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Trust inside a political organization

A Case study of the Finnish Centre Party
Parliamentary Group

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“Love all, trust a few, do wrong to none; be able for thine enemy rather in power than use; and keep thy friend under thine own life's key; be checked for silence, but never taxed for speech.”

William Shakespeare

“Creativity comes from trust. Trust your instincts.”

Rita Mae Brown

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<p>Tiivistelmä - Abstract</p> <p>This thesis examined trust inside a political organization as well the relation between trust and creativity. The thesis is a case study of the Finnish Centre Party Parliamentary Group. The research sought answers for the questions how professional politicians (members of the parliament) experience trust inside the party they are members of, and whether trust in a political organization brings added value for the organization. The focus was on the formation process of trust and factors grounded in this process. The role of trust for creativity was also of interest.</p> <p>Trust was studied via experiences and expectations of professional politicians. The empirical survey was sent to the Finnish Centre Party Parliamentary Group. A semi-structured questionnaire in which qualitative and quantitative elements were combined was used.</p> <p>The thesis concluded that trust inside a political organization is a more complicated phenomenon than the previous theory suggests. Inside a political organization trust occurs in a cultural context where normative rules support or hinder trust. It was found that trust formation inside a political organization includes six different aspects: promise keeping; interaction and influencing; actions of the party executives; values, ideology and content of the politics; history and tradition; openness and sincerity. In other words, trust is grounded in an individual's personality, life experiences, cultural background, education and other socio-economical factors. Trust forms from communal but also from individual experiences.</p> <p>The empirical study revealed also six different key factors for party success: regeneration, future orientation; values, ideology, content of the politics, working with the party agenda; creativity, enthusiasm; trustworthiness, credibility; team spirit, solidarity; party actors.</p> <p>This thesis emphasizes also the importance of creativity inside a political organization. In politics ability to generate new initiatives and innovative solutions for societal challenges is crucial, and moreover, political power is linked to this ability. It was found that ideal conditions for trust require reasonable or healthy trust: neither distrust nor faith increase creativity.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

Trust can be seen as a force that supports society. Trust is essential to study due to current societal discourse. In the past couple of years the industrialized world has experienced a recession which could be called the “Late-2000s” recession. While discussing economics, the challenges the recession causes and possible solutions for it have been discussed. In this discussion we concurrently come across matters like social networks, values, commitment, uncertainty and obligations. During recession, factors such as role of civil society, the third sector, their interplay, and morals and loyalty become important. (Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002.) It is emblematic that in September 2009 while the Finnish Parliament scrutinized the state budget of 2010, the Minister of Finance called for the “love for one's neighbor”. Ilmonen and Jokinen (2002) condense this into two words: trust and social capital.

Building social capital is the key for making society work (Putman 185, 1993). Social capital builds and maintains a thriving community, and when there is a decrease in social capital, a sense of society is lost (Putnam et al. 2003; Luoma-aho 2009). Economic growth, well-functioning democratic institutions and less crime and corruption are more likely in regions and countries with more social capital (Rothstein & Stolle 2007). Luhmann (1979, 150) states that “its (trust's) function is the reduction of social complexity by increasing the tolerance of uncertainty.”

As noted, trust is a force that supports society, and sustains democracy. Democracy engenders trust but also, once in place, the culture of trust helps to sustain democracy. The culture of trust is more likely to appear in a democracy than in any other type of political system. (Sztompka 1999, 146-147.) Sztompka (1999, 147) claims that democracy requires communication among citizens. Trust helps us to speak but also to listen.

Finnish society is based on trust in many senses. Every day people make the “rational gamble” that others are trustworthy (Uslaner 1999, 123-124). Generalized trust, trust evident among all the members of the society (Luoma-aho 2005, 159), is closely linked to the concept of democracy. Trust makes civic society work, but it also helps a democratic administration to function better. Without generalized trust there would be no democracy. On the other hand, democracy begets trust. (Ilmonen and Jokinen 2002, 129.)

Today it is a received viewpoint that political parties are essential part of public activities of the society. Parties are a part of the western democracies. (Paloheimo & Wiberg 2008.) However, at the same time parties have been said to be in decline almost from the moment they became established (see e.g. Blondel 2002; Borg 1997). There is no doubt that the challenges contemporary parties in Western democracies face today are great. While discussing the position of the political parties, it is interesting to contemplate the role of generalized trust in the society. Generalized trust needs shared moral space which links also to democracy. This moral space connects different actors despite of different views and opinions. (Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002, 93.)

But in practice, what does the decline or crisis of political parties mean? Parties have lost their members increasingly, voting activity decreases and trust in politics has crumbled. The erosion of the political parties as societal movements indicates the decrease of citizens’ participation as well as professionalization of politics. (Pekonen 1997, 32.) This leads to discussion of the role of trust and creativity as well as the relation between these concepts inside a political organization.

Creativity is recognized as one of the key determinants for organizational survival and success (see e.g. Wang & Ahmed 2004), and moreover, creating and maintaining trust is essential for organizations which desire innovations (Rubbel and Harrington 2000, 326). The present thesis concentrates on clarifying the role of trust as well as the relation between trust and creativity in-

side a political organization from the perspective of organizational communication. In this thesis political parties are understood as organizations providing places for decision making and influencing (see e.g. Jutila 2003; Bäck & Möller 2001; Nousiainen 1998).

Though the central aim of this research is to examine trust and creativity inside a political organization, there are several goals this master's thesis aims to achieve. Trust will be studied via experiences and expectations of professional politicians. This research seeks answers for the question how professional politicians (members of the parliament) experience trust inside the party they are members of, and whether trust in a political organization brings added value for the organization and if what kind of value. The present thesis focuses on the formation process of trust and factors grounded in this process. The significance of trust as well its role is of interest. Also the role of trust for creativity is analyzed.

This thesis is organized as follows: first in the literature review it looks at trust on the societal level. Theory of trust, institutional theory of generalized trust and theory of social capital are of interest. The following chapter examines trust in interaction, both trust as a relationship and as cooperation. On the organizational level, the focus is on formation and importance of trust for organizations. Different dimensions of trust are scrutinized. Also the types of and the construct of trust are examined in order to decode to complex nature of the concept. The final chapter of theory concentrates on the relation between trust and creativity including presentation of the model of the continuum of trust with the ideal conditions to creativity. The concepts studied in this research are examined in the context of a political organization. However, political organizations and the political field are observed more in detail in chapter 3. Also the examination of methods used as well as the results of the empirical study follow the literature review. Finally conclusion and discussion are presented.

2 TRUST

The theory part concerning trust consists of five chapters. Idea of “from general to specific” is used as a starting point in the theory chapter of the thesis. However, all the concepts studied are mirrored as accurately as possible in the political context (see Figure 1). Moreover, political organizations are scrutinized in chapter 3.

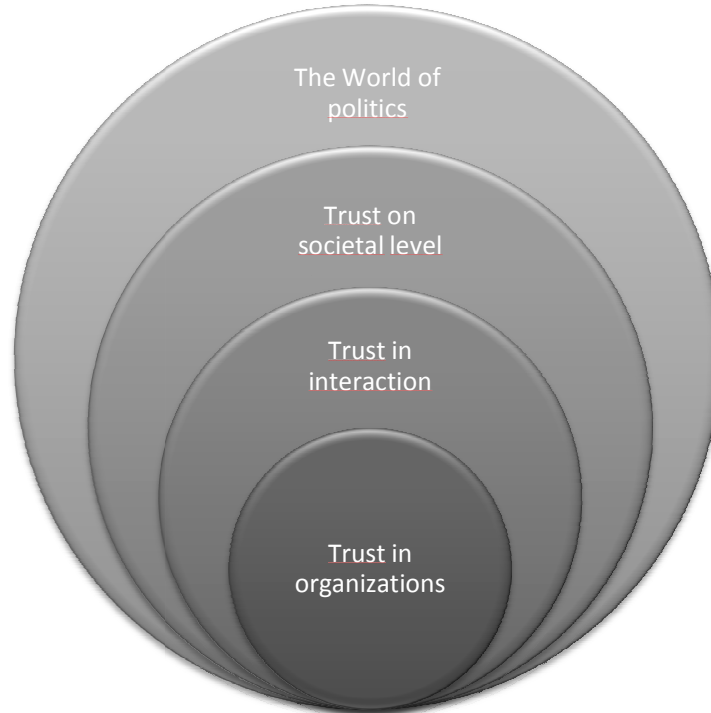


Figure 1 Starting point for the theory part of the thesis.

First, trust is examined on the societal level following examination of trust in interaction and trust in organizations. The types and the construct of trust studied in chapter 2.5 in order to summarize different aspects of trust. The last chapter includes exploration of trust and creativity.

2.1 Trust on the societal level

This chapter presents the concept of trust on the societal level. Instead of introducing a number of different definitions one after another, the concept of trust is approached through different dimensions and classifications. After introducing trust on the societal level, closer attention is paid to the concept of social capital and the concept of generalized trust.

The definition of trust depends on the choice of perspectives and approaches. How trust is defined and measured depends on the context. There are a variety of challenges in defining trust, one of these challenges being its diverse nature (Jokinen & Ilmonen 2002, 86).

Trust becomes apparent in human actions (Stzompka 1997, 18). Trust is an orientation towards society and towards others and it has a social meaning beyond rational calculations (Tyler & Kramer 1996, 5). In other words, trust arises from our dependency on other people. People cannot survive on their own; we need services provided by others (Kipnis 1996, 41).

Trust is essential for both the everyday life of individuals and in society. Trust can be seen as a socially connecting mechanism which creates and maintains solidarity among the members of a community (Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002, 95). Trust "liberates and mobilizes human agency" (Stzompka 1997, 103) and releases "creative, uninhibited, innovative, entrepreneurial" activism towards other people (Luhmann 1979, 40). Trust increases tolerance towards other people, creates a sense of community, presupposes the freedom of actions of others and creates a sense of security (Ilmonen and Jokinen 2002, 95-101).

For Fukuyama (1995, 26) trust is an "expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared

norms, on the part of other member of the community". People are more likely to accommodate others' views and preferences, when they trust each other (Uslaner 1999, 126).

2.1.1 Social capital

Trust can be perceived as a dimension of social capital. Trust helps people cooperate and participate in society (Putnam 1993; Coleman 1988). Trust is a form of capital, and like other intangible assets it can be consumed or increased (Luoma-aho 2005, 152).

Putnam (2000, 19) decodes the concept of social capital with a metaphor derived from other types of capital: "whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals". Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, it enables certain ends that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman 1988, 98). Social capital is often referred to dimensions of social settings and social relations, such as social networks, norms and trust. These dimensions contribute to social interaction and reconciliation of different activities inside of a community. (Ruuskanen 2002, 5.) What differentiates social capital from other forms of capital is the aspect of public good: "the actor or actors who generate social capital ordinarily capture only a small part of its benefits." (Coleman 1988, 119).

There are many definitions attached to the concept of social capital. This has led to justified confusion about the concept and its formation. The definition of social capital varies depending on the author and on the theoretical background. Ruuskanen (2002, 8; 1999, 37) describes social capital as "an ameba concept": It does not delineate anything concrete yet at the same time it explains everything.

Social capital can be scrutinized through an economical perspective. Significance of social capital lies in its ability to go beyond the borders of traditional economics (Kane 2001, 6; Hellsten 1998, 34). Social capital adds to good governance, social cohesion, vital culture and the importance of trust in societies. Social capital can be seen as a link between social policy and economics (Hellsten 1998, 34.) In this thesis the social dimension of social capital is in the focus of examination.

Social capital refers to peoples' capability to work together for common goals in groups or in organizations: in other words social capital relates to peoples' capability to associate with one another (Fukuyama 1995, 10). Social capital enables people to collaborate, socialize and establish communities and live together (Luoma-aho 2009, 235). Social capital is a force strengthening the objectives of each individual and as the whole community's well-being (Ruuskanen 2002, 5). The ability to interact and work together depends on the shared values and norms of a community or an organization, but also on how people are able to subordinate individual interests to those of larger group (Fukuyama 1995, 10).

Social capital as competitive advantage

Social capital can be a resource and an asset for an organization (see Luoma-aho 2005, 2009; Bolino et al. 2002). A variety of social and individual benefits, such as health, happiness, reduced violence and good institutional performance, are introduced as results of social capital. Also successful democracy, political rights and civil liberties are linked to social capital. (Luoma-aho 2005, 143.) Similarly, Putnam (1993) emphasizes that social capital makes collective work easier, economies function better and enhances the development of communities.

Social capital and trust are key factors for the flow of information, learning and innovations (Ruuskanen 2002, 20). Social capital is necessary for the development and contribution of knowledge within organizations and groups (Nahapiet & Ghoshal 1998, 244). As stated earlier, social capital often refers to such dimensions as social networks, norms and trust, which promote social interaction between members of communities but also promote goals of individuals or economic activity (Ruuskanen 2003, 57). Bolino et al. (2002) conclude that social capital consists of four important aspects: knowing one another; understanding one another and trusting and identifying one another.

According to Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998, 256) the organization's capability to create and transfer knowledge are central elements of organizational advantage. They suggest that social capital theory provides a sound basis for explaining this: "first, organizations as institutional settings are characterized by many of the factors known to be conducive to the development of high levels of social capital; second, it is the coevolution of social and intellectual capital that underpins organizational advantage". (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, 256.)

Voluntary dimension of social capital

For Putnam (1993, 167-170, see also Ruuskanen 2002) social capital is mutual trust, norms and networks between citizens. Social capital helps communities and society at large to function better. Putnam (1993, 2002) emphasizes the importance of civil society in social capital formation; social capital is public property. Voluntary associations and groups have a great role also in contributing to democracy: associations are seen as "those networks of civic engagement that embody social capital" (Putman 2002, 336).

Voluntary associations contribute to democracy in two different ways: through “external” effects on the larger polity, and “internal” effects on the participants (members of different groups) themselves (Putnam 2002, 338). Through his studies on Italian regional governments Putnam (1993) found that strong civic engagement as a hallmark of a successful region. There was a great correlation between the density and the weight of participation of local associations and how democracy worked.

Fukuyama (1996, 4) agrees with Putnam’s (1993, 2002) view. He states that liberal political and economic institutions’ vitality depends on a healthy and dynamic civil society. However, all voluntary associations do not always serve the public good. An example of harmful voluntary association is the Ku Klux Klan, the militia movement. (Uslaner 1999, 125.)

However, Rothstein (2005) suggests an alternative view for Putnam’s theory on the source and significance of social capital. According to him social capital is of great value when applied to the ability to solve problems concerning the nature of social traps. A social trap is a situation where individuals, groups or organizations are unable to cooperate owing to mutual distrust and lack of social capital, even where cooperation would benefit all (Rothstein 2005, 12-14).

Recently, debate has been about whether or not indicators of social capital also have an impact on political trust (see Bäck & Kestilä 2009). Putnam’s (1993, 2002) view that high levels of social capital help to sustain civic virtues, and lack of it may create democratic problems (such as political dissatisfaction and declining political participation) does not convince all the scholars. Bäck’s and Kestilä’s (2009) analysis shows that social capital, as defined by a set of variables comprised of interpersonal trust and voluntary organizational activism, does not, en bloc, prove to be a powerful predictor of political trust.

Creation of social capital

The significant role of social capital for organizations has been recognized by many organizational researchers, but only little attention has been paid to how organizations may build social capital (Bolino et al. 2002). In sociology the creation of social capital has gained more interest. For example Putnam (1993, 2002) emphasizes the importance individual behavior for social capital creation. As mentioned earlier, a high level of social capital has a positive effect on civic participation among citizens (Putnam 1993). 'Good citizens' within a community contribute to the development of social capital within that community, "good organizational citizens are likely to be important for the creation of social capital within their organizations." If an organization consists of good organizational citizens, it is more likely to multiply the levels of social capital. (Bolino et al. 2002.)

Social capital can be seen as a resource for action or a resource of an actor, an individual or an organization. Social capital has many forms, and all these forms have two characteristics in common: they constitute some aspect of the social structure, and they facilitate the actions of individuals within the structure. (Coleman 1988.) Coleman (1988) distinguishes between three different forms of social capital: obligations and expectations; information channels; norms and effective sanctions.

Luoma-aho (2009, 242-243) emphasizes the need to understand the process of social capital creation. She constructed the "Model of the Extremes of Social Capital Creation" based on the work by Rothstein and Stolle (Figure 2) which demonstrates how at the best a good reputation and high levels of trust lead to social capital. The model also shows the importance of experiences and expectations in social capital creation.

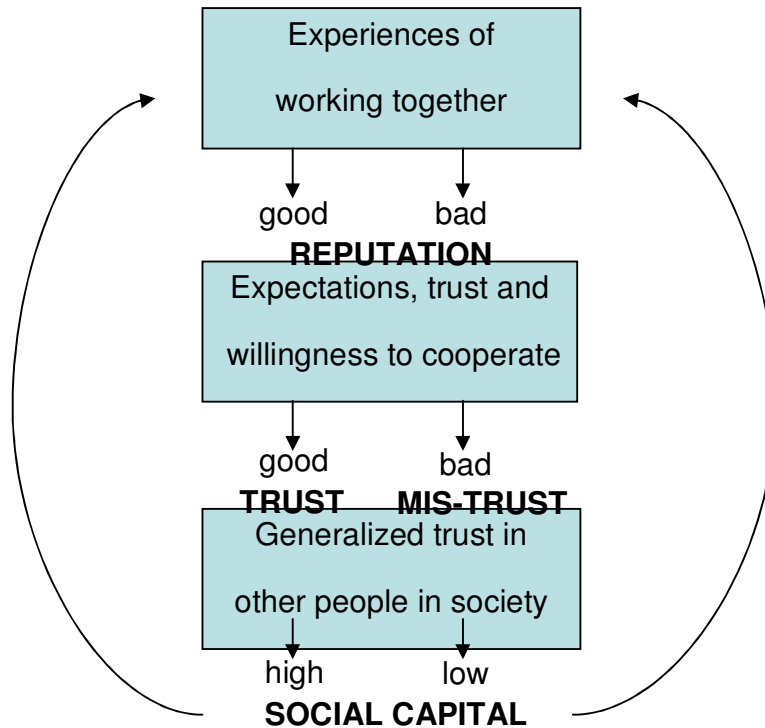


Figure 2 Model of the extremes of social capital creation (Luoma-aho 2009).

Creation of social capital is cyclic: It starts with the experiences of a group, person or an organization. Reputation is formed through these experiences, either good or bad. Reputation carries with it certain expectations and facilitates the willingness of outsiders to trust its bearer. The amount of trust is followed by high or low level of social capital which shapes the experiences and expectations. (Luoma-aho 2009, 242-244.)

2.2.2 Generalized trust

Generalized trust is trust evident among all the members of the society (Luoma-aho 2005, 159). Generalized trust occurs in an independent world where people contact strangers and trust in most people (Yamagishi & Yamagishi

1994). Members of a prosperous society must interact with one another, and they must make a “rational gamble” that others are trustworthy. If most of the people you met are trustworthy, trusting others is reasonable. (Uslaner 1999, 123-124.)

Generalized trust is closely linked to the concept of democracy. Trust makes civic society work, but it also helps a democratic administration to function better. Without generalized trust there would be no democracy. On the other hand, democracy begets trust. (Ilmonen and Jokinen 2002, 129). According to Stzompka (1997, 139) trust is produced by democracy, and helps to sustain democracy. Generalized trust needs shared moral space which links also to democracy. This moral space connects different actors despite of different views and opinions. (Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002, 93.)

Generalized trust is understood as a form or aspect of social capital (Luoma-aho 2009; Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002). Generalized trust helps citizens to view institutional social settings more optimistically. It has been suggested that contact with welfare state shape our views of institutions and build trust between citizens (Kumlin & Rothstein in Luoma-aho 2005b).

Putnam (2000, 338; 1993) emphasizes the importance of informal liaison. Clubs and associations are places where democracy is learned and built on. The social networks formed in voluntary associations generalize trust across society at large. Voluntary associations can be seen as schools of democracy. (Putnam 2002.) People are more likely to take an active role in community when they trust each other (Uslaner 1999, 130). The social and civic skills learned in voluntary associations are adapted to other activities in the society (Putnam 2002).

Voluntary associations do not always mobilize individuals to express their interests and demands. Voluntary associations are becoming more like pressure organizations which do not promote members' activity towards society at large. (Ilmonen and Jokinen 2002, 130-133.) If membership of a voluntary

organization is only formal type it may not reflect actual involvement in community activities. Formal or nominal membership will not increase communal social capital and generalized trust. (Putnam 2000, 58.) Also Letki (in Luoma-aho 2005, 153) challenges the praise of civil society. He argues that it is the democratic and bureaucratic institutions and their good performance that creates trustworthy citizens.

Institutional theory of generalized trust

Rothstein and Stolle (2002) have developed theory called "Institutional Theory of Generalized trust". According to this theory trust in society becomes generalized through institutions. The structure of modern institutions creates a base for generalized trust, especially in societies where institutions are trustworthy like in the Nordic countries.

How exactly do institutions help in generalizing trust? The process of institutional trust turning into generalized trust can be described as follows: as citizens make firm connections between impartiality of institutions and trustworthiness of society at large, institutional trust turns into generalized trust (Luoma-aho 2005, 160). Institutions arbitrate trust because they stand for and are seen to "represent certain values and operate so as to provide arguments, as well as incentives, which condition loyalty and effective compliance these values". Institutions can arbitrate political trust by committing and enforcing a specific set of values upon the people who are involved in the institution. Examples of such values are truth telling; honoring and promise keeping; fairness, impartiality and neutrality and; solidarity. (Offe 1999, 73.)

Stzompka's (1999, 44) view is different. He differentiates procedural trust and generalized trust. According to him procedural trust is trust vested in institutionalized practices or procedures, and if these institutionalized practices and procedures are followed they will produce best result.

2.2 Trust in interaction

In political parties, debate and collective decision making require interaction. The way interaction comes true depends on matters like organization culture and other process-specific factors. Interaction is also influenced by the individuals whom are participating on the decision making. (Jutila 2003, 284.)

Trust is formed through actions and communication even though the type of trust may vary (Luoma-aho 2005, 154). Trust rests on two-way communication. In an organizational relationship, trust arises from communication process "in which shared meanings develop to provide the necessary foundation for non-opportunistic behavior". (Hardy et al. 1998, 69.)

Rubbel and Harrington (2002, 315) see communication as an antecedent to trust. They emphasize that trust evolves from social relationships, and quality and frequency of contacts. These social relationships are likely to build reputation and confidence in the trusting parties. Also Jutila's research of the decision making inside the Finnish Centre Party shows that on the national level the political decision making rests greatly on interaction between individual professional politicians (Jutila 2003, 286).

Building trust and understanding others' perspectives requires frequent, accurate and open communication (Rubbel & Harrington 2000, 316). Exchange of information of others' preferences, values and approaches necessitates regular communication. Open communication has a role not only between individuals but also in organizations. However, open communication is not always a key word in political organizations. According to Jutila (2003, 286) inside the Finnish Centre Party the distribution of work between political actors, the level of authority and situational sensitivity influence on the interaction between actors: Interaction is not about taking all the actors into ac-

count equally, balanced cooperation or flow of information. (Jutila 2003, 286.) To conclude, it is also essential to realize that trust occurs in a cultural context where normative rules support or hinder trust (Stzompka 1997, 67).

Another perspective of trust is the personal one; trust can be seen as a personal trait. This psycho-social perspective includes a "trusting impulse" which may be specific or general: it might influence a particular category of people or people in general. (Stzompka 1997, 65.) This individual level considers the psychology of the individuals (Tyler and Kramer 1996, 7). Central questions are "Why people trust and why their trust declines or increases?" The dimension of trust as a personal trait can be seen as complementary to the dimension of trust as a relationship. (Stzompka 1997, 66.)

"The trusting impulse" or "the basic trust" appears in healthy families and can be later enhanced by good life experiences with well-placed, mutual, reciprocated trust (Stzompka 1997, 56). Also Erikson (1994) states that trust is formed in early childhood, and argues that human development actually begins with the formation of trust. Luoma-aho (2005, 155) sees an individual's ability to estimate others' trustworthiness to derive from "the past history of relationships first in the family and later in groups, associations and organizations. The present research notes the role of personal traits in the trust formation; however, trust as a personal trait is not on the focus of the thesis.

2.2.1 Trust as a relationship

Stzompka (1997, 60) divides trust into different dimensions which determine the ontological status of trust: trust as a relationship and trust as cooperation. These two dimensions are evident also in political organizations (Jutila 2003). In this chapter trust is examined through these two overlapping dimensions. The focus in this chapter is on the macro and mesolevel: on the macrolevel,

focus is on the influence of social organization on patterns of trust and on the mesolevel, they involve the exploration of social network is vital (Kramer & Tyler 1996, 6-7).

Stzompka (1997, 60) emphasizes that even though trust is about unilateral expectations and commitment, it is also a quality of a relationship. Rational-choice theory is linked to this dimension: both the truster and the trustee are seen as rational actors, and their goal is to maximize their utilities by rational calculation of taking into account the information available. The gains and losses of self-interest of individuals can be either tangible or intangible. Non-material resources, with mixed motives in interactions, also account for their rational choice and behaviors. (Kramer & Tyler, 1996). Trust is required for interaction (Fombrun 1996).

Trust is built through continued interaction with persons whom the truster has known for a considerable period of time. In another words trust is based upon a long term experience (Offe 1999, 50). However, if cooperating with one another is minimized into cooperating only with "our own kin and close friends" trust might turn into "particularized trust" (Yamigishi & Yamigishi 1994). The more dependent people are on the close associates and kin, the more they perceive the world divided into "we" and "they"; trust is not generalized into society (Uslaner 1999, 124). Offe (1999, 55) sees problems in building trust beyond familiarity though he states that trust among "strangers" is needed. Trust on the basis of personal familiarity is insufficient. If there is an absence of alternative trust-generating mechanisms many opportunities of successful cooperation are missed. Experiences play a great role in trust formation. As Offe (1999, 50) concludes, "Out of past experience develops a present orientation concerning the anticipation of future behavior."

The presence of uncertainty and risks are involved in the relational dimension of trust (Stzompka 1995, 60). Booth and Wheeler (2008, 241) also raise the problem of dependence and vulnerability. They claim there is "a direct

relationship between the degree of vulnerability accepted by a truster and the level of trust placed in the trustee." Though there exists a risk in trusting, trust diminishes the fear of betrayal and also reduces the questioning of other's morals (Fombrun 1996).

Vulnerability and risks are involved in all four dimensions. The risk of trusting and the problem of uncertain future are discussed more precisely in chapter 2.3.1.

2.2.2 Trust and cooperation

People are constantly connected with other people. Cooperation occurs in these connections: as people are acting together they may achieve a common goal which cannot be attained individually. (Stzompka 1995, 62.) As stated earlier, people need the services of other people (Kipnis 1996, 41). Efficient cooperation for common purposes can only come about if people trust that other people will also choose to cooperate (Rothstein in Luoma-aho 2005b, 5).

Powell (1996, 51-64) emphasizes the role of networks of collaboration. He presents four categories of networks representing different pathways to cooperative social relationships, each with a distinct basis for trust. The first network is linked to ties between place and kinship, the second to common membership in a professional community, the third to shared historical experiences and advantages of group membership, and the fourth to mutual dependencies. Also Burt and Knez (1996, 68) emphasize the role of interpersonal networks in trust production. They argue that "social relationships, indexed by frequency or duration of contact or emotional closeness, lead to trust of others."

Voluntary cooperation has gained a lot of attention. Putnam (1993, 2000) presents the importance of informal collaboration for society in large. By

studying Italian regional governments, Putnam (1993) found that strong civic engagement was a hallmark of a successful region. There was a great correlation between the density and weight participation of local associations and how democracy worked.

2.2.3 Ingredients for trusting process

Figure 3 shows the ingredients for trusting process. Figure 3 strings together the theories presented in chapters 2.2, 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. This thesis emphasizes the need to understand the process of trusting. Figure of the ingredients for trusting process demonstrates what is needed if outcome of trust is desired. The model also shows the complexity of trusting process.

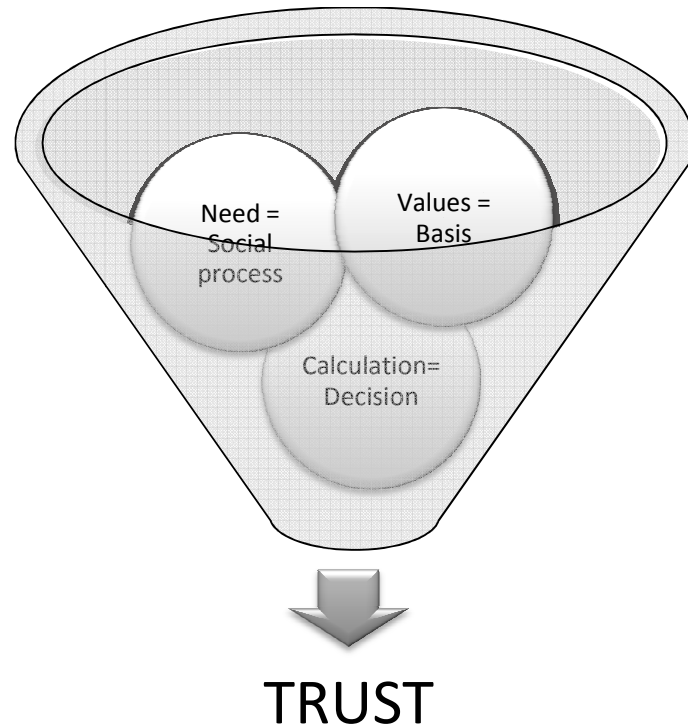


Figure 3 Ingredients for trust formation. None of the ingredients will form trust alone but all of them are required.

Trust is outcome of a social process (Luoma-aho 2005; Rubbel & Harrington 2000; see also Jutila 2003) and it is based on one's values (Ilmonen and Jokinen 2002; Stzompka 1995; Tyler and Kramer 1996). However, there is always a risk in trusting: one has to decide whether or not to trust (Blomquist 1997; Stzompka 1997; Ilmonen and Jokinen 2002). This can be called calculation. But it is driven by the need for services by others. In this way, the trusting process leans on all these three bases: need, values and calculation. This is presented in figure 3.

2.3. Trust in organizations

Interest in the concept of organizational trust has increased throughout the 1980s and 1990s (see Creed & Miles 1995) into the 21st century (see Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002). Increasing uncertainty and complexity, flat hierarchies, more participate management styles and increased professionalism define the society today. Trust is seen as a mechanism to manage these challenges. (Sydow 1998, 31.) The knowledge-based society, needing exchange of information, requires trust (Lane 1999), and it is also required from organizations (Luoma-aho 2005). Trust is more a property of collective units than of isolated individuals (Blomquist 1997, 283).

There exists risk in trusting. Uncertainty and risks are seen as an inherent part of social relationships. Uncertainty and a risk of trusting refer to problems of time and information. (Lane 1998, 3.) As Blomquist (1997, 283) states, trusting requires information. Under absolute information it would be a question not of trust but of rational calculation. If there were no information, it would be a case of faith or gambling. Society is becoming increasingly knowledge based: where, what and whom you know have become important assets (Lane 1999). However, Beck (1992) adds that society is becoming more concerned with risks and unknown future. According to him we live in "risk society".

Blomquist (1997, 283) sees trust towards an organization as the outcome of a process: trust relationships develop gradually. Their nature is fragile, it is difficult to initiate, slow to grow and easy to break. This fragility is linked to reputation and images of an organization (Burt & Knez 1995, 68). Most of the times we do not have own experience on those whom we interact with. In these cases we have to make our decision to trust by other's reputation. If we are unable to rely on our own experience, we have to base our trusting on

recommendations and judgments of other, on reputation. (Eisenegger 2009, 11-12.)

Vos & Schoemaker (2006, 53) claim that organizational image improvement strategies should be consistent trust building. In general, political parties have problems with trustworthiness in the modern societies where leaders are chosen with often superficial image-driven electoral campaigns (Fox & Lees-Marshment 2002; Harris & Lock 1996). At the same time, image and identity activities must be carried out simultaneously and image building strategies alone might be insufficient in long term (Vos & Schoemaker 2006, 54).

Luoma-aho (2005, 169) sees that society today is based greatly on reputation: we are moving towards "reputation society". In reputation society people estimate each other in compliance with past behavior and anticipation of future behavior. As a conclusion, reputation (Luoma-aho 2005), knowledge (Lane 1999) and risks (Beck 1992) describes well today's society.

Scholars from various time periods and a diversity of disciplines seem to agree that trust is highly beneficial to the functioning of organizations (Dirks and Ferrin 2002). For example Sydow (1998, 31) sees trust as a social phenomenon which makes organizations function better and cooperation among organizations easier. There is a strong connection between almost any human interaction and trust; effective communication, learning and problem-solving all require trust (Blomquist 1997, 283). Trust provides the conditions under which certain outcomes, not only cooperation but also higher performance, are likely to occur (Dirks and Ferrin 2002, 451). Trust has been identified as a critical part for partnership formation and for the future success of cooperative ventures. Moreover, trust arises from dependency on other people (Kipnis 1995, 41; Blumquist 1997, 283).

In this chapter different dimensions of trust are scrutinized: Future uncertainty and risks; goodwill and predictability; trustworthiness and vulnerability and competence.

2.3.1 Future uncertainty and risks

Human actions are future orientated. What the future brings is always principally unknown, because it does not exist (Stzompka 1999, 18-19). Trust is linked to uncontrollability of the future since trust develops under conditions of uncertainty and never entirely escapes it. Because there is no complete control of the future we need trust and predictions of what the future brings. If we were practically certain of the future there would be no need for trust. (Stzompka 1999, 18-21; Booth & Wheeler 2008, 230.) Luhmann (1979, 150) states that "its (trust's) function is the reduction of social complexity by increasing the tolerance of uncertainty."

Trust can be defined as person's interdependence on another person under conditions of reliance and risk (Kipnis 1996, 41). In uncertain conditions people take risks or as Stzompka (1999, 25) states: people make bets about an uncertain future. Stzompka (1999, 25) defines trust as follows: "Trust is a bet about the future contingent actions of others". This scheme of thinking refers to a possibility that those anticipated actions could be for example harmful for us, or that our trusting could be taken advantage of.

The risk of trusting indicates that it is impossible for truster to be sure or certain that the trusted person will act the way expected (Offe 1999, 47), people cannot know in advance which actions others will choose (Stzompka 1996, 39). Risks involved in trusting rise a question: why should people take the risk of trusting? Offe (1999, 49) states that "excessive risk avoidance cut ac-

tors off from desired options". The result may be non-cooperation if there is no trust.

Uncertainty, vulnerability and the possibility of avoiding risk or of making a choice based on judgment, are seen as necessary conditions for the existence of trust (Blumquist 1997, 283). As a conclusion, trust both includes the risk and is formulated by the risk (Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002, 113). All three forms of trust (trust as a belief, trust as a decision and trust as an action) are linked to an uncertain future and risks.

2.3.2 Goodwill and predictability

Trust can be seen as general willingness to trust others. Trust is grounded in an individual's personality, life experiences, cultural background, education and other socio-economic factors. (Dietz & Den Hartog 2006, 608). Trust is a belief about another party's actions and assuming that these actions will have positive outcomes (Costa 2003, 558). Costa (2003, 558) states that this belief is "an assessment of other party's trustworthiness". In other words, trust as a belief refers to predictability and goodwill.

Trust includes goodwill between actors, in other words "mutual expectations of reciprocity" (Hardy et al. 1998, 68). Predictability by itself does not define trust competently. Trust will not develop without individuals sharing common values. Solidarity is seen as the main characteristic of legitimate order of societal community. (Lane 1999, 8; see Fukuyama 1995.)

As for goodwill, the target of trust is related to one's integrity, reliability, or character as a whole (Hardy et al. 1998, 68). Yamagishi (1999) points out the central question: will trustees have a benevolent intent to respond the expectations of trusters in spite of chances of trustee's betrayal? In the case of infidelity or extramarital affairs, the matter of trust is not so much about one's

competence or ability to seduce someone else or to keep an extramarital relationship confidential, as one's goodwill or intent not to cheat on the partner (Yamagishi 1999).

Brenkert (1998, 275) introduces a voluntarist view. This view has similar features with the goodwill-dimension. Voluntarist trust is not based on prediction or attitudes one might have towards others, but rather on "voluntary action of placing oneself on the hands of others". Trusting makes people vulnerable with respect to something good, people believe that other's actions will not cause harm or loss (Thomas in Brenkert 1998, 275). Also Lane (1998, 3) sees trust as a belief or expectation including vulnerability. People assume that others will not take advantage of this vulnerability in trusting relationships.

2.3.3 Trustworthiness and vulnerability

Trust can be seen as a decision, it goes beyond trustworthiness: trust is seen as a decision to actually trust the other party (Costa 2003, 559). This dimension refers to expectations and considerations of other people's motives and intentions, trust is predicting (Costa 2003; Dietz and Den Hartog 2006).

Predictability is defined as the "probability" with which an actor assesses that another actor will act in a certain way (Hardy et al. 1999, 66). Luhman (1979) argues that people make predictions concerning the behavior of others. People will trust each other if they are confident that these predictions will come true. Simplified definition is: trust is a belief that one person has about another. Formulating trust may link to ability to predict certain behavior. (Brenkert 1998, 175.)

Stzompka (1999, 24-25) lists three types of orientations with which people may face human predicament: hope, confidence and finally trust. According

to Stzompka hope is an irrational feeling that things will turn out to the good (or bad) whereas confidence can be described as “an emotion of assured expectations and assured beliefs”. Both hope and confidence indicate something occurring without active participation. When people have to act in spite of risks and uncertainty the third orientation, trust, is needed. Confidence may by some authors be included in trust. Trust in that case only partially is uncertain as it is for a part also based on positive experiences in the past. In the present thesis, formation of trust is based on both from expectations (see e.g. Fukuyama 1995; Stzompka 1999; Costa 2003; Blomquist 1997) and experiences (see e.g. Dietz & Den Hartog 2006; Luoma-aho 2009; Rousseau 1998; Lewicki and Bunker 1996), however, this thesis emphasizes that the future is always principally unknown, because it does not exist (Stzompka 1999, 18-19).

Trust is usually based on individual’s expectations of other people’s performance or behavior (Blomquist 1997, 283). Trust is always perceived from outside the actor, in the eyes of the beholder who makes a subjective assessment of the other party. In another words this rational choice approach emphasizes trust as an issue of predictability in which people behave based on their expectations concerning the likely future behavior of others (Tyler 2003, 559).

2.3.4 Competence

As examined above, the decision to trust implies an intention to act. Thus trust has also a form of action. (Costa 2003, 559.) The behavioral form of trust includes the willingness to be vulnerable to others, whose actions one does not control (Dietz and Den Hartog 2006, 608).

The competence dimension of trust covers skills, abilities and characters contributing to a group having influence on some specific domain (Kramer & Tyler 1996; Rubbel & Harrington 2000). Trust is treated as an issue of competence: people trust those who they believe can solve problems and deliver desired outcomes (Blomquist 1997, 278-279).

Blomquist (1997, 278-279) states that competence is linked to actor's perceptions of the possibility of performing well. Competence differs from credibility since it is more passive, independent of the actor's declaration. Luhman (1988) promotes the concept of confidence. He emphasize that if a person does not consider alternatives, confidence is accompanied. If a person acts in a way others prefer, the situation involves trust. Thus lack of confidence and the need for trust may form "a vicious circle". A system, whether it is economic, legal or political, necessitate trust as an input condition. In situations where uncertainty and risks are involved trust has a supportive role. Meanwhile, the structural and operational properties of such a system may erode confidence and thereby undermine one of the essential conditions of trust. (Luhmann 1988, 103.)

2.5 The types and the construct of trust

This chapter summarizes the different aspects of trust. Universal definition of trust does not exist though several issues seem common across definitions. First the construct of trust is presented following the examination of the types of trust. This examination is needed in order to decode the complex nature of trust. Moreover, for operationalizing the construct of trust, it is essential to examine the dimensions of trust.

Costa (2003) introduces three forms of trust: trust as a belief; trust as a decision and; trust as action. This classification is used as a base for defining the

construct of trust in this thesis. However, trust as uncertainty is here added to complement Costa's classification.

Four forms of trust, trust as uncertainty, trust as a belief, trust as a decision and trust as an action, as well as dimensions of trust are scrutinized in more detail below (Table 1). The table is based on the references presented in the theory of the thesis.

THE CONSTRUCT OF TRUST			
COMMUNICATION Luoma-aho 2005; Rubbell and Harrington 2002; Hardy et al. 1998; Lewicki and Bunker 1996			
Form of trust	Wider explanation	Dimensions	References
Trust as uncertainty	“Reducing social complexity by increasing tolerance of uncertainty” (Luhmann 1979)	risks (vulnerability)	Booth and Wheeler 2008; Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002; Offe 1999; Stzompka 1997
Trust as a belief (Costa 2003)	“Confident positive expectations” (Costa 2003)	Goodwill (Benevolence, Integrity), Predictability	Costa, 2003; Dietz & Den Hartog 2006; Yamagishi 1999; Lane 1999; Brenkert 1998
Trust as a decision (Costa 2003)	“Willingness to render oneself vulnerable” (Costa 2003)	Predictability, Vulnerability	Costa, 2003; Dietz & Den Hartog 2006; Stzompka 1999; Blomquist 1997; Luhman 1979
Trust as an action (Costa 2003)	“Risk taking behaviors” (Costa 2003)	Competence	Costa, 2003; Dietz & Den Hartog 2006

Table 1 The construct of trust

Communication is seen here as part of all the forms of trust (see table 1). As Luoma-aho (2005, 154) suggests trust forms through actions and communication even though the type of trust may vary. Trust is based on two-way communication. In an organizational relationship, trust arises from communication process “in which shared meanings develop to provide the neces-

sary foundation for non-opportunistic behavior". (Hardy et al. 1998, 69.) Building trust and understanding others' perspectives requires frequent, accurate and open communication (Rubbel & Harrington 2000, 316). Exchange of information of others' preferences, values and approaches necessitates regular communication.

Trust can also be divided into different types. One classification separates process based trust, person based trust and institution based trust (Bentele in Luoma-aho 2005, 152). Process based trust indicates the record of past experiences. Person based trust is linked to the similarities between people and embraces common worldview and shared values. Institution based trust is compared to confidence as it is affiliated with formal mechanisms such as professionalism and legitimacy. (Bentele in Luoma-aho 2005, 152).

Zucker (1986) introduces characteristic based trust which is partly overlapping with person based trust. Characteristic based trust is linked to norms, obligations and cooperation rooted in social similarity. For example issues like family background, age, social or financial position and ethnicity influence whether a person is trusted or trust.

Lewicki and Bunker (1996, 119) suggest another trio of trust: calculus based trust; knowledge based trust and; identification based trust. According to Lewicki and Bunker, achieving trust at one level leads to trust at the next level. The calculus-based trust assures consistence of behavior, "individuals will do what they say because they fear the consequences of not doing what they say". Calculus based trust is about estimating another's motives and interests. Rousseau et al. (1998, 399) add that calculus based trust refers to characteristics of interactions based upon economic exchange.

The second level of trust, knowledge-based trust, is grounded in the predictability of others. Knowledge based trust is formed over time, and it requires a history of interaction. Rosseau et al. (1998, 399) present a relational based form of trust. Relational based trust has similar features with knowledge

based trust. Relational trust derives from interactions between the truster and the trustee. Trust is developed over time and relation itself between the truster and the trustee forms the basis of relational trust. (Rosseau et al. 1998, 399.)

Identification-based trust is the third level of trust according to Lewicki and Bunker. In this level individuals fully understand each other, and even voluntarily cooperate with each other. (Lewicki & Bunker 1996, 119.) If the levels of trust are examined, deterrence based trust can be seen as opposite of identification based trust. According to Rousseau et al. (1998) deterrence based trust refers to trust where fear and sanctions maintain and the level of trust is low. Some have claimed that deterrence based trust is not trust at all.

The types are anatomized in table 2 (below). In the table substantial features and the degrees of each type of trust are introduced. The table is based on the references mentioned in the table and in this chapter.

THE TYPES OF TRUST			
References	Trust	Features	The degree of trust
Rousseau 1998; Dietz & den Hartog 2006	Deterrence based	Fear of sanctions	Distrust/ low trust
Rousseau 1998; Lewicki & Bunker 1996; Dietz & den Hartog 2006	Calculus based	Rational choice based on experience and reputation, (knowledge of others)	Low trust
Lewicki & Bunker 1996; Dietz & den Hartog 2006	Knowledge based	Predictability, emotions	Confident trust
Rousseau 1998; Bentele in Luoma-aho 2005	Institution based	Institutional settings	Confident trust
Rousseau 1998	Relational based	Interaction, knowledge of others, emotions	High trust
Zucker 1986	Characteristic based	Social similarity (norms, obligations and cooperation)	High/ Strong trust
Bentele in Luoma-aho 2005	Person based	Similarities between people, Common world-view, shared values	High/ Strong trust
Bentele in Luoma-aho 2005	Process based	Past experiences and history	High/ Strong trust
Lewicki & Bunker 1996; Dietz & den Hartog 2006	Identification based	Implicit understanding, identification	Complete trust

Table 2 The types of trust

The types of trust are examined here in order to decode the complex nature of the concept. Trust may result from social processes, from calculation or

from shared values (Porter Liebeskind & Lumerman-Oliver 1998, 119). The developing process of trust may also include knowledge, identification and confidence (Lewicki and Bunker 1998, 119).

2.6 Trust and creativity

Creativity and innovativeness have gained an important position in organizations today. However, the relationship between organizational creativity and trust has been studied only to a small extent (see Elonen et al. 2008; Bidault & Castello 2009). Moreover, research on organizational creativity has gained more attention in private sector organizations than in the context of NGO's (see e.g. Salagou 2004). Next the relation between trust and creativity is studied: first examination concerns the concept of creativity, however attention is also paid on the concept of innovativeness; secondly examination of the role of trust in organizational creativity is presented.

2.6.1 Creativity and innovativeness

Gurteen (1998, 6) distinguishes between the concepts of innovation and creativity. He sees creativity as process of generating ideas and innovation as the implementation of those ideas: "Creativity is about divergent thinking. Innovation is about convergent thinking." According to this, creativity among individuals or teams is starting point for innovation a (Bidault & Castello 2009, 259) after which implementation of the innovation is in order.

Innovativeness can be defined as an enduring organizational trait. Organizations are truly innovative only if they present innovative behavior consistently over time. (Subramanian & Nilakata 1996, 633.) An innovation may take

many forms such as product or process innovation, radical and incremental innovation, and administrative and technological innovations. Organizational innovativeness emerges if an organization is able to create innovations such those mentioned above. (Elonen et al. 2008, 162.) Johansen et al. (in Elonen et al. 2008, 163) distinguishes between three newness-related questions: what is new; how new; and to whom. Wang and Ahmed (2004) have divided the construct of innovativeness into five categories: product-, market-, process-, behavioral- and strategic innovativeness.

In this thesis an organization is used as the unit of analysis. Research in this domain focuses in the organizational characteristics of innovative organizations, for example organizations that adopt innovative processes and the effect of the adoption of innovations on organizational performance (Subramanian & Nilakata 1996, 632). This is because an innovative climate is seen to contribute to organizational success. For example, Hosmer (1996) presents innovativeness as essential for a company's competitiveness: innovativeness is recognized as one of the key determinants for organizational survival and success (see also Wang & Ahmed 2004).

According to Ellonen et al. (2008) innovation and innovativeness are issues strongly related to sustaining competitive advantage, especially in large and mature organizations. Also Subramanian and Nilakata (1996) state that innovativeness improves organizational performance. Ellonen et al. (2008, 161) emphasize the role of trust in knowledge-intensive organizations. Also Gurteen (1998) notes the importance of creating and applying new knowledge in the innovation process. Bidault & Castello (2009, 262) note that the more freedom members of organization gain, the more new ideas and also less conflicts are sprung up.

2.6.2 The role of trust in organizational creativity

According to Ellonen et al. (2008, 164) the empirical research on the role of trust in organizational innovativeness is narrow. Despite of this, previous studies support the assumption that high levels of trust have a positive effect on the effectiveness and quality of organizational knowledge sharing and innovativeness. (Ellonen et al. 2008, 164.) Rubbel and Harrington (2000, 314) state that only trust can convince people that their ideas and improvisation are welcomed and not penalized.

In their research on the relationship between communication, work climate, trust, commitment and innovation Rubbel and Harrington (2000, 326) found that there is a relationship between employee trust and perceptions of commitment and innovation. They define trust as employees' willingness to take risks and state that increasing trust will elevate employees' willingness to take risks and lead to greater creativity and innovation.

Rubbel and Harrington (2000, 326) suggest that creating and maintaining trust is essential for organizations which desire innovations. However, Bidault & Castello (2009, 267) claim that an increase in trust does not necessarily increase the level of creativity. They studied trust and creativity in joint developments, and found that while conflicts related to relations between individuals and groups were detrimental to team performance, task orientated conflicts can be beneficial. As conclusion, low levels of trust may cause relational conflicts which are harmful for coordination, but high levels of trust may induce task orientated conflicts which would be beneficial to organizational creativity and innovativeness. (Bidault & Castello 2009, 267.)

On the one hand, low levels of trust cause relational conflicts which may result in an inefficient working climate. But on the other hand, high levels of trust may reduce task orientated conflicts leading to harmful accommodat-

ing. This may lead to lower creative tension and reduce innovativeness. (Bidault & Castello 2009, 267.)

From the point of view of a political party, the base of democratic decision making lies in the right to express opinions and criticize the current situation. Even though freedom of expressing opinions is protected by law in Finland, the operational culture inside different political parties may constrain the possibilities and willingness to express critical views. Skepticism is possible, but not necessarily desired. Also the group solidarity may reduce willingness to criticize. However, expressing opinions and views is fundament in politics: interactive opinion changing builds politics. (Jutila 2003, 287.)

It is emblematic in the operational culture among the professional politicians that in substance matters colleagues who have orientated in one particular matter are trusted and no unsubstantial critic is presented. Also the limited resources (such as time) underpin trust and the way duties and work are distributed between politicians. (Jutila 2003, 288.)

2.6.3 The continuum of trust with the ideal conditions to creativity

Figure 4 created by the researcher presents the Bidault and Castello's (2009) idea that neither distrust nor faith increases trust by using Pretre's (in Luoma-aho 2005, 165) idea of continuum of trust. According to Pretre (in Luoma-aho 2005, 164) at the one end of the continuum of trust is distrust and at the other end there is unrealistic, burning trust, even faith. Faith can be understood as a strongest type of trust. The burning trust end shares qualities such as deep commitment and unquestioned believing.

Figure 4 shows that neither distrust nor faith increase creativity. Ideal conditions for trust require reasonable or healthy trust. The increase in trust does not necessarily increase the level of creativity.

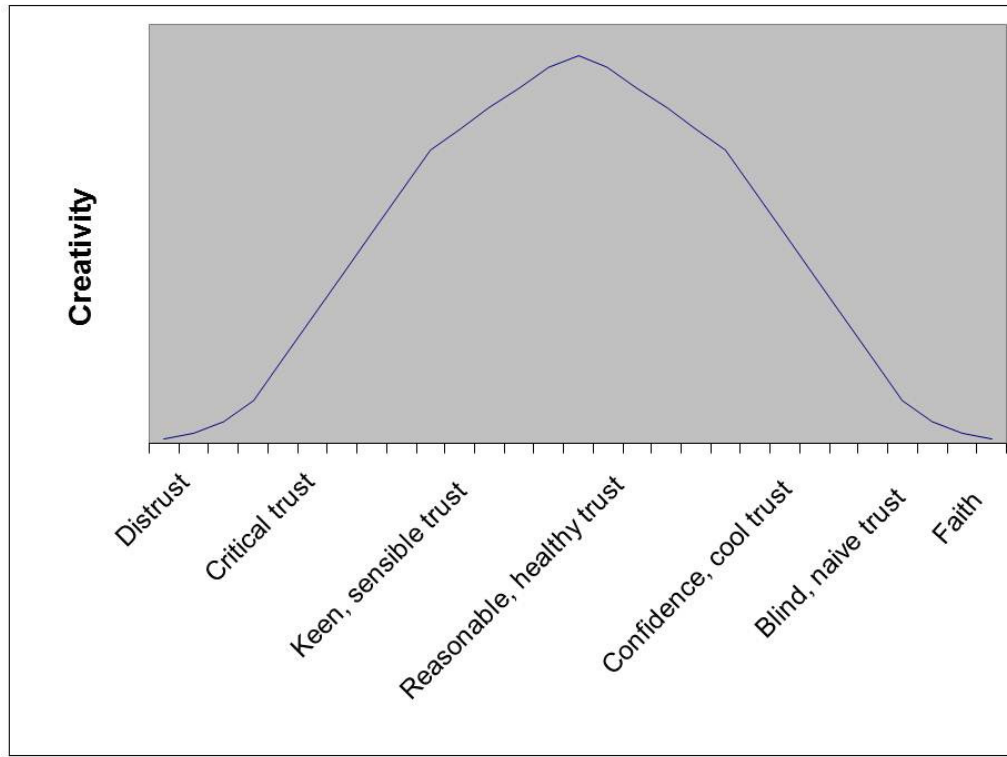


Figure 4 Continuum of trust (Pretre 2000) with the ideal conditions to innovativeness.

As noted earlier in this study, trust is vital for democracy and it reflects a sense of community between the political elite and the citizens. Democracy will lose its legitimacy and possibly an active and participating citizenry. Obviously, a substantial degree of discontent may exist in every political system for a short period of time and act as catalyst for changes required in the system. However, an extend period of distrust may lead to a social conflict which is difficult to manage through conventional channels of political system. (Miller 1974, 951-970.)

3 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

This chapter concerns political organizations and consists of 3 subchapters. First political organizations are discussed in general: attention is paid on the nature of political organizations as well as Finnish political system especially concentrating on the Finnish Parliament. Moreover, this chapter presents the Centre Party Parliamentary Group and examines the relation between the parliamentary group and the party organization.

3.1 Political parties as a part of Western democracies

Today it is a received viewpoint that political parties are essential part of public activities of the society. Parties are a part of the western democracies. (Paloheimo & Wiberg 2008.) Parties are fundamental for the participation of the citizens on the public activities and through parties many isolated views and ideas are canalized into clear opinion lines. In ideal case, parties educate leaders, increase citizens' knowledge of the society as well as interest towards public affairs and bring the citizens to the ballot boxes. However, political parties also dominate the official decision making by occupying the central positions in local, regional and national levels. (Nousiainen 1998, 30-31.)

A political party can be described as a well-organized group organization which is attached to the economic and social structures of the society, and which reaches governmental authority in order to allocate concrete benefits

to its members and supporters as well as contributing its ideological goals (Nousiainen 1998, 31). Political parties are seen as coalitions built by individuals striving for the interests of their members and supporters (Juttila 2003, 33). In this thesis parties are understood also as organizations providing places for decision making and influencing (see e.g. Juttila 2003; Bäck & Möller 2001; Nousiainen 1998).

Parties are seen as an essential part of functioning democracy and at the same time parties have been said to be in decline almost from the moment they became established (e.g. Blondel 2002; Borg 1997). There is no doubt that the challenges contemporary parties in Western democracies face today are great. Many challenges to parties have emerged as consequences of higher levels of personal resources possessed by the citizens. Better informed citizens are able to enhance their participatory capabilities via independent channels of information (web) and form their own orientations towards politics without guidance of “opinion leaders”.

New social movements, single-issue interest groups, and unconventional forms of political involvement interest people rather than traditional ideologies. (Montero & Gunther 2002, 4-5.) The citizens in Western Democracies, including Finland, trust less politicians, political parties and main democratic institutions such as national parliaments. Citizens are conscious and more willing to criticize the present situations. (Dalton 2006, see also Bäck & Kes-tilä 2009.)

Parliaments are central institutions in European democracy. Also in Finland the ultimate power is held by the parliament: the direction has been towards full-blown parliamentary democracy. The president of the republic stays mainly background (except in the foreign policy issues) and has a role of an opinion leader. (Raunio & Wiberg 2008.) The 200 members of Finnish Parliament are elected every four years using a direct proportional system. Parliament main functions are to enact legislation, approve the state budget, rati-

fy international treaties and oversee the Government. Parliamentary work is divided into in three key sectors: the parliamentary groups shape policy, the committees prepare matters and the plenary session makes final decisions. Legislation is enacted according to the Constitution and the Procedure of Parliament. The parliamentary work is directed by the Speaker together with the Deputy Speakers and the Speaker's Council. The Parliamentary Office headed by the Secretary General of Parliament provides services for MPs. (Suomen eduskunta; see also Nousiainen 1998; Mickelsson 2007; Sundberg 1996.)

In Finland the government formation is in the hands of the parliament. The results of the parliamentary elections shape the government formation: the prime minister and cabinet must enjoy the confidence of the legislature. As stated earlier, adoption of laws and the state budget necessitates parliamentary approval. (Raunio & Wiberg 2008.)

In Finland recent constitutional reforms have strengthened parliamentarism by reducing the powers of the president and empowering the government and the parliament. However, despite of the strong position of Finnish parliament in decision making, today's politics in Finland is almost completely government-driven (Raunio & Wiberg 2008.) As Raunio's & Wiberg's (2008) analysis shows, the Finnish Parliament faces considerable difficulties in controlling the government: "The parliament sets some outer constraints for the executive, but the bulk of parliamentary business consists of reacting to initiatives from the government."

3.2 The Centre Party Parliamentary Group

The empirical part of the study was carried out within the Centre Party Parliamentary Group. The Centre Party group at the national Parliament is inte-

grated in the Finnish Centre Party. In the beginning of the year 2010 The Finnish Centre Party had 51 members of the Parliament (MP) which made it the largest political group at the Finnish Parliament. As well, the prime minister was a member of the Centre Party and the parliamentary group. (Keskustan eduskuntaryhmän vuosikertomus 2009.)

The work of the MPs is done in the committees and each Centre Party MP is an ordinary member and a deputy member of at least one committee. Plenary sessions are held from Tuesday to Friday. During the weekends and Mondays, MPs usually continue their work in the provinces, meeting with constituents. (Keskustan eduskuntaryhmän vuosikertomus 2009; see also e.g. Nousiainen 1998; Mickelsson 2007; Sundberg 1996.)

The Centre Party was born in 1906. At the party's early stages, the support of the party was based strongly on large countryside population. Nowadays supporters come from various social backgrounds. The study of the Centre Party's party congress delegates shows that employees and farmers dominate the delegate positions but the backgrounds of the delegates are more diverse than the image of it (Ellä, Jutila & Kovalainen 2010). The Centre Party has been in the center between the left wing and the right wing. The basic principles of the Centre Party grow from the belief in the human resources of the people, in the importance of humanity and tolerance and in the meaning of co-operation making use for everybody. Social safety and freedom of choice, regional equality, entrepreneurship, ecologically sustainable, over the generations lasting relation with nature and a decentralized, democratic decision making are the Centre Party's main values. (Kalliokoski 2006; Keskusta About us 2009.)

The Centre Party Parliamentary Group is tight to the parliamentary decision-making system. As described earlier, the parliament is the supreme decision-making authority in Finland. During the parliament's autumn session 2009, 56 plenary sessions were held, 14 of these sessions were question hours (de-

bates conducted in a plenary session in which Members of Parliament present questions to ministers orally). The parliament adopted 159 government proposals and processed three reports of the government. (Keskustan eduskuntaryhmän vuosikertomus 2009.)

3.3 The relation between the parliamentary group and the party organization

It is not enough for political parties to adjust to the changing world, they actually have to try to influence the future. This aspect separates political parties (also the Centre Party) from other types of organizations such as profit making companies, while sharing it with governmental and change oriented non-governmental organizations. Another typical feature of a political party is continuity: Parties are not single issue interest groups, but parties are proposed to have an opinion or a standpoint for all the issues that arise on the political agenda. (Mickelsson 2009, 8-11.) In western democracies parties have several functions and duties: They bring order and harmony to the political system; they bundle up and bring out single opinions and interests; they set political goals; and they recruit the political elite. (Paloheimo & Wi-berg 2008, 217-218; Mickelsson 2009, 11.)

The Parliamentary group and the party are in many senses tied to each other and the members of the parliament represent the party rather than their electorate. Parliamentary elections are party elections: parties select and train the candidates and also support their campaigns. Thereby parties perceive that they have the right to guide the actions of the ones chosen. (Nousiainen 1998, 71; Jutila 2003, 168.) However, there is often competition and changing of the focus of power politics between the parliamentary groups and the party organizations. Formally the parliamentary group is separated from the actual

organization structure of the party in all the political parties (Nousiainen 1998, 71).

The position of the parliamentary group also depends on whether the party is in the government or in the opposition. Cohesion of public appearances is more needed from the parties in the government, and while discussing the politics of the government the focus is on the cooperation between the ministers and the party executives. The parliamentary group is seen as the secondary force in the decision making process and the members of the parliament are bound to guidelines and directions from the ministers and party executive. (Nousiainen 1998, 72.)

4 METHODS

This chapter explicates the research methods applied in this study. The research methodology chosen depends on the research questions and the philosophical perspectives from which the questions are to be investigated. This chapter also includes the description of the purpose of the thesis as well as the research process. Moreover, operationalization of the research concepts and the data collection method are described.

The present thesis is interested in trust inside a political organization and the relation between trust and creativity. They are examined through professional politicians, and the organization chosen is the Centre Party Parliamentary Group. This study uses a semi-structured questionnaire in which qualitative and quantitative elements are combined.

This thesis aims at answering the following research questions:

RQ1. How is trust formed inside a political organization?

RQ2. What is the significance of trust in a political organization? And does internal trust give added value for a political organization? What kind?

RQ3. What is the relation between trust and creativity?

The research questions concerning the trust formation (RQ1) and significance of trust (RQ2) are studied via the literature part and via the empirical part of the thesis. The research question concerning the relation between trust and creativity (RQ3) is answered mainly in the theory presented in this thesis.

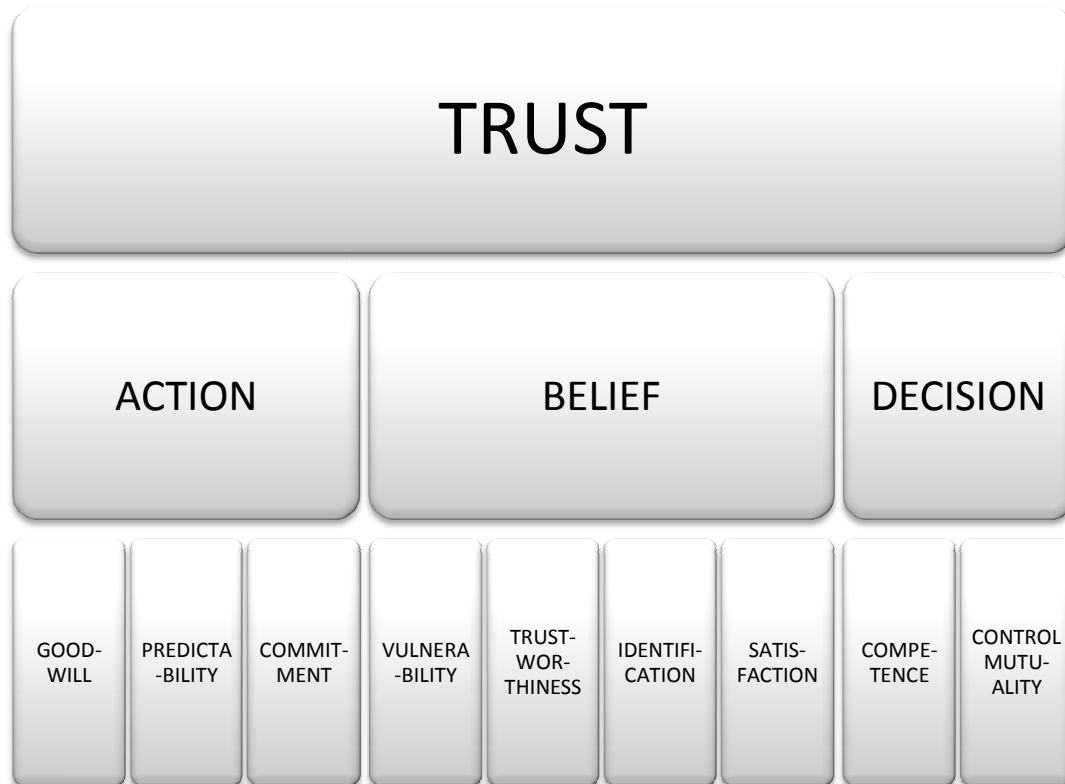
4.1 Data collection method and operationalization

The data was collected with a standardized survey (see appendixes 2 and 3). Surveys provide a convenient method for gathering information about beliefs, attitudes, behaviors (Frey et al. 2000) and values, ideas and opinions (Hirsjärvi et al. 2000). A survey was selected as a data collection method since via a survey the collection of a large amount of data is relatively easy and several questions can be asked in a small space. A questionnaire is an inexpensive way to collect data. It can be used to collect data of the target organization as a whole and gather information and feedback on specific components. (Frey et al. 2000, 198.) However, the return rate is one problem of questionnaires. There is hardly any control over respondents' activity and the return rate is often relatively low. Also finding commonalities among people, getting a clear view and making accurate statements, especially for a large group, can be challenging. (Frey et al. 2000.) The way these difficulties manifested themselves in the present thesis are approached later in the text.

At first the theoretical constructs of this thesis were transformed into a measurable form. The process of transforming, operationalization, is essential for the success of the study. (Metsämuuronen 2003, 79.) Forming intangible concepts into measurable form may be tricky as they are socially constructed and thus socially understood and difficult to measure. This may raise a question whether the measurements actually do measure the phenomena intended or rather other related phenomena. (Luoma-aho 2005, 199.) With these in mind, this thesis aims at measuring trust.

Figure 5 presents the operationalization of trust, the main concept of this thesis. Costa (2003) introduces three forms of trust: trust as a belief, trust as a decision and trust as action. This classification is used as a base for defining the construct of trust in the thesis. The dimensions of trust presented in the

previous theory part (goodwill; predictability; commitment; vulnerability; trustworthiness; identification; satisfaction; competence; control Mutuality) are here reallocated according to these three forms of trust. Yet, it is essential to notice the overlapping nature of the dimensions presented



Though the importance of trust for an organization it is broadly known, there is a lack of a consistent methodology to measure the trust of an organization (Paine 2003, 5). Many studies conclude and suggest that more work needs to be done to improve both our understanding of trust, and the measurement tools for trust (Dietz & Hartog 2006; Seppänen et al. 2005). However, the measurement tools of the present thesis are formed through the theory presented in the study. The measurement of trust depends on the definition of the concept.

In this study, trust inside a political organization is perceived as an "expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other member of the community" (Fukuyama 1995, 26). In this thesis formation of trust is based on both from expectations (see e.g. Fukuyama 1995; Stzompka 1999; Costa 2003; Blomquist 1997) and experiences (see e.g. Dietz & Den Hartog 2006; Luoma-aho 2009; Rousseau 1998; Lewicki and Bunker 1996). One useful way to operationalize past experience is to apply semantic differential scales (see Luoma-aho 2005, 202).

The success of the study depends on the development of the measurement or exploitation of an existing measurement. Invalid measurement may ruin the study, and it is a recommendation to use primarily the kind of measures whose reliability and validity have already been proven. (Metsämuuronen 2003, 36.) The questionnaire of this thesis consisted of multi-item measures. Part of these measures had been validated and shown to be reliable by previous academics. The theory of this study was used as the operationalization base for some of the measures.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire (appendix 2 and 3) consisted of 5 different questions and an extra space for the respondents' own remarks. Respondents' own remarks are not analyzed in this thesis due the small number of answers. The questions included one semantic differential question, one likert-scale question, 3 open questions and background statistics. The open questions were based on the theory presented in this thesis. Questions 2 and 3 were based on the earlier validated trust barometers as well as the theory introduced in this study. The questionnaire is explicated more in detail below.

The questionnaire was printed on a double-sided A4 paper (also an extra sheet of plain paper for own remarks was provided). The questionnaire items

concerned organizational trust and its dimensions. The questionnaire consisted multiple-, scale- and open questions. Open questions (Q1, Q4 and Q5) asked respondents to use their own words in answering questions (Frey et al. 2000, 211). Question 3 consisted of semantic differential attributes distinguished by the numbers 1-5, where the positive attribute was at the one end of the scale (1) and the negative at the other (5).

In a likert-scale questions (in this study Q2) respondents choose an answer from the given response scale depending on how much they agree or disagree (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree, 3=neutral opinion) (Hirsjärvi et al. 2000, 169). Some of the items were negatively worded and then reversed in order to avoid social-desirability effects (see Hair et al. 1998, 130, 472).

Open questions were built in order to give respondents ability to associate freely; respondents were able to write about matters which had not been considered in advance. Respondents were also able to expand upon their answers. Questions related to background information were multiple choice questions.

In the questionnaire questions 2 and 3 measured organizational trust within the dimensions of trust presented in this thesis: Competence; Goodwill/ Integrity: trustworthiness/ dependability/ reliability; identification; vulnerability; satisfaction; and commitment. Question 3 included also items related to organizational creativity, yet the organizational creativity and innovativeness are examined in principal through the theory of the thesis. By open questions respondents' past experiences of the organization (Q1) and the estimation of formation of trust inside the organization (Q5) were measured. Also factors for success of the organization (Q4) were measured.

Qualitative questions

Table 3 demonstrates the content of the open questions (Q1, Q4, Q5) of this thesis: the frame of the reference of the questions and researcher's own concerns linked to the questions. Question 1 "What is the most unforgettable experience of the Centre Party you have experienced?" seeks to unfold the experiences the respondents perceive as memorable. Experiences play a great role in trust formation. As Offe (1999, 50) concludes: "Out of past experience develops a present orientation concerning the anticipation of future behavior."

Question 4 "What are the most important factors for the success of the Centre Party?" measures whether or not trust is significant for a political organization as well as dimensions of trust inside of a political organization. Scholars from various time periods and a diversity of disciplines seem to agree that trust is highly beneficial to the functioning of organizations (Dirks & Ferrin 2002). For example Sydow (1998, 31) sees trust as a social phenomenon which makes organizations function better and cooperation among organizations easier. Question 4 aims to examine whether trust is seen as significant for a political organization. The question also reflects the dimensions of trust.

Question 5 "From where does your trust in Centre Party arise?" relates to the respondents perceptions of the formation of trust inside a political organization. The question seeks to examine how formation of trust is seen among the respondents. It is also in focus to compare the responses to the theory presented in this thesis.

OPEN QUESTIONS		
Question number	Frame of reference of the question	Researcher's concerns
<p>Question 1</p> <p>"What is the most unforgettable experience of the Centre Party you have experienced?"</p>	<p>The most memorable experiences of the Centre Party</p>	<p>The tone of the responses, coherences and differences between answers</p>
<p>Question 4</p> <p>"What are the most important factors for the success of the Centre Party?"</p>	<p>Significance of trust for a political organization; Dimensions of trust inside a political organization</p>	<p>Whether or not respondents mention trust or its' dimensions as an important factor,</p> <p>Comparing the factors mentioned to the theory</p>
<p>Question 5</p> <p>"From where does your trust in Centre Party arise?"</p>	<p>Formation of trust inside a political organization according to the respondents</p>	<p>How formation of trust is seen among the respondents compared to the theory presented in this thesis</p>

Table 3 The content of the open questions (1, 4 and 5)

Quantitative questions

Table 4 presents the content of the quantitative questions (Q2, Q3). In the table each question item is divided by the trust dimension and also examples of the questions are provided. Questions 2 and 3 measure organizational trust within the dimensions of trust. Also respondents' perceptions of organizational creativity are measured. These dimensions are measured by 27 questionnaire items in total. The questionnaire items for the dimensions of trust were adapted from the Guidelines for Measuring Trust in Organizations (Paine 2003). Also research of Seppänen et al. (2005) of measuring inter-organizational trust (a critical review of the empirical research in 1990–2003) was used as a base for creating the questionnaire items.

Question 2 “What is your opinion on the propositions below?”		
Question 3 “In my opinion, The Centre Party is (select the circle closest to your opinion)”		
Question number	Trust dimension (theoretical framework)	Examples of questions
2a, 2f, 3f, 3h	Competence	The Centre Party has succeeded as a party; is competent - is incompetent; is able to compete - is behind
2l, 2m, 2q,	Goodwill/ Integrity	The Centre Party takes my opinions into account when making important decisions The Centre Party believes the opinions of people like me are legitimate
2g, 2c, 3d, 3i	Trustworthiness/ Dependability/ Reliability	I think it is necessary to monitor decision-making procedures in the Centre Party; is credible - is false
2n, 2o	Identification	Values of the Centre Party are similar with mine
2b	Vulnerability	The Centre Party is prepared for risks
2d	Control mutuality	the Centre Party is not cooperative
2k, 2e, 3b, 3g	Satisfaction	I am satisfied with the Centre Party’s actions in general at the moment; is inspiring - is dispiriting
2h, 2j, 2p, 3j	Commitment	I feel sense of loyalty to the Centre Party; is loyal - is unpredictable
3a, 3c, 3e	Creativity, Innovativeness	is creative - is suffocating; is inspiring - is dispiriting

Table 4 The content of the quantitative questions 2 and 3

The background questions

The last part of the questionnaire included individual questions of background information. The individual control variables were gender, the number of parliamentary periods of the member of the parliament and whether respondent is/ have been in a leading position in the Centre Party (minister, president of the party, vice-president of the party, secretary general of the party, chair of the parliamentary group, vice chair of the parliamentary group).

4.2 Content analysis

The research questions were approached through content analysis. Content analysis can be seen as a method but also as a loose theoretical framework (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 93). Content analysis is interested in content of messages embedded within texts (Frey et al. 2000, 236-237; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 93). Content analysis includes classification of the research data, examining similarities and dissimilarities in data and condensing data gathered. Through content analysis one aims to build concise description of research items, and connect research results to the wider context of the items studied and also to other research results (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 105). In this thesis content analysis is used to identify, enumerate, and analyze occurrences of specific messages and message characteristics embedded in texts. This study uses both qualitative and quantitative content analysis as a research method. (Frey et al. 2000, 236-237.)

Two of the qualitative question items of the questionnaire, "What is the most unforgettable experience of the Centre Party you have experienced?" (Q2) and "From where does your trust in the Centre Party arise?" (Q3), are analyzed by qualitative content analysis. In these questions this research is more

interested in the meanings associated with the messages than with the number of times message variables occur. In part narrative analysis is applied focusing on the main themes and stories contained in the texts (in the responses of the questionnaire). (Frey et al. 2000, 237.) Question item 5 "What are the main factors for success of the Centre Party?" is analyzed by quantitative content analysis. The primary goal of quantitative content analysis is to describe and count the messages embedded in texts (Frey et al. 2000, 238).

Content analysis includes several important stages which have been taken into account in the present thesis. First, the unit of analyses was determined. In this study the units of analyses were all the responses of the questionnaire. After determination of units, the data was coded into an excel-file. The data was also categorized into several categories in order to structure data into most simplified form. (Frey et al. 2000, 240-244; Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 156.) Categorization is mainly reasoning. However, it is essential to justify the categories empirically and conceptually: categories have to base on both the theory and the practice. (Hirsijärvi & Hurme 2000, 147.) Coding units into nominal categories yield to qualitative data and counting the number of units in each category yields to quantitative data (Frey et al. 2000, 243). However, in this thesis data is primarily categorized according to the practice (the data gathered) (as suggested by Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 109-116). The last stage of the content analysis is to write a summary of the analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 95).

4.3 Data collection and coding

The data was gathered from the Centre Party parliamentary group in February and March 2010. The questionnaire (see appendixes 2 and 3) was distributed by mail (25.2.2010) to all the members of the Centre party parliamentary group. In total, 51 questionnaires were sent. Moreover, the letter the

members received included an introduction and an information sheet (see appendix 1) and a return envelope. The delivery form was chosen in order to increase the response rate: this type of approach, regular mail, was chosen because it was assumed that the receivers are more likely to respond a questionnaire on paper than online.

The receivers got also two emails informing them of the study. The first email was distributed a day after (26.2.2010) the survey was sent out. The second email was distributed two days before the deadline (11.3.2010) of returning the questionnaire. The assistants of the MPs were informed of the study by email as well (3.3.2010). The secretary general of the Centre party parliamentary group was also informed by a phone call.

The data gathered was coded and analyzed using Microsoft excel -software.

5 RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the thesis. First the qualitative data is approached following the examination of the quantitative data. The aim of the study was to determine trust inside a political organization. This research sought answers for the question how professional politicians (members of the parliament) experience trust inside the party they are members of. Also the relation between trust and innovativeness was of interest. However, the relation between trust and innovativeness is studied mainly via the theory of this research. Another goal of this research was to study whether the trust in a political organization brings added value for the organization and if what kind of value. As a conclusion, this research aimed to answer questions how trust formed and how important it is for a political organization.

Altogether 31 (out of 51) questionnaires were returned, of which none had to be disqualified. The return rate was 61 %. According to Hirsjärvi et al. (2000, 196) mailed questionnaires usually have a response rate of 30 to 40 %, hence the response rate of this questionnaire was very positive.

In the questionnaire respondents had a possibility to make some own remarks (an extra sheet was provided). However, respondents' own remarks are not studied in the present thesis due the small number of answers.

The background information statistics (table 5) show that typical respondents of the questionnaire were male members of the parliament who had experience of one or two parliamentary periods. However, men answered the

questionnaire slightly more conscientiously than women. Most of the respondents were not in a leading position in the Centre Party.

	NUMBER OF THE RESPONDENTS/ TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS	% OUT OF ALL RESPONDENTS /% OUT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS
GENDER		
MALE	23/ 38	74,2 %/ ~75 %
FEMALE	7/ 13	22,6 %/ ~25 %
NO RESPONSE	1	3,2 %
THE NUMBER OF PARLIAMENTARY PERIODS OF A MEMBER OF THE PARLIAMENT		
1-2 PERIODS	15	48,4 %
3-4 PERIODS	10	32,6 %
5- (OR MORE) PERIODS	4	13 %
NO RESPONSE	2	6,5 %
LEADING POSITION IN THE CENTRE PARTY (AT THE MOMENT/ IN THE PAST)		
YES	11	35 %
NO	19	61,3 %
NO RESPONSE	1	3,2 %

Table 5 Background statistics

5.1 Qualitative research

The research included three qualitative questions: "What is the most unforgettable experience of the Centre Party you have experienced?", "From where does your trust in the Centre Party arise?" and "What are the main factors for success of the Centre Party?" This chapter analyses the responses related to these questions.

Content analysis was used as a research method for the qualitative questions. First the data gathered was split into smaller units and conceptualized and finally organized into new ensemble (see Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002). In this thesis the quotations from the research data are for proving and describing the conclusions and interpretations made (Eskola ja Suoranta 1998, 197).

5.1.1 Individual and communal experiences and the tone of answers

The first question of the questionnaire "What is the most unforgettable experience of the Centre Party you have experienced?" sought to unfold the memorable experiences respondents had of the Centre Party. 87 percent (N=27) of the respondents (N=31) answered the question. The response rate of this question can be considered good since open questions are often passed and respondent often answer off the mark (see Valli 2001, 46).

First the tone of the responses was examined. Concern was to study whether respondents' memorable or unforgettable experiences were negative, positive or neutral. Also mixed answers (answers containing more than single tone) were taken into account, however, none mixed answers were found.

Secondly the responses were categorized into smaller units in order to examine the answers from new perspective.

The tone of the responses. The answers were dominated by neutral, fact-based responses: More than half of the questions were neutral. Figure 6 presents the tones given to the question: Neutral 55%, positive 26%, negative 6%, no answer 13%.

The tone of responses (Q1)

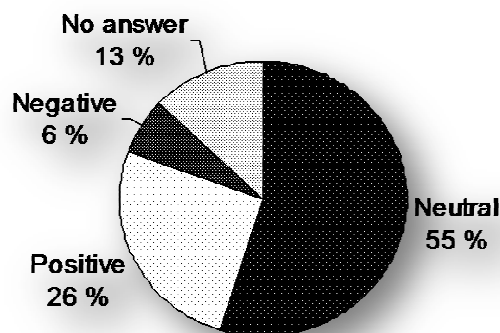


Figure 6 The tone of the responses given to the question "What is the most unforgettable experience of the Centre Party you have experienced?"

In the neutral answers respondents mainly listed different elections and party meetings. For question 1, "What is the most unforgettable experience of the Centre Party you have experienced" the neutral responses (55%) were concerned for example:

"Party conventions in Turku and in Pori" [Turun ja Porin puoluekokoukset]

"Party conventions, especially Jyväskylä (1994)" [Puoluekokoukset,

erityisesti Jyväskylä (1994)]

"Elections during the years, resignation of Jätteenmäki" [Vaalit vuosien varrella, Jätteenmäen ero]

For question 1 the positive responses (26%) concentrated mainly on individual experiences. The positive answers concerned for example:

"When I was a little boy, I was handing out electoral leafs and putting up billboards with my father in my home area. By the way, we won those elections!" [Olin pikkupoikana jakamassa vaalilehtiä ja pystyttämässä mainostauluja isän kanssa kotikulmilla. Voitettiin muuten ne vaalit!]

"- - - Personally for me significant was that I was elected as a chair of a local association. It was a total surprise. And after the election I got more tasks. The election was held during the time I was the head of the local NKL in my own municipality." [- - -. Ehkä henkilökohtaisesti merkityksellistä oli kun nuoruudessani olin omassa kunnassani NKL:n pj:na kokousedustajana kunnallisjärjestön kokouksessa ja minut valittiinkin minulle täytenä yllätyksenä kunnallisjärjestön puheenjohtajaksi. Tehtävät alkoivat lisääntyä.]

For question 1 the negative responses (6%) included for example:

"Being deprived of a position only because of the need to lift the desired prime-minister-to-be's rank in the hierarchy for a while. Dividing the group into sheeps and goats. The fact that only a hand- full of people makes all the important decisions. A lack of openness - the fact that only the "right peoples'" expertise and will to expertise and hard work are taken into account." [Se, että tiputettiin pestiltä ja vain siksi, että tulevaksi ministeriksi haluttu ihminen saataisiin hierarkiassa hetkeksi paremmalle paikalle. Porukan jakaminen vuohiin ja lampaisiin aivan mielivaltaisain perustein. Se, että kourallinen ihmisiä päättää kaikesta.

Avoimuuden puute - se, että syväosaamista ja paneutumista ei noteerata, jos sen tekee "väärä" ihminen.]

Individual and communal experiences. Two levels of experiences emerged from the responses: Trust in communal level and trust in individual level. These levels of trust are examined in detail below.

Communal experiences. Experiences in communal level predicate interaction and cooperation as a part of the formation process. 55 percent (N=18) of the responses of question 1 "What is the most unforgettable experience of the Centre Party you have experienced?" were categorized into communal level. Many of the respondents (N=13) mentioned one certain party convention or party conventions in general as the most memorable experience of the Centre Party. All responses in which party convention was mentioned were assorted into the communal level of trust formation. Examples of these responses are evidenced below

"Powerful spirit of the party conventions" [Puoluekokousten väkevä henki]

"Party conventions in Turku and in Pori" [Turun ja Porin puoluekokoukset]

Also some (N=4) respondents listed a specific election, elections in general or certain electoral return as the most memorable experience.

"Parliamentary elections in 1991. At that time the Centre Party won the elections ("known as blood halting victory") and Esko Aho became the prime minister of Finland." [Vuoden 1991 eduskuntavaalit. Silloin keskusta sai "veret seisauttavan" vaalivoiton ja sen ansiosta Esko Ahosta tuli Suomen pääministeri.]

"The election of Paavo Väyrynen as a party leader after Johannes Virolainen in Turku in 1980." [Paavo Väyrysen valinta puheenjohtajaksi Johannes Virolaisen jälkeen Turussa v. 1980.]

"The birth of the second government of Vanhanen" [Vanhasen II hallituksen synty]

One respondent (N=1) mentioned team spirit in this question.

Individual experiences. Luoma-aho (2005, 155) sees an individual's ability to estimate others' trustworthiness to derive from "the past history of relationships first in the family and later in groups, associations and organizations". Some of the respondents (N=5) mentioned a personal merit, achievement or failure as the most memorable experience of the Centre Party. Two (N=2) responses linked to childhood or youth memories. These attributes, personal merits and failures and childhood and youth memories, were categorized into individual level. The answers linked to individual experiences concerned for example:

"To be elected as a member of parliament representing the Centre Party, and walk up the stairs of the parliament building for the first time."
[Tulla valituksi Keskustan kansanedustajaksi ja nousta ensi kertaa kansanedustajana eduskuntatalon portaita ylös.]

"When I was a little boy, I was handing out electoral leafs and putting up billboards with my father in my home area. By the way, we won those elections!" [Olin pikkupoikana jakamassa vaalilehtiä ja pystyttämässä mainostauluja isän kanssa kotikulmilla. Voitettiin muuten ne vaalit!]

5.1.2 Perspectives of trust formation

In this section the results concerning the fifth question of the questionnaire "From where does your trust in the Centre Party arise?" are discussed. The question sought to unwrap respondents' view of trust formation inside the party.

93.5 percent (N=29) of the respondents (N=31) answered the question. The responses were categorized into six groups by the content of the responses (see table 6). The groups were: promise keeping; interaction and influencing; party executives; values, ideology and content; history and tradition; and openness, sincerity and fairness. This categorization is examined in detail below. Dietz's and Hartog's (2006, 608) view supports the categorization: trust is grounded in an individual's personality, life experiences, cultural background, education and other socio-economical factors.

Perspectives of trust formation (percent of the answers)	
Promise keeping (31%)	Values, Ideology and Content (41%)
Interaction and influencing (27,5%)	History and tradition (13,7%)
Party executives (6,8%)	Openness, sincerity and fairness (10,3%)

Table 6 Perspectives of trust formation

Operational and Social perspectives of trust formation. Relying on the research data it can be said that trust among the examination group of professional politicians form in operational and in social processes. Many (65,5%) of the respondents referred to predictability of party actions; keeping promises and adhering the contracts made were seen as part of trust formation. Based on the respondent's answers, formulating trust may link to ability to predict certain behavior. Responses dealing with predictability of keeping

promises and adhering contracts can be seen as “mutual expectations of reciprocity” (Hardy et. al 1999, 68).

All responses in which promise keeping and adhering contracts (31%) were mentioned were assorted into the category of operational perspectives of trust formation. Examples of these responses are evidenced below:

“Keeping the agreements, sticking to the policy made together, one matter –one speech.” [Pidetään kiinni siitä mitä on sovittu, yhdessä linjatusta pidetään kiinni, yksi asia - yhdet puheet.]

“There is a promise to promote certain issues and this promise has been kept. We have stuck to the politics covering whole Finland also during the difficult times.” [On luvattu ajaa tiettyjä asioita ja siitä on pidetty kiinni. Olemme pitäneet kiinni koko Suomen politiikasta vaikeinakin aikoina.]

Respondents also suggested social perspectives of trust formation. Respondents saw a link between interaction and influencing (27,5%) and trust formation. Also listening one’s opinions and views was mentioned in responses. Examples of these responses are evidenced below:

“From home, school and via values got from association work. From participating and from own influencing. As an experience of cooperating with sisters and brothers with the same ideology. Via real democracy and via open action of civic movement.” [Kotoa, koulusta ja järjestötyöstä saadun arvo pohjan kautta. Osallistumisen ja oman vaikuttamisen kautta. Kokemuksena yhteistyöstä aatesiskojen ja -veljien kanssa. Aidon demokratian ja kansanliikkeen avoimen toiminnan pohjalta]

“From the feeling I am heard and I am able to influence.” [Tunteesta, että minua kuunnellaan ja voin vaikuttaa asioihin.]

For question 2 the respondents (6,8%) mentioned also on party executives. These answers concerned for example:

“The actions of the leaders. Political acts matter, in other words, we have accomplished a lot in the government.” [Johdon toiminta. Poliittiset teot ratkaisevat eli olemme hallituksessa saaneet paljon aikaan.]

“Keeping the promises. Being able to clearly express the will to the people. Leaders are competent, willing to discuss and inspiring. There is positive to make it happen –attitude and the atmosphere is good. Valuing others’ opinions.” [Pidetään annetut lupaukset. Osataan ilmaista tahtotila selkeästi koko kansalle. Johtajat kyvykkäitä, keskustelevia ja innostavia. Positiivisen tekemisen meininki ja hyviä ilmapiiiri. Arvostetaan toisten mielipiteitä.]

Value and history based perspectives of trust formation. Many of the respondents (65,5%) described trust formation as value or history based matter. Also content of the politics made was sketched out as part of trust formation. Trust will not develop without individuals sharing common values. Solidarity is seen as the main characteristic of legitimate order of societal community. (Lane 1999, 8; see Fukuyama 1995.)

In this thesis all the responses dealing with values, ideology or content of the politics (41%) made were assorted into the category presented here. These answers concerned for example:

“The Centre Party has social conscience; it (the party) takes care and will take care of those who are weak.” [Keskustalla on sosiaalinen omatunto, se pitää ja tulee pitämään huolto heikoimmista]

“Good goals, intent way of implementing, linear politics, paying attention to the future challenges, living in everyday life.” [Hyvät tavoitteet,

määrätietoinen tapa toteuttaa, linjakasta politiikkaa, tulevaisuuden haasteiden huomioiminen, elää arjessa.]

“The values and ideology of the Centre Party are true Finnish which I sincerely value. Today there is a great social need for taking care of concerns of poorer and weaker people. The strong will always manage, but we must take care especially of underdogs as well as poorer regions.”

[Keskustan arvot ja aate ovat syvintä suomalaista, jota todella arvostan. Köyhän ja heikoimman asian hoidolle on tänä päivänä erittäin suuri sosiaalinen tilaus. Vahvat pärjäävät aina, Keskusta huolehtii kaikista, mutta erityisesti huolto pitää kantaa niin heikompiosaisista ihmisistä kuin alueistakin.]

Some of the respondents described the formation of trust as a history or tradition based matter (13,7%). Responses dealing with history, for example experiences of past i.e. childhood or youth memories of the Centre Party, the party as heritage from parents, and other responses discussing about history between respondent and party, were organized into the group of history and tradition perspectives of trust formation. These answers concerned for example:

“The Party has carried out important things for me. Even my parents and grandparents have been active in participating and influencing and this “heritage” I have transferred to the next generation.” [Puolue on toteuttanut minulle tärkeitä asioita. Jo minun vanhempani ja isovanhempani ovat olleet aktiivisesti mukana vaikuttamassa ja "perintöä" olen siirtänyt seuraavalle sukupolvelle.]

“The long history of the party, and during its history the party has proved its ability to regenerate. Still active and partly regenerated, innovative group of people at the field. Ability to make party agendas, talented individuals.” [Pitkä historia, jossa puolue osoittanut

*uudistumiskykynsä. Edelleen aktiivinen ja paikoin uudistunut
aktiivijoukko kentällä. Kyky ohjelmalliseen työhön, lahjakkaat yksilöt.]*

For question 2 the responses concentrated on also openness, sincerity and fairness (10,3%). The positive answers concerned for example:

*“Via real democracy and via open action of the civic movement.”
[Aidon demokratian ja kansanliikkeen avoimen toiminnan pohjalta.]*

Other responses could not be categorized into specific classes. For instance, respondents mentioned successes and way of action.

5.1.3 Key factors for party success

This thesis was also interested in the key factors of party success. Respondents were asked to list these factors. 97 percent (N=30) of all the respondents answered the question "What are the main factors for success of The Centre Party?" The qualitative responses were categorized quantitatively into specific factor classes. Most of the respondents made simplified lists about the factors but some also had a wider verbal approach within their answers.

Six distinct factors categories emerged from the responses: values and content of the politics; regeneration and future orientation; creativity and enthusiasm; trustworthiness and credibility; party actors; and team spirit and solidarity. The six main factors emerged and the background variables are presented in table 7. Examination of the background variables and the responses (table 7) showed no great influence of gender, number of electoral periods and leading or non-leading position inside the party on the responses. However, none of the female respondents wrote about party actors as key factors for success of the party. In all other categories female perspective was included. Other observation of the background information gathered showed

that all of the respondents with 5 or more parliamentary periods mentioned values and ideology in their responses.

Factor Categories	Number of Responses (N=30)	Percent of Responses	Gender (M=male, F=female)	Electoral periods (1-2; 3-4; 5-)	Leading position (Yes/No)
Regeneration, Future orientation	13	43,3 %	M=9 F=4	1-2= 8 3-4= 4 5-= 1	Yes= 4 No= 9
Values, Ideology, Content of the politics, Party agenda	20	66,6 %	M=16 F= 3 0=1	4-5= 7 3-4= 7 5- = 4 0= 1	Yes= 9 No= 10 0= 1
Creativity, Enthusiasm	6	20 %	M=4 F=2	1-2= 2 3-4= 4 5-= 0	Yes= 3 No= 3
Trustworthiness, Credibility	9	30 %	M=7 F=2	1-2= 6 3-4= 2 5-= 1	Yes= 2 No= 7
Team spirit, Solidarity	4	13,3 %	M=2 F=2	1-2= 2 3-4= 2 5-= 0	Yes= 2 No= 2
Party actors	4	13,3 %	M=4 F=0	1-2= 0 3-4= 3 5 -= 1	Yes= 2 No= 2

Table 7 The six main factors for party success and the background variables

The most common factors listed were values and content of the politics and regeneration and future orientation. All responses in which values, ideology or content of the politics were mentioned were assorted into the same category. The category of values and content of the politics includes also responses discussing party agenda. The category of regeneration and future orientation covers responses, in which regeneration, renewing and future orientation are mentioned. In the responses both regeneration of content of politics and regeneration of individuals were considered. Since the responses of the regeneration and content of politics category were fairly verbosity examples of these responses are evidenced below.

“The ability to see and perceive the future in convincing way.” [Kyky nähdä ja hahmottaa tulevaisuutta uskottavasti.]

“There needs to be new initiatives.” [Pitää olla uusia avauksia.]

“The regeneration as a persons as well as regeneration in the content of the politics.” [Uudistuminen niin henkilöinä kuin politiikan sisällöissä.]

Other responses dealt with creativity and enthusiasm and trustworthiness and credibility. The category of creativity and enthusiasm covered all the responses mentioning these factors. All responses in which trustworthiness, trust or credibility were discussed were classified as part of the category of trustworthiness and credibility. Both internal trust and trust in general were mentioned in these responses. Examples of these responses are evidenced below.

“To be worth of trust.” [Olla luottamuksen arvoinen.]

“That a member and a voter of the Centre Party can see and trust that the party promotes important matters for him or her.” [Että keskustan jäsen ja äänestäjä voi kokea ja luottaa, että puolue ajaa hänelle tärkeitä asioita.]

Also Party actors and team spirit and solidarity were mentioned fairly often. Responses discussing of the leaders of the party, the members of the party and other party actors were categorized into the group of party actors. The category of team spirit and solidarity covers all the answers dealing with these issues; example of a response is evidenced below.

“That there is a feeling of belonging to a genuine part of the right, powerful group which recognizes the ideology.” [Että tuntee aidosti kuuluvansa oikeaan, vaikutusvaltaiseen, aatteen tunnistavaan porukkaan.]

Other responses could not be categorized into specific class of factors. For instance, factors mentioned once were image of the party, cooperation, know-how of the party actors, sincerity and success in elections.

5.2 Quantitative research

After analyzing the open questions, likert-scale and semantic differential questions were scrutinized. The research included two quantitative questions. Question 2 asked respondents to assess different proposals related the Centre Party in a likert-scale. Via semantic differential question, question 3, a broader approach to the assessment of the Centre Party by the members of the parliamentary group was provided.

In likert-scale questions respondents chose an answer from the given response scale depending on how much he agrees or disagrees (1= strongly agree, 5= strongly disagree, 3=neutral opinion). Some of the items were negatively worded. Question 3 consisted of semantic differential attributes distinguished by the numbers 1-5, where the negative attribute was at the one end of the scale (5) and the positive at the other (1).

5.2.1 Trust dimensions I

Question 2 “What springs to your mind of the propositions below” aim was to measure trust dimensions based on the theory of the thesis. Figure 7 presents the average values each trust dimension reached. The question 2 in the questionnaire included both negatively and positively worded propositions. Here, however, all the negatively worded propositions are reversed into positive ones in order to clarify the results.

Each pillar in the figure 7 is formed through the average values the respondents gave to different question items measuring different trust dimension. There are different number of questions measuring each dimension due the nature of the questionnaire (see table 4). Figure 7 shows that all the trust dimensions reached value 3 or higher except the dimension of vulnerability. There is also fluctuation between the questions measuring same dimension, especially in competence, satisfaction and identification.

Standard deviation was relatively high in all of the question items measured except in question item f measuring competence (see appendix 3): in all other question items standard deviation reached value 0,90 or more. Moreover, deviation was negative in all other question items except in question item b measuring satisfaction and e measuring vulnerability. Deviation was positive in question item b and neutral in question item e.

As it can be seen, respondents’ experiences and images of the Centre Party differ significantly from each other according to standard deviation which reached relatively high values almost in all the question items. Moreover, it was typical for nearly all the question items that deviation was negative. Negative deviation shows that most respondents estimated certain question items higher than the average.

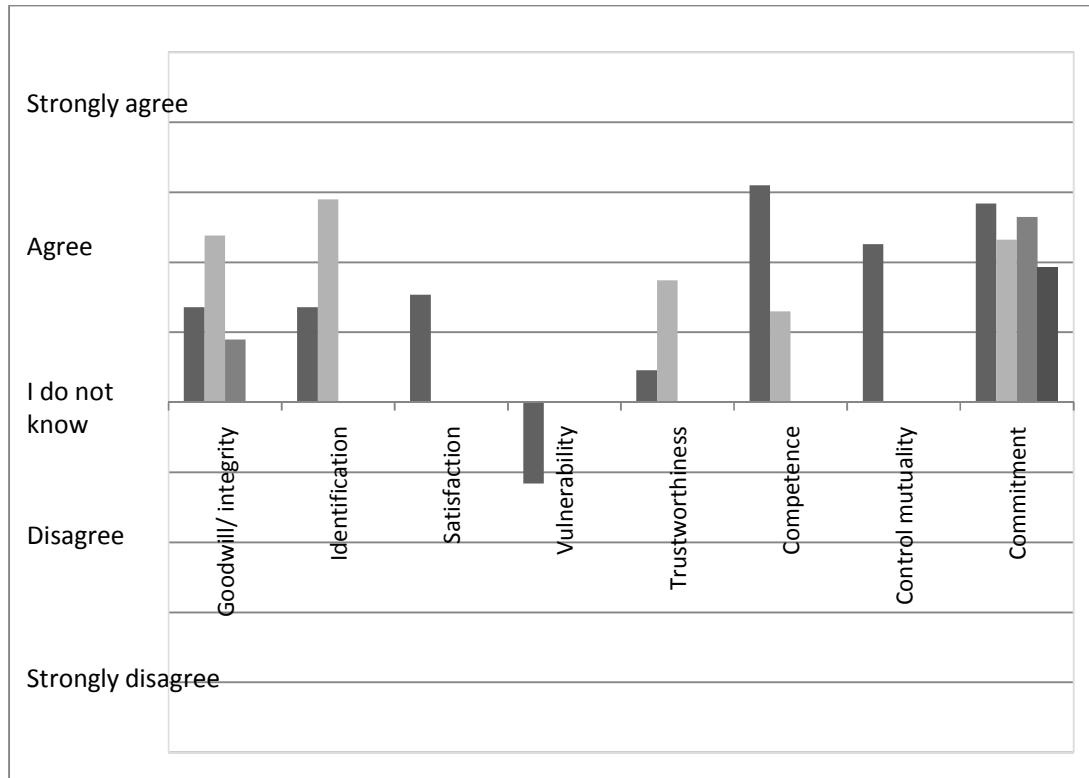


Figure 7 The average values given to each trust dimension.

Figure 8 presents the average values given to all likert-scale questions more in detail. General trend in responses was slightly positive in the sense that all the average values given reached value 3 or higher except question 2b measuring vulnerability. However, also the question 2b got value 2,58. As noted earlier in this chapter, the likert-scale questions included both negative and positive worded question items. All the negative worded questions (Q2d; Q2f; Q2j; Q2i; Q2m) are here reversed into positive format in order to clarify the results presented in figures 7 and 8.

The dimension of competence (2f) and identification (2n) had the highest overall score, with an average of 4,55 and 4,45. Commitment (2p) reached the overall score of 4,42. In total, there were four questions related to dimension of commitment, and also the other questions reached relatively high values. Other dimension estimated with value 4, or higher, were “control mutuality” (2d), identification (2n) and “goodwill/ integrity” (2l). However, other question items measuring same dimensions did not reached values as high.

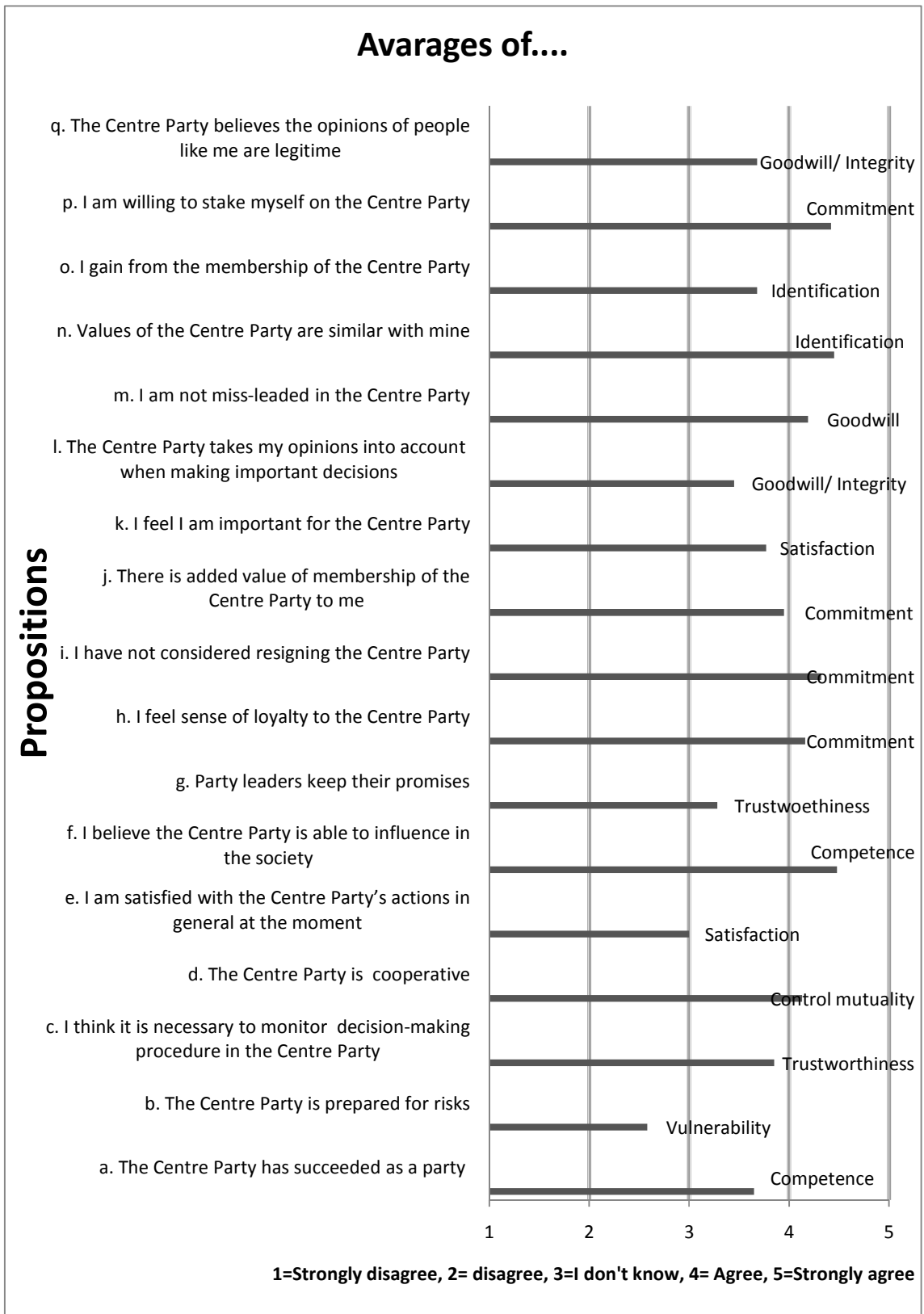


Figure 8 Trust dimensions and the average values given to all likert-scale questions.

Female and male perspectives of question 2 did not differ greatly (appendix 5). However, in general men evaluated most propositions slightly higher than women (propositions 2a, 2c, 2d, 2e, 2g, 2h, 2i, 2k, 2n, 2o, 2p, 2q). Largest gaps between male and female estimations considered question items 2n “Values of the Centre Party are similar with mine” (Identification) and 2h “I feel sense of loyalty to the Centre Party” (Commitment). Men estimated these higher than women. Whereas, women estimated 2b “The Centre Party is prepared for risks” (Trustworthiness), 2f “I do not believe the Centre Party is able to influence in the society” (Competence), 2m “I am miss-led in the Centre Party” (Goodwill) and 2l “The Centre Party takes my opinions into account when making important decisions ” (Goodwill/ Integrity) a bit higher than men.

Standard deviation reached relatively high values in most of the question items men evaluated. Only question items 2h “I feel sense of loyalty to the Centre Party” (Commitment) and 2p “I am willing put myself on the line for Centre Party” (Commitment) reached standard deviation under 0,8. Standard deviation among female responses stayed smaller in most of the question items compared to male responses. It seemed that women agreed upon some of the propositions but there were quite many different opinions and views among men for all the questions (see appendix 5)

It seemed that the respondents who had more experience (5 periods or more) on parliamentary work valued most of the trust dimension slightly more coherently than those with less parliamentary experience (appendix 6). However, there was no significant difference between the respondents with different parliamentary work experience. Standard deviation was relatively high in most of the question items (see appendix 4).

The position in the party neither had a great impact upon the responses (see appendix 7). The respondents in the leading position in the party estimated 2c “I think it is necessary to monitor decision-making procedure in the Cen-

tre Party" (Trustworthiness), 2m "I am miss-led in the Centre Party" (Goodwill) and 2o "I gain from the membership of the Centre Party" (Identification) slightly positively than those in non-leading position. Whereas, respondents in non-leading position viewed 2i "I have considered resigning the Centre Party" (Commitment), 2j "There is no added value of membership of the Centre Party to me" (Commitment) and 2k "I feel I am important for the Centre Party" (Satisfaction) a bit more higher than the ones in leading position.

The analysis of standard deviation in leading position and non-leading position responses reached relatively high values in all the question items except in 2n "Values of the Centre Party are similar with mine" (Identification) and 2p "I am willing to put myself on the line for Centre Party" (Commitment).

5.2.2 Trust dimensions II

It needs to be noted that on the whole the results of the semantic differential component of the questionnaire was quite positive as well as the results of the Likert-scale component. There was no critical or negative (valued under 2,5) overall assessments. The semantic differential attributes (questions 3a-3j) were answered by all the respondents. Figure 9 shows the average values given to all the semantic differential attributes in this research. None of the average values fell below three; however, value four was reached only once by "Competent - Incompetent". Lowest score (3,03) was given to the adjective pair of "Good reputation - Low Reputation".

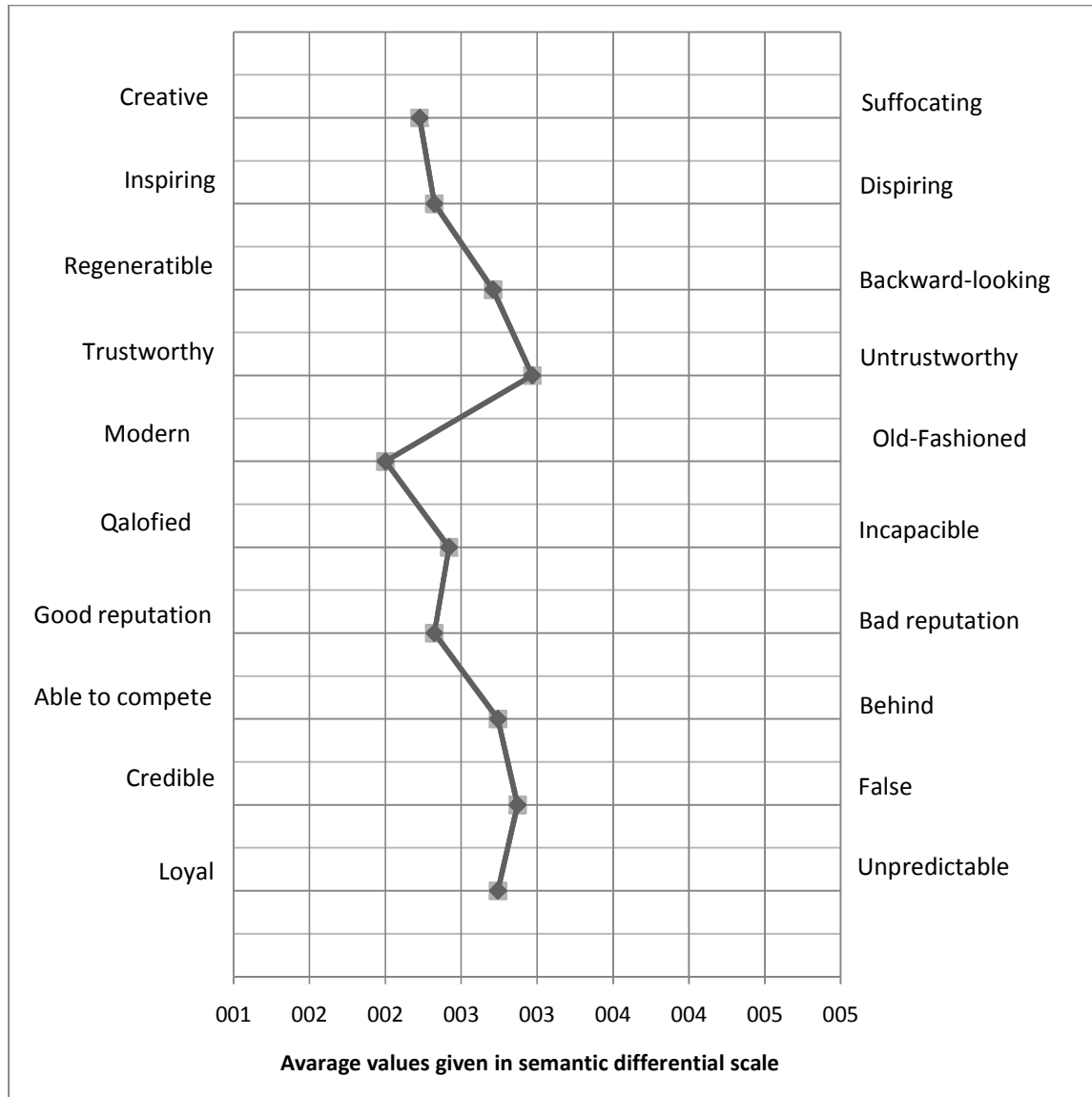


Figure 9 Average values given for question 2 in semantic differential scale.

There was no significant difference between genders (appendix 8). Women perceived five of the attributes (Trustworthy - Untrustworthy; Modern - Old-fashioned; Competent - Incompetent; Credible - False; Loyal - Unpredictable) slightly higher than men. Whereas, men estimated only two attributes higher than women (Creative - Suffocating; Regeneratible - Out-dated. Also great difference between scores given by respondents with leading and non-leading position inside the party was not found (see appendix 10). The larg-

est gaps between overall scores of these leading and non-leading position were between “Regeneratable - Out-dated” and “Good reputation - Low reputation”. Respondents who were or had been in leading position inside the party estimated organization’s ability to regenerate slightly higher, and respondents with no leading experience inside the party estimated organization’s reputation better. Most critical respondents were women with no leading experience inside the party (appendix 10). It is also notable that women and men with leading experience estimated attributes similarly.

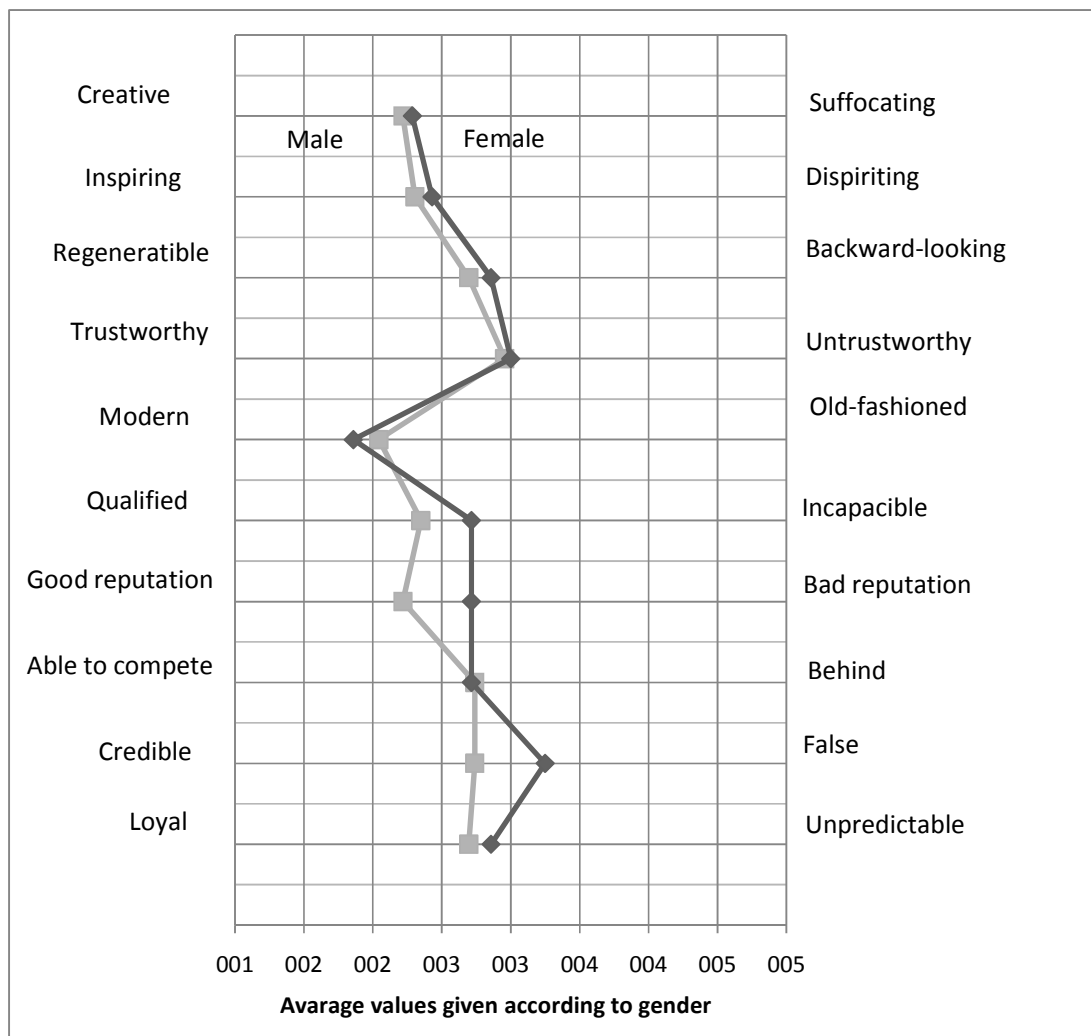


Figure 10 Average values given according to gender (question 2).

There was some dependability between parliamentary periods and overall scores given to semantic differential attributes. Figure 5 shows that most attributes were estimated higher by the respondents who had experience of five or more parliamentary periods. Also ones with experience of three or four parliamentary periods valued almost all the attributes higher than those with less experience. However, all the respondents estimated “good reputation - bad reputation” exactly the same, by score 3.

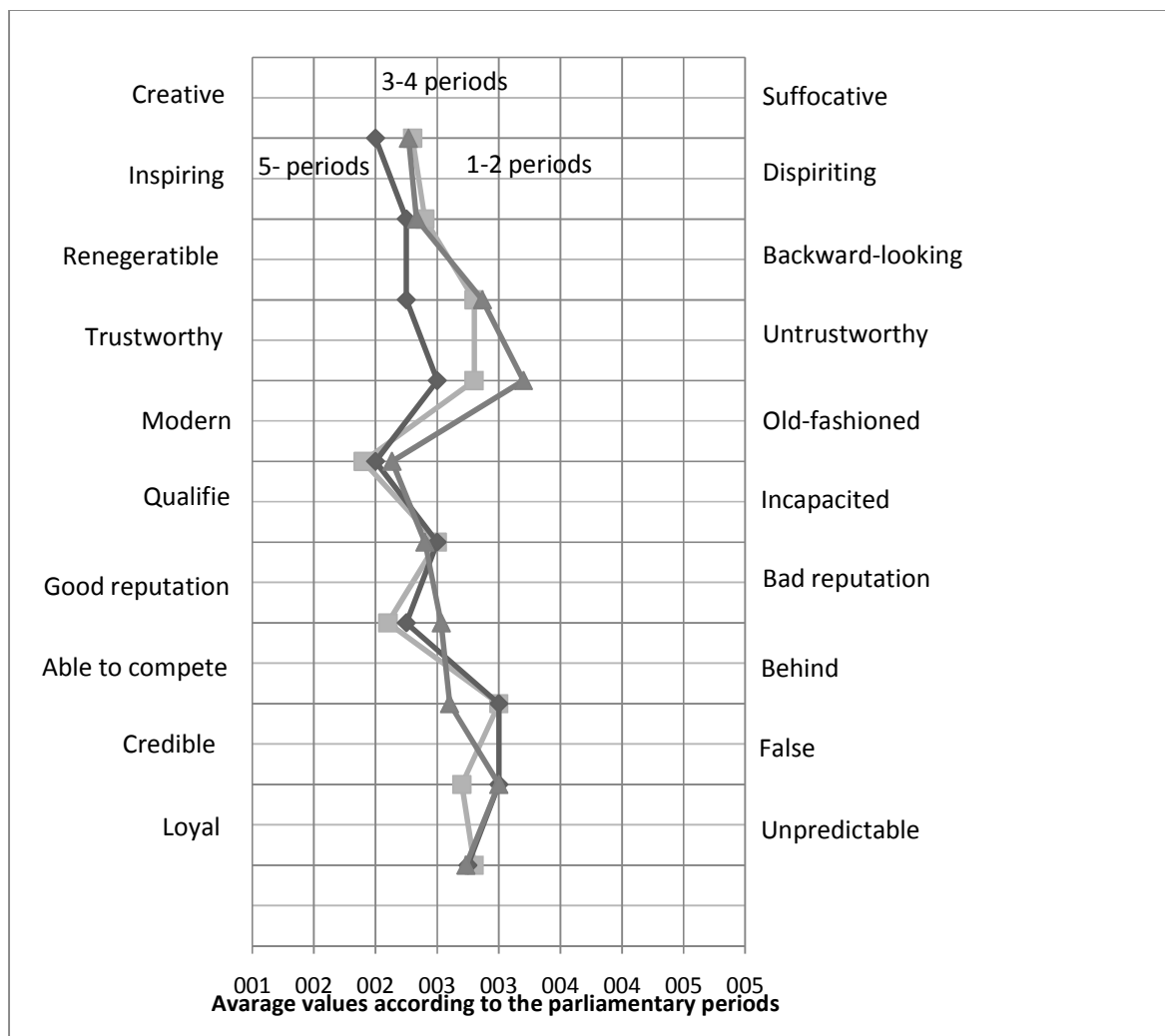


Figure 11 Average values according to the parliamentary periods (question 2).

6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this study trust and creativity inside a political organization were examined by means of a theoretical literature review and an empirical survey. Also the relation between the two main concepts, trust and creativity, was of interest. The empirical survey was sent to the Finnish Centre Party Parliamentary group and 61 percent of the receivers returned the questionnaire. The empirical survey was both quantitative and qualitative and it was carried out during the spring 2010.

The main results of this research are reviewed in the following subchapters. Each research question is answered and the results are mirrored to the theory.

6.1 Answering the research questions

RQ1: How is trust formed inside a political organization?

Trust formation inside a political organization was researched via literature and via empirical study. The empirical analysis shows that views of the members of the Centre party Parliamentary group on trust formation can be categorized into six different groups. Trust formation includes:

Promise keeping;

Interaction and influencing;

Actions of the party executives;

Values, ideology and content of the politics;
History and tradition;
Openness and sincerity.

In other words, trust is grounded in an individual's personality, life experiences, cultural background, education and other socio-economical factors. According to the empirical study, trust forms from communal but also from individual experiences.

The results of the empirical study are linear with the theory of the presented in this thesis: trust forms from expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other member of the community (Fukuyama 1995, 26). The basis of trust is linked to ties between place and kinship, to common membership in a professional community, to shared historical experiences and advantages of group membership, and the fourth to mutual dependencies (Powell 1996, 51-64; see also Burt and Knez 1996, 68).

RQ2: What is the significance of trust in a political organization? Does internal trust give added value for a political organization? What kind?

The empirical study revealed six different key factors for party success:

Regeneration, future orientation;
Values, ideology, content of the politics,
working with the party agenda;
Creativity, enthusiasm;
Trustworthiness, credibility;
Team spirit, solidarity;
Party actors.

It is notable that trustworthiness (which in this thesis is seen as a dimension of trust) was mentioned as one of these key factors: 30 percent of the respon-

dents listed it as a key factor. Trust makes organizations function better and cooperation among organizations easier. Also according to the theory, social capital and trust can be a resource and an asset for an organization (see Luoma-aho 2005, 2009; Bolino et al. 2002). Social capital and trust are key factors for the flow of information, learning and innovations, it is also necessary for the development and contribution of knowledge within organizations and groups (Nahapiet & Ghoshal 1998, 244; Ruuskanen 2002, 20). To conclude, scholars from various time periods and a diversity of disciplines seem to agree that trust is highly beneficial to the functioning of organizations. However, this thesis argues that trust inside a political organization is a more complicated phenomenon and the conclusion is not as simple as the previous theory suggests. This argument is discussed in the chapter below.

Even though trust in general was seen as added value for the organization, in the empirical study respondents estimated trust inside the Centre Party parliamentary group quite cautiously (see figures 7 and 8). Trust dimensions were not ranked very high. Responses were also not very homogenous: Different views and opinions emerged. In the empirical study respondents were also asked to describe the most memorable experience they had of the Centre Party. The answers were dominated by neutral, fact-based responses: more than half of the responses were neutral.

In political parties, debate and collective decision making require interaction. The way interaction comes true depends on matters like organization culture and process-specific factors. Interaction is also influenced by the individuals whom are participating on the decision making. (Jutila 2003, 284.) This research argues that trust is built through continued interaction and on the other hand trust is required for interaction. People are constantly connected with other people. Cooperation occurs in these connections: as people are acting together they may achieve common goals which cannot be attained individually. (Stzompka 1995, 62.) Exchange of information of others' prefe-

rences, values and approaches necessitates regular communication. Trust can be seen as a tool which makes interaction easier.

However, it needs to be noted that political organizations differ from many other organizations in the sense that open communication is not always a key word in political culture. Inside a political organization distribution of work between political actors, the level of authority and situational sensitivity influence on the interaction between actors: Interaction is not about taking all the actors into account equally, balanced cooperation or flow of information. (Juttila 2003, 286.) To conclude, it is essential to realize that also inside a political organization trust occurs in a cultural context where normative rules support or hinder trust.

RQ3: What is the relation between trust and creativity?

The relation between trust and creativity was mainly studied via theory literature. Based on the theory the Model of the continuum of trust with the ideal conditions to innovativeness was created (see figure 4). The model shows that neither distrust nor faith increase innovativeness. Ideal conditions for trust require reasonable or healthy trust. The increase in trust does not necessarily increase the level of innovativeness.

In political organizations face saving seems important and may prohibit willingness to express criticism which may lead to the continuation of a hidden conflict or unwanted situation. The tendency to avoid rather than address conflict, save face and not express criticism may make the organization less innovative too. This may be a challenge to political organizations: how to deal productively with differences in vision?

In the empirical study, creativity was mentioned as one of the main factors for success of The Centre Party. 20 percent of the respondents mentioned creativity and enthusiasm as tools of success. However, respondents did not

evaluate their own organization, the Centre Party, very creative, inspiring or modern.

It is obvious that a substantial degree of discontent may exist in every political system for a short period of time and act as catalyst for changes required in the system. However, an extend period of distrust may lead to a social conflict which is difficult to manage through conventional channels of political system. (Miller 1974, 951, 970.)

This thesis emphasizes the importance of creativity inside a political organization. In politics ability to generate new initiatives and innovative solutions for societal challenges is crucial, and moreover, political power is linked to this ability.

6.2 Reliability and validity of the research

This chapter examines both internal and external validity as well as reliability of the research. Internal validity concerns the accuracy of the conclusions drawn from the research and external validity concerns the generalizability of the findings from the research study. (Frey et al. 2000, 109.) To conclude, validity concerns how well chosen methods or measures actually measure what was aimed. Measurement reliability concerns its' ability to produce non-random results whereas, research reliability aims for repeatability of the measurements. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2000.)

This research was a survey. The questionnaire examined experiences, images, attitudes and feelings of the members of the Centre Party Parliamentary Group via semantic differential, likert-scale and open ended questions. These question types are suitable for measuring opinions.

Choosing the suitable and applicable measurement tools for the concepts measured increases the reliability of the research (Valli 2001, 92). In turn, va-

lidity of the study can be sharpened by using several research methods alongside. This is called triangulation. Methodological triangulation combines both qualitative and quantitative research methods in the same research (Hirsjärvi et al. 2000, 218). In this thesis the questionnaire consists quantitative as well as qualitative questions.

While examining the validity of the present thesis it is important to notice that the definition of the main concept studied, trust, depends on the choice of perspectives and approaches. How trust is defined and measured depends on the context. There are a variety of challenges in defining trust, one of these challenges being its diverse nature (Jokinen & Ilmonen 2002, 86). Ruuskanen (2002, 8; 1999, 37) describes social capital as "an ameba concept" and this applies also for the concept of trust. It does not delineate anything concrete yet at the same time it explains everything.

Forming intangible concepts into measurable form may be tricky as they are socially constructed and thus socially understood and difficult to measure. This may raise a question whether the measurements actually do measure the phenomena intended or rather other relates phenomena. (Luoma-aho 2005, 199.) In the present thesis this risk was avoided by accurate operationalization (see chapter 4.1.1). In the empirical part theoretical constructs of the thesis were transformed into a measurable form. (Metsämuuronen 2003, 79.)

In this research all the responses given (N=31) were analyzed. In this research complete enumeration was used in order to exclude the limitations of the sampling (Valli 2001, 14). The response rate of the study, 61 %, is relatively high. The total number of the members of the Centre Party Parliamentary Group was 51. The researcher was working in the Finnish Parliament during the time the survey was carried out. The familiarity of the researcher inside the parliamentary group might have had a positive effect on the response rate. The researcher worked at the parliament as an assistant to a member of

the parliament and had the employment with the parliament, not with the Centre Party Parliamentary Group.

It is important to take into consideration that in qualitative research, the researcher always has an influence on the results. The interviews were analyzed by the researcher, which leads to a possibility that the study was not completely objective. In every research the background, education and skills of the researcher may have an effect on how the interviews and results are analyzed and interpreted.

The purpose of this study was to examine and analyze precisely the experiences of a particular group. Therefore, the conclusions of the present study are drawn from a particular Finnish parliamentary group (the Centre Party Parliamentary Group) and in that sense, an extra caution should be made when it comes to generalizing the empirical findings. The results of the thesis do not give a solid overview of the attitudes and experiences of the whole Centre Party or other parliamentary groups or parties. However, in this thesis the Centre Party Parliamentary Group is seen as an example of the Finnish parliamentary groups, a political organization of professional politicians.

The present thesis was done by following common academic research and can be considered as mainly trustable source of information about trust and innovativeness inside a political organization.

6.4 Future research

The interest towards studying trust and creativity in political organizations has been modest recently. Therefore there exists a research gap in studying this field both empirically and theoretically. It would be most challenging in the future research to study the role of trust and creativity in other political

parties inside the Finnish Parliament. It would be essential to study how trust is assessed, signaled and created inside the political parties in Finland and whether there are differences between these organizations.

The research could also be extended to European level, to concern for example parties in the European Parliament. However, also conceptual studies and discussion on the relation between concepts of trust and creativity are needed.

Also the findings from this research indicate the possibility of studying the question further. According to this thesis trust makes organizations function better and cooperation among organizations easier. However, this thesis also strengthens the perception of trust as a multidimensional concept: trust inside a political organization is a more complicated phenomenon and conclusion is not as simple as the previous theory suggests.

Though the importance of trust for an organization is broadly known, there is a lack of a consistent methodology to measure the trust of an organization (see e.g. Paine 2003). Many studies conclude and suggest that more work needs to be done to improve both our understanding of trust, and the measurement tools for trust (Dietz & Hartog 2006; Seppänen et al. 2005). Also the present thesis supports this perception.

The Centre Party Parliamentary group could benefit from mapping out regularly the experiences and expectations of the members of the parliamentary group. Creativity is strongly linked to the content of the politics made, and without trust there is no room for creativity, for new ideas and initiatives. Trust influences on the governance as well as the internal dynamics in the organization.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1 The information letter for the members of the Centre Party parliamentary group.

24.2.2010

Arvoisa Keskustan kansanedustaja

Opiskelen Jyväskylän yliopistossa yhteisöviestintää ja teen pro gradu -tutkielmaa puolueen menestystekijöistä sekä sosiaalisesta pääomasta. Kyselytutkimuksessani olen kiinnostunut nimenomaan kansanedustajien käsityksistä ja mielikuvista. Pyydän teidän ajatuksianne ja näkökulmianne Keskustan menestystekijöistä.

Kysely lähetetään kaikille Keskustan eduskuntaryhmän jäsenille. Tutkimustulokset ovat osa pro gradu -tutkielmaani, mutta myös koko eduskuntaryhmän hyödynnettävissä. Tutkimus on täysin luottamuksellinen. Vastaukset analysoidaan ja raportoidaan niin, että yksittäinen vastaaja ei ole tunnistettavissa.

Kyselyyn vastaamiseen aikaa kuluu noin 5-10 minuuttia. Pyydän vastauksia 5.3.2010 mennessä.

Lomakkeen voi palauttaa oheisella palautuskuorella eduskunnan sisäpostissa.

Kiitokset vaivannäöstänne ja vastauksistanne!

Katariina Hankonen

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Appendix 2 The questionnaire in Finnish.

Kyselylomake

**KYSELYTUTKIMUS SOSIAALISESTA PÄÄOMASTA JA PUOLUEEN
MENESTYSTEKIJÖISTÄ**

1. Mikä on sinulle mieleenpainuvuin kokemus Keskustasta?

2. Mitä mieltä olet alla olevista väittämistä? (1 =täysin samaa mieltä, 2 = samaa mieltä,

3 = en osaa sanoa, 4 = eri mieltä, 5 = täysin eri mieltä).

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. Keskusta on onnistunut puolueena | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| b. Keskusta osaa varautua riskeihin | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| c. Mielestäni on tarpeellista valvoa Keskustan päätöksentekomenettelyjä | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| d. Keskusta ei ole yhteistyökykyinen | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| e. Olen yleisesti ottaen tyytyväinen Keskustan tämän hetkiseen toimintaan | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| f. En usko Keskustan kykyyn vaikuttaa yhteiskunnassa | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| g. Puoluejohto pitää lupauksensa | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| h. Olen lojaali Keskustalle | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| i. Olen harkinnut Keskustan jäsenyydestä eroamista | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| j. Minulle ei ole hyötyä kuulua Keskustaan | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| k. Tunnen olevani tärkeä Keskustalle | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |

- l. Kun Keskustassa tehdään tärkeitä päätöksiä,
minua kuullaan 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- m. Minua johdetaan harhaan Keskustassa 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- n. Tunnen keskustalaisen arvomaailman omakseni 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- o. Minulle on hyötyä Keskustan jäsenyydestä 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- p. Olen valmis laittamaan itseni likoon
keskusta-aatteen puolesta 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- q. Mielipiteeni otetaan vakavasti huomioon
Keskustassa 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

3. Keskusta on mielestäni (rastita ympyrä, joka on lähinnä omaa käsitystäsi)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|------------------------|
| a. Luova | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Tukahduttava |
| b. Innostava | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Lannistava |
| c. Uusiutumiskykyinen | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Vanhakantainen |
| d. Luotettava | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Epäluotettava |
| e. Ajassa mukana | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Menneisyydessä polkeva |
| f. Pätevä | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Kyvytön |
| g. Hyvämaineinen | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Huonomaineinen |
| h. Kilpailukykyinen | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Jäljessä |
| i. Uskottava | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Falski |
| j. Lojaali | <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> | Arvaamaton |

4. Mitkä tekijät ovat tärkeimpiä Keskustan menestykselle?

5. Mistä sinun luottamuksesi Keskustaan syntyy? Listaa tekijöitä, jotka saavat sinut luottamaan Keskustaan.

TAUSTATIEDOT

Ympyröi vastauksesi

- 1. Sukupuoli** a. Nainen b. Mies
- 2. Kansanedustajakausiensa lukumäärä** a. 1-2 kautta b. 3-4 kautta c.
5 - kautta
- 3. Olen tai olen ollut Keskustan johtotehtävissä** (ministeri, puolueen puheenjohtaja, puolueen varapuheenjohtaja, puoluesihteri, eduskuntaryhmän puheenjohtaja, eduskuntaryhmän varapuheenjohtaja)
- a. Kyllä b. En

Muita kommentteja

TÄMÄN KYSELYLOMAKKEEN VOI PALAUTTAA PALAUTUSKUORESSA
EDUSKUNNAN SISÄPOSTISSA.

Appendix 3 The Questionnaire in English.

The Questionnaire

**A SURVEY ABOUT SOCIAL CAPITAL AND FACTORS OF SUCCESS INSIDE
A POLITICAL PARTY**

1. What is the most unforgettable experience of the Centre Party you have experienced?

2. What spring to your mind of the propositions below? (1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Don't know, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree).

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. The Centre Party has succeeded as a party | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| b. The Centre Party is prepared for risks | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| c. I think it is necessary to monitor decision-making procedures in The Centre Party | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| d. The Centre Party is not cooperative | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| e. I am satisfied with The Centre Party's actions in general at the moment | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| f. I do not believe The Centre Party is able to influence in the society | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| g. Party leaders keep their promises | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| h. I feel sense of loyalty to The Centre Party | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| i. I have considered resigning The Centre Party | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| j. There is no added value of The Centre Party membership for me | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| k. I feel I am important for The Centre Party | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | 5 |

- l. The Centre Party takes my opinions into account when making important decisions 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- m. I am miss-led in The Centre Party 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- n. Values of The Centre Party are similar with mine 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- o. I gain from the membership of The Centre Party 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- p. I am willing to put myself on the line for The Centre Party 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
- q. The Centre Party believes the opinions of people like me are legitimate 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

3. In my opinion (circle the spot which is closest to your opinion)

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| a. Creative | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | Suffocating |
| b. Inspiring | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | Dispiriting |
| c. Regeneratible | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | Out-dated |
| d. Trustworthy | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | Untrustworthy |
| e. Modern | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | Old-fashioned |
| f. Competent | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | Incompetent |
| g. Good reputation | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | Bad reputation |
| h. Able to compete | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | Behind |
| i. Credible | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | False |
| j. Loyal | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | Unpredictable |

4. What are the main factors for success of The Centre Party?

5. From where does your trust in The Centre Party arise? List the factors which make you to trust in The Centre Party.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Circle your answer

1. Gender a. Female b. Male

2. The number of the parliamentary periods

a. 1-2 periods b. 3-4 periods c. 5 periods or more

3. I have/ have had a leading position inside The Centre Party (minister, president of the party, vice-president of the party, secretary general of the party, chair of the parliamentary group, vice-chair of the parliamentary group)

b. Yes b. No

Additional comments

Appendix 4 Key figures of question 2.

Q2 Key figures of Q2	Average	Mode	Median	Standard deviation	Deviation
a. The Centre Party has succeeded as a part	3,65	2	2	0,91	-0,88
b. The Centre Party prepared for risks	2,58	4	4	0,92	0,43
c. I think it is necessary to monitor decision-making procedure in the Centre Party	3,87	2	2	1,12	-0,95
d. The Centre Party is not cooperative	4,13	5	4	0,92	-1,09
e. I am satisfied with the Centre Party's actions in general at the moment	3	2	3	1,06	0,00
f. I do not believe the Centre Party is able to influence in the society	4,55	5	5	0,68	-1,92
g. Party leaders keep their promises	3,23	2	2	1,06	-0,48
h. I feel sense of loyalty to the Centre Party	4,16	1	1	1,21	-2,12
i. Olen harkinnut the Centre Party jäsenyydestä eroamista	4,32	5	5	1,28	-1,79
j. There is no added value of membership of the Centre Party to me	3,97	4	4	1,11	-1,34
k. I feel I am important for the Centre Party	3,77	2	2	1,02	-1,11
l. The Centre Party takes my opinions into account when making important decisions	3,45	2	2	0,99	-0,84
m. I am miss-led in the Centre Party	4,19	5	4	0,95	-0,92
n. Values of the Centre Party are similar with mine	4,45	1	1	0,96	-2,27
o. I gain from the membership of the Centre Party	3,68	2	2	1,11	-0,40
p. I am willing to stake myself on the Centre Party	4,42	1	1	0,96	-2,18
q. The Centre Party believes the opinions of people like me are legitime	3,68	2	2	1,05	-0,41

Appendix 5 Male/Female averages and standard deviation in question 2.

Q2 Male/Female averages and standard deviation	Male average	Female average	Male standard deviation	Female standard deviation
a. The Centre Party has succeeded as a party	3,7	3,43	0,93	0,76
b. The Centre Party prepared for risks	2,25	2,57	0,95	0,79
c. I think it is necessary to monitor decision-making procedure in the Centre Party	4	3,71	0,94	0,95
d. The Centre Party is not cooperative	4,13	4	1,11	1,00
e. I am satisfied with the Centre Party's actions in general at the moment	3,09	2,57	1,08	1,07
f. I do not believe the Centre Party is able to influence in the society	4,48	4,71	0,90	0,49
g. Party leaders keep their promises	3,17	3,14	1,03	0,98
h. I feel sense of loyalty to the Centre Party	4,43	3,14	0,73	0,98
i. Olen harkinnut the Centre Party jäsenyydestä eroamista	4,32	4	1,27	1,41
j. There is no added value of membership of the Centre Party to me	4,00	4	1,20	1,15
k. I feel I am important for the Centre Party	3,83	3,48	1,03	0,76
l. The Centre Party takes my opinions into account when making important decisions	3,39	3,43	1,03	0,49
m. I am miss-led in the Centre Party	4,13	4,29	1,01	0,76
n. Values of the Centre Party are similar with mine	4,57	4,00	0,95	0,52
o. I gain from the membership of the Centre Party	3,87	3,14	1,06	1,13
p. I am willing to stake myself on the Centre Party	4,52	4	0,79	0,53
q. The Centre Party believes the opinions of people like me are legitime	3,65	3,57	0,84	1,11

Appendix 6 Average values and Standard deviation according to the parliamentary periods in question 2.

Q2 Average values and Standard deviation according to the parliamentary periods	1-2 periods average	1-2 periods standard deviation	3-4 periods average	3-4 periods standard deviation	5 periods or more average	5 periods or more standard deviation
a. The Centre Party has succeeded as a party	2,40	0,94	2,00	0,82	2,75	0,96
b. The Centre Party prepared for risks	3,60	0,76	3,20	1,23	3,75	0,50
c. I think it is necessary to monitor decision-making procedure in the Centre Party	2,00	1,18	1,80	0,63	1,75	0,96
d. The Centre Party is not cooperative	3,93	1,29	4,30	0,48	3,25	1,26
e. I am satisfied with the Centre Party's actions in general at the moment	3,20	1,20	2,70	0,95	3,00	0,82
f. I do not believe the Centre Party is able to influence in the society	4,47	0,85	4,70	0,48	3,75	1,26
g. Party leaders keep their promises	3,00	1,14	2,40	0,70	3,00	1,15
h. I feel sense of loyalty to the Centre Party	1,40	0,76	1,50	0,53	2,25	1,26
i. Olen harkinnut the Centre Party jäsenyydestä eroamista	4,07	1,52	4,80	0,42	3,50	1,73
j. There is no added value of membership of the Centre Party to me	4,07	1,10	4,00	1,15	3,00	1,41
k. I feel I am important for the Centre Party	2,27	0,99	2,00	0,47	2,50	1,91
l. The Centre Party takes my opinions into account when making important decisions	2,47	0,94	2,20	0,63	3,75	0,96
m. I am miss-led in the Centre Party	4,27	0,97	4,30	0,95	3,25	0,50
n. Values of the Centre Party are similar with mine	1,40	0,51	1,20	0,42	2,50	1,91
o. I gain from the membership of the Centre Party	2,40	1,14	1,90	0,88	2,50	1,29
p. I am willing to stake myself on the Centre Party	1,33	0,50	1,40	0,52	2,25	1,50
q. The Centre Party believes the opinions of people like me are legitime	2,47	1,02	2,10	0,32	3,00	1,15

Appendix 7 Average values and Standard deviation according to the position in question 2.

Q2 Average values and Standard deviation according to the position	Leading position average	Leading position standard deviation	Non-leading position average	Non-leading position standard deviation
a. The Centre Party has succeeded as a party	2,36	0,84	2,26	0,93
b. The Centre Party prepared for risks	3,45	0,85	3,47	0,96
c. I think it is necessary to monitor decision-making procedure in the Centre Party	2,45	1,17	1,63	0,68
d. The Centre Party is not cooperative	3,82	1,32	4,05	0,97
e. I am satisfied with the Centre Party's actions in general at the moment	3,09	1,03	2,89	1,10
f. I do not believe the Centre Party is able to influence in the society	4,55	0,97	4,44	0,77
g. Party leaders keep their promises	2,73	1,03	2,79	1,03
h. I feel sense of loyalty to the Centre Party	1,45	0,85	1,58	0,77
i. Olen harkinnut the Centre Party jäsenyydestä eroamista	4,09	1,41	4,37	1,26
j. There is no added value of membership of the Centre Party to me	4,00	1,20	3,89	1,20
k. I feel I am important for the Centre Party	2,27	0,95	2,16	1,01
l. The Centre Party takes my opinions into account when making important decisions	2,36	0,70	2,63	1,07
m. I am miss-led in the Centre Party	4,36	0,82	4,05	1,03
n. Values of the Centre Party are similar with mine	1,55	0,53	1,47	1,02
o. I gain from the membership of the Centre Party	2,45	1,18	2,11	1,05
p. I am willing to stake myself on the Centre Party	1,36	0,52	1,53	0,84
q. The Centre Party believes the opinions of people like me are legitime	2,36	1,07	2,42	0,84

Appendix 8 Average values given according to gender in question 3.

Q3 GENDERS	Lojal- Unpredictable	Credible- False	Able to compete- Behind	Good reputation- Bad reputation	Competent- Incapacited	Modern - Old-fashioned	Trustworthy- Untrustworthy-	Regeneratibe- Out-dated	Inspiring- Dispiring	Creative - Suffocating
Male	2,70	2,74	2,74	2,22	2,35	2,04	2,96	2,70	2,30	2,22
Female	2,86	3,25	2,71	2,71	2,71	1,86	3,00	2,86	2,43	2,29

Appendix 9 Average values given according to parliamentary periods in question 3.

Q3 PERIODS	Loyal- Unpredictable	Credible- False	Able to compete- Behind	Good reputation- Bad reputation	Competent - Incapacited	Modern - Oldfashioned	Trustworthy- Untrustworthy-	Rgeneratibe- Backwardlooking	Inspiring- Dispiring	Creative - Suffocating
1-2 periods	2,73	3,00	2,60	2,53	2,40	2,13	3,20	2,87	2,33	2,27
3-4 periods	2,80	2,70	3,00	2,10	2,50	1,90	2,80	2,80	2,40	2,30
5- or more periods	2,75	3,00	3,00	2,25	2,50	2,00	2,50	2,25	2,25	2,00

Appendix 10 Average values given according to position inside the party (leading/ non – leading) in question 3.

Q3 POSITION	Lojal- Unpredictable	Credible- False	Able to compete- Behind	Good reputation- Bad reputation	Competent- Incapacited	Modern -Old-fashioned	Trustworthy-Untrustworthy-	Regeneratable - Out-dated	Inspiring- Dispiring	Creative - Suffocating
Leading position	2,73	3,00	2,64	2,45	2,45	1,91	3,09	2,82	2,27	2,18
Non-leading position	2,74	2,79	2,79	2,26	2,42	2,05	2,89	2,68	2,37	2,26