g. Das & Teng, 1998; Hwang & Burgers, 1997) surmise an inverted or linear relationship between trust and control. An individual who trust another person or group experiences a feeling of trust represents a perception of increased control, whereas lack of trust represents a perception of diminished control. This linearity however, disregards the functional nature of trust. The absence of trust also provides a feeling of control over the outcomes of unclear circumstances. Research indicates that both trust and a lack of trust are associated with an increased sense of personal control over the outcomes of a given situation (Sorrentino, Homes, Hanna & Sharp, 1995). The student (A) collaborating with a student (B) from a different diversity group expects that B will not be able to do the research adequately because of language differences and consequently decides to do the work himself. A lack of trust results in control of the situation.

3.3.4 The relationship between Trust, Vulnerability and Risk

i) Vulnerability

Most social psychologists view trust as an expectation that is specific to a transaction and the person with whom the transaction is executed. For most of these theorists, vulnerability is a key element of trust. Luhmann (2000:97) emphasises vulnerability in noting that a "fundamental condition of trust is that it must be possible for the partner to abuse the trust". Mayer et al. (1995:712) refer to trust as "the willingness of a party to be *vulnerable* to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other party will

perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control the party" (cursive added).

ii) Uncertainty

Lewis and Weigert (1995:968) emphasise the inclusion of uncertainty in the trust equation, because "if one were omniscient, actions could be undertaken with complete certainty, leaving no need, or even possibility, for trust to develop". Similarly, Huff and Kelley (2003:4) observe that when risk is low, or control over the situation is high, there is little or no need to trust. Battacharya et al. (1998) are also of the opinion that trust can only exist in an uncertain and risky environment. Trust is not necessary in a predictable environment and when the result of interpersonal interaction is not important. From this viewpoint, trust leads to expectations among people about the behaviour of others that help them to manage the uncertainty or risk associated with their interactions. This can result in cooperative behaviour with resulting gains for both parties (Jones & George, 1998).

iii) Risk

The benefits of trust do not come without any risk. Risk is at the heart of how people behave and think about trust and risk varies as the form of relationship varies (Sheppard, & Sherman, 1998:425). The extent of the risk is determined by the importance of the relationship and the significance of the outcome to the person who has to engage in trust. Trust is therefore related to expectations, which, if not fulfilled, may lead to disappointment, and this implies the need to recognise and accept that risk exists.

Risk is intrinsic in the behavioural manifestation of the willingness to be vulnerable (Mayer et al., 1995:719). Trust is the willingness to assume risk, but there is no risk involved with merely holding such an attitude. Risks emerge only as a component of decision and action. If you refrain from action you run

no risk. Risk therefore exists within a relationship with another identifiable 'party' to which the trustor can make him-/her-self vulnerable.

3.4 Operational Definition

From the discussion in 3.3 it is evident that there are many perspectives on what trust entails. For the purpose of this study it is necessary to demarcate the field and the following operant definitions were subsequently compiled and will be used:

- *Interpersonal Trust*

  The belief or expectation of a person or individual (trustor) that, in a given situation (context), a specific other person or individual (trustee), will act according to the distinct expectations of the trustor (either positively or negatively).

- *Inter-group Trust*

  The expectation or belief of an individual A, who identifies with a group in terms of their diversity (e.g. cultural, racial, gender, age, language or other) that, in a given situation, individual B, a member of another group (or the group collectively), will act according to the specific expectations held by A - either positively or negatively. Example: Individual A, who is an honours student (identifies with the group of excellent students) trusts that collaborating on a presentation with student B (an exchange student) will not be detrimental to their marks.

3.5 Theories of Interpersonal Trust Relationships

A number of researchers and authors on trust have postulated theories in this regard. The relevant theories will be discussed.

3.5.1 Cognition-based and Affect-based Trust Theory

McAllister (1995:25) argues for two kinds or bases of interpersonal trust: one grounded in cognitive judgements of another's competence or reliability (referred to as "cognition-based trust"), and another founded in affective bonds among individuals (referred to as "affect-based trust").

Trust is *cognition- based* in that individuals choose whom they will trust in which respects and under what circumstances, and they base the choice on what they are convinced are good reasons, constituting evidence of trustworthiness (Lewis & Weigert, 1985). The amount of knowledge necessary for trust is somewhere between total knowledge and total ignorance. Given total knowledge, there is no need to trust, and given total ignorance, there is no basis upon which to rationally trust.

Affective bases for trust also exist and these consist of emotional bonds between individuals. People invest emotionally in relationships that are based on trust, convey thoughtfulness and interest in the well-being of the objects of their trust, they have faith in the innate goodness of such relationships and believe that these sentiments are mutual (McAllister, 1995).

3.5.2 Deterrence-, Knowledge- and Identification-based Trust Theory

Shapiro, Sheppard and Cheraskin (1992) propose three types of trust:

- Deterrence-based Trust

- Knowledge-based Trust
- Identification-based Trust

i) Deterrence-based Trust

The most fragile relationships are contained in *deterrence-based trust* (Robbins, 2003:338). This kind of trust is based on fear of retaliation in the case of the trust being violated. It is therefore sustained by the threat of sanctions. Deterrence-based trust is only valid if the punishment is possible, the consequences are clear and the punishment is actually effected if the trust is violated (Shapiro et al. 1992). According to Robbins (2003:338) "most relationships begin on a basis of deterrence". This view coincides with that of Lewicki and Bunker (1996) that conceptualises trust as advancing in stages.

ii) Knowledge-based Trust

The second type of trust is based on the behavioural predictability that comes from a history of interaction (Robbins, 2003:339). Trust emerges through a prediction process whereby a trustor concludes that the past actions of a trustee present a sensible foundation upon which to predict future behaviour (Doney, Cannon & Mullen, 1998). According to Good (2000), trust stems from expectations of how another party will behave based on that party's past and present implied and overt claims. This type of trust is termed *knowledge-based trust* (Shapiro et al., 1992). Dasgupta (2001) holds the view that if trust is to develop between individuals, these individuals must have recurring encounters, and they must remember previous encounters to some extent. Trust is linked with reputation, and reputation has to be acquired. Trust endures as long as a trustee remains predictable, and in this way confirms a trustor's knowledge (Shapiro et al., 1992).

iii) Identification-based Trust

The highest level of trust is achieved when there is an emotional connection between the parties. This is termed *identification-based trust*. It is upheld by a total empathy with the other party's desires and needs. According to Mayer et al. (1995) trust, to be meaningful, must go beyond predictability. " A mutual understanding is developed to the point that each party can effectively act for the other" (Robbins, 2003:339).

3.5.3 Stage Theory of Trust

The early theories of trust describe it as a one-dimensional phenomenon that increases and decreases in strength within a relationship. More recent approaches to trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996 in Lewicki McAllister & Bies 1998:441) suggest that trust builds along a continuum of hierarchical and sequential stages, and that as trust grows to so-called 'higher' levels, it becomes stronger and more resilient and it also changes in character. This model approximates that of Shapiro, Sheppard and Cheraskin (see 3.5.2).

In the early stages of a relationship trust is at a *calculus-based (CBT)* level. An individual carefully calculates how the other party is likely to behave in a given situation. This calculation stems from both knowledge gained from previous interpersonal transactions and also the overall expected benefits to be gained from acting in a trustworthy way. Over time CBT can be built as individuals manage their reputation and by behaving consistently, assure the stability of their behaviour. "CBT is a largely cognitively driven trust phenomenon, grounded in judgements of the trustee's predictability and reliability (trustworthiness)" (Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2002:7).

The parties involved in a trust relationship may reach a deeper understanding of each other through repeated interactions and they may become aware of

shared values and goals. According to Lewicki and Tomlinson (2002:7) this allows trust to grow to a higher and a qualitatively different level. When trust evolves to the highest level, it functions as *identification-based trust (IBT).* In contrast to CBT, IBT is a more emotionally driven phenomenon, grounded in perceptions of interpersonal care and concern, and mutual need satisfaction.

3.5.3 Interactionist Theory of Trust

Jones and George (1998) propose an interactionist model of trust, reasoning that the interaction of values, attitudes, and moods and emotions is the mechanism by which trust and also distrust are engendered. This results in two states of trust – conditional or unconditional. They reason that few people have the time or resources to engage in the extensive information processing necessary to monitor the other party's behaviour in order to apply appropriate sanctions – or to do so in a way that allows one to predict their future behaviour or intentions. They also reason that it is impossible to have complete empathy with another party's often hidden or unexpressed desires and needs, as people are ultimately "unknowable".

Interpersonal trust therefore is initially conditional. This model aims to simplify information processing and to allow people to economize on their cognitive and emotional energy while engaging in ongoing relationships. This interaction can lead to unconditional trust, but it may also end in distrust.

3.5.5 Dispositional and Situational-based Trust Theory

Recent organisational behaviour literature on interpersonal trust tends to distinguish between dispositional en situational bases of trust. An individual's propensity to trust, a dispositional variable, is described by Rotter (1971) as a generalized predisposition or a personality trait. This develops in varying

degrees depending on an individual's personal experiences with significant other individuals, particularly during their early years of socialisation. An individual builds up generalised expectancies from direct experiences with parents, peers and teachers, but also from others with whom the person may have little direct contact, such as news media, repairpersons, politicians, salespersons, judiciary and people in general.

Another major approach to understanding trust among individuals who are not familiar with one another tends to focus on immediate situational factors. This approach posits that "trusting" is a function of relatively rational decision-making processes (Bigley & Pearce, 1998) rather than personality characteristics. Typically, the supporters of this approach define trust and distrust in terms of cooperative and competitive behaviour. Cooperative behaviour is seen to be a result of trust, whereas competitive behaviour indicates less trust.

In novel, ambiguous or unstructured situations, situational-based trust has been found to be a stronger predictor of attitudes and behaviour than a person's propensity to trust (Butler, 1983, 1991; Bigley & Pearce, 1998). In a familiar context, however, generalised expectancies do not play a significant role in the establishment of a trust relationship.

3.5.6 Relational Trust Theory

Mayer et al. (1995) incorporates the propensity to trust, as well as trust that arises from the person's perception of the other's trustworthiness in their model. They identify three aspects or characteristics of a trustee that leads to trust from another party: ability or competence, benevolence, and value or integrity (see this chapter, 3.6.2)

3.6 The Relationship between Trust and Trustworthiness

A number of researchers on trust have endeavoured to explain trust in unfamiliar situations towards unfamiliar actors and tend to agree that the individual who trusts (trustor) and the party that is trusted (trustee) play a major role in offering a possible explanation.

Lewicki and Bunker (1996) agree with Dasgupta (1988) that trust is a feeling or expectancy that others can be trusted in general and that this is deeply rooted in personality. Research has shown that people who are trustful are also trustworthy. Steinke (in Markóczy, 2003:5) supports this position and found that low trusting individuals cheated significantly more when they did not think that their behaviour was being observed than high trusting individuals. Similarly, Wright and Kirmai (in Markóczy, 2003:5) found that female individuals of low trust engaged in significantly more shoplifting than high trustors did.

3.6.1 *Traits of the Trustor*

According to Mayer et al. (1995) some parties are more likely to trust than are others. Several authors on trust agree that trust can be viewed as a trait that leads to a generalised expectation about the trustworthiness of others. This trait is referred to as the propensity to trust.

The propensity to trust is proposed to be a stable intra-personal factor that will affect the likelihood that the person will trust, i.e. a general willingness to trust. People with different development experiences, personality types and cultural backgrounds vary in their inherent propensity to trust (Hofstede, 1980). As an example, the case of what is commonly known as blind trust can be cited. Some individuals can be observed to repeatedly trust in situations that most people would agree do not warrant trust, conversely,

others are unwilling to trust in most situations, regardless of circumstances that would support doing so.

According to Mayer (1995) the propensity to trust, although it is an integral factor in the understanding of trust, does not explain the fact that a given trustor has varied levels of trust for various trustees. An individual may trust person A to give him the correct change, but not trust person A to convey an important message. Propensity is by itself insufficient, and the characteristics of the trustee warrant examination.

3.6.2 Traits of the Trustee

A number of authors on trust have considered why a person will be judged as trustworthy in an attempt at understanding why a given party will have a greater or lesser amount of trust for another party. They consider the attributes of the trustee.

Good (in Mayer et al., 1995:714) suggests, "Trust is based on expectations of how another person will behave, based on that person's current and previous implicit and explicit claims". Mayer et al. (1995:715) cite Lieberman, Johnson-George and Swap as suggesting that characteristics and actions of the trustee will lead to that person being trusted more or trusted less. Three characteristics of the trustee that determine trustworthiness have emerged: ability, benevolence and integrity.

- *Ability* is defined as a set of skills or competencies that allow an individual to perform in some area. This construct is also described as competence and expertness. This dimension recognises that "trust requires some sense that the other is able to perform in a manner that meets with expectations" (Mayer et al., 1995:715).

- *Benevolence* refers to a consideration that the trusted individual is concerned enough about another's wellbeing to either advance their interests, or at least not hinder them. Behaviours indicative of benevolence are for example honest and open communication, delegating decisions, and sharing control (Tomlinson & Lewicki, 2003a).

- *Integrity* refers to the degree to which the trustee adheres to principles that are acceptable to the trustor. It leads to trust based on the constancy of past actions, credibility of communication, commitment to the standards of fairness, and whether there is congruence between the words and deeds of the other party (Tomlinson & Lewicki, 2003a). "Perceptions of integrity constitute important cognitive antecedents of trust" (Williams, 2001:379).

3.7 Distrust

The failure or absence of trust points to a related phenomenon – distrust. Distrust is not only the absence of trust, but also the "active expectation that another individual's motives, intentions, and behaviours are sinister and harmful to one's own interests" (Baba, 1999:334). Several researchers have noted that the same circumstances that call for trust or contribute to the emergence of trust, also allow for the abuse of trust (Elangovan & Shapiro, 1998). Luhman, (1988) points out that distrust is not only an opposite to trust it is also a social alternative to, or equivalent of trust. One can choose to trust or distrust.

Lewicki et al. (1998) present a new theoretical framework for understanding trust and distrust. These authors argue that there is a fundamental distinction between trust and distrust, rather than the traditional notion of trust and distrust forming opposite ends of the same, unidimensional construct. They

define distrust as confident negative expectations regarding another's conduct and thus clearly distinguish between low trust and distrust. Distrust results in monitoring and defensive behaviour, cynicism, revenge and perhaps even paranoia (Kramer, 1994:204). Trust and distrust are therefore not bipolar opposites, they are linked but separate dimensions of a construct intended by the individual to attain certainty and control in order to manage the complexity of social relationships (Luhmann, 2000:94).

Trust and distrust being viewed as separate but related dimensions, allows for the co-existence of these phenomena within relationships and is referred to as ambivalence (Lewicki et al., 1998:439). Relationships involve individuals coming to know others in many contexts and situations, and they may come to trust an individual in one context, but distrust them in another (Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2002:6).

Distrust may arise due to differences in group membership: while individuals usually identify with and are emotionally involved in a positive manner with their in-groups, yet they may assign negative stereotypes to out-group members and may view them with scepticism and hostility (Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2002). Distrust can also develop directly as the result of personal experiences among individuals and it is likely to increase with the extent of the violation, number of past violations and the perception that the offender intended to commit the violation.

Tomlinson and Lewicki (2003b:1) distinguish between functional and dysfunctional distrust. Functional distrust, although patently harmful, can have potentially valuable benefits. It functions to identify potentially harmful situations and in this sense, it is an alternative mechanism of social control – it signals risk and reduces uncertainty by promoting avoidance of risk. It can prevent exploitation and a certain level of distrust is vital to excessive group

cohesion that precludes sound decision-making. Alertness to the behaviour of other individuals, periodic monitoring of behaviour and also formal contracts are all reasonable and appropriate ways to ensure agreement and maintain appropriate boundaries in a relationship.

Dysfunctional distrust can lead to adverse effects and as a mechanism of social control, has negative aspects. It is associated with a lack of cooperation, lower satisfaction and commitment, and even retribution and actively hostile behaviour. It consumes a great deal of energy, precludes or seriously impedes exploration of the environment, and may impede adaptive behaviour (Baba, 1999).

3.8 The Relevance of Culture for Interpersonal and Inter-group Trust

In an increasingly global business environment, an understanding of how national culture influences trust is crucial when competitiveness often depends on trusting relationships with diverse exchange partners. This understanding is also necessary in order for students from diverse cultural backgrounds to cooperate and achieve common objectives.

3.8.1 Definitions of Culture

A definition of culture is complex. Matsumoto as cited by Cyr (2005:27) considers culture to be characterized by the degree to which people share beliefs, attributes, values and behaviours. According to Hofstede (1991:5), culture is "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group from another" and Doney et al. (1998:623) define culture as "a system of values and norms that are shared among a group of people and that, when taken together, constitute a design for living".

Although one definition of culture is not possible, various researchers have used nation state as a loose categorization for culture (Doney et al., 1998). It is important to note, however, that the cultural boundaries between nations are becoming increasingly blurred with economic integration as well as physical proximity, and there may be significant cultural differences within countries (Fukuyama, 1995).

For the purpose of this study national culture is viewed as characteristics, values and attitudes of a large number of people conditioned by similar background, beliefs, and life experiences.

3.8.2 The Relationship between Trust formation and Culture

Although trust may form in a variety of ways, whether and how trust is established depend on the behaviour and beliefs of people, that are in turn determined by the norms and values of the society they embrace (Hofstede 1980). According to Triandis (1972) each culture's "collective programming" results in different norms and values and consequently the processes that trustors use to decide whom to trust and whether to trust may be dependent on a society's culture. Culture greatly impacts on how information is used to make decisions.

3.8.2.1 Theoretical Categorization

In order to understand how national culture is related to social psychological phenomena such as trust, researchers have attempted to identify dimensions of national culture (Cyr, 2005). Hofstede's (1984) empirically derived values approach for identifying cultural dimensions has been widely used by several researchers as the theoretical basis for studying national culture. He proposes the broad categories of individualism-collectivism, uncertainty avoidance,

power distance and femininity-masculinity. Triandis (1994:4) believes the differences between cultures in terms of individualism vs. collectivism to be most important, and the majority of research connecting the development of trust and cultural dimensions also emphasises this aspect. For the purpose of this study, only individualism-collectivism and its bearing on trust formation will be discussed.

3.8.2.2 Individualism and Collectivism

According to Hofstede's (1980:45) definition, "individualism pertains to societies in which ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family". Collectivism, on the other hand, "pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty". More recent research (Oyserman, Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2002:4) proposes that the core elements of individualism are personal uniqueness and independence, whereas duty to the in-group and maintaining harmony are the main constituents of collectivism.

Triandis (1994: 43-44) identifies four universal dimensions that form the basis for the distinction between collectivism and individualism and these characteristics may also provide insights into how the formation of trust is influenced by the cultural dimension of individualism – collectivism: In the first instance, in an individualistic society the definition of the self is independent whereas it is interdependent in collectivism. Secondly, individuals functioning in a collectivistic context closely align their individual goals and the communal goals, and these are not aligned in individualism. Thirdly, much of the social behaviour in collectivist cultures is guided by cognitions that focus on norms, obligations and duties, and in individualistic

cultures the focus is on attitudes, personal needs, rights and contracts. Finally, "an emphasis on relationships, even when disadvantageous, is common in collectivist cultures whereas the emphasis in individualist cultures is on rational analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of maintaining a relationship" (Huff & Kelley, 2003:84).

Norms and values associated with individualism / collectivism reflect the way people interact, such as the importance of individual versus group goals, the strength of interpersonal ties, respect for individual accomplishment, and tolerance of individual opinion. These norms and values are closely related to the formation of trust specifically when cognitive processes is implemented in trust-building.

3.8.2.3 Individualism / Collectivism and Formation of Trust.

The mutual relationship between cultural categorisation and cognitive trust-building processes will subsequently be discussed.

i) Calculative process:

Dasgupta (1988) and Williamson (1985) propose the formation of trust to be a calculative process. This calculation involves estimating the cost and reward of entering into a trusting relationship with another party. Calculative trust is therefore similar to "deterrence-based" trust and "calculus-based" trust. To establish trust via a calculative process, trustors must assess whether the target is trustworthy, i.e. whether the cost for the trustor of behaving opportunistically exceeds the benefits. According to Williamson (Doney et al.,1998:605), trustors base their assessment on the assumption that, given the chance, most people act opportunistically and in their own self-interest. Thus, *calculative processes* are triggered by evidence that trustees are

opportunistic and seek to maximise self-interest (cursive added). This evidence is provided by *societal norms* supporting self-serving behaviour.
Societal norms support self-serving behaviour in individualist societies. People are expected to promote their own self-interest and to attempt to maximise the gains from any opportunity that presents itself (Hofstede, 1984). Value is placed on individual initiative, achievement and wealth.

The likelihood that individuals from a collectivistic culture will engage in opportunistic behaviour is low, because people hold group values and beliefs and seek collective interests (Hofstede, 1984). Self-serving behaviour is unlikely because people are not motivated by self-interest and deterrence mechanisms, such as social sanctions for pursuing individual interests, are in place. Trustees who expect to be ostracized for acting in their own self-interest will assign high costs to opportunism.
Individuals from an individualistic culture will more likely rely on calculative processes to decide whether a trustee or a group is to be trusted.

ii) Prediction Process:

Trust based on prediction depends on one party's ability to forecast another party's behaviour. "Knowledge-based" trust is also grounded in the predictability of behaviour. In this case the trustor assumes that human behaviour is consistent and predictable and bases his or her assessment of the trustworthiness of the trustor on past actions that mirror future behaviour. *Societal norms* (e.g., norms for behavioural conformity, solidarity, and service) that restrict variance in human behaviour limit the occurrence of deviant behaviour and make it easier to predict accurately whether a trustee is trustworthy (Doney et al., 1998).

Predictable behaviour runs counter to the norms in individualist societies, where provision is made for distinctiveness and idiosyncrasy. Variance in

human behaviour is hardly restricted in these societies due to the large degree of freedom.

Norms in collectivist cultures support behavioural conformity and serve to curb behavioural variability. Since in-group members are expected to follow the group's established norms, the cost of deviant behaviour is high. The group may ostracize members who violate in-group norms.

Trustors from a collectivistic culture can more easily predict a trustee's behaviour with accuracy and are more inclined to use this as a trust building process.

iii) Intentionality Process:

This involves the trustor determining that a trustee's intentions in the relationship or exchange are benevolent. Interpretation and assessment of benevolent intentions are facilitated when two parties share values or norms that allow one party to better understand the other's objectives and goals (Braddach & Eccles, 1989).

An individualist orientation provides little evidence that a trustee will act in the trustor's best interest. Because trustees are motivated by self-interest and the pursuit of individual goals, these may be inconsistent with the trustor's goals (Earley, 1989). It is also commonly accepted that people often play adversarial roles in individualist cultures and it is accepted that some degree of conflict is natural.

In collectivist cultures, norms provide a strong indication that the trustee's motives are benevolent (Triandis et al. 1986). The predominance of group rewards and the value placed on joint efforts also suggest that trustee's will act in the interest of the trustor as well as in their own interest.

An intentionality process is more likely to be used by individuals from collectivist cultures in the formation of trust.

iv) Capability Process:

Trust in this instance is built on the trustor's assessment of the trustee's ability to meet his or her obligations as well as the ability to meet the trustor's expectations. The underlying assumption is that people differ significantly in their competence, ability or expertise. Trust is likely to form via this process in societies where people perceive a large "competence gap" and show respect for individual qualifications, expertise and accomplishment.

A key facet of individualist cultures is the focus on individuals: Societal norms support individual achievement, initiative and wealth. A person's identity e.g. is a function of personal accomplishments. Performance appraisal is based on individual achievement and "super achievers" are respected (Kale & Barnes, 1992:103). Collectivist cultures conversely attach little importance to individual achievement and wealth. The norm is for levelling and the social rewards for excellence are slight.

Capability process is therefore more likely to be used by trustors in individualistic cultures in the formation of trust.

v) Transference Process:

Trust may also develop through a transference process, during which the trustor transfers trust from a known entity to an unknown one. Zucker (1987) elaborates on this concept by expounding the notion that formal societal structures can confer trust – the example of certified public accountants is cited, in which instance they may be trusted because they are certified by a trusted agency.

For trust to be established via a transference process, trustors must be able to identify "proof" sources (a trusted source) and to establish a link between these known entities and unknown ones. The underlying assumption is that the individuals and institutions that act as proof sources are trustworthy. A transference process is therefore facilitated in cultures where faith in other people and institutions is high. A strong faith in people is characteristic of cultures where stability and confidence in others is fostered (Doney et al., 1998).

The transference of trust is inhibited in individualist societies because trustors experience difficulty in identifying "proof" sources from which to transfer trust to an unknown entity (Hofstede, 1984).

Collectivist societies facilitate a transference process. According to Kale and Barnes (1992) the fact that collectivist cultures show tight integration suggests that trust will transfer easily. Furthermore, failure of one in-group member reflects on the whole group, therefore in-group members are highly trusted and a proof source can easily be identified. The strong interpersonal ties and collective consciousness of a collectivist society suggests that trustors will judge others to be similar. When the transferring agent is an in-group member, the trustor has confidence in the transferee and this in turn results in a greater willingness to transfer trust to the target (Doney et al., 1998).

Individuals from a collectivist culture are more likely to use transference processes in their judgment of the trustworthiness of a trustee.

The underlying behavioural assumptions determine the extent to which trustors employ a particular trust-building process (e.g. calculative, prediction, intentionality, capability or transference). The tenability of these assumptions is partly dictated by societal norms, as these norms and values establish

"appropriate" beliefs and behavioural standards. Since societal norms and values tend to vary across cultures (Triandis, 1972), the choice of process may depend heavily on culture and trust is linked to broader cultural norms.

3.9 Summary

Trust is the basis of all human relationships and it is central to every area of human interaction, whether on individual, group, organizational and societal level. In a globalized and modern society where cultural boundaries do not coincide with demographical demarcations, individuals are required to function within rapidly changing societies that are based on vastly diverse value systems. Trust is the way all societies deal with a central problem of the human condition – how to span the boundary between the self and the other, the "us" and "them".

In a complex setting such as a university, students from diverse backgrounds are constantly confronted with conditions of uncertainty, diversity and change that require adjustment from the individual. A lack of interpersonal and inter-group trust may cause a break-down of relationships, resulting in a compartmentalised and fragmented society.

On an interpersonal level, trust can be defined as a belief or expectation of a person or individual (trustor) that, in a given situation (context), a specific other person or individual (trustee) will act according to the distinct expectations of the trustor (either positively or negatively). On an inter-group level, trust is established between an individual (A) who identifies with a specific group in terms of their diversity (e.g. cultural, racial, gender, age, language or other) who believes or expects that, in a given situation, a member of another group, or the group collectively (B), will act according to the specific expectations held by A (either positively or negatively).

The intrapersonal formation of trust, as well as the inter-group establishment of trust has received attention from various researchers. A consolidated model for the formation of trust proposes that trust is established in a cognitive decision-making process, taking into account the situation as well as the object of the trust and the risk involved in the act of trusting. The decision of whether to trust or not is influenced by the personality, values and emotions of the trustor (propensity to trust), as well as by the perceived trustworthiness of the trustee.

In this regard the culture of the trustor is an influencing factor. Individuals from individualist and collectivist cultures respectively, distinctly differ in their approach to trust and the establishment of trust. Individuals from an individualistic culture rely on the processes of calculation and capability to decide whether to trust, whereas individuals from collectivist cultures use prediction, intentionality and transference in entering into a trusting relationship.

CHAPTER 4

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRUST AND THE FUNCTIONING OF DIVERSE INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

4.1 Introduction

The relationship between trust in a diverse group and the behaviour of individuals and groups is inferred from the previous discussions in chapters two and three. This relationship has important implications for the behaviour of the individual and the functioning of groups and is schematically presented in figure 4.1 and will be discussed in this chapter.

Existing theory on cooperation suggests that people are more likely to cooperate with each other when they have social ties that provide a foundation for mutual trust (Jehn & Shah, 1993:786). Trust is also increasingly cited as necessary for the generation of a competitive advantage through support, cooperation and coordinated efforts (Zeffane & Connell, 2003:7).

Individuals are compelled to function in groups at some or other level, be it in a formal work setting, or in an informal social setting. For the purpose of this study groups can be seen to be composed of individuals who both see themselves and are seen by others as an interdependent social entity entrenched in a larger organisation. This also refers to diverse student groups who depend on the members of the group to achieve common goals and to attain the ideal of positive cohabitation. An important measure of the successful functioning of any group is the capacity of the group to cooperate and to perform in a way conducive to attaining their set goal.

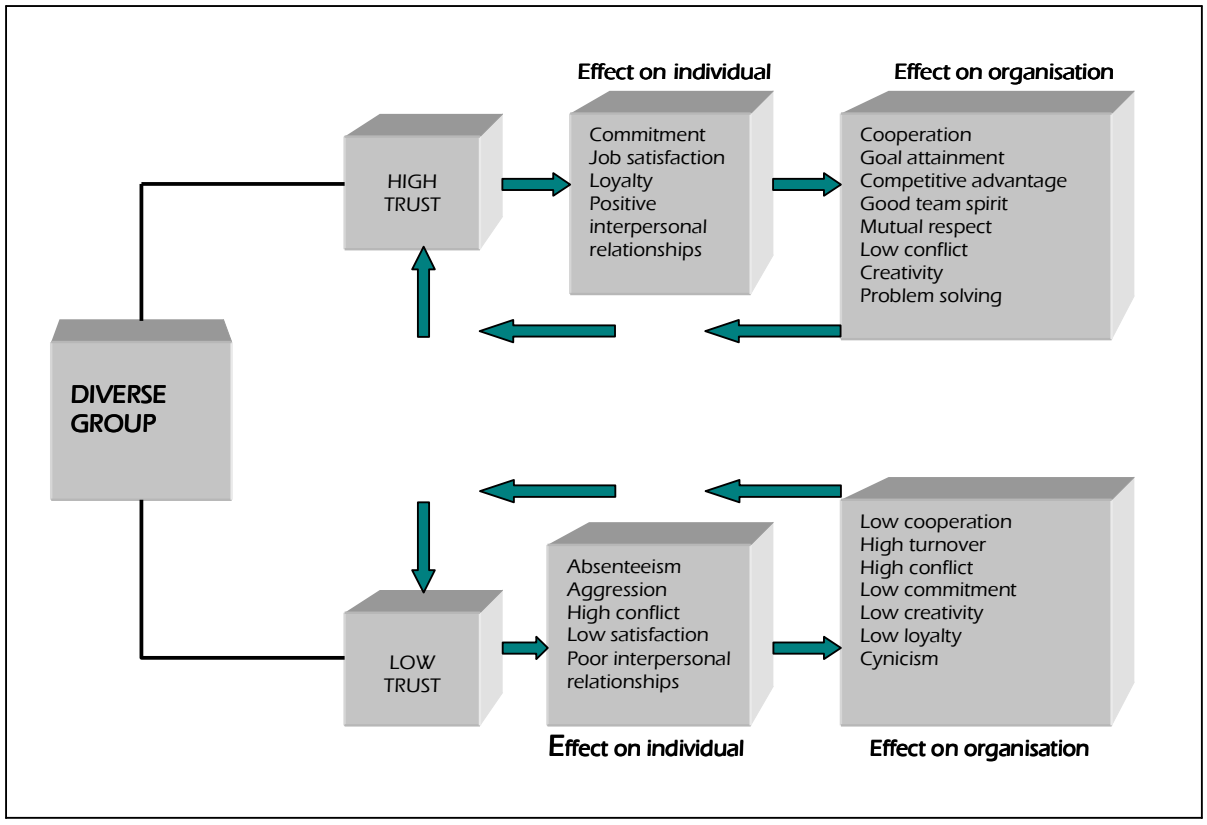

Figure 4.1: The Trust-Diversity Relationship

4.2 A Diverse Group with a high trust levels

When the trust level in the diverse group is high, it usually has a positive influence on the behaviour of the individual and the group.

4.2.1 Behavioural implications for the individual:

When the trust-level of a diverse group is high, the general commitment of the individual is usually also high. Individuals in a high trust-level group will experience more job satisfaction and have better interpersonal relationships

(Axelrod, 1984; Gambetta, 1988; Good, 1988; Mayer et al., 1995; McAllister, 1995; Young & Daniel, 2003:141). The face of organizations is changing and hierarchical structures are being replaced by flatter, more team-based forms. Authority is also decentralized to empower lower-level employees. According to Jones and George (1998) this can only lead to enhanced cooperation and, ultimately, organizational performance, if trust exists.

4.2.2 Implications for the functioning of the group

A number of researchers have argued that efficiency in organisations, which translates, amongst other aspects, into cooperation, goal attainment, team spirit, low conflict, competitive advantage, and creativity, is possible only when interdependent actors work together effectively in a climate of trust (Carnevale & Wechsler, 1992; McAllister, 1995; Robinson, 1996). According to Huff & Kelley (2003:97) organizations with high levels of trust will be more successful, adaptive and innovative.

4.3 A diverse group with a low trust levels

When the trust level in the diverse group is low, it usually has a less positive effect on the behaviour of the individual and the group.

4.3.1 Behavioural implications for the individual:

If the trust levels in the organisation or in the diverse group are low, this leads to employees becoming withdrawn, cynical, and prone to negative interpersonal relationships which may lead to aggression, conflict and general dissatisfaction with the work situation (Zeffane & Connell, 2003:4). When trust declines, people become reluctant to take risks, they become

uncooperative and "increasingly insist on costly sanctioning mechanisms to defend their interest" (Kramer & Tyler, 1996:4).

4.3.2 Implications for the functioning of the group

The absence or erosion of trust will have a negative effect on the organisation, leading to low levels of cooperation, performance and teamwork.

4.4 Trust and cooperation

According to Kiffen-Petersen & Cordery (2003:98) the only way to effective task performance and successful goal attainment is through cooperation. Work teams have become increasingly popular and research suggests that teams generally perform better than individuals when the situation requires multiple skills, judgement and varied experience. In order to function optimally, cooperation between members of the group is essential.

Cooperation is a social behaviour. When people cooperate, they act in ways that advance or potentially advance each other's interests (Milton & Westphal, 2005). Employees and individuals who have to function in diverse groups often have to cooperate across diversity boundaries, and are required to secure cooperation from individuals over whom they have no hierarchical control. In order to achieve cooperation, interdependent individuals have to rely on interpersonal and inter-group trust (Carnevale & Wechsler, 1992; McAllister, 1995).

Trust is considered to be a key precursor of cooperation (Smith et al., 1995) and research has shown that there is a circular relation between trust and cooperation (Kramer & Carnevale, 2001). Trust tends to produce cooperation

and cooperation causes further trust. If a cycle of mutual cooperation between two parties / groups is initiated and sustained, trust will develop. The trust will again prompt further cooperative acts. Studies indicate that cooperation also leads to improved interpersonal and inter-group relations (Kramer & Carnevale, 2001:442), and therefore to the valuing of diversity. This in turn facilitates trust building, and increased cooperation. (See figure 1).

According to Mc Allister (1995) affect-based or relational trust seems to be positively related to "care and concern" behaviour towards an individual. The basis for this type of trust is a mutual understanding and agreement concerning needs, desires, choices and preferences between two parties. In general, affective states are associated with the motivation to approach or avoid others and they therefore influence the motivation to trust (Lazarus, 1991). The positive affect for specific individuals may influence cooperation by having an effect on the time and energy people are willing to dedicate to mutually beneficial tasks (Williams, 2001).

In organisational settings positive affect has been associated with helping behaviour, generosity and cooperation (George & Jones, 1997). Williams (2001) proposes that affective states and attachments influence people's perceptions of trustworthiness, their willingness to display trust and their inclination towards cooperative behaviour.

4.5 Heterogeneity and Group Performance

It can be argued that interpersonal and inter-group cooperation forms the basis for positive outcomes in terms of group functioning. Dissimilarity in groups may lead to more creative solutions but it also leads to more difficulties in terms of cooperation (Triandis, Hall & Ewen, 1965). According to O'Reilly,

Caldwell and Barnett (1989) demographic diversity decreases social contacts and, therefore, reduces social integration. Highly diverse populations are expected to experience barriers to social interaction that, in turn, will lead to an increase in social differentiation. These researchers furthermore argue that differences in demographics will result in a decreased communication frequency within a group, in turn leading to diminished group cohesion and increasing relationship conflict. Relationship conflicts can be described as differences of opinion and incompatibilities among group members about personal issues that are not task-related, such as personality differences and hostility.

4.5.1 Social Category Diversity

Social category diversity refers to explicit and visible differences among group members in terms of social category membership, such as race, gender and ethnicity (Jehn, Northcraft & Neale, 1999). These characteristics provide a prominent basis for individual categorisation and are likely to influence group interactions through social identity effects. The literature on social identity (Chapter 3) suggests that the positive beliefs typically associated with similar group membership influence trust and cooperation positively (Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Kramer, 1994; Kramer & Brewer, 1984) and cooperation has been shown to increase when a common identity becomes prominent (Kramer & Brewer, 1984).

Group identification further enhances the positive affect generated by in-group membership because it promotes additional positive feelings. According to Kahn (1998:39) affective attachment to a group refers to an experience of feeling "joined, seen and felt, known, and not alone". People often interact with individuals from other groups as though those individuals were representatives of their respective groups (Kramer, 1994) and the affect

and beliefs associated with that social group influence interpersonal interactions with specific group members (Fiske, 2004).

People tend to associate positive beliefs and feelings with the groups to which they belong and categorising individuals into a similar category on an arbitrary basis has constantly led group members to prefer individuals within their own group and to see these individuals as more trustworthy, honest, and cooperative than members of other groups (Brewer, 1999). This pattern of identity confirmation among group members influences who cooperates with whom and also how well individuals subsequently perform in work groups (Milton & Westphal, 2005).

Social categorisation can cause hostility, anxiety and stereotyping (Tsui, Egan & O'Reilly, 1992) and the degree to which an individual differs from group members in visible demographic characteristics can have a profound effect on the amount of conflict that person experiences in the group (Jehn, Chadwick & Thatcher, 1997). These researchers argue that conflicts in diverse groups are often based on demographic dissimilarity (social category diversity) and value incongruence (value diversity), and are detrimental to group functioning and cooperation, thus hindering the attainment of the ideal of cooperation between dissimilar group members.

4.5.2 Value Diversity

Values are individuals' fundamental beliefs regarding the desirability of behavioural choices (Rokeach, 1973). This also leads members to perceive themselves as similar to or different from others (similarity / attraction paradigm) (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Individuals who are similar in background may share common life experiences and values and may find the that interacting with one another is easier, experience of interaction with

each other easier, positively supported or strengthened and therefore more desirable.

Harrison, Price and Bell (1998) argue that knowledge of attitudinal, belief and value similarity between individuals form the basis for continued attraction and affiliation. Diverse individuals often suspect that their preferences and values are mutually exclusive (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999) and such perceived conflicts of interest cause a decline in trust, communication and mutual helping behaviours.

4.6 Summary

According to Lau and Murnighan (1998) two discernable trends are identified in organisations: an increase in the diversity of the workforce and the increasing use of teams and groups. Society in general will also have to contend with increasing diversity and the necessity for people to cooperate in the spirit of citizenship.

Researchers in many disciplines have conducted research on the effects of diversity on group process and performance. Some researchers have argued that diversity, when properly managed, can be beneficial and can ultimately improve performance (Cox, Lobel & McLeod, 1991). Other research has shown that diversity is damaging to the formation of trust, cooperation and group functioning in general (Brewer, 1999; Guzzo et al., 1995; Messick & Mackie, 1989). Milliken and Martins (1996:403) concluded: "diversity appears to be a double-edged sword, increasing the opportunity for creativity as well as the likelihood that group members will be dissatisfied and fail to identify with the group".

Social categorisation processes and the tendency for similar people to be attracted to each other may smooth members' interactions among members of homogeneous groups (Poizer, Milton & Swann, 2002). Conversely, more diverse groups do not enjoy the advantages associated with similarity and homogeneity, but are more likely to suffer from dysfunctional inter-group biases that undermine group functioning. Self-categorisation theory and the similarity attraction hypothesis predict that diversity will undermine group members' social integration and group identification. This will increase the potential for relationship conflict (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

Colembiewski and McConkie (in Kiffen-Petersen & Cordery, 2003) observed that there might not be another single factor that influences inter-group and interpersonal behaviour as thoroughly as does trust. Effective work groups and groups in general involve having and increased level of interdependence. This emphasises the need for members to trust one another significantly. Members of a group are required to cooperate in order to achieve a common goal or to perform well and trust is an antecedent of cooperation (Kiffen-Petersen & Cordery, 2003).

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss an overview of the research methodology, including the quantitative research method that was be used for the study.

The quantitative research comprised of a survey consisting of two questionnaires that is be discussed in detail in subsequent sections of this chapter. A questionnaire designed to elicit specific biographical information was also applied in order to determine the presence of any relationship between the results obtained from the trust questionnaires and the biographical information.

5.2 Purpose

The purpose of this research was to assess the interpersonal and inter-group trust levels of a group of students at the University of Pretoria. Furthermore, it was focused on determining whether relationships exist between the diversity variables of gender, national culture, previous experience of cultural diversity in high school, and interpersonal and inter-group trust.

A secondary purpose was to determine the content validity and factor stability of the trust questionnaires for South African conditions. The content validity was found to be satisfactory, but the factor stability can be subjected to further exploration.

5.3 Research Design

The research design includes the research plan, the structure and the strategy that the researcher intends to use in order to achieve the purpose of the

study. The structure refers to the framework of the research, while the strategy refers to the methods used to gather the required information and subsequently to analyse the information.

The study comprised of two stages. Initially a comprehensive literature study on trust and cultural diversity was executed. This is required to enable the researcher to assess the applicability of the content of the questionnaires and to adjust it for the specific research conditions.

The second stage of the study entailed a survey that was conducted by means of the application of questionnaires that were designed to measure the following:

- Interpersonal trust levels between students;
- Their acceptance of others;
- Their perceived acceptance by others;
- Their trust levels towards persons from cultures other than their own.

5.4 Data Gathering

5.4.1 Practical Information

Relevant questionnaires were administered to the student groups that were identified. The groups congregated in specific locations where the questionnaires were administered and the respondents were fully informed as to the procedure and the rationale of the study.

5.4.2 Ethical Issues

The purpose of the study was explained to the respondents and they were ensured of the confidentiality of the information. The biographical information as well as the questionnaires was designed in such a way that the individual respondents cannot be identified. Each respondent was also required to complete and sign a consent form, stating the purpose of the study and acknowledging the confidentiality of the information.

5.5 Population and Sample

5.5.1 Population

The population consisted of all the first year residence students at the University of Pretoria (n = ±2 400); the students chosen in leadership positions in residences in 2005 (n=200); and the students enrolled for the second year course in Human Resource management at the University of Pretoria (n= ± 400). The total population is n= 3 000.

5.5.2 Sample

The convenience sample of ± 500 students was recruited from pre-determined university residences, using first year groups, all the students chosen in leadership positions in residences at the University of Pretoria and also non-residential students enrolled as Human Resource Management students in their second year at the U.P.

Table 5.1 Characteristics of the sample

ITEM	DESCRIPTION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
AGE	17	3	0.6
	18	28	5.6
	19	92	18.4
	20	147	29.4
	21	128	25.6
	22+	102	20.4
GENDER	MALE	199	40
	FEMALE	300	60
NATIONAL CULTURE	EUROCENTRIC	403	80.9
	AFROCENTRIC	95	19.1

FIELD OF STUDY	ECONOMICS & BUSINESS	280	56.0
	EDUCATION	22	4.4
	ENGINEERING	50	10.0
	INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY	6	1.2
	HEALTH	51	10.2
	HUMANITIES	40	8.0
	LAW	18	3.6
	NAT & AGRIC. SCIENCE	23	4.6
	THEOLOGY	2	0.4
	VETERINARY SCIENCE	8	1.6
YEAR OF STUDY	1	60	12.0
	2	247	49.4
	3	134	26.8
	4	47	9.4
	5	8	1.6
	6	3	0.6
HOME ENVIRONMENT	URBAN	392	78.4
	RURAL	106	21.2
CULTURALLY MIXED SCHOOL	YES	385	77.0
	NO	113	22.7
LANGUAGE	AFRIKAANS	290	58.0
	ENGLISH	103	20.6
	AFRUCAN LANGUAGE	95	19.0
	OTHER	10	2.0

5.5.3 Characteristics of the Sample

From Table 5.1 it is apparent that the largest number of participants in the study was in the age group of 20 to 22 years. The reason for this is that the second year Human Resource management students were used as a group and their average age is 20 years. This also accounts for the large number of

students indicating Economics and Business Management as their field of study.

In terms of gender, the females in the sample constituted 60% as opposed to the males (39.9%). One of the groups in the residences was a female group and this accounts for the predominance of females in the sample. A current trend at the University of Pretoria is that more females than males tend to enrol for the course in Human Resource Management and this influenced the sample in terms of gender.

The demographics of the University of Pretoria reflect 40% black students and 60% white students (verbal account, Ms. A. de Bruyn, 2007). The sample reflects this distribution. Part of the sample was recruited from students in management positions on committees in university residences. Because of the fact that the University of Pretoria is historically a white university and has only been actively interracial for the last 13 years, the Eurocentric culture is still perpetuated in the management structures of residences and fewer black students participated on committees during selection of the sample.

78% of the sample indicated that they came from an urban as opposed to a rural home background, and 77% was in a culturally mixed school. This probably reflects the demographics of the country in terms of individuals attending a tertiary educational facility at present.

The Afrikaans speaking group is the largest (58%), possibly because the University of Pretoria is traditionally and Afrikaans institution. English- and African language speaking groups of the sample are similar in size (20.6% and 19.0% respectively). The 2% of the sample indicating a different home language will possibly be either Indian or Asian, and will use English as their language of choice at the University.

5.6 Measuring Instruments

Three questionnaires were initially identified for measuring the interpersonal and inter-group trust levels of the sample. The Interpersonal Trust Scale developed by Rotter (1976) was included based on the fact that the scale is generally used in the assessment of interpersonal and inter-group trust levels. The statistical analysis of the results obtained from this questionnaire was unsatisfactory and is therefore excluded from the final report. A possible explanation for the unsatisfactory performance of the questionnaire is that it was originally designed to measure the propensity of an individual to trust on an interpersonal and inter-group level. Propensity to trust is thus viewed as a personality trait. Following this line of reasoning, it is unlikely that the diversity variables included in this study would have any effect on the propensity to trust.

The Trust Orientation Profile questionnaire from Pheiffer & Company Library 12. Inventories (1994) was selected as it is widely used to assess inter-group trust levels. The items included in the questionnaire lend themselves to application on a number of different groups, thus being well suited to the present study.

The Acceptance of Others / Acceptability to Others Questionnaire by Fey (1955) was included in the study to assess the interpersonal trust levels of individuals. It was intended as a control measure and to corroborate the results of the other questionnaires.

The Trust Orientation Profile and Acceptance of Others / Acceptability to Others Questionnaire will subsequently be discussed. For the purpose of this report the latter questionnaire will be referred to as the "Acceptance of Others Questionnaire".

5.6.1 Trust-Orientation Profile questionnaire

The Trust Orientation Profile was compiled by M.R. Chartier and it is published in the Pfeiffer & Company Library 12 Inventories of 1998. The questionnaire is generally used as a survey of the trust climate in interpersonal relationships and as a survey of the trust climate within a team, group or organization (Chartier, 1998:183).

The items of the questionnaire are grouped into 12 dimensions that indicate trust or mistrust as opposites. The following dimensions were identified:

- Open versus closed;
- Supportive versus controlling;
- Willing to risk versus unwilling to risk;
- Respectful versus disrespectful;
- Genuine versus hypocritical;
- Cooperative versus competitive;
- Mutual versus superior;
- Problem centered versus solution minded;
- Accepting and warm versus rejecting and cold;
- Dependable versus capricious;
- Expert versus inept;
- Accountable versus unaccountable.

The Trust-Orientation Profile contains 24 items, each consisting of two statements. Respondents are required to distribute 5 points between the two offered alternatives (A) and (B) e.g. 4-1, 3-2.

5.6.1.1 Validity and Reliability

The questionnaire was adapted for the specific purpose of the study and circumstances, to indicate the trust-levels between respondents representing different categories of diversity.

No reliability data is available on the Trust Orientation Profile, but the test is reported to have face validity (Chartier, 1998:203).

Cronbach coefficient Alpha was calculated to determine the reliability of the scales of the Trust Orientation Profile.

5.6.2 Acceptance of Others Questionnaire

The questionnaire was compiled by Fey in 1955 and was published and discussed in The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1955, vol. 50:274-276. It is intended to test the relationship between three separate variables: feelings of self-acceptance, acceptance of others, and feelings of acceptability to others.

According to Fey (Wrightsman, 1991:410) the rationale behind the questionnaire is that individuals with high self-acceptance scores tend also to accept others, to feel accepted by others. Individuals with high acceptance-of-others scores tend to feel accepted by others. This in turn indicates an openness to engage in interpersonal relationships and to trust others.

This questionnaire consists of 25 attitude statements, possible responses ranging from almost always (5) to very rarely (1). The first 20 statements concern the acceptance of others, while the last five statements concern the acceptance to others. Scale scores thus range from 20 (low acceptance of others) to 100 (high acceptance). The mean score as reported by Fey was 75.5 (SD=8.4) Some of the items are indicated in the scale as a "reversed item", where the response of "almost always" is then scored as (1) instead of (5) and vice versa.

5.6.2.1 Validity and Reliability

No validity data on the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire could be traced. Split-half reliability for the acceptance of others scale was 0.90 (and for estimated acceptability to 0.89).

Cronbach coefficient Alpha was calculated to determine the reliability of the scales of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire.

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5.7 Statistical Methods

The data gathered with the survey were analysed using the following statistical methods: descriptive statistics and analysis of variance. Because a relatively large sample was used in this study and the distribution was satisfactory it was possible to apply parametric statistics.

The following statistical methods were applied:

5.7.1 Factor analysis

Factor analysis is used to discover patterns among the variations in values of several variables and it is also useful in assessing whether given instruments measure substantive constructs (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). The patterns emerge when through the generation of artificial dimensions; groups or clusters that are termed factors, that correlate highly with the real variables and that are also independent of one another.

In this study, Principal Factor Analysis (PFA) was used and the rotation methods were Promax and Varimax with Kaiser normalisation. This allows for seeking the least number of factors that can account for the common variance in a set of variables. Factor analysis was thus conducted to determine the clustering of factors as they were measured by the different questionnaires. Irrelevant items were then omitted.

5.7.2 The Cronbach-Alpha test for internal item consistency.

"The reliability of a scale indicates how free it is from random error" (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). In the case of internal consistency it represents the degree to which the scale items measure the same underlying attribute. The most

commonly used statistic for measuring internal consistency is Cronbach's coefficient alpha. This statistic provides an indication of the average correlation among all of the items that make up the scale. A minimum level of 0.7 is recommended.

Although the reliability for the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire has been determined (refer discussion of measuring instruments), it was considered necessary to determine the reliability of both the questionnaires for the South African population.

5.7.3 Distribution statistics

Distribution statistics were applied to determine the characteristics of the distribution of the scores of the sample. This included calculation of averages, mean scores, variance, standard deviation, skewness, and kurtosis.

Information on the distribution of the respondents' scores on continuous variables is provided by skewness and kurtosis.

The skewness value provides an indication of the shape of the distribution. If the distribution is normal, the skweness value will be zero. Positive skewness values indicate scores clustered to the left (low values) and negative skewness values indicate scores clustered to the right hand side of the graph (high values).

Kurtosis provides information about the "peakedness" of the distribution (Pallant, 2005:51). Positive kurtosis values indicate that the distribution is clustered in the centre with long thin tails. Kurtosis values below zero indicate a flat distribution with too many cases in the extreme.

5.7.4 Analysis of Variance

Two four-way MANOVAs and ANOVAs were used to assess the main effects of the diversity variables (independent) on the dependent variable of interpersonal and inter-group trust. The variables included in the test are:

- Gender
- National Culture
- School Background
- Home Environment

5.7.5 Effect size

Calculation of effect size or practical significance was done in cases where statistical significance was found. The challenge of statistical significance is strongly recommended by the American Psychological Association (APA manual, 1994).

5.8 Summary

In this chapter the research design including the structure and the plan for the research was discussed. The characteristics of the sample selected from the described population on which this study focused was also described in detail.

Relevant statistical applications involved in the processing of the results obtained from the questionnaires were discussed.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

The results obtained by applying the methods described in Chapter five will be presented in this chapter. These results will also be discussed in terms of the research objectives stated in Chapter one.

The sequence in which the results will be presented and discussed is as follows:

- Factor analysis that was used to determine groupings or constructs measured by the questionnaires.
- Cronbach-Alpha to determine the reliability of the questionnaires.
- Characteristics of the distribution (standard deviation, skewness and kurtosis).
- The trust levels as determined by the mean scores of the questionnaires.
- Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) that was used to explore the relationship between the diversity variables of the respondents and their trust levels.
- Analysis of variance (ANOVA) that was used to measure any statistically significant differences between the mean trust scores of the different subgroups in the sample (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

6.2 Statistical Analysis

6.2.1 Introduction

Descriptive, associational and comparative statistics were used to analyse the data. The SPSS for Windows Statistical Package, release 13 was applied for all statistical procedures. Descriptive statistics were included in order to condense and summarize the data, as well as to describe the characteristics of the sample (see 5.5.2).

In this section the psychometric properties of the measuring instruments used in this study are also described. The internal consistency of the two questionnaires (the Trust Orientation Profile and the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire) was assessed by calculating the Cronbach alpha coefficient for the data of the different samples. Levene's test of homogeneity was administered to test for the assumption of equality of variance across groups. MANOVAs and ANOVAs were used to uncover any possible relationships between the biographical characteristics (independent variables) and the interpersonal and inter-group trust levels of the respondents. In cases where statistical significance was established, the practical significance of differences was challenged as suggested by Cohen (1988). The results are subsequently presented.

6.2.2 Trust Orientation Profile

6.2.2.1. Principal Factor Analysis of the Trust Orientation Profile

The items of the Trust Orientation Profile (TOP) were subjected to Principal Factor Analysis (PFA) using SPSS version 13. Prior to performing PFA the

suitability of the data for factor analysis was assessed. The number of subjects (500) was larger than twenty times the number of variables. The ratio of the sample size to the number of items, 20 to 1, met the established guidelines and the terms of Lawley and Maxwell's (1971) "significant rule" which requires 51 more cases than the number of variables to support chi-square testing (Vermeulen & Mitchell, 2007).

The Kaiser-Meyer-Oklin value for this questionnaire was 0.841, exceeding the recommended value of 0.6 (Pallant, 2005:174). The Bartlett's test of spherity reached statistical significance (p<.001) thus supporting the factorability of the correlation matrix (Pallant, 2005:174).

To explore and examine the internal structure and factor validity of the Trust Orientation Profile, principal axis factoring was used. The inter-correlation matrix of the 24 items was then rotated by means of the promax rotation with Kaiser Normalization to identify the substuctures in the data matrix. The factorial structure as represented by a scree plot is presented in Figure 6.1.

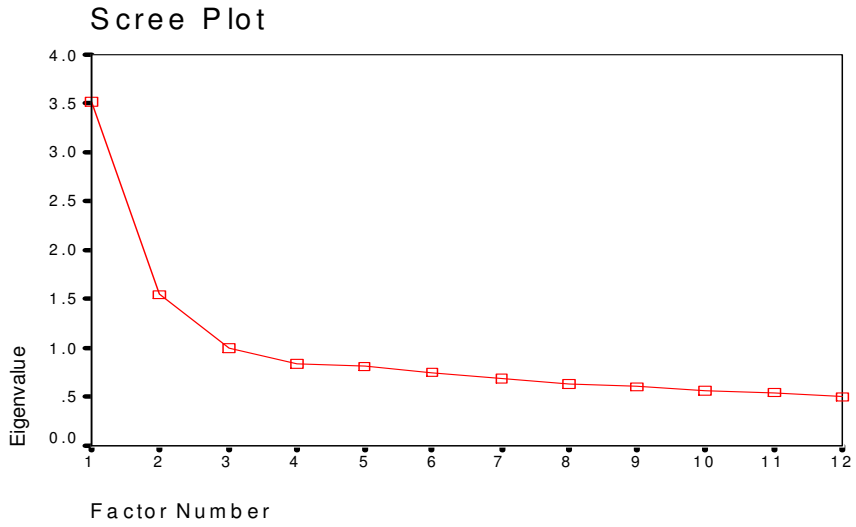

Figure 6.1 Scree plot - Trust Orientation Profile

Principal Factor Analysis revealed the presence of three components with eigenvalues exceeding one, explaining 29.3 per cent, 12.8 per cent and 8.4 per cent of the variance respectively. According to Cattell's scree test, all factors after the one starting the elbow in the downward curve of the eigenvalues can be omitted. An inspection of the scree plot revealed a break after the third component and all three components showed a number of strong loadings. The three-component solution explained 50.5% of the total variance of the data.

As can be seen from Table 6.1, the factor analysis conducted on the Trust Orientation Profile confirms the existence of three separate dimensions included in the scale.

The factor pattern matrix for the Trust Orientation Profile scale is presented in Table 6.1

Table 6.1 Rotated Factor Matrix for the Trust Orientation Profile

Dimension	Factor		
	1	2	3
Open-minded about problems	**.625**	-.020	.031
Mutual regard (vs. superiority)	**.608**	.143	.009
Supportive	**.590**	-.228	-.002
Respectful	**.490**	.096	.060
Genuine	**.468**	.033	.037
Willing to risk	-.259	**.654**	.140
Cooperative	.082	**.652**	-.082
Open (vs. closed)	.037	**.502**	.045
Dependable	.299	**.355**	-.127
Expert (vs. inept)	-.020	-.048	**.645**
Accountable	.099	.040	**.546**
Accepting and warm	.093	.180	**.314**

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.
a Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

Questions 16, 22, 10, 14, 4, 24, 6, 20, 8 and 12 loaded on factor 1 in the rotated factor matrix. These questions can be grouped together as items referring to a subject's *inter-personal attitude*. This includes attitude towards problem-solving, where collaborative work is required to define problems, explore alternatives and arrive at solutions; attitudes towards mutual regard, where individuals express a desire for two-way communication, power-sharing, and reciprocal appreciation; attitudes towards support, where individuals seek to be encouraging, understanding and reassuring; a respectful attitude that conveys appreciation for the contribution of other individuals; and an attitude of integrity and genuineness.

Questions 5, 11, 9, 13, 3, 7, 2 and 18 loaded on factor 2, in the rotated factor matrix, referred to for the purpose of this study as *behaviorally focused*. This refers to behaviours of openness, cooperation, dependability and willingness to risk.

Questions 1, 19, 15, 21, 17, and 23 loaded on factor three, referred to as *trustworthiness*. This includes conveying an image of dependability, warmth and competence.

The correlations between the dimensions of the Trust Orientation Profile scale are presented in Table 6.2

Table 6.2 Inter-correlation Matrix of the three factors of the Trust Orientation Profile.

Factor	1	2	3
1. Interpersonal Attitude	1.000	.460	.417
2 Trusting behaviour	.460	1.000	.633
3 Trustworthiness	.417	.633	1.000

The three components are quite strongly inter-correlated and the strength of the correlation ($r \geq 0.4$) indicates that the three factors are closely related in measuring the construct of trust. Due to the high inter-correlation between the three factors, all the applicable items were also retained as a summated scale for measuring trust.

6.2.2.2 Item statistics for the factors of the Trust Orientation Profile

An item-total correlation analysis was conducted in order to determine the individual item-to-overall scale correlation and the frequency distribution of the responses on the Trust Orientation Profile scales respectively. Item-total correlations of between 0.303 and 0.508 were found, indicating that the items are acceptable and related to the construct of trust. DeVellis (2003) views an item with an item-total correlation of less than 0.20 as generally not acceptable.

The item statistics for the Trust Orientation Profile are provided in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Item statistics for the three factors of the Trust Orientation Profile

Dimension	Mean	Standard deviation	N	Item-total correlation	Alpha if item deleted
Interpersonal Attitude (Factor 1)					
Open-mindedness	12.0860	4.50902	500	0.508	0.630
Mutual regard	13.2880	3.98055	500	0.537	0.619
Supportiveness	11.3260	3.70556	500	0.377	0.683
Respectfulness	12.6800	4.39956	500	0.455	0.654
Genuineness/ integrity	13.6960	3.86490	500	0.414	0.670

Trusting behaviour (Factor 2)					
Willingness to risk	9.5500	4.20701	500	0.424	0.541
Cooperative behaviour	14.1060	3.54908	500	0.477	0.510
Openness	14.2280	4.29008	500	0.428	0.538
Dependability	11.7520	3.74788	500	0.303	0.624
Trustworthiness (Factor 3)					
Competence (expert)	12.6780	3.53827	500	0.410	0.442
Accountability	12.1600	3.65701	500	0.404	0.448
Acceptance	12.0320	3.65701	500	0.346	0.533
Summated Trust	68.7910	12.49518	500		

6.2.2.3 Reliability of the Trust Orientation Profile.

In this study the reliability of the Trust Orientation Profile scale was determined by making use of the Cronbach Alpha coefficient for internal consistency. Alpha is a sound measure of error variance and it can be used to confirm the internal consistency of a scale (Vermeulen & Mitchell, 2007:14). In this regard Pallant (2005:92) states that a Cronbach Alpha of 0.7 and higher is required for the scale to be considered reliable. Nunnaly (1978:261) however states that a Cronbach Alpha of between 0.5 and 0.6 is satisfactory for research purposes.

A summary of the Cronbach Alpha coefficient obtained for the Trust Orientation Profile Scale can be seen in Table 6.4.

From Table 6.4 it is observed that factor 1 of the Trust Orientation Profile Scale has satisfactory internal consistency, with a Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 0.7. Factor 1 includes the trust characteristics of open-mindedness, mutuality (equality), supportiveness, respect and genuineness. Factors 2 and 3 with

calculated Cronbach Alpha coefficients of 0.62 and 0.60 respectively do not meet the minimum requirement as stipulated by Pallant (2005:92), but are satisfactory for research purposes according to Nunnaly (1978:261).

Table 6.4 Descriptive statistics and reliability of the Trust Orientation Profile

Factors	N	Mean	SD	Skewness		Kurtosis		r (Mean)	Alpha
				Statistic	SE	Statistic	SE		
Interpersonal Attitude	500	63.0760	13.84954	-.162	.109	.430	.218	.458	0.701
Trusting Behaviour	500	49.6360	10.86737	-.125	.109	-.065	.218	.408	0.620
Trustworthiness	500	36.8700	8.21389	.038	.109	.248	.218	.387	0.600
Summated Trust	500	68.7910	12.76875	.274	.109	.478	.218		

The average mean correlations between the items of each scale were also calculated to examine the internal consistency and unidimensionality of the factors of the Trust Orientation Profile.

According to Clark and Watson (1995:316) the mean inter-item correlation [r (Mean)] should be between 0.15 and 0.5 in order to be considered a reliable and valid contributor to the instrument. The mean inter-item correlations of the Trust Orientation Profile were 0.458, 0.408 and 0.387 respectively, indicating that the items included in the questionnaire cluster around the inter-correlation mean value (0.423). The items meet the requirements of internal consistency and unidimensionality and can be considered to be representative of the specific dimensions that they are intended to assess.

In addition the mean, standard deviation, skewness, kurtosis, and mean inter-item correlation were calculated for the sample scores on the three factors of the Trust Orientation Profile. The results are also presented in Table 6.4

The skewness and kurtosis measures are less than 2,5 times their standard error (Morgan & Griego, 1989) therefore the assumption of normality is not violated and the results furthermore confirm that the Trust Orientation Profile has acceptable psychometric properties.

6.2.2.4 Summary

From the inspection of the data obtained from the Trust Orientation Profile it was determined that it was suitable for factor analysis. Principal axis factoring revealed the presence of three components with eigenvalues exceeding one. These components can be termed interpersonal attitude, trusting behaviour and trustworthiness. The components were furthermore found to be strongly correlated indicating that they contribute to the measurement of trust. The item-total correlation was satisfactory (r>0.3) showing that the items measure the same construct as the scale.

The reliability of the Trust Orientation Profile was found to be satisfactory for research purposes. The mean Inter-item correlations indicated that the items all meet the requirements of unidemsionality and can therefore be considered to be representative of the dimensions they are intended to assess.

The results of the skewness and kurtosis measures confirmed that the responses of the research group / sample are normally distributed. In general the psychometric properties of this questionnaire are acceptable but not outstanding.

6.2.3 Acceptance of Others Questionnaire

6.2.3.1 Factor Analysis of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire

The items of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire were subjected to Principal Factor Analysis (PFA) using the SPSS version 13. Prior to performing

PFA the suitability of the data for factor analysis was assessed. The sample size was twenty times the number of items (500:25). Lawley and Maxwell's "significant rule" requires 51 more cases than the number of variables in order to support chi-square testing, a requirement that was satisfied in this case (Vermeulen & Mitchell, 2007:15). The Kaiser-Meyer-Oklin value for this questionnaire was 0.77, exceeding the recommended value of 0.6 and the Bartlett's test of sphericity reached statistical significance (p<.001) thus supporting the factorability of the correlation matrix.

Principal factor analysis revealed the presence of eight factors with eigenvalues exceeding one, explaining 53.4 per cent of the variance in the factor space of the data (Table 6.5). An inspection of the screeplot revealed a break after the eighth factor. It was therefore decided to retain eight factors for further investigation. The scree plot obtained for the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire is presented in Figure 6.3.

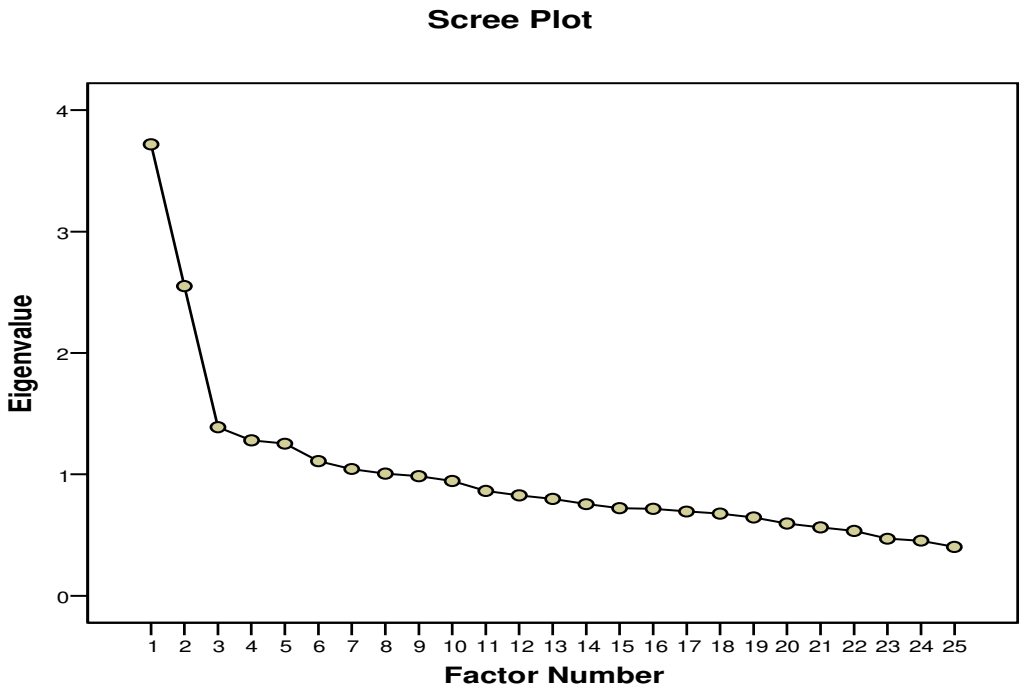

Figure 6.2 Scree Plot for the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire.

Table 6.5 Rotated Factor Matrix of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire

Item	Factor							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
24 People seem to like me	**.664**	-.021	.003	.192	.048	.039	.017	.097
23 My opinion seems to be respected	**.655**	-.051	.046	.102	.196	-.099	.027	.124
25 Most people seem to understand how I feel about things	**.632**	.023	.092	.214	.072	.124	-.069	-.030
9 People are too self-centered	-.064	**.647**	.214	.051	-.035	-.130	.083	-.011
10 People are always dissatisfied	-.105	**.443**	.179	.140	.061	.076	.049	-.021
3 People these days have pretty low moral standards	-.052	**.404**	.127	.141	.079	.154	.159	.033
20 Average person not satisfied with himself	.031	**.319**	.111	-.126	.296	.135	-.087	-.195
1 People are too easily led	.069	**.304**	.066	-.165	.054	.074	.034	.060
17 People are stubborn and unreasonable	.115	.287	.137	.203	.233	-.139	.081	.265
8 If you start doing favours for people they will walk all over you	.110	.267	**.554**	.004	.145	-.019	-.022	.085
7 People get ahead by using "pull"	-.010	.149	**.516**	-.018	.072	.033	.014	.036
6 All people talk about these days is movies, TV, and rubbish like that	.053	.099	**.484**	.001	.038	.064	.192	.045
5 I can be comfortable with nearly all kinds of people	.327	.058	-.009	**.470**	.078	.085	.032	-.005
16 I enjoy going with a crowd	.134	.008	.074	**.415**	-.063	.393	-.018	.073
18 I enjoy being with people with different values from mine	-.001	.101	-.038	**.352**	.114	.017	-.066	.026
2 I like people I get to know	.151	.001	.026	**.329**	-.004	-.059	.018	-.020
19 Everybody tries to be nice	.100	-.013	.004	.280	.078	.009	.015	.112
21 People are quite critical of me	.153	.103	.124	.104	**.457**	.039	-.040	.079
22 I feel left out	.305	-.054	.116	.242	**.439**	-.050	.119	.020
11 With many people you don't know where you stand	.130	.399	.001	.121	**.406**	.103	.067	.129
15 I wish people would be more honest with a person	-.162	.085	.159	.038	.250	.144	.121	-.210
14 I enjoy myself most when I'm Alone	.167	.004	.068	.196	.099	**.409**	.012	.197
13 People really need a strong smart Leader	-.099	.139	.015	-.165	.043	**.394**	.041	-.115
4 Most people are smug about themselves, they never really face their bad points	-.002	.241	.176	-.055	.032	.034	**.680**	.057
12 You probably have to hurt someone to make something of yourself	.105	.096	.306	.112	.082	.106	.079	**.503**

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a Rotation converged in 19 iterations.

In order to counter the possible effects of differential item skewness and the creation of artefacts (Schepers, 1992), and to contribute to the interpretation of these eight factors, a second level factor analysis was conducted. Varimax Rotation with Kaiser normalization was executed. In accordance with Kaiser's criteria (eigenvalues larger than one), two factors were postulated.

The scree plot confirmed the presence of two distinct factors that merit further investigation. Factor 1 explains 36.87 percent of the variance and factor 2 accounts for 24.6 per cent of the variance. Cumulatively these two factors account for 61.47 per cent of the variance.

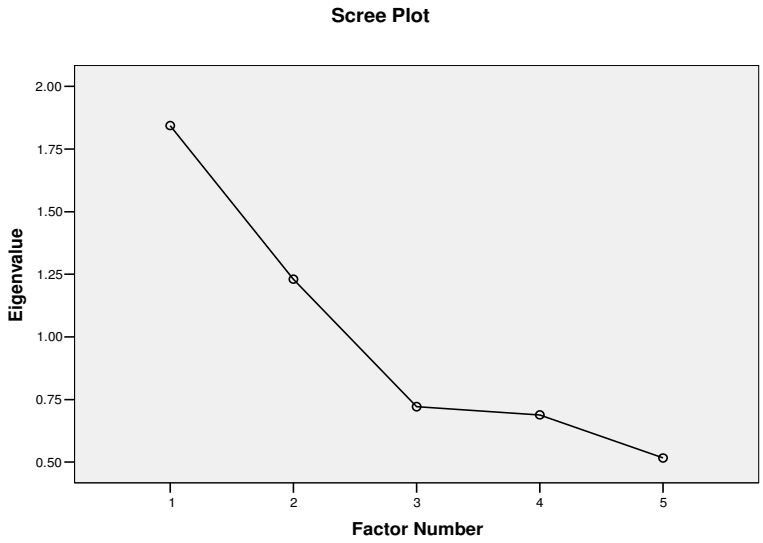

Figure 6.4 Scree Plot of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire second rotation

The rotated factor matrix obtained from this analysis is presented in Table 6.6. As is evident from Table 6.6, the majority of items loaded onto specific factors that can be identified as definite dimensions.

Table 6.6 Rotated Factor Matrix of the second level Factor Analysis of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire

Items	Factor	
	1	2
23+24+25	**.750**	.000
11+21+22	**.485**	.352
2+5+16+18	**.461**	.078
1+3+9+10+20	-.003	**.771**
6+7+8	.136	**.452**

.

Items 23, 24 and 25 have the highest loading on factor 1 and can therefore possibly identify the nature of the underlying latent variable (Pallant, 2005:187), in this case, perceived respect and trust from other people (trust). In the case of factor 2, items 1, 3, 9, 10 and 20 have the highest loading and represent the latent variable of disillusionment (distrust).

6.2.3.2 Item statistics for the two factors of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire.

Table 6.7 presents the inter-scale (factor) correlations between the two factors of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire.

Table 6.7 Inter-correlations of the two factors of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire

Factor	1	2
Trust	1.000	
Distrust		.198

The strength of the relationship between the two factors is quite low, (r=0.198; p <0.5), suggesting that the two factors must be treated as unrelated scales (Pallant, 2005:189). These results support the use of the positive trust items and the negative distrust items as separate scales and not as direct opposites of the same construct.

6.2.3.3 Reliability of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire

The reliability of the dimensions included in the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire was determined by means of calculating the Cronbach Alpha coefficients for each of the factors. The Alpha measure for the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire was 0.69, which is sufficient for research purposes although it does not reach the ideal value of 0.70. The summarised results of the Cronbach Alpha coefficients obtained for the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire are presented in Tables 6.8 and 6.9.

Table 6.8 Item statistics for the two factors of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire

Dimension	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Item-total correlation	Alpha if item deleted
Trust (F1)					
2. I like people I get to know	4.1703	.74785	499	.226	.682
5. I am comfortable with all kinds of people.	3.8537	1.08691	499	.453	.642
11. With many people you don't know where you stand	2.6353	1.08626	499	.294	.673
16. I enjoy a crowd	3.5852	1.22649	499	.273	.681
18. I enjoy people with different values to Mine	3.0209	1.17862	499	.213	.692
21. People are quite critical of me	3.2184	.99112	499	.302	.671
22. I feel left out	3.8617	1.06558	499	.406	.652
23. People seem to respect my opinion	3.8577	.82493	499	.452	.649

24. People seem to like me	3.9319	1.06715	499	.465	.649
25. Most people seem to understand how I Feel	3.5852	1.06715	499	.469	.639
Distrust (F2)					
1. People are too easily led	2.2986	.91672	499	.225	.638
3. People these days have low moral standards	2.4168	.93922	499	.331	.612
6. All people talk about these days is movies, TV, and rubbish like that.	2.8257	1.19220	499	.312	.622
7. People get ahead by using 'pull'	2.5291	.89435	499	.353	.607
8. If you do favours for people, they will walk all over you	2.6293	1.09619	499	.429	.583
9. People are too self-centered	2.3347	.89746	499	.428	.589
10. People are always dissatisfied	2.0401	.91309	499	.360	.605
20. Average person is not very satisfied with Himself	2.3988	.95021	499	.264	.629

An item-total analysis was also conducted to determine the individual item-to –overall scale correlation and the frequency distribution of the responses on the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire. The range of these correlations was from 0.213 to 0.469 for trust and between 0.225 and 0.429 for distrust (see Table 6.8) An item-total correlation of below 0.20 ($r<0.20$) is generally not considered acceptable (DeVellis 2003).

The mean inter-item correlations [r (mean)] of the two factors also satisfied the guidelines of between 0.15 and 0.5 as set by Clark and Watson (1995:316). The mean inter-item correlations of 0.355 and 0.338 also cluster narrowly around the average item-scale correlation of 0.322 (refer to Table 6.9). Due to the internal consistency, the 10 items of factor 1 and the 8 items of factor 2 were retained to measure the level of interpersonal trust and distrust of the respondents.

The mean, standard deviation, skewness, kurtosis and coefficient alpha were also calculated for the sample scores on the two factors of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire. The results are presented in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9 Descriptive statistics and reliability of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire.

Factors	N	Mean	SD	Skewness		Kurtosis		r (mean)	Alpha
				Statistic	SE	Statistic	SE		
Trust	499	35.7194	5.20363	-.311	.109	.069	.218	.355	0.690
Distrust	499	19.4729	4.19035	.294	.109	.233	.218	.338	0.643

The scores on both the factors of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire were found to be approximately evenly distributed. The skewness and kurtosis measures are less than 2.5 times their standard error and the assumption of normality can be made according to Morgan and Griego (1998).

6.2.3.4 Summary

From the inspection of the data obtained from the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire it was determined that it was suitable for factor analysis. Principal axis factoring revealed the presence of eight components with eigenvalues exceeding one. A second level factor analysis yielded two strong factors explaining 61.47 per cent of the variance. These factors can be termed trust and distrust. The inter-correlation of the two factors was found to be relatively low ($r<0.3$) indicating that these factors can be treated as two separate scales and not opposites of the same construct.

The reliability of the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire was found to be satisfactory for research purposes. The mean inter-item correlations met the set guidelines and due to internal consistency the two factors could be retained to measure the trust levels of the respondents.

The results of the skewness and kurtosis measures confirmed that the distribution of the scores on the Trust Orientation Profile and the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire displayed acceptable properties to satisfy the preconditions for continuing with parametric statistical analysis, i.e. MANOVA and ANOVA.

6.2 Analysis of Variance

Two four-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVAs) and associated ANOVAs were conducted in order to explore whether the independent variables of gender, national culture, school environment and Home environmenta are related to the respondents' trust levels as measured with the Trust Orientation Profile and the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire. To adjust for unequal numbers of scores (unequal *n*) the Type 1 method was used to calculate the sum of squares for each effect (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The means and standard deviations for both tests were calculated across all biographical subgroups. The results are presented in Tables 6.10 and 6.11.

Table 6.10 Means and standard deviations of the trust scores on the Trust Orientation Profile across the biographical subgroups.

Dependent variable	Group	N	Mean	Std deviation
Trust Factors				
Interpersonal Attitude	**Gender**			
	Male	199	59.643	12.595
	Female	300	65.307	14.195
	National Culture			
	Eurocentric	403	63.238	13.565
	Afro-centric	95	62.537	15.038
	School environment			
	Cultural mix	385	63.418	13.955
	No cultural mix	113	61.805	13.575
	Home environment			
	Urban	391	63.468	13.938
	Rural	106	61.896	13.592
Trusting Behaviour	**Gender**			
	Male	199	47.884	10.396
	Female	300	50.810	11.048
	National Culture			
	Eurocentric	403	49.608	11.187
	Afro-centric	95	49.684	9.508
	School environment			
	Cultural mix	385	50.018	10.558
	No cultural mix	113	48.115	11.760
	Home environment			
	Urban	391	50.040	10.824
	Rural	106	48.207	10.906
Trustworthiness	**Gender**			
	Male	199	34.870	7.893
	Female	300	38.243	8.133
	National Culture			
	Eurocentric	403	36.414	8.296
	Afro-centric	95	38.736	7.680
	School environment			
	Cultural mix	385	37.371	7.921
	No cultural mix	113	35.177	9.037
	Home environment			
	Urban	391	37.363	7.981
	Rural	106	34.971	8.867

Dependent variable	Group	N	Mean	Std deviation
Summated Trust	**Gender**			
	Male	199	65.199	11.398
	Female	300	71.180	13.105
	National Culture			
	Eurocentric	403	68.630	13.021
	Afro-centric	95	69.479	11.760
	School background			
	Cultural mix	385	69.404	12.352
	No cultural mix	113	66.549	13.984
	Home environment			
	Urban	391	69.436	12.785
	Rural	106	66.537	12.660

Table 6.11 Means and standard deviations of the trust scores on the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire across the biographical subgroups.

Dependent variable	Group	N	Mean	Std deviation
Trust	**Gender**			
	Male	198	35.202	5.054
	Female	300	36.086	5.269
	National Culture			
	Eurocentric	402	36.054	5.105
	Afro-centric	95	34.368	5.450
	School background			
	Cultural mix	384	35.836	5.222
	No cultural mix	113	35.390	5.169
	Home environment			
	Urban	390	35.867	5.109
	Rural	106	35.217	5.510
Mistrust	**Gender**			
	Male	198	19.833	4.492
	Female	300	19.230	3.974
	National Culture			
	Eurocentric	402	19.519	4.098
	Afro-centric	95	18.789	4.515
	School background			
	Cultural mix	384	19.520	4.173
	No cultural mix	113	19.248	4.252
	Home environment			
	Urban	390	19.584	4.218
	Rural	106	19.132	4.005

Two four-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVAs) were performed in order to ascertain whether there are statistically significant differences between the vectors of the means of the subgroups of the sample in respect of gender, national culture, school background and home environment as far as the trust scores are concerned. Tables 6.12 and 6.13 provide a summarised comparison of the vectors of the mean scores of the biographical subgroups, using Hotelling's Trace statistics.

From Table 6.12 it is apparent that there was a significant difference in the vectors of the mean scores for males and females on the factors of the Trust Orientation Profile (Hotelling's $T^2 = 0.063$; $F(3,487) = 10.24$, $p = 0.001$; $\eta^2 = 0.059$). The p value is less than 0.001 from which a statistically significant effect for gender can be assumed (Table 6.12). The difference for national culture was marginally significant with Hotelling's T^2 of 0.017 with associated $F(3,487) = 2.81$; $p = 0.039$; $\eta^2 = 0.017$. From table 6.11 it is furthermore apparent that the subgroups of school background and home environment yielded no significant results on the Trust Orientation Profile.

Table 6.12 MANOVA: Summary of differences in the vectors of the means of the trust scores of the biographical subgroups on the Trust Orientation Profile.

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.973	5962.667(a)	3.000	487.000	.000	.973
	Wilks' Lambda	.027	5962.667(a)	3.000	487.000	.000	.973
	Hotelling's Trace	36.731	5962.667(a)	3.000	487.000	.000	.973
	Roy's Largest Root	36.731	5962.667(a)	3.000	487.000	.000	.973
Gender	Pillai's Trace	.059	10.242(a)	3.000	487.000	.000	.059
	Wilks' Lambda	.941	10.242(a)	3.000	487.000	.000	.059
	Hotelling's Trace	**.063**	**10.242(a)**	**3.000**	**487.000**	**.000**	**.059**
	Roy's Largest Root	.063	10.242(a)	3.000	487.000	.000	.059
National Culture	Pillai's Trace	.017	2.807(a)	3.000	487.000	.039	.017
	Wilks' Lambda	.983	2.807(a)	3.000	487.000	.039	.017
	Hotelling's Trace	**.017**	**2.807(a)**	**3.000**	**487.000**	**.039**	**.017**
	Roy's Largest Root	.017	2.807(a)	3.000	487.000	.039	.017
School background	Pillai's Trace	.009	1.433(a)	3.000	487.000	.232	.009
	Wilks' Lambda	.991	1.433(a)	3.000	487.000	.232	.009
	Hotelling's Trace	**.009**	**1.433(a)**	**3.000**	**487.000**	**.232**	**.009**
	Roy's Largest Root	.009	1.433(a)	3.000	487.000	.232	.009
Home Environment	Pillai's Trace	.010	1.656(a)	3.000	487.000	.176	.010
	Wilks' Lambda	.990	1.656(a)	3.000	487.000	.176	.010
	Hotelling's Trace	**.010**	**1.656(a)**	**3.000**	**487.000**	**.176**	**.010**
	Roy's Largest Root	.010	1.656(a)	3.000	487.000	.176	.010

The Acceptance of Others Questionnaire indicates a significant difference ($p<0.05$) in the vectors of the mean scores for males and females: Hotelling's $T^2 = 0.014$; $F(2,487) = 3.46$; $p = 0.032$; $\eta^2 = 0.014$, refer to Table 6.13. National culture was also found to discriminate at the 99% level of

confidence: Hotelling's $T^2 = 0.023$ with associated $F(2,487) = 5.59$; $p = 0.004$; $\eta^2 = 0.022$.

Table 6.13 MANOVA: Summary of differences in the vectors of the means of the trust scores of the biographical subgroups on the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire.

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.984	14696.319(a)	2.000	487.000	.000	.984
	Wilks' Lambda	.016	14696.319(a)	2.000	487.000	.000	.984
	Hotelling's Trace	60.354	14696.319(a)	2.000	487.000	.000	.984
	Roy's Largest Root	60.354	14696.319(a)	2.000	487.000	.000	.984
Gender	Pillai's Trace	.014	3.455(a)	2.000	487.000	.032	.014
	Wilks' Lambda	.986	3.455(a)	2.000	487.000	.032	.014
	Hotelling's Trace	**.014**	**3.455(a)**	**2.000**	**487.000**	**.032**	**.014**
	Roy's Largest Root	.014	3.455(a)	2.000	487.000	.032	.014
National Culture	Pillai's Trace	.022	5.594(a)	2.000	487.000	.004	.022
	Wilks' Lambda	.978	5.594(a)	2.000	487.000	.004	.022
	Hotelling's Trace	**.023**	**5.594(a)**	**2.000**	**487.000**	**.004**	**.022**
	Roy's Largest Root	.023	5.594(a)	2.000	487.000	.004	.022
School Background	Pillai's Trace	.002	.448(a)	2.000	487.000	.639	.002
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.448(a)	2.000	487.000	.639	.002
	Hotelling's Trace	**.002**	**.448(a)**	**2.000**	**487.000**	**.639**	**.002**
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.448(a)	2.000	487.000	.639	.002
Home Environment	Pillai's Trace	.003	.698(a)	2.000	487.000	.498	.003
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.698(a)	2.000	487.000	.498	.003
	Hotelling's Trace	**.003**	**.698(a)**	**2.000**	**487.000**	**.498**	**.003**
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.698(a)	2.000	487.000	.498	.003

From tables 6.12 and 6.13 it is apparent that in this sample there were no statistically significant differences (p = 0.032 and p = 0.176) for school background and home environment respectively on the Trust Orientation Profile. The Acceptance of Others Questionnaire similarly yielded no significant differences in terms of these two biographical variables, with p = 0.639 and p = 0.498 respectively.

The differences in the mean scores of the trust levels of males and females, obtained with the Trust Orientation Profile and the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire, were further analysed across gender and national culture using ANOVAs and Cohen's criteria of practical significance. According to Cohen (1988) the effect size is 'large' when η^2>0.15; 'medium' when η^2>0.06 to 0.14; and 'small' when η^2=0.01 to 0.03. The results of the ANOVAs for the different gender groups can be seen in table 6.14 (Trust Orientation Profile) and 6.15 (Acceptance of Others Questionnaire).

Before the ANOVA's were performed Levene's test of homogeneity was therefore administered to test for the assumption of equality of variance across groups. An assumption for the analysis of variance requires that each group of the independent variables has the same variance on each of the different trust scores (dependent variables) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The results of Levene's test for the equality of variances for the two questionnaires is reflected in Table 6.16. According to the results the assumption of equality of variance has not been violated (p>.05).

Table 6.14 ANOVA: Differences in the trust scores of the sample across all biographical groups as measured by the Trust Orientation Profile

Source	Dependent Variable	Type I Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	Interpersonal Attitude	3912.382(a)	4	978.096	5.267	.000	.041
	Trusting Behaviour	1423.699(b)	4	355.925	3.053	.017	.024
	Trustworthiness	2338.399(c)	4	584.600	9.209	.000	.070
	Summated Trust	5130.733(d)	4	1282.683	8.256	.000	.063
Intercept	Interpersonal Attitude	1967748.348	1	1967748.348	10596.153	.000	.956
	Trusting Behaviour	1214287.579	1	1214287.579	10415.350	.000	.955
	Trustworthiness	672074.577	1	672074.577	10587.082	.000	.956
	Summated Trust	2337535.106	1	2337535.106	15044.863	.000	.969
Gender	Interpersonal Attitude	3686.635	1	3686.635	19.852	.000	**.039**
	Trusting Behaviour	1074.755	1	1074.755	9.219	.003	**.019**
	Trustworthiness	1376.237	1	1376.237	21.680	.000	**.042**
	Summated Trust	4264.011	1	4264.011	27.444	.000	**.053**
National Culture	Interpersonal Attitude	23.981	1	23.981	.129	.719	.000
	Trusting Behaviour	2.467	1	2.467	.021	.884	.000
	Trustworthiness	389.834	1	389.834	6.141	.014	**.012**
	Summated Trust	67.386	1	67.386	.434	.510	.001
School Background	Interpersonal Attitude	64.006	1	64.006	.345	.557	.001
	Trusting Behaviour	184.704	1	184.704	1.584	.209	.003
	Trustworthiness	259.078	1	259.078	4.081	.044	.008
	Summated Trust	355.075	1	355.075	2.285	.131	.005
Home Environment	Interpersonal Attitude	137.760	1	137.760	.742	.389	.002
	Trusting Behaviour	161.773	1	161.773	1.388	.239	.003
	Trustworthiness	313.250	1	313.250	4.935	.027	.010
	Summated Trust	444.260	1	444.260	2.859	.091	.006
Error	Interpersonal Attitude	90809.270	489	185.704			
	Trusting Behaviour	57010.722	489	116.586			
	Trustworthiness	31042.024	489	63.481			
	Summated Trust	75976.411	489	155.371			
Total	Interpersonal Attitude	2062470.000	494				
	Trusting Behaviour	1272722.000	494				
	Trustworthiness	705455.000	494				
	Summated Trust	2418642.250	494				
Corrected Total	Interpersonal Attitude	94721.652	493				
	Trusting Behaviour	58434.421	493				
	Trustworthiness	33380.423	493				
	Summated Trust	81107.144	493				

As can be seen in Table 6.14 there were statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$) for gender. Females are more trusting than males. The strength of the association between gender and trust was η^2=0.06 calculated by using Partial Eta squared. According to Cohen's guidelines (1988) this value suggests a moderate effect. The difference in mean scores $F(3, 487) = 0.063$, $p = 0.001$, indicates that being female has an effect on the trust levels of individuals. Females ($\overline{X}$ = 71.1800) exhibit more trusting attitudes on an interpersonal and inter-group level, engage in trusting behaviour to a larger extent than males ($\overline{X}$ = 65.1985) and demonstrate more trustworthy characteristics than males.

The Acceptance of Others Questionnaire Table (table 6.15) yielded no statistically significant differences between males and females in terms of their trust levels ($p = 0.085$, $p = 0.106$).

Tables 6.14 and 6.15 also present the results obtained from the ANOVAs that were used to analyse the differences in the mean scores of the trust levels of Afro-centric and Eurocentric individuals obtained with the Trust Orientation Profile and the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire). Cohen's criteria of practical significance were used to assess the effect of the statistical difference.

According to table 6.14 the scores of Afro-centric and Eurocentric individuals differed only slightly with regard to national culture on the Trust Orientation Profile on the mean of trustworthiness ($p = 0.012$; $p < 0.05$), therefore statistical significance can be assumed. Afro-centric individuals ($\overline{X}$ = 38.73) perceive individuals from other cultures as trustworthy to a slightly larger extent than do individuals from a Eurocentric culture ($\overline{X}$ = 36.41) in this sample. The effect size for this particular factor of the Trust Orientation Profile

is 0.013, indicating a small effect according to Cohen's criteria of practical significance ($\eta^2 < 0.15$).

Table 6.15 ANOVA: Differences in the trust scores of the sample across all biographical groups as measured by the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire

Source	Dependent Variable	Type I Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	Trust	359.925(a)	4	89.981	3.398	.009	.027
	Distrust	135.626(b)	4	33.907	1.944	.102	.016
Intercept	Trust	630460.243	1	630460.243	23809.675	.000	.980
	Distrust	186586.777	1	186586.777	10696.424	.000	.956
Gender	Trust	78.721	1	78.721	2.973	.085	.006
	Distrust	45.707	1	45.707	2.620	.106	.005
National Culture	Trust	249.732	1	249.732	9.431	.002	.019
	Distrust	62.986	1	62.986	3.611	.058	.007
School Background	Trust	10.815	1	10.815	.408	.523	.001
	Distrust	11.444	1	11.444	.656	.418	.001
Home Environment	Trust	20.658	1	20.658	.780	.378	.002
	Distrust	15.489	1	15.489	.888	.347	.002
Error	Trust	12921.831	488	26.479			
	Distrust	8512.597	488	17.444			
Total	Trust	643742.000	493				
	Distrust	195235.000	493				
Corrected Total	Trust	13281.757	492				
	Distrust	8648.223	492				

Table 6.15 reflects the trust level scores of individuals from Afro-centric and Eurocentric cultures as obtained from the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire. Eurocentric individuals ($\overline{X}$ = 36.05) seem to exhibit a more trusting attitude towards unknown others than Afro-centric individuals ($\overline{X}$ =

34.37). The effect size of the difference is small (η^2 = 0.019) and the practical implication of the findings is insignificant.

Table 6.16 Levene's test of equality of variances

TRUST ORIENTATION PROFILE				
Scale Factors	F	df1	df2	Sig.
Interpersonal Attitude	1.187	15	478	.278
Trusting Behaviour	1.773	15	478	.036
Trustworthiness	1.409	15	478	.138
Summated Trust	.846	15	478	.626
ACCEPTANCE OF OTHERS QUESTIONNAIRE				
Scale Factors	F	df1	df2	Sig.
Trust	.811	15	477	.665
Distrust	1.077	15	477	.375

In this chapter the results of the research obtained by means of associational and comparative statistics were presented and discussed. The psychometric properties of the measuring instruments were also described. The implications of the results will subsequently be discussed and recommendations for further research will be made in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The objective of this study was to determine whether diversity variables such as gender, national culture, school background and urban or rural home environment could be related to the interpersonal and inter-group trust levels of a group of students at a tertiary education institution.

Two questionnaires on the interpersonal and inter-group trust levels of individuals were used in order to investigate the objective of the study. The Trust Orientation Profile seems to have a greater discriminatory ability than the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire, although the results obtained from the latter do confirm the general tendency in terms of the relationship of the diversity variables with interpersonal and inter-group trust.

The results will subsequently be discussed in terms of the diversity variables of gender, national culture, school background and home environment.

7.1 Gender

The findings of this study indicate that females are more trusting than males.
A literature review executed by Cross and Madson (1997) proposes that documented gender differences related to interpersonal behaviour can be explained in terms of differences in self-construals (how an individual perceives and presents him/herself) or self-representation. According to this view men may have a more independent construal of self, while women see and represent themselves as more interdependent. The independent self-construal accentuates self-related features and excludes the influence of others, while the interdependent self-construal includes others in the

representation of the self. There are therefore two distinct types of self-representation that operate in social contexts.

Cross and Madson found that men tend to describe themselves in terms of being separate individuals, whereas women often describe themselves more in terms of relationships with others. "The central principle directing the development of the self in male persons in general, is self as separated from others " (Cross & Madson, 1997:6). They contend that men are mainly motivated to "be true to one's own internal structures of preferences, rights, convictions and goals" (Cross & Madson, 1997:7).

Bauermeister and Sommer (1997) are of the opinion that a sense of belongingness is a fundamental human need from which would follow that a sense of connectedness is a psychological necessity for both men and women. Because of the higher independence of men as opposed to the interdependence of women, the genders differ in the way that this need is satisfied. In support of this point of view, Maddux and Brewer (2005:161) report that there is growing evidence that "gender differences impact the way in which people feel a sense of interdependence with others and define their in-groups." Women emphasise relationships and interpersonal connections and men generally focus on more impersonal group memberships and the importance of group identity. The way in which an individual construes the self is of importance because of the impact that this has on a large number of psychological processes.

Following this line of reasoning these gender differences should also manifest in situations where individuals must decide whether or not to trust strangers (depersonalized trust). Two bases exist for depersonalized trust: shared category membership and sharing a network of interpersonal relations with others. In the first instance, simply knowing that an otherwise unknown

person is a member of an in-group may be enough to provoke trust. In the second instance individuals may trust others if they believe or know that they are directly or indirectly associated with each other through shared friendships or acquaintances. "A stranger may therefore become the object of trust if it is believed that the particular individual is potentially a member of a generalized network of relationships" (Maddux & Brewer, 2005:161).

The results of the current study are confirmed by Maddux and Brewer (2005:167): "Compared to men, women are significantly more likely to trust in general." In addition, for women the level of trust toward an in-group member and an out-group member does not differ. Men trust in-group members significantly more than they do out-group members. The questionnaires used in this study specifically targeted unknown others as the object of trust, thus referring to the out-group.

Another possible explanation for the difference in trust levels is that women generally experience an imbalance in terms of the power in a relationship. According to Bauermeister and Sommers (1997:41) women show greater deference and attention to others and they ascribe this to the lower power position that is often assigned to women. Females more readily perceive themselves to be in a dependent relationship with other individuals. This results in an increased propensity to trust as a result of their dependence on the goodwill and intervention of the other party on their behalf (Hofstede 1991:29).

7.2 National culture

Although slight, a significant difference in the mean scores on the trust levels of individuals from Afro-centric and Eurocentric cultures was found. This can be attributed to the collectivistic and individualistic nature of their national

cultures. In the case of collectivistic cultures the interests of the group prevail over the interests of the individual. In this instance the in-group constitutes a major source of the individual's identity (Hofstede, 1991:50). The individual in a collectivistic society therefore develops a loyalty to and a dependence on the in-group. Individualistic societies emphasise the interests of the individual over those of the group and these interests prevail.

Collectivists (Afro-centric) appear to place more emphasis on the importance and nurturing of relationships than individuals from an individualistic culture (Eurocentric). Huff and Kelley (2005:98) cite a number of researchers when they propose that the quality of interactions and therefore also trust, between individuals in a collectivistic culture depends on their affiliation with the in-group. In the case of collectivists, members of out-groups are more commonly avoided, competed with, manipulated and exploited than members of the in-group, than is the case in individualistic cultures. This would explain the slightly higher trust levels of Eurocentric individuals towards unknown others. Eurocentric individuals would tend to trust an individual from a different group than him / herself until the trust is violated. This should not be confused with blind trust, but refers to conditional trust.

The psychometric tests that were used did not seem to discriminate to the extent that the compiler reported and this may be due to the nature of the sample. The individuals who made up the sample were all tested in groups where they had been functioning for some period of time, thus minimising the anonymity of the target population. In the light of the fact that this study focuses specifically on trust for unknown others, this may have influenced the results.

7.3 School Background

In terms of school background the results of this study suggest that familiarity may have influenced the interpersonal and inter-group trust in individuals who attended culturally mixed schools. The physical proximity of students from different cultural groups and the inter-dependence resulting from joint classroom ventures inevitably will have the effect that trust can develop on a basis of predictability. Doney et al. (1998) describe this process as one in which trust emerges as result of a prediction about an individual's behaviour, based on experience of past actions. The ability of the target individual to meet his/her obligations as defined by the trustor, will also contribute to the development of trust (Mayer et al., 1995:717). Students who have experienced cooperation from individuals from a different culture and who have developed a positive image of the skills and characteristics of such individuals will also be able to develop a trusting relationship with these individuals.

7.4 Home environment

Growing up in a rural versus an urban area did not seem to have any influence on the trust levels of the individuals in the sample. This may be attributed to the fact that they had been functioning in a new environment away from their Home environment for a period of six months up to four years. This could have minimised any effect that their Home environment could have had on their trust levels.

7.5 Recommendations

7.5.1 Recommendations regarding the research methodology applied:

The Interpersonal Trust Questionnaire (Rotter) should be further standardised for the sample of young people. The Interpersonal Trust scale is mainly used in organisations with older employees and this may have influenced the validity of the Interpersonal Trust Scale negatively. This research should be repeated on an annual basis as a longitudinal project to determine whether changes in interpersonal trust are taking place, given the fact that great emphasis is placed on the management of cultural diversity on the campus of the University of Pretoria.

The content validity of the Trust Orientation Profile and the Acceptance of Others Questionnaire was found to be satisfactory, but the factor stability of both the questionnaires merit further investigation.

7.5.2 Recommendations regarding the application of the results:

The organisation should take cognisance of the fact that the trust levels between the main sub-groups are satisfactory. Therefore the organisation can afford to, and should focus on the needs of the different groups as a collective, taking into account that the trust levels should develop naturally with continued positive interaction.

Research should be conducted to compare the interpersonal and inter-group trust levels of employees in private organisations with the trust levels of students.

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