Guido Becke *Editor*

Mindful Change in Times of Permanent Reorganization

Organizational, Institutional and Sustainability Perspectives

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Part I
Introduction

Organizational, Institutional and Sustainability Perspectives on 'Mindful Organizational Change' in Turbulent Times: An Introduction

Guido Becke

Abstract The concept of 'Organizational Mindfulness' is viewed as a fruitful concept opening up new avenues of research in Labor and Organization Studies, and Sustainability Studies. One of these avenues refers to organizational change being highlighted in this volume. This book seeks to explore the interplay between organizational mindfulness and organizational change. It is argued that mindful change can promote social sustainability at organizational level. However, a closer analysis of this interplay requires taking account of the specific institutional contexts economic organizations are embedded in. It is assumed that institutions play a crucial role in facilitating or restricting mindful change at organizational level. In this introduction, core conceptual trajectories of (organizational) mindfulness are sketched. Against this background, the contributions to this volume are introduced referring to the organizational and/or institutional and sustainability perspectives on mindful change. Finally, further research avenues are presented.

Keywords Organizational mindfulness • Mindful change • Social sustainability • Institutions • Dialogue • Trust • The societal perspective of mindfulness • Political mindfulness

1 Introduction

Since the 1990s, 'Mindfulness' has become a popular catchword with a seemingly overall presence in mass media, internet, magazines and bookstores. Moreover, mindfulness raised scientific interest in a variety of disciplines reflected in numerous articles of scientific journals. Despite this plethora, this book also deals with mindfulness. However, it undertakes a new endeavor in linking formerly

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disconnected scientific debates on 'Organizational Mindfulness' in risk and safety research with debates in Labor and Organization Studies, and in Sustainability Studies. The common ground of this linkage is the topic of intended organizational change, and its unanticipated consequences on organizational effectiveness, social integration at organizational level, and managers' and employees' quality of work. 'Organizational Mindfulness' (OM) refers to the quality of organizational awareness and attention to dynamic and unpredictable environments. It is characterized by "a rich awareness of discriminatory detail and a capacity for action" (Weick Karl et al. 1999, p. 88). OM encompasses "both a sustained high level of sensitivity to errors, unexpected events, and, more generally, to subtle cues suggested by the organization's environment or its own processes; and the capacity to engage in a flexible range of behaviors in order to respond effectively to this potentially diverse and changing set of stimuli" (Levinthal and Rerup 2006, p. 503).

In this edited volume, it is assumed that the concept of organizational mindfulness, originally developed by Karl Weick and Kathleen Sutcliffe (2007), can be gainfully extended to a variety of organizational types and empirical fields of research in Organization Studies, Labor Studies and even in Sustainability Studies. Specifically, this concept is applied to economic organizations that face permanent change in volatile and unpredictable environments. This book intends to reflect and discuss whether 'organizational mindfulness' or 'mindful change' can be utilized as core concepts in research and practice, i.e. for analyzing and designing organizational change in times of dynamic environmental flux. It is argued that the concept of organizational mindfulness contributes to understanding and facilitating organizational sustainability in permanent organizational change. Organizational mindfulness and mindful organizing are conceived as facilitators of organizational sustainability. Thus, it is assumed that organizational mindfulness and mindful organizing can promote a socially sustainable organizational change. Such a 'mindful change' is characterized by a heightened organizational awareness and attentiveness to unintended effects and unnoticed innovation potentials of permanent reorganization in respect to organizational performance, social integration at organizational level, and employees' and managers' quality of work. In this perspective, the importance of key factors for 'mindful change', specifically social trust and dialogue, is analyzed.

In our view, the concept of organizational mindfulness serves as a sensitizing concept linking Organization and Labor Studies with Sustainability Studies in the field of (permanent) organizational change, thereby opening up new avenues of research: First, the conceptual use of organizational mindfulness in respect to organizational change contributes to integrate this concept more deeply in Organization Studies. Second, by focusing on the unintended effects of planned organizational change in respect to social integration at organizational level and organizational members' quality of work, the concept of organizational mindfulness is related to issues that are dealt with in Organization Studies and Labor Studies. Both of them conceive of economic organizations as socially embedded entities, thereby referring to the interplay of economic organizations and their institutional contexts (Scott 2008; Edwards 2007). Institutions can be defined as

"distinct configurations of interests and social relations" (Swedberg 2003, p. xii). In Labor Studies, institutions of labor regulation or systems of industrial relations, and workplace institutions, as works councils, are key issues of research.

In this book, the lens of analysis is broadened by taking account of specific institutional contexts economic organizations are embedded in. It is argued that the institutional settings organizations operate in have been widely neglected empirically and conceptually in organizational-mindfulness research. In some contributions to this volume (cf. Becke, Hofmaier, Schimank, Senghaas-Knobloch), the importance of institutional contexts for organizational or political mindfulness is emphasized. Institutions may influence, i.e. hinder or foster organizational mindfulness in respect to organizational change. For instance, institutions (e.g. in German labor law) can promote or facilitate organizational mindfulness regarding the quality of work in organizational change by entitling works councils as the elected body of employees' representatives at the establishment level to information and participation rights.

This edited volume is inspired by two key sources: First, it is a product of the research-and-development project '8iNNO – Organizational Mindfulness as a Basis of Organizations' Innovation Capacity' that was conducted between 2009 and 2013 by the artec | Research Centre for Sustainability Studies at the University of Bremen. This project intended to analyze unintended effects of permanent reorganization in economic organizations affiliated to different sectors (Public Transport, ICT-Services, and Social Services). Against this background, it sought to explore and develop research-based concepts for mindful organizational change that enable firms to balance contradictory demands of flexibility and stability in permanent change. This project was funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research and the European Social Funds. The second source of this edited volume is the project-related interdisciplinary and international workshop 'Mindful Change in Times of Permanent Reorganization' that took place on October 22nd and 23rd 2012 in Bremen.

This introduction consists of four sections. First, it starts with permanent change and its unintended effects as a challenge to organizational sustainability. It is argued that organizational mindfulness can facilitate a socially sustainable organizational change in dynamic and unpredictable environments. Second, conceptual core trajectories are sketched that inform about the conceptual development of (organizational) mindfulness. Third, an introduction to the five parts of this volume and its related articles is provided. Finally, avenues of further research are discussed.

2 Permanent Change as a Challenge to Social Sustainability at Organizational Level

Since the 1980s, more and more economic organizations of different industrial and service sectors have been confronted with volatile and unforeseen socio-economic environments that – above all – can be attributed to economic globalization.

Economic organizations often respond to these unpredictable and dynamic environments by organizational change approaches that focus on permanent or radical change. The latter approach assumes that organizational adaptability and "marketplace agility" (Dyer and Ericksen 2007, 264 pp.) to volatile environments can be enhanced by an infrequent and intended episodic change that deliberatively disrupts existing structures and strategies, and established organizational cultures (Weick and Quinn 1999). Radical change intends to overcome and to replace an existent organizational framework by introducing and consolidating new strategies, structures and business processes and by re-directing organizational culture that are expected to enhance the overall organizational performance and competitiveness (Hartley 2002; Brown and Eisenhardt 1997). The former approach deviates from this underlying punctuated equilibrium model of change in that it focuses on intended and continuous organizational change. The approach of permanent change assumes that organizational change rather is the rule than an exception. Hence, intended permanent change is to enable an ongoing organizational adaptability to unpredictable and volatile environments. In this perspective, emphasis is placed on organizational fluidity viewing economic organizations as "constantly redesigning and reinventing themselves" (Schreyögg and Sydow 2010, p. 1252).

Intended permanent change is associated with promoting organizational flexibility that contains two dimensions: workplace flexibility and structural flexibility. The latter intends to transform hierarchical and bureaucratic structures into 'networked organizations' (Colling 2005) with decentralized semi-autonomous business units (e.g. cost or profit centers) taking economic responsibility for achieving economic goals (Becke 2010; Alvesson and Thompson 2005). Workplace flexibility refers to the use and deployment of employees (Reilly 1998), e.g. in respect to time and place, job-related tasks, wages or employment contracts. Workplace flexibility encompasses extensive or numerical and intensive or functional flexibility. Whereas the former is "associated with the ability of the organization to alter the number of staff employed" (ibid., 9), the latter refers to variations in the use of employed labor. In this regard, workplace flexibility includes the introduction of project work or team work with enhanced employee involvement, job enlargement and job enrichment at individual and group level (Marchington and Cox 2007; Busck et al. 2010). The combination of enhanced autonomy at work with 'management of objectives' intends to capitalize on employees' subjectivity (Flecker and Hofbauer 1998), i.e. to fully mobilize employees' competence, motivation and resources for economic goal attainment and for flexibly coping with external and work-related sources of uncertainty. Management seeks to mobilize employees' internalized commitment and self-discipline to pursue economic goals (Thompson 2003), even in adverse circumstances, specifically in the case of 'deconfined work' (Hatchuel 2002) in which work-related contents, processes, outcomes and work environments cannot be determined or regulated precisely by managers.

Intended permanent change is promoted by dynamic economic goals that are defined and set by top management and transposed by cascades of 'management by objectives' to decentralized business units or even to team and individual levels.

These overall dynamic economic goals constantly bear pressure upon business units to optimize their economic performance in respect to costs, profitability and quality. Dynamic economic goal attainment is associated with the introduction of 'quasi-market structures', i.e. confronting decentralized business units with internal and even external competitors. Benchmarking systems incessantly prove decentralized business units' worth in economic regard. Decentralized business units constantly operate under competitive pressure being threatened with outsourcing of complete services or tasks or dissolving units in case of 'economic failure', i.e. not having achieved economic goals. Therefore, structural flexibility also refers to re-defining organizational boundaries by different variants of externalization, e.g. encompassing the introduction of franchise systems, outsourcing or blurring boundaries between employed labor and self-employment (cf. Frade and Darmon 2005; Marchington et al. 2005). Moreover, re-designing organizational boundaries intends to foster collaborative networking across organizations in order to develop and exploit innovation potentials (Colling 2005).

At first glance, permanent change implies positive potentials at various levels: At organizational level, permanent change enhances organizational adaptability in volatile and unforeseen socio-economic environments, thereby promoting organizations' long-term viability. Moreover, intended continuous change may create an organizational climate that promotes innovation and high-performance work systems. At workplace and individual level, the de-layering of organizational hierarchies, the decentralization of decision-making structures and collaborative networking across organizational boundaries offer employees self-regulation in the workplace, enhanced self-efficacy, options for individual growth and development, and new career opportunities. However, more recent studies indicate downsides of intended permanent change that may endanger organizational sustainability in dynamic and unpredictable environments.

At organizational level, e.g. sustained organizational functioning and reliability are threatened by tighter controls over cost, productivity and profitability related to dynamic economic goal-setting. The latter entails a strict reduction of seemingly superfluous 'organizational slack', specifically time resources for trust building internal collective inquiry and learning, organizational routines or staff (Sorge and van Witteloostuijn 2004; Lawson 2001; Meyerhuber 2013a). Moreover, employees' and middle managers' organizational commitment often decreases in radical or permanent change (Meyer and Allen 1997). For instance, strategies of organizational 'downsizing' associated with dismissals and the promotion of temporary employment induce feelings of enhanced job instability even within the remaining workforce (Sverke et al. 2002) and employees' withdrawal of innovative capacities (Weiss and Udris 2001). Finally, strategies of 'downsizing' are often perceived by employees as a severe violation of 'psychological contracts' (Rousseau 1995; Conway and Briner 2005) that may induce an erosion of employees' trust in top managers and in the entire organization (Atkinson 2007; Mishra et al. 2009).

At the workplace level, intensive work systems are often produced in permanent change by dynamic and often short-term economic goals, strict control over costs,

productivity and profitability or enhanced job-related demands to reduce time to market and time from order to delivery (Beumer 2013; Docherty et al. 2002). Intensive work systems entail the "consumption of human resources – physical, cognitive, social emotional – in work organizations" (ibid., 3). Work intensity can be either attributed to a reduction of job control or to a loss of work governability with contents of work that – to a larger extent – evade work-related specification or structuring, e.g. invisible aspects of care work or in developing novel software products with customers (Hatchuel 2002, p. 41). For instance, increased responsibility for economic goal attainment at individual or team level entails enhanced work intensity, especially if employees lack required time resources or autonomy to deal with unanticipated events, e.g. work-related interference by clients (Docherty et al. 2002; Gerlmaier 2006). Moreover, work intensity is promoted by dynamic and challenging goals fostering employees' self-induced psycho-physical overcharge that is often associated with extra-long working hours and individuals' strong internal motivation to meet work-related goals (ibid., Siegrist 1996). Both factors contribute significantly to burnout as psycho-physical exhaustion (Maslach and Leiter 1997). Employees' health can also be impaired in permanent change by an imbalance of high-effort and low-reward conditions in the workplace (Siegrist 1996), e.g. de-layering reduces options for intra-organizational career advancement.

Hence, unintended effects of intended permanent or radical change expose economic organizations to increased vulnerability in dynamic and unpredictable environments, may erode organizations' social-resource base, and endanger employees' health resources. Against this background, it has to be examined how a socially sustainable organizational change can be achieved. Sustainable development denotes "protecting the richness of the world's resources in such a way that their utilization does not destroy them but rather leaves equal opportunity for future generations to benefit from them as well" (Docherty et al. 2009, p. 3). In a resource-centered perspective of sustainability (Ehnert and Harry 2012; Müller-Christ 2001), the development and regeneration of finite ecological, economic, social, and individual resources is focused on. At organizational level, social sustainability refers to the development and regeneration of organizations' social-resource base that is generated in social interactions within the workforce and between management and employees (Becke 2013a, in this volume). This social-resource base is comprised of diverse social resources, as interpersonal and organizational trust, organizational loyalty, organizational justice and the reciprocity of give and take between management and employees. Interaction-based social resources require time to unfold. In permanent or radical change, however, social resources are exposed to enhanced vulnerability.

According to Littig and Grießler (2005) work is a core concept of social sustainability. Hence, in economic organizations social sustainability also refers to the promotion of sustainable work systems that denote systems "where human and social resources are …regenerated through the process of work while still maintaining productivity and a competitive edge" (Docherty et al. 2002, p. 214).

Sustainable work systems promote the regeneration of employees' and managers' health resources in changing workplaces and organizations (Becke 2013b).

In this edited volume, it is argued that the concept of organizational mindfulness makes a difference to explain why some economic organizations are capable of shaping permanent change in a socially sustainable way by balancing flexibility and stability demands, whereas others fail to regenerate their social-resource base and individuals' resources prioritizing organizational fluidity. However, a closer investigation of organizational mindfulness and its conceptual trajectories is required in order to apply this concept to the field of organizational change.

3 Conceptual Trajectories of Organizational Mindfulness

In this section, an overview on conceptual trajectories of mindfulness is provided that embraces two distinct perspectives: an individual and an organizational perspective of mindfulness. Whereas the former perspective focuses on presence-centered individual cognition processes related to human beings' inner and outer world of experience, the latter emphasizes the organizational capability to achieve specific organizational ends, as organizational functioning, high reliability or high performance.

3.1 The Individual Perspective

In the individual perspective, mindfulness is an inherently state of human consciousness that can be defined as an "enhanced attention to and awareness of current experience or present reality" (Brown and Ryan 2003, p. 822). Awareness serves as a "background "radar" of consciousness continuously monitoring the inner and outer environment" (ibid.). For instance, persons can be aware of specific sensory and perceptual stimuli or of their thoughts and emotions, without being a focal point of attention. Attention differs from awareness in that it focuses awareness, "providing heightened sensitivity to a limited range of experience" (ibid.). Thus, awareness and attention are closely interrelated in mindfulness. The individual perspective of mindfulness encompasses two conceptual trajectories (Yeganeh and Kolb 2009): meditative mindfulness and socio-cognitive mindfulness.

3.1.1 Meditative Mindfulness

Meditative mindfulness is rooted in diverse contemplative traditions across different cultures. For instance, it can be traced in the Roman-Greek philosophy of stoicism, in Sufism, Christian Mysticism (Assländer and Grün 2010; Stutz 2008), and in Buddhism (Hanh 2009). Most spiritual or philosophical traditions related to

meditative mindfulness underline that life means continuous change (Assländer and Grün 2010; Hanh 2009). Mindfulness lies at the heart of Buddhist meditation. This practice aims at the complete liberalization of human beings and is to promote healing being pursued by meditative techniques, specifically of breathing and walking techniques (ibid.). In this Eastern tradition, mindfulness is reflected in a presence-centered consciousness that is intentionally aware and attentive, focused on current and direct experience, accepts the actual state "as part of a constant flow of changing experiences" (Yeganeh and Kolb 2009, p. 14), and avoids judgment of inner experience or of sensory and perceived stimuli (Germer 2004). Mindfulness involves that individuals intentionally direct attention to a specific current object, thereby avoiding distraction, e.g. by the "monkey mind" of wandering thoughts (Weick and Putnam 2006; Hopper 2010). Meditative mindfulness is characterized by a receptive awareness and attention that is "reflected in a more regular or sustained consciousness of ongoing events and experiences" (Brown and Ryan 2003, 822 p.).

Meditative mindfulness has been integrated in psychotherapy, psychology and medicine as a platform for intervention strategies to promote psychological well-being, to reduce psycho-social stress and to cope with mental disorders, e.g. depression. Mindfulness-based intervention strategies have often been successfully validated empirically (Brown and Ryan 2003; Shapiro et al. 2006; Kohls et al. 2009), as the Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MSBR) program (Kabatt-Zinn 1990).

3.1.2 Socio-Cognitive Mindfulness

The trajectory of socio-cognitive mindfulness can primarily be attributed to social psychologist Ellen Langer (1989). In this view, mindfulness denotes "the process of drawing novel distinctions" (Langer and Moldoveanu 2000a, p. 1). Contrary to meditative mindfulness which places emphasis on receptive awareness and attention (Brown and Ryan 2003, p. 822), Langer conceives of mindfulness as an active process based on reflexive consciousness operating on diverse contents of consciousness, e.g. emotions and thoughts. The socio-cognitive approach of mindfulness draws a sharp distinction between mindful and mindless behavior. The latter occurs in situations where individual behavior is more or less governed by rules and routines without taking account of actual circumstances. Drawing novel distinctions entails mindful behavior that is characterized by persons' greater contextual sensitivity in respect to their environments, active information processing based on openness to new information, the creation of novel categories and distinctions for structuring perception, and the exploration of and enhanced awareness to multiple perspectives regarding problem-solving processes (Langer and Moldoveanu 2000a, p. 2; Albert 1990, p. 154). Sensitivity to the novel or the unexpected is regarded as a key feature of mindfulness (Langer and Moldoveanu 2000a, p. 4). It is argued that mindfulness enables to broaden individuals' stock of cognitive categories, thereby avoiding or reducing mindless and dysfunctional behavior. Against this conceptual background,

interventions can be deduced that intend to increase mindfulness by an enhanced awareness of multiple perspectives, and simultaneously aim at eliminating or unlearning cognitive categories and distinctions or related patterns of behavior that support mindlessness (Langer and Moldoveanu 2000a, 129 p.). For instance, such interventions were conducted and empirically tested in respect to prejudice against disabled persons, stereotypes of aging or alcoholism and drug addiction (Langer 1989). According to Langer and Moldoveanu (2000b) mindfulness-based intervention strategies can contribute to problem solving at organizational and even at societal level.

3.2   The Organizational Perspective

In the organizational perspective, the concept of organizational mindfulness – developed by Kathleen Sutcliffe and Karl Weick – can be regarded as a pace-setting milestone of research and practice. This concept is predominantly situated in the field of risk and safety research; specifically, it is related to 'High Reliability Theory' (HRT) highlighting so-called 'High Reliability Organizations' (HROs) that operate in dynamic, unforeseen and risky environments endangering organizations' viability (Weick et al. 1999). Examples of HROs are nuclear-power plants, airplane carrier, space missions or fire-fighting teams (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007; Barton and Sutcliffe 2008). Whereas earlier conceptualizations of organizational reliability focused on the repeatability of stable patterns of activity or routines as the source of specific reliable outcomes in respect to quantity or quality (Hannan and Freeman 1984), HRT assumes that high reliability is generated by interrelated variations in activity patterns and the stability of cognitive processes HROs draw on in turbulent and unforeseen environments (Weick et al. 1999; Weick and Sutcliffe 2006): In unpredictable environments, a constant mindful awareness of environmental variations is required that is grounded in stable cognitive pro-cesses directed to the detection of novel or unexpected events. In such environments, patterns of activity are to be continuously re-adjusted in order to enable adaptive activity and to avoid inertia or the normalization of unexpected events. Thus, variable patterns of activity can be viewed as a capacity for action that promotes organizational adaptation to unpredictable environments.

In regard to HROs that focus on emerging threats to their viability and error detection, mindfulness is defined as the "joint capability to induce a rich awareness of discriminatory detail and a capacity for action" (Weick et al. 1999, p. 88). This understanding of mindfulness is inspired by Langer's definition of individual mindfulness. However, it focuses on the group or organizational level of mindful-ness. In this regard, organizational mindfulness "refers to the extent to which an organization captures discriminatory detail about emerging threats and creates a capability to swiftly act in response to these details" (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012, p. 723). HROs that successfully and mindfully manage unexpected events are characterized by a combination of stable cognitive processes and variable action

patterns (Weick et al. 1999). Mindfulness is characterized by a specific quality of sustained collective attention to environmental signals and weak cues. It is based on inquiry and interpretation of novel and seemingly familiar events that may imply unknown characteristics; thus, mindfulness permanently questions or revises established assumptions (ibid).

A state of organizational mindfulness is achieved by five interrelated processes of mindful organizing (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007; Weick et al. 1999):

- 'Preoccupation with failure' refers to the detection of potential threats to organizational reliability and the detection of errors and near misses that are conceived as sources of organizational learning.
- 'Reluctance to simplify interpretations' intends to develop a more nuanced and contextualized picture of unforeseen events by questioning established assumptions, involving different perspectives, and taking account of reliable alternatives.
- 'Sensitivity to operations' involves attentiveness to front-line work with employees' situational awareness and tacit knowledge that enable continuous local adjustments, thereby preventing an enlargement and accumulation of errors.
- 'Commitment to resilience' refers to "the ability to bounce back from errors and handle surprises in the moment" (Vogus and Welbourne 2003, p. 881). It focuses on the containment of errors and improvisation to sustain organizational functioning. This process of mindful organizing involves analyzing, coping with and learning from failures and setbacks.
- 'Deference to expertise' refers to fluid forms of decision-making by turning decision structures upside down during states of emergency or severe crisis, thereby drawing on front-line workers' local and specific expertise to cope with unexpected events.

Whereas the first three processes refer to "an HRO's capacity to anticipate "unexpected" problems" (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007, p. 9), the latter two focus on the organizational containment of harmful unexpected events.

The concept of organizational mindfulness inspired further empirically- and theoretically-based research in respect to HROs (e.g. Levinthal and Rerup 2006). Moreover, the research focus of organizational mindfulness was extended to other types of organizations than HROs and related organizational fields (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012). I would just like to mention two exemplary conceptual extensions of organizational mindfulness: First, the concept of organizational mindfulness has been utilized as a sensitizing concept in research related to organizational 'high performance systems' (Pawlowsky et al. 2008). In this perspective, research in HROs is regarded as an important perspective to analyze facilitating factors for organizational high performance within and across diverse organizational fields and types (ibid), as sports teams, orchestras or firms of knowledge-intensive ICT-services. Second, the concept of organizational mindfulness was recently transposed to the field of health promotion in the workplace (Badura and Steinke 2011), specifically in respect to knowledge-intensive, project-based and

innovation-driven organizations (Becke 2013b; Thomczik et al. 2009). In this regard, organizational mindfulness is conceived as a research and practice-based approach to transform intensive work systems into more sustainable work systems that foster the regeneration of employees' health resources. In the following section, another important conceptual extension is highlighted: organizational mindfulness in respect to permanent organizational change.

4 Introduction to Chapters and Articles of this Edited Volume

This edited volume is comprised of five parts. The *first one* is the *introductory part*. Besides this introduction, it contains an initial contribution by *Claudius H. Riegler*, program manager at Project Management Agency/German Aerospace Center (Work Design and Services), titled 'Organizational Mindfulness and Dynamic Stability – The Role of Public Research Funding'. The author argues that organizational mindfulness is an open concept that may inspire further research in respect to the dynamic balance between flexibility and stability in working life paying attention to uncertain socio-economic environments and enhanced competition due to economic globalization. He informs readers about the research strand "Balance of flexibility and stability in a changing working life", funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research and the European Social Funds, that intends to foster innovative strategies for creating such a balance in the face of permanent reorganization. This balance between flexibility and stability necessitates taking account of managers' and employees' specific expectations. Public Research funding can facilitate the development of research-based innovation strategies that balance flexibility and stability in a changing working life.

The *second part* deals with *'Organizational Mindfulness – A Concept for Mindful Organizational Change'*. It seeks to explore whether the concept of organizational mindfulness which is originally based in risk and safety research can be fruitfully applied and extended to organizational change and learning. In this respect, it also indicates that the concept of organizational mindfulness can be transferred to other organizational types than 'high reliability organizations', thereby opening up new avenues of research. This part encompasses three contributions with different perspectives on this issue.

It starts with a contribution by *Claus Rerup* (Richard Ivey School of Business, University of Western Ontario, Canada) and *Daniel A. Levinthal* (The Wharton School, Department of Management, University of Pennsylvania, USA) that is titled 'Situating the Concept of Organizational Mindfulness: The Multiple Dimensions of Organizational Learning'. Both scholars have provided impressive theoretical and empirical contributions to the debate on organizational mindfulness in organization and management studies. In this article, they argue from the perspective of Management Studies that research on organizational change and

learning in respect to organizational mindfulness has to take account of both mindful and less mindful approaches that hint at the importance of organizational routines for organizational mindfulness. They argue that further dialogue between these different approaches of organizational mindfulness and mindful organizing is required. Against this background, they develop a three-dimensional conceptual model that intends to promote a dialogue between these approaches. This model shows differences of mindful and less mindful approaches in respect to these dimensions. The first dimension refers to the periodicity of organizational change and learning distinguishing rare and frequent change. The second dimension, i.e. extensiveness of the object of organizational learning contrasts local with global change. The degree of cognitive intensity in the learning process is introduced as the third dimension referring to inert and reflective change. The authors show that this conceptual model allows to integrate mindful and less mindful approaches to organizational learning and to consider mindful and less mindful processes as co-constitutive activities. Taking account of the interaction of mindful and less mindful processes may facilitate the organizational understanding of dynamic contexts organizations are embedded in.

In the contribution 'Mindful Change – A Concept for Social Sustainability at Organizational Level' written by *Guido Becke* (artec | Centre for Sustainability Studies, University of Bremen), it is argued that permanent organizational change has become the rule rather than an exception due to economic globalization and the introduction of semi-markets at organizational level. In the perspective of organizational sustainability, risks attributed to permanent change are highlighted, specifically to its social resources, as trust and reciprocity. Moreover, permanent change entails enhanced levels of psycho-social stress at work that foster the depletion of employees' and middle-managers' health resources. Against this background, the author posits from a Labor Studies perspective that the concept of organizational mindfulness can be transposed from risk and safety research on 'high reliability organizations' to economic organizations in permanent change. Organizational mindfulness is on the one hand regarded as an analytical concept that allows examining the extent to which organizations are capable of responding in a socially sustainable way to permanent change. On the other hand, this concept can be utilized as a practical concept for mindfully designing permanent change, thereby balancing flexibility and stability demands (Becke et al. 2013). However, such a transposition to permanent change requires a re-conceptualization of organizational mindfulness that is subsequently pointed out. The author indicates that institutional contexts matter in respect to organizational mindfulness: The 8iNNO-research project showed that the institution of works councils proved to be an essential change agent in facilitating mindful change regarding the regeneration of organizations' social resource base.

The third contribution to this part deals with 'Authenticity and Individual Mindfulness within Organizations – Problems and Perspectives'. *Wolfgang Hien* (Research Bureau of Work and Health, Bremen) highlights the interrelation between individual and organizational mindfulness in organizational change from a phenomenological perspective. The author posits that processes and

organizational routines of organizational mindfulness regarding organizational change may fail, if they do not take account of individual mindfulness. The author's starting point is the depletion of employees' health resources in reorganization processes. In his view, an attitude towards work is to be developed that questions role functioning and behavior based on extra-organizational role commitment. First, it is based on authenticity as being true to oneself. It accepts persons' own inadequacy and is related to a person's lived-bodily consciousness. Second, this attitude requires individual mindfulness that encompasses listening to one's inner voice and drawing boundaries between authentic work-related interest and health depleting overwork. Moreover, individual mindfulness exceeds the individual level by being mindful to one's co-workers. Wolfgang Hien hints at the negative health-related and economic outcomes of intensive work-systems that might be overcome by solidarity and by halting acceleration in (working) life, thereby addressing the importance of mindfulness at societal level.

In the following two parts, concepts are highlighted that are essential to our understanding of organizational mindfulness in permanent change, i.e. dialogue and social trust. *Dialogue* is at the heart of the *third part* exploring the extent to which dialogue can be understood as a concept for mindfully designing organizational change. In our view, dialogue is about the exchange of perspectives and arguments between different people, thereby facilitating learning and innovation in specific contextual settings. In dialogue, learning is promoted by a mutual inquiry of (work-related) problems and the development of agreed on solutions. The research project 8iNNO indicated that dialogue across organizational hierarchies and intra-organizational units promotes organizational mindfulness in permanent change (cf. Bleses and Behrens 2013, in this volume). We argue that persons' and groups' perspectives in economic organizations also reflect their specific (work-related) interests. Hence, dialogue as the participatory exchange of perspectives and arguments may also involve conflict and negotiations as a source of mutual learning, thereby altering the social construction of reality and facilitating adaptive trust cultures at organizational level.

This part encompasses two chapters that refer to dialogue from different angles. *Bernd Hofmaier* (University of Halmstad, Sweden) focuses on dialogue from an institutional and political perspective based on Swedish and Norwegian experience with the so-called 'democratic dialogue'. His contribution is titled 'Institutional and Organizational Perspectives on Dialogue – Lessons Learned from Scandinavian Experience'. Specifically, the author examines the socio-economic and political trajectories of dialogue-related public programs that intended to promote the development of working life in both countries. For instance, Bernd Hofmaier points out that a collective agreement from 1938 provided the political frame condition for further dialogue-initiatives by labor market parties. In post-second-world-war times of increasing industrial productivity and the development of a modern welfare state, a sequence of publicly funded workplace programs were initiated and carried out that sought to develop alternatives to Taylorist production regimes in industry. These programs fostered dialogue at organizational, local and regional levels building inter-company

networks. A core tool of these programs were dialogue- or search conferences that reflected criteria of democratic dialogue, as work experience as the basis for participation, the legitimisation of all arguments under discussion or dialogue as a process of exchange on ideas and arguments. Whereas the dialogue-related workplace development programs in Sweden came to an end in the mid 1990s due to a political swift to centre-right parties and, especially, due to economic crises and a diminishing influence of trade unions, these programs have been continued in Norway.

Miriam Behrens and *Peter Bleses* (both from artec | Research Centre for Sustainability Studies, University of Bremen) refer to dialogue at the organizational level. Their contribution from a Labor Studies perspective is programmatically titled 'Mindful Dialogue is the Key!' This title is related to their action-research based experience and results with the 8iNNO-project encompassing four partner companies of different sectors. The authors show that mindful dialogue is based on mutual recognition by all the parties and persons involved. Mindful dialogue is based on employees' direct and representative participation that allows to take account of their specific expectations and interests related to organizational change. It involves top-management, middle managers, employees and their representatives. Mindful dialogue seeks to anticipate unintended and problematic effects of organizational change as well as to uncover until then unnoticed innovation potentials. The authors posit that mindful change exceeds specific 'change projects' by integrating it into daily work-related or organizational routines. Moreover, it is pointed out that intra-organizational communication has to be thoroughly organized in change processes involving different but supplementing tools and procedures of communication. However, mindful dialogue remains fragile because middle managers' and employees' negative experience with previous organizational change initiatives may prove as a lingering and long-standing shadow that might constrain building and regenerating trust by mindful dialogue. Therefore, this shadow has to be constructively dealt with. In their article, Miriam Behrens and Peter Bleses provide a sound basis for the following part.

The *forth part* deals with *'Trust as a Challenge to Organizational Change'*. In the research-project 8iNNO, it was empirically indicated in case-study research that adaptive trust cultures can be sustained in volatile socio-economic environments, if economic organizations succeed in balancing demands of flexibility and stability. It was shown that organizational mindfulness can foster adaptive trust cultures at organizational level in that it facilitates the development and regeneration of interpersonal and systemic trust in permanent change processes (Becke 2013c). This part encompasses three contributions.

Kirsimarja Blomqvist (School of Business and Technology Business Research Center, Lappeenranta University of Technology, Finland) focuses in her article on 'Building Sustainable Organizational Trust in Radical Change – The Interplay of Organizational Trust and Mindfulness'. The author deals with an under-developed issue in the scientific literature on organizational mindfulness, i.e. the interplay between trust and organizational mindfulness. The analysis of this interplay can

also contribute to broaden the focus of research on organizational mindfulness by taking account of the relationship of organizational mindfulness and innovativeness. In her view, trust is a key concept for a better understanding of this relationship in that trust can be regarded as a critical element in innovativeness and creativity at organizational level. Regarding innovation the author argues that mindfulness can be utilized for identifying signals of new opportunities and organizational trust may reduce transaction costs and facilitate value creation. The interplay of trust and mindfulness in specified as follows: It is proposed that trust can support mindful processes – as pointed out by Weick and Sutcliffe (2007) – in radical change that contribute to facilitate innovation. For instance, persons' willingness to engage in risky actions necessitates interpersonal and organizational trust. Mindful processes can facilitate building sustainable trust in radical change. For example, the mindful process of promoting underspecified structures can build identification, an important source of organizational trust, in a diverse workforce based on a shared vision and future.

The second article of this part examines one of the issues raised by Kirsimarja Blomqvist, i.e. how trust can facilitate mindful change as a socially sustainable change, especially in respect to employees' and (middle) managers' health resources. *Sylke Meyerhuber* (artec | Research Centre for Sustainability Studies, University of Bremen) argues – from a psychological perspective – that trust can be viewed as a 'selective social erosion inhibitor' in perpetual organizational changes. In her article 'Trust and Time in Reorganizations and the Role of Middle Managers', the author starts with depicting the unintended negative health effects of permanent change and of disentangled workplaces. Against this background, she seeks to explore how organizational change can take account of organizational members' social and psychological needs. Specifically, middle managers as change agents are capable of balancing economic and social needs in dynamic and delimited workplaces, unless they are not overburdened in their 'sandwich-position' between top-management and employees in perpetual changes. In permanent change, middle managers' supportive behavior and appreciative interactions encouraging employee-participation can foster interpersonal trust, even if systemic trust is called into question. Trust building at the interactional level proves to be a health resource vital to employees in times of perpetual changes. In line with Niklas Luhmann, the author argues that interpersonal trust provides a safe social footing for employees. However, building and maintaining trust requires time, e.g. for respectful interactions and organizing participatory dialogue. In this perspective, mindful change reflects the deceleration of change paces. In respect to mindful change, trust can function as a social-psychological container crucial for organizational members to be secured on the social level whereas jobs and work structures are frequently changing. From a psychological perspective, the concept of mindful change requires to be based on a framework that integrates three interrelated levels: structures, interactions and persons. Mindful infrastructures require corresponding managers' and employees' attitudes to interact mindfully, specifically in times of enhanced psycho-social stress.

This part concludes with a chapter from an economic perspective titled 'Trust and its Impact on Organizational Change and Innovation in Social Services'. Janina Evers and Joachim Hafkesbrink (both from the Rhine-Ruhr Institute for Applied System-Innovation, Duisburg) analyze the importance of trust for an innovation-friendly mindful change in respect to a specific institutional context, i.e. social services. First, this institutional setting can be roughly characterized by services on persons that require emotional labor and empathy to interact with clients who are at least partially co-producers of social services. Second, it consists of a complex triangular relationship of public payers (e.g. social insurance, state agencies), social service providers (public, non-profit, private), and beneficiaries. Finally, social services have been operating under enhanced economic pressure to increase efficiency and service quality. The authors refer to a case-study of a social-service provider. Their work is based on two surveys involving employees and managers during and after a specific intended change process with which trust mechanisms and their effects on the service provider's innovativeness were measured. In this case-study research, a multi-dimensional construct of trust was developed that included trust based on identification, institutions, competence, interaction processes and calculus-mechanisms. The authors show that trust is ambivalent in respect to (mindful) organizational change. Whereas some trust-dimensions support an innovation-friendly mindful change, others constrain innovation. Against the background of their case-study results, the authors opt for further research and draw the conclusion that organizational change should be continuously evaluated regarding the effects of institutional instruments and measures of mindful change on trust culture indicators and firms' innovation capability.

The *final part* 'Mindfulness in Social Change – A Societal Perspective' broadens the scope of organizational mindfulness and mindful change by focusing on the political and societal perspective of mindfulness. The social-psychologist Ellen Langer (1989) is a pioneer in addressing the societal level regarding research on mindfulness. In her cognition-based view, individual mindfulness can alter problematic patterns of human perception and behavior, thereby making a contribution to solve social problems, as overcoming social prejudice. Nevertheless, research in this perspective is under-developed, particularly in respect to specific societal sub-systems. Moreover, the interplay of organizational mindfulness and political mindfulness needs further conceptualization and empirical analysis. This part embraces three contributions from different perspectives.

Eva Senghaas-Knobloch (artec | Research Centre for Sustainability Studies) refers to the global level by introducing the concept of political mindfulness and addressing the relationship between organizational mindfulness and political mindfulness. In her article 'Mindfulness – a Politically Sensitizing Concept. Care and Social Sustainability as Issues', the author develops her concept of political mindfulness from the perspectives of Gender and Labor Studies in respect to the concept of sustainable development. She argues that the organization of work is of key importance for the relationship between nature and society. In this perspective, the current economic globalization is viewed as consuming social resources, particularly care-relations and care-activities as a basis for social development. This

disregard of human needs and rights reflects political mindlessness in respect to the importance of care for social cohesion and human well-being. Hence, social sustainability is endangered when care activities or responsibilities are devalued or disregarded. The author posits that the goal of (a socially) sustainable development can be achieved by political mindfulness. The author highlights two political initiatives from 2011 that seek to overcome this disregard of care reflecting political mindfulness: The new ILO-Convention 189 on *Decent Work for Domestic Workers* and the "Recommendations" of the EU-Social Platform for a *Caring Society* in Europe. Eva Senghaas-Knobloch concludes that the "caring society" can be viewed as a model for a socially sustainable society that reconciles the spheres of work and social responsibilities in respect to care on the basis of legal regulations. In her view, political mindfulness is essential for politically designing frame conditions (mindful) economic organizations operate in.

In his article 'Reforming the German University System – Mindful Change by Double Talk', *Uwe Schimank* (Institute for Sociology, University of Bremen) refers to change in a specific societal sub-system or institutional context: the university system. The author argues that the concept of mindfulness is of analytical usefulness to understand change processes even in organizations and institutional contexts that largely differ from 'High Reliability Organizations' and from economic organizations alike. The author points out that German university reforms are characterized by functional antagonisms (e.g. scientific curiosity versus political or social relevance) between core actor groups of professors and ministries for higher education and research policy. Uwe Schimank argues that – in the new governance regime at universities – the university leadership is a core intermediary for re-balancing these functional antagonism and for dissolving the blockade between these countervailing actors. The conflict between both interdependent actors is often grounded in mutual distrust and contempt. The author posits that this conflict can be overcome by re-education, i.e. successively altering the relational orientation of professors and ministries, thereby facilitating 'compromise-oriented negotiation' and mutual understanding. He argues that university leaders can promote re-balancing of functional antagonisms between professors and ministries in that these intermediaries practise mindfulness as 'balanced caring' by sincere 'double talk'. Mindful double talk embraces the communicative moves of acceptance, transposition and admonition. It facilitates a communicative bridging between opponents.

This book concludes with the article 'Personal, Systemic and Transsystemic Trust – Individual and Collective Resources for Coping with Societal Challenges' written by *Martin K.W. Schweer* and *Karin Siebertz-Reckzeh* (both from the University of Vechta, Centre for Trust Studies) from a social-psychologist perspective. The authors show that trust plays a decisive regulating role at individual and collective level under complex social conditions or societal processes, as globalization or demographic change, specifically in reducing complexity. Against the background of these complex conditions, an extended conceptual understanding of trust is required that differentiates personal, systemic, and transsystemic trust to be viewed from either an individual or a collective perspective. The latter component

of trust is of vital relevance for uncontrollable social processes that do not allow experience-based trust building. Trust can facilitate social integration at societal level. For instance, horizontal trust among citizens can promote a communal consciousness that buffers political radicalization. At societal level, mindfulness being closely connected with sustainability and social responsibility can facilitate the reflexive development of trust.

5   Avenues of Further Research

In this final section, I would like to indicate avenues of further research, specifically regarding organizational mindfulness in respect to permanent change. Efforts in conceptualizing organizational mindfulness can be enhanced. Specifically, the issue of power and conflict in respect to organizational mindfulness is a widely disregarded field of research. Research in organizational mindfulness hardly conceives of economic organizations as negotiated orders (Strauss 1993) with unevenly distributed power resources that may shift over time in ongoing social relations. Power denotes "a capacity to pursue one's own interests, and it can be activated through individual or collective means" (Edwards 2007, p. 13). Taking account of economic organizations as negotiated orders, intra-organizational social relations can also be analyzed as socially embedded power relations. In this perspective, organizational mindfulness may depend on more or less stable power coalitions that may hinder or facilitate and even enable the establishment of organizational mindfulness or mindful organizing. For instance, front-line employees can draw on primary power resources that rest on their tacit or implicit local knowledge. In economic organizations, employees may deliberately withhold or withdraw their tacit knowledge, if they feel a lack of social recognition by managers.

Organizational mindfulness is comprised of a mindful infrastructure, especially based on organizational routines, and key principles that facilitate mindful organizing (Becke et al. 2013). However, the interplay of different levels important to mindful organizing, i.e. structures, interaction processes, and persons with their mindful or less mindful attitudes, has to be analyzed and conceptualized more thoroughly (cf. Meyerhuber 2013b, in this volume). In other words, organizational mindfulness is produced by the interplay of individuals, especially employees and managers, teams or intra-organizational business units and the organizational infrastructure for mindful organizing. The interrelation of individual level, team level and organizational level necessitates further research in respect to different types of organizations. For instance, mindfulness at organizational level requires mindful behavior at team and individual levels because organizational routines as facilitators of organizational mindfulness highly depend on human agency. This is not only a matter of individual or team-related capabilities directed to mindful organizing or to mindful self-reflection in changing workplaces. Rather, this interplay is influenced by the overarching organizational culture and specific work cultures individuals and teams are affiliated

to. Moreover, contradictions between these interrelated three levels have to be analyzed in respect to mindful change. For example, mindful change can be primarily directed to enhance organizational performance or reliability. This may induce negative side-effects at team- or individual levels, e.g. enhanced stress at work. Thus, research in organizational mindfulness needs to take account of such emerging contradictions related to mindful organizing. Therefore, the analysis of contradictions related to mindful organizing and how intra-organizational actors seek to balance or neglect these contradictions is an important field of further research. Addressing this research issue may also contribute to deepen our understanding of the interplay of organizational mindfulness and organizational sustainability.

Regarding organizational sustainability, there is hardly any empirical research that explores how mindful organizing can contribute to the regeneration of economic organizations' social- resource base, especially to specific social resources, as social trust, reciprocity, organizational loyalty or organizational justice. This line of research has to take account of organizational cultures and existing workplace institutions as potential facilitators or barriers to this regeneration. However, organizational culture is not only an important antecedent to explain mindful or mindless organizing. Rather, the introduction of organizational mindfulness can alter cognitive and behavioral patterns or reciprocal expectations and question basic assumptions of organizational cultures. Therefore, the interplay between organizational culture and organizational mindfulness requires further research.

Although the relevance of social institutions for organizational mindfulness is highlighted in some contributions to this volume, further research is necessitated to improve the context sensitivity of research in organizational mindfulness. First, there is hardly any empirical study on organizational mindfulness that addresses the influence social institutions exert on organizational mindfulness, specifically in respect to mindful ways of organizing. Especially, empirical research is required that investigates how social institutions hinder or facilitate organizational mindfulness. Second, this research questions may open up an internationally comparative research perspective that focuses on the societal prerequisites of mindful change at organizational level. Finally, there is no empirical research that explores the relevance of institutions at the supranational, international or global level in respect to more mindful ways of organizing in transnational corporations.

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Organizational Mindfulness and Dynamic Stability: The Role of Public Research Funding

Claudius H. Riegler

Abstract This contribution aims at giving a short presentation of goals and implications which are connected with this theme from the perspective of national public research funding, namely the R&D research funding offered by the German Ministry of Education and Research.

Keywords Mindfulness • Dynamic stability • Public research funding • Balance between flexibility and stability in working life

I think we all prefer mindful action to a reckless one. Mindfulness in an organizational context is not a common category of action – although managers and staff people normally deny recklessness as their favourite method of implementing goals. But as we will see indifference neither seems to be a guide to excellence or efficiency.

The concept of mindfulness has been elaborated and refined by the project team from artec | Research Centre for Sustainability Studies – University of Bremen within a specific context. This context is on the one hand a long research tradition within artec, on the other hand a field of research which the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research is calling special attention to. The concept itself is open for further research and follow-ups which address practitioners.

The problem of creating a balance between flexibility and stability in working life is an important topic on the political agenda since long time. In a European context, labour market experts are acquainted with the concept of flexicurity. But in our perspective balance is more. The research strand "Balance of flexibility and stability in a changing working life" has strategically contributed to find solutions for this political goal.

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The pressure for change is becoming stronger in economies – and societies – which are facing intensive competition in globalized markets, with wide-spread new technologies – and, last but not least, with demographic change. Enterprises and employees both in production and in services have to cope with modified framework conditions. These are often characterized by permanent re-organization. We need innovative strategies to cope with these change processes in a way that does not impede – by threats or anxieties – a development which both parts, management and employees, have agreed upon. Such strategies have to take into account the expectations of management regarding flexibility and productivity. They even have to take into account the interests of the employees with regard to work-life-balance, family-friendly working time schemes, content of work, satisfaction and so on. Readiness and ability to change is needed. We need a new type of balance between flexibility and stability in order to facilitate changes in organizations and changing attitudes of people.

The Federal Ministry started funding a special research and developmental strand "Balance of flexibility and stability in a changing working life" in 2009. The goal was to identify opportunities and risks in modern working life when exploring the ambivalence of stability and flexibility. The aim still is to improve innovation policy, but even to secure employability. Forty joint projects were identified and chosen. They all are developing models and methods to adjust work processes, products and competencies to what is needed. The idea was – and is – to secure the ability to innovate in the future through this balance between flexibility and stability even under uncertain conditions.

In striving for this positive change we need new concepts of planning of workplaces, workforce and personnel development, and work design and technical solutions. In order to promote an efficient cooperation in companies, methods are elaborated that measure and promote trust in innovation processes. Sustainable solutions for working-time schedules, work processes, types of employment and cooperation in and between companies are found and tested. Production systems which are change-oriented in combination with qualified and motivated employees who are able to implement flexible work processes are a guarantee for sustainable improvement of competitive advantages of nation states.

Supported by smart strategies of flexibilization and a holistic perspective on the interaction of man, organization, technology and competencies it is possible to address for example work-life balance. But we should even look for opportunities of autonomous action for implementing smart concepts of rationalization.

Three topics are of central importance:

– Globalization, new ("global") production systems (so-called GPS) and the accelerating depreciation of established knowledge create substantial changes of company structures. They are accompanied by changed work forms and working conditions.
– The diffusion of new employment relations is accompanied by diminishing shares of "traditional" employment contracts (permanent contract, fulltime).

This includes even new concepts of indirect steering by management by goals and new wage forms and self-organization.

– Even in fulltime jobs flexibility in working time schemes, in qualificational norms, in workplace design, in pay and in the individual work-life biography will increase.

The funding activities of the Federal Ministry are designed for meeting these challenges.

With the R&D Programme "Working – Learning – Developing skills. Innovation ability in modern working life" the Federal Ministry supports concepts and tools which are applicable in practical working life. These are aimed at improving qualification, health, efficiency, and motivation of all those who are participating in the work process. Of most interest are models of employability and working hours in a lifetime perspective, concepts of lifelong learning and creation and design of work tasks which are adapted to the needs of elder employees. In the future this programme will particularly emphasize the demographic changes in our working life. That means that the lack of skilled labour and competence development of all employees will be addressed in a conscious way. The funding strand "Balance of flexibility and stability in a changing work-life" is strengthening this goal by exploring new actor constellations and by supporting enterprises and organizations with tools and business instruments.

The R&D Programme is an important part of the Hightech Strategy of the Federal Government. Within the Hightech Strategy, activities dealing with flexibility and stability and the efforts to establish a new balance between these two are a decisive action field. The R&D themes which the project team and other funded projects all over Germany have elaborated are fundamental for an improvement of the economy, for creating working conditions which are adapted to the changed aspirations of the employees in a working life which is supportive for motivation and readiness for high work performance.

With the national R&D programme, flexibility as a central category of economic action – motivated by competition and the choice of production sites – is counterbalanced by stability because both need a new type of balance. Stability is a much lesser explored element of innovation. Stability is important for enterprises and employees: without a substantial amount of stability there is no employment security, no opportunity to plan your work-life biography, no opportunity to establish long-lasting ties to customers, no singularity as means of excellence in business performance, and no personnel or organizational development.

The project run by the Bremen project team has delivered substantial knowledge about this connection – and advice for practical work. In flexible work arrangements of the future, organizational mindfulness will be a key category of organizational development. For a funding agency like the Federal Ministry it is a pleasure that this conceptual and practical work could be carried out and successfully terminated – with an open end as developmental work of this type never ends. I wish to thank the project team – led by Professor Senghaas-Knobloch, PD Dr. Becke and Dr. Bleses – for the work done in this exemplary R&D project.

Part II
Organizational Mindfulness: A Concept for Mindful Organizational Change?

Situating the Concept of Organizational Mindfulness: The Multiple Dimensions of Organizational Learning

Claus Rerup and Daniel A. Levinthal

Abstract We consider how the literatures on organizational mindfulness and mindful organizing are relevant to research on organizational change and learning. We start with the tension between mindful and less mindful approaches, such as those that emphasize organizational routines, to change and learning. We posit that organizational routines are essential to mindfulness, but that this role is not elaborated in the mindfulness literature. Thus, we argue that further dialogue between these approaches is necessary and introduce a conceptual model with three dimensions to facilitate the conversation: (1) the periodicity with which learning occurs (i.e., rarely or often), (2) the extensiveness of the object of learning (i.e., local or global), and (3) the degree of cognitive intensity in the learning process (i.e., inert or reflective). The model explores how the different contexts or landscapes that organizations are embedded in influence their capacity for mindfulness, mindful organizing, and change.

1 Introduction

How do organizations change, learn, and adapt? One answer to this question is based on the emerging perspectives on organizational mindfulness (Weick et al. 1999) and mindful organizing (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012). Mindfulness is the quality of collective attention that enables managers and employees to minimize

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errors, remain vigilant, and respond effectively to unexpected events. "Mindfulness is as much about the quality of attention as it is about conservation of attention. It is as much about what people do with what they notice as about the activity of noticing itself" (Weick et al. 1999, p. 90). Mindfulness and the enriched awareness it generates helps organizations notice more issues, process these issues with care, and detect and respond to early signs of trouble (Rerup 2005, p. 452).

Much of the literature on organizational mindfulness and mindful organizing has focused on organizations that operate high-risk technologies, such as nuclear power or space exploration. This literature has posited that these high-reliability organizations (HROs) are largely inertial (Weick et al. 1999; Weick and Sutcliffe 2007) because the systems they operate are so complex. Changes that solve problems in one part of the organization can create unexpected problems in other parts of the organization (Vaughan 1996; Roe and Schulman 2008). Nonetheless, because the technologies that HROs operate and the services they provide are too critical to fail (Weick and Roberts 1993), HROs must incorporate both inertia *and* change in order to remain reliable (Weick and Sutcliffe 2006; Vogus and Welbourne 2003).

The link between reliability, inertia, and change might seem somewhat paradoxical. Most early research on HROs focused on inertia in terms of avoiding deviations (see Schulman 1993 for a discussion of these processes in nuclear plants). Research in this tradition focuses on the dimension of mindfulness that the "organization" expects, rewards, and supports. It is mindfulness seen from the top-down because priorities in terms of mindfulness are set by senior managers and then implemented by creating practices and establishing structures to support these priorities (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012). Mindfulness is seen as a structural, enduring and inertial organizational characteristic although variations might occur (Rerup 2004). Yet more recent research on mindful organizing has indicated that HROs seize opportunities and sense threats (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012). Research in this tradition conceptualizes mindfulness as a dynamic, social process. It is mindfulness seen from the bottom-up where mindfulness is accomplished on the front-line through ongoing social communication and interactions. In line with other work on organizing (Weick 1979), processes of mindful organizing are fragile to interruptions and thus needs to be constantly re-accomplished. This work suggests that reliability-seeking organizations are adaptively inert: they have to be flexible at the micro-level to remain relatively "inert" at the macro-level and to no experience any major discrete or system-wide failures. Similarly, Weick et al. (1999) define adaptively inert organizations as having a stable cognitive infrastructure that allows for behavioral adaptation. A related organizing approach can be found in continuous improvement at Toyota, where front-line employees are encouraged to be mindful of opportunities to engage in existing practice in new ways, as well as to be mindful of processes that keep them in conformance with current specifications (Adler et al. 1999).

In this chapter, we consider how the literatures on organizational mindfulness and mindful organizing are relevant to research on organizational change and learning. We start with the tension between mindful and less mindful approaches (Levinthal and Rerup 2006), such as those that emphasize organizational routines,

to change and learning. We posit that organizational routines are essential to mindfulness, but that this role is not elaborated in the mindfulness literature (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012). Argote (2006), p. 501 summarized the argument:

> [M]indfulness is conceived as involving attentiveness and the ability to respond flexibly to contextual cues. By contrast, less mindful behavior involves fewer cognitive processes and greater reliance on previous routines. . . . [A]lthough the consequences of invoking routines in inappropriate situations can be disastrous, routine-driven behavior has many benefits for organizations, including conserving attention and capturing knowledge accumulated from previous experience in the organization. . . . [M]indful and less mindful perspectives complement each other and . . . research on their interrelationship [is needed].

Thus, we argue that further dialogue between these approaches is necessary and introduce a conceptual model to facilitate the conversation. The model explores how the different contexts or landscapes that organizations are embedded in influence their capacity for mindfulness, mindful organizing, and change.

2   What is Mindfulness?

According to Weick and Sutcliffe (2007), mindfulness denotes the ability to manage unexpected events by relying on two categories of skills: anticipation and resilience (see also Rerup 2001). Anticipation is the ability to prevent failures and unexpected events from happening. Three characteristics support anticipation: preoccupation with failure, reluctance to simplify interpretations, and sensitivity to operation. Yet no system is perfect. Mindful organizations, especially HROs, recognize the impossibility of anticipating all problems and events in advance. In order to prevent unexpected, disruptive events from shutting operations down, mindful organizations are committed to resilience. Resilience is the ability to contain and manage real-time unexpected events in an adaptive, flexible fashion (Wildavsky 1991). Two characteristics support resilience: commitment to resilience (improvisation) and deference to expertise (empowerment). Less-mindful cognition and action arises from (1) overreliance on categories and distinctions created in the past, (2) automatic behavior, and (3) a failure to account for alternative information that transcends existing worldviews (Langer 1989, 1997). Consider the following example of a failure of organizational mindfulness.

> During the summer of 1962, CIA . . . intelligence professionals at the Refugee Processing Center in Miami discounted the validity of refugee reports of nuclear missiles on the island because some refugees also went beyond the pale by concocting farfetched tales of African troops with rings in their noses, lurking Mongolians, and even Chinese troops. There were in fact 100 nuclear tipped tactical missiles deployed on the island months before the arrival of the more infamous strategic missiles (Moore 2011, p. xxiii).

Why did the intelligence professionals disregard the warning signals from the refugees? First, the signals did not fit existing categories (e.g., Cuba was not expected to have nuclear missiles). Second, tales of African troops were automatically considered to be evidence of refugee stress and trauma, so all this information

was discounted. Third, the two prior beliefs did not allow the professionals to transcend their existing worldview. In considering the challenges associated with generating intelligence about national security threats, Moore (2011), p. 14 provides examples that emphasize the role of less-mindful cognition and behavior in US intelligence failures, including (1) Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, (2) North Korea's invasion of South Korea, (3) Soviet Union's deployment of nuclear missiles on Cuba, (4) the fall of the Shan in Iran, (5) the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, and (6) the attack on the World Trade Centers on 9/11. These failures occurred because intelligence professionals and/or politicians simplified information by relying on existing categories, acting on automatic pilot, and not going beyond existing worldviews. That is, they were failures of anticipation. To detect threats and developments as they emerge, a mindful, creative, and adaptive intelligence system is essential. Such a system consists of both top-down created mindful structures as well as bottom-up processes of mindful organizing.

3   Limits of Research on Organizational Mindfulness

Historically, organizational mindfulness and mindful organizing have not been studied across hierarchical levels (Dane 2013). Yet mindfulness cannot become organizational (Rerup 2009; Ray et al. 2011) when it is an isolated phenomenon. As Vogus and Sutcliffe (2012) note, most prior mindfulness research focuses on professionally homogenous groups at one hierarchical level, such as aircraft carrier flight decks (Weick and Roberts 1993), nuclear power control rooms (Schulman 1993), or firefighting crews (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007).

Early work also focused on mindfulness as a state rather than a fluctuating process (Rerup 2004). As mentioned above, more recent work has started to emphasize the importance of capturing variations in mindfulness (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012). Levinthal and Rerup (2006) argue that these variations can occur across time and hierarchical levels. For instance, not all employees at all hierarchical levels need be mindful at all times for an organization to be mindful.

Further, organizations other than HROs must be reliable (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007). Practices in HROs that operate in "exotic" contexts (e.g., aerospace, petrochemical production) are relevant in less exotic contexts. Many organizations operate in unforgiving and stressful environments that are prone to unexpected failures and surprises.

Moreover, HROs must sometimes pursue multiple goals, such as reliability and service (Weick et al. 1999, p. 84). Many HROs have experienced pressure to focus on safety and service. For instance, health-care organizations must be reliable and cost-effective (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2007; Vogus et al. 2010). Those that use mindfulness to balance competing demands expand our understanding of mindfulness and high reliability and show that mindfulness might have broader implications.

The extension of high reliability and mindfulness into additional contexts is important because prototypical HROs usually operate in semi-public, semi-monopolistic markets such as energy production that are relatively price insensitive and produce goods and services that can be priced to cover costly investments in reliability. Yet not all organizations for which reliability is important enjoy this luxury. For instance, emerging evidence suggests that airlines struggle to be both safe and offer low prices (Madsen Forthcoming). This finding is troubling given the recent surge across Europe, Asia and elsewhere of low-cost airlines. The pharmaceutical industry has generally enjoyed larger profit margins than most industries have, but pharmaceutical firms are subject to intense competition, stringent regulatory control, and demands for greater social responsibility. They have research and manufacturing activities that are technologically complex and pose significant risks to human health if quality standards are not met (Cockburn et al. 2000). These constraints make it extremely difficult to operate. In order to prevent negative rare events, such firms must develop systems to proactively detect problems, learn from them, and change (Rerup 2012). For these reasons, mindful organizing is likely relevant to organizations that operate in settings characterized by similar conditions. Rerup's (2009) findings from Novo Nordisk, a leading producer of insulin, thus emphasize the possibility and importance of developing practices for proactively detecting weak signals related to threats and helping firms learn from signals that suggest a nascent problem or adverse event. Such practices are important because:

> trouble starts small and is signaled by weak symptoms that are easy to miss ... The earlier you catch a discrepancy, the more options you have to deal with it. But the earlier you try to catch an error, the harder it is to spot it (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007, pp. 20, 47).

4 Linking Mindfulness to Organizational Learning and Change

Change is one of the most studied processes in organizations (Van de Ven and Poole 1995; Weick and Quinn 1999; Pettigrew et al. 2001). Change and its pace are especially important in fast-moving environments such as the computer (Brown and Eisenhardt 1997) or pharmaceutical industry (Rerup 2009). In such contexts, learning also becomes important because an organization might gain an edge if it can change its products, structures or schemas faster or cheaper than its competitors. However, change does not happen automatically. The history of a firm can make it myopic and insensitive to indicators of the need for change (Levinthal and March 1993). The inability or unwillingness to change is linked to learning processes. Typically, organizations keep repeating behaviors that were successful in past while underinvesting in exploring new alternatives that might be of valuable in the future (March 1991). This tension between exploiting vs. exploring behaviors links the literatures on organizational learning and change.

The most common approach to studying organizational learning is one of tracking overt *change* (Kim and Miner 2007, p. 694) in behaviors, knowledge and cognition or outcomes (Miner et al. 2001, p. 305). However, change *and stability* in cognitive and behavioral properties are central to organizational learning (March 1991). We begin to link processes of organizational mindfulness, mindful organizing and learning through the perspective laid out by Levitt and March (1988), which is situated in an ongoing debate about our models of organizational change and learning:

> Our interpretation of organizational learning builds on three classical observations . . . . The first is that behavior in an organization is based on routines . . . . The second observation is that organizational actions are history-dependent. Routines are based on interpretations of the past more than anticipations of the future. They adapt to experience incrementally in response to feedback about outcomes. The third observation is that organizations are oriented to targets. Their behavior depends on the relation between the outcomes they observe and the aspirations they have for those outcomes. Sharper distinctions are made between success and failure than among gradations of either. (Levitt and March 1988, p. 320).

Although "[t]he process of learning involves the creation and manipulation of this tension between constancy and change" (Fiol and Lyles 1985, p. 805), many scholars tend to focus on either stability or change. For instance, some research highlights the power of organizational inertia (Hannan and Freeman 1984). Other work describes relatively frequent and reactive, but incremental adaptations involving largely experiential processes (March and Simon 1958; Cyert and March 1963; Nelson and Winter 1982), Still other research offers images of these local adaptations that are proactive (Weick et al. 1999; Winter 1996), involving more conscious improvisations (Weick 1998), and occasional deliberate and discrete changes in beliefs and actions (Tushman and Romanelli 1985; Zollo and Winter 2002).

Each of these perspectives has some truth. As a guide to the domain of perspectives on change and learning processes, Fig. 1 organizes our thinking. Building on Gavetti and Levinthal (2000), p. 116, we identify three dimensions that distinguish alternative perspectives on learning and change: (1) the degree of cognitive intensity in learning and change, (2) the extensiveness of the object of learning and change, and (3) the periodicity with which learning and change occurs. The three dimensions are distinct and generate conceptual differentiation, yet overlap in their focus on the importance of retrospective and more anticipatory aspects of organizational learning and change (Rerup and Salvato 2012; Gavetti et al. 2012). This overlap is generative as it creates conceptual integration across diverse literatures on change and learning.

Whereas early work tended to investigate organizational learning as a relatively simple and homogenous process (Cyert and March 1963) contemporary research has started to operationalize organizational learning as a richer and more heterogeneous phenomenon (Haunschild and Sullivan 2002; Miner et al. 2003; Kim and Miner 2007; Kim et al. 2009). This shift has occurred as scholars have started to increasingly focus on different types and sub-processes of learning (Crossan

Fig. 1 Dimensions of
learning
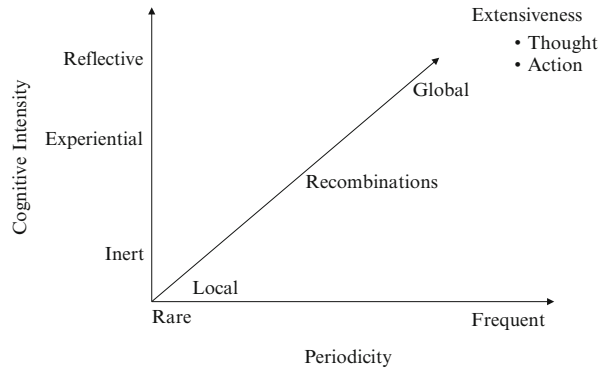
et al. 1999). Our approach continues this shift by emphasizing three important
sub-dimensions of organizational learning because it is by de-aggregating organi-
zational learning into its underlying micro-dimensions and mechanisms that we will
be able to better capture how, when and why organizations learn (March 2010;
Rerup and Feldman 2011).

The dimensions in Fig. 1 map out classic studies of learning and change and
identify new possibilities. For instance, routines are held to emerge as the result of
relatively frequent, local adaptations based on experiential learning (March and
Olsen 1989). That is, actions are tried, their outcomes are evaluated, and incremen-
tal changes to prior actions are considered, with the process repeating itself. In a
more distant part of this space, there is occasional, deliberate evaluation of a broad
set of policies (Tushman and Romanelli 1985). Other locations in the space are
conceptually possible, but would seem dysfunctional and are empirically anoma-
lous. For instance, frequent, global reflection on one's actions is unlikely to lead to
intelligent adaptation because it is not only costly but also likely to lead actors to
react to noisy, misleading indicators of the value of alternatives. Small samples of
observation are unlikely to be sufficient to guide ambitious efforts at inference and
learning, although in some situations organizations do not have the luxury of large
samples (March et al. 1991; Lampel et al. 2009).

Prior work has addressed either the cognitive (Fiol and Lyles 1985), extensive-
ness (Ingram and Baum 1997) or periodicity (Brown and Eisenhardt 1997)
dimensions of learning and change (see Fig. 1). By engaging these dimensions
simultaneously, we use them as boundary conditions to create a fuller picture of the
organizational learning and change literature. Our framework establishes a platform
for guiding future research and provides a dialogue between theoretical
perspectives that developed along disconnected trajectories. Due to this disconnec-
tion, we may be foregoing insights that might enhance our collective learning.
Below, we elaborate more clearly the landscape over which the discourse on
organizational learning and change has wandered—and might wander in the future.

Periodicity: Rare vs. *frequent change*. The key difference between mindful and
less mindful approaches to organizational learning is that the first is continuous and
explicitly tries to minimize the need for "wake-up calls", whereas the second is

sequential and driven by wake-up calls (Levinthal and Rerup 2006). Embedded in the notion of wake-up calls is the idea of maladaptive specialization: organizations typically improve their competency within a narrow set of frequently used routines until a wake-up call initiates search for new routines (Levitt and March 1988).

Competence denotes the ability of organizations to execute some desired outcome on command (Winter 2000). As routine-based, history-dependent systems that adapt locally and incrementally to past experience (Simon and March 1958; Cyert and March 1963), organizations tend to have repositories of such competencies. In relatively stable environments, the possession of competences is quite valuable (Bogner and Barr 2000). Further, in rapidly changing environments that appear to call for perpetual novelty, the existence of a repertoire of routines provides the basis for novel recombinations and innovation. A Carnegie School inspired learning perspective on organizational change inevitably has a fairly large retrospective component (Rerup and Salvato 2012; Gavetti et al. 2012).

Yet although exploitation of past successful routines leads, on average, to more certain rewards, it sidetracks organizations from exploring novel, potentially superior routines from which returns are less certain (March 1991; Levinthal and March 1993). Competence building is facilitated by replication of prior activities, and the higher likelihood of enhancing organizational functioning in domains of prior experience creates strong reasons for exploitation (Levinthal and March 1981). Positive feedback loops drive organizations into spirals of increasing repetition of past choices, creating competency traps (Levinthal and March 1993). In many situations, the self-reinforcing behavior that causes competency traps is intelligent (Levitt and March 1988), even when past learning may no longer be so relevant and the search for new bases for action becomes more valuable. The following example highlights the limits of looking back:

> [I]ntelligence of the latter half of the 20th century understood events in relation to the missions and goals of U.S. adversaries, principally the former Soviet Union and to a lesser degree, China. World affairs were understood in the context of the state-based adversaries' hegemonic competition with the United Stated. ... [But] [a]s Baruch Fischoff suggests, 'searching for wisdom in historic events requires an act of faith – a belief in the existence of recurrent patterns waiting to be discovered.' Yet, while general patterns may exist, 'the past never repeats itself in detail.' (Moore 2011, pp. 40, 45).

In contrast, the mindful approach argues that learning is continuous and more proactive. For instance, Schulman's (1993) work on the nuclear power control room focuses on refinements in the name of mindfulness and reliability. These refinements take place because "experience is often a poor teacher, being typically quite meager relative to the complex and changing nature of the world in which learning is taking place" (Levinthal and March 1993, p. 96). Thus, the application of routines is not necessarily automatic and mindless (Pentland and Reuter 1994; Feldman 2000). Similar performances of a routine are unlikely to be 100 % identical. For example, a teacher might teach the same material on a specific topic year in and year out, but change how she does so slightly during repeated iterations.

Mindful organizing might therefore be able to prevent competency traps because it helps organizations learn when it is appropriate to alter existing routines. As such, mindfulness produces "a protective envelope of human thought" (Westrum 1997, p. 402) that may prevent competency traps from occurring. In the less mindful perspective, relatively long periods of continuity are followed by brief periods of change. In the mindful perspective, brief periods of continuity are followed by brief periods of minor change. Organizations engage in more radical rethinking of casual relationships and desired behaviors less frequently, and typically do so only subsequent to profound or persistent organizational failure. Yet, mindfulness is not completely benign. In modifying successful routines, an organization can induce an opportunity for progress or a collapse of effectiveness.

To change existing routines substantially is difficult and costly. It involves an element of uncertainty that may upset existing capabilities, creating performance problems (March 1994). Yet it can be favorable, as suggested by Weick et al. (1999, p. 109), to refrain from taking advantage of the benefits associated with exploitation. For example, in a highly complex organization, such as a nuclear power-generation plant, exploitation in its pure form is unlikely to be productive because systems are understood imperfectly. As a result of the complexity, not all possible failure modes have occurred, requiring the organization to stay alert. Remaining in a "stable" or mindless mode of exploitation is likely to lead to drift (Anand et al. 2012) and may eventually prove fatal (Schulman 1993). Likewise, online exploration is unproductive in such settings. Thus, Weick and Roberts (1993) are right to point to the importance of mindfulness in such systems. Feedback through system failure is untenable in such contexts. Similarly, trial-and-error learning is not viable. Mindfully attending to the subtler cues and relatively non-dramatic feedback that emerge from ongoing operations is critical for effective adaptation in such circumstances. The lesson is that big events – such as a nuclear blow up – do not always emanate from big causes, including visible changes in knowledge and behaviors. This suggests that it is important to also capture the role of relatively subtle and unobservable processes, including the role of politics and semantic processes on organizational learning.

Extensiveness: Local vs. *global change*. Action can be local or more global. The likely intelligence of local action is linked to the degree to which actions have independent consequences (Simon 1969). If patterns of interactions are largely decomposable, then modifications made in choices regarding one part of an organization are not likely to have significant repercussions elsewhere. In such settings, local action is likely to be intelligent.

Viewed in this manner, local search can provide a powerful solution to the tradeoff between exploration and exploitation (Gavetti and Levinthal 2000). Actions in the neighborhood of the current action maintain some of the intelligence associated with this past behavior. At the same time, by varying from past practice, some degree of exploration is introduced.

The process of recombination also provides a powerful way to manage the tradeoff between exploration and exploitation (March 1991). Recombinations take chunks of existing routines and recombine them in novel fashion. In this

manner, existing routines provide the intelligent building blocks for new action patterns (Nelson and Winter 1982). For instance, in a study of the development of routines in a new research organization, Rerup and Feldman (2011), p. 604 show how creative recombinations of prior action patterns generate questions about how to accomplish work:

> Such creativity may be problematic in certain contexts that require high reliability. It may thus be inappropriate to many settings in which trial-and error learning has been studied, such as airlines, banking, and some service and manufacturing industries. It may be valuable, however, in situations in which creative action does not compromise vital systems, ... or where disrupting vital systems might lead to better ways of operating.

Extensive search may also occur through vicarious learning (Haunschild and Miner 1997; March et al. 1991). Learning from others is attractive because it does not threaten the focal organization's performance, but it heightens the problem of inference from experience. Replicating the critical elements of another organization's performance repertoire is particularly problematic when actions are highly interdependent (Rivkin 2000). Baum et al. (2000) work on franchise organizations points to an interesting solution to the joint problem of learning from and replicating others' experience. The various satellite units in franchise systems provide an opportunity for experimentation, and the franchise structure can facilitate the diffusion of effective innovations throughout the broader system.

Cognitive Intensity: Inert vs. *reflective change*. We suggest that the level of cognitive engagement can range from inert to the active consideration of alternative actions. Intermediate between these extremes is experiential trial-and-error learning, which is typically examined within the behavioral theory of the firm (Cyert and March 1963). In trial-and-error learning, there is little ex-ante thought. Actions are initiated based on some existing behavioral propensities (Levinthal and March 1981). Actions leading to outcomes that are perceived to be positive are reinforced, and other actions decline in frequency.

The appropriateness or value of different modes of cognitive intensity is intimately related to the extensiveness of the search process. Intentional rationality may be an effective basis of behavior with regard to actions that have only local implications. As actions become more intertwined with the behavior of other actions, however, the mindful manipulation of existing routines may have dysfunctional repercussions elsewhere in the organization (Rudolph and Repenning 2002). On the other hand, because local, incremental learning is likely to lead to a local, rather than global, peak in a performance landscape (Levinthal 1997), reflective consideration may be needed to reposition an organization and free it from an existing local peak or competency trap. Under this view, however, such occasions for broad, global reflection should be rare and are likely to be prompted by failure. In addition, the fact that such choice processes may be valuable does not mean that any evaluation of this sort will lead to a superior outcome. One can be confident that a fundamental repositioning will lead to a broad array of new choices; one can be far less confident about the effectiveness of these choices (Nohria and Eccles 1992).

5   Discussion

We have examined the organizational change and learning literature by developing and using a three-dimensional theoretical framework that integrates (1) the periodicity with which learning occurs (i.e., rarely or often), (2) the extensiveness of the object of learning (i.e., local or global), and (3) the degree of cognitive intensity in the learning process (i.e., inert or reflective). These dimensions have some overlap, but are distinctive enough both to map out classic studies of learning and identify new possibilities. On the one hand, the three dimensions are distinct and generate conceptual differentiation because they each capture a unique aspect of organizational learning. On the other hand, the three dimensions overlap in their focus on capturing the importance of retrospective and more anticipatory aspects of organizational learning and change. This overlap is generative as the three dimensions creates conceptual integration that emphasizes the costs and benefits of engaging in retrospective and less-mindful vs. more proactive and mindful learning and change. In essence, Fig. 1 suggests that there are two fundamental ways to think about engaging mindfulness, learning and change:

> You can sit back and wait until something happens, then brace for the impact; or you can realize that unexpected, rare events emit signals, albeit sometimes weak ones, that foreshadow something that is about to happen, and develop systems to detect [and learn from] those signals. Although such systems cost money and there is no guarantee that even the most robust attention system in the world will prevent a crisis, critics of a proactive approach need to be reminded that crises cost money. The real question is whether it is cheaper to wait for the crisis and pay for the damage later. Above all, you need to ask yourself what kind of corporate culture you are looking to create: one that fosters openness to information-sharing, where employees and managers are willing to speak up and listen to each other, or a culture of simply waiting around for things to happen? (Rerup 2012, p. 17).

Prior work has addressed the cognitive, extensiveness, or periodicity dimension in Fig. 1, but few studies have used all of them as boundary conditions to derive an integrated picture of the organization learning literature. There are several reasons this picture will be useful.

First, the less-mindful approach to learning in the organizational sciences is relatively established (March and Simon 1958; Cyert and March 1963; Nelson and Winter 1982). The more mindful approach to learning is also relatively established (Weick and Roberts 1993; Weick et al. 1999), although Scott (1994) suggests it is still not fully integrated into mainstream organization theory. We think that organizational learning research can benefit if these two approaches are further integrated (Levinthal and Rerup 2006; Rerup 2009) because much organizational activity occurs in the "gray" zone intermediate to these poles (Rerup 2004, 2006). Organizations engage in both relatively automatic, retrospective, less-mindful behavior and less automatic, proactive, mindful action (Louis and Sutton 1991), and there is some relationship between less and more mindful behavior. Nonetheless, the degree to which organizations engage in such efforts is highly variable, and it is unwise to make general claims about the virtues of either type of behavior. Being mindful and more proactive can vastly enrich the possible repertoires of

action and their responsiveness to unfolding events. Mindfulness is an important form of organizational intelligence, but it is only one process of sensemaking and action. By using Fig. 1, we have tried to connect arguments regarding organizational action as being more or less mindful as part of a fuller, more complete picture of organizational learning, which is both mindful and less mindful. Ultimately, our theories of organizational learning must recognize this fact and incorporate both perspectives in a broader synthesis to better understand where the benefits of less mindful processes ends and the benefits of more mindful processes begins (or vice versa), and whether the two phenomena intersect, interact, or operate in parallel.

Second, it might be useful to conceptualize mindful and less mindful processes not as separate or parallel processes, but as co-constitutive phenomena. Mindful and less mindful processes are two important activities by which organizations notice and understand the contexts and situations in which they operate (Levinthal and Rerup 2006). If they are as fundamental to high reliability organizing as prior work suggests, then the question is perhaps not whether they are related, but how they are related. We propose that it could be useful to go beyond the assumption that they are related (Levinthal and Rerup 2006) and argue that they actually are co-constitutive. Today, we know little about how the co-constitutive relationship between the two phenomena unfolds and influence organizational learning and change across a system.

Our discussion underscores the potential value of several directions for future research. First, the notion of search is central in the behavioral theory of the firm (March and Simon 1958; Cyert and March 1963). Although the process of neighborhood search helps structure our understanding of search, work on mindfulness can help show how variation is generated (Miner et al. 2003). Feldman's (2000) work on the evolution of organizational routines illustrates this opportunity. Our prior discussion of mindfulness and recombination has a similar implication for variance generation in regard to novel recombinations and improvisation (Miner et al. 2001). In addition, the role of mindfulness in generating new category structures by which outcomes are encoded provides a basis for new sets of routines that are triggered by a new class of stimuli.

Second, this work advances our understanding of whether mindfulness can be routinized. The answer clearly depends on how we think about routines. According to Weick et al. (1999), organizational routines are often perceived and defined as unchanging. Yet, as we argued, this image is not necessarily true. Routines have an internal dynamic that promotes continuous change and constant reenactment (Feldman 2000; Rerup and Feldman 2011). They may be less automatic than has been assumed. Accordingly, if mindfulness is embedded in routines that are regularly updated, it may be possible to routinize mindfulness. Future work should investigate this speculation in further detail (Levinthal and Rerup 2006; Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012).

Third, mindful and less mindful theories of learning are similar in that they are grounded in a basic stimuli-response model. Future work should investigate whether there are other forms of behavioral learning beyond those that involve responding reactively to stimuli (Rerup and Salvato 2012). Clearly, other factors

may complicate an organization's response to a given set of stimuli such as superstitious learning (Denrell 2008), small samples (March et al. 1991), and weak signals (Rerup 2009). Despite this work, behavioral learning theory has only recently started to investigate how organizations learn from heterogeneity (Haunschild and Sullivan 2002; Kim and Miner 2007) such as near-failures (Kim et al. 2009) and delays (Denrell et al. 2004). In contrast, the literature on mindful learning has long considered how organizations learn from fuzzy, heterogeneous stimuli. It has highlighted the importance of weak signals and the need to use multiple interpretations and flexible categories for labeling stimuli.

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Mindful Change: A Concept for Social Sustainability at Organizational Level

Guido Becke

Abstract Economic globalization places increased competitive pressure on economic organizations. The latter more often respond to unpredictable socio-economic environments by change initiatives of permanent reorganization. However, permanent change can induce unintended and often detrimental effects in respect to organizational effectiveness, the quality of work and to social integration at organizational level. It is argued that the concept of organizational mindfulness – originally developed related to 'high-reliability organizations' – can facilitate mindful and sustainable change. In this chapter, this concept is re-conceptualized with regard to organizational change. Organizational mindfulness is viewed as an organizational capacity of action to anticipate and to constructively deal with unintended effects of permanent reorganization. Moreover, organizational mindfulness intends to uncover unnoticed innovation potentials in organizational change. Organizational mindfulness is comprised of an infrastructure of dialogue and organizational routines, and six core principles facilitating mindful change. The latter is assumed to contribute to the regeneration of economic organizations' social-resource base, thereby promoting social sustainability at organizational level.

Keywords Mindful change • Organizational mindfulness • Permanent reorganization • Social sustainability • Adaptive trust cultures • Workplace institutions

1 Introduction

Since the 1980s economic organizations of different sectors have faced increased environmental uncertainty and competition that – above all – can be attributed to processes of economic globalization. Against this background, flexibility and

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agility have been conceived as prerequisites of economic organizations' long-term viability and competitiveness by management and business schools. Concepts of planned organizational change that promote internal and external flexibility have been regarded as appropriate means to achieve and sustain firms' competitiveness in dynamic socio-economic environments (Mayrhofer 1997). Such change concepts either focus on radical and discontinuous change or promote permanent change.

However, empirical studies in Labor Studies and Organization Studies indicate that radical and permanent reorganization more often endangers firms' social sustainability as a prerequisite of their long-term viability and innovativeness. Social sustainability at organizational level refers to the development and regeneration of social resources (e.g. social trust, reciprocity and organizational commitment) and human-related resources, such as health and knowledge (Becke 2013a). For instance, striking evidence of the erosion of social resources is given by the body of research studies in organizational psychology that focuses on the unintended erosion of 'psychological contracts' between management and employees in radical organizational change programs (cf. Rousseau 1995; Conway and Briner 2005). Moreover, recent research studies indicate that permanent reorganization by 'internal marketization' fosters an intensification of work resulting in employees' psycho-physical exhaustion (Wilde et al. 2010; Becke 2013a) and enhanced sick absence from work. The core argument of this chapter is that social sustainability in times of permanent reorganization can be fostered by 'mindful change'. This change concept refers to the concept of organizational mindfulness (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007). In the perspective of organizational change, organizational mindfulness is defined as the organizational capability to develop and directly enhance organizational awareness to unintended side effects of (permanent) reorganization and to unnoticed innovation potentials in change processes.

This chapter is structured as follows: In the second part, the management concept of internal marketization is introduced as a core driver of permanent reorganization. The third part focuses on permanent reorganization as a threat to social sustainability at company level. In this part, the concept of social sustainability is outlined with respect to the firm level. Against this background, exemplary empirical evidence of a current research project is provided showing that permanent reorganization can induce an erosion of social resources and endanger the regeneration of human-related health resources. It is argued that these unintended effects of permanent reorganization threaten social sustainability at company level. The fourth part highlights the question how social sustainability can be fostered in permanent reorganization. It is argued that social sustainability can be promoted by designing organizational change mindfully. This requires a re-conceptualization of the original concept of organizational mindfulness in respect with organizational change. The concept of mindful change is outlined encompassing six core principles. The last chapter provides an assessment of organizational mindfulness related to the tension between social sustainability and permanent reorganization. This chapter concludes with avenues of further research.

2 Internal Marketization as a Core Driver of Permanent Reorganization

Since the 1980s, economic globalization has increased confronting economic organizations with enhanced competition and environmental uncertainty (Senghaas-Knobloch 2013). The increase of economic globalization can be – to a lager extent – attributed to political decision-making processes at international, European, and national level. During the 1980s neo-liberal policy patterns emerged and have since become widely accepted. The ideological core of these patterns rests on the assumption that economic growth and high employment rates can be attained by unconstrained markets. The emergence and diffusion of neo-liberal policy patterns exposed firms of different sectors to enhanced economic competition and socio-economic uncertainty. The privatization of public enterprises, services and infrastructure has been promoted within the European Union and in many national market economies (Bieling and Deckwirth 2008). The liberalization of finance and capital markets was highly prioritized on the neo-liberal agenda (Huffschmid 2008) spreading highly speculative financial investment. It also fostered shareholder-value regimes in private sectors and at corporate level. The shareholder-value conception of the firm is based on the core idea that "the only legitimate purpose of firms is to maximize shareholder value" (Fligstein 2002, p. 148) being reflected in the share price of the firm on stock markets. These tendencies exerted enhanced competitive pressure on economic organizations.

The management concept of 'internal marketization' reflects an important variant of planned permanent change which is inspired by principal-agency theory. It rests on two basic ideas (Becke 2010): Firstly, it assumes that economic competitiveness and the survival of firms can be enhanced if they flexibly adjust to the fluctuating market demands and are capable of absorbing uncertainty induced by volatile markets. Secondly, it promotes the idea to selectively open up the internal organization of firms to market pressures in order to attain profitability and competitiveness. Therefore, the concept of internal marketization suggests the establishment of quasi-market structures within organizations. This implies that intra-organizational relations between business units are reorganized according to economic mechanisms of market transactions, thereby creating internal 'customer-supplier-relations'. Modes of internal calculation are applied to everyday transactions between business units based on economic contracts.

Cost- or profit centers and self-regulated teams are closely monitored by indirect forms of control focusing on economic performance outcomes and indicators regarding profits, efficiency, and product or service quality. Benchmarking systems provide a performance-related comparison between internal business units and between internal units and external competitors. Benchmarking systems provide a basis for management decisions on buy-outs and outsourcing, thereby posing a permanent threat to business units and their affiliated employees to be dismissed or outsourced in case of economic failure, i.e. not achieving economic goals (Colling 2005). Internal marketization is driven by quests for closer controls over costs and

performance at firm level combining the deference of economic responsibility to decentralized business units and teams with tighter centralized forms of economic control (Becke 2010).

Hence, internal marketization induces a permanent reorganization of firms that is driven by the quest for dynamic economic goal attainment exerting a continuous pressure on business units, managers and employees to increase efficiency and profitability. The management and change concept of internal marketization fundamentally deviates from planned organizational change concepts that focus on the punctuated equilibrium model of change embracing episodic and discontinuous (radical) change, as Organizational Development or Organizational Transformation. The concept of internal marketization reflects a model of planned continuous or permanent change (Brown and Eisenhardt 1997) promoting a constantly unfrozen organization (Weick and Quinn 1999). In this paper, it is argued that change concepts that overemphasize flexibility and continuity of change tend to expose firms and their social resources' base to enhanced social vulnerability.

3   Permanent Change as a Threat to Social Sustainability at Organizational Level

Firms' adaptability to volatile socio-economic environments highly depends on the commitment of their workforces and on the social 'ties that bind' (Becke 2010) at organizational level. In the economic perspective, employees are primarily conceived as 'human resources' who are to be managed to attain desired economic goals, thereby underestimating that employees are above all resourceful human beings with specific work-related interests, expectations and needs (Sisson 2007; Becke 2012). Employees' willingness to mobilize their individual resources, e.g. intellectual and tacit knowledge, emotional and social competence and motivation to work, is influenced by social recognition in the workplace. Social recognition refers to a specific quality of economic organizations as 'moral economies' (Kotthoff 2010). In this perspective, economic organizations cannot be reduced to profit maximizing entities based on economic exchange, extensively or intensively utilizing employees as 'human resources'. Instead, 'moral economies' are based on a commonly shared sense of mutuality, and on continuous reciprocal social exchange between management and employees. Economic organizations hinge on reciprocal social exchange of give and take in which social exchange builds a foundation for the development and regeneration of social resources at organizational level.

Resources denote "enabling conditions for action in the present or the future" (Moldaschl 2002, p. 56). Social resources involving social trust, organizational commitment, loyalty or reciprocity, are of vital importance for firms' innovativeness and long-term viability. Social resources enable firms to develop collective capacities of action that are required for organizational adaptability in

volatile environments. For instance, social trust is a key social resource of economic organizations. Social trust can be defined as an anticipated or delayed and risky social exchange with actors as trustors expecting reciprocal behavior by other actors as trustees (cf. Gilbert 2006, p. 125). Regular and continuous social interactions in the workplace open up social spaces in which economic exchange can be transformed into trust-based social exchange. According to Giddens (1995) and Luhmann (1989) two often interrelated variants of trust can be distinguished: interpersonal trust is generated by social practices on the basis of face-to-face encounters that are characterized by reciprocity. Systemic or organizational trust denotes trust in the reliability, effectiveness and accountability of organizations and their products, services and abstract systems, e.g. management systems. Organizational trust is of vital importance for economic organizations' social legitimacy within volatile socio-economic environments. Moreover, it is important for the intra-organizational sphere. In this regard, organizational trust refers to employees' trust in organizational viability, and to their trust in the reliability of intra-organizational decision-making rules or procedures and communication structures. Organizational trust also encompasses employees' trust in established intra-organizational institutions, e.g. works councils, and in the validity of basic norms and values reflecting specific organizational cultures. Social trust is a core social resource for organizational innovativeness. Employees will bring in their tacit knowledge in innovation processes, as long as they trust in managers or the organization that their contributions to innovation are not exploited at their expense.

The specific character of social resources at organizational level is reflected in two key aspects: First, social resources are generated in relatively continuous social interactions between different actors in the workplace, such as management, employees or works councils. Within such interactions social resources can be modified, violated, consumed or regenerated depending on the continuity, scope and quality of social exchange in specific economic organizations (Becke 2012). Second, social resources cannot be entirely mobilized and utilized for economic goals. In social interactions, actors draw on their subjectivity. Economic organizations are solely interested in mobilizing and capitalizing on aspects of human subjectivity that are compatible with economic goals. However, employees always bring in their entire subjectivity in the workplace that also entails unwanted dimensions of their subjectivity, e.g. individual obstinacy (Flecker and Hofbauer 1998). Moreover, social resources are very fragile. For instance, employees are often very sensitive to alterations of implicit contracts between management and the workforce. If employees perceive violations to such 'psychological contracts', social resources may erode (Conway and Briner 2005). Furthermore, the employment relationship at organizational level always implies a mutual interdependence between management and employees, even if power and authority are distributed unevenly (Thompson 1989). This interdependence generates at least informal power resources employees can draw on in intra-organizational interactions, thereby blocking or constraining the utilization of social resources for economic goal attainment.

In the research and development project 8iNNO permanent organizational change was analyzed with regard to four in-depth case studies from different service sectors, i.e. ICT-services, public transport, and social services. Each case-study encompassed interviews with managers, group discussions with employees, and workshops with managers and employees. Moreover, case-studies included participant observations of work-processes. In two organizations (social services and public transport), a legally established interest representation of employees existed. Whereas both of the firms of ICT-services employed between 20 and 40 employees, the workforces of the social service organization and the public transport firm encompassed 400 or 2,000 employees.

These case studies indicate detrimental unintended effects of permanent reorganization regarding the organizational base of social resources. These unintended effects are exemplarily sketched in respect to the disturbance of trust relations. Despite differences in sector affiliation, primary tasks, size and industrial relations at establishment level, six sources of trust disturbances were identified across the four case studies: First, dismissals were perceived by employees as a deterioration of trust relations; especially in small and medium-sized enterprises of ICT-services lay-offs were conceived as an even traumatic breakage of the established organizational culture resulting in an erosion of trust. Second, change communication proved to be as an Achilles heel of trust maintenance in permanent reorganization. This vulnerable spot of trust was attributed to obscure goals of reorganization, a lack of transparency regarding the process design of reorganization, and top managers' reluctance to address vague decision-making situations, thereby spreading rumors that destabilized trust relations. Third, a deterioration of trust was caused by discontinuous direct participation of employees in change initiatives. On the one hand, employees were asked to develop ideas to constructively deal with organizational change, but on the other hand, their initiative to participate was disappointed by managers who denied feedback. In this case, employees conceived disrupted participation as severe disregard. Fourth, employees often perceived an imbalance of reciprocity in reorganization processes. For instance, dismissals enhanced work intensification and psycho-social stress and questioned employees' job stability, whereas gains in favor of the workforce were comparatively scarcely visible. In some case-study firms, this perpetuated imbalance of reciprocity was perceived by employees as a violation of 'psychological contracts' at work resulting in an erosion of trust. Fifth, permanent reorganization often poses a more or less continuous threat to employees' vocational and task-related identity at work. This often goes along with a blurring of organizational roles. Especially, employees who perceived their organization as 'chronically unfrozen' experienced permanent change as a decline in their professional self-efficacy and a source of work intensification. More often, employees responded to 'chronically unfrozen' organizations by defensive routines, e.g. a withdrawal of initiative in internal projects. Finally, an erosion of trust can be attributed to the depreciation of work-related or professional norms due to efficiency measures in permanent reorganization. Such norms are often a core of employees' work-related identity. Therefore, this experienced depreciation of norms is perceived as professional disregard.

Against the background of these empirical findings, it can be concluded that permanent reorganization implies essential risks to the development and regeneration of economic organizations' social resource base. In other words, permanent reorganization can endanger the dynamic stability of organizations' social resource base that promotes organizations' social sustainability in volatile socio-economic environments. The term dynamic stability denotes a stability that cannot be equated with conservation of a specific status quo. Rather, it can be characterized as an adaptive stability taking account of changing socio-economic environments firms are embedded in. Adaptive or dynamic stability means that this social resource base can be developed, adjusted, altered or regenerated in the face of dynamic environments by social interactions between different actors at organizational level or between intra-organizational and extra-organizational actors (Becke 2007).

Social sustainability is a core dimension of the normative concept of sustainable development. In a resource-based perspective, sustainable development denotes "protecting the richness of the world's resources in such a way that their utilization does not destroy them but rather leaves equal opportunity for future generations to benefit from them as well" (Docherty et al. 2009, p. 3). This concept refers to the development and regeneration of finite ecological, economic, social and individual resources, e.g. employees' health resources (Littig and Grießler 2005). The concept of sustainable development entails three different dimensions, i.e. ecological, economic, and social sustainability, that are often interrelated in a conflictive manner (Senghaas-Knobloch 2013). Therefore, the search for sustainable development entails conflict, negotiation and compromise in specific contexts. The term social sustainability can be used in two ways: In a normative way, social sustainability is related to human dignity and human rights (ibid.), and social cohesion (Littig and Grießler 2005). In an analytical way, two lines can be discerned. First, the term can be utilized to explore the relationship between nature and society (Senghaas-Knobloch 2013). Second, it refers to the social dimension of sustainability in its own regard. In this view, social sustainability can be used to analyze the regeneration of human health resources focusing on sustainable work systems (cf. Becke 2013; Docherty et al. 2009). Moreover, it refers to the investigation of requirements and processes of dynamic stability of the social world being generated in social interactions (Becke 2008, p. 8).

In this article, social sustainability is primarily utilized in a resource-based and organizational perspective. Hence, social sustainability at organizational level is defined as the dynamic stability of organizations' social resource base in turbulent socio-economic environments. These environments are characterized by ongoing, mainly dynamic changes and a high degree of unexpected events. Two starting points can be discerned to foster social sustainability at organizational level. The first addresses the organization-environment relationship. It encompasses sustainability strategies to regenerate (external sources of) social resources which are critical to ensure resource availability, e.g. social legitimacy at societal level (cf. Müller-Christ 2001; Ehnert and Harry 2012). The second refers to sustainability strategies that intend to maintain the organizational social resource base from within. This chapter deals with the latter aspect addressing an under-explored

research question: It investigates how economic organizations operating in dynamic socio-economic environments can develop and regenerate its social resource base in permanent change. It is argued that the concept of 'organizational mindfulness' provides an answer to this research question.

4 Organizational Mindfulness – A Concept for Organizational Change?

Organizational Mindfulness (OM) can be conceived as a 'sensitizing concept' (Blumer 1954, p. 7) for analyzing and mindfully designing organizational change. However, the original concept of OM has not been applied to organizational change. Rather, this concept was developed by Kathleen Sutcliffe and Karl Weick in respect to risk and safety research. Contrary to approaches of safety engineering, Weick and Sutcliffe (2007) focus on a perspective of collective and organizational learning with regard to the anticipation of and the coping with unexpected risky events harmful to organizations and their viability. Weick and Sutcliffe had a specific type of organizations in mind conceptualizing organizational mindfulness, i.e. the so-called 'High-Reliability Organizations' (HRO) that are characterized by their "unique ability to operate high hazard-technological systems in a nearly error-free manner" (Vogus and Welbourne 2003, p. 878). Research on organizational mindfulness in HRO addressed organizations, such as fire brigades, nuclear power-generated plants, military air-plane carriers or space exploration agencies (cf. Weick and Sutcliffe 2007; Barton and Sutcliffe 2008; Weick et al. 1999). The concept of OM relates to the quality of organizations' attention in volatile and unpredictable environments (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007, p. 32). Levinthal and Rerup (2006, p. 503) summarize the characteristic conceptual traits of OM: It embraces "both a sustained high level of sensitivity to errors, unexpected events, and, more generally, to subtle cues suggested by the organization's environment or its own processes; and the capacity to engage in a flexible range of behaviors in order to respond effectively to this potentially diverse and changing set of stimuli".

HROs' continuous adaptation to dynamic and unforeseen environments is enabled by an elaborated 'mindful infrastructure' at organizational level. This mindful infrastructure is based on five key principles of mindful organizing (Weick 2003). The first three principles relate to the anticipation of harmful unexpected events, i.e. addressing "HROs' capacity to anticipate "unexpected" problems" (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007, p. 9); while the other two principles refer to the organizational capacity to contain damages evoked by unexpected and harmful events. Containment also encompasses the regeneration of organizational functioning. These five principles of organizational mindfulness are characterized as follows (Weick and Sutcliffe 2007; Weick et al. 1999):

- Preoccupation with failure: The detection of errors and near misses is conceived as a core prerequisite of high organizational reliability. Errors and near misses are regarded as a source of organizational learning.
- Reluctance to simplify interpretations: This principle takes account of different viewpoints and integrates skepticism to identify and reduce blind spots, thereby providing a more nuanced picture of unexpected events.
- Sensitivity to operations: This principle appreciates local knowledge by involving employees with their tacit knowledge of local operations to anticipate or identify (cues of) unforeseen events.
- Commitment to resilience: This key principle aims at organizational recovery and operational continuity after a severe crisis or hazardous unexpected events. However, the notion of resilience exceeds the organizational ability to recover or to absorb strain and maintain organizational functioning. Rather, from a developmental perspective, resilience can be viewed as improving the overall organizational ability to cope with future risks.
- Deference to expertise: "Fluid decision-making" (Vogus and Welbourne 2003, p. 881) lies at the heart of this principle. It enables organizations to turn decision structures upside down during periods of severe crisis or emergency, thereby drawing on employees' local expert knowledge as a coping resource in the face of harmful unforeseen events.

4.1 Organizational Mindfulness – From 'High Reliability' to Permanent Reorganization

The following section deals with the core question, whether the original concept of OM can be utilized for research in the field of organizational change, especially in respect to permanent reorganization. First, it has to be examined, whether the concept of organizational mindfulness can be applied to organizational types different from HROs. Second, the potential benefits of the concept of organizational mindfulness regarding permanent change are to be explored. Finally, the limits of the original OM-concept for the analysis and design of intended and continuous organizational change have to be analyzed. Against this background, the original OM-concept is re-conceptualized.

4.1.1 The Conceptual Extension of Organizational Mindfulness to Different Organizational Types

Although the original concept of OM is closely linked to HROs, it can be utilized in other fields of empirical organization studies (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012; Rerup and Levinthal in this volume). Research in permanent reorganization processes bears a

striking similarity to organization studies in HROs: In both cases, dynamic and unpredictable environments challenging firms' organizational adaptability and threatening their viability are highlighted. Permanent reorganization mirrors an organizational change strategy to deal with unforeseen turbulences of dynamic environments. Hence, it can be concluded that the concept of OM can also be extended to a variety of organizational types as long as organizations are addressed that operate in unpredictable and dynamic environments (Vogus 2012).

Moreover, the original concept of OM focuses on unexpected events exposing HROs to vulnerability. As mentioned before, permanent reorganization may evoke unintended and unexpected side-effects detrimental to the organizational social resource base, the quality of work, and organizational effectiveness, thereby questioning organizational sustainability. The research question, how organizations can cope with unexpected and harmful events is shared by research related to HROs and research in organizational change.

4.1.2 Potential Benefits of the OM-Concept for Research in Organizational Change

In my view, the original concept of organizational mindfulness includes some fruitful conceptual benefits for (applied) research in (permanent) organizational change. First, Weick and Sutcliffe (2007) consistently relate the concept of mindfulness to the organizational level taking account of volatile and unpredictable environments. In this regard, mindfulness can be viewed as a basic principle of change and organizing in respect to organizations as open socio-technical systems.

Second, OM "facilitates being present in the moment" (Weick 2003, p. 78), thereby opening up intra- or inter-organizational spaces for collective reflection and learning related to current organizational change processes. The idea of being collectively present in the moment can foster an organizational awareness directed to unintended effects of reorganization processes as well as to unnoticed innovation potentials. In the age of "fast capitalism" (Grey 2010, p. 110), organizational mindfulness questions the velocity imperative of organizational change. By opening up spaces of dialogue and collective reflection in respect to ongoing organizational change, OM creates intentional time-outs, thereby partially slowing down organizational change. Such time-outs enable organizational members to anticipate or detect unintended change effects or neglected innovation potentials. Collective inquiry and dialogue as time-outs to permanent organizational change also enable to contain negative side effects on organizations' social resource base.

Third, the concept of OM highlights the importance of employees' local expertise and tacit knowledge to cope with the unexpected. In this aspect, the original concept of OM is more close to participative change approaches, as Organizational Development, than to the change concept of Organizational Transformation that

regards top management as the prime actor of reorganization. Moreover, the recognition of local knowledge provides a sound basis of collective reflection on permanent change drawing on multiple actors' perspectives to investigate, and reconsider organizational change.

Finally, the original concept of OM opens up new avenues for further research in respect to organizational change and organizational sustainability. Whereas in recent years research studies primarily focused on the negative effects of radical change or permanent reorganization on working conditions and social integration at establishment level, the concept of OM allows to analyze the prerequisites, social practices and interactions at organizational level that enable or foster adaptive organizational trust cultures in dynamic socio-economic environments (Becke 2011). In this regard, a core question is how mindful change is generated and can be sustained at organizational level. In this research perspective, the importance of institutions within and outside of the workplace can be investigated as potential facilitators or constraints of mindful organizational change.

4.1.3 Blind Spots of the Original Concept of OM

Nevertheless, the original concept of OM contains some limitations that have to be taken account of, if OM is considered as a core sensitizing concept for the analysis and the design of permanent change at organizational level (cf. Becke 2011, pp. 62–65). First, a problematic underlying assumption of this concept refers to its generalization. OM is presented by Weick and Sutcliffe (2007) as a concept that can be utilized for the entirety of HROs, thereby widely neglecting specific institutional and societal contexts HROs are embedded in. For instance, legally established institutions in the workplace make a difference for organizational mindfulness because they can shape procedures as well as contents of mindful infrastructures. For example, the institution of works councils is the mandatory and representative body of "all salaried employees … of an eligible establishment" (Müller-Jentsch 2003, p. 46) in Germany. Works councils are elected for a 4-year term by the entire workforce of establishments with at least five permanent employees (ibid.). Works councils' participation rights also refer to occupational health and safety and health promotion in the workforce. Against this background, works councils are an important actor in the intra-organizational design of a mindful infrastructure and its related procedures. Works councils can influence the agenda setting of organizational mindfulness drawing on their participation rights. For example, occupational health and safety matters regarding the entire workforce at establishment level are a cornerstone of organizational mindfulness in German HROs, e.g. German airports. Moreover, HROs' mindful infrastructures and practices of mindful organizing are shaped by institutions at the societal level, e.g. environmental law and regulation.

Second, the original concept of OM primarily focuses on enhancing organizational performance, especially in respect to organizational reliability and organizational functioning in unpredictable and threatening environments. This explicit performance-orientation contains some blind spots. On the one hand, safety cultures and trust are acknowledged as prerequisites of organizational mindfulness and organizational functioning (cf. Weick 2003; Weick and Sutcliffe 2007); on the other hand, social relations at organizational level are primarily addressed in a functionalist perspective. Sensitivity to social relations in the workplace is not reflected as a core process or a core principle of OM. Moreover, employees' perspectives are mainly conceived as a source of local knowledge to be mobilized by core processes of organizational mindfulness, as 'deference to expertise'. However, employees' willingness to proactively engage in mindful organizing depends on the "situational-relativity" of their perspectives (Mannheim 1949, p. 244). According to Mannheim (1949, p. 244) the term perspective denotes "the manner in which one views an object, what one perceives in it, and how one construes it in his thinking". The situational-relativity of perspectives means that employees' perspectives reflect their social positions (ibid.) at establishment level and their social affiliation to intra-organizational work cultures (Senghaas-Knobloch 2008; Becke 2008). These perspectives also embrace specific work-related interests, norms and expectations related to organizations as 'moral economies'. Therefore, employees' commitment to organizational mindfulness varies with the social recognition of these interests and expectations that are also crucial for employees' organizational commitment. This extended notion of perspectives exceeds functionalist views.

Third, in the functionalist perspective, organizing the variety of actors' perspectives for OM widely neglects intra-organizational conflicts (Becke 2012). For example, conflict may arise from different interests or discrepancies between actors' situational definitions and interpretations of unexpected events. Conflict may also refer to different viewpoints regarding the containment of unpredicted environmental events. Furthermore, the original concept excludes intra-organizational power relations and negotiations as enablers as well as potential barriers to OM and mindful organizing.

Fourth, in the functionalist perspective of OM, employees are primarily regarded as 'human resources' that contribute to organizational functioning by drawing on their local expertise and tacit knowledge (cf. Weick and Sutcliffe 2007; Sutcliffe and Vogus 2003). However, organizational mindfulness is hardly directed to potential unintended effects of coping with the unexpected in respect to employees' employability covering employees' motivation to work, the development of their knowledge base and competences, and the regeneration of employees' health resources. Especially, potential detrimental effects of mindful organizing on employees' health are scarcely considered. For instance, the containment of unexpected events in HROs often goes along with a high degree of psychic stress and exposes employees, as firemen, to extreme psycho-physical vulnerability in their work operations, as for example fire-fighting activities. Physical injuries, death and psychic or collective traumata may cause unintended effects on employees' coping

with the unexpected. This conceptual blind spot questions whether organizational mindfulness in respect to organizational reliability and functioning can be achieved without taking systematically care of organizational members. Although the original concept of OM refers to work-related tasks and operations, it widely disregards the quality of work as a core dimension of OM.

Finally, focusing on organizational functioning and reliability, the potentials of OM to uncover and to exploit unnoticed innovation opportunities, and to promote innovation linked to organizational change are neglected (cf. Becke 2012; Blomqvist in this volume). Moreover, organizational mindfulness can be conceived as an innovation in its own right. In this perspective, OM can be characterized as a specific social innovation (Howaldt and Schwarz 2011) introducing novel or altering existing social practices in addressing and managing the unexpected, e.g. in organizational change.

5 Promoting Social Sustainability at Organizational Level by 'Mindful Change'

In this section, the concept of OM is re-conceptualized considering the aforementioned critical objections. In this regard, OM is conceived as a prerequisite of social sustainability at organizational level as it directs organizational awareness to the development and regeneration of organizations' social resource base in continuous change.

5.1 The Re-Conceptualization of Organizational Mindfulness

In this paper, OM is re-conceptualized as organizations' capacity of action to enable and regenerate a dynamic stability of organizations' social resource base in volatile and unpredictable socio-economic environments. In this view, OM is closely linked to the perspective of social sustainability at organizational level. It is argued that OM, i.e. a mindful infrastructure and mindful change can facilitate the dynamic stability of organizations' social resource base in dynamic and unpredictable environments.

Contrary to the original concept of OM, it is assumed that OM is not solely focused on unexpected events as a source of adversity. Rather, organizational awareness can be directed to unnoticed innovation potentials, either within organizations or in their environments. Moreover, OM is regarded as a core prerequisite of organizations' innovation capacity: It promotes adaptive trust cultures that encourage employees to mobilize their local knowledge for innovation processes. Adaptive trust cultures can reduce organizations' social vulnerability in

reorganization processes and enhance or regenerate social integration at organizational level (Becke 2012).

Finally, our understanding of OM focuses on aspects that are either side-tracked or disregarded in the original concept: This especially counts for the regeneration of organizational members' health resources and organizations' social resources, involving trust or reciprocity between management and employees. By taking account of these aspects, organizational mindfulness extends its goals beyond organizational reliability and organizational functioning in turbulent and unpredictable environments (cf. Rerup and Levinthal in this volume). For instance, the social legitimacy of organizations is taken into account with respect to the organization-environment relationship. Regarding the intra-organizational level, social integration and health promotion are considered as important goals of organizational mindfulness in reorganization processes.

5.2   The Concept of 'Mindful Change'

Our conceptualization of OM was developed against the background of the aforementioned in-depth case studies. A core result of these case studies is that OM can be established in organizations of different size, primary tasks, and sectors. However, situational contexts have to be considered. In the following paragraphs, I would like to sketch the concept of 'mindful change' which is based on the re-conceptualization of OM. This concept is comprised of a mindful infrastructure focusing on organizational change and six key principles that enable mindful organizing in respect to permanent change.

This infrastructure is based on organizational routines facilitating mindful change (Levinthal and Rerup 2006). Organizational routines denote "repetitive, recognizable patterns of interdependent actions, carried out by multiple actors" (Feldman and Pentland 2003, p. 95). Routines are often equaled with organizational inertia that may foster mindlessness (Langer 1989) by enhancing repetitive patterns of social action, thereby producing inertial blind spots that may induce unintended detrimental side-effects of organizational change. However, this is not the complete picture of organizational routines. They may foster OM by "setting expectations for what should occur" (Vogus and Sutcliffe 2012, p. 730). In this view, organizational routines can be utilized to detect the emergence of unanticipated problems and side-effects of permanent reorganization or unnoticed innovation potentials. If organizational routines embody or at least facilitate dialogue and mutual learning between intra-organizational actors across teams, units and hierarchical levels, OM can be promoted.

Organizational mindfulness embraces two distinctive variants of organizational routines (Jordan et al. 2009, p. 468): The first variant, i.e. "interactive routines" (ibid.), refers to practices of reflection in work-related operations and interactions. Interactive routines enable employees and managers at team level to anticipate and to deal with unintended effects of permanent reorganization on the spot, thereby

preventing or containing its negative effects or initiating further coping measures at organizational level. In interactive routines, mutual recognition is a core requirement for addressing and inquiring unintended effects of reorganization.

The second type of organizational routines supports 'reflection-on-action' outside of work processes (Jordan et al. 2009), as e.g. multi-actors' steering committees or procedures of employee appraisals or internal audits. It is vital for mindful change that steering committees are not only comprised of top-management and line managers, but rather also embrace (representatives of) employees. If the variety of actors represents teams and organizational units that are affected by a specific change initiative or an overall change program, there is ample opportunity for collective reflection on (unnoticed) innovation potentials and unanticipated effects of reorganization. Moreover, mindful decision-making on reorganization processes can be facilitated. Especially, steering committees can be conceived as organizational key routines to design frame conditions of permanent reorganization and to re-direct change initiatives, thereby promoting a development and regeneration of organizations' social resource base. These committees can act as powerful collective mindful-change agents to decide on, to monitor, and to evaluate reorganization processes and the implementation of developed solutions that either deal with unintended effects or with uncovering unnoticed innovation potentials (cf. Behrens and Bleses in this volume).

Moreover, mindful infrastructures can contain spaces of dialogue beyond regular organizational routines. Spaces of dialogue can be conceived as participatory social spaces of collective inquiry and exchange between employees or between employees and managers, thereby facilitating collective and organizational learning in respect to mindful organizing (Behrens and Bleses in this volume). Especially, spaces of dialogue that involve multiple actors with different perspectives, as e.g. dialogue-conferences (Engelstad 1996), provide an opportunity structure for regularly taking stock of change initiatives or entire change programs and related frame conditions (Becke and Senghaas-Knobloch 2011).

This infrastructure facilitates mindful change. The term 'mindful change' reflects the specific quality of permanent reorganization processes taking account of organizational mindfulness. Mindful change embraces six principles that are directed to enhancing and regenerating the dynamic stability of organizations' social resource base in permanent reorganization:

- Developing and regenerating organizational stability anchors
- Organizing perspective diversity
- Promoting negotiation and conflict resolution
- Developing and establishing trust anchors
- Promoting sustainable work systems
- Facilitating experimental change

5.2.1   Developing and Regenerating Organizational Stability Anchors

Dynamic stability of organizations' social resource base necessitates the development and regeneration of organizational stability anchors. The latter can be defined as factors that promote a stability basis in reorganization processes. Stability anchors are required to maintain at least a minimum of stability in organizational change. These anchors facilitate comparatively stable patterns of mutual expectations between organizations on the one hand and their members and external stakeholders on the other hand. Moreover, stability anchors may support intra-organizational social integration, especially trust relations in permanent reorganization. Finally, stability anchors enable organizations to maintain basic structures, procedures and routines that are vital for organizational functioning in permanent reorganization processes.

Stability anchors can be differentiated in anchors related to the organization-environment interface and anchors that refer to the intra-organizational level. Regarding the environment-organization relationship, clear business strategies, organizational reliability, customers' trust in organizations and the social account-ability of organizations towards stakeholders promoting social legitimacy are key stability anchors (Becke 2011, 69 pp.). In respect to the intra-organizational level, social trust, social recognition, and reciprocity are fundamental stability anchors.

In our case studies, professional identities turned out to be a core stability anchor in reorganization processes. This can be illustrated by the example of the public transport company and the social services provider. In the latter case, social and care workers objected to the centralization of different, formerly decentralized houses with clients criticizing this as hospitalization of their clients. The centralization concept contradicted to their professional understanding of social and care work. Therefore, they insisted to maintain their self-regulated work autonomy as a prerequisite of social work sensitive to clients' demands and need. Their resistance to reorganization partially decreased when their work autonomy was maintained and clients approved of their new surroundings. In the case of the public transport maintenance, workers criticized efficiency measures in reorganization processes that contradicted to their professional norms and standards. Mindful organizing has to take account of stability anchors vital to organizational sustainability, e.g. by organizing dialogue processes and negotiations between management and workers on professional standards. This may include a potential adaptation of stability anchors to altered circumstances in reorganization processes.

5.2.2   Organizing Perspective Diversity

The key principle 'organizing perspective diversity' acknowledges employees with their local expertise and tacit knowledge as important promoters of reorganization processes. Organizing perspective diversity intends to create spaces of intra-organizational dialogue among employees, across hierarchical levels and intra-organizational boundaries. Our understanding of dialogue is rooted in the action

research approach (Gustavsen 1992; Behrens and Bleses in this volume). Dialogue facilitates collective inquiry and learning with regard to reorganization processes. Organizing perspective diversity on the basis of participative dialogue enables to anticipate and uncover unintended effects of permanent reorganization related to organizational effectiveness, social relations in the workplace or the quality of work. It can also create a platform for constructively coping with negative side effects of reorganization, e.g. by rebalancing reciprocity in reorganization processes. For instance, in the public transport company permanent reorganization increased work intensity due to personnel reductions and efficiency measures. In dialogue processes, maintenance workers and their local works councilors negotiated with area managers and supervisors improvements in occupational health and safety and an increase of work autonomy.

Moreover, organizing perspective diversity often proves to be a source of innovation by integrating management knowledge and employees' local knowledge. For instance, in the maintenance unit of the public transport company, a new procedure related to the fine-tuning of work processes was developed by supervisors and maintenance workers. This procedure substituted established, but problematic work practices.

5.2.3 Promoting Negotiation and Conflict Resolution

Reorganization processes are often conflictive, especially when employees perceive 'psychological contracts' as violated, and gains and burdens are perceived by employees as unevenly distributed between management and the workforce. Escalating conflicts may erode organizations' social resource base by deteriorating trust relations and endangering co-operation in the workplace. Therefore, mindful organizing encompasses the development and establishment of procedures for negotiation and conflict resolution in the workplace and at organizational level. Such procedures, e.g. the mediation of conflicts, bear potentials for a re-framing of social relations in the workplace that facilitate the regeneration of social trust (cf. Hatch 1997; Coser 1965). Such procedures of negotiation and conflict resolution facilitate a culture of integrative bargaining at organizational level. Employees' representatives, as works councils, can facilitate conflict resolution at organizational level because they are legally obliged to take account of organizational or economic interests and employees' interests (Kotthoff 1995).

5.2.4 Developing and Establishing Trust Anchors

Trust anchors intend to facilitate the development of adaptive trust cultures in organizations. The intermediary function of trust anchors relates to reconciling different actors' interests and expectations in reorganization processes. Trust anchors can contribute to the exploration of conflict resolution in the workplace. Trust anchors can fulfill their intermediary function, if they are intra-organizationally recognized and obtain required resources, e.g. time and money. Three types of trust anchors can

be distinguished: rules and procedures (e.g. participative procedure applied to orga-
nizational change initiatives), legally established institutions and their representatives
(e.g. works councils), and intermediary social positions in organizational hierarchies,
as middle managers. Our case studies indicated that the co-existence of two or more
trust anchors facilitates adaptive trust cultures in reorganization processes. For
instance, in the public transport company, the institution of works councils and an
established procedure of direct employee participation turned out as important trust
anchors in the reorganization of the maintenance unit.

5.2.5   Promoting Sustainable Work Systems

Permanent reorganization often goes along with negative effects on employees' and
managers' psycho-physical health. The depletion of individuals' health resources can
be attributed to several factors in change processes. For instance, enhanced work
intensity and psychic stress are caused by personnel reductions and increased job
instability (Sverke et al. 2002). Psychic stress can also be attributed to a severe and
durable imbalance of efforts and rewards in permanent reorganization (Siegrist
1996). Mindful organizing has to take account of these health-related problems by
promoting sustainable work systems that are adaptive to permanent reorganization
(Becke 2013a). Sustainable work systems are defined as systems "where human and
social resources are ... regenerated through the process of work while still
maintaining productivity and a competitive edge" (Docherty et al. 2002, p. 214). In
the perspective of health promotion, organizational mindfulness reflects a dual
orientation, first, to anticipate and to prevent detrimental health effects, and second,
to enhance the salutogenetic quality of work structures and processes (Antonovsky
1997). In this respect, organizational mindfulness can unfold a health promoting
infrastructure involving procedures of dialogue and organizational routines
(Levinthal and Rerup 2006). Organizational routines may facilitate mindful
organizing by introducing scrutiny to permanent reorganization activities, thereby
enabling reflective learning sensitive to health-aspects of reorganization (Becke
2013a). Interactive routines embedded in work processes (Jordan et al. 2009,
p. 468) are exemplified by regular team meetings where health-related issues are
regularly addressed, thereby fostering continual self-reflection of teams in respect to
permanent reorganization and its effects on working conditions. Moreover, organiza-
tional routines that support 'reflection-on-action' outside of work processes (Jordan
et al. 2009) are necessitated for a mindful health promotion in continuous reorgani-
zation, as e.g. multi-actors' steering committees of reorganization, serving as a
'mindfulness radar' (Becke 2013a).

   In one of our case studies in ICT-services, the top-management tried to delegitimize
employees' concerns about high levels of psychic stress associated with permanent
change. In a dialogue conference involving top-management, project-managers and
employees, the issue of psychic stress was set on the agenda by employees, ways to
reduce stress at work were explored and initiated. For instance, required time for
project meetings was integrated in project calculation, thereby reducing stress at work.

5.2.6 Facilitating Experimental Change

A core problem of radical or permanent change refers to abolishing procedures and structures that are regarded as outdated, not adaptive or not appropriate to altered circumstances. These procedures and structures are often replaced by novel ones that were hardly tested before. In this case, unintended negative side effects on working conditions, co-operation or organizational functioning often occur. The idea of experimental change is related to this problem. Experimental change is organized in pilot projects involving actors across hierarchical levels and often also across departmental boundaries to develop and test solutions to a specific problem (Becke 2007, 2013). Existing procedures and structures that are perceived as inappropriate to altered circumstances are replaced after a pilot project has been successfully tested. Experimental change facilitates organizational mindfulness by enabling experimental and collective learning. Moreover, it fosters the containment of negative side effects related to pilot projects. In the case of the public transport company, maintenance workers and their supervisors developed and tested a new procedure related to the fine-tuned planning of work orders within a pilot project. The developed procedure was altered several times until it was collectively accepted. However, the pilot project indicated that best effects were to be attained by involving other maintenance units. Therefore, the pilot project opened up spaces for further innovation and co-operation across cost-center boundaries.

6   Conclusions

The concept of organizational mindfulness can be extended to organizations different from HROs. Moreover, it can be applied to permanent organizational change. In the perspective of social sustainability, organizational mindfulness can contribute to the development and regeneration of organizations' social resource base. OM enables organizational reflexivity of permanent change processes regarding unintended and unexpected side effects detrimental to organizations' social resource base and in respect to until then unnoticed innovation potentials. The establishment of dialogue, organizational routines sensitive to organizations' social-resource base, and key principles of mindful organizing provide a basis for reflective organizational learning towards organizational mindfulness.

However, our case-study results also indicate that 'mindful change' and a related mindful infrastructure are not sufficient to promote a socially sustainable development of organizations. Rather, it also takes corresponding actors' attitudes that are sensitive to mindful organizing. Otherwise, available structures, routines and procedures of OM are not utilized. This problem can – among other factors – be explained by the long shadows of change history at organizational level. Our case studies showed that negative previous experience with organizational change, as disrupted change participation, fostered detached attitudes towards mindful change.

Nevertheless, mindful change can promote novel and counterintuitive change experience that – at least in the longer run – may facilitate an attitudinal change. The interplay between actors' attitudes and mindful infrastructures provides a basis for further research on mindful change.

In my view, research in organizational mindfulness can be more deeply integrated in organization and labor studies, if OM is analyzed in a process-oriented negotiated-order perspective (Strauss 1993) placing emphasis on conflict and negotiation between intra-organizational actors or between intra-organizational and external actors. For instance, this perspective can contribute to explain why specific issues vital to organizations' social resource base are disregarded in mindful organizing. Moreover, it can promote research in the potential of negotiations in the workplace as a starting point for enhanced organizational mindfulness.

Our case studies indicated that OM related to permanent reorganization is above all facilitated in firms drawing on an organizational storage of dialogue-related experience and knowledge. In this respect, social institutions in the workplace significantly matter. In organizations with well-established works councils and a corresponding organizational culture that facilitates integrative bargaining between management and employees, dialogue-oriented mindful infrastructures are more common and socially acknowledged to intra-organizational actors. Our case-studies in firms related to ICT-services highlight specific problems that are related to workplaces without such established institutions. For instance, establishing dialogue sensitive to unintended effects of permanent reorganization remains a fragile project, if top managers primarily conceive of spaces of dialogue as a threat to their authority.

Avenues of further research are related to the relevance of social institutions in respect to organizational mindfulness. In this perspective, institutions are viewed as "distinct configurations of interests and social relations" (Swedberg 2003, p. xii). It has to be further examined, under which specific conditions the establishment of organizational mindfulness can flourish. In this regard, the influence of social institutions or different institutional settings organizations are embedded in, requires further analysis. First, it has to be examined more closely and on a broader scale how workplace institutions imprint on establishing organizational mindfulness (in permanent reorganization). Second, the institutional settings of economic organizations have to be considered more thoroughly. For instance, economic organizations operate in specific socio-economic environments that reflect different types of political economies, as liberal market economies or coordinated market economies (Hall and Soskice 2001). Despite an overall pressure of economic globalization, distinct institutional configurations remain in coordinated market economies, e.g. in respect to labor market regulation and industrial relations. Against this background, further research may deal with the interplay of different institutional settings and organizational mindfulness. Moreover, it can be explored whether institutions at international or global level can facilitate or promote organizational and political mindfulness (cf. Senghaas-Knobloch in this volume).

Finally, our research indicates that the concept of (organizational) mindfulness may enrich sustainability studies. For instance, the concept of OM can be extended to a variety of issues that are at the core of sustainability research (at organizational and inter-organizational levels), as economic organizations' depletion of natural resources or taking account of social and ecological aspects in cross-sectoral systems of provision (Chappels and Shove 2004), e.g. energy supply, mobility services or consumption.

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Authenticity and Individual Mindfulness Within Organisations: Problems and Perspectives

Wolfgang Hien

Abstract Permanent economic restructuring processes are becoming a growing threat to society and to the worker's own situation of life. Work-related mental health problems and illnesses are increasing alarmingly in all countries affected by economic globalization. Against this background, concepts and ideas focusing on mindfulness are coming under discussion. This article presents the current state of work and health related scientific findings, and discusses them from a critical social theoretical point of view. Against this background, concepts of mindfulness derived from the Jewish-Christian tradition are discussed. The article supports the hypothesis of an existing interdependence between individual and organisational mindfulness. This also means that without personally practiced mindfulness, organisations will not experience any significant change. Concrete actions are suggested for day-to-day operations. Furthermore, open questions, which can be addressed only in daily practise, are also formulated.

Keywords Individual authenticity • Individual mindfulness • Organizational culture • Working conditions • Mental health • Patterns of masculinity • Role and personality

1 Introduction and Outline of Problems

The post-modern working world is being shaken up by complex turbulences, including organizational and corporate changes, mergers, transfers, and closures; in other words, processes that can be subsumed under the terms "Organisational Changes" or "Restructuring processes". It is difficult for employees to receptively follow these developments or to meet these challenges in a proactive and creative

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way. Their attitudes range from uncritical acceptance or even an anxious "over-adaption", to an attitude of powerless fatalism and resignation. From the health science point of view both reactions are predictors for serious and protracted work-related mental health illnesses. These overall problems have led to the development of numerous concepts and ideas relating to health-promoting management, "healthy management" and "mindfulness in organisations" (see Badura/Steinke 2012 as a current example). It is remarkable, however, that this global discussion attempts to adapt the concept of mindfulness to the requirements of a flexible capitalism.

In this article, another perspective on the concept of mindfulness shall be developed. First of all, individual mindfulness, caring for oneself and others is in focus. In a further step, the possible interaction between individual and organisational mindfulness will be explored. According to the author this is only meaningful when considering the problem of economic restructuring processes critically.

According to this thesis, we should not accept the way in which the economic, social, cultural and imaginary change takes place, as a simply natural phenomenon. These changes are flexible processes and can be created by people who are prepared to engage themselves and to look at the situation from a new perspective. This perspective refers to human dignity, meaning a lived-bodily psychosomatic regard of human being, in the working and economic world.[1] Mindfulness must be practised and demonstrated actively, if necessary even in conflict with the respective organization, even if this involves risks such as loss of position and loss of status. This means that individual mindfulness is not possible without personal authenticity. The following chapter deals with a detailed analysis and a socially critical interpretation of present working conditions. Subsequently, the article will pursue the problem context indicated above. This is, however, without claiming to offer an easily implementable solution. In the author's opinion Jewish-Christian social theory should not be underestimated in terms of accepting the concept of mindfulness. This theory will be exemplarily presented and discussed on the basis of benedictine-oriented publications as well as others, created around the monk Anselm Grün from Münsterschwarzach Abbey.

Authenticity describes an attitude of persons who realize their own personality and take this into consideration when taking actions and setting goals. Mindfulness describes an attitude of persons who recognise the boundaries between authentic interest in work and alienating overwork and use this recognition to exercise appropriate care for themselves and others. Thus, mindfulness includes an ethical point of view referring to the working environment. That means mindfulness involves taking the responsibility for persons in my working environment and furthermore for all persons affected by my activities. A special interdependence

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[1] This contribution refers to terms and concepts of phenomenological research (Husserl, Merleau-Ponty, Levinas, Waldenfels et. al). There is a differentiation between the physical "body" and the "lived body", who is bonded in a lively way with the world. The German language uses the distinguishing words "Körper" and "Leib". Therefore we will use the words "body" and "lived body" to express the terms in English. Awareness and mindfulness are only possible within the mode of "lived-bodily being" and "lived-corporeality".

exists between such individual mindfulness and organisational mindfulness that focuses on "togetherness" rather than "high performance". This absolutely corresponds with the findings of Guido Becke, who carefully reviewed concepts of organisational mindfulness, particularly the concept of Weick and Suitcliffe, which is the most discussed concept worldwide in this field. Guido Becke states that organisational mindfulness may indeed contribute to resilience in organisations, but this sometimes may affect the personal resilience and health resources of employees and managers, at the same time. According to Becke, the key challenge for organisational mindfulness is to not neglect basic individual needs and their vulnerability (Becke 2011, p. 65).

2   Working Conditions and Mental Health

Contrary to previous assumptions, work specifications, work methods, and work organisation are extremely standardized in globally organized production and service chains. In all relevant studies either a reduction of the options for activity or the reduction of personal freedoms and niches within work is noticed (Siegrist and Dragano 2012). But, particularly these rooms of communication – within the labour science it is known as "hidden situations" (Thomas 1964, 85 pp.; Volmerg et al. 1983) – are vital and essential for employees' health. These intensive processes are often found in combination with dequalification and a lack of social support through managers and co-workers. The conflict between overworking on the one hand and lack of appreciation on the other is experienced as especially stressing. This is exceeded only by long-term job uncertainties. Our assumption is that these labor policies cause a deferred brutalization of behaviour, which in turn leads to an alarming increase of mental illnesses. These findings were gained in large epidemiological studies.

Epidemiological research tries to find out the degree to which stressed employees are at risk of becoming ill compared to the people who do not suffer from such stress. This comparison is known as "Relative Risk" (RR). It will be sufficient to quote a few examples. A research group at the University in Ghent carried out a study, in which 2,800 working people were observed for about 7 years (Clays et al. 2007). It was found, at the first scheduled examination date, that there was an increased risk of severe depression for persons suffering from high job stress, – which means that their places of work were characterized by high demands and a reduced scope of action. This risk was about 1.6 times higher for the years ahead. Ongoing job stresses increased the risk to be 3.2 times higher and with a continuing lack of social support the risk further increased 5.8 higher. In other words, long-lasting "isolated job stress" causes a 6 times higher risk of depression for originally healthy persons, compared to working people who are not suffering from job stress.

In the study, factors involving gender, family status, negative affectivity, death of a close relative, and medical history were considered, but: job stresses are a continued risk. Furthermore, it can be proved that uncertain working conditions and

fear of job losses are also major risk factors for psychological illnesses. In recent years the London psychiatrically epidemiologist Stephen Stansfeld and his international working group have systematically analysed the factors causing psychological illnesses in several detailed major studies. The analysis strictly distinguished between work related factors and private factors. The results were highly interesting (Clark et al. 2012). Well-known "job stressors" again turned out to be a high risk factor, but at the same time private experiences involving divorce, domestic violence, financial crises or private care of family members are potential risk factors. The crucial point is that both, job stress and private experiences remain independent risk factors. Even though pre-existing psychological illnesses from childhood were considered in the study, work related risk factors do not disappear (Stansfeld et al. 2008). Among experts in the epidemiological field there is no doubt that the more and more flexible and uncertain globalized working world must be made responsible for the increase in psychological illnesses. Atypical employment relationships involving fixed work terms and temporary employment are considered to be particularly stressful. These employments carry a considerably higher health risk for employees than permanent jobs.

A meta-analysis covering 162 epidemiological studies, dealing with health consequences caused by rationalization, concluded that change processes including staff reductions and work intensification especially have negative effects on employees' health (Westgaard and Winkel 2009). The Netherland Organisation for Applied Natural Sciences (TNO) has analysed the consequences of organisational restructuring processes for years. In their recent publication "Enterprise Restructuring and the Health of Employees" the TNO researcher Goedele Geuskens (2012) reports on a revealing epidemiological cohort study on this subject. In this study employees were interviewed about stress and diseases, at two specific points in time. The study succeeded in questioning more than 9,000 persons after the first survey 12 months before. The general health of those who worked in companies undergoing restructuring processes at both points of time deteriorated. The relative risk was at 1.4 and further increased to 1.7 when the restructuring processes were combined with job uncertainties. For persons over 55 years of age the relative risk increased to 2.2.

The authors note that psychological and psychosomatic disease processes are additionally affected by a lack of social support from superiors and colleagues. Thus, it can be concluded that increased social support, involving solidarity, team spirit, and togetherness may significantly improve the general health of those affected by organisational change processes.

3   Of the Fading of Psychological Terms

In his study "Das Unbehagen in der Gesellschaft" (2011) Alain Ehrenberg traces the social and ideological roots of psychological misery. And he presents a problem that should concern us: the fact that the increasingly identified symptom patterns no

longer fit into the category of psychiatry and much less into the category of psychoanalysis. Although it can be referred to as a "crisis of narcissism" (Lasch 1991), the core elements rather involve broken down illusions of success. Ehrenberg notes, that the psychopathological problems of affected persons are characterized mainly by loss: depression, withdrawal, and breakdown (Ehrenberg 2011, 439 pp.). Empirically, this view is confirmed almost daily by new scientific and media information. Particularly the media marketing of psychological misery has a voyeuristic element that serves the secret social Darwinism rather than being an inspiration for serious reflection. Science might contribute to transforming potentials of discomfort into a reflective attitude, if it would not so easily give in to the temptation of marketed medialization.

Post modern philosophy denies the possible existence of a personality or individuality in the sense of a strong, clear and unique "core personality" (see Reckwitz 2008). It states that the "subject" has always been subordinate to an outside power and could at best develop a countervailing power. Psychoanalysis also considers the "Ego" – that means the person or personality – only as a compromise resulting from the continuing conflict between external authorities, which we internalise and incorporate, as well as indefinable biological driving forces. An icon in the field of French post modern psychoanalysis, Jacques Lacan, considers personality as nothing more than a deficit or a lack. The result is a fragmented individual that may easily become a victim of indoctrination, manipulation and totalitarian control. According to post modern theory individuality has always been and always will be a pure illusion. I cannot accept this view. What is happening here is that a descriptive level is reinterpreted carelessly in a normative (see also: Keupp 2010).

Personality or identity is the result of an ongoing dialectic between the lived-bodily self and the other, that means the social and lived-bodily intercorporeality with its endless social interactions. To balance the identity between inside and outside is still today the art of living.

The new phenomenon we deal with, or should deal with, today from a critical point of view, is the erosion or even "corrosion" (Sennett 1998) of the lived-bodily psychosomatic self. We are often not aware of how our identity can be characterized, and we are often not aware of what we want and what we aim at, other than simply "success".

Post modern theory, which deconstructs our idea of the unity of the individual, continuity, and coherence and only notices fragments, segments, and random constellations, in many areas tips into an unchecked glorification of this condition. The inhuman Hire-and-Fire, moving around of companies and employees, "forced" mobility and flexibility, are accepted as "normal" or even praised as progress. Kenneth Gergen, for example, a well known American psychologist, sees this development "without noticeable sorrow" (Keupp) strictly positive: "There is little need for the inner-directed, onestyle-for-all individual. Such a person is narrow, parochial, inflexible. (. . .) We now celebrate protean being. (. . .) One must keep moving, the network is vast, commitments are many, expectations are endless, opportunities abound, and time is a scarce commodity." (Gergen 2000, p. 104).

The philosopher Byung Chul Han summed up the paradoxical situation of our time, as the dialectic between "master and servant" which finally does not lead to a society in which everyone is free, and capable of leisure. Rather, it leads to a working society where the "master" himself became a "servant". Within this kind of society everyone is caught in his own "labour camp" where everyone is both, prisoner and prison guard, victim and offender. Hence, individuals exploit themselves (Han 2010, 45 pp.). However, I disagree with Han's conclusion, that this exploitation is possible without domination. In my opinion, leadership is an internalised part of the "Subject". In concurrence with Zygmunt Baumann (2009, 55 pp.), leadership has become "formless", without losing its strength. The powerful remain hidden, and can count on the endemic lack of self-confidence of their subordinates. By contrast, that would mean, that more personal self-confidence could pave the way for more organisational mindfulness.

4   Of Work Puppets and Stencils

Already decades ago, in his pioneering study "Die gesellschaftlichen Leiden und die Leiden an der Gesellschaft" Hans Peter Dreitzel (1968) pointed out that the role itself bears two risks. Either one does not engage with the "role", and reduces it to a "stencil", and with it go into either inner or outer exile; or one does not take enough distance from the "role" and thereby becomes a "marionette", and through that lose oneself. In both cases a division appears – the job role and the person fulfilling it are no longer united. The persons can then identify themselves only by doing a fantastic job. If they fail, they feel excluded and worthless. According to Voswinkel (2002) this option is called the "Exit". Fluid identity no longer has its own "riverbed" and is formless. It melts away, seeps away, and runs out. What is left is a fata morgana, madness created by neoliberalism as clearly narrated in the new novel "Sickster" written by Thomas Melle (2011). If I engage myself with the "pressure to succeed", I am at risk of becoming a "puppet" or a "marionette" of the work system. I am also at risk of going with the flow and becoming a high performance-oriented follower (Negt 2009), which means to become nothing more than a robotic character that reminds us of the "one dimensional human being" described by Marcuse (1964). After a certain time persons in such a situation begin to undermine themselves. More specifically, the lived-bodily self is at risk of "depersonalization". Depersonalization means inner emptiness, insensitivity towards oneself and others, and total indifference. However, it is also possible that such people "function" formally or at least seem to "function". Fluid identity does not have any bindings or responsibilities. Disease is therefore an initially unconscious expression of lived-bodily resistance against inhuman conditions.

Let us dwell for a short time on the option of an over-identification which may occur during the first 10 years of a new job. The requirements, actions and chain functions relating to the market, cause a change in my coordinate system of values. I have a certain view of my job, and perhaps even a work ethic. The profitability of

my job, however, drives me into another direction. I am forced to sell a software as an "outstanding solution" although I personally consider it to be bad or even dangerous. I have to minimize the care of a patient in need to 3.7 min although I know that I initially need 15 min for the "emotional work". As a technician working in a nuclear power station I am responsible for a system that has to be accurately controlled, but I do not have the required time. This brings me into a personal conflict situation, a moral dissonance, and extremely oppressive stress of accountability. In Scandinavia, where this phenomenon is being empirically researched, this continual pressure is called "stress of conscience" (e.g. Juthberg et al. 2008; see also: Hien 2009, 176 ff.). This current situation is appalling, in the truest sense of the word. "I felt like the angel of death" is the title of an article that deals with the role conflicts and moral distress of medical students in an American hospital (Mueller et al. 2011).

Oskar Negt (1984) demands – as presented in his study "Arbeit und menschliche Würde" (Negt 2001) – that employees and their organizations, take responsibility for the whole production- and distribution process in the company and society in political, social, and ecological terms. The manual "Spirituell arbeiten"(Assländer/ Grün 2010) provides a similar reasoning: employees, especially those in qualified professions, should avoid the mandate of continuous growth, social Darwinism, and ecological blindness, as well as simple profit-orientation, and provide an example through their own behavior. In view of the high degree of alienation and the rule of economic thinking, Gorz considers this kind of ethics of responsibility not feasible. He states that ethics of responsibility is the exact opposite of identification with one's job or one's own function, which is characteristic of technical bureaucrats filled with their own importance (Gorz 1989, p. 123). The question is if, beyond trusting optimism and radical scepticism, it is possible to develop a working attitude, in which moments of resistance, criticism of ideology, and an encompassing sense of responsibility are accepted.

5 First Basic Requirement: Authenticity

Against this background, the major portion of guides and literature concerning this issue are not helpful. It plays its part, to keep hidden forces in the dark and further falls into the trap of dangerous illusions of high-performance. Thus, the monk Meinhard Dufner gives the advice to give up inner opposition to work and furthermore to merge completely with the required job role (Dufner 2004). But, this can be a dangerous path. To merge with a role means to lose the "self" and therefore not to be able to meet others with authenticity. "Sincerity", "Uprightness", "Truthfulness" and "Honesty describe key categories within existential philosophy and existentialism". Sartre summarizes these categories in the category of "authenticity". He means an attitude that considers the other to be the subject through which reach for myself a attentive and mindfully objectivity (Sartre 1943/1995, p. 124).

Searching for the "Sources of the self" the Canadian social philosopher Charles Taylor refers to German idealism, particularly to Johann Gottfried Herder. Herder considered the creation of individuality particularly important (Taylor 1992): "Herder put forward the idea that each of us has on original way of being human. Each person has his or her own human 'measure' in his way of putting it" (ibid., p. 28).

Defending against the outside pressure to conformity and against each instrumental attitude, the human subject is told to "listen to its inner voice" and to "be faithful to its originality". To sum up, to develop "truth to oneself" (ibidem). According to Taylor, this is authenticity. In his critical social theory Hartmut Rosa (2009, 2012) refers back to these ideas of authenticity. He states, that it is necessary to create a lifestyle that does justice to our needs and the needs of the others. It is necessary that we live a life that corresponds with our talents, our wishes and needs, our skills, our passions and our limits (Rosa 2009, p. 39).

We have to "listen to ourselves" and realize what defines us and who we are, including all our possibilities and failings, with all of our inner and outer relations, including all the places and atmospheres which give us strength and those which rob us of our strength, and should be avoided. In contrast, the life-orientation exclusive to performance and success is limiting. It is a lifestyle which leads to a "standardized life" instead of the concept of a "good life" (Rosa 2012, 170 p.). Hartmut Rosa even speaks of "totalizing life" and just planning, evaluating and measuring this life within principles of competition (ibid., 343 pp.). The dialectics of respect and identity turn into dialectics of disregard and failure. This is an expression of secularized protestant work ethics which are still deeply rooted in capitalist cultures. This does not contribute to individuality, but considerably supports uniformity and results in the exclusion of the weak, slow, uncreative, and unattractive ones. To sum up, authenticity and mindfulness are relevant to becoming conscious of this tendency towards uniformity and to change it.

Finally, people neither want to become stencils nor do they want to be puppets. As shown in empirical examples they have a guilty conscience. A health promoting organisation cannot afford to ignore the necessities to deal with the "stress of conscience", and therefore also to work on the underlying issues involving quality and the creation of work processes. The discussion around work ethic issues has to be carried out and endured by society, organisations and – in the final instance – by individuals. No one can do this for us – neither the clearest legal instruments nor a fair company guideline, a collective wage agreement, or an ethical work code – although all these levels could be useful. It is all about an existential basic attitude, which leads to a collapse of old patterns relating to function and role. It enables the individual to open itself to others, including the very far away, to be aware of and take over already existing responsibilities. Furthermore, the endlessness involving my own inadequacy has to be accepted. Emmanuel Levinas has characterized this attitude using the terms "Non-indifference" or "non-disregard" and has related it to lived-bodily touch and to be lived-bodily touched (see Bedorf 2011, p. 159 pp.).

6 Second Basic Requirement: Mindfulness

Thus, mindfulness becomes a mode of extreme ability to perceive the reputation of "the other". The subject becomes a "subject in the accusative". By taking this position, I dare to walk a tightrope between extreme openness and spiritual introspection. This request, deeply set in the tradition of Jewish care and accountability ethics corresponds with a critical theology as developed by Dorothee Sölle in her book "Mystik und Widerstand" (Sölle 1997). Assländer/Grün (2010) also bring together deep "inward-looking" and an ethic of responsibility. They recall of the Jewish commandment "to watch your thoughts . . ." (ibid., 116), and encourage people to reflect on operational activities and on their own role within these processes. To spiritually immerse oneself in the job is therefore not the same as to merge with the job role. At this point, outlines of a solution appear, concerning conflicts between inwardness and activity, between the relativization of the "self" and political or organizational partisanship against organized irresponsibility.There is always the danger of building an unbridgeable wall between the inside and outside, and to become insensitive to the world's misery. The danger is to work without resistance in the outer world while inwardly taking the radical stoic attitude "that all this has nothing to do with me personally". The Benedictines do not always avoid this trap, but as shown by the late Michel Focault and his change towards "self-care", they are certainly not the only ones.

According to Assländer/Grün (2010, 116 p.) mindfulness means nothing less than becoming aware of what I do, that I am wide awake and fully aware of my actions. That is, I don't lose myself anywhere, and certainly not while doing my job, but rather, I enter a state of self reflection, pausing, and remove all given routines, schemes, symbols, and terms, to develop a specific alertness without prejudice, an awareness of things and people around me, and a sensitivity that allows me to be touched. When I am completely submerged in my soul, I cannot feel anything else and I cannot be touched. Therefore, I have to be "open", which is also vulnerable. Such an interpretation of mindfulness goes hand in hand with a lived-bodily consciousness, a togetherness that accepts and respects the differences and otherness of my "self" and the "other". Such an interpretation of mindfulness means to see things as they are which does not at all imply absolute acceptance (Keser-Grossmann 2009, 11). This critical remark to the Buddhist tradition should be allowed here. Naturally, there is no room for a hectic spirit of contradiction. In a certain way, it is good to perceive reality in its entirety without rashly closing one's eyes and ears. Naturally, mindfulness requires the honest attempt to first understand what we perceive, as far as possible. But, visualized reality is always made by people and is therefore always an alterable reality.

The physicist and movement teacher Mosche Feldenkrais has indicated decades ago that "speed" leads to seeming successes, and not to a success, what we can understand as an im provement in human beeing (Feldenkrais 1987). He urges caution and slowness. Only then will we have the opportunity to discover our unimagined possibilities. Neuroscience confirms this view (Hüther 2005). Against

the armor plating and physical beauty presentations, which often correspond to the neoliberal image of man, Hüther recommends an attitude of softening, of consideration, of touching and of self-touch-letting, i.e. also: the bodily sensibility.

Mindfulness is an attitude that realizes the boundaries between authentic interest in work and alienating overwork, which allows empathy and sensitivity and uses this recognition to exercise appropriate care for themselves and others. Hence, a concept of mindfulness that declares the postulate of high performance to be the "non plus ultra" becomes doubtful. In my opinion it has to be considered with extreme caution when management consultants such as Kenneth Gergen (see Keupp 2010), Karl Weick or Kathleen M. Sutcliffe (see Becke 2011) or the doyen of health science, Bernhard Badura (Badura/Seinke 2012) emphasize "mindfulness". The same as any other concept, mindfulness can degenerate to an ideology.

7   Turning Away from Patterns of Masculinity

On reflection, the "brave new working world" reveals an extremely contradictory picture that is almost paradoxical: the intensification and extensification of work on the one hand and exclusion on the other hand. But, on closer inspection a contradiction is "decoded": overwork, the removal of boundaries, the 24 h readiness of high performers, and the solidification of a "superfluous" social segment are mutually dependent.

Ideally, one can hazard the following thesis: post-modern capitalism is selective. This capitalism needs people with character structures such as toughness, forcefulness, recklessness, and carelessness. Gender studies found out that this corresponds with a social pattern of masculinity. This pattern is not biologically evolved, but shaped by the gravitational force of millennium-old cultural traditions (Connell 2005).

Although there is a welcome softening trend of the borders of the post modern working world there are still extremely tough personalities in the centre, who are prepared to be absolutely involved in the current corporate goal. According to recent studies (Ziegler/Graml 2011), there is little room for children, family and "untargeted" emotional relationships.

To the contrary, a woman interviewed within the study of Held et al. (2011, p. 309) said, that her husband was not approachable since he had thrown himself into work – and since their first child was born he had begun to work even more. The ideology of the main breadwinner, heroism, escape from family through flight into work, workaholism are all phenomena that create a certain pattern. In my opinion some researchers on gender topics rightly consider this pattern to be extremely homologous to neoliberal orientations (Cohen/Brodie 2007; Ikeda 2007).

Satoshi Ikeda considers this as a "new form of masculinity"and a "regime of market masculinity", that can be interpreted as an explicit counter-movement to the feminist movement. According to Ikeda, it is a "counter-revolution of capitalism

against those who caused the erosion of profit, such as unionized workers or women who demand equal wages and opportunities." (Ikeda 2007, p. 127).

The neo-liberally structured new patterns of masculinity do not stop at women. When the vice president of the European Commission, Viviane Reding, calls for increasing the number of women working in leading positions, explains this demand with an operating profit that is 56 % higher in Companies with gender balance (Süddeutsche Zeitung vom 30. 6. 2012, p. V1/10), it is quite obvious that it does not refer to more mindfulness, but refers to more functional emotionality instead. At the same time, non-functional emotionality, that is mindfulness in the sense of a more careful, considerate and responsible way to treat oneself and the others is kept away from the centers of capital. Mindfulness has a female connotation. This might be criticised as a (negative) external ascription. But it is also possible to gain a positive perspective. Carol Gilligan (1982) uses the term "the different voice" for describing female care and female moral, which may be the thorn in the side of the male dominated working world and may, in some cases, even lead to a collapse of these patterns. We face enormous social changes and alternatives. Do we want a transnational, male dominated neo-liberal capitalism with no room for mindfulness, which is embedded in a network of a feminised precariat that takes the responsibility for children, the elderly and the sick? Or do we want to turn away from the pattern of masculinity in the working world involving a radical reduction in working hours and shared care work among men and women? The term "feminised" does not only refer to women. If the option of having a "hard neo-liberal core" prevails, there will be a high number of men moving to feminised sectors, and there will be a cultural split between "male men" and "female men" (Isaksen 2007).

In this context outlines of a concept of mindfulness become visible, which go far beyond the operational sphere and considers the categories of work and life as a whole. Mindfulness in organizations means to fundamentally restructure the working processes in such a way that the variety of social, emotional, and spiritual spaces that are not related to the companies' success are considered appropriately. This involves care for oneself and others, empathy and support, bodily closeness, assumption of responsibility, pausing and mindful awareness of everything that stands for being human, human misery and human development. Recently there are increasing appeals to "family solidarity" that are extremely ambiguous and show the structures which solidify the paradoxical and inhuman segmentation and splitting in our society. Social services are reduced to the extent where they no longer exist. And the ones who are now supposed to fill in these services are families, that is women, mainly women and the men who have been excluded from the system of neo-liberal high performance or who never had the chance to be a member of this system. These splits counteract mindfulness on all levels.

8   Steps Towards the Mindful Organization

Natalie Lotzmann, the managing company physician of SAP advises the employees to act more mindfully (Mannheimer Morgen, 12th May 2012). For example, at SAP and elsewhere, hand-outs from Jessika Wilker (1998) are distributed, that provide guidance on how to integrate breathing exercises into daily work life, despite an excessive workload and deadlines that cannot be met. This would be quite acceptable, if the life-threatening pressure on employees did not remain sacrosanct. If the term "mindfulness" should still have a meaning, it must be concordant with an attitude that critically questions the hunt for recognition and success. It is possible to create another interpretation of recognition, so that recognition is not necessarily based on success. This different interpretation is based on an unquestionable anthropological principle: What we need for being human, like the very daily bread, is to be respected and accepted by others – including all our failures, our character with all of our strengths and weaknesses, our needs, our desires, but also our helplessness. This acceptance should not have a possessive character. At the same time this demand is a demand on ourselves to generously accept faults – that means our own faults and those of the others. What we need is not the optimization of our ability to work or a lifelong learning under pressure, but rather the ability to develop sensors for our bodily, emotional and mental togetherness. "To set a warm stream against the cold stream" (Negt) could become a motto for organisational mindfulness. This would include initial guidelines such as "to take life and work at a slower pace", "to set limits and to accept limits", "to not always increase work, but work less", "to reflect back on the importance of mutual assistance", and "to reflect on the meaning of solidarity". It is essential that the value of being human is not measured by economic criteria. The value of humanity is in being human! Alarming symptoms of the neo-liberal colonization of our brains, are creeping statements about "high performer", "top performer", "low performer" and similar terms. From the view of a social theory oriented towards human dignity it is necessary to counteract such statements.

Employees are imbued with dissolution of boundaries and other-direction exorbitance and they often cannot distinguish whether the pressure is an external or internal one. But what can be done? Of course, there are appropriate tools for the promotion of health. For example, there are health circles in which these problems can be discussed openly. But, these tools can only be successful if there is generally an openness towards change. And changes – pausing, reflection, changing one's way – are urgently needed on three levels: the individual, the organizational, and the social. Each individual has to re-learn mindfulness, towards oneself and others. No excessive demands on oneself and others! Getting away from over-identification, perfectionism and obsessive ambition! Establishing areas of life outside of work that allow the generation of strength and confidence! Companies, administrations, and organizations must understand that in the end, it is counterproductive to look upon each employee as through an excessively economic lens. Many potentials are only developed within social networks in which the quick ones

who make many mistakes and the slow ones who correct those mistakes support each other. These are exactly those networks where learning effects are enabled. These potentials are destroyed by merciless pressure, before they can be developed and established. This pressure does not only destroy potential, but our souls as well. Victims of this situation are doubly punished, as psychological illnesses are still a socially tabooed issue. Therefore, many employees concerned try to conceal their illness as long as possible. However, this is a fatal decision. Instead of resisting the inhuman pressure and adopting an upright attitude, many affected employees bow to the pressure for too long, and try to delude themselves and others. Annually, more than 6,000 Germans of working age die from suicide. 80 % of them are the result of depression. Considering the findings regarding the role of the work related health problems, it is about time to stop the dominating principle of acceleration in the pace of life and work. It is about time to re-learn mindfulness towards oneself and others: respect for human diversity, a human level that is suitable for everyone and – also and especially in regard to the working world – solidarity without which it is not possible to live a human life in the long run.

9   The Postulate of Enlightenment, Open Questions

The economic world is going through a double metamorphosis. It seems that working people internalize the conflict between capital and work and that they think this conflict has become their own personal matter. But, this system is not that closed. The main question is: is it possible to turn back? I follow Heiner Keupp (2010), saying that if our activities still aim to foster emancipation and enlightenment, then a question is quite close at hand: How can we and in which way do we want to liberate ourselves from the fetters of neo-liberal ideology? Can we open up to new paths toward a self-determined, resistant and creative way of work and life? Co-determination is not effective enough. What we need is a new, authentic, reflective relationship to the world, a new "Self-World-Relationship". This is the term used by Hartmut Rosa for describing the perspective that could break up acceleration dynamics and experiences of alienation. What we need is a new, authentic, reflective relationship toward the world, work, and ourselves. Additionally it is also a matter of examining capitalism's promise of happiness, piece by piece, especially regarding the parts that affect us, and then to reassemble the parts in a human way. Therefore, we need social recognition as independent individuals with all our insufficiencies. We also need to discover ourselves, and to recognize ourselves and our own inner dimensions, and our biographical authenticity, which allows us a non-alienated response to the world. Deconstruction and reconstruction seem to be the right terms in this context. In his draft on an ethical system the Munich social philosopher and social scientist Walter L. Bühl deals with the interdependence of individual and organisational ethics (Bühl 1998). According to Bühl an ethical system is always based on individual, personal and existential decisions. Here, he follows definitely Levinas approach. Conversely, however,

Bühl sees limitations to ethical behaviour, related to not finding organizational designs and processes that allow a realistic assumption of responsibility and a moral fundamental relationship to people (ibid., 71). According to Bühl, neither the abstract and universalistic principles, nor the liberal and utilitarian ones create space for this purpose. The ethics of virtue located in communitarianism are also of little help as they are mostly related to discourses that are limited to communitarian and organisational issues. These ethics often exclude the foreign, the incomprehensive, the non standard, the weak, meaning the other side of being or not being – which can no longer or not yet express itself. Therefore, an ethic of responsibility based on authenticity and mindfulness is required, which begins and ends with the individual – in all its open-endedness and eternity.

In his major Bochum lecture on the phenomenology of the lived-corporeality, Bernd Waldenfels ends with Levinas' category of the face (Waldenfels 2000, 391 p.). According to this approach, non- indifference is not illustrated by looking at the other in a scrupulous, appraising, and surveying way. Quite the contrary: another kind of mindfulness is required, that is mindfulness following the commandment: "You shell not make for yourself a carved image!" Levinas regards this attitude as the "non-phenomenology of the face". Waldenfels concludes that at this point attention is turning to mindfulness and respect (ibid.). Although the theoretical circle is closing here, the practical questions of everyday operations have still not been answered, such as: How do I situate my behavior, specifically in view of emerging innovations and changes, but also impositions and thoughtlessness? Or the question: How do I concretely set up my initiative, my commitment, and my micro-policy on the content and relational levels? Finally also the question: How do I escape intrigues and tactical agreements that – even though they could be justified for utilitarian reasons – drive weaker, less creative and less attractive individuals into exile? A broad discussion on these issues is required, not only in theory, but also among organisational "practitioners". Exactly, they cannot avoid behaving, appropriately in everyday-life, relating to the above questions.

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Dialogue: A Concept for Designing Organizational Change Mindfully

Institutional and Organizational Perspectives on Dialogue: Lessons Learned from Scandinavian Experiences

Bernd Hofmaier

Abstract The contribution deals with the origins of the Scandinavian dialogue approach which is based partly on attempts to develop working life issues and partly rooted in institutional features of the Swedish labour market relations. Thereafter the practical organization of dialogue conferences is described and some experiences and results for improving the dialogue approach for organizational change and development are given.

Keywords Democratic dialogue • Dialogue-oriented approaches in working life • Workplace programs • Dialogue conferences • Developmental organization

1 Introduction

Dialogue – the exchange of arguments between two or more people is a central narrative, philosophical and didactic device found in the classical Greek culture and other cultures. The literature about dialogues in philosophical or literary form and in practice is extensive. Some of the written sources are well-known like Plato's "Socratic Dialogues" or Martin Buber's "The Dialogical Principles" ("Ich und Du") and are seen as fundamental in education.

Even in more concrete activities, for example, in organizational development and change attempts, dialogues are used as a general principle and in practical measures. Even here examples are manifold. Researchers and consultants like Chris Argyris, Peter Senge, Karl Weick and others are well-known proponents using dialogical elements in their research and praxis.

Seen in a social construction perspective, dialogues are central for shaping not only our social world but are also an important element in the construction of

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organizations and institutions. The list can be made from the influential text by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann to neo-institutionalists like Meyer, Rowan, Zucker and others (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Zucker 1977). But how dialogues are organized or used practically can vary quite a lot. It can, for example, be simple advice or an invitation to talk to each other or it can be more or less complex organizational ways for creating opportunities for dialogues.

During the 1980s, developments in the working life in the Nordic countries lead to more and more interest among European researchers, consultants and practitioners. Rumours had been made public that organizational development projects on working life were using a principle called dialogue or more surprisingly "democratic dialogue". For some observers, this sounded idealistic and perhaps also utopian. For others, it was perhaps a typical Scandinavian way of handling changes which one could be sympathetic about, but as some also realized, could be understood as culturally dependent and therefore difficult to disseminate to other countries.

More interesting reactions came from presentations made at conferences and workshops where the practical applications of dialogues were described and discussed. For many participants it was obvious that there were cultural and institutional conditions at work which would perhaps influence the practical use of dialogue concepts in other contexts. But there were other and more problematic issues which disturbed observers and which came to the surface in the discussions. We can call them different scientific or epistemological positions.

The two dominating main paradigms can be described as the modernistic or rational approach with an optimism regarding development and a general progressive view; a strong belief in organizing and organizations; and with marked optimism regarding scientific and knowledge progress. The other one can be labelled a social constructive approach with an overarching understanding of the world as socially constructed, with scepticism against positivistic organizational science, and sceptical towards instrumentalism.

The first one, the modernistic or rational approach seems to be the main line of thinking and one which is also at the centre of education and training. The second one is much more diversified in both theories and methods and, which is important, with blurred border lines to the practical side of developing organizations e.g. action research, consultancy etc.

In the Nordic countries, the use of dialogue-oriented methods and the practical handling of development processes can be seen as an example of the second perspective. Here several other distinctive elements are included, like action research, participating research approaches, but also a constructive scientific approach. And, not to forget, a grounded value base in human development and democracy (see for instance Gustavsen 1992). The last one, to explicitly base scientific conduct on democratic values, was perhaps also mystifying for many and in some cases also irritated some observers. After all, according to the standard definition, science should be objective and neutral. To include so called "democratic dialogue" in scientific endeavours was at least for some contradictory, if not impossible.

The philosopher Stephen Toulmin, who was an interested and sympathetic observer of the development programmes of working life in Scandinavia, saw such programmes based on a social constructive approach, in its overall form as an interesting event which he was fortunate to use for his own thinking (Toulmin 1996). He was in his work always focusing on the social sciences and their status in the academic world. For him, social sciences should not, and cannot formulate universal and timeless theories. Instead social sciences should recognize the timely, local studies of concrete, particular situations which are the sort of studies that provide the empirical basis of all social analysis representing a practical (even clinical) activity; or as Toulmin says "/. . ./ the subject matter of social research is not just practice rather than theory: its focus is also particular not universal, local not general, timely not eternal, and – above all – concrete not abstract" (ibid., p. 3). Therefore, research on industrial organization and management formulated as development research, participatory research or action research in the large programmes of working life in Sweden was an interesting and productive field for him.

The use of dialogical principles and the practical arrangements of dialogues in the development of working life both in Sweden and Norway, have a history partly influenced by cultural but also institutional factors, and therefore observers may be right when pointing to the specific circumstances in the Scandinavian countries. But it is also very clear that the practical arrangements were at their height in specific programmes at a specific time. At least in Sweden the practical use of and arrangements of dialogue, have now declined, although the general conditions are still in favour and dialogue arrangements are nowadays an integrated part of development activities in countries like Norway.

But it should be mentioned that dialogue arrangements were mainly used in the context of workplace reforms and even when such reforms, at least in Sweden, no longer are organised in the form of programs, other opportunities for practicing dialogue formations are used for example in regional (innovation) development projects.

2   The Background of the Dialogue-Oriented Approaches in Scandinavian Working Life

For many observers of the development in the Scandinavian countries it was clear that working life in most of these countries can be characterized by some distinct traits or, as in Sweden even described as a distinct model. The main elements, at least from the observers' point of view, are a stable political and economic development and, concerning Sweden without the involvement in World War II which preserved the Swedish industrial structure. Observers are also united regarding the long-lasting and relatively stable political systems, which, for example, in Sweden included the Social Democratic Party which was in continuous power for

long periods of time. Less known by foreign observers were perhaps some specific characteristics of the Scandinavian and especially the Swedish labour market. Work organization was since the 1930s dominated by Taylorism which was seen as a rational and productive organizational form. In general, the critique against Taylorism was not very noticeable except perhaps from some critical voices within the union movement. But there is reason to believe that such protests were fewer than similar actions by unions in other countries like Great Britain or the U.S. (Edwards 1979). In Sweden, even the social democrats were positive because Taylorism was seen as a productive, rational strategy which raised productivity and contributed hence to a surplus which could be used for creating the future welfare state. Some observers described Sweden as one of the most "taylorized" countries (Johansson 1978).

Another feature which observers and researchers are pointing to is that the whole process in the early stages of industrialization was accompanied by a debate on industrial democracy (Gustavsen 2011b, p. 466; Emery and Thorsrud 1969, 1976). But the main arguments were largely directed at ownership, representation of union members in various bodies and so on which in the political sphere could result in agreements and political platforms for further societal development. One of the central agreements with far-reaching consequences was, for example, in Sweden the so-called "Agreement at Saltsjöbad" from 1938 which not only included the resolution of conflicts, but also created the social norm that the partners on the labour market shall conclude agreements without the interference of the government. The agreement is still in effect and has contributed to a kind of willingness for dialogue and compromise, even if conflicts such as strikes could not be avoided. The most important feature of this political culture was, and still is, the openness of the involved parties to negotiate the outcome of new technology, including the development of labour organisation. The consequence of this positive attitude towards technology was decreased tensions on the labour market and confidence in sharing one's work results in terms of relatively moderate but continuous wage development. Together with the so-called solidary wage policy, improvement of the whole labour market could be guaranteed. As long as the productivity in the industry increased, more resources could be used for the development of the welfare state.

Tayloristic forms of work organizations were questioned in various forms earlier; the Human Relation Movement, one of the most well-known counter movements starting in the U.S. in the 1930s, criticized the physical, medical, and social problems of monotonous work, as well as the underutilizing of social capabilities like taking initiatives, performance of judgement etc. (Roethlisberger and Dickson 1939). Traditional critique against Taylorism came also from workers who saw the risk of losing or destroying the pleasure and contentment in one's work. Not until later was scientific critique formulated by researchers pointing to psychosocial stress, heavy work loads and, as a further consequence, a lack of participation, and the research results were included in reforms by politicians (for an overview see Karasek and Theorell 1990).

Where the impulses for alternatives to Taylorism came from is not clear. But there were on the international scene many signs pointing out the disadvantages of Taylor-inspired organized labour organization. For example, the consequences of specialized work resulting in a breakdown of social relationships in the workplace were discussed in terms of alienation (Blauner 1964). Others discussed the negative effect on the ability to master change and innovative behaviour in the workplace (Burns and Stalker 1961) as a consequence of Taylor-inspired labour organization. Some other issues which obviously in Sweden influenced vital elements of the relation between the partners in the labour market was for example the performance premium wage systems in the Taylor-inspired labour organization which contributed to instability and undermined the central control of the wage development. This was an issue which preoccupied both the unions and the employer federations for many years (Lindholm 1972).

But the question of the possibility of changing the Taylor-inspired system towards alternative forms was first and foremost discussed in the post-war debate in Great Britain when attempts to reform the jobs in the coalmining industry were addressed. The mines had recently been nationalized and heavy investments in new technology resulted in absenteeism and signs of mental illness. Studies at the Tavistock Institute showed that the new technology resulted in the end of traditional work teams in the mines. But contrary to the opinions of the Human Relation Movement, the researchers behind those studies argued that it would not be enough to change the social context of work, but it would need more radical redesign of the work itself (Trist and Bamforth 1951; Emery and Thorsrud 1969). It was the experiences from these redesign approaches combined with learning elements and adaptation to the Scandinavian history of participation and democracy which led to a number of events and later on to programs including dialogical approaches (Emery and Trist 1969, 1976).

The first one was the so-called fieldwork experiments within the Norwegian "Industrial Democracy Programme" which was later on followed by similar projects in Sweden. The initiative was based on the results of the research at the Tavistock Institute, and was influenced by working life researchers from different countries (F. Emery, Australia; E. Trist, UK; and E. Thorsrud, Norway). The idea behind it was not only to try to humanize work, but also to support participation in social matters and thereby increasing democracy both in the workplace and in society. Another feature which in a way was imported from the Tavistock Institute to the Norwegian fieldwork experiments was the influence of the ideas of Kurt Lewin concerning the action potential of social research (Lewin 1943). Action research as a methodological and theoretical approach was since then an integrated part of the activities in developing working life (Toulmin and Gustavsen 1996).

Also in Sweden several initiatives were taken following the Norwegian experiments. Some originated from industrial enterprises together with the labour market partners similar to the Norwegian experiments. Others were more directed towards the promotion of democracy and participation in state run enterprises and supported by both unions and the social democratic government (Sandberg 1982).

At the same time, and perhaps as a reaction to the "socialist" ideas which one could suspect were apparent in those experiments, the Swedish Employers' Confederation started their own programme for the development of work in an industrial context. This programme, the so-called "New Factory Programme" was organized in accordance with the agreements and laws in the labour market but did not involve the unions or workers more than necessary. Even if the Employers' Confederation was acting and supporting the development centrally, most of the work was done by individual companies with the Volvo Kalmar Factory as the flagship. The new labour organisation with the introduction of carriers in the assembling of cars contributed to the international reputation of Sweden in issues about working life (see Lindholm 1979).

After the fieldwork experiments came to a halt and the "New Factory Programme" and companies in Sweden came into contact with new influences, for example, Japanese quality approaches, working life reforms in Sweden were focused more on traditional health issues. During a reform in the labour market in the 1970s, a tripartite fund called the Work Environment Fund was established. As the name of the fund indicates, this also implied a new perspective on the work environment. It changed from issues of health and safety to also include topics of socio-technical character, labour organization, leadership, equality questions and others. Even other Scandinavian countries changed their policies towards "work environment". In the beginning of the 1980s (1982 in Sweden) the labour market partners in Sweden, as well as in Norway, made specific agreements on workplace development. In Denmark a similar agreement towards local co-operation also came into being. These agreements opened up the field for initiatives within areas concerning leadership, development issues, and change of labour organization, among others. This period can be seen as the peak of Swedish reform activities, which were also observed by the international community.

3   From Experiments to Workplace Programs

In the 1980s the Swedish Work Environment Fund was given a substantial increase to its budget (based on an agreement between the labour market partners), which was encouraged to be used for organizing a series of workplace programmes in support of the development agreements. Over the course of the next decade, a dozen programmes were launched, including areas like technology, information technology, organization, participation, learning in the workplace, health and safety, and women's position in working life. Those programmes were seen as progress in comparison with the earlier experiments. They were not only controlled by the labour market partners including researchers, but also offered legitimacy for developmental work; second, it was an opportunity for using the resources and the competence of an organization; and third, and perhaps the most important reason, results could be more easily diffused. The traditional ways of diffusion through examples or pilot cases were not seen as appropriate. Instead the idea of learning, or

learning together, was seen as the right way and programmes were conceived as a more suitable form.

Some of the programmes explicitly included the use of dialogue principles. Those principles were put into operation during conferences and attempts to organize groups and networks of companies were made in order to come to grips with the failing concerning diffusion and learning which earlier attempts showed. Those programmes meant a new direction compared with earlier attempts. As one of the central actors at this time, Bjørn Gustavsen describes this (Gustavsen 2011b, p. 473), it was a transformation which simplified can be formulated as follows:

– From the implementation of more or less ready-made models to localized learning
– From single organizations to various configurations as the prime unit of change
– From single source to multi-source learning
– From "leading spearhead cases" to an emphasis on promoting the average companies

It was in such programmes that the dialogue concept was used. The most important programme with dialogue as a central feature was the programme "Leadership, Organization and Co-determination" (LOM-programme) (Gustavsen 1992). The second programme, which also used the ideas of dialogue including some other elements from the LOM-programme, was the "Working Life Fund" (Arbetslivsfonden ALF) running between 1990 and 1995 (Gustavsen et al. 1996).

3.1 The LOM-Programme

The LOM-programme was organized within the Work Environment Fund and had its own board consisting of the partners in the labour market, the fund and the researchers. The purpose of the programme was, firstly, to initiate and support the development of new forms of labour- and business organization which should be done by the workforce and the management jointly. The second main purpose was to develop a role for research in this type of context (Gustavsen 1992; Naschold 1992).

The programme had a duration of 5 years and came to encompass around 150 companies and public institutions. About 60 researchers spread out in different institutions came to be working within the programme.

The central concept in the programme was the so-called democratic dialogue which is described later. This dialogue approach had to be converted into a specific set of means fitting a development strategy. The main action parameters of the programme are described as (Gustavsen 1992, p. 4):

– Clustering companies
– Use of a certain type of conferences

– Broad-based and deep slice projects which covered the main levels and areas of the company
– Building of broader networks

In line with experiences from earlier changes and development projects the basic unit of change should not be the individual firm but a group or cluster of four companies. In that way they provide a foundation for learning and an opportunity for performing dialogues. The conferences were organized according to certain principles but the topics for discussions varied and were dependent on the joint decisions made by the participating actors. The action parameter of broad-based and deep slice projects has to do with the specific idea of involving all major arenas of the company e.g. production, supervision, staff functions, higher-level management, etc. Projects could be of many different types but it was expected that the various efforts should be co-ordinated and the experience should be exchanged within and between the companies, etc. The developmental logic was therefore interactive in contrast to an approach which is based on events in sequence (Gustavsen et al. 1991). Organizing networks of companies and other institutions like universities and others was seen as important for the dissemination of results and experiences and should at the same time guarantee the inflow of new ideas and impulses. But network building was also seen as a task that would take many years to build.

3.2 The ALF Programme

In 1990 the Swedish parliament established the so-called "Working Life Fund" (ALF) financed by the Health and Safety Charges Act with a special contribution of 11 billion SEK. The aims of this contribution were mainly to combat inflationary tendencies in Sweden's economy in the 1980s and it was decided to funnel back the money to firms in order to promote improvement and change in the workplace. The contribution was meant for rehabilitation measures for employees; measures to reduce the amount of sick leave taken by employees; and an investment to improve the work environment in areas where the employer is not obliged by law to make such investments.

The fund supported about 25,000 projects covering about half of the total labour market. An evaluation of the Swedish Working Life Fund showed that 85 % of the users of the fund reported progress in additional areas covered by the aims of the fund (Gustavsen et al. 1996). Even if the intention was to use the dialogue approach and different conferences, the total amount of such conferences was limited. The evaluation also revealed several distinct attempts for development activities in which expert-driven and concept-driven processes were identified. In the latter one, a variety of dialogue-oriented activities were organized.

Interestingly enough, the failings following the organization of conferences and its integration in developing activities in general, which could be observed in other

programmes, could also be seen in the Working Life Fund programme. Dialogue-oriented measures; especially conferences were constructive events and offered a possibility of mobilizing personnel in the companies and, in conferences together with other firms, also stimulating and contributing to learning, which should be integrated into a "development organization". According to the evaluation it was clear that in many cases such a development organization could be identified (Gustavsen et al. 1996). In general the development organization consisted of the resources involved in initiating and sustaining the process of development and the way in which these resources are organized. This development organization is not a ready-made model which could be implemented like other such organizational change models, but a combination of a number of things e.g., in terms of number of people, their competence, time spent on development tasks, their costs, and so on (ibid., p. 105).

4 Dialogue and the Organization of Conferences

The operationalization of dialogue can be traced back to the seventies when conferences called mapping conferences and later on dialogue conferences were organized (Emery and Purser 1996). A general term seems to have been "search conference" which was created in its first form in 1960 as part of an organizational development project in a merger of two British aero-engine companies, undertaken by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. Eric Trist and Fred Emery who were responsible for the design of the conference – called the Barford Conference – had to meet demands on an effective discourse when at the same time they had to cope with a high level of emotional engagement since the participants came from different companies with different knowledge and cultural background. The outcome of the discussions was also expected to be a mission statement which was to be valid for at least 10 years. Today, when reading the interview with one of the originators of the first conference it sounds a bit odd to read "The immense energy and enthusiasm on the part of participants during a Search Conference has been a common observation" (ibid., p. 296). This is perhaps to a certain degree understandable, but also questionable, since the duration of the first conference was 6 days in more or less isolated surroundings. This duration was in the following years limited by practical and group-dynamic reasons to 2 days including the evening. Another important feature which was new and contributed to this energy was that there were no invited guest speakers which could distort the participants' discussions of their problems.

Why was it called "Search Conference"? According to the originators the primary function was to allow "mere possibilities" to surface (Emery and Purser 1996, p. 296). As Fred Emery explains: "In searching for meaning in these emerging possibilities, the participants are usually confronted with unexpected new directions and new ways of approaching old issues" (ibid., p. 296). Even if the conferences later on sometimes got new labels like start conferences, dialogue

conferences and others, the characteristics of the original conferences were persistent. Participants from one or two organizations, mostly companies, met during a limited period of time, often between 2 and 3 days, usually at a venue outside the ordinary workplace. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss and explore problems and at the end of the conference agree on a statement for further action.

The further use of search conferences took several directions. One important variant was the use of conferences as a developing and planning tool in community work and on a national level. Since both Fred and Merrelyn Emery were Australians, many conferences were organized in Australia. One of the largest ones was organized in Melbourne in 1991 with more than 700 participants including many European researchers (Thomson and Nash 1991). This conference was a kind of hybrid conference since it was an event with a mixture of search conference, traditional conference presentations, discussion groups and workplace visits in advance for foreign participants.

The previously described agreements between the labour market partners, demanded conferences which were different from traditional conferences in their co-operative atmosphere, direct participation and openness in dealing with different issues (Gustavsen 2011a, p. 82). The most prominent characteristics were:

– People from all levels of the organization, with the greatest number from the lower level, were selected (the inverted T).
– Discussions took place in groups of up to ten participants.
– Groups could be composed differentially depending on the themes which were discussed. Both homogeneous and heterogeneous (e.g. management discussing with employees from other departments)
– The themes were usually about ideas concerning the future, obstacles and challenges to be met, how to deal with this and how to follow up the conclusions of the conference.
– The time frame was between half a day (which turned out to be too short) and up to 3 days. The normal duration was and still is from lunch to lunch with an overnight stay.
– The number of participants varies from around 40 to 100 which allows for a god mix for discussions. (see Gustavsen 1992; 2011a)

A record from the Norwegian fieldwork with attempts to develop working life shows that between 1983 and 1990 more than 400 such conferences were organized. The total amount of companies involved is not clear but it seems to be around 600 companies. But as Gustavsen also noted, the in-depth effects were, however, modest. Only a few of the participating companies went on to implement change (see Gustavsen 2011a, p. 83; Gustavsen 1993).

In the Swedish LOM-programme the central element was the so-called "democratic dialogue" used as a general principle and applied in conferences. The democratic dialogue was operationalized in 13 criteria or "operational directives" (Gustavsen 1992, pp. 3–4):

1. Dialogue is a process of exchange: ideas and arguments move back and forth between the participants.
2. It must be possible for all concerned to participate.
3. Everybody should be active. Each participant has an obligation not only to put forth his or her own ideas but also to help others contribute their ideas.
4. All participants are equal.
5. Work experience is the basis for participation. This is the only type of experience which, by definition, all participants have.
6. At least some of the experience which each participant has when entering the dialogue must be considered legitimate.
7. It must be possible for everybody to develop an understanding of the issues at stake.
8. All arguments which pertain to the issues under discussion are legitimate. No argument should be rejected on the grounds that it emerges from an illegitimate source.
9. The points, arguments, etc. which are to be entered into the dialogue must be made by a participating actor. Nobody can participate "on paper" only.
10. Each participant must accept that other participants can have better arguments.
11. The work role, authority, etc. of all the participants can be made subject to a discussion – no participant is exempt in this respect.
12. The participants should be able to tolerate an increasing degree of difference of opinion.
13. The dialogue must continuously produce agreements which can provide platforms for practical action.

The last two criteria are also specially commented "Note that there is no contradiction between this criterion and the previous one. The major strength of a democratic system compared to all other ones is that it has the benefit of drawing upon a broad range of opinions and ideas which inform practice, while at the same time being able to make decisions which can gain the support of all participants" (ibid., p. 4).

The criteria formulated above were seen as orientational directives rather than theoretically grounded. According to Gustavsen, they had their roots in the Norwegian workplace experiments and the discussions with the workplace actors. But there were of course, given the time and context also a theoretical confrontation with Habermas' theory of communicative action. This was also one of the critical issues discussed when presenting the programme and its organization at different conferences and workshops.

One issue which caused discussions already from the beginning of the dialogue-oriented approaches was the question of its theoretical basis. Especially the sometimes extensive reference to Jürgen Habermas' "Theory of communicative action" resulted in critique coming from researchers more or less specialized in Habermas' way of thinking (Habermas 1981). The arguments were usually that dialogue in, for example, working life is always impregnated with power claims and should therefore be seen as idealistic.

But such criticism is, as mentioned earlier, part of a traditional vision of what theoretical knowledge is and how it should be used. The criteria used in the conferences are not of a theoretical derivation; rather they emerged out of practice. But this does not imply that theory is absent. Instead the criteria, as other elements of the dialogue-oriented approach, are as Gustavsen and Shotter explain confronted with theory (Shotter and Gustavsen 1999, p. 24). According to Shotter (1993, pp. 56–59) theory can have many other purposes other than establishing a "true" or "valid" interpretation of practices, theory could instead offer a useful orientation.

This is also consistent with the pragmatic and constructive approach which is used and practiced by the main actors of the dialogue-oriented movement. The dialogue criteria, but also other attempts of organizing development approaches were results of trial-and-error experiences. Conferences and other events were carefully analyzed and discussed among both researchers and the main participants and others involved, and other conferences were sometimes adapted to new circumstances. But dialogue conferences are also establishing their own life where, depending on the participants' background, the internal and external situation of the companies etc. This is especially the case when conferences are organized continuously over a longer period of developing work.

This pragmatic attitude, embedded in a strategy for developing a whole movement in work reform can also be observed in other cases. The main dissemination of experiences from the different projects was through meetings and the sharing of information with practitioners and in local workshops. But researchers and practitioners also need to reflect on and discuss their experiences with others. The usual way to do this is to publish academic papers or articles in scientific journals, often at the end of a project. This was done as part of the LOM-project, the ALF project and others, and resulted for example in about 10 Ph.D. theses and more than 15 contributions to journals and a variety of other publications.

More important was perhaps the establishment of a book series "Dialogues on Work and Innovation" consisting of more than 10 volumes, and support for the establishment of an international journal "Concepts and Transformation" which was oriented towards action research, the other important element in the programmes.

As a kind of organized reflexive activities several conferences were organized to which working life researchers and practitioners, but also researchers with a theoretical interest, were invited e.g. Stephen Toulmin, Axel Honneth, Thomas McCarthy as well as researchers specialized in action research.

This deliberately searches for an inclusion of experts, and philosophers and others were an important part of the programme, and also for the development of new knowledge in the organization of change programmes. As Thomas McCarthy in a commentary to the discussion about the LOM-programme explains "For those of us working in the theory of science, the LOM Programme presents a singular opportunity to sharpen our understanding of methodological issues that have surrounded social inquiry since the break-up of the post-War positivist consensus" (McCarthy 1996, p. 159). He also points out that the programme deals with "...the lessons we have learned concerning (a) the linguistically mediated character of

social reality and hence the inadequacy of objective conceptions of social science, (b) the reflexivity of social research, and hence the inadequacy of merely descriptivist conceptions of social theory, and (c) the normative and evaluative import of social thought, and hence the inadequacy of strictly value-neutral conceptions of social inquiry" (ibid.).

His description of the LOM-programme is also very clear and informative. In referring to the book by Gustavsen "Dialogue and development" (page references in original to Gustavsen 1992 are omitted) McCarthy writes: "The LOM-programme has been consistently clear about (a) its 'need for a concept of communication to function as the key theoretical underpinning'. This need derives not only from its recognition of the linguistically mediated nature of social relations generally, but from its specific developmental aim to change patterns of communication in ways that lead to changes in organizational structure. As a developmental programme employing action research to restructure working and organizational life, the LOM-programme indissolubly links research with development and development with research. The type of research in question is thus (b) reflexive: it seeks to understand a practice in which it is itself involved. Although this reflexive structure is typical of practically oriented research in a number of other fields, from clinical medicine and psychotherapy to education and management, the LOM-programme is distinctive in important ways, for instance in its treatment of research and development subjects as 'strong subjects'. The reflexive, practical knowledge that is gained from, and in turn informs, development praxis is (c) oriented to a normative conception of 'democratic dialogue'. This conception is, on the one hand, derived from a shared political culture: it is 'a reasonable, albeit preliminary, interpretation of the discourse side of democracy as ...defined in Scandinavia'. That common understanding requires, on the other hand, further conceptual and normative elaboration if it is to function as a regulative idea guiding research and development. It is here that Habermas enters the picture: his theory of communicative reason offers the most differentiated account of democratic discourse available to social scientists today. In order to make proper use of it, however, LOM researchers have had to adapt it to the specific context of working life. Thus their criteria for democratic dialogue in the workplace represent a 'contextual interpretation' of democratic discourse. It is just this regulative, critical, normative 'surplus' of the idea of democratic dialogue that has made Habermas's explication of it in terms of ideally rational discourse so attractive. On the other hand, it is just the need for that idea to guide concrete processes of research and development in the workplace that has made this explication seem overly idealized. What the LOM programme requires, then, is a 'scaled down' notion of democratic discourse, something between Habermas's universal reason and the deconstructionist's contextual scepticism" (McCarthy 1996, p. 159).

Also a large international network of researchers, consultants and other interested parties was maintained. The development and maintaining of the network was one of the strategic measures across the Nordic countries which still exists and which has also functioned as a learning network with several comparative projects (see Ekman et al. 2011)

In all and seen from a distance, the endeavour to change and improve working life in those programmes can be seen as a coherent strategy. By connecting different actors, practitioners, researchers, some politicians and organizations like companies, universities and R&D organizations, employer organizations and unions, the intention was to contribute to the "construction of the working life" (Gustavsen 2011c).

5 The Programmes Came to an End – At Least in Sweden

In retrospect, the period from 1970 to 1995 is characterized by great efforts to improve work and the working environment in a broad sense. But times are changing and the decline of the dominance of the Social Democratic Party and the rise of the center-conservative parties in Sweden, which were elected in 2006, in combination with two economic crises, brought about another focus. A contributing factor was the diminishing influence of the labour unions both on the local and on the national level. In the 1980s, the unions offered many resources both in regard to strategic competence and to personal competence centrally, regionally and in the workplaces to be a partner in the programmes.

In general, the conservative government has not acted against unions, but has contributed to limit worker-oriented activities. In 2007, as the first action in power, the government decided to close down the Working Life Institute which was a central research organization and a national centre for working life issues in Sweden. Many researchers who had been part of the institute and participated in working life programmes were scattered around in Sweden, at the same time as financial means were cut. What remained were several attempts to use dialogue-oriented measures and events in regional development programmes. In some organizations with dedicated researchers, dialogue conferences continued (Eriksson et al. 2011).

The development in Norway was different. The influence of network and cluster thinking which also reached Sweden resulted in 1994 in a workplace development programme called "Enterprise Development 2000" (ED 2000). The programme was organized around clusters of companies with a number of so-called modules where each module consisted of a combination of companies and researchers. The main element in the development activities was different forms of dialogue conferences (Gustavsen et al. 1997). ED 2000 was followed in 2000 by a new programme "Value Creation 2010" with a wider focus on regional economic development. Even in this programme's activities, the main element was conferences. In 2007 the programme was merged with two other programmes and is now called "Measures for Regional R&D and Innovation" which will continue until 2017. Different conferences based on dialogical principles are still important and integrated elements in regional and organizational development activities.

The differences regarding the practical use of dialogue measures in Sweden and Norway respectively is an interesting question and could be elaborated more.

But such a research attempt would be quite complex and empirical data would not be simple to gather. Institutional changes in Sweden as a consequence of the liberal politics of the conservative government are one important element. Research on the radical changes regarding market-orientation, outsourcing and other measures which are going under the umbrella of NPM (New Public Management), including the change from a collective orientation prevailing earlier to a more individualistic culture, would contribute to an understanding of such differences. But also cultural differences based on social and geographical elements can here play a role. The use of dialogue formations seems to be integrated in the Norwegian regional development politics with an outspoken aim to make the whole country a good place for living. Finally, one can not ignore the role played by influential and dedicated Norwegian researchers like Bjørn Gustavsen and others which acted also as genuine action researcher, organizing and promoting dialogue-based change and development programmes.

6 From Dialogue Conferences to Developmental Organization

To sum up, the practice of using dialogue arrangements can be described as follows. From the beginning, dialogue conferences were first applied in individual organizations in connection with organizational change projects. The next step was conferences in which groups of companies were organized. Another step was to organize dialogue events in programmes and networks and, after the end of the programmes, dialogue processes were arranged in connection with regional development or regional innovation processes.

One of the experiences of organizing dialogue events in the big programmes was an obvious flaw in the dialogue approach in organizational development projects, even if the mobilization of people and development of new concepts as an outcome of conferences was important. What was missing was an integration of dialogue conferences with more or less structured measures for organizational development (organizational change attempts or others, e.g. connection with a business plan of an organization). The programmes were structured by groups of companies joining conferences which, after discussions and exploration of ideas, resulted in preliminary action plans and formal/informal agreements. Since there were clusters of companies, conferences were expected to be a vehicle for diffusing experiences, ideas and, perhaps most important, motivation and engagement for continuing development projects in the single organization. In this continuing development work, there were also discussions about the need of other participating actors' e.g. different experts or researchers. Since the outcome of the dialogue conference also implied a commitment from the participants, including the higher ranks of a company's organization, all participants were expected to continue the projects with reports to everyone involved afterwards.

When the programmes came to an end, at least in Sweden other impulses came from researchers and consultants to stimulate the establishment of clusters of companies. Even if it was not clear how such clusters could be organized – after all, most of the research was done on more or less organically grown clusters – also Swedish authorities recommended and stimulated cluster development. In this context, together with a focus on regional development, and the insight that the process of development in and between firms is embedded in a regional context, the idea of "development coalitions" came up (Gustavsen et al. 1996; Ennals and Gustavsen 1999; Asheim 2001).

As Asheim describes, a development coalition can be understood as bottom-up, horizontal co-operation involving the participation of a wide range of actors in a local or regional setting (Asheim 2011, p. 44). A development coalition can include a labour organization inside individual firms, inter-firm networks, and different stakeholders at the regional level who initiate and promote learning-based processes of change, innovation and improvement (Ennals and Gustavsen 1991). Development coalitions are thus, very similar to the description of regional innovation systems and the learning region concept which appeared at the same time (Asheim 2001; Rutten and Boekema 2007). As with other concepts, like the previously discussed criteria for the democratic dialogue, a development coalition is, as the earlier formulated concept of development organization, pragmatically formulated.

In a way, development coalitions can be seen as a measure for active, committed subjects who are willing to co-operate which each other. This is in line with the short-comings of dialogue-based development where a kind of "project organization" was demanded. The two concepts used at this time – cluster and networks – demanded new organizational ideas. According to Gustavsen, cluster development was seen as "too strongly oriented towards objectified, semi-naturalistic characteristics, at the same time as it underplayed the need for human initiatives and commitments inherent in the task of development" (Gustavsen 2011a, p. 87). The other important concept appearing at the same time was network, which is described as a more social concept and could be seen as overplaying the need for active human initiative.

The idea of development organization or development coalition was, at least in Sweden, indeed explicitly used in some projects. One of the few examples of implementing such a measure is part of the development project in the health sector in a county in south-western Sweden. This project started as part of a programme and continued with various measures after the programme had ended. In this case the development coalition is understood as a social infrastructure for communication and reflection first and foremost for the articulation of practical knowledge but also for obtaining knowledge from outside the field of activity (Ekman and Ahlberg 2011). The development coalition is constituted of different arenas and organized around it (ibid. p.109):

– A political steering committee with representatives from the Regional Health Board, the executive boards of the hospitals, and the local governments;
– An administrative executive committee linked to the steering forum;

- A steering forum/leadership network with representatives from the local health care organizations and the local authorities;
- Networks consisting of various professional and occupational categories;
- A special group comprising of trade unions and patient organization representatives;
- The research team.

It is evident that a development organization/coalition is not very different from arrangements in some other project organizations. One difference is perhaps the emphasis on dialogue principles, communication and learning and broad participation. The networks are for example eight learning networks including palliative care, rehabilitation, psychiatry, networks in personnel departments, and others.

Such development coalitions combined with dialogue-stimulating measures can be different which, for example, a comparison between two Norwegian and Swedish regional attempts are showing (Eriksson et al. 2011). In both cases a regional university college is involved which resulted in successful co-operation with companies. Since at least one region is dominated by SMEs with a reputation of co-operation between the companies, but also with some reluctance for co-operation with researchers, the development coalition can take different forms. Contributing to a much closer co-operation between different actors in the Norwegian region is also the integration of dialogical elements including a structured development coalition as part of a programme.

7 What Can be Learned from the Nordic Examples?

The readiness for dialogical processes and participation in discourses is perhaps similar in all cultures; in Scandinavia the social proximity with a low degree of social distance and a low degree of hierarchy is perhaps promoting such processes (Hofstede 1997). Historical events in the working life in Sweden and a culture of more or less equal communication in the working life including a long-lasting system of agreements on the labour market of which some are directly connected with the development of the welfare state, seems to have contributed to this readiness. The globalization of working life, which also affects the internal life and leadership in Swedish organizations, has today resulted in tensions which illustrate some of the differences compared with other cultures. There are, for example, differences regarding the decision-making which foreign managers in Swedish companies are surprised about, for example, the need to inform all and discuss issues before any decision can be made.

How to organize such dialogical processes in practice can vary. Since discussions and the exchange of arguments are employed in all activities, more elaborate and organized events are normally arranged in groups of actors like networks, programmes etc. Such attempts should be anchored in an overarching

strategy being a company or region or other formations e.g. clusters. The concept of the "development coalition" is here a way of organizing and acting in such a way.

Dialogue also creates language and is therefore important for the construction of an organization, the individual's work context but also, as many of the proponents for dialogue are claiming, for the construction of the future society (Shotter 1993). The question is also if dialogue should have a basis of values which in an overarching way is bridging the different actors' interests. In the working life programmes such bases of values were democracy and participation. Nowadays dialogues seem to be defined instrumentally; they are a means to an end. Dialogue activities are on one hand organized for the purpose of involving people, sometimes more for the purpose of legitimacy and confirming already made decisions. On the other hand there are activities with dialogues organized as a means for gathering facts in line with today's recognition of knowledge management. Dialogue activities should mean real changes for participants to contribute and influence organizational development and the conditions of working life. As experiences from the various working life programmes also show, agreements between the partners on the labour market are important. The Scandinavian model is built on co-operation which demands trust between those involved. There are many examples when trusting relationships built up and maintained over a long period of time were ruined in a short time when, for example the management of a company was replaced.

Experiences with the described projects also open up for further development and new perspectives. When organizing regional developmental processes one can clearly see a pattern which also can be observed in other contexts. In general, it can be described in the following way (Eriksson et al. 2011, p.167); at the core of development activities in which the various organizational bodies, arenas and roles are used, lies the need to establish and run two processes: first, the process of creating an apparatus where broadly framed issues of strategy can be discussed and decided upon; second, the process of creating an apparatus for the development and running of specific projects. Both are needed, but while they are different, at the same time they need to interact with each other.

The broad strategic process encompasses an unbound "strategic discourse" which can be organized like the previously discussed democratic dialogue conferences. Even when organizing regionally embedded innovation developmental processes, the methods are similar. For example, it is important for the apparatus for innovation not to lose the link to this environment. An interpretation of this environment consequently emerges as a major task at the strategic level. Business strategies for individual companies can often neglect the regional environment. This is not possible for a broadly framed development coalition. Therefore broad strategic discourses are also important for the development of clusters which is advocated now. Various forms of conferences built on dialogical principles are important here.

In this context of strategic concerns, the other type of project or task-oriented processes emerges. Such processes normally have a distinct aim or goal; they have

limited financial resources, often need specific competence and have limited time frames. Here, a traditional project organization is needed.

The two processes are different in other aspects as well, for example regarding leadership. The strategic process requires an ability to organize broad processes where a number of different types of actors can participate, some of them more directly interested and engaged and others more indirectly involved. The second, more task-oriented processes require a more traditional project leader capability. They also generally demand competence in more specific fields. Typical examples are product development processes, where scientific qualifications can be needed, but also projects as parts of organizational development activities fall under this category. Leadership of this kind of activity is much more directed towards organizing the team, acquiring financial and other resources, and organizing the work process according to time schedules, deadlines and expected outcomes. The challenge is to combine the two processes. If only the strategic process is organized, participants will complain that there is "too much talk and no action". On the other hand, if only project activities are organized, results may emerge but they are not linked to any broader framework.

As one can see, dialogical principles are still used even if organized programmes no longer are seen as appropriate in the development of working life. But the basic need of communication, exchanging arguments, participation and the experience of being part of a common development is still important. Therefore the use of dialogues in one form or other will continue.

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Mindful Dialogue Is the Key!

Miriam Behrens and Peter Bleses

Abstract Organisational change processes cause uncertainties and fears on part of the employees. This, in turn, can block new developments. Dialogue processes may create certainty and trust, increase transparency, and foster knowledge and learning ability. Therefore, the dialogue may contribute to ease the implementation of organizational changes and make the process successful. To achieve this, the dialogue at eye level considering all groups affected by the changes must be the key issue within the organisational communication. But beware of regarding the dialogue as an immediate available and effective panacea for building confidence in general: against the background of negative experiences in the past, the process of establishing trust will continue to be difficult.

Keywords Dialogue • Change Management • Participation • Mindfulness • Organisational Trust

1 Introduction

Organisational change processes can cause uncertainty for the employees and the middle management. There is often uncertainty as to where the company's journey will lead and how the future career will be

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affected[1]: What effects will the change process have on the own position in the company and the work requirements? Will the working relationship between the colleagues change? How safe are the jobs (see Mohr 1997, 2000 and Weiss and Udris 2001) and the income? Furthermore, it is often unclear whether and how (the employees) will be engaged in the change processes and whether the own expectations towards the setting up of the process and the results are considered. These uncertainties on both sides (the employees and the middle management) can strongly affect the capability for changes in companies. The employees are not prepared to expose themselves to an uncertain future. This is especially the case where change processes are exacerbated by past negative experiences.

For many companies, a lack of readiness to changes of the employees can result in a major problem. Especially the companies that often have to initiate and implement change processes as a result of dynamic environments are affected.[2] The lower the readiness to changes of the employees and the middle management is in these companies the higher is the internal potential for conflict and the more likely are suboptimal change results or even the failure of change projects. Changes that are necessary to adapt to external requirements, but that are not successfully feasible increase the pressure on the companies to realise further changes very quickly. Consequently, the series of changes is increasing as much as the repeated risk of failure. Hence, companies can spiral into a vicious circle of the need for change and the failure of the change (see Hatch and Schultz 2004; Becke 2005). The continued failure of such projects turns to be a collective organisational experience, the so called "organisational cultural trauma" (Alexander 2004) which casts dark shadows over the ability for development. The capacity for innovation of the company is at stake then.

Therefore, companies urgently have to attend to the readiness to changes of their employees and the middle management. The key point in this issue is to deal constructively with the permanent uncertainties of all groups in the company to an extend that allows changes. Once an organisation has already created a series of less successful change projects, the resounding success cannot be expected overnight, no matter what steps are taken. But perhaps it might be possible to brighten the shadows of past negative experiences in such a way, that all groups also can recognise their opportunities related to the changes. This implies that the companies learn how to deal with the uncertainties, to understand this to be a continuous task and to organise themselves in such a way that the readiness and the possibility to be engaged in the process is not the exception, but rather the rule.

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[1] Our empirical results show, that in particular the fear of not receiving appropriate professional standards play a decisive role in the employees' engagement in change processes. On the one hand this fear can lead to the willingness to take an active part, on the other hand the feared restriction of the professional standards can result in withdrawal and frustration.

[2] For example due to the ongoing change of political framework conditions in the field of personal services, such as supporting or caring for people.

The (design) concept of "Organisational Mindfulness" (see Becke 2013) can help companies to adopt a position that creates and strengthens their ability to change. Our empirical experiences with the realisation of the concept of "Organisational Mindfulness" in four partner companies in different sectors and contexts show that the dialogue is of great significance for the company's ability to change. The dialogue is important for both sides: for the decision-makers as well as for those who cannot (always) participate in the decisions. Dialogue provides knowledge regarding the background of decisions as well as views and expertise of the other, plus it reduces uncertainties. We want to show, that dialogue is the core of a developed and systemic practised organisational communication that has been adapted to the specific expectations of all groups. Without such a dialogue the concept of organisational mindfulness would be ineffective. But, the dialogue has to fulfil certain requirements to be useful.

Based on our empirical results[3] we will discuss the following questions:

– What basic types of organisational communication are existing (2.)?
– How significant is the dialogue as a specifically demanding way of organisational communication for mindful organisational change and trust – that is why we speak of the "mindful dialogue" (3.)?
– Which conditions are needed and how has the dialogue to be created to really foster mindfulness and trust in companies (4.)?
– How can dialogue be concretely implemented within a systemic developed organisational communication (5.)?
– What are the possibilities and limits of the dialogue related to company's innovation strategies (6.)?

2   Organisational Communication

We understand organisational communication (to communicate means to inform) to be the generic term for all signals provided by individuals or groups in a company. Communication can be referred to the exchange in concrete work processes. Without this communication co-operation in the work process would not be possible. But this must be distinguished from communication *about* work processes, work co-operation, work situations, work organisation, company development etc., which is of interest for us related to dialogue (see 3).

This can be a uni-lateral, bi-lateral or multilateral communication. The one-way communication does not aim at a direct response. The communicator hopes to achieve effects, but does not expect to be informed about how the other perceives the way of receiving the signal and the signal itself. Therefore, the one-way

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[3] Our empirical results are mostly synthesized, which means that we do not consider individual examples, but using the experiences made with requirements, forms of implementation and limits of the dialogue across company borders.

communication does not intend direct response.[4] Typical examples for this kind of organisational communication are newsletters or posting notices including messages released by the management for all groups in the company or messages via intranet. It could also be said, that one-way communication is just giving pure information to a person or group that in turn cannot, should not, or does not need to comment this information.

All forms of mutual communication deviate from this pattern.[5] Mutual communication does not only mean, that the "sender" informs the "receiver", but allows subsequently to response directly or shortly afterwards. Moreover, mutual communication does not only allow reactions, but ensures that reactions or repeated exchange are really made possible. Typical examples for mutual communication are employee reviews, team meetings, department meetings, project reviews etc.

In general there is no difference regarding the significance of one-way or mutual communication, but depending on the different occasions and intentions they are more or less suitable. The one-way communication is for example especially suitable to inform the staff about the economical development of the company in past periods. On the other hand, if the communication refers to issues that can only be discussed discursively (such as problems in the co-operation between persons or teams), a mutual communication structure is more suitable.

However, one-way and mutual communication structures are often closely and reciprocally related. For example, all persons or groups that want to or shall exchange views mutually need to be sufficiently informed about the communication topics to take part in the discussion as equal partners. This information can be provided using one-way communication patterns.

Generally companies combine different one-way and mutual communication tools in a more or less established or more or less systematically practised organisational communication. In the course of this article we will show which way of organisational communication is reasonable in a mindful created organisational change. Furthermore, it is shown how one-way and particularly mutual communication tools are mutually supportive so that an exchange of views between different groups will be "at eye level" and meet the expectations of all participants (5.). But first, we want to show the importance of mutual communication for mindful change organisation provided that the communication is created in the form of a "mindful dialogue" (3.) and which (operational) requirements have to be considered for a corresponding communication in dialogue form (4.).

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[4] Although a one-way communication can become a mutual communication due to a response of the "receiver" this response is not the original intention.

[5] In this context we consider communication as a mutual process to communicate a concrete meaning (see Burkart 2002 and Beck 2007).

3 The Significance of the Dialogue for Mindful Change Organisation

Actors and actor groups in companies (such as employees, middle managers, employees' representatives, management) may be very different regarding their expectations towards organisational change processes and the way they experience these processes. This is related to past experiences with change processes, the extent to which persons or groups were involved, their position and how the person or group was affected by these change processes. Involved groups can consider themselves either as loser or winner, either being involved in the process or feeling helpless – but a single view on change processes is unlikely. The basis for creating a mindful organisational change is to visualise the multiple perspectives and to bring them together. This is the only way to use the perspective diversity as a productive source in the change process.

Furthermore, the visualisation of the multiple operational perspectives has a positive effect on concrete knowledge gain. With the exchange of different views opportunities and risks can be identified. Perhaps ideas of change or requirements for change can even only be realised within these exchange processes. These are, for example, ideas or requirements that have not been in the focus before as the decision-makers did not have enough knowledge on this issue. Especially with respect to specialised activities, larger companies and personal services appropriate decisions are only possible when considering the knowledge of the experts in the field. There you will often find cumulated knowledge as a result of longterm experiences which is often insufficiently opened up for innovation projects of companies.

To realise and use the view and the knowledge of the other a systematically created exchange is needed. In our opinion this exchange should be created as a "mindful dialogue" focussing on an exchange "at eye level" in order to initiate processes of individual and collective learning[6] in the company. The dialogue[7] is the key concept of practise-oriented action research. The understanding of the term goes beyond the everyday understanding of the term dialogue, because certain normative requirements are demanded.

On the one hand the dialogue is used in the action research as a basic concept within research and development projects to characterise mutual learning in research and practise.

Here, the action research uses a completely different concept than the mainstream social research. The mainstream social research aims to create distance from the practise in order to ensure the analytical approach without distorting the results. In Contrast the action research aims to experience the analytical and the set up processes in order to learn from real-life situations. The role of the "experts" is

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[6] For detailed explanations concerning dialogue processes as a basis for learning between individuals and from organisations see Hartkemeyer et al. 2001.

[7] Regarding dialogue approach in the action research see Fricke 2012; Becke/Senghaas-Knobloch 2010.

therefore considered differently: whereas the mainstream social research considers itself to be the expert who gives recommendations to the practise the action research considers the operational experts as equal partners and aims to exchange and develop relevant knowledge "at eye level".

On the other hand, the dialogue is also an approach to set up exchange relations in companies. Here, the dialogue is used as a tool in groups to mutually explain their expectations and to analyse problems and develop approaches in co-operation.

Within the concept of "Organisational mindfulness" the "mindful" dialogue creates spaces for the different perspectives which are considered as a resource for the organisational change. The dialogue is the central focus of a "mindful" process of company development. Here, mindfulness means the concrete understanding of organisation and especially organisational development. The company that is always mindful towards itself and all its elements is in the focus. This company is informed about the opportunities for and obstacles to development, the organisational consequences and the impacts on the different groups by constantly undergoing self-analysis and communication processes (see Becke 2013 for details).

The dialogue fosters trust, as those who are not continuously involved in the decision process know that they keep being informed and that their views will be considered. The inclusion of the dialogue leads directly to participation of groups involved and has also positive effects on the readiness to change in the company. Therefore, the dialogue as an integral part of the concept of 'Organisational change' fosters the ability to self-analysis and self-reflection in companies. Furthermore, unintended consequences of planned changes, as for example loss of trust, are early recognised, confidence in the organisation is ensured and so far unknown development opportunities are realised. All this leads to an overall considerable increase of the innovation potentials of companies (see Becke 2013).

4   Requirements for Mindful Dialogue in Companies

The realisation of a well developed dialogue on an equal footing often fails in companies because organisational groups involving employees and managers do not mutually trust each other or do not have enough confidence in the other's abilities. Additionally, there is often a lack of opportunities or willingness to participate.[8] Apart from negative past experiences in change processes the decisive reasons for this are often structural deficits and the attitude of individuals. Which requirements are needed to realise a "mindful" dialogue?

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[8] Referring to the possibilities of participating directly and indirectly within organisational changes or innovation processes see Ziegler et al. 2010; Schwarz-Kocher et al. 2011; Dörre et al. 1993. Considering the discussions on the direct participation of employees carried out already in the seventies it can be noted that this is not a basically new perspective (Vilmar 1971).

A dialogue which is realised within the concept of 'Organisational mindfulness' requires from the management the basic willingness to not only allow a direct and indirect participation of their employees, but also to explicitly foster their involvement. Instead of using directive management decisions top-down the companies choose discursive negotiation processes, forms of communication involving all groups and decentralised decision-making structures (Bleses 2012). This in turn requires that the company management recognises the value of an overall participation of the employees. Such participation processes must be realised more than once to (plausibly) establish those processes in the organisation. They must become an integral part of the organisation and the change management.

To participate in the dialogue as equal partners, all groups in the company should have the same level of information to make a meaningful participation process possible. Therefore, the dialogue has to be embedded in an organisational communication system that provides all groups in the company continuously with the information needed for participation.

A further requirement for the mindful organisation of changes is that dialogue processes should not only be initiated when changes have already been decided by the management. Dialogue should rather be realised when changes are planned. This in turn requires an extensive transparency regarding corporate development and decisions (see Meyerhuber 2001). However, many companies consider this process to be risky as change plans themselves already cause uncertainties for the groups involved. To deal with and withstand these uncertainties is quite demanding for managers and employees. Our empirical results show that creating *process* reliability can ease the situation as long as there are still no reliable *results* available. Therefore it should be made clear which decision has to be made by which deadline. Binding regulations and processes for the organisation of changes as well as the opportunities to participate should also be clearly communicated to create certainty in uncertain times. To withhold relevant information on the current state of the change process until decisions are finalised can result in emerging rumours and cause further uncertainties in change processes. In the view of the employees it appears to be unreliable when the dialogue processes are initiated too late, when it is initiated without taking the results seriously or when the dialogue is broken off. This will consequently impede rather than enable the participation in change processes or even only in further dialogue processes.

What does the implementation of the dialogue requires – from the employees, the employee representatives and the middle management? First, the willingness to participate is important. First of all negative past experiences often need to be overcome to engage oneself into the dialogue.[9] Therefore, a kind of basic willingness or rather trust is needed. Those who want to join in and play an active part must also be prepared to seek information. It is not only the company which is obliged to provide information, it is also the employees 'and all other groups' responsibility to

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[9] To discuss the "shadows of the past" the concept of "safe dialogue spaces" is suitable as a tool for research analysis and dialogue for the practise (see Behrens 2011).

seek information. In the operational analyses we have noticed repeatedly, that there is a lack of readiness on the part of the employees to gather available information. There are many reasons for this (involving past disappointments with participation on own-initiative) which are difficult to recognise. Often, the participators themselves are not aware of the reasons. In this case, the reasons for their (self-)chosen restraint have to be found out before addressing the willingness to participate.

The attitude and the engagement of employees' representatives (see Kotthoff 1995; Ziegler et al. 2010) and the middle management might be of great significance for the dialogue. On the one hand they can take an intermediary role in the organisational dialogue and participate as role models and multiplier. On the other hand they can ensure compliance with the rules and make sure that all groups are involved in the process. This implies, that employees' representatives and middle managers agree to new decision-making structures without having a prominent position in the company for the benefit of a direct participation of the employees. There is no alternative for these organisational groups which are naturally more involved than the "normal" employees: in case of poorly implemented or failed change processes it is not only the management that is held responsible, but also the middle management and employees' representatives, as works councils (see Bleses 2013).

Finally, it is important to mutually clarify the expectations so that the dialogue can correspond with those expectations of the different organisational groups. If the dialogue and the rules are determined one-sided by top-management, this will not be useful for the readiness to participate. By doing so, they would send the wrong signal already before the dialogue begins. In a first step, it is important that the expectations of the different organisational groups towards a "successful" dialogue within a "successful" organisational communication are specified. In this process, the expectations of the employees, the managers at all levels and possibly the employees' representatives towards a successful communication have to be identified and brought together.

It is not possible to meet every single expectation or idea. But, in the sense of a constructive exchange any refusal should be reasoned. Moreover, the established "mindful" dialogue should not be inflexible but modifiable as a consequence of modified organisational expectations (see Becke et al. 2010b).

5 Concrete Implementation of the Dialogue Within Communication Processes in Companies

The planning and implementation of the dialogue should be realised by a control committee which also supports the testing of the communication tools used (Becke et al. 2012). If there is already a control committee established which deals with organisational issues, the dialogue can be integrated as a new topic. It is important that the control committee is focused on a participative approach. It should consist

of managers at all levels, representatives of all groups and, if existing, employees representatives. If there are further experts dealing with organisational management in the company (as for example experts in the field of internal organisational development or in staff positions), they should also be involved.

In the control committee all participants are equal partners representing the different groups and levels of the company. The control committee must be authorized to take decisions. Once established, the control committee itself is a central tool that is visible to the public and where the issue of the organisational communication will be discussed on a "meta communication level". In this context the transparency of the discussions and the results is important. This has to be ensured by making the results visible in the form of minutes (for details regarding the establishment of a control committee see Bleses 2013).

The control committee, however, plans the implementation of the dialogue in the organisational communication system roughly and related to the general tools. The detailed planning of the applied tools should be left up to the different units (departments, teams, etc.) because they can implement the tools according to their specific needs. Furthermore, the supervision and further development of the tools can also be done by the units themselves. However, feedback concerning the procedure and the experiences should be given to the central control committee in order to gather information about the applied tools and if needed to share the experiences gained with other divisions.

In addition, any problems certain departments may encounter with the creation of the dialogue are recognizable.

In the following we will outline two forms of dialogue which can be implemented in companies. The first one describes the dialogue in the day-to-day operations in companies with permanently implemented dialogue tools within the organisational communication (5.1). The second one describes the use of specific dialogue tools in periods of turbulences, such as obvious erosion of organisational trust or in the run-up to major organisational change processes (5.2).

5.1 The Dialogue in the Day-to-Day Operations in Companies

A basic requirement concerning the dialogue is to systematically establish it in the day-to-day operations of a company. As already explained above, there are different one-way and mutual communication tools which mutually influence each other, build on one another or only have positive effects when they are combined. A systemic analysis of the dialogue means to co-ordinate the different tools within a system of multi-level-communication (see the following picture): which tools are used at which level with which content? Thus, it can be avoided to present conflicting information and hence to increase uncertainties for the participants especially in change processes (Fig. 7.1).
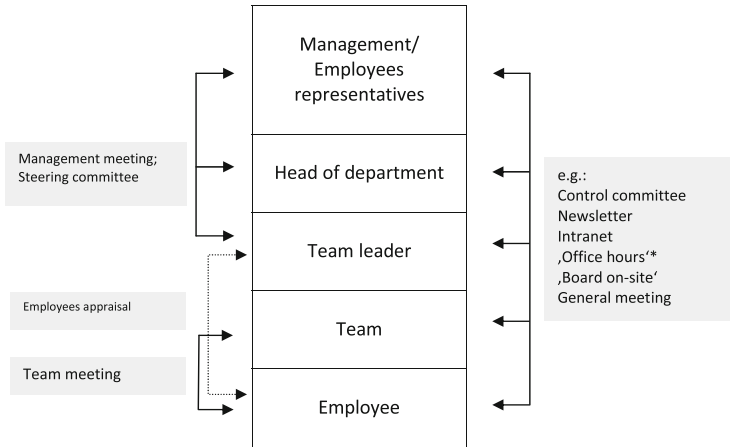
Fig. 7.1 Multi-level communication in companies (Own elaboration based on case studies in the research project 8iNNO (cf. Becke et al. 2011))

(1) We have two examples from the practise which illustrate the variety of the implemented tools: The "open office hours" are organised by the managers who are not that often in direct contact with the employees "from the basic level". On a quarterly basis these employees may come to a date which was previously announced in the public. During the appointment the employees can ask the managers about any topic of interest. The aim is to establish an open culture of discussion. (2) The "gossip factory" is organised on the team level. It is an integral part in team meetings on a regular basis and offers the opportunity to address issues which have been heard, feared, or hoped for – even if this may seem to be far-fetched. The middle managers clarify issues, take questions into the higher level of the hierarchy and give again feedback in the team meetings. The aim is to foster the exchange about fears and rumours, as they could impede an open culture of discussion, especially against the background of an organisational cultural trauma. Under cover of past disappointed expectations and in the sense of a self-fulfilling prophecy fears can make the implementation of agreed measurements difficult. The "mindful dialogue" contributes to a meaningful exchange of those barriers to discussion and implementation.

The combination of different communication tools is particularly useful when different contents should be distributed (such as the company newsletter for all information which are not confidential, contrary to the employees meeting where the staff is informed about highly sensitive company data). Furthermore, different tools are useful for different kinds of information and for different occasions, levels and participants in the communication process. For example, it might be a good choice to use the employee appraisal to set up an exchange between superior management and individual employees "across the hierarchies". The team meeting is useful for the (mainly) non-hierarchical exchange. Basically, it is important to determine the most useful tool to distribute certain information and the most

reasonable timing to co-ordinate the distribution of the information. Otherwise there is a threat of diverse or repeated conflicting operational communication which could do more harm than good referring to the trust relations.

Key condition for increasing trust in companies through communication processes is the reliability of expectations within the communication. This includes reliable rules about:

– The specific date where information is provided (at regular intervals; additionally on important occasions)
– Who provides the information ("sender")
– Who gets the information ("recipient")
– The engagement of all involved groups in the communication process

To support trust in the communication process communication loops should be set up in such a way that the "sender" and the "recipient" change their position regularly that means a change from the one-way into the mutual communication. For example, there could be the possibility for the employees to give feedback to the management information (in office hours or intranet panels etc.). Decentralised discussion groups (as for example in teams or departments) offer a good possibility to get information from the basic level which can be given to the management either by minutes in an anonymous way or through the representatives of different departments, teams etc. which are members of the control committee.

Such feedback loops illustrate the effects of the presented information. Moreover, they show the possible need for change within communication processes in the course of time (which tools are useful and which have to be modified?) Feedback loops can provide the management with information about obstacles related to organisational change processes and ensure that the employees are heard.

5.2 The Dialogue as a Tool for Analysis and Development

In contrast to the "routine application" of dialogue tools in the organisational communication the dialogue can also be used in "extraordinary" occasions. In this case, however, procedures are needed that are less useful in the day-to-day operations in companies as those procedures are complex and require external personnel. Examples for extraordinary occasions are an obvious crisis of confidence in the company, a deterioration of the work climate or major organisational change processes.

In this context it might be useful to create "specific spaces" where dialogue can be realised and presented in organisational groups and/or between organisational groups in different phases. Regarding these specific organisational situation the aim is to realise the perspective diversity in the company and to co-ordinate the different views in a mutual exchange.

A moderated two-step dialogue process has proven to be recommendable to organise the perspective diversity in change processes (see Becke and Senghaas-Knobloch 2010). First, "safe organisational dialogue spaces" are realised in small groups which are on the same level in the hierarchy, if possible,

to establish a basis of trust. Organisational dialogue spaces can be realised with managers and employees from different departments separately. Change processes and their (un)intended effects are analysed at this stage. What is said and worked out in these organisational dialogue spaces remains in the "safe spaces" at first. Central lines of discussion are written in minutes in an anonymous way and only be used after their release for the organisational public by the participants.

The realisation of psychologically safe organisational dialogue spaces (Edmondson 1999) is followed by an evaluation- and development conference in which the employees (in larger companies according to the principle of representative delegates), the middle management, the management and the employees' representatives participate. The so called "dialogue conferences" enables the mutual exchange on the expectations to the change processes. Furthermore, joint solutions will be developed, discussed, and agreed upon in a concrete work programme in order to be realised in the following implementation stage. The following implementation of concrete solutions can also be supported by dialogue processes. Thus, it can be verified in which way the agreed measurements have been developed according to the participants. Supporting dialogue processes can easily be integrated in the above described day-to-day operations in companies by utilizing the already existing communication routines (involving project-, team- or division meetings) ("piggyback" procedure).[10] Following the two-step analysis and development process the following process principles should be acknowledged: the voluntary participation, the willingness of all participants to acknowledge the equal significance of all expectations, the permission of communication "at eye level" and the approval to recognise and review the joint solutions developed as a result of the process. In addition the confidentiality in the safe organisational dialogue spaces should be recognised by the authorization of the results. The (repeated) disregard of those process principles can destroy the trust for years instead of establishing trust. Trust is therefore a precondition and a (possible) result of organisational dialogue processes at the same time.

Our empirical analyses show that he implementation of dialogue processes can support a sustainable ability to change by including the experts in the field and their specialised knowledge "on-site". As a consequence of the organised exchange of views and the joint problem analysis and problem solving the systemic understanding of the problems is fostered and the learning ability of the organisation is increased (see Ritter 2003). The recognition of the perspective diversity in the sense of communication "at eye level" and an equal valuation of the different expectation statements can support the establishment of an "informed culture" (see Weick/Suttcliffe 2007, 124 pp.): in an established culture of trust with the ability to change the fear of negative consequences when errors made are admitted

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[10] The "piggyback" procedure has been developed using the organisational health promotion as an example and aims to reduce the efforts in the context of the implementation of new goals in the work and organisational structuring. The idea is to use already existing processes and tools instead of implementing a new tool for each new goal (cf. Becke et al. 2010a).

can then give way for the attitude to learn from mistakes of the past (see Becke 2011).

To realise the safe organisational dialogue spaces it can be helpful to employ external moderators at first as they are perceived by the organisational groups as to be impartial or even neutral. There are less problems of trust compared to using internal moderators which are possibly pursuing their own interests. In larger companies it is also possible to use internal moderators who were for example qualified by external experts and work as multipliers in their organisations. Internal moderators should generally be confidants in their organisation in order to increase the recognition of their new role and to increase the trust in the dialogue processes. Another module on the way to a sustainable implementation of dialogue processes in organisations is to establish a control committee (as already described above) which takes over the tasks of the internal organisational co-ordination, the support, evaluation and communication of the dialogue spaces or rather the whole change process. The control committee allows the participation in the organisation of change processes across hierarchies, ensures the decision-making broad-based, creates transparency and is finally useful for conflict management. Especially, in change processes which requires a systematic, reliable and transparent communication for a successful process the control committee can take over the task to review communication processes on a meta-level and work on the revealed problems or delegate them into an appropriate committee.

6   Opportunities and Limits

By recognising and using the perspective diversity in companies the dialogue can contribute to a mindful organisational change through the support of a developing culture of trust with the ability to change. In our opinion there is no alternative to the dialogue for companies in which profound or repeated changes are organised.

With dialogue processes the perspective diversity in companies can be analysed. The initial point is to realise the different perspectives, expectations and interests which results in the recognition of this diversity. The recognition of the perspective diversity is not only to be considered as a purely intellectual process. To accept other views without sharing those ideas also requires empathy on part of the individual. An exchange "at eye level" and dealing constructively with partly conflicting expectations to change processes is a process of both, individual and collective learning.

Our experiences with the implementation of the organisational dialogue show, however, also limits. Establishing the dialogue in companies where change processes are initiated regularly can be a great challenge. Hidden obstacles such as organisational cultural traumas partly affect the process and can counteract the establishment and positive effects of dialogue processes.

Particularly in the beginning, patience is needed. At first, the dialogue is a method to reveal problems. The analysis of the past can lead to the emergence of

hidden and unsolved problems, to the hardening of attitudes or to the refusal of the participants. It can be a slow process to use the analysis of the present situation for finding solutions.

The dialogue cannot be the band-aid solution for past negative experiences. Especially organisations who look back at a considerable number of radical change processes in which many involved individuals saw themselves as the "losers" or where the participation was faked have to realise the "long shadows of the past" and work on it mindfully. This can be a "long-distance-run" and requires patience.

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Part IV
Trust as a Challenge to Organizational Change

Building Sustainable Organizational Trust in Radical Change – the Interplay of Organizational Trust and Mindfulness

Kirsimarja Blomqvist

Abstract In this paper we integrate research on organizational mindfulness and organizational trust to explore how organizations could build sustainable trust in times of radical change. We show their interplay in building sustainable organizational trust in radical change. We contribute to research and practice by providing propositions on how trust enhances mindful organizational processes, and how mindfulness is required to build sustainable trust.

1 Introduction

How can organizations build sustainable trust in times of discontinuities and constant change? Weick and his colleagues (Weick and Sutcliffe 2006; Weick et al. 1999) have described the high reliability organization (HROs) as embodying specific processes supporting continuous adaptive learning and effectiveness in complex and challenging conditions. Classic examples of HROs, such as nuclear power-generation plants or space shuttles operate in high-risk economic, social and political environment. However, an increasing number of more mundane organizations experience the challenges of contemporary connected, transparent environment and demanding stakeholders, no more willing to forgive and forget. Continuous and even disruptive changes characterize contemporary technological, economic and sociopolitical dynamic environment. In such a context, managers and experts are involved in problem-solving and decision-making without sufficient information and time. Scandals and disasters may escalate quickly, but also many

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well reasoned organizational change processes, such as mergers, acquisitions or strategy implementation may turn into nightmares, if not mindfully attended. Well-intended initiatives to grasp the opportunities may be interpreted as one-sided political maneuvers leading to conflicts and attempts to avoid risks as unnecessary and costly control measures.

Instead of taking the traditional approach to organizational mindfulness as a means to avoid risks we focus on the less studied relationship of organizational mindfulness and innovativeness. In addition, we explore the even less studied interplay or mindfulness and trust, a critical element in organizational creativity and innovativeness (Creed and Miles 1996; Miles et al. 2000; Ellonen et al. 2008). Further, we focus on contemporary business environment that is characterized by high level of change and uncertainty, thus the contextual characterization of radical change.

Our research questions can be described as *What is the relationship of organizational trust and organizational mindfulness?* and *How can organizations build trust in times of radical change?* In order to answer these questions we first provide the theoretical analysis of organizational trust as social and impersonal, as well as cognitive and affect-based concept. Secondly, mindfulness at individual, team and organizational levels is discussed and the processes supporting organizational mindfulness and organizational trust are analyzed. Thirdly, we propose that specific organizational processes related to mindful organizing build sustainable trust in times of radical change.

This paper contributes to current understanding of organizational mindfulness by integrating literature from organizational trust and taking the perspective of mindfulness as a means to grasp opportunities and enhance innovativeness instead of only focusing on risks and organizational processes (routines) supporting reliability. By doing this, it also shows the close linkages to knowledge-based view of the firm, and the social and dynamic nature of knowledge (Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995; Foss 1996) as key organizational asset. As the paper emphasizes mindfulness related to organizational innovativeness and conditions of radical change the organizing processes related to organizational mindfulness and trust are selected so that they support dynamic instead of static conditions. For practicing managers the paper offers conceptual eyeglasses understanding and developing organizational trust and mindfulness to build sustainable trust in radical change.

2   Organizational Trust

Trust makes it possible to disclose valuable information, rely on others and combine specialized and dispersed knowledge with others. In contemporary organizations trust can be seen to be a critical resource allowing individuals to take actions and accomplish their tasks efficiently and effectively without the fear of extra costs or potentially negative outcomes. Efficiency and effectiveness can be connected to lower transaction costs, such as searching, negotiating, contracting

and monitoring, but also increases transaction benefits such as access to dispersed knowledge, learning and flexibility (Blomqvist et al. 2002).

The role of trust is accentuated in the conditions of vulnerability, risk, interdependency, information or power asymmetry and complexity (Luhmann 1979; Lewis and Weigert 1985; Blomqvist 1997; Blomqvist 2005). Therefore, trust is increasingly critical in contemporary organizations operating in dynamic environment with disruptive changes, yet trust building and maintaining trust may be increasingly challenging (e.g. McEvily and Zaheer 2003; Blomqvist and Snow 2010). In a dynamic context communication is rarely sufficient and misunderstandings may easily escalate into conflicts. The local and contextual nature of knowledge challenges individuals and groups looking into issues from their own perspectives that from their standpoint can be true and justified, but without a full view of the situation. Lack of time and space for a dialogue may easily deteriorate the common ground necessary for mutual understanding and commitment.

Both practitioners and academics view trust as a valuable, higher-order resource supporting organizing (Dirks and Ferrin 2001; McEvily et al. 2003) yet the levels of trust in organizations have been decreasing due to global socio-economic crisis and continuous organizational changes (Atkinson and Butcher 2003; Schoormanet al. 2007; Tyler 2003). Therefore we argue that for organizations operating in dynamic and complex environments traditional forms of trust may not be sufficient (Kern 1998), and an active approach to trust has been called for (Adler 2001; Child and Möllering 2003; Gillespie and Dietz 2009). In this paper we explore on the interplay of trust and mindfulness, in order to understand how to build trust that is more suitable for current organizational challenges.

3   Complex Concept of Trust

Trust has been defined as an actor's expectation of the other party's competence and goodwill (Blomqvist 1997). The relevant competence (substance knowledge, skills and know-how) is a necessary antecedent and basis of trust in professional relationships, in which complementary knowledge and resources are a source of motivation in cooperation. Signs of goodwill (moral responsibility and positive intentions towards the other) are necessary for the trusting party to be able to accept the risk and their potentially vulnerable position. Third dimension added is self-reference where the word "reference" means an actor's ability to understand and use others as a reference (Blomqvist et al. 2002; on self-reference, see Luhmann 1979). However, the term "identity" is used as a synonym in this paper because it is more common in the organization and management literature. Its role is accentuated in the dynamic conditions where it provides some of the required stability to interpersonal and inter-organizational interaction. The three dimensions competence, goodwill and identity in trust are considered as potentially additive, thus the strongest type of trustworthiness of both individuals and organizations incorporates competence, goodwill and identity.

In the following we outline the characteristics of more resilient and effective trust for the needs of organizations operating in contemporary dynamic environment.

3.1 Interpersonal and Impersonal Bases for Trust

Trust has been approached as a multi-dimensional and cross-level concept integrating "micro level psychological processes and group dynamics with macro level institutional arrangements" (McEvily et al. 2003; Rousseau et al. 1998). Traditionally organizational trust has been seen as interpersonal phenomena between employees, and employees and supervisors. However, globalization, virtualization and continuous organizational change have made the interpersonal trust relationships fragile and subsequently we argue that interpersonal trust is not sufficient for radical change but organizations require more resilient trust consisting of not only of interpersonal but also of impersonal trust.

The impersonal dimension of organizational trust is based on roles, systems, and indirect information such as decisions and reputation (McCauley and Kuhnert 1992; Costigan et al. 1998). This impersonal element of organizational trust has been defined as "the individual employee's expectations about the employer organization's capability and fairness" (Vanhala et al. 2011). Trust in supervisors (Burke et al. 2007), and impersonal factors of organizational trustworthiness complement each other, and together they form the employee's perception of organizational trustworthiness (Vanhala et al. 2011).

3.2 Cognitive and Emotional Bases for Trust

Further, trust has cognitive and emotional dimensions. Cognition-based trust involves the cognitive choice of whom and when to trust, which is based on good reasons and evidence (Lewis and Weigert 1985, p. 970), and grounded in analytical evaluation. Affect-based trust relies on emotional ties that link individuals believing in the intrinsic virtue of such relationships (McAllister 1995, p. 26, see also Schoorman et al. 2007) and enhances tacit knowledge sharing and creative interaction (Chowdbury 2005). We argue that positive affect may also critically connect diverse individuals and groups through more inclusive social categorization (Isen 1998). In radical change both cognitive and affect-based trust processes are considered vital for organizational trust and related value creation leading to innovation.

We first proposed that different dimensions of trust, i.e. competence, goodwill and identity have complementary functions in organizations facing radical change. Secondly, we differentiated social and impersonal types of trust and argue that in contemporary organizations interpersonal trust may be too fragile and impersonal form of trust is required to complement social trust. Finally, trust that is warranted

must always be based on cognitive evaluation whereas inclusive social categorization and creative interaction leading to innovation requires also affect-based trust (Blomqvist and Snow 2010).

4 Organizational Mindfulness

In this paper mindfulness is understood as a state of consciousness in which *attention is focused on present-moment phenomena occurring both externally or internally* (Dane 2011) and influencing learning (Weick and Stucliffe 2006). Mindfulness is seen both as individual and organizational level phenomenon.

4.1 Mindfulness at Individual and Team Levels

Individual mindfulness is a psychological state where individual focuses her attention on events, individuals and the present moment having an impact on interpersonal relationship quality and behavioral regulation (e.g. Dane 2011; Weick and Sutcliffe 2006; Brown et al. 2007). Dane and Pratt (2009) argue that individual mindfulness enhances expertise in loosely structured tasks. Dane (2011) points out that individual attention has an impact in noticing key resources (Weick 1993) and in strategic decisions (Dane and Pratt 2009). We propose that these are critical skills in organizational change where mindfulness may enhance individual coping ability with the radical change.

Individual mindfulness is closely connected to the concept of *psychological presence* (Kahn 1990, 1992) i.e. the willingness and ability to be fully present. Kahn (1992, p. 321) argues that psychological presence makes it possible for individuals to connect empathetically, be attentive and focused at sufficient energy level and feel the psychological safety to be able to show and employ the self without fear of negative consequences (Kahn 1992, pp. 332–339). Thus psychological presence allows individuals to draw on their personal selves, i.e. express thoughts and feelings, question assumptions, be creative and innovate, all behaviors critical in radical change. At team level Edmondson (1999, p. 354) introduced the concept of psychological safety as a team climate characterized by interpersonal trust and mutual respect in which people are comfortable in being themselves. She also showed that psychological safety enabled team learning (Edmondson 1999).

Kahn (1992, p. 338) further argues that the willingness and ability to be psychologically present varies with how secure and trusting individuals are in general. Here we connect the concept of individual mindfulness to individual propensity to trust (Rotter 1967). Also Dane (2011) argues that mindfulness is a human capacity and dispositional tendency the level of which varies.

In radical change and innovation we emphasize not only the cognitive, but also the emotional dimension in individual mindfulness: cognitive dimension provides

the analytical information processing (Dane 2011; George 2008) and emotional element makes it possible to openly express oneself and involve in interpersonal creative collaboration. According to research on the relationship of individual mindfulness and stress reduction (Kabat-Zinn 2003) individual mindfulness enables individuals to cope with the stress and anxiety embedded in radical change. We see that in radical change and innovation emotional and cognitive aspects of individual and team-level mindfulness are equally important.

4.1.1 Temporal and Scope Aspects in Individual and Team-Level Mindfulness

In line with Brown and Ryan (2003) we agree that the behavioral regulation embedded in mindfulness, i.e. simultaneous attention to present external and intrapsychic phenomena is a critical skill for emotion regulation and reflection for managers involved in radical change. However managers involved in radical organizational change attend an overwhelming range of stimuli and may be forced to make decisions in a very fast tempo without sufficient information and time to reflect. In practice it can be very challenging to reach quickly a state where one can "give full attention to the present" as already swifting the mode and rhytm requires individual attention and behavioral regulation.

Even if mindfulness concept focuses on "here and now" and the present moment managers and experts must dwell simultaneously in various time zones. To make mindful decisions they must see the individual and organizational history as well as the signals revealing potential future scenarios.

In addition to temporal challenges, managers and experts face also challenges of scope and identity. According to social identity theory (SIT) individuals tend to classify themselves and others into social categories that have a significant effect on human and intergroup interaction (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Differentiating factors can be both objective or socially constructed, yet both may have a critical effect on individual perception and intergroup relations such as negative stereotypes and distrust of out-group (see Brewer and Kramer 1985).

Different organizational groups may look at the same phenomena yet see different problems, different opportunities and different challenges (Czarniawska-Joerges 1992). Therefore, different organizational groups may view issues from completely different perspectives and building common ground purely through rational argumentation may not work (Boland and Tenkasi 1993).

4.2 Organizational Mindfulness

We take the mindful organizing characterized by Weick and Sutcliffe (2006) as a starting point and discuss how it is connected to organizational trust. First, for us organizational mindfulness is seen as complementary interaction of analytical and

explicit knowledge as well as intuitive and tacit knowledge providing the attention and capacity for action. In this respect is resembles the concept or trust with cognitive and emotional bases and analytical evaluation of trustworthiness of the specific object (Blomqvist et al. 2010).

Organizational mindfulness seems to differ from dynamic capability view of the firm (Teece 1997) and absorptive capacity (Cohen and Levinthal 1990) first from its temporal focus on present moment and secondly from its emphasis on non-judgemental internal processes. For us the intense and non-judgemental orientation on internal organizational processes provides additional value attuning organization for affective processes (Brown and Ryan 2003). Recognizing and understanding the role of emotions in organizational behavior at all levels, individual and team levels included, can have a decisive role in innovation and radical change.

At organizational level phenomenon mindfulness has been characterized as mindful processes such as preoccupation with failure, deference to expertise, reluctance to simplify, sensitivity to operations, under specification of structures and commitment to resilience (Weick and Sutcliffe 2006; Weick et al. 2006). Preoccupation with failure means proactiveness in being actively concerned about potential failures before they get overwhelmingly difficult and diffused. It is especially emphasized in HROs focusing on avoiding risks and less on the focus on innovation. In the following we analyze the relationship of innovation focused mindful organizational processes and organizational trust.

4.2.1 Deference to Expertise

In a fast changing world knowledge is only state-of-the art and trust in existing expertise may become a trap to the organization. Knowledge is dynamic, contextual and local, and therefore individuals and teams in organizations should not trust only few recognized (and familiar) experts but leverage the dispersed and contextual knowledge across the organization, and also search for experts outside the organizational borders. Therefore we propose that

In radical change trust in expertise based on familiarity and past performance can become detrimental to organizational performance.

4.2.2 Reluctance to Simplify

In radical change it may be difficult to say which signals and cues are meaningful and which not. Therefore organizational members should pay attention and be willing to communicate openly cues that are potentially valuable, and their expertise should not be criticized if cues turn into wrong alarms. In radical change acting upon risks or opportunities when they have got a clear shape can be too late. Ability to see the opportunities requires open attitude and generalized trust.

According to conceptual approach to mindfulness (Langer 1989) a more detailed and differentiated set of categories may make it easier to make sense of complex systems and help in discovering more options for action. Also trust required to conceptual analysis and questioning basic assumptions must be analytical instead of generalized. In addition to conceptual categories decision-makers and experts must question their basic assumptions (for example about human nature, who in the organization can be trusted and who not, as well as how to organize) as they may lose their validity in radically changing context. Here the interplay of the explicit and tacit knowledge is critical. Therefore we propose that

In radical change reluctance to simplify requires generalized trust to see the opportunities and analytical trust to question basic assumptions and make sense of complexity.

4.2.3 Being Sensitive to Operations

To be sensitive to operations means "put understanding of operations into words", being able to see the big picture and having dialogue to understand what and why? It has also been described as "having the bubble" (Weick et al. 1999). It is about making sense of puzzling situations, and in leader's position doing so publicly. This requires that managers and experts first trust themselves sufficiently to be willing to be vulnerable – and secondly that they trust the organization to acknowledge the need for complementary knowledge. This underlines the cross-organizational communication, willingness and ability to trust those outside managers' in-group, such as complementary teams and functions. We propose that

In radical change management willingness and ability to trust the organization to show their vulnerability and leverage organizational knowledge becomes critical.

4.2.4 Under Specification of Structures

Loosening the hierarchical filters (Weick et al. 1999) enhances organizational attention, sensitivity and informal connections. Instead of hierarchy fluid and open structures are required to leverage the specialized and dispersed organizational knowledge for problem-solving. In accordance to basic tenet in knowledge-based view of the firm the decision-making authority and relevant knowledge should be coupled to relevant actors across the organization both vertically and horizontally. We propose that

In radical change loosening organizational hierarchy for faster decision making requires trust in capability and goodwill across the organization.

4.2.5 Commitment to Resilience

Commitment to resilience has been described as a "capacity to cope with unanticipated dangers after they have become manifest, learning to bounce back" (Weick et al. 1999). From the risk-avoidance perspective it is about being willing and able to learn fast about the inevitable mistakes to overcome them. From innovation perspective it means exploring and exploiting unforeseen opportunities. It is related to organizational capability to reflect and improvise in response to unexpected events. Related action may also require improvisation skills, i.e. the ability to simultaneously compose and execute (see Weick 1998; Moorman and Miner 1998; Crossan et al. 2005). We see this critical for organizations facing radical change. Individuals and teams should be willing to invest time and effort to explore and pilot new ideas and concepts. This type of behavior is pre-requisite for organizational renewal yet requires trust from the individuals engaging in the risky investment as well as trust in organizational culture, colleagues and management supporting the initiative and risk-taking. We propose that

> *In radical change individual and team-level willingness and ability to improvise and engage in risky actions requires social and impersonal organizational trust.*

To conclude, mindfulness requires being open to the complexity and unexpected, and being sensitive about the signals of change. It means awareness and carefully observing the ongoing to be able to detect the potentially critical signals requiring more attention and action. On contrary, it would be deceitfully dangerous to rely on existing organizational structures, processes and strategy to be sufficient, as well as role-based organizational authorities to have all the necessary knowledge and sufficient ability to manage the organization. Organizational mindfulness requires that each individual has sufficient trust in herself, other individuals in her or other teams and the organizational culture and management to be willing to communicate about the signals and take early action. Both social and impersonal trust is required. Generalized trust is required to attend the weak signals for opportunities that may come unexpectedly from anywhere, and from surprising sources, analytical trust to attend the complex matters.

4.2.6 Organizational Mindfulness and Trust

Mindfulness is most beneficial when experts and managers can leverage their experiential knowledge intuitively for complex tasks (Dane 2011). At best, they can be simultaneously attentive to the external cues and signals, focus effectively on tasks and behave in a purposeful manner based on tacit and experiential knowledge. Their behavior may be so intuitive that it seems almost effortless. However, behavior based on intuitive knowledge is only valuable if it fits with the current problems and context.

In radical change this may not be the case if disruptive changes have altered the context and tasks are highly complex. Here the interplay of trust and mindfulness is

critical as trust makes it possible to leverage the insights of various experts having specialized and path-dependent knowledge. Trust enables first the access to dispersed specialized and tacit expertise and secondly supports social interaction in collective mindful behavior to effectively solve complex problems. Therefore we propose that

> *Trust enables organizational mindfulness in radical change.*

5 Building Organizational Trust in Times of Radical Change

Leadership can be seen as the process of making things happen contingent on a context. Therefore leader must understand the context before leading the action and build conditions that support change. In radical change trust may be one of the key factors enhancing organizational change and innovation yet building and managing trust has become increasingly challenging (Tyler 2003; Mayer and James 2007: Creed and Miles 1996; Adler and Heckscher 2006).

Trust evolves naturally based on predictability, identification, goodwill (positive intentions) and competence. Social learning plays an important role in trusting and individuals learn through time and various social encounters whom to trust and in what respect. This generalized trust can provide high efficiency by lessening the costly evaluation and control in a predictable context that individuals are familiar with. However in a changing context generalized trust is not warranted but individuals should be more mindful in what, whom and how much to trust.

In radical change also organizational processes and structures are in constant flux resulting uncertainty as employees loose familiar work relationships and structures. New skills and knowledge required in adapting to radical change requires re-organizing and breaking existing structures for example into temporary task forces and project teams. Organizations also attempt to access new competences acquiring new and complementary knowledge and skills through recruitment, alliances or acquisitions. Increased organizational diversity creates another obstacle for identification-based trust. Diversity is required for synergy and innovation in organizational renewal, but simultaneously breaks down existing interpersonal trust relationships based on identification and shared past.

Positive affect is seen as a signal of trustworthiness (Jones and George 1998). It provides information especially on the other person's goodwill. Positive affect provides psychological safety (Edmondson 1999) and willingness to discuss complex issues with less information available. Amabile et al. (2005) suggest that positive affect may provide "vision advantage" to diverse individuals more willing to talk with each other as well as willingness to engage in innovation and challenges related to radical change. However in radical change goodwill-based trust does not emerge naturally, but must be carefully built between dissimilar individuals and in stressful situations.

Competence, another natural source for trust in professional relationships and work organizations is also questionable source for trust in radical change. In situation of high uncertainty it may be tempting to trust managers and professionals who have a reputation for being very competent in the past. Trusting may not be warranted but actually detrimental in a new situation requiring possibly quite new types of competences. Managers and professionals may also become overly confident based on their past success. Admitting that one does not have the relevant knowledge to see the new situation clearly, nor a vision on how to proceed puts management in a vulnerable position. Being willing and able to do this requires managers and professionals high self-confidence and trust that others in the organization also understand the complex and collective nature of knowledge required in radical change where it may be difficult to evaluate or even know beforehand what types of competences are relevant. In the following we propose that especially in radical change sustainable trust building should be mindfully attended.

6   Building Organizational Trust Mindfully

In the past hierarchical and bureaucratic organizations operating in a stable environment could build trust based on *predictability*. In a dynamic environment this is basically no longer available due to continuous organizational, technological and socio-political changes. Instead of hierarchical decision-making and processes transparent organizational decision-making and inclusive strategy and HRM process can provide some predictability and thus function as sources for impersonal organizational trust.

Organizations striving for strategic and operational flexibility organize work increasingly through temporary workers and external partners, leading to a situation where employees lack shared history or social similarity. Organizations also try to use dispersed knowledge and competences efficiently across organizational borders by building competence centers that provide experts for various temporary projects. This challenges *identification*, a traditional source for organizational trust that can no longer be based on a shared past, social similarity or proximity. This type of identification could even be detrimental to organizations trying to leverage dispersed knowledge effectively. Instead, organizations can try to build identification based on a shared vision and shared future, if they are able to build an inclusive culture and inspiring future in which diverse employee across borders can participate. This is in line with *underspecified structures* in mindful organizing as suggested by Weick et al. (1999).

Capability-based trust provides a strong basis for organizational trust. In radical change, it is not only continuous learning but also organizational unlearning that must be proactively supported when capabilities and skills are not sufficient or become even detrimental for contemporary environmental requirements. If employees know that the organization has a fair and solid recruitment process and only capable individuals are recruited and rewarded, this provides a strong

basis for organizational trust. Also, in accordance with the mindful organizing process of *deterrence to expertise* (Weick et al. 1999) capability should be analytically evaluated and not taken as granted.

Goodwill and positive intentions build organizational trust if top management and experts invest in communicating openly about their values, motives and goals. This requires honesty and good communication skills. If top management is considered as authentic and truly aiming for positive organizational goals, even difficult decisions such as cost cutting or laying off employees can be accepted more easily. It is in such difficult decisions that fairness and transparency of the decision-making process especially support employee trust.

The willingness and ability to see radical change as an opportunity instead of a risk requires an organizational climate with positive affect. Work tasks requiring creativity and problem solving in teams also require affect-based trust for employees to be willing to share personal and tacit knowledge. A climate of positive affect can be supported by mindfully promoting positive affect in behavior, such as greetings, saying thank you and celebrating small everyday positive outcomes, e.g. when finishing a project in time, and showing public appreciation for employees who have helped others, invested in learning or engaged in organizational citizenship behavior. This trust building process is aligned with mindful organizing process of *being sensitive to operations* where the management trust in the organization is a key for shared attention, understanding and taking initiative (Weick et al. 1999). We therefore propose that

> *In radical change mindful processes support sustainable trust building.*

7   Summary and Conclusion

In this paper we have discussed the relationship of organizational trust and organizational mindfulness to understand how they relate to each other, and how they together can help organizations better manage in conditions of radical change.

Past analytical and empirical research on organizational trust is vast, yet research focusing specifically on the relationship of organizational trust and innovativeness (Ellonen et al. 2008) is scarce. For organizational scholars mindfulness is an established concept especially due to landmark research by Weick (1993) and his colleagues. Conceptual discussion as well as empirical research on both concepts is still under development (on mindfulness in the workplace, see Dane 2011 and conceptualizing and measuring organizational trust, see Vanhala et al. 2011).

In our analysis we show the similarities and differences among the concepts and explore their interplay. First both concepts are multi-level and operate at individual and organizational levels of analysis. We see individual and team-level trustworthiness and willingness to trust others as a critical threshold condition in innovation and change. In similar vein individual's mindful attention on both internal and external signals can be of paramount importance for meaningful and timely

decisions and action. At team and organizational level trust provides the context for innovation and change and mindful processes.

Secondly, both trust and mindfulness leverage explicit and tacit knowledge and comprise of cognitive and emotional elements. Furthermore, both concepts are applicable in static and dynamic conditions, related not only to avoidance of risks and costs, but also creating value through opportunities. Most research on organizational mindfulness has focused in preventing the risks whereas research on organizational trust has focused in lowering the costs of coordination. In the innovation context mindfulness can be also used for exploring the signals for new opportunities and organizational trust functions not only in lowering the transaction benefits but also supporting value creation.

We set our research task as to answer to the following questions: *What is the relationship of organizational trust and organizational mindfulness?* and *How can organizations build trust in times of radical change?* We answered these questions by building propositions based on integrated literature review on organizational trust and mindfulness.

We first proposed that in radical change *trust and at individual, team and organizational levels support mindful processes* supporting innovation.

- Organizations should not trust only expertise based on familiarity and past performance *(deference to expertise)*
- Generalized trust to see the opportunities and analytical trust to question basic assumptions and make sense of complexity is required *(reluctance to simplify)*
- Management willingness and ability to trust the organization to show their vulnerability and leverage organizational knowledge is critical *(being sensitive to operations)*
- Loosening organizational hierarchy for faster decision making requires trust in individual and team capability and goodwill *(under specification of structures)*
- Individual and organizational willingness and ability to improvise and engage in risky actions requires social and impersonal organizational trust *(commitment to resilience)*

Secondly we proposed that in radical change *mindful processes support sustainable trust building*. To sum up, we proposed that trust supports mindful processes further enabling sustainable organizational trust building through predictability, identification, goodwill and capability-based trust. Thus the relationship between trust and sustainable organizational trust building is mediated by mindful processes.

This paper has explored the relationship between organizational mindfulness and trust building at analytical level. For our knowledge this type of analytical discussion and theorization has not been available. Therefore the paper provides new knowledge by building propositions for further empirical research. For practitioners it gives eyeglasses to understand how organizational trust and mindfulness are related, and what management should consider when attempting building sustainable trust in radical change.

In further research these propositions can be explored in different contexts with qualitative data and developed to testable hypotheses for empirical research. For us analyzing the linkages between organizational mindfulness and trust has been a

fruitful exploration. We firmly believe that trust and mindfulness are critical concepts for various types of organizations that can benefit in understanding, analyzing and developing their structures, processes and culture with these fundamental concepts in mind.

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Trust and Time in Reorganisations and the Role of Middle Managers

Considerations for Perpetual Organisation Change from a Psychological and Socially Sustainable Perspective

Sylke Meyerhuber

Abstract A psychological perspective on change processes in organisations is outlined and connected to programmatic objectives of labour-policy for a socially sustainable point of view. Based on health considerations for employees, social respect and dialogue are discussed as trust building means of 'mindful' change on a micro-political level. Middle managers in the key role of change agents in organisations are introduced with theoretical as well as empirical material. On this basis, aspects of Luhmann's trust theory are presented, particularly his differentiation between personal trust and system trust. Next steps reflect on aspects of time for trust related issues, referring to the distinction of assets and events, and how trust is delimited from means of control. The last point discusses the timeliness of Luhmann's findings and indicates in agreement with Rosa that trust must be seen as a 'selective social erosion inhibitor' especially in organisations of the modernity. In support of socially sustainable working conditions, conclusions are outlined with respect to 'mindfulness' in times of change, regarding trustworthy structures and interactions as well as the role of intermediates.

Keywords Trust • Time • Reorganisation • Middle management • Social sustainability • Mindful change • Trustworthy interactions • Deceleration

1 Introduction: Change as a Stress Factor for the Psyche

The *structure people work in* has a strong impact on the way of thinking, feeling, and processing their experiences. *Objective conditions and subjective experiences are always closely interwoven*, as research illustrates (cf. Leithäuser and Volmerg 1988; cf. Gustavsen 1996; cf. Meyerhuber 2009). Furthermore, human beings are

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not only conscious rational beings; since unconscious reactions and personal specifics of the psyche invariably constitute parts of what people bring into their everyday life reactions and interactions at the workplace.

Most people tend to identify themselves with their work. Therefore, reorganisation with changing attributions, routines and cooperation structures might have *side-effects as unintended impacts on their psyche*. In addition, the way of coping with changes may vary from person to person. As a rule it can be stated that organisational c*hanges are bound to affect the human well-being, since they require adapting necessities* and thereby cause some degree of psychological stress, even if not always consciously perceived.

According to the European industrial relations observatory (Euroline 2001), stress in the context of work can be defined as "a pattern of emotional, cognitive, behavioural and physiological reactions to adverse and harmful aspects of work content, work organisation and work environment" (ibid.). Organisational changes may be welcomed or be experienced as extremely annoying. However, it will always be accompanied by the need to re-adjust, to reconfigure, not only in the outer world of objectives and strategies, but also *on an unconscious level with regard to a persons inner condition*. Therefore, such stress has to be addressed as a result of challenges of psychological adjustments. For business psychology McKenna points out:

> It should be noted that change is potentially stressful because people move from predictable environments where they feel secure. They may take one or two changes in their stride, but if too many things are changed at the same time they may become stressed and defensive. (McKenna 2000, p. 607)

By understanding *change as a potential psychological stressor* for people (even if welcomed), the inclusion of a psychological point of view becomes self evident in discussing about re-organisational processes: The question then has to be how organisational change can meet the social and psychological demands as well as, for instance, economic considerations.

Also, the way how modern work itself is organised (perpetual reorganisation, high responsibility and lean management, workforce seen as a cost factor, replaceability of employees) creates a specific dynamism of reification and objectification which does not *remain external to people*. Even if work is oriented towards an individual employee as much as possible, in the end, it is only secondarily oriented at the individual in question. Individualisation and delimited working conditions tend to demand for a high level of psychological self management at the workplace (cf. Pongratz and Voß 2000, 2003). Structural conditions of their work lead to *contradictions in the individuals themselves* – antagonistic parts of the socialisation process become part of the human psyche (cf. Leithäuser 1988, p. 81; cf. Meyerhuber 2001, p. 66). The results can lead to tensions in the psyche, as well as between the individuals and their working environment. *Perpetual organisational changes are bound to heighten the amount of antagonistic elements inside the employee's psyche.*

'Mindful' forms of reorganisation – like structurally demanded by Becke and others (cf. Becke 2008; cf. Becke et al. 2010, and in this book) can consequently be accentuated from a psychological point of view as the question of *how organisational changes can take social and psychological needs into account*, in favour of a balance of economic and social needs. Addressees of such considerations are top management, but perhaps even more middle managers in their implementing function as change agents. The question of a considerate balance becomes particularly crucial in the light of work-related health records in recent years.

2 Social Respect and Dialogue as Means of 'mindful' and Socially Sustainable Change

From the standpoint of occupational sciences Kjellström et al. (2007, p. 14) point out: "The workplace is the most important environment for most people's health, whether it is a home, office, factory or forest." Under the working conditions of the modernity that becomes problematic in recent years, socially as well as economically speaking: Under delimited and subjectified working conditions (cf. Pongratz and Voß 2000, 2003), accompanied by ongoing change processes, *employee's health problems increase* dramatically (cf. Badura et al. 2011). The main issues are publicly known and, for instance, described in a German news release as follows:

> Employees in Germany are more often on sick leave. From January to September 2011 the rate of sick leavers grew steadily, according to company health insurances, by 0,2 percent per month against last year. In the last five years the figures grow continuously, in particular psychological illnesses and respiratory diseases. Sick days caused by psychological illnesses increased – in comparison with the year before – about 13,4 percent. The days of sick leave as a result of burnout syndrome increased from 4,6 percent per 1000 in 2004 to 63,2 per 1000 health insurance members in 2010. (dpa, Dec 29th, 2011).[1]

A growth of psychological problems, an increasing vulnerability to infectious diseases, rising figures for musculoskeletal disorders, allergies and cardiovascular problems as well as a drop in performance or incapacity to work are to be seen as a result of long working hours under delimited working conditions and an insecure social situation (cf. Zok 2008, p. 5; cf. Meyer et al. 2011, p. 223). On the account of the general demographic shift a large proportion of employees undergo such working conditions of the modernity over a long period of time, which leads to health problems after a while (cf. Zok 2008, p. 5). In this light, such symptoms not only reflect *structural* but also severe *social* problems.

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[1] All translations of quotations from German into English have been respectfully conducted by the author.

Reflecting on such issues with respect to socially more sustainable working conditions, in favour of employees and their long-term professional occupation, some normative orientation might be useful. Mainly political programmatic can be taken into account, appraised in advisement for the issue of social interactions in organisations. Examples of such programmatic derive for instance from the UN's deliberations for a prudent balance of economic, ecological and social needs (UN 1992, Rio Convention). The UN's political agenda is to be found substantiated in programmatics like the WHO's *'Ottawa-Charter'* for health promotion 1986 (cf. WHO 1986; cf. Ulich 2008) as well as the *'Decent Work Agenda'* 1999 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (cf. ILO 1999; cf. Senghaas-Knobloch 2010, p. 15ff). Both express human well-being at the workplace as imperative in support of socially sustainable working conditions. As organisations of the United Nations, WHO's and ILO's objectives address the politic of states with regard to the legislative regulation of labour. But I think, their imperatives and the underlying knowledge can be applied on the meso- and micro-level of an organisation as well: They can also *be read as guidelines* concerning a person's overall sense of physical, emotional and social wellbeing at the workplace (WHO) and as an *outlining of organisation's responsibilities*, regarding human rights, social protection and dialogue (ILO) as integral parts.

The holistic understanding of work and health emphasises on the employee's need for means of control over matters which have a bearing on their health – such as workload, use of time, respectful relationships, and participation in decisionmaking processes which may have an impact on them. These qualities become more questionable under delimited working conditions. Therefore, *appreciative interactions with others and real participation as important health factors must be recognised by any actor in organisations, though particularly those in leadership positions*. The necessity of trustworthy working relationships and social environments can be determined. Therefore, 'mindful' organisational change and respectful possibilities of participation go hand in hand.

A decrease of respect towards employees and their human right of the protection of their dignity can be identified as part of an accelerating dynamism in organisations. Meaningful dialogue on eye-level, social protection and acknowledgement *are increasingly in danger of being forgotten under the delimited and primarily economic focus in organisational life*. 'Mindful' change, conducted by executives on all levels, therefore not only addresses change on a structural level but includes considerations of *psycho-social impacts and effects in social interactions*.

The importance of a good social climate at the workplace cannot be overstated. *According to recent* studies (cf. Badura et al. 2011[2]; Klemens et al. 2004) *middle management holds the most important key to the well-being of subordinates*, acting at best as a 'failsafe' guarantee and as an important *protective factor*, if committed

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[2] The yearly "Absence-Report" is conducted by Prof. Badura with changing co-authors and produced on behalf of the Scientific Institute of the AOK (WIdO). In 2011 it focused on leadership and health.

to respectful dialogue and social protection. On the other hand, an incriminating social climate and a non-supportive behaviour on the part of superiors multiply the risk of exhaustive depression and similar health relevant issues (cf. Klemens et al. 2004; cf. Oettinger 2008).

The way work is organised and perceived plays an important role on employee's well-being, as Norwegian working life researcher Gustavsen (1996, p. 18) found in various action research projects. Such studies also show that *good communication is the key to real development* of the work environment (ibid. 1996, p. 19). But discourses on work and health depend, according to the author (ibid.), on how the communication processes are structured and focussed; they have to meet the peoples needs within the specific organisation. The question of how communication is conducted productively, for instance as means of support of a health-securing working environment, must therefore be considered a most vital question. Additionally, thinking *in terms of dialogue* might be prudent, in order to underline that the social quality of *acknowledgement and understanding* must be guaranteed so that a climate of trust can be realised. Social support thereby can be identified as a *confirming dialogue* which can be *experienced as satisfying and supportive*, conveyed by an interested and cooperative attitude of superiors who are perceived as trustworthy.

Conclusion can be drawn that, under stressful working conditions, especially the *supportive behaviour of a direct superior* becomes 'the drop that tips the scale'. The responsibility of intermediates as protective agents against psychological and physiological collapse has therefore to be realised – *mindfulness on an interactional level therefore include an according acceptance and acknowledgement of this aspect of leadership responsibility* at the modern workplace. This becomes particularly important when a superior has to deal carefully with boundaries instead of achievements; for instance when resources are limited and health is impaired. Furthermore, a careful self-management of such middle managers has to be recommended. How these *two aspects of the role of intermediates can be fulfilled in good balance is a most pressing question*, especially in the light of change dynamism, delimited working conditions and demographic considerations.

Summarising so far from a psychological perspective, *trustworthiness between superiors and subordinates* can be seen as an important issue for the health of people at the workplace, as well as for a health-sustaining working environment and the success of the organisation undergoing change. Besides, the social climate and social resilience are influenced in a most positive manner by trustworthy relationships at work. Trust, build up through satisfying dialogue in hierarchical relations of the organisation, can hereby be understood as a vital aspect for not only an economic but also a socially sustainable working environment.

Particularly under the conditions of continuous change processes *these social values may easily escape management's as well as intermediates' attention*. Therefore, their role has to be understood in more detail. As well, for an organisation undergoing changes, the mechanisms and values of trust should be discussed more closely for a 'mindful' understanding.

3 The Key Role of Middle Managers in Times of Change

As has been indicated so far, middle managers find themselves in a key position in times of change. They act as intermediaries between top management and employees in their department, team, or project. In this function, their responsibilities are manifold: complex social demands in addition to restructuring charges have to be met alongside considerations of the daily business of a division. Particularly under the condition of change, executives are to be expected to create and maintain a trustworthy and endowing social climate in order to secure socially sustainable relationships and interactions at the workplace, in protection of the well-being of employees in their responsibility.

Hölterhoff et al. (2011) in a recent study describe the situation of middle managers as the "invisible high performers" of any organisation. According to the authors, intermediates have to cope with strategic managerial and administrative tasks, subject related issues of their specific profession, and leadership duties in terms of employee motivation and personnel management. These three main tasks are differentiated further in their multifaceted functions related to them. Such functions are concerned with *communicating information* to cooperation partners vertically in addition to horizontal, *transformative functions* by adapting strategic decisions to a specific strategy for their own domain, the *management of relationships* with colleagues, employees and management as well as with external partners, besides *representational functions* (ibid., p. 12). Furthermore, the study shows that middle managers have to support top management in the development of additional strategies (ibid., p. 13). Due to the sandwich position and increasing work intensification, as well as limited power and resources as an intermediate, the role of middle managers has to be understood as very demanding indeed. Höterhoff et al. in their study show middle management's specific problems, such as: immanent role conflicts, issues of performance pressure, the need for more qualification when it comes to leadership tasks, ethical problems as a result of betraying their own values successively, and the need of being included in strategy development (ibid. p. 16ff). The authors conclude:

> Apparently middle managers have to meet contradictory requirements. They are expected to act as a stabilising factor and implement change as well as innovation. They are carrier, generator and mediator of knowledge (Kochberger 2007) at the same time. They are superiors and also subordinates. They mediate, observe and facilitate, act as troubleshooters and assign work orders (Stahl 2000). They are 'tightrope artists', bound to balancing between continuity and change (Huy 2001) (Hölterhoff et al. (2011, p. 18).

According to Höterhoff et al., intermediates play a central role by integrating and coordinating the activities in their organisation. Though they are often not familiar with the background of a decision, as superiors they need to convey security and confidence to employees within their area of responsibility (ibid., p. 19). In addition, they often seek to defend their position upwards in order to gain some manoeuvring space (ibid., p. 18). The study points out that efforts of middle managers are mostly taken for granted; this leads far too often to being overworked

and suffer from a lack of acknowledgement (ibid., p. 19). Furthermore, if their own ethical concepts come in conflict with corporal decisions, an executive might be pushed to his or her limits. The authors add: "Therefore it is important that organisational values are defined and 'lived' at all levels. Top management should act as a role model. Institutionalised communication channels and rules should also support middle managers to deal with ethical problems" (ibid., p. 43). In this light, 'mindful' principles for change could be substantiated as part of a defined guideline, shaping structural and interactional aspects in order to support socially sustainable change processes. As part of an organisation's mission statement and management philosophy (transformed into structures, procedures and rules), principles of mindfulness can provide consistency and orientation for intermediates in *how* to handle all their tasks.

In order to emphasise even more with the specific role of a middle manager, and in addition to the deliberations so far, the question might be posed: How does a middle manager feel in such a demanding sandwich-position? How does one actually cope in practice? When asked, middle managers veritably portray experiences of their complex role in times of change colourfully. In the 8-iNNO-project[3] one of the research partners, a well respected and most active middle manager, describes her managerial efforts in the light of a change process metaphorically:

> In the change process, I have a picture of myself as a Hercules with five arms or so. He has a protective shield, aiming in all directions, but as well with holes in it, in order to carry people in there. (...) Actually, it's going forward now, therefore I quickly pick someone up onto my arms, so that he also comes along. Additionally, if there are some services [in the duty roster] missing – well, one can do them, too. This is the feeling I have, and how I felt in the change process so far.

Later on, the middle manager describes the Hercules' five arms more closely as a bulwark "downward", "in order to ward off things" from her division and the employees under her protection. Additionally, she explains in the interview that the broad spectrum of her professional duties – in her managerial role as well as with her three teams – would need protection and at least five arms to handle properly. With respect to her team members, she further details how she construes her leadership role in the change process:

> In any case, I feel like in a pioneering role in the change process, and with an aura of optimism ... Somehow we can do it together, always trying to cope as a team, together. I am always saying: 'We are one and have to accomplish that together', and I try to put everybody on an equal footing. That has been valuable in the change process. (...) Then, an accelerating of our change process led to a lot of insecurity among my employees. (...) That acceleration created a lot of pressure. The employees had a considerable need for dialogue ... in order to clarify again and again "what is now" and "how will it be" and "tell once again" and "how will it be in one year from now". In my role as their superior I think it is important to realise and to address such fears, over and over.

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[3] 8iNNO is a BMBF research project conducted by G. Becke, M. Behrens & P. Bleses from 2010 to 2013. The quoted passage originates from an interview in 2011.

This middle manager's narration illustrates how 'mindful' leadership might actually look like in practice. Some aspects of the quoted example are worthwhile highlighting, with reference to the themes of this paper:

First, the five arms the middle manager visualises may be understood as a picture of how *many tasks* are to be handled *simultaneously* as part of her role. Thereby it becomes more palpable how challenging and complex this diversity might be; as stressed by Hölterhoff et al..

Second, the *protective aspect* of the intermediates role is expressed. In her metaphor she envisions a bulwark, in order to ward off things in defence of her own position and of the employees under her protection. Hölterhoff et al. explain this in their study as a means to gain some manoeuvring space, which is in their view essential for the implementation of changes in a specific context.

Third, with respect to her leadership obligation, the middle manager then refers to *her role as a change agent* as being a pioneer with an aura of optimism. This mixture is of interest as well: On the one hand she illustrates going forward actively, *acting at the front line of the process* in order to lead her teams into something new. The metaphor of a pioneer may imply scouting as well as settling, and sometimes fighting. On the other hand she underlines *a need for optimism* in order to do so. On a social level, this projected optimism might be understood as important in order to stabilise an insecure situation and to be perceived as *trustworthy* by her employees. This need for trustworthiness may also be seen as related to the *representational function* of this superior as part of the executive staff as viewed by the employees, and as discussed with Hölterhoff et al. before.

Fourth, the middle manager refers to an *acceleration of the change process* which results in a rise of *perceived pressure and fears* of employees. Accordingly, the pace in which a change process is set to be achieved might be seen as prudent when balanced with social needs and abilities, while undue acceleration may threaten employees to lose their equilibrium.

Fifth, in terms of personnel management, the answer of the middle manager in perception of these fears is *repetitive dialogue*. She describes how she acknowledges her employees' insecurities and answers them by patient explanations in reoccurring communication. Such an approach of leadership might be understood as mindful, by considering it as important to realise and address perceived fears as long as they exist, even repetitively if need be. [4]

In the light of this narration, the diverse role of a middle manager in a change process becomes more tangible, and the social aspects become particularly more conceivable. In the example, a trust-related practice of leadership is illustrated: working for all parties, attentively balancing her promotion of the process with the protection of employees from the process, acknowledging of employee's

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[4] For a broader interpretation of this specific empirical example see Meyerhuber (2013) (artec paper 188, 2/2013)

insecurities and fears by providing contact, dialogue and orientation. Given the continuous densification of work in the modernity, reservations might be raised if such time consuming, repetitive dialogue situations are really necessary and could not be abbreviated instead. To answer this concern, it is indispensible to examine cornerstones of how trust actually works, how it can be supported by people in leadership positions, and how trust and the use of time are related.

4 Personal Trust and System Trust with Respect to Leadership Tasks

If trustworthy relationships, built by supportive communication in dependent relationships, are understood as a very important cornerstone for the health of employees as well as for the success of the organisation, then trust – in terms of an understanding of its mechanisms and values – becomes an important issue. Different theories on trust in organisations have been developed (in newer times for example Deetz & Gillespie 2012; Gambetta 1988; Giddens 1992). In my analysis I am inclined to the understanding of trust developed by German sociologist Niklas Luhmann. It provides an elaborated theory of trust and usefully embraces sociological as well as psychological considerations.

According to Luhmann (1989, p. 23), trust "reduces the problem of complexity by risking confidence in another". *It is always a risky preparatory effort and can therefore be disappointed as well*. Trust is a connecting principle of the psyche and the social; a conciliatory quality in interaction and in processing (ibid., p. 5). Trust as a way of *reducing social complexity in order to remain capable of acting* is a necessary answer of human beings to an otherwise too complex environment. With its increasing complexity this may be even more so in the modernity.

Luhmann analyses trust as something not blindly given without proof, for instance in comparison to hope: "Trust reflects contingency, hope eliminates contingency" (ibid., p. 25). Although trust can be given inconsiderately, carelessly or routinely (ibid.), specific rules normally regulate a hedging of trust. It is mostly not unreasonably given and it is also tested in specific social situations. Therefore, in trustworthy positions such tests are to be expected.

Furthermore, the author adds to the discussion a useful differentiation between trust in persons and trust in systems: *Personal trust* needs a direct partner (ibid., p. 40ff). It develops by face-to-face communication, relies on the principle of small steps and is based on the human need for orientation through persons as well as 'socially relevant roles'. At the workplace, it is necessary to feel trust in the people one works with, and especially towards their immediate superiors. Personal trust is what gives employees a secure social footing. This ought to become particularly important in changing conditions and should be regarded by executives.

Luhman (do., p. 56f) *understands the function of authority as always based on trust in itself*. At the workplace an authority may be a person in the top management, a team leader or an expert. Anyone who has influence on others through a

given dependency due to ones role in the hierarchy may be such a potential authority with respect to trust. To Luhmann (ibid., p. 57) "... an *authority is always representative of complexity* which is not explained explicitly. (...) Therefore authority is not a question of exceptional knowledge but part of the division of labour, a trained and specific competence. But, even in this form *authority needs trust* to convey truth." According to these thoughts, on the level of personal trust one may, in the first place, lean on *a role-implicit basis of trust* – building on it or going on ruining it from there. Still, in order to represent the complexity and to convey truth, intermediates depend strongly on transparency and participation themselves, granted by their superiors.

According to Luhmann trust builds on accumulating experiences and communication, being confirmed in small steps. This includes a *need for deceleration* through social processes – with regard to reoccurring personal interactions. It develops over time and cannot be rushed. This is why the aspect of time will be further discussed later.

The author (ibid., p. 50ff) distinguishes between personal trust and trust in systems, as an organisation as a whole: *System trust* is related to the institution, to routines and generalised perception of an outlasting stability. It is developed as a much more generalised kind of trust than personal trust, secured by symbolic selection codes and through media of communication. Small steps of information and control are relinquished. Instead there are system immanent expectation structures at work which support an assumed genuine truth, aided by communication in case of an emergency.

Authorities in their function as *representatives of the system* can as well be understood as an intermediary between personal- and system trust. So, to the author there is a most *distinct difference* between trust in people and trust in systems. Also, both of them are closely interlinked: system trust not only backs up a role bearer, it often builds on personal trust and is, if in question, rooted back and questioned on the personal level.

Therefore, when system trust becomes doubtful, organisational members in leadership positions become a target of these doubts. Employees need to feel assured particularly by their immediate superiors that they can feel safe. Through motions of trust reassurance in an actual person as well as in a process can be given. By raising questions, doubts or even accusations, and by finding them heard, understood and answered. Even if not all the answers can be given satisfactorily, a superior's respectful and understanding acknowledgement of such questions will prove valuable for the protection and the growth of trust (on personal and system level).

Concluded from a social perspective, 'mindful reorganisation' needs to include ways of supporting a trustworthy climate, which must be nurtured on the level of personal trust in order to stabilise system trust by its representatives, and vise versa. Therefore I would like to argue that it *matters above all due to the fact that both top management as well as middle management are aware of such effects, and that they accept and embrace their specific responsibilities* in this field of organisational practices. Not only has top Management to provide structures, routines and personal

statements for the orientation of its executives, but has to listen and answer to them as well. Besides, middle management has to communicate with the same courtesy to their subordinates. But, even if top management is not good in doing so, intermediates would definitely help their subordinates *and* the change process by acting nevertheless mindfully – trustworthy and dialogue orientated. Intermediates should be supported in balancing such external demands with own needs in a good manner. From a psychological point of view and with regard to a socially sustainable work environment all managerial members are *responsible for a socially cohesive climate, especially under conditions of perpetual change*. Therefore, 'mindful change' has to be aspired not only on a structural level, but on all personnel levels with respect to the social atmosphere as well, in order to *maintain a general social basis* for change. Losing the people's trust may result in losing the strength of the organisation because distrusting costs employees energy, motivation, loyalty, interest, respect, nerves, and last but not least their health.

5 The Imperative of Time for Trust: Assets and Events

Part of the ongoing reorganisation processes is an *accelerating* moment; one of the aspects of modernity is an increasingly fast and repetitively change-dynamism. Outcomes often cannot be predicted; and undesired side-effects of a taken measure cannot always be foreseen: For employees this mixture turns often out to be stressful. Therefore, unintended counter-effects could result – be it structural, interactional or personal.

One may suggest that *under the perspective of time* this modern dynamism runs contrary to everything trust needs, according to Luhmann's findings. *Accelerated processes* might seem practical and prudent in the light of economic reasoning or for technical concerns, but should be reconsidered mindfully with respect to social needs of employees. *Social acceleration* neither supports mindful change nor trust.

Luhmann discusses time related aspects of trust with *concern to the preservation of assets* of action systems: He understands assets in terms of relations between system and environment, defined through the conditions of their substitutability (ibid., p. 2). An organisation may be seen as such a system. As for substitutability, for instance trust could be replaced by means of control.

The author (ibid., p. 4) argues that *trust is generally concerned with a social relationship, based on a specific legitimacy*. He describes one of its regularities as follows: "Those who give trust anticipate the future. With that a problematic relationship to time becomes evident. They *act as if they were sure* of the future" (ibid., p. 8). There is a durational aspect of time involved, fundamental with respect to trust:

Either something can be identified as an *event*, which happens in a specific moment. Or something can be identified as an *asset*, which continues to be, independent of the change of time. Assets can be identified as presently. Both perspectives are negating each other, and thereby illuminate each other complementary (ibid., p. 10).[5]

In short: *Trust is an asset. It can only be constituted and secured in the present* (ibid.). Trust is not an overcoming of time – instead *it is based on the creation of a present as an ongoing continuum*. Therefore, while events change, the continuum of assets in which events can happen circumvents the pressure of insecure futures by strengthening the ongoing present.

These thoughts have severe implications for the goal of socially sustainable interactions, supported by mindful measures in a re-organisation process: *If trust is only strengthened and secured on the ongoing continuum of the present, trust building interactions, communication, examples of proof, become crucial*. Any conception that trust already has been built and can therefore be neglected later must be put aside. Instead, a careful reflection on the *nurturing trust related issues* by executives should be put in its place. This includes staying in contact, organising participation and dialogue, giving acknowledgement through listening and securing other forms of respectful interactions, particularly important in times of change when system trust might waver and personal trust becomes more existential. The empirical narration above reflects this aspect explicitly.

This insight is valuable for 'mindful change processes' since not only system environment tends to be accelerated by globalised dynamics, but people as well. *Social acceleration increases within the dynamic of the system environment* (cf. Rosa 2005). Through this, people give less consideration to the effects of their social interactions and interact less mindfully as a result. *Decelerating* social procedures are sometimes even perceived as inconvenient and devaluated as insignificant. Middle managers may find themselves lured to think of social motions as a means to reach a task, not as a task itself. But, the danger of such technicalities lays in the ability of most employees to disguise purely strategic interaction as unethical exploitation of the social in order to reach structural goals. Thus may easily turn out to be a trust killer. Nevertheless, the more a person has to do, the less time seems to be left to invest in working on trustworthy communication. Therefore, intermediates *awareness of the fact that social processes continuously need time – which cannot be shortened or accelerated by choice, as far as social psychology and Luhmann can predict – may justify and encourage more mindful interactions*.

6 The Complementary Function of Trust and Control in Complex Systems

To Luhmann (1989, p. 13), all *planning needs to be anchored in the present*. We need to feel, as far as knowledge and procedures go, that planning does make sense – content-wise and partner-wise. Particularly a growing complexity makes it necessary, as the

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[5] In the German original, Luhmann names this differentiation "Bestände und Ereignisse".

author sees it (ibid.), to *postpone decisions in order to gain space and time*, to stay flexible and to let time unfold itself, and let developments [futures] become clearer. In case of increasing complexity a need of confirmation, based on the present, becomes more important. Trust building encounters provide a carrying link, bridging the uncertainty until events unfold themselves. In the disruptive dynamic of modernity – structural as well as interactional – Luhmann's thoughts about time and trust can be taken as particularly valuable: If perpetual changes within the organisation are a characteristic of modernity, then *personal trust become especially important as a stability anchor*.

Trust has *a function to strengthen the present in its potential to contain complexity by supporting assets against events*. But this should not be confused with an instrumental control of results, quoting Luhmann (ibid., p. 16): "Where control is sure, trust is null and void. Trust is *only needed* with respect to a future of more or less undetermined remaining complexity." Instruments of domination, like controlling, quality management and ISO-Norms, thusly do not need nor support trust, they substitute it. But even if installed, *unintended side effects may fire back on the personnel level by frustrating employees*. What is a perfect control system in the organisation worth if it discourages the workforce? From a psychological und socially sustainable perspective *not everything that could be done should be done*. Sometimes it may be more prudent to restrain technicalities in favour of a good balance between technical and social considerations.

Luhmann suggests that *'control of events' and 'trust'* are not only functional equivalents. In a complex environment *he advises to strengthen and use both mechanisms additionally and complementarily.*[6] Continuous re-organisation creates undeniably a lot of uncertainty on the structural and personnel level. Even with the best intentions in mind, *undesired side-effects* possibly cannot be avoided; different information as well as a different understanding of mentioned events has a tendency of causing confusion. Luhmann predicted (ibid., p. 17) that *with a growing technical complexity* in organisations especially trust and solidarity within smaller groups – as a team or project group – would have to increase in accordance to a more complicated system environment. The trust building reference to the ongoing present could, the author thought, only be contained in direct contact, based on personal trust. While *personal trust bridges uncertainty and can as well develop into system trus*t, it allows for a lack of information and control. It can be concluded that superiors who were able to gain and secure trust toward employees may become, as representatives of the system, as well *pillars of system trust*.

In any leadership position both layers of trust are incorporated and addressed frequently by others, especially in times of insecurity. However interwoven, by means of a trustworthy social climate personal trust and system trust need appropriate support from executives. Reflecting on this fact and ones manifold roles with respect to trust, top management and intermediates might answer trust-related

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[6] The author advises to use both the discharge function of trust and the securing function of control. As for mistrust as the counterpart of trust – which would lead too far to discuss in more detail here – this would lead to incremental control necessities and is not at all desirable.

issues with understanding and care. Thus, *executives may be well advised on investing time and attendance in favour of a well balanced mixture of both these aspects* of leadership. They may also be advised to reflect on what enables them to meet their diverse tasks without being overburdened.

At last, one might wonder if Luhmann's approach is still timely. Changes in the last decades driven by globalised acceleration dynamism within the field of work and organisation are unprecedented in many respects. Therefore, as a last theoretical consideration, a current approach about time- and trust-related issues should help to enlighten this question.

7 Trust as a Selective Social Erosion Inhibitor and a Prerequisite of Change

Sociologist and social philosopher Hartmut Rosa provides an analysis of "acceleration and the change of time structures in the modernity" (2005). Therein, he examines the *cultural and structural causes of the dynamical acceleration of societal conditions*, as well as its effects on the collective and on the individual. The author develops the thesis that the – at first sight deliberating and enabling – effect of social acceleration, resulting from a *technical speed increase* of transport, communication and production in times of globalisation, in the late-modernity threatens to reverse in itself. The author links the trust-and-time-debate with actual challenges of the modernity and argues the following thesis: *The strengthening of the asset of trust enables und supports the event of change in modernity*.

Rosa analyses modern *phenomena and functions of acceleration and inertia* as means of the dynamic of modernity. He concludes: "... stability and guarantee of assets [like trust] functioning as *fixed points* and as a *prerequisite for change* within a culture [like organisational culture]." Permanence and validity are to him important assets in the very support of change processes. Rosa describes this as a *complementary quality*, as two sides of the same coin (ibid., p. 153): "*Selective social deceleration* in order to *prevent erosion of asset-securing institutions* [like trust] could become cultural as well as structural a functional necessity of modern acceleration society" (ibid., p. 152). Emphasising on social deceleration, the author's focus lays not only on structural and functional aspects but as well on individuals and interactions.

Furthermore, trust and its *decelerating motions* can with Rosa be understood as an important *institution* within the culture of modern organisations. They act as a "*selective social erosion inhibitor*" and are a structural necessity, according to Rosa (ibid.). If well developed, they are in themselves an asset that *provides a social containment* in which organisational changes can occur. From this perspective, the allegation can be substantiated that not only 'trust' as a result, but even more the *paths that lead to it are of vital importance* within change processes. Social orientation and stability, achieved through trustworthy dialogue and acting,

experienced with superiors as well as colleagues, function as *social fixed points and provide a securing framework*, according to Rosa. The dialectic of change and sociality is understood as reciprocal: *The human need for social reassurance grows in times of change, and the structural need for a secure social footing grows with it.* Such a systemic understanding might support management and intermediates alike in their trust-related tasks.

Additionally, Rosa argues that *such values have to be systematically "excluded from change"* and can only thereby "provide reassurance of expectations, predictability and stability of planning" (ibid., p. 150) in the modernity. He points out that *only* the modern history of "acceleration became a success story *based on and modelled by institutional standstill and guarantee of assets* as means of a containing framework" (ibid.). Therefore, particularly the *containing function* of trust as a social asset should not be underestimated.

It can be concluded with Rosa that in the accelerating modernity institutional assets – like trust – become indispensible: Trust is not just a nice social plus but important because of its social-psychological container function. When structures themselves undergo changes as in organisational reorganisation processes, assets have to be even more *secured on the social level*, for it is crucial that members of an organisation are enabled to do it together. Trust in people and system trust can be understood with Rosa not as antagonistic but as *stock-preserving social and cultural means* of enabling members of organisations to realise mindful change. Both, top management and intermediates, will find themselves well-advised taking this into consideration while promoting their manifold tasks on the structural, social and operational level.

Beside a structural necessity, Rosa's thoughts fit well into deliberations about the well-being of employees at the workplace and in favour of social sustainability, as discussed above. On behalf of individuals he explains: "Where time patterns are not in accordance, severe ramifications for the individuals become inevitable" (ibid., p. 66). Social interaction has its own logic, way, and time. Accordingly, Rosa argues that one has to acknowledge *natural boarders of acceleration* particularly with respect to social processes (ibid. p. 139), like physical and psychological limitations of employees. In addition, he points out that the price of any *individualised strategy of deceleration* has to be seen as *socially extremely risky*, because it often leads to social exclusion. In this light, particularly employees with health problems are endangered by such dynamism. Therefore, Rosa argues in favour of *institutionally intended staging and protected areas* that provide slower experiences of time (ibid., p. 148) for all organisational members.

Summarising, I conclude that especially in the modernity, under the late-capitalistic acceleration logic within organisations, the earlier developed insights by Luhmann about the *relation between assets and events must be given deep consideration* for the goal of 'mindful change' in times of perpetual reorganisation. In the light of Rosa (2005, p. 153), trust and its decelerating motions should be regarded by top management and intermediates alike as an important institution and *as inherent complementarities* for any organisational development. The time invested in trust related motions makes changes possible.

8   Conclusions with Regard to the Role of Middle Managers

Interrelations between trust and time in reorganizational processes and the role of middle managers relating to the issues discussed have been confirmed through the considerations given so far. First, change has been introduced psychologically as well as socially as a stress factor. Then, under the perspective of health considerations in the accelerating modernity, the vital role of middle managers to protect their employee's health has been emphasised. Hence superior's responsibilities of respectful dialogue and social protection have become clear as cornerstones for the well-being of employees especially in times of change. In this light, socially sustainable principles on the micro-political level of an organisation become more tangible, and the role of intermediates as direct superiors and the most influential counterparts has moved to the centre of interest. Therefore, the key role of middle managers in times of change was reflected in more detail on the background of a recent meta study as well as through empirical material. On such basis, aspects of trust theory have helped to outline the specifics of the trust dynamism: on the personal and the systemic level, with regard to time as the most crucial aspect, and the differentiation of trust and control. Finally, the timeliness of such considerations has been endorsed, and trust has been confirmed as a prerequisite of change in the role of a selective social erosion inhibitor in the dynamism of the modernity. Throughout these deliberations, the role of intermediates as change agents with regard to aspects of their trust-building tasks has been reinforced as much as possible.

Some additional conclusions can be highlighted from an overall perspective when summarising.

Most importantly, *social deceleration through the motions of trust* and a trustworthy social climate are to be understood as imperative not only for people in organisations, but also for the *ongoing development* of an organisation. Understanding trust as the most important selective social erosion inhibitor in times of change supports stability and consequently flexibility. By understanding trust related motions of dialogue and trustworthy interactions not as time consuming disturbances but as a necessary basis for change – strengthening assets in order to insure events – *a prudent balance of the social and the economic considerations* may be kept in mind more easily by managers on all levels.

In addition, the presented empirical example illustrates *how an intermediate actually performs* duties as a 'mindful' superior in practice. It provides valuable insights in *how* the manifold roles and feelings of a middle manger as well as those of the employees might look like in times of change. It demonstrates *how trust can be built and secured* and how deceleration can be achieved in order *to provide social anchors and thereby prevent social erosion*, as a basis for any change.

Furthermore, *feelings about superiors above* who initiate changes downward have been expressed by the middle manager in the example. Such issues come up when finding oneself in a pioneering role, taking on the responsibility of downward protection to the benefit of employees. Top management may not always

understand the obstacles a certain department or team has to cope with on its path to change. Staying in good contact, *supporting intermediates in their facilitating role* and providing reliable information and backup will certainly be helpful. Additionally, top management's time expectations should not be accelerated unduly.

The thesis of the social *importance of the role of the direct superior* in a change process has been supported by the example as well. Possibly most often executives are the first to be addressed for reassurance when insecurities occur. Supporting intermediates in the *social requirements* of their roles as well as acknowledging the *additional workload* related to these tasks would be a prudent step. Besides, social skilfulness and empathy are not equally given to everybody, and even the best executive may find it hard to act accordingly under stress. Therefore, *in particular, top management is strongly advised to support such issues on all levels* to strengthen members of the organisation. For instance, *assistance for middle managers* can be given by leadership principles, supplemented by internal programs of social training and coaching. Consequences of given tasks for the actual workload of intermediates may be monitored with care as well.

Needs, fears or limits of strength of middle managers have only implicitly become an issue so far. But, indirectly the study of Höterhoff et al. as well as the empirical example indicated actually a profound danger to exceeding their own limits and overwork of intermediates. In the modernity, the manifold tasks and functions of middle managers lead more often than not to working overtimes. Changes often imply psychological stressors as well as additional work, simply through the need of new concepts, considerations, procedures and routines which have to be developed and hedged and coped with. Trust-related motions require time as well. Still, under a socially sustainable perspective practices of overwork should be appraised sceptically. Experienced and well-established executives are valuable members of their organisation, and subjecting them to exhaustion or to increasing health vulnerability would be unwise. Thus, *balancing aspects of a middle manager's role wisely may be imperative* under the long-term perspective of "a good role management" – from the organisational as well as from a personal point of view. Acknowledging such issues, *superiors of intermediates* may be advised to provide support and appreciation, information and backup, necessary resources and scope to act, as well as the prevention of conflicts of objectives or inadequate means.

Eventually, the *social and psychological needs of employees* in a change process (as addressed in the empirical example) should be taken into account respectfully by top management and intermediates. Considering employees on all levels – with or without leadership responsibilities – the most valuable intellectual capital and workforce of any organisation is – at least from the industrial psychology point of view – the most prudent thing to do. As assets and backbones of it, their well-being safeguards its continuance. For a socially sustainable change process, principles of mindfulness as a guideline – as best as part of an organisation's leadership mission statement – provide orientation and have been duly appropriated in the light of trust-building considerations.

Consequently, this leads to *reflections on the construct of 'mindful change' itself*. Considerations made so far showed that in practice such mindfulness becomes important on three levels: structures, interactions and persons. In the quoted example, the female middle manager illustrated what 'mindfulness' in times of change mean to her in everyday life: her s*ensitivity in dealing with her personnel's worries as well as providing orientation makes changes possible on the social level*. Such leadership builds on trust and cooperation, participation and dialogue. I presume the described attitude supports a socially sustainable working environment as well. The concept of Becke for "Organisational Mindfulness" (cf. Becke et al. 2011, and in this book) targets the quality of work particularly on a structural level (by recurring communication through regulated dialogue spaces, routines of interaction, rules for reflection). Such structures provide an important framework and orientation for socially valuable interactions – and *can* be used, but not as a must! Still, participatory structures are very important prerequisites. But "the prove of the pudding is the eating" – structures and routines are only as good as the organisational members who are using them, allowing them to be used, and thereby *breathing life into them by a corresponding attitude*. Using such structures to achieve positive effects is what has to be added by people, through an interactional and a personal level of mindfulness. Therefore, *all organisational members should be supported to be able to act accordingly*, particularly under stressful conditions. How exactly people can be strengthened to consistently act mindfully with regard to structural, interactional and personal means might possibly depend on context, profession, personal qualification and attitude. However, with respect to the actual field of work, its people and issues, the means may vary, but not the goal itself. From a psychological viewpoint all three of these layers of mindfulness have to work together. Therefore it can be concluded that *social prerequisites of change* ought to be taken into account most seriously.

Further research of the psychological side of perpetual change processes regarding trust and its decelerating motions may be of interest: As far as I can see, middle managers will play an increasingly important mediating role in organisations of the modernity.

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Trust and Its Impacts on Organizational Change and Innovation in Social Services

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Abstract Mindful organizational change may be supported by the trust culture in the organization (interpersonal and organizational trust). Various dimensions of trust culture can be differentiated which may depend on the length of interpersonal cooperation or on the belonging to the organization. E.g., calculative trust may occur in short-term relationships while identification-based trust may occur in long-term cooperation. Trust is an important aspect in organizational change processes. It can support or avoid organizational change and innovation processes, e.g. identification-based trust might stabilize the status-quo situation and prevent organizational change processes (see Bleses P (2011) Ambivalenzen von Vertrauensbeziehungen in betrieblichen Veränderungsprozessen. Methodik der betrieblichen Analyse und Gestaltung. In: Becke G, Behrens M, Bleses P, Evers J, Hafkesbrink J (eds) Organisationale Achtsamkeit in betrieblichen Veränderungsprozessen – Zentrale Voraussetzung für innovationsfähige Vertrauenskulturen. artec-paper Nr. 175, Bremen, pp 119–136). Especially in social services trust is an important source in every-day work, in internal and external cooperation and for the orientation on the client's needs, because it is very much characterized by patterns of emotional work and empathic relations or interactions between service providers and clients. Furthermore, social services are facing enormous change processes, e.g. because of the external cost pressure and economization (Hartmann A (2011) Soziale Dienste: Merkmale, Aufgaben und Entwicklungstrends aus der Perspektive soziologischer Theorien. In: Evers A, Heinze RG, Olk T (eds) Handbuch soziale Dienste. VS Verlag, Wiesbaden, pp 76–93; Wulf-Schnabel J (2011) Reorganisation und Subjektivierungen von Sozialer Arbeit. VS Verlag, Wiesbaden). Costs for social services often need to be cut down due to general financing framework conditions in the health sector and supplying organizations have to deal with this challenge. How can trust be designed

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to support these organizational change processes in social services? First, knowledge on how trust culture is designed in the organization is necessary. Second, data on the most relevant trust mechanisms to support organizational change is required to choose the matching institutional mechanisms that are needed (e.g. communications systems). Within the project 8iNNO a concept was developed to collect data on the nowadays trust culture to get information on organizational mechanisms to support mindful organizational change. The thesis of this contribution is that different trust dimensions are of different relevance to support organizational change. Based on empirical findings within the project 8iNNO we will illustrate the relevance of a well-developed trust culture for organizational change.

Keywords Trust • Change processes • Innovation • Social services

1   Introduction

Social service providers in Germany are facing an increasing pressure: on the one hand there exists a high external cost pressure concerning the offer and the refinancing of social services, e.g. care and assistance services. On the other hand, there are strong demands and high growth potential due to demographic change (see e.g. Heinze 2011; Grunwald 2001, p. 18; Boeßenecker, Trube and Wohlfahrt 2000). At the same time, social service providers are facing different internal challenges as it is hard to find qualified employees. High physical and psychological strains, and, therefore, high employee turnover or early retirement, are a daily occurrence (see Klein and Gaugisch 2005; Blass 2005; Heinze 2011). Furthermore, the social services are facing enormous change processes because of the external cost pressures and the need to economise (Hartmann 2011; Wulf-Schnabel 2011). The costs of providing social services often need to be reduced because of general financing framework conditions in the health sector, and supplying organizations have to deal with this challenge. They might decide to change their business model to reach solvent clients as well as to centralize former more or less autonomous units. Documentation and written quality management requirements are of increasing importance (see Grunwald 2001, p. 16), while interactive work time with clients is sinking or interactive time is not refinanced as a real percentage (see e.g. Dunkel 2011). The external and internal challenges that social service providers have to deal with, lead to pressure for change and permanent reorganization. The organization of such change processes needs to be mindful: clients, who in the area of social services are also residents, e.g. in geriatric care organizations, should be as least affected as possible, whilst employees participate as much as possible, and the whole change process should be organized mindfully (see e.g. Becke 2011a). The organization of change processes carried out in this manner can be called 'Mindful change' (see Becke 2011a). The trust culture can be seen as an important aspect that supports mindful change (see Evers and Hafkesbrink 2011; Becke 2011a). In this context, various trust mechanisms can be

differentiated, such as institutional-based trust or identification-based trust (see Evers and Hafkesbrink 2011; Sect. 2 of this contribution). The argument of this paper is that these different trust mechanisms can affect innovativeness in different ways, and can support or undermine organizational change processes (see e.g. Bleses 2011).

Against the background of the increasing change processes of social services and the challenge of creating the process as mindfully as possible, there is the central question as to which trust mechanisms are assessed positively to support innovation processes by members of the organization (mindful trust mechanisms), and which trust mechanisms are assessed to have a negative impact on innovativeness? The perceived benefits of the trust culture might provide information as to how change processes can be supported via an innovation-friendly trust culture, e.g. by the implementation of formal or informal institutions that help to strengthen the appropriate trust mechanisms, or avoid their reduction. We present here the results from a study of a social service provider in Germany.

Take the empirical results of the project 8iNNO as our starting point,[1] this paper will show the interrelation of mindful change and trust culture (2) in social services faced with specific change and economic pressures (3). In this context, the empirical results concerning the perceived impacts of trust culture to innovativeness within the 8iNNO-Project will be presented (4). We will also refer to institutional mechanisms that are able to support trust mechanisms, and show possible ways for social service providers to support their innovativeness by strengthening certain trust mechanisms that are shown to support innovativeness.

2 Mindful Change and Trust

The 8iNNO project focuses on the question of the development and implementation of mindful change in organizations. A main contribution to mindful change is trust at the organizational and personal levels. Trust might help to develop stabilizing mechanisms in times of organizational change and in flexible surroundings (see Hafkesbrink and Evers 2013 and 2010; Becke 2011a): "The . . . design concept of organizational mindfulness deals with the organizational development in the sense of adaptive, this means innovation-and change friendly trust culture. Trust as interpersonal and system-based trust in our opinion proves to be a central social resource and an indispensable organizational stabilizing anchor to sustain a dynamic balance of flexibility and stability in organizational change processes"

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[1] The research is based on the Project 8iNNO "Organisationale Achtsamkeit als Basis für Innovationsfähigkeit von Unternehmen". Participants of the projects are the University of Bremen, Research Center for Sustainability Studies (artec) in cooperation with innowise GmbH and four companies. The Project is funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the European Social Fund (Reference Number 01FH09003). For further information on the 8iNNO project, please consult: www.achtinno.uni-bremen.de.

(Becke 2011b, p. 11).[2] Trust culture in this context means "Trust-based and at the same time innovation-friendly organization cultures" (Becke 2011a) and describes "Expectations of actors in work-based interaction-and cooperation processes for future non-opportunistic behaviour. This applies to routine- and innovation-processes as well as to intra-organizational and inter-organizational interaction-and cooperation-processes" (Hafkesbrink and Evers 2011, p. 197). Organizational change processes may result in uncertainty (see Luhmann 1973). The trust culture can be seen as a mechanism to reduce change-based uncertainty: ". . .trust is needed in periods of change. For example, when a significant change is announced in an organization, the announcement creates uncertainty that often leads people to reject or block the change. It is particularly clear in such cases that direct orders are inadequate for ensuring new behaviours; for real change to be implemented the degree of perceived uncertainty must be offset by an increase in trust" (Edmondson and Moingeon 1999, p. 159).

As permanent reorganization often involves a break in, as well as a new definition of known structures, processes and routines (see von der Heyden 2011, p. 67), mindfulness for stabilizing elements in the organization is necessary in times of change: "The process of rearranging old and building new structures needs time. Employees cannot be expected, via the push of a button, to break with accepted customs and adapt themselves to comprehensive innovation over night" (von der Heyden 2011, p. 67). Stabilizing principles might be kept alive to support trust in times of flexible change, to support innovative processes (see Becke 2011b, von der Heyden 2011, p. 92): "The more uncertain developments in the field of strategy and organizational design are (e.g. issues of strategic cooperation, process architecture or vertical integration) the more important are certainties in the daily relationships and communication processes. Instability and risk in one place . . . so to speak, must be offset by increased stability and protection on the other place. . . This is an important prerequisite to engage people in new themes and experiences" (cited by: von der Heyden 2011, p. 92). These stabilizing frameworks of trust culture may be developed by institutional design parameters. They can support trust achievement and development, and may, at the same time create certainty (Evers and Hafkesbrink 2011).

Mindful organizational change may be supported by the trust culture in the organization (interpersonal and organizational trust). We define trust as a complex, not directly observable construct of different dimensions. Various dimensions of the trust culture can be differentiated that may depend on the length of interpersonal cooperation, or on the belonging to the organization. For example, calculative trust may occur in short-term relationships, while identification-based trust may occur in long-term cooperation. In order to operationalise the trust construct within the 8iNNO project so as to be able to evaluate the benefits of trust, trust mechanisms were described as follows (see Hafkesbrink and Evers 2010, p. 224):

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[2] Translation of German quotes was made by the authors of this contribution.

- **Identification-based trust** (e.g. Lewicki and Bunker 1996; Shapiro Sheppard and Cheraskin 1992) emerges in (basically, but not necessarily the long-term) interaction of persons with similar backgrounds who share the same intentions of cooperation.
- **Institutional-based,** or system-based, **trust** (Möllering 2006; Luhmann 1973) refers to the trustworthiness of formal organizational or institutional structures, as well as the reliability of the firm as a corporate agent (e.g. Loose and Sydow 1997).
- **Competence-based trust** has a double intention. First, it develops because information provided by individual and organizational actors is assessed as authentic and reliable since the actor is supposed to have relevant competences in a specified field. Second, trust in competences also comprises the ability of actors to "act according to agreements and expectations" (Nooteboom 2006, p. 1).
- **Process-based trust** is usually based on long-term cooperation, past experiences and routine activities and structures (Zucker 1986; Loose and Sydow 1997). It supposes that the modes of cooperation, e.g. the information or communication developed over time, embeds trust into the operational structure of cooperation.
- **Calculus-based trust** (e.g. Coleman 1990; Nooteboom 2002) is a mechanism based on rational choice, and depends on cost-benefit presumptions. Calculus-based trust is rational in the sense that everyone in an organization depends on the impacts of acting trustworthy. Negative impacts may arise if trust is abused e.g. by unreliability.

Trust in this context cannot be considered as an end in itself: it cannot be "conjured up" by talking about it but by doing nothing. Also, trust culture cannot be consciously designed or influenced (see Neuberger 2006; Götz 2006; Beckert et al. 1998). Nevertheless, on an institutional basis, favorable conditions can be created to sustain a trust culture in innovation processes (see North 1990; Hafkesbrink and Evers 2011). The development of a trust culture can be supported by formal and informal institutions. These include, for example, at a formal level the field of communication systems and management guidelines, and, on an informal basis, shared experiences and ingrained routines (Evers and Hafkesbrink 2011).

Trust is an important aspect in organizational change processes. However, a trust culture can be seen as ambivalent. As trust in research and literature is often described as conducive to innovation (see Becke 2011a; Hafkesbrink and Evers 2011; Beckert et al. 1998) and reducing complexity (Luhmann 1973), by which change processes are low-friction (e.g. Behrens 2011) and cost efficient (e.g. Beckert et al. 1998) a (very) stable trust culture may have an opposite effect: on the one hand, it can support organizational change. On the other hand, it can avoid organizational change and innovation processes when for example, identification-based trust might stabilize the status-quo and prevent organizational change processes (see Bleses 2011).

This leads to the question, as to which of the above mentioned trust mechanisms are conducive, and which are a hindrance, or less conducive, to support innovation

and change processes? Knowledge of the characteristics of trust mechanisms, as well as their perceived benefits to support innovation processes, gives changing organizations the opportunity to strengthen important trust mechanisms as well as to avoid the erosion of these trust mechanisms. They cannot intervene directly in the emergence and maintenance of trust cultures (see above), but they can create a favourable framework and participative structures to sustain trust (see Becke 2011a; Behrens 2011).

3 Social Services: Situation and Change Pressures

Social services – such as caring or assistance services (see Hartmann 2011) – are a subset of personal services (see Dunkel 2011; Evers et al. 2011, p. 10): "In all definitions the orientation on persons is a central factor: social services are directly addressed to individuals or indirectly to persons in their household contexts. They are services on persons and obey the uno-actu principle; therefore, the act of production coincides with the act of consumption. Thus, the clients are not standing outside the work process as purchasers of a product but are as integral part co-producers of service delivery. The interaction is a core condition for the success of the offer and can only to a limited extent be standardized. Interaction is heavily influenced situationally and therefore involves a high degree of unpredictability. It therefore follows from the uno-actu principle that there is a certain resistance to rationalization" (Hartmann 2011, p. 76f, see also: Dunkel 2011, p. 188; Bauer 2001). Furthermore, the role and interaction with clients[3] and benefactors is specifically important: "The institutional framework of social services is more complex than by other personal services. [. . .] [It] is shaped by the social service law triangular relationship of public payers (social insurance, state agencies), social service provider (public, voluntary non-profit, private) and beneficiaries. This triangular relationship implies that the social service provider [*Dienstleistungsgeber, d.A.*] does not only have the beneficiary as customer but also those who pay for the services [*Kostenträger, d.A.*] and therefore also provide requirements to the quality of performance. Employees in social work or in care services do not only have to arrange with the individual needs of their clients, but also with bureaucratic requirements" (Dunkel 2011, p. 192).

As social services were financed by cost-reimbursement, and social service providers have developed their organization, work, offerings and networks with this framework, since the 1990s social service providers have faced different conditions in which, for example, performance contracts and care charges have played a more significant role (see e.g. Grunwald 2001, p. 21; Grunow and Köppe

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[3] For the issue of clients as co-producers in social services see e.g. (Baethge 2011, p. 55).

2000, p. 57; Pabst 2000, p. 65; Boeßenecker 2000).[4] Specific rates or refinancing models exist for specific clients (see e.g. Grunwald 2001, p. 21). Since the 1990s, this has led to a permanent pressure for social service providers to keep to the given cost conditions: "After the expansion phase of social services in the 1970s and 1980s and with the increasing crisis of public finances [. . .] since the early 1990s the lack of efficiency and "unprofessionalism" of service delivery in social service organizations was strongly discussed. In the 1990s and under fiscal pressure increasingly competitive elements with the aim of improving efficiency in the relevant legal codes were inserted by the legislators. This leads to an increasing competitive-and efficient-pressure within the social service providers. Thus the traditional primacy of voluntary welfare was abolished and the previous funding through cost recovery principle increasingly was replaced by performance-and case-related charges" (Grohs and Bogumil 2011, p. 300). These circumstances were often named "economization" in the social service debate (see Grohs and Bogumil 2011; Hartmann 2011; Grunwald 2001).[5]

These framing conditions led to permanent reorganization and high pressure for change in social service providers: "[the economization tendency] has reached organizations of different industries, private and public sectors and the welfare sector. As part of the economization market principles are transferred to internal structures in order to increase flexibility, cost efficiency and economic benefits of firms. Dynamically designed economic objectives lead to a permanent reorganization pressure of firms" (Becke 2011b, p. 9). Rationalizations need to be achieved because of change processes and permanently shrinking finances or the financing of different tasks (e.g. more work time spent on documentation and quality management) (e.g. Blass 2005).

Social services are, therefore, affected by permanent change and reorganization processes.[6] Furthermore, the interaction between the consumer and the producer, and trust in the consumer-producer-relationship is of special interest in contrast to that in more production-related services (see e.g. Dunkel 2011). Social services providers partly operate within confessional constraints which lead to ". . .ingrained social or ethical principles. . ." (cited by Bleses 2011). This often leads to identification-based trust – a trust mechanism built on long-term cooperation that may produce more lasting effects than that of the calculus- or rational-based trust that also occurs in short-term relationships. To this extent, the subject of mindful change is important, as employee turnover, and physical and psychological stress

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[4] For the history and development of social services in Germany see e.g. (Sachße 2011; Grunow and Köppe 2000).

[5] For the debate of pro and contra of economization of social services see e.g. (Boeßenecker et al. 2000).

[6] Changes due to rationalization pressure are discussed e.g. in (Grohs and Bogumil 2011): Decentralization, Budgeting, Employee orientation for a higher motivation and as incentive systems, more competition of providers.

among employees and (middle) manager should not be strengthen by trust erosion.[7] In the context of permanent change, mindfulness and the trust culture of social services must be taken into account. This is because standardized instruments for measuring unpredictable processes are hard to find, and, in the area of social services, rationalizations are only possible to a limited extent (see Hartmann 2011; Baethge 2011, p. 57). Institutional design parameters to support trust culture in change processes should thus be able to respond flexibly to the specific work processes and contexts of social services. In terms of mindful change, they should promote participation and communication, and include the experience of the change process and the overall fit to the organization of it (see also Behrens 2011).

In the social services trust is especially important in every-day work, in internal and external cooperation and for the orientation on the client's needs, because it is very much characterized by patterns of emotional work and empathic relations, or through interactions between service providers and clients (see Cook et al. 2004). Trust is therefore an important aspect for mindful change as it may support or avoid change processes. In the following sections we will discuss the implications that can be made from supporting and avoiding trust mechanisms on change processes in social services, and the design parameters that can be seen by firms. Which trust mechanisms are of importance to support change processes, and which might be of lesser importance? These questions will be examined in the next sections that draw on data of a social service organization in the 8iNNO-project.

4 Benefits of Trust Culture: Empirical Results from a Social Service Provider

We will first present the concepts to evaluate the benefits of trust culture within the 8iNNO project (4.1). This will be followed by a discussion of the empirical results of a social service provider who wanted to design a trust culture in its change process (4.2) and the perceived benefits of trust mechanisms to support innovation (4.3).

4.1 Methodic Approach

The 8iNNO project focuses on organizational mindfulness as a basis for firms' innovativeness, and the questions as to how to design and support organizational mindfulness. In this context, the task was to evaluate the cost and benefit effects of the design of a trust culture to support innovation (see: Becke 2011a; Behrens 2011; Evers and Hafkesbrink 2011). In order to solve this task, the following intervention and evaluation model was developed (Fig. 1):

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[7] For work and work restrictions in social service work see e.g. (Blass 2005; Klein and Gaugisch 2005; Dunkel 2011, p. 196; Baethge 2011; Hafkesbrink et al. 2011).
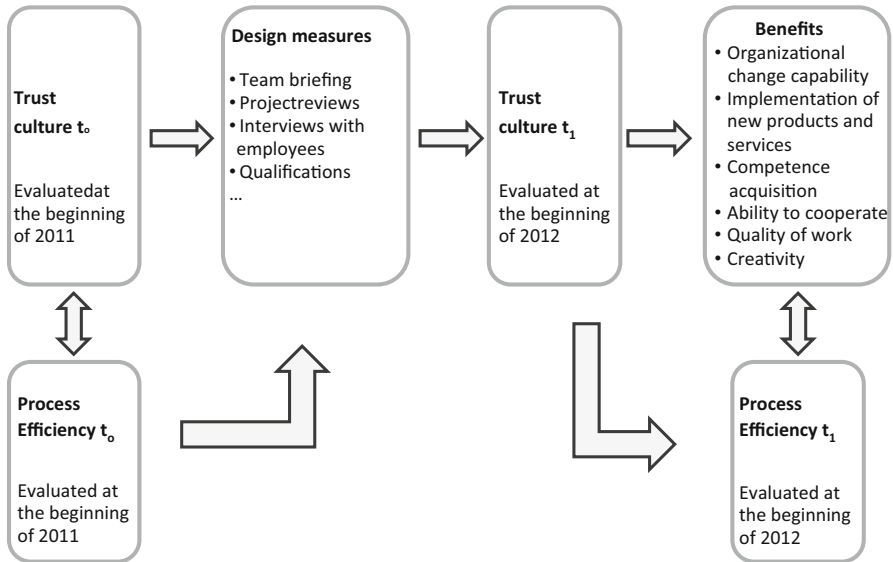
Fig. 1 Representation of interventions and evaluation within the 8iNNO Project (see: Hafkesbrink and Evers 2013)

Based on developed questionnaires before and after the implementation of instruments and measures to design organizational trust culture, the following aspects were evaluated (see for conceptional details: Evers and Hafkesbrink 2011, Hafkesbrink and Evers 2013):

- Occurrence of indicators concerning trust culture in the mentioned dimensions (see Sect. 2)
- Perceived or anticipated benefits of trust culture
- Changes in value creation and transaction costs via an analysis of needed work time for specific work processes.

The following descriptions are based on the perceived or anticipated benefits as a consequence of the developed trust culture to support change processes. Indicators for the empirical results concerning the value creation and transaction-cost development, and the development of trust culture indicators, are described in detail in Hafkesbrink and Evers (2013).

Four firms from different line of business were included in the 8iNNO project. 70 employees of the four firms participated in a questionnaire-based evaluation before and after the implementation of trust designing measures. This and the next sections focus on the results from a social service provider and the results of this organization (individual case study). The basic change process in this case study was the centralization of former decentralised departments that led to major changes for all participants (management, employees and clients). The question was on how to design this change process mindfully.

In a dialogue-oriented process (see Behrens 2011) a number of design measures were discussed with the social service employees. Some of these measures were implemented in the firm. Emphasis was placed on the implementation of horizontal and vertical communication structures and processes to support mindful change. At the formal level, the organization established staff interviews, an in-house magazine, and cross-team and internal team meetings. At the informal level, the organization established a *"Stammtisch"* (informal meeting) at which (middle) manager and employees discussed current issues. Even the topic of "rumours" was integrated into meetings to discuss and solve them. The development and implementation of horizontal and vertical communication structures were designed to help to support mindful change processes and ensure a high participation of employees and (middle) management.

The first survey took place in early 2011, at the beginning of the change process. The second survey was conducted in early 2012, when the change process was mainly completed and the changed conditions in terms of the centralization of formerly decentralized departments were stabilized. It should be noted that this change process, which was evaluated in the 8iNNO project, was only one among several change processes in the organization. In total 44 employees and middle manager participated in both surveys in the social service organization.

4.2   Development of Trust Culture Over Time

As part of the operationalisation of the 8iNNO concept the trust mechanisms described in Sect. 1 were related to indicators as shown in Table 1.

In relation to the indicators, questions were developed and integrated for the social service organization. Participants were asked on a scale of 1 (no agreement) to 5 (strong agreement) or 0 (no importance) to rate the questions based on the respective indicators of trust culture. Participation in the survey was voluntary.

An analysis of the results of the trust culture indicators is shown in Fig. 2.

Figure 2 shows the average accumulated results of the individual indicators (from Table 1) that relate to the various trust mechanisms. Four of the trust mechanisms increased after the implementation of the new communication structures. A small decline can be seen in the competence-based trust indicators, which were seen as being of less importance in 2012 than in 2011.

The concrete question is: did the implemented design measures like formal or informal institutions contribute to this trust mechanism development? And how can the specific results of the development of trust mechanism indicators can be interpreted?

The aim of the establishment of new communication structures and processes was to provide an opportunity for all employees to participate, to raise questions, and to discuss the aims, backgrounds and reasons for the change processes. Within this setting, rumors could be of less importance, and stabilized routines could support the change processes. To achieve this aim, team-based instruments – such

Table 1 Indicators of trust culture (see: Hafkesbrink and Evers 2011, p. 212)

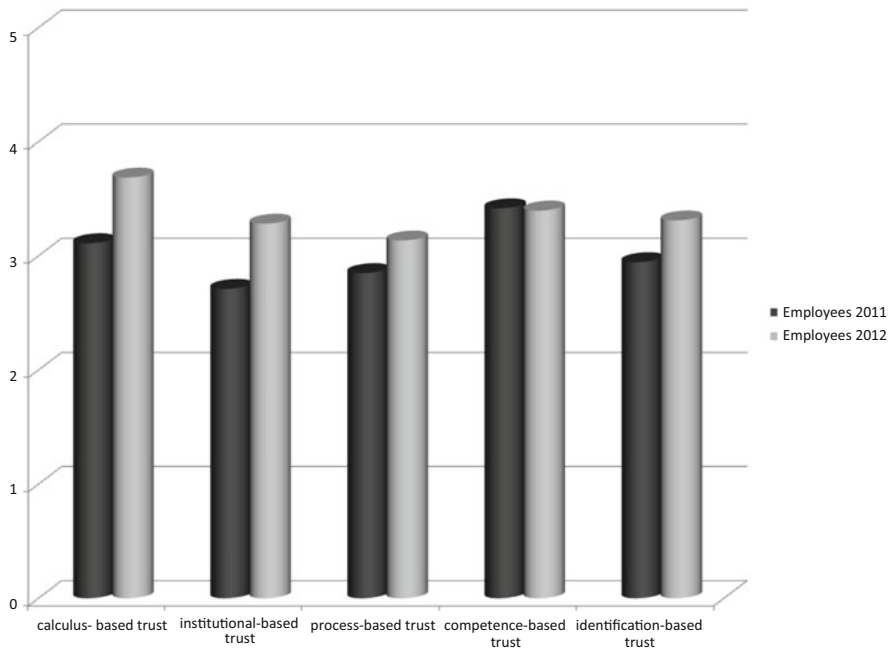|	Indicator		Indicator
calculus-based trust	Expectations of the task fulfillment of colleagues	process-based trust	Reputation-based trust in the absence of process experience with externals
	Expectations of the task fulfillment of (middle) management		Trust based on the "organizational memory"
	Assessment of reciprocity in the relationship of colleagues and manager		Experience-based trust because of interaction with externals
institutional-based trust	Validity of formal and informal organizational rules		Experience-based trust because of the interaction with colleagues
	System functioning, Depersonalization of trust expectations		Experience-based trust because of the interaction with managers
	Open options for external cooperations		Reputation-based trust because of the interaction-processes with managers
	Validity and reliability of structures according to colleagues		Reputation-based trust because of the interaction-processes with colleagues
	Validity and reliability of structures according to employees (from the managements´ perspective)	identification-based trust	Work identification of management
	Open options for internal cooperations		Identification of colleagues
competence-based trust	Trust towards externals based on a competence assumption		Trust in the understanding of the interaction partners with (middle) management
	Trust towards internals based on a competence assumption		Trust in the understanding of the interaction partners with colleagues
	Trust based on results instead of process control		Managers´ identification with the mission statement and corporate objectives
	Trust in task fulfillment of colleagues without proof of competences		Colleagues´ identification with the mission statement and corporate objectives
	Management of competence assumption with employees (from the managements´ perspecitve)		Personal trust based on perception of understanding

Fig. 2 Development of trust culture indicators

as meetings and instruments to structure communication for employees and (middle) management – were developed and implemented. Analysis of the indicators presented in Table 1 shows the following developments (see Table 2).

Table 2 Development of trust culture indicators in 2011 and 2012, only employees

	Indicator	Development of indicators 2011->2012		Indicator	Development of indicators 2011->2012
calculus-based trust	Expectations of the task fulfillment of colleagues	➡ -0,03	**process-based trust**	Reputation-based trust in the absence of process experience with externals	↗ +0,39
	Expectations of the task fulfillment of (middle) management	⬆ +1,02		Trust based on the "organizational memory"	↗ +0,56
	Assessment of reciprocity in the relationship of colleagues and manager	↗ +0,68		Experience-based trust because of interaction with externals	↗ +0,67
institutional-based trust	Validity of formal and informal organizational rules	↗ +0,81		Experience-based trust because of the interaction with colleagues	➡ +0,4
	System functioning, Depersonalization of trust expectations	➡ +0,19		Experience-based trust because of the interaction with managers	↗ +0,75
	Open options for external cooperations	⬆ +0,82		Reputation-based trust because of the interaction-processes with managers	➡ -0,24
	Validity and reliability of structures according to colleagues	➡ +0,05		Reputation-based trust because of the interaction-processes with colleagues	↘ -0,59
	Validity and reliability of structures according to employees (from the managements´ perspective)	(only manager)	**identification-based trust**	Work identification of management	↗ +0,68
	Open options for internal cooperations	⬆ +1,06		Identification of colleagues	➡ -0,1
competence-based trust	Trust towards externals based on a competence assumption	➡ -0,09		Trust in the understanding of the interaction partners with (middle) management	⬆ +0,83
	Trust towards internals based on a competence assumption	↗ +0,61		Trust in the understanding of the interaction partners with colleagues	➡ +0,08
	Trust based on results instead of process control	➡ +0,24		Managers´ identification with the mission statement and corporate objectives	↗ +0,35
	Trust in task fulfillment of colleagues without proof of competences	↘ -0,84		Colleagues´ identification with the mission statement and corporate objectives	➡ +0,09
	Management of competence assumption with employees (from the managements´ perspecitve)	(only manager)		Personal trust based on perception of understanding	↗ +0,31

The communication structures showed positive effects on **calculus-based trust**, especially on the expectations on the task performance of (middle) manager (+1,02). This finding leads to the assumption that an increase of transparency – because of better communication – leads to a higher degree of trust in management. Positive effects can also be seen in the reciprocity in the relationship of management and employees (+0,68).

Clearly positive leverage effects are also apparent within **institutional-based trust**: three indicators increased positively in view of the perceived validity of existing institutions (e.g. measures and instruments that were implemented beyond and during the change process, +0.81%), and internal (+1,06%) and external (+0,82) open options for cooperation. Taken together, these findings reveal that the communication structures and processes had a stabilizing effect on the cohesion of rules in the organization, and also strengthened the perceived autonomy of the actors in terms of internal and external collaborations.

For **competence-based trust,** opposite tendencies can be seen: because of the in change processes established communication structures transparency about who is responsible for certain actions or decisions increased (+0,61). However, negative

developments can be seen in the tendency of trust because of colleagues' perceived competencies and skills (−0,84). Here, formal qualifications seemed to be more important than trust that colleagues would fulfil their job duties. The reason might be that formerly decentralized units – in which employees who did not know each other cooperated although they were unable to assess their colleagues' skills and competencies – were centralised. Formal qualifications (e.g. training) may be an initial starting point to assess colleagues' task performance and reduce uncertainty in the cooperation processes.

The established vertical communication structures had positive effects on **process-based trust** (that increased by +0.75) because of routinised cooperation processes with (middle) manager. Apparently, the vertical communication structures could support routinised actions in the cooperation between employees and manager, e.g. there were established standardised tools such as staff meetings or appraisal interviews to support regular opportunities for exchange. This helped to strengthen confidence in cooperating in change processes. Process-based trust also increased due to the routinised cooperation with colleagues (+0,4). However, it no longer seemed to be possible to share working and cooperation experiences with colleagues and to gain an idea of colleagues with whom one could work well together (−0,59). After the centralization and consolidation of former decentralized teams, time is needed to gain experiences from interaction processes and to talk about those processes. From this a recommendation may be to live daily with the horizontal communication structures. Continuous interaction and exchange may be supported within different teams, and mutual respect can be established.

Within **identification-based trust,** the employees' trust in the understanding of (middle) manager for their needs in everyday work increased (+0,83). In addition, middle manager identified better with their work than was the case in an earlier stage of the change process according to the employees' view (+0,68). The communication structures helped to strengthen cooperation and exchange between employees and between employees and (middle) manager. They supported the articulation of needs in daily cooperation. In the colleagues' cooperation, a similar, though not as strongly pronounced result, occurred. Here, trust in colleagues due to a perceived mutual understanding increased (+0,31).

4.3   Benefit Effects of Trust Culture for Firms' Innovativeness

In order to evaluate the beneficial effects of trust culture for firms' innovativeness, questions were developed to identify trust mechanisms necessary for:

- Organizational change capability
- Implementation of new products and services
- Competence acquisition
- Ability to cooperate
- Quality of work
- Creativity.

A good and reliable information basis on structures, processes and rules of the organization has the following consequence on the...		... there is an improvement	... there is no impact	... there is a deterioration
	...Organizational change capability	☐	☐	☐
	...Implementation of new products and services	☐	☐	☐
	...Competence acquisition	☐	☐	☐
	...Ability to cooperate	☐	☐	☐
	...Quality of work	☐	☐	☐
	...Creativity	☐	☐	☐

A well rehearsed cooperation and reliable routines in the organization, with colleagues and (middle) management has the following consequence on the...		... there is an improvement	... there is no impact	... there is a deterioration
	...Organizational change capability	☐	☐	☐
	...Implementation of new products and services	☐	☐	☐
	...Competence acquisition	☐	☐	☐
	...Ability to cooperate	☐	☐	☐
	...Quality of work	☐	☐	☐
	...Creativity	☐	☐	☐

Fig. 3 Examples from the 8iNNO project questionnaire

Table 3 Results of beneficial effects on trust mechanisms

	Employees 2011	Employees 2012
Calculus-based trust	0,82	0,83
Institutional-based trust	0,81	0,84
Process-based trust	0,75	0,80
Competence-based trust	0,71	0,56
Identification-based trust	0,51	0,65

Participants could specify their perception of positive and/or negative effects of trust culture for these trust indicators. Hence the analysis could show an increase or decrease of the mentioned trust culture indicators that resulted in its improvement or deterioration of trust culture within the firm's innovative processes (Fig. 3).

The assessment was based on a scale of +1 (there is an improvement) to −1 (there is deterioration). 0 was assessed if there was no impact of the trust culture on the indicators for the promotion of innovation (see Hafkesbrink and Evers 2011). For each of the above mentioned trust mechanisms an assessment was asked of employees and middle manager about the impacts in the 2011 and 2012 surveys.

Analysis of the results of the survey of the perceived benefits of trust culture for firms' innovativeness initially showed that, on average, the results of all participating employees in 2011 were positive and ranged between +0,5 and +1. Trust culture was, therefore, not seen by the participants as a hindrance to innovativeness in the sense that certain trust mechanisms had a negative impact on the innovation capability. However, on average, there was a wide range of benefits (see Table 3).

With the exception of competence-based trust, Table 3 shows that there is a positive change in the benefit expectations of the respective trust mechanisms regarding their leverage effects on innovation. Here a similar trend as in the

development of trust mechanisms occurs, as we saw in Sect. 4.2. It is striking that identification-based trust increased in its benefit expectations; however it was still at a lower level compared to the other trust mechanisms.

Table 3 also shows that the more in short-term developing trust mechanisms of calculus-based and institutional-based trust were perceived as conducive for innovation capability. Identification-based trust was assessed relatively low in order to support innovation, although its perceived benefit expectations significantly increased in 2012. This was probably related to the stabilization after the change process and the new state of centralization which allowed a better identification with corporate aims and (new) tasks (see Sect. 4.2). On the other, identification-based trust was still considered as less conducive to innovation capability in 2012 compared to e.g. institutional- or process-based trust. This might be rooted in the sustainable effects of the highly stable identification-based trust (see Bleses 2011), which develops over long periods because of shared goals and values, and also because the promotion of innovation is considered as less relevant. By contrast, calculus- or rational-based trust, developing in short-term relationships, and over short periods of time, is more relevant to support innovation and change processes, because employees trust the new, centralized situation in a rational sense but cannot yet identify with it. A comparison of the individual indicators of calculus-based trust and the more stable, long-term identification-based trust is shown in Fig. 4.

The individual evaluation and analysis of these two trust mechanisms shows that calculus-based trust has slightly positive effects on organizational change capability, the ability to cooperate and the quality of work. This was different with skills development and the implementation of new products and services in 2012, where the opposite effects were evaluated. A contrary picture can be seen for identification-based trust. In 2011 the expected benefits were considered relatively low, but the employees rated all the indicators higher in 2012, particularly the leverage effects of identification-based trust to support the ability to cooperate and the quality of work. As part of the organizational change process in the case study, the implementation of communication structures clearly revealed that trust mechanisms were conducive to innovation capability where cooperation with colleagues played an important role (ability to cooperate and quality of work). This leads to the conclusion that in change processes in highly interactive social services, especially the exchange of ideas and experiences between the participating innovation actors, is an important framework condition to support mindful change.

A different impression is shown by analysing competence-based trust: In 2011 the benefit expectation was positive, while it decreased in the year 2012. Looking at the individual indicators analysis, a differentiated picture is revealed (Fig. 5).

The benefit expectation for innovation capability in all indicators was higher in 2011 than in 2012 (the ability to cooperate was constant). In particular, the leverage effect of competence-based trust for organizational change capability, skills acquisition and the implementation of new products and services were assessed lower in 2012 than in 2011. Looking at the perceived benefit effects of the indicator quality
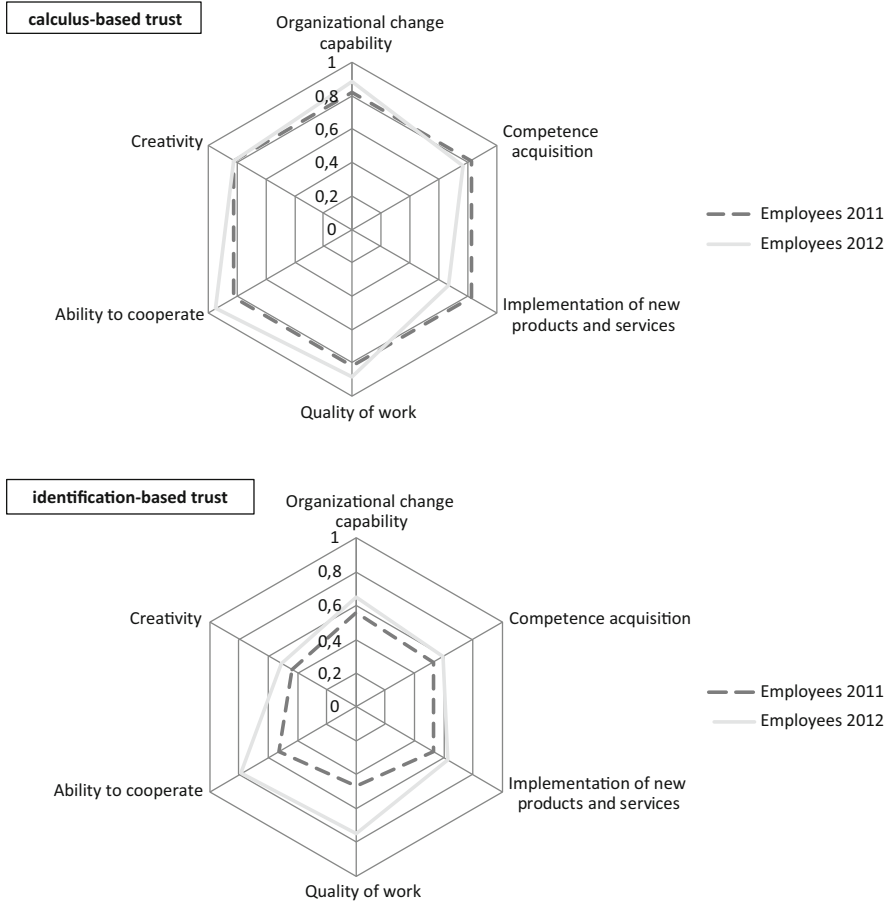
Fig. 4 Assessed benefits of individual indicators of calculus-and identification-based trust, 0 = small, 0,5 = medium, 1 = high benefit effects

of work, there was only a slight decrease. The reason may be that the implementation of new, or better, communication structures could effectively support the knowledge and reliability of responsibilities and decision-making competencies (see Sect. 4.2). This had positive effects on cooperation, as employees knew whom to ask their questions to. The decrease in the benefit expectations of the other indicators may be connected to the possibility that, within change processes, the perceived competencies of employees and middle manager play a smaller role than, for example, the stability of structures and routines (institutional-and process-based trust), identification with the organizational objectives (identification-based trust), and expectations of the values of change processes (calculus-based trust). Furthermore, there seem to be doubts that, after finishing the centralization, the employees could fulfill their work tasks as well as before it took place (see Table 2). This is

Fig. 5 Benefit rating of individual indicators within competence-based trust

because of the combination of former decentralised teams in which the employees did not know each other's competencies and skills, and needed time to cooperate and to get to know each other better. As a consequence, the beneficial effects of competencies and skills for the innovation capability decreased.
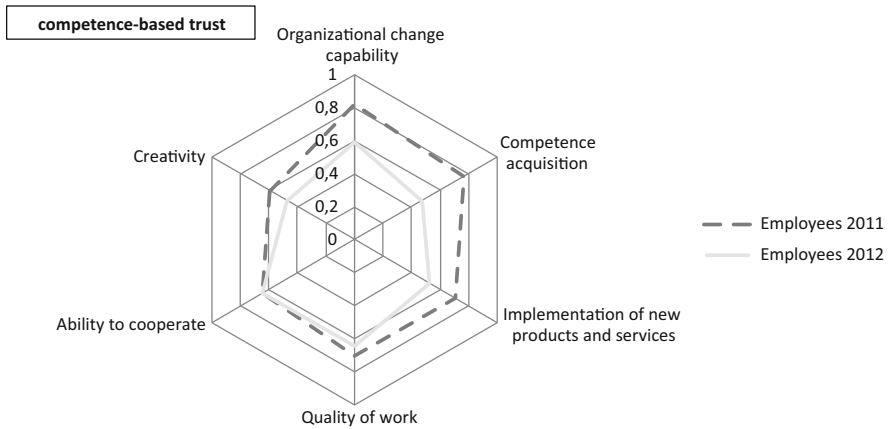
The results show how trust mechanisms are perceived concerning the beneficial effects in change processes and for innovation capability. As a result of this, the starting point for the arrangement and support of innovation-friendly trust mechanisms can be determined. In the case-study, formal and informal institutions were developed to support, for example, calculus-and institutional-based trust. The social service organization of this case-study developed and implemented the named communication structures. According to the analysis of the survey results, the communication structures were able to support and develop trust mechanisms (see Sect. 4.2). At the same time, the communication structures led to a change in the benefit expectations of trust mechanisms (see Sect. 4.3).

5   Conclusion

Social services in Germany are facing permanent restructuring and pressures for change. Economization tendencies are of continuous relevance because of cost restrictions and external cost pressure. In this context, the promotion of mindful change in social service organizations plays an important part to support change processes. The trust culture is also important to support mindful change: trust helps to establish and develop a stabilizing framework in change processes and may reduce uncertainty concerning the aims and development of the organization. However, the beneficial effects for innovation capability are inconsistent: some trust culture mechanisms are perceived favourably, whilst others may prevent innovation capability.

In the context of the individual case-study with a social services provider, Sect. 4 presented how measures and instruments to support trust culture could affect subjectively-perceived innovativeness. Based on two survey measurements during and after a specific change process, the trust mechanisms and their beneficial assessments could be shown over time. Mindful change suggests that change processes should be evaluated continuously with respect to the effects of institutional measures and instruments, and to their impacts on central benefit indicators especially innovation capability.

To analyse the effects of implemented measures and instruments through a questionnaire, a high transparency and involvement of all those involved in change processes is necessary (see Behrens 2011). Thus the results of measurements of trust culture indicators, and the perceived consequences for innovation capability, should be analysed and discussed: participation-oriented and institutional instruments should be defined and based on this discussion. A qualitative complement to the survey is important to achieve motivation to participate, as well as to achieve a wide acceptance for the implementation of instruments. Moreover, trust culture can be strengthened through participation-oriented change processes.

In the second survey in 2012, the change in benefit effects of trust culture could be seen over time. Are different trust mechanisms relevant when change processes become less important and new routines are established? A continuous survey and analysis might help to evaluate sustainable implemented change instruments, and establish a permanent feedback and discussion base in changing social service organizations. A single measurement might support the analysis of the organizations' initial conditions. Under flexible frameworks and permanent reorganization conditions that social service providers are facing, there will always be change and reorganization processes. An evaluation of implemented instruments is permanently helpful to develop new instruments, and in discovering the destabilizing elements to trust culture.

The results presented here are based on an individual case study within the 8iNNO-project. Thus the results are highly specific. The transfer to different organizations in a different context is difficult without further organisation-based studies.

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Part V
Mindfulness in Social Change: A Societal Perspective

Mindfulness: A Politically Sensitizing Concept. Care and Social Sustainability as Issues

Eva Senghaas-Knobloch

Abstract Mindfulness is introduced as a sensitizing concept not only in the organizational but also in the political realm, exemplified by issues of global sustainable development and care:

In the first part the ongoing epochal changes in the social organization of work are outlined with respect to their impact on gender relations in the context of globalisation. The second part describes the changes in the contemporary world of work as neglect of human needs and rights and as an expression of *political mindlessness* with regard to the function of care for human well-being and social cohesion of societies. Social sustainability is in danger when care responsibilities or activities are neglected, ignored or devalued. The third part discusses two recent political initiatives to overcome the neglect of the vital care activities on the basis of a new *political mindfulness* for sustainable social development: The new ILO-Convention 189 on *Decent Work for Domestic Workers* and the "Recommendations" of the EU-Social Platform for a *Caring Society* in Europe, both from 2011. The ILO-Convention 189 deals with employment conditions in the household under the perspective of rights at (paid) work, the other applies a broader perspective acknowledging the human rights character of care activities. The paper concludes with a reflection on the relationship between mindfulness in the political and in the organisational context.

Keywords Social sustainability • Global care crisis • Political mindlessness • Sensitizing concept • ILO Convention 189 • Decent work for domestic workers • Social Platform • Caring society • Spirit of Philadelphia

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1   Introduction

The concept of *mindfulness* has made a career mainly in connection with counselling and supervision. In that specific context, it defines an attitude or a virtue which shapes individual actions. If one follows Schmidt, *mindfulness* (*Achtsamkeit*) is based on an emotionally informed sense of individual dignity (Schmidt 2012). Cognitive attention and emotional openness are thus connected. The concept of *organizational mindfulness* as a derived and further developed concept with respect to organizations on the other hand, defines institutional devices, organizational features and routines, which are capable to cope either with environmental risks or with challenges produced by continuous organizational change. Hence, in a perspective of action competence, mindfulness refers on the one hand to an attitude and a virtue and on the other hand to action routines or other institutionalised devices, which support organizational awareness of the changing reality outside of the organization.

In the last 20–30 years individuals and organizations as well have been acting in a political-economic context shaped by broader policies, rules and power structures which are loosely covered by the term globalization. At the same time, the issues of sustainable development in a world of limited resources have become part of the global agenda too. The question arises whether the concept of mindfulness is also enlightening and useful with regard to the *realm of politics* in perspective of sustainable development in times of globalization.

The international concern about sustainable development started with ideas about limits to growth in the 1970s (Meadows et al. 1972). Sustainable development is a normative and critical concept based on facts about the depletion of natural resources. It signifies a desired outcome of intended change based on political transformation. In 1987 the UN-World Commission on Environment and Development A/42/427 presided by Gro Brundlandt summarized its concept of sustainable development with the following words: "In essence, sustainable development is a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development; and institutional change are all in harmony and enhance both current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations." (Brundlandt-Report 1987, paragraph 15). The report understands sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (Brundlandt-Report 1987, paragraph 1)

Thus, the concept of sustainable development is based on human needs and aspirations. Therefore, the goal of sustainable development necessarily encompasses not only an ecological and economic dimension, but also a social dimension. Yet, it is only recently that this very dimension gained more than only marginal attention. All three dimensions are strongly interrelated, albeit in a conflictive manner. The term social sustainability itself can be used in a normative and in an analytical way. The normative use refers to human dignity and human rights. The analytical use refers to the investigation of the relationship between

nature and society and the totality of customs, institutions and power relations. To characterize any historic-specific relationship between nature and society, the organization of work is of utmost importance. It impacts on the way in which a society is held together, production and reproduction are organised, power and voice are distributed and needs are fulfilled. Therefore, work is a key concept to understand the challenges and tasks of sustainable development.

By now it is well known that the currently dominant economy is in danger of depleting and destroying the natural resources on which it depends. Since the ongoing financial and economic world crisis of 2008, the vulnerability and limits of social resources have become visible and better acknowledged, as well. But, the currently dominant global economy is still consuming the social resources, which it cannot reproduce itself, in particular care-relations and care-activities as pre-requisites for any reproduction and social development. In this respect, the challenges for overcoming the enduring unawareness are not even recognized. The missing sense for the vital necessities of sustainable development contributes to a situation of 'political mindlessness'

This article intends to unfold the thesis that the goal of sustainable development requires political mindfulness of its social pre-requisites, with special emphasis of vital care activities:

In the first part the ongoing epochal changes in the social organization of work and social policy in the context of globalisation are outlined with respect to their impact on gender relations.

The second part describes the changes in the present world of work as neglect of human needs and rights and as an expression of *political mindlessness* with regard to the societal function of care for human well-being and social cohesion. Social sustainability is in danger when care responsibilities or activities are neglected, ignored or devalued.

The third part discusses two responses to overcome the neglect of the vital care activities on the basis of a new *political mindfulness* for sustainable social development: The new ILO-Convention 189 on *Decent Work for Domestic Workers* and the Recommendations of the EU-Social Platform for a *Caring Society* in Europe.

The paper concludes with a plea to link both initiatives as an expression of *political mindfulness* for the importance of care in sustainable development.

2 Political Deregulation and Global Changes in the World of Work

The manner in which work is organised in society shapes the way by which society is held together, as well as the way in which power and participation are distributed and needs are responded to. The societal organization of work has an impact on the

natural foundations of life and economic sustainability. Conversely, the social organization of work is affected by the limits of the natural foundations and resources of life and by the historically changing economic rules. The currently dominant global economy is allowing the depletion and poisoning of the natural foundations of life, albeit in the *ecological* dimension the challenges for transformation are already recognized, though not really tackled. A comparable recognition is still lacking with respect to the *social* dimension of sustainability.

The currently dominant policies of economic globalization make reckless use of human labour. These policies rely on the ideology of the competitiveness of states and on the assumption of a global standard path of development. Both are paralleled with a de-standardisation of employment and working conditions and with a global retrenchment of welfare institutions. Until the 1970s, policies of so called Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) were geared towards nurturing infant industries in the countries of the global South. In the aftermath of a massive indebtedness crisis in the 1980s the policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have conditioned their credits on a pre-scribed policy of

– Privatisation of state-owned enterprises
– The introduction of market principles in the public sector
– As well as a labour market liberalisation
– A deflationary monetary and fiscal policy
– And the promotion of exports.

These policies dramatically impact on income distribution, participation in formal employment, conditions of work and social protection in the countries concerned. (World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization 2004)

Adding to this the financial openness of the policy of "*Financialisation*" (Palley 2007) has promoted short term speculative gains on capital return and respective investments and disinvestments. Even after the crash of 2008 the international money transactions in 2011 amounted to more than 80-fold of the value for goods and services in the real economy transactions. According to data from the World Bank itself and contrary to the promises of trade liberalisation and deregulation of capital transfer "the income gap between the richest and the poorest countries increased significantly". (World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization 2004, p. 36) The exceptions in East Asia, particularly China and South Korea, took place in the context of a strictly controlled foreign trade policy. They were successful only with respect to overcoming the most extreme forms of poverty in some parts of the country, not with respect to the internal distribution of income in which inequality increased considerably. As Jenkins et al. from the ILO have put it: There "appears to be an inherent unevenness in the process of globalization and development." (Jenkins et al. 2007, 19f) Inequality has widened between and among countries during the last 40 years. At the same time the "huge increase in the potential supply of unskilled labour by the entry of China, India and other Southern countries into world economy have resulted in a significant worldwide shift ... of income towards capital and an increase in wage inequality." (Jenkins et al. 2007, 20f) Because of this it gives way to a phenomenon that could be called

'labour arbitrage', the exploitation of international differences in the value of labour (Roach 2004).

Since tax rates on capital have generally declined – almost like in a race to the bottom – public investment and welfare institutions which are an expression of a certain *de*commodification of labour, were retrenched. In the now advanced capitalist countries the former national policies of work protection and social security were substituted by de-regulating reforms of the labour market aiming at a *re*commodification of labour power. National competitiveness is more and more considered to be particularly a function of a flexible or de-regulated labour market. All over the world of work one can observe an increase of so called atypical forms of employment: part time, fixed term, own account, temporary and informal work that is completely unregistered and unprotected employment, together with an unprecedented increase in female employment participation. In Latin America one speaks of 'delaborization' (Martínez 2004).

Any societal organization of work is shaped by the gender division of labour; correspondingly national labour markets are strongly gendered. During the Fordist epoch in the advanced capitalist countries industrialisation was paralleled with a political-cultural tendency to exclude women (particularly wives and mothers) from professional and vocational paid work, leaving mainly jobs for unskilled in factories and unpaid domestic obligations.[1] However, strong unions of workers contributed to the emergence of welfare policy, social protection and family allowances. It was particularly child work and industrial night work for women, which aroused concern and promoted protective state legislation in several early industrialised states in later phases of their development. It is a contested area whether this gendered protective legislation was more strongly based on the concern about women's function for reproduction or on the idea of human dignity and human rights. General limits to the "commodification" of human labour power were set with respect to working age, accidents and illness. And schemes for compensation of income losses were introduced in the case of unemployment. All these legal acts and institutions were regarded as partial 'decommodification' of labour power, which liberated men and women from completely depending on market forces (Polanyi 1980 [first edition 1944]; Esping-Andersen 1990).

Right after World War I and again at the end of World War II the corresponding values of justice and social coherence were solemnly consolidated by the foundation of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in order to prevent destructive competition between trading nations in the future (Sengenberger and Campbell 1994, 13f). The ILO was established as a forum for delegates from government, workers and employers to bargain and decide on international Conventions on working time, working conditions, fair wages, social protection and social dialogue. With the erosion of the post World War II consent on the relevance of good working conditions and social policy in the 1980s the balance between capital and labour

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[1] See Gerhard (1979) with respect to the situation of women in Germany in the nineteenth century.

changed again into a one-sided preponderance of capital, with workers again moving into the subordinate position.

Interestingly, the labour force participation of women increased during the recent period of globalization. At the global level between 1980 and 2008 women's participation in the labour force increased from 50.2 % to 51.7 % and the participation of men decreased from 82.0 % to 77.7 %. (Razavi et al. 2012, p. 3) If one disaggregates the statistics along regions the increase of female labour force participation is particularly high in Latin America and the European Union, whereas in some countries of East Asia one finds a decrease of female labour force participation for this period: After the phase of industrial catch-up in the 1970s with the strategic use of young women's labour for export production on very cheap terms, for instance in South Korea, the planned new phases of the capital- and skill- intensive products have substituted again men for women.

In the global North it seems that the emancipative aspirations of women who have been struggling for equality and equity were incorporated by the new state policies of neo-liberal recommodification and the obsession with international competition.

The new target set by the European Commission for 2020 is 75 % participation of women in employment. (European Commission 2010) This political target goes together with changed aims for work and gender policies: The traditional industrial male bread winner model is substituted with an "adult worker model". (Fraser 1997; Giullari and Lewis 2005; Daly 2011) To be more precise: In practice this new model means a "two-earner-model" in which however many more women than men are working part time and in other atypical forms of employment, thereby trying to balance their perceived care obligations with assigned obligations linked to employment.

Certainly, care has never been confined to the family but might also be provided by relatives and neighbours or – in a monetized form by domestic workers, by public and charitable providers or organizations for profit. But it is only in Scandinavian countries inside and outside of the European Union, where in different ways care needs are comparatively well supported by the provision of social services, which themselves offer good employment opportunities in an shrinking public sector (Heintze 2012) Evidently, labour force participation includes the economic activities, which are officially counted as part of an economy's Gross Domestic Product, as well as the unregistered economic activities of self employed or informal employed (Razavi et al., 2012, XIII). Informal labour means non registered and non protected labour, with consequently mainly very low wages or income and hardly any social protection. There is also a grey area between formal and informal employment. Hence, an important feature of the global increase of women's labour force participation is the high portion of atypical and in particular of informal labour, which is not yet included in the official statistics. But, in addition to the market based activities, also unpaid domestic work and care (so far mainly done by women) contribute to the wellbeing and the social coherence in a society albeit without being counted in the Gross National Product. Globalisation exerts pressure on all of these activities. And the adult worker

model in the postfordist constellation presupposes the feasibility of a far reaching defamiliarisation and of a professionalization of care. Are these assumptions realistic and what are the consequences?

3   Global Care Crisis and Political Mindlessness

In 2011, Polylog, a Viennese journal for intercultural philosophy, dealt with an ongoing political debate in China. "Pay often a visit at home" is the slogan to revitalize what there is called "xìao", the virtue of filial piety towards the increasing number of old aged parents. (Weber 2011, 20f) A supplement to the Chinese law of 2005, on the protection of old people, regulates that members of the family have to care for their parents in a material as well as in an immaterial sense. There exist orders in some communes according to which only those public servants have a chance to be promoted who are able to produce a certificate of good conduct in this respect either by their parents or by the "public".

Whatever the merits and the success of such political attempts, to cope with the social problem by individualizing it, might be, in any case they indicate the irrefutability of care in any society, particularly in times of hyper-dynamic socio-economic change which break traditional hierarchies and obligations. China is experiencing marginalisation of old people and harsh demographic developments: While "the ratio of the population aged 0–14 to the working population fell sharply from 1990 to 2006 (from 41.5 to 27.4), the ratio of the 75+ age group to the working age population rose (from 2.5 to 4.7)." (Razavi 2011, p. 881) This development is the result of the Chinese "one child policy". Recently, one can observe unprecedented attempts in China, to put care on the public policy agenda. Yet, the individualized responsibility, together with extreme poverty in the rural areas, leaves Chinese mothers with their hard choices alone and the informality of labour markets "makes a mockery of the care-related social protection measures that may be on statute books. . . minimal measures for reconciling paid work and unpaid care responsibilities." (Razavi 2011, p. 891).

Notwithstanding these political shortcomings, it is realistic to regard care relations as founded in the existential dependence of human beings on each other. Care activities and care attitudes respond to the requirements of the human condition. They are necessary in all phases of the life course and are deeply relational. They are needed for the heeding and nursing of the ill and handicapped and for the vulnerable young and old people. This human relationality owns a special rationality, which Waerness (1996) calls *care rationality*. It must be differentiated from an *instrumental rationality,* which is the dominant rationality in capitalist economics. Care relations promote development and growth of individuals; they create social cohesion by a specific reciprocity between generations as well as between care givers and care receivers. Hence the concept of work in the connection with care can only refer to an expending of energy, but not to any instrumental construction of a special state on the side of the care receivers. Because the very essence of care is

the mere assisting and enabling of self-willed life processes, the care-rationality conflicts with an efficiency-driven time economy.

Even Adam Smith was aware of the mutual dependence of human beings.[2] That he nevertheless did not foresee a care-blind economy as presently prevailing, might be linked to his own prejudice about the given gender division of work and the highly gendered societal organization of necessary care activities. In fact, there is a deeply enshrined conviction in all known cultures that care belongs to the realm of women regardless of any other responsibilities they might have. By the same time, the prevailing gender hierarchy tends to devaluate the care activities in all its forms and to make them nearly invisible. It is only when care activities are completely neglected, or abuse becomes known, that the public gets startled and attentive.

More than ever the actual politics of a generalized employment obligation ties livelihood, social security, citizenship and self esteem of the individuals to the inclusion into the monetised exchange in the world of work. But this politics of generalised employment obligation without the generalisation of care obligations ignores the vital necessity and particularity of care. The post-Fordist work requirements of flexibility in time and location are not compatible with the flexibility requirements of domestic care activities. The unquestioned hierarchy between these two spheres of activities, demonstrates that the requirements of the economic sphere of employment have to be served first. From the perspective of business – as Joan Acker argues – the "ideal worker" is characterized by best possible availability and a non-diverted attention to the assigned tasks in the firm. (Acker 2006, p. 448) Women try to cope with their care obligations by reducing the paid working hours, if possible at all. This implies that all over the world, on average, more women than men spend more time on unpaid care activities and are more often employed on a part time basis, thus adding to low wage employment, irrespective of the slowly reducing wage gap between the genders.

Also in the EU, the mentioned non standard or atypical forms of employment increase the rates of employment but in practice do not contribute to social security despite the declared EU-policy for "flexicurity", which should aim at a fair social protection which also respects care obligations. Consequently the EU-employment policy is linked to "boundary conflicts" (Peter 2008) between the sphere of employment and the sphere of unpaid care. These conflicts result from time and energy constraints and indicate an inconsistency of employment policy and social policy (Heintz and Lund 2012), notwithstanding different national welfare paths. The priorisation of employment in connection with external or internal strategies of flexibilisation of work on the side of enterprises and non profit organizations – fixed term employment or flexible working time – is producing anxiety about employment security and adding stress and health problems for working people.

Under these conditions of *political mindlessness*, the marginalised domestic care responsibilities in advanced capitalist countries are partly shifted to female migrants, who seek such opportunities, because of the increased social inequality

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[2] This is elaborated in Senghaas-Knobloch (2000).

on world level and lacking job opportunities resp. misery in their home countries. Very often these migrants in turn have problems to cope with their own care responsibilities in their home contexts. They can rely either on relatives, pay other people for their care services or may not have any possibility at all. This practice of transnational care chains (Hochschild 2000) corresponds to *global production chains*, which also draw mainly on cheap labour in the East and the South. These structures can be framed in the terminology of political economy: What we currently can observe is a new international division of reproductive labour (Williams 2011).

In the EU 21.4 million people were employed in social and health services in 2009; 89 % of these persons worked in the 15 Western countries of the EU, the rest of only 2.3 million worked in the 12 other member states of the EU (Social Platform 2011, p. 17). So, there is a considerable amount of migration. The corresponding care drain from the Eastern member states is highly problematic for the care situation in these countries and amounts to a care crisis. At the same time, the informal working conditions for caring migrants also impact on and erode the legal conditions for work and social protection in the Western countries in general. (Senghaas-Knobloch 2010a)

As enshrined in Article 136 of the EC Treaty member states should actively work towards "improved living and working conditions", the EU-strategy of Lisbon and the EU-strategy 2020 for a "smart, sustainable and inclusive growth" call for better work and a cohesive society. Yet, as the Fifth European Working Conditions Survey of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions suggests: "Policy attention to transforming employment status over time as well as the structural changes to jobs in the economy may have eclipsed attention from transforming the nature of work." (European Foundation 2011, p. 2) one has to add: Noticeable is a "political mindlessness" with respect to care responsibilities and obligations. To meet the challenges and tasks of shaping adequate conditions for care activities, a new *political mindfulness* requires the acknowledgement of the central function of care for the cohesion of societies as well as its human needs and human rights character. These three ways of looking at care are complementary; they cannot substitute each other.

4   Two Political Initiatives to Strengthen Mindfulness of Care Necessities

In the sphere of politics, we recently can observe a new awareness of care among international organizations and some governments. At the same time, not only new civil movements, interested in care, have been built up by and for domestic workers, but also networks related to wider confines of social policy.

Two recent political initiatives are here of special interest: The adoption of the new Convention 189 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers by the International

Labour Organization in June 2011 and the Recommendations on Care of the Social Platform in the EU from June 2011. Both initiatives represent public concern about needs for care and about rights in relation to care.

The International Labour Organization (ILO), founded already in the aftermath of World War I – an international organization in which each member state is represented by delegates from government, workers and employers – promotes its agenda for decent work in order to overcome the defects of the dominant globalization (Senghaas-Knobloch 2010b, Trebilcock 2004). This agenda is dealing with the promotion of rights at work, employment, social protection and social dialogue. The whole programme might be interpreted as a programme to promote socio-political mindfulness in businesses and societies with the aim to serve social sustainability.

Despite earlier attempts to include domestic work, it was left out from protection under international law until 2011. The adoption of the epochal ILO-Convention 189 on decent work for domestic workers fills this gap (Senghaas-Knobloch 2012). The adoption was possible with 396 votes in favour, mainly by workers and government delegates, 16 against (mainly from employer delegates) and 63 abstentions, mainly by employer delegates and the governments from Malaysia, Panama, United Kingdom, Singapore, Sudan, Czechia and Thailand. ILO-Conventions are binding after member states have ratified them. The Convention 189 comes into force 1 year after the ratification of two member states, that is in September 2013. Uruguay was the first state ratifying the Convention, Philippines the second in August 2012. Mauitius the third in September 2012. Nicaragua, South Africa, Italy, Bolivia, Paraguay and Germany ratified in the first half year of 2013.

The ILO-Convention responds to a situation in which "recent ILO estimates based on national surveys and/or censuses of 117 countries, place the number of domestic workers at around 53 million. However, experts say that due to the fact that this kind of work is often hidden and unregistered, the total number of domestic workers could be as high as 100 million. In developing countries, they make up at least 4–12 % of wage employment. Around 83 % of these workers are women or girls and many are migrant workers." (ILO 2011) Estimated 4–10 % of all employed people are domestic workers in developing countries, and 1–2.5 % respectively in the industrialized countries. With the global increase of income inequality in developing and industrialized countries domestic work is globally on the rise. Domestic workers are extremely often without legal entitlements which are enjoyed by other wage workers. Particularly as live-ins they risk abuse and violence. Forced child labour is very often tied to domestic work. The ILO estimates that 15.5 million children are affected.

The purpose of the Convention 189 is the protection of all domestic workers, covering all persons who are "engaged in or for a household" within an "employment relationship" (article 1a and b) on a basis of equal treatment with wage earners in general. Domestic work encompasses material (cleaning, cooking etc.) and immaterial (nurturing) care activities for children, frail and the elderly (except professional nursing for which different legal protection is provided for). Member

states shall take measures to "protect, promote and realize" the basic rights at work also for domestic workers, namely freedom of association and effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, the elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labour and the effective abolition of child labour and the elimination of discrimination with respect to employment and occupation and the protection against any kind of abuse (articles 3 and 5). Among other details Members shall set a minimum age for domestic workers and make sure that

– Domestic workers are effectively informed about their terms of conditions of employment, in the case of migrants prior of their crossing of national borders (articles 6–8),
– Get equal treatment with other wage earners with respect to working time particularly "in relation to normal hours of work, overtime compensation, periods of daily and weekly rest and paid annual leave" (article 10),
– Are protected against abusive practices particularly in the case of migration (article 15)
– Have access to complaint mechanisms and are covered by labour inspection (article 16)
– And that the implementation of the provisions of this convention is done by consulting the most representative organizations of worker and employers "extending or adapting existing measures to cover domestic workers or by developing specific measures for them, as appropriate". (Article 18)

This Convention was made possible by a historically new alliance between:

• National and international women organizations
• Women networks, like RESPECT (acronym for Rights, Equality, SOLIDARITY, POWER, EUROPE) and IDWN
• Women unions and cooperatives (like die Indian SEWA)
• Activists from development organizations
• Activists from Church organizations (like Justitia et Pax)
• Promoters inside of the ILO staff
• The opening of national and international unions and union federations (like IUL) for the situation of domestic workers, in addition to
• Some employer organizations like the Network Household (DHB Netzwerk Haushalt) in Germany who are already engaged for collective agreements but so far lack the necessary spread.

The celebrated success related to this Convention, is based on the recognition that domestic work has to be regarded as any other employment relationship, with respect to the rights of workers. Hence it ends any attempts to legitimize practice and language of servitude, not to speak of forced or bonded labour which violates human rights any way. This recognition is a big step forward in terms of declared political mindfulness for the necessity of domestic care activities and the necessity of their decency in order to promote sustainable development. Yet, there are also some flaws.

As in most international conventions the test comes with implementation. Implementation includes firstly the ratification of the convention by the state (adherence to the convention) and secondly the effective enforcement of the compatible state law. In Germany, as in most countries, the main portion of domestic work is done without being registered or even without having legal permission. Therefore it is not only a matter of compatible regulation and laws, but of transforming a counteracting socio-cultural pattern. This concerns women of German citizenship and other women from Europe, who work on a contemporary basis, often without any written contract. This phenomenon exists although a special track for domestic workers was installed to be registered when working in the context of a so called mini-job with an earning of not more than 400 resp. 450 Euro. In this case, the employer has to pay only a reduced lump-sum for tax and reduced contribution to accident insurance. Labour law is applicable, but social security is reduced. Yet, there is a considerable grey area. There are the German speaking Polish women, who work alternately with a colleague as care givers for old aged people, sometimes with employment contracts yet often on a posted basis, by which private employment agencies earn money, not always in a transparent way (Gottschall and Schwarzkopf 2010). These care givers are of great help for many old aged people. Yet, it is contested whether their posting is permitted on a long term basis and whether social security contributions may be paid in Poland instead of in Germany.

There are no reliable statistics for the number of domestic workers in Europe. Estimations calculate that on average only 1.6 % in Europe and 0.6 % in Germany, the persons employed as child minders, cleaning personal or care givers for frail and elderly persons, are registered (Justitia et Pax 2011, p. 8). This implies, that the regulated content of the international ILO-Convention may even already be in accordance with national laws but the acceptance by the majority of affected people in a care relation is lacking. The social inequality drives women from the South to earn money in the Northern countries and some rich Southern countries like Saudi Arabia and Arabic Emirates. At the same time the Northern countries are unprepared and unwilling to cope with the consequences of lacking care on their own terms.

Furthermore, in the developing countries and the newly admitted EU-states in Central and Eastern Europe the migration of health workers must be alarming (Razavi et al. 2012, 29ff; Social Platform 2011, p. 17). It signifies an unbearable brain drain of care workers which uncovers all development aid as lip service. Therefore, a redistribution of care work is necessary not only between men and women, but "also along race, class and geographical lines" as the feminists of the WIDE-network put it. (WIDE 2009, p. 3)

The second initiative of the network of European care organizations is aware of these problems and develops a much broader approach in its 'Recommendations on care' for the EU-decision makers and member states in 2011. The Social Platform (2011) takes into account necessary unpaid care activities too. The Social Platform "is the alliance of representative European federations and networks of non-governmental organizations active in the social sector" and committed to

"the advancement of the principles of quality, solidarity, non discrimination and the promotion and respect of fundamental right for all within Europe and particularly the European Union" but "supporting the development of these values at the global level" too. (Social Platform 2004) The Recommendations of the Social Platform address the EU decisions makers and the EU-Members.

Four specific recommendations are outlined for:

– Care practices and policies that respect the fundamental right of care users,
– Informal care givers, see footnote 3
– Quality care services and
– Decent working conditions and quality employment in care.

The Recommendations of the Social Platform are based on the declared values of the EU as enshrined in the Lisbon Treaty provisions, in which the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union is included. At the outset, the Recommendations underscore the human rights character of care: The "right to care and to be cared for is a fundamental part our lives as everyone is a care giver or care receiver at some point and potentially at multiple stages throughout life." (Social Platform 2011, p. 1) Hence, it is evident that the Recommendations encompass formal and informal care. In both instances the aim is to improve and maintain a good quality of care by investing in "accessibility, affordability and availability of care services for all across Europe" (ibid.) and promote decent working conditions. The Platform's mission is not only about making the sector attractive for the workforce but also about taking into account the users' of care receivers' view.

The Recommendations put the fundamental rights of care users first. They emphasize that the dignity of care users is presently not respected without discrimination: "For instance, in Bulgaria Roma children account for approximately 45 % of children in institutional care." That is far more than the proportionate part they have in society. Obviously, the affected parents and children suffer from an infringement of their right to family as documented in article 7 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (Social Platform 2011, p. 3). Consequently, the Recommendations plead for member states' efforts towards community based care and to fully implement the Voluntary European Quality Framework for Social Services of General Interest.

Besides the right to private and family life the Charter enshrines the rights related to an adequate balance between care, work and private life. The respective rights are the right to equality (artec. 23), the right to fair and just working conditions (article 31), the right to a high level of social protection (article 34) and the right to quality public services (article 36). The Recommendations underscore that according to a 2010 estimate 80 % of care across the EU is given by unpaid family carers[3] and that according to EU-statistics the "labour market participation of mothers is 11.5 % lower than that of women without children, while the rate for fathers is 8.5 % higher than that for men without children." (Social

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[3] They rely on a study of Hoffmann and Rodrigues (2010), who do not differentiate between unpaid family care and informal care as defined by the ILO.

Platform 2011, p. 8) The Platform formulates therefore recommendations to develop "legislation and measures to reconcile work, family and private life for women and men, such as a carer's leave direction... recognizing the diversity in family structures and to promote legislative recognition and minimum standards of support to unpaid carers" and to develop political-economic tools to analyze the "social return on investment." (Social Platform 2011, p. 9) This would help to install "rules different than the pursuit of profit in the care sector" (Social Platform 2011, p. 12 with reference to Laville 2007).

Since jobs in the care sector are typically of lower quality with mostly part-time work, with temporary contracts and wage levels below those in other sectors and with particular difficult working time patterns (shift work, night work) the Social Platform argues for the overcoming of gender imbalances and promoting decent working conditions as based in the ILO-policy and the concept of Quality Work and Employment as launched by the European Union. According to the Lisbon Strategy the EU propagates a policy which creates "more and better jobs". And the new Europe 2020 strategy declares "smart, sustainable and inclusive growth" as its goal. To achieve this requires consistency of rights and policies, of the particular policies in different areas and of policies and different instruments. The recent push for more austerity policy is apparently not consistent with the values and rights as promoted by the EU. Similar to the critique of the ILO one has to recognize and to state publicly that neo-liberal policy and global financial chaos counteract the social aims, thereby counteracting also the aim of sustainability.

5 Social Sustainability and Political Mindfulness

What do these two different initiatives on the international and regional level tell us about political mindfulness with regard to social sustainability? They clearly demonstrate an increasing presence of civil society forces in the political arena, albeit with far less power than financial and traditional economic lobby groups. Both the ILO-Convention and the Recommendations of the EU-Social Platform are able to make the public aware and mindful of social tasks and responsibilities to be actually fulfilled by appropriate means.

Both initiatives highlight the undervalued care tasks in the context of an ongoing traditional division of labour, which allocates care activities in the first place to women, and they emphasize the aim to give a voice to affected people in their own social affairs and responsibilities. And both initiatives draw on feminist research, experience and insights, yet adopt language which mainly fits into the legal framework within which they place their demands. But in contrast to the ILO-Convention the Social Platform demonstrates that care activities cannot be reduced to paid care work only, notwithstanding its importance.

So, the Recommendations of the Social Platform crystallize in a new guiding principle of a 'caring society' as a model for socially sustainable societies. A 'caring society' is an expression for political mindfulness of vitally necessary

care activities and its pre-requisites. Implications for institutional reforms and organizational devices in that respect exist particularly in the policy fields of working time and public provision. Care givers have to cope with the specific 'boundary conflicts' between the sphere of work and social responsibilities and need regulations which really support reconciliation between these spheres. These regulations have to be based on social rights and not only on so called best practices and other market related devices.

Recently Alain Supiot (2012) reminded us of the spirit of Philadelphia, alluding to the very spirit in 1944 when leading political personal of the advanced capitalist countries at the end of a horrifying world war were united in their confession of the values of human and social rights. Almost seven decades later we urgently need a new consensual public voice and a new global confirmation in practice.

Similar issues have been taken up by the feminists' network WIDE (WIDE 2009). They widen the scope of issues to more material issues of care. Correspondingly they include issues of food availability resp. of food sovereignty in their concern. In fact, it is not contestable that worsening conditions with regard to the accessibility, availability and affordability of food must be of particular concern. The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food (Schutter De 2010) convincingly argued that the human right to food is presently violated on a world wide scale. The lens of mindfulness and care could help sharpen firstly our view on the impact of the dominant globalization with its disastrous implications and secondly our concern about new perspectives of sustainable development.

What do these deliberations and findings on care as core issue of social sustainability amount to?

They demonstrate that organisations pursue their goals and act in a socio-economic context with implicit priorities and values, which need to be made explicit, in order to overcome developments, which are harmful for human beings and the societies they live in. Thus, mindfulness can be used as a concept to politically sensitize towards the consequences of unquestioned structures and power relations, which cannot be legitimized by overt public consent. It can be used to broaden the spatial horizon and take into consideration the impacts on distant communities, which are not congruent with declared values. Used in such a way, mindfulness is not any more a concept mainly addressing cognitions, but is also fostering the human sense for appropriate or for just behaviour. Hence, political mindfulness promotes awareness in a cognitive and a moral connotation as well; it relies on a sense for human dignity and for discontents with counteracting practices.

Political mindfulness is needed in political communities of different scale. In times of globalisation, inter- and transnational organisations can help to promote it or to prevent it. Yet, also on inter- and transnational level power the power asymmetries produce contradictive signals. For example: When powerful institutions like the World Bank are prescribing policies different from or conflicting with the agenda of the International Labour Organisation it is necessary

to permanently watch what paths governments are following and engage in an public dialogue. That is also necessary on the level of the EU.

What then is the relationship between political and organisational mindfulness or between mindfulness in the political and in the organisational context? Both, political mindfulness and organisational mindfulness aim at the lived virtue of looking for unintended or not recognized consequences of decisions, institutions and hidden practices which are not in harmony with the declared values and aims of the entity. But, whereas organisations and enterprises have to act in the confines of given regulations, political mindfulness is of vital concern for a political community which is able to set the rules for economic organisations.

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Reforming the German University System: Mindful Change by Double Talk

Uwe Schimank

Abstract The concept of mindfulness can be very helpful to better understand what happens in organizational change, in general, and university reforms, in particular. The specific nature of university reforms in Germany consists of a re-balancing of irreducible functional antagonisms which has become necessary as a consequence of massive changes of societal demands directed at universities. But the constellation of actors involved in university reforms is a very difficult one. University leadership has to mediate between professors and the ministry, with both sides showing mutual distrust and contempt. To overcome this mutual blockade a special kind of mindfulness is required. University leadership has to engage in double talk to persuade professors as well as the ministry to show a proper consideration for the other side's concerns which is the crucial precondition for a joint effort at re-balancing the functional antagonisms.

Keywords Mindfulness • Organizational change • Organizational leadership • University reforms • Double talk

For some time now German universities – similar to what has happened in other European countries, too – have been subjected to a threefold package of simultaneous far-reaching reforms (Schimank 2012). I only have to mention the well-known key words: "Bologna" as an all-round relaunch of study programs and teaching, the "excellence initiative" as a powerful impulse towards quality improvement and profile-building in research, and the "new public management" (NPM) transformation of the universities' governance regime. With regard to these on-going reform dynamics it may be asked whether they have been orchestrated and implemented in a sufficiently mindful manner? There are not only many critics of

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these reforms – especially among professors – who doubt that this has been the case. Even reform protagonists admit that there have been "communication problems" so that many persons involved have not been taken along in the process, and that mistakes have been made which might have been avoided if one had paid more attention to critical voices.

But can the concept of mindfulness as it was coined by Karl Weick and Kathleen Sutcliffe (2001) for a very special type of organizations they called "high-reliability organizations" (HRO) be transposed to universities which are rather peculiar organizations themselves but cannot be characterized – not even metaphorically – as HRO's? In the first part of this article I will argue that the analytical usefulness of the concept of mindfulness is not restricted to HRO's. Indeed, an analytical attention to mindfulness can be very helpful to better understand what happens in university reforms. Accordingly, in the second part of the article I will identify the specific nature of university reforms. Irreducible functional antagonisms have to be re-balanced as a consequence of massive changes of societal demands directed at universities. But, as I will show in the third part, the constellation of actors involved in university reforms is a very difficult one. University leadership has to mediate between professors and the ministry, but both sides show mutual distrust and contempt. It is at this point where a special kind of mindfulness is required, as I propose in the fourth part of the paper. University leadership has to engage in double talk to persuade professors as well as the ministry to show a proper consideration for the other side's concerns which is the crucial precondition for a joint effort at re-balancing the functional antagonisms.

These reflections are inspired by the general picture of university reforms, in particular in Germany, on the one hand, and many specific observations, sometimes of individual cases and singular events, on the other – including 7 years of personal experience as a vice-rector of a German university in the middle of these reforms.[1] I present here neither representative data which, anyway, do not exist for most of the aspects I will touch upon, nor is this an in-depth case study of a particular university. Thus, this article is best seen as a speculative essay which attempts to think up a fruitful new perspective on university reforms with the help of an adoption of the concept of mindfulness.

1 Mindfulness in Organizational Change

It is well known that for Weick and Sutcliffe (2001, pp. 37–54) aircraft carriers are the paradigmatic case of HRO's where one can study how organizational mindfulness works. It is important to notice that Weick and Sutcliffe direct attention to performance on the shop floor level, with special emphasis on those organizational members who coordinate the permanently landing and starting aircrafts as air traffic

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[1] Not the University of Bremen where I am working now.

controllers and staff on the runway. These organizational members are involved in high speed work processes which may run into turbulent episodes at any moment. Underlying this critical need for just-in-time coordination of fast-moving parallel activities are tightly coupled and highly sensitive technical interdependencies which, if neglected just for a second, can amount to deadly dangers to all involved. All in all, this work has to achieve the reliable maintenance of normalcy against all kinds of disturbances that may happen anytime – from bad weather to technical problems of an aircraft to the sudden tiredness of just one of the many involved individuals.

None of these typical features of HROs' work processes are to be found when looking at university reforms. Here the actors in the limelight are not academics as researchers or teachers – the shop floor level of universities – but university leaders who try to implement reforms; and it is not the maintenance of the status quo but its intentional change what university leadership tries to achieve. These change processes have a long-term time horizon, with change activities proceeding in a much slower pace than work on the shop floor level of aircraft carriers. So, whereas in HROs "managing the unexpected" (Weick and Sutcliffe 2001) to prevent imminent "normal accidents" (Perrow 1984) is the maxim guiding all activities the appropriate motto for university leaders nowadays is "making the unexpected happen". They have to bring about change in a highly blocked constellation of actors.

In other words, deep-seated conflicts of interest between promoters of reforms, on the one hand, and their opponents are the central difficulty of university reforms, as I will show in the following. The difficulties which the shop floor personnel on aircraft carriers have to handle is of a quite different nature. They must coordinate their high-speed interplay in a reliable way, but with regard to the overriding goal there are no conflicts. On the contrary, everybody involved shares the goal that the nonstop stream of starting and landing aircrafts moves on swiftly and safely without any troubles or delays.

With these two kinds of organizational situations being very different, does it make sense to transpose the concept of mindfulness from the study of shop floor activities in HROs to the study of the management of university reforms? I feel encouraged to do this by Becke's (2011, pp. 61–65; 2012 – quotation, p. 12) reflections on mindfulness as a "sensitizing concept" for the study of organizational change. Among other things, Becke (2012, p. 13) draws attention to what I just pointed out as the crucial difference between shop floor activities on aircraft carriers and university reforms: The understanding of mindfulness proposed by Weick and Sutcliffe "... widely neglects negotiation and conflict." Their context of discovery of mindfulness consists of situations where a just-in-time coordination of activities of a multitude of actors has to be achieved. As a consequence, Weick and Sutcliffe are not aware of situations where the challenge to be coped with is not coordination to be reached but conflict to be overcome.[2] But, as Becke proposes,

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[2] A closer view could further distinguish between zero-sum conflicts and "mixed-motive situations" where a win-win solution can be reached. For a systematic exposition of these three

mindfulness is as important in such conflict-ridden situations as it is in situations where quick coordination is at stake.

More specifically, Becke (2011, pp. 66–106) mentions as crucial concerns of a mindful handling of organizational change that the plurality of perspectives on the desirable directions of change can be articulated and that their representatives get into a constructive debate with each other based on an overall social atmosphere of trust. In general, two aspects of change processes are most relevant here: first, the formulation and, whenever it is required, reformulation of specific goals to be pursued, and secondly, the delicate interaction dynamics of the processes. With regard to the former, tolerance for mistakes is an essential manifestation of mindfulness. Complex change processes generally, and university reforms in particular, cannot but proceed in a trial-and-error approach – but this requires that mistakes are not used immediately to blame those responsible for taking a wrong turn, but instead are taken as outcomes of an experimental design which show that a correction has to be made. Furthermore, with regard to the interaction dynamics of such processes an awareness is needed that one wrong word can be a disaster. In particular, everybody has to be careful not to destroy the precarious goodwill of the others by "speaking out frankly". Instead, social tact and other kinds of diplomacy are appropriate.

What Becke suggests for the study of organizational change in general and – together with his collaborators – applies to different kinds of firms (Becke et al. 2011) I now will use as an open heuristic to university reforms, being well aware that universities are as dissimilar to typical business firms as they are to HROs.[3]

2 University Reforms: Re-balancing Functional Antagonisms

Taking a closer look at universities, it becomes clear that functional antagonisms are inherent to their organizational make-up. Functional antagonisms exist wherever there are two forces, usually, but not always, represented by different actors, both of which serve essential needs of a particular social order but contradict each other (Schimank 1994).[4] Renate Mayntz (1885, p. 30, my translation) points out several "basic tensions" of this kind for research organizations outside the

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archetypical situations of social interdependence based on game-theoretical models – "coordination games", "games of pure conflict", and "mixed motive games" – see briefly Schimank (2005, pp. 131–139) and more extensively Maurer and Schmid (2010).

[3] For an overview of the organizational peculiarities of universities see Meier and Schimank (2009).

[4] Functional antagonisms are not at all an exclusive feature of universities. The most prominent other case is modern society as a whole which is constituted by the functional antagonism of capitalism, on the one hand, and democracy, on the other (Schimank 2011).

university sector such as, in Germany, institutes of the Max Planck Society. One example that is also relevant in current debates about universities is the functional antagonism of "curiosity versus relevance". On the one hand, scientific progress needs the autonomy of researchers to pursue their scientific interests and ideas without any directions articulated by extra-scientific forces; on the other hand, research is supposed to produce results that are useful in other societal spheres. Therefore, a proper balance of "curiosity" and "relevance" must be maintained to prevent a maximization of one to the disadvantage of the other. But the respective actors representing these opposing concerns are usually one-sided "watchdogs for values" (Lindblom 1965, p. 156), with most researchers following their "curiosity" and only paying lip-service to "relevance", and with most extra-scientific stakeholders such as industry interested in "relevance" and despising "ivory-tower" research activities as a waste of time and money. Thus, the balance of both orientations of research is not brought about by an actor who attempts deliberately to reach a balance but, instead, emerges as an always precarious because unwanted outcome of a permanent fight between these two groups of actors.

To generalize, both interests express divergent functional requirements, but each side's maximization, as it is pursued by both opposing groups of actors, would be clearly dysfunctional. Their antagonistic relationship serves as a mechanism of mutual prevention: Ego's maximization efforts put a stop to Alter's, and vice versa. To use a familiar analogy from politics, both act as countervailing powers.

A closer look reveals that the central issues of current heated debates about university reforms, not only in Germany, are anchored in such functional antagonisms. More precisely, there are several layers of functional antagonisms where the two most prominent "watchdogs" opposing each other again and again are the professors, on the one hand, and the ministries responsible for higher education and research policy, on the other.[5] To give just a brief list of familiar keywords[6]:

- As already mentioned, with respect to research professors insist on "curiosity" whereas the ministry demands "relevance". This opposition is often combined with the ministry asking for inter-disciplinarity and the professors claiming the priority of disciplinary research.
- The ministry wants universities to formulate collective research profiles and build up research clusters in accordance with these profiles. But the professors resist any interference with their individual research autonomy, especially with respect to research topics, and insist on their right to engage in individual research activities.

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[5] I speak here of ministries in the plural because in German federalism the federal states ("Länder") are responsible for educational and science policy, so each federal state's respective ministry is in charge of the universities on its territory.

[6] See only Schimank and Lange (2009) and Schimank (2010) for more information on these various functional antagonisms.

- Concerning teaching, the "Bologna" reforms of study courses focus on "employability" outside of academia while professors uphold the Humboldtian idea of academic education as an end in itself without immediate concerns for occupational demands. Other ingredients of "Bologna" dear to the ministry include the modularization and standardization of study programs with a view on workload and the competencies to be transmitted, in contrast to the professors' insistence on the individual student's educational experience.
- The traditional governance regime of universities defended by the professors is dominated by the collegial mode of academic self-governance. In contrast, the ministry has implemented recently a stronger leadership by giving university rectors or presidents more competencies and powers.
- In addition, the ministry has increased the competitive pressure on universities and professors by an installment of markets or quasi-markets for financial resources, including basic funds. Against this policy professors declare their individual right of a guaranteed provision of resources for doing research and teaching. Part of this tension is the controversy about the question whether it is possible at all to measure the quality of research and teaching performance, and how simple – as the ministry prefers – adequate quality indicators have to be constructed.
- All these issues add up to the ministry's conviction that far-reaching reforms of the university sector are long overdue against which professors strongly resist. They, in turn, argue that the only thing needed to improve teaching and research performance is much more money because universities are highly underfinanced for decades.

Each of these issues could be spelled out in detail as a functional antagonism. In other words, both the ministry's and the professors' positions have their relative merits and are not totally wrong, as each side claims the other to be.

To be sure, these functional antagonisms are no recent phenomena; most of them have been constitutive elements of the universities' organizational make-up since the Humboldtian reforms in early nineteenth century. But the tensions between the antagonistic forces have intensified since the 1960s, and even more so during the last 10 years. Tensions have got much more prominence in an emerging "knowledge society" where universities moved to the centre of attention as one of the places on which high hopes of many other societal actors are directed, whether economic prosperity or ecological sustainability, among others, are concerned.

Everywhere in contemporary society it has been taken more and more seriously how universities perform. With respect to teaching, this is quite obvious in terms of individual life chances: When no longer less than 5 % of the population but 30 % or more – some speak of even 80 % as desirable – study at a university it becomes more visible what happens at this place, and more and more people are affected by the universities' performance. With respect to research in general, on the one hand contemporary society perceives itself as being increasingly dependent on scientific progress bringing about innovations needed in all societal spheres. The economy and the military, the health care system and top athletics, schools and courts,

parents and political decision-makers depend to an increasing extent on science-based knowledge. On the other hand, this progress inevitably implies a "risk society" (Beck 1986) wherein scientific research is a threefold force: It produces risks, it detects risks which otherwise would not be noticed, and it searches for remedies against these risks. Man-made climate change is a fitting example.

So the "knowledge society" needs a growing number of its labour force with an academic training; and it needs as well more and more scientific knowledge – a substantial part of which is produced at the universities – applicable to all kinds of problems everywhere in society. As a consequence, extra-scientific criteria have become imperative counterparts to the inner-scientific orientations of teaching and research. Moreover, to give the proponents of these societal demands a stronger voice within universities the traditional governance regime has been transformed. By confronting professors with stronger competitive pressure and stronger leadership the balance of power of professors, on the one hand, and the ministry, on the other, has been shifted to a point where the former can no longer continue with their traditional ways of doing teaching and research – but they have not yet been committed to new teaching and research practices adequate to the needs of a "knowledge society". Thus the new balance of the functional antagonisms has not been installed because professors and the ministry as the representatives of the opposing forces are in a stalemate of mutual obstruction.[7]

What can be done to overcome this situation with which both sides are deeply dissatisfied? And as important as this question is a second one: Who is able and actually predestined to do something about it?

3   The Actor Constellation of University Reforms

University leadership is a "natural" candidate to take on the responsibility for overcoming the blockade and re-balancing the functional antagonisms. University leaders are intermediaries between two reference groups.[8] In one direction, they represent their university, with the professors as the dominant group, to the

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[7] To keep the analysis simple I abstract here from other academic staff below the professorial level. More than in many other countries' university systems German research and teaching assistants or lecturers are subordinated to particular professors in the chair system and have no influential role of their own in the politics of their university – despite the introduction of their formal participation in academic self-government in the early 1070s.

[8] Guido Becke pointed out to me a very interesting parallel to university leadership: the role that works councils play within a firm in-between the employees, on one side, and the managers, on the other. As will be seen, today's university leadership and works councils are indeed in quite similar positions especially in a country of "coordinated capitalism" (Hall and Soskice 2001) like Germany where works councils are legally supposed to be not just representatives of the employees but have to take care, together with the managers, of the firm's well-being. Very good empirical material about what that means in the daily work of works councils can be found in a qualitative study done by Tietel (2006). A closer comparison of both kinds of intermediaries

ministry. In the other direction, in the new governance regime university leaders now are supposed also to represent the ministry's view within the university. To do this, they were given new competencies and powers. Initially, many university leaders might have felt themselves as falling between two stools, thrashed by antagonistic expectations from the professors – traditionally their central peer-group – and from the ministry. Gradually, more and more university leaders have learned that being "the men in the middle" – a well-known topic from industrial sociology – is not only stressful but also offers chances.

University leaders might come to a self-understanding as mediators between the two opponents; and both opponents might accept them as such, and not just as their own one-sided representative. From a similar perspective, Simmel (1908, pp. 76–82) analyzes judges as impartial third parties. However, judges are in a much stronger position than university leaders. Because a judge's power base does not depend on either of the two conflict parties but is given to him by a third actor – the state – he is able to overrule both, if necessary. Most university leader cannot dare to do that. Any attempt to move in such a direction could, at best, result in the university leadership manoeuvring itself into the position of a "tertius gaudens" who plays off ministry and professors against each other. But in this case this could be only a rather short triumph because there are no durable points of equilibrium on which the "tertius gaudens" can rest.

Because traditionally university leaders were representatives of their university – which meant primarily: their professors – their negotiating power vis a vis the ministry still is rather low although their formal power within the university was increased by the ministry. The ministry wants strong leadership as a negotiating partner on whom it can rely with respect to committing its university to what is negotiated. But the ministry has to face reality: Formal power is not enough as long as university leaders feel themselves to be bound by informal norms of "collegiality" and the threat of many kinds of informal but effective sanctions. Thus, university leaders have a strong tendency of staying part of the traditional consensus culture of mutual non-aggression pacts among professors (Schimank 1995, pp. 222–258). And this means that the negotiating power of university leaders remains low because they cannot reliably promise to push through within their university what they negotiate with the ministry.

This great lack of "actorhood" (Meyer and Jepperson 2000) of universities as corporate actors is institutionalized in Germany, for well-known historical reasons, as constitutional rights of academic freedom given to each individual professor; and the barrier to change or re-interpret this kind of legal norms is very high. However, even in countries where this legal limitation does not exist universities have to be treated as "expert organizations" or "professional bureaucracies" (Mintzberg 1979, pp. 348–379; Pellert 1999). Unlike business firms or public administrations, universities do not have leadership positions which are in charge of a forceful

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would surely be interesting. My speculation is that works councils also practice what I will later describe as double talk.

combination of threats and incentives to influence their subordinates. Neither are university leaders able to fire professors, nor do leaders command compelling incentives to induce professors to conform with new expectations which have no immediate intrinsic attractiveness to them. As a consequence of this massive lack of the two usual sources of influence of organizational leaders university leadership has to turn to other kinds of influence. The most important one is persuasion. It works by giving someone good reasons, from his point of view, to do what one wants her or him to do. However, this is easier said than done if you have to give good reasons to two actors who oppose each other again and again on the basis of firm convictions that one's own side is totally right just as the other side is totally wrong.

What has to be achieved is nothing less than re-education. With this word we associate more than the learning of new bits of cognitive knowledge. Criminals, among others, are re-educated to identify with different moral orientations. Accordingly, the re-education of professors and the ministry is much more than a revision of specific beliefs about how a good university functions. On the contrary, insofar as each of these beliefs represents one pole of one of the functional antagonisms outlined before it should not be given up but maintained. For example, professors should not be persuaded that "curiosity" is nonsense and "relevance" the real thing because this unanimity with the ministry would make the functional antagonism collapse. The re-education to be accomplished refers neither to particular points of controversy nor to the overall list of points but to the underlying relational orientation which characterizes the conflict between professors and the ministry.[9]

For quite some time the basic shade of the relational orientation of this conflict is mutual distrust and contempt. It is the result of the following definition of the situation:

- Both sides know that they depend upon each other as principal and agents. The ministry as the principal is aware that it can reach its goals with respect to teaching and research outputs only if professors use their exclusive expert knowledge to work accordingly; and professors realize that the ministry is the most important of those actors which shape their working conditions, especially by the supply of financial resources. Mutual dependence with regard to each side's goal attainment implies mutual vulnerability by obstructions from the other side.
- Both sides notice that they fundamentally disagree with respect to many essential aspects of the functioning of a university. What one side perceives to be necessary for good performance is seen by the other side as less important, irrelevant, or even harmful.
- Both sides perceive the fundamental errors of the other side not just as cognitive misperceptions of reality but as manifestations of an ideologically distorted

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[9] See Scharpf (1997, pp. 84–89) for a brief outline of some simple "interaction orientations". The relational orientation I see at work in German universities is a somewhat more complex blending of several of these simple types.

world-view. The ministry sees behind the professors' opposition nothing but the attempt to preserve their traditional privileges inside the "ivory tower"; and the professors are convinced that the ministry suffers from a brainwashing by "neo-liberal" demagogues to whom marketisation is the universal remedy. As a consequence, both sides do not conceive of each other as capable of learning.

If you are in a situation where firstly, you are highly dependent upon a certain Alter Ego with whom, secondly, you have a strong dissent about basic issues and, thirdly, whom you categorize as fixed in his views, this is the seedbed of contempt and distrust. And when the other sees you and the relationship with you in the same light, mutual contempt and distrust arises. Chances are high that you don't talk much with each other but a lot about each other, and that you do so in a very disapproving and insulting way; and whatever promises you make each other will not be trusted. The opposition between you and your Alter Ego is destructive up to the point where "maximize other's loss" (MacCrimmon and Messick 1976) might become the imperative relational orientation even if this implies massive own losses, too.

In other words, by now the conflict about the re-balancing of the functional antagonisms has brought about a state of mutual obstruction based on mutual distrust and contempt. This brief characterization of the predominant relational orientation shows what re-education amounts to. It starts with the very basic task of making both sides ready and able to talk to each other again, after a long time of escalating radio silence. Using Benz' (1994, pp. 112–148, my translation) typology of basic styles of negotiation, as a first step the default option of a "position-oriented negotiation" where both sides take advantage of their mutual veto-points to resist the other side's impositions must change to a "compromise-oriented negotiation" where points of agreement and possibilities for exchanges are explored. The latter are veto-points where Ego is willing to sell its resistance for a good price which may mean that Alter gives up its resistance with respect to another issue important to Ego. Although such horse-trading with each other considerably relaxes the conflict it is not enough to overcome mutual contempt. This begins only when, as a second step, a "negotiation searching for mutual understanding" emerges. Such a dynamic may occur if recurring successful horse-trading accompanied by other activities brings about a better and sympathetic knowledge of each other and mutual trust. Then re-education with regard to both side's relational orientation can really start. Still, that this stage is reached is by no means an inevitable result, and the contrary may happen as well.

Without investigating more deeply the necessary and sufficient conditions of "negotiations searching for mutual understanding" I turn to their potential to reach an agreed-upon re-balancing of functional antagonisms. This potential rests in the transformation of the basic mode of negotiation between professors and ministry from bargaining to arguing (von Prittwitz 1996). Arguing implies, first of all, that one's opponent is respected as someone whose point of view on the conflict is legitimate and reasonable. One does no longer see truth, justice, concern for the common good etc. only on one's own side but as divided up among both sides.

Accordingly, one's own position is qualified, and the relative merit of the other side's position is acknowledged. One opens up to learn from the other side. The other's opposition is no longer regarded merely as an obstacle to reach one's own unquestionable goals but as an opportunity for helpful self-criticism.

Divergent interests and incompatible identities, as they are structurally shaped by different positions in society, cannot be swept away by arguing; and if such differences stand for contradictory poles of a functional antagonism their levelling out would be clearly dysfunctional. From the point of view of the opponents "negotiations searching for mutual understanding" produce, in the best case, a simultaneous "win-win" and "loss-loss" situation. Both sides have to make substantial but honestly distributed sacrifices for the sake of mutually profiting from an overall improvement. To pick up my former example again, if professors pay more attention to the "relevance" of their research and the ministry at the same time shows greater respect for "curiosity" both sides may meet at a point where their respective concerns are taken care of in a more sustainable way than before. The ministry may realize how much "curiosity"-driven research is necessary to arrive at results with a high "relevance" potential. The other way round, professors may come to the conclusion that a consideration of "relevance" gives their research more legitimacy and often provides for better chances to acquire financial resources without any harm to the scientific aspirations. In addition, both sides might discover "Pasteur's quadrant" (Stokes 1997) where some research questions turn out to be both strongly "relevance"- and "curiosity"-driven.

Returning from these promising perspectives of a successful re-education to the question how university leadership can use its persuasive capacities to initiate such a dynamic I would like to point out a further difficulty. Re-education usually is a one-sided relationship: One actor re-educates another actor. In the university case things are more complicated. Here university leaders have to re-educate two actors who oppose each other. More precisely, what has to be reached is a re-education of professors, on the one hand, and the ministry, on the other, not to give up their opposition to each other's concerns but to stop acting according to the destructive relational orientation which currently shapes this opposition. This is again the question how mutual distrust and contempt can be overcome.

4   Double Talk of University Leadership

At this point of my argument I return to mindfulness. Up to now I have explicated the specific kind of difficulty with which university leaders are confronted as change agents of their university. They have to re-balance the functional antagonisms described; this has to be done in an actor constellation where university leaders are "men in the middle" between professors and the ministry whose basic attitude towards each other is mutual distrust and contempt; and, finally, to achieve successfully a new balance of functional antagonisms university leaders

rely on the professors' willingness to apply their shop floor knowledge of doing teaching and research in a constructive manner.

What does mindfulness consist of in such a situation? My answer to this question is that university leaders have to rely on a special strategy of communication. They must practice double talk. This surely sounds provocative because double talk is associated with hypocrites.[10] But what I mean here has nothing to do with betraying one side or even both sides to pursue some sinister egoistic goal. Instead, I am referring to sincere double talk which amounts to nothing less than balanced caring.

Before I explain what that means one decisive condition which makes possible double talk must be mentioned. Different from most other negotiations between opponents, professors – or their spokespersons – and representatives of the ministry rarely come together in direct face-to-face situations. Instead, university leadership transmits messages from professors to the ministry, and vice versa. On the one hand, this looks like a rather clumsy way of negotiation not only because the intermediation by university leaders costs time but, much more important, because it runs the risk of transmission errors. On the other hand, however, what manifests itself in this risk is exactly the constructive potential of this communicative constellation. The transmission agent can moderate the messages one side sends to the other; more specifically, it can translate them into the horizon of the other side. In this way, the negotiation can be directed towards mutual understanding.

To repeat, at first sight double talk sounds highly suspicious. Besides the above-mentioned frauds actors come to mind who talk with two tongues to please everybody and cover up conflicts. But what I mean here is double talk which functions as a communicative bridge between opponents. As a strategy of arguing, it consists of a sequence of three communicative moves: acceptance, transposition, and admonition.

1. *Acceptance*: To establish on both sides a readiness to talk, university leadership has to start communication with an explicit acceptance of the positions held by both. This cools down the dispute and reassures the opponents that their concerns are recognized and find understanding. At the beginning, this communication may be easier to handle when the ministry does not know how university leaders talk to their professors, and vice versa. However, this cannot be kept secret to the respective other side for long. So the leaders should be explicit about their position and concern from the very beginning: Acceptance does not mean complete approval but amounts to an appreciation of the principal importance of the concerns of both sides. Each of these concerns, the university leadership acknowledges, makes a good point because it addresses a vital aspect of university performance.

2. *Transposition*: When actors on both sides realize that the university leadership does not only accept their concerns but the contradictory concerns of their opponents, too, this already conveys an implicit qualification of both sides'

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[10] See Nils Brunsson's (1989) concept of a difference between "talk" and "action".

concerns. In the next communicative move this has to be articulated explicitly by university leaders in a "Well …, but …"-form of argument – for instance, turning to the ministry: "Well, employability surely should be the primary goal of university teaching with respect to most of the students but, properly understood, this implies essential elements of the traditional educational experience." The corresponding message to the professors is: "Well, academic education should clearly be maintained as an end in itself but that does not exclude a firm concern for employability outside of academia." In Hirschman's (1970) terms, with such arguments "loyalty" is coupled with "voice".

Articulating too early these kinds of reservations against a concern runs the risk that they will not be heard. As long as both sides perceive themselves as standing alone against their opponent or even the rest of the world, they work themselves up into a rage. To hear any "but …"-argument while being in that state of agitation would only intensify their one-sided views. However, if the first move has reassured them that they find sincere understanding for their concerns from university leadership they now are ready to be picked up to take a closer look at the concerns of their opponent. They are all the more ready for that if they see that their opponent does the same. To perceive that the other has become "reasonable" means that oneself can show some "tolerance" for the other's concerns. That this opening does not risk surrender to the opponent is, furthermore, underlined by observing that the "Well …, but …"-argumentation of university leadership goes in this direction as well. So it is with this move that arguing starts. Dogmatizing one's own concerns has come to an end. In this sense both sides' concerns have been transposed.

3. *Admonition*: This prepares for the final communicative move. It consists in bringing home to both sides the opponent's message. The "Well …, but …"-argumentation is reduced to its "but …"-component. Now is the time, to continue the example, for the university leadership to insist on "employability" when it talks to professors, and on education as an end in itself in its interactions with the ministry. Timing is essential here. Making this move too early would cause a regression to dogmatism because admonition demands from each side nothing less than an unequivocal devotion to the other side's concerns.

If this were the whole message a rejection would be the certain answer. However, prepared by the moves of acceptance and transposition there is a real chance that the admonition is listened to. Against this background, the fact that the "Well …"-component of the argumentation is not mentioned does not convey the message that university leadership has finally turned to the opponent's side – which would of course be fatal for its concern of finding a balance. Instead, leaving out the explicit reassurance of the side addressed in the admonition tells implicitly how solidified its concerns are. What is accepted as obviously important needs no longer to be mentioned. Again, it is essential that both sides observe that they are treated in the same way. Professors perceive that university leadership addresses their own concerns to the ministry, and the ministry notices that its concerns are taken care of when the university

leadership talks to its professors. Moreover, demands addressed to one side must have about the same magnitude than what is demanded from the other side.

If these conditions are fulfilled by the sequence of the three communicative moves university leadership presents the following arrangement to both sides: "If you, as a consequence of having acknowledged the importance of the other side's concerns, are willing to make certain concessions to the other side's concerns I can bring the other side to make concessions to your concerns." What at first sounds like the result of a bargaining, however, is built on concessions which are not just compromises or horse-trading but based on mutual learning. What successful double talk brings into being is a mental "taking the role of the other" (Mead 1934, p. 113) on both sides which goes beyond strategic calculation but reaches into a partial identification with the other's concerns. The either/or-confrontation of both sides has been transformed into a deliberate exploration of possibilities to reach both sides' concerns. There is no guarantee that such possibilities exist and will be found in each case. But chances are much higher to find them in this way than by pure lucky accident.

5 Conclusion

Renate Mayntz (1985, pp. 31, 141, sub-title, my translation) portrays leaders of research organizations outside of the universities as actors whose main task consists in "... the permanent coping with fundamentally indissoluble tensions and problems ..."; and she notes in particular that these "attempts to guide between Scylla and Charybdis" are "... not a heroic deed to be achieved just once but never-ending daily work ..." The same can be said about today's university leadership which in the new governance regime of the university sector has been appointed to mediate between the ministry and the professors in a way which achieves a new viable balance of the functional antagonisms of university performance.

As I showed, in such situations mindfulness consists of caring for antagonistic forces. In other words, mindfulness is what I called balanced caring. A reassures B that its concerns are taken care of; but at the same time A makes clear to B that C's concerns are taken as seriously as B's, and A demands of B to care about C's concerns, too; moreover, A communicates to B that the same demands are directed at C. It is not at all easy to practice this kind of double talk in a consistent manner without making any mistake on the often long way towards a successful organizational reform. This is the reason why at so many universities reforms have run into difficulties sooner or later or even failed. Especially university leaders who are not aware of the functional antagonisms they have to balance, and of their role in the actor constellation cannot but behave like bulls in a china shop. Therefore it is all the more important to improve their understanding of the change processes they are supposed to manage.

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Personal, Systemic and Transsystemic Trust: Individual and Collective Resources for Coping with Societal Challenges

Martin Schweer and Karin Siebertz-Reckzeh

Abstract In the light of complex societal conditions associated with a high degree of abstraction of interdependencies, trust gains importance as a regulating element. Against the background of the differential theory of trust, personal and systemic trust will be highlighted, but also the transsystemic component of trust, as well as collective processes of trust development. Furthermore, we will deal with the question of a constructive contribution of distrust. Finally, we will focus on trust as a moderating variable within the process of social responsibility in association with the concept of mindfulness as a reflexive component.

Keywords Personal • Systemic • Transsystemic trust • Distrust • Collective trust processes • Social responsibility

1 Introduction to the Subject

(More) complex social conditions – characterized through keywords like globalization, technologization, individualization and demographic change – bring along new, risky and uncertain developments that social systems have to deal with. Within the (amongst others political) discourse of (organizational) social responsibility and sustainability that has been discussed increasingly for more than two decades now, we can observe efforts to identify ways to cope with social challenges (see Senghaas-Knobloch in this volume, Malloc 2013; Lamberti and Lettieri 2009; UNDSD 1992). Looking at solutions like the "fair trade" (see Castaldo et al. 2009; Hira and Ferrie 2006) labels and the visualization of the consumption of "virtual water" by personal footprints (see Hoekstra and Chapagain 2008), one will notice

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that these are characterized by inextricably interwoven social, ecological and economical factors.

When facing these challenges, trust as a regulating element gains importance on both the individual and the collective level (see Eilfort and Raddatz 2009; Konisky et al. 2008; Larsson 2007), even though at first, trust building is made considerably difficult. To sum it up: The higher the feeling of subjective insecurity, the more important will trust be, and the more difficult (i.e.: more risky) it will be to invest trust (see Banerjee et al. 2006). Notwithstanding, trust is able to structure processes of social perception and cooperation in a fundamental way that enhances action orientation.

This function of trust will be under examination in the article at hand, where the focus will be on two different perspectives: On the one hand, in extending the differentiation between personal and systemic trust (which is prevalent in trust research among the social sciences, see Poppo and Schepker 2010; Sydow 2006), the significance of the *transsystemic component of trust* will be highlighted: Transsystemic processes as part of abstract cause-and-effect relationships are being postulated (see Strulik 2011), which, in subjective perception, aggravate the possibility of reference to practically acting individuals or organizations, respectively. Especially those social processes and developments that are ultimately uncontrollable and which do not seem approachable through experience-based trust building are affected by this. On the other hand, looking at the level of societal challenges when dealing with trust, it becomes necessary not only to draw into consideration the role of the individual, but also to put a stronger emphasis on *collective processes*. Against the background of the *differential theory of trust* (Schweer 1996, 2008), one can systemize the components of personal, systemic and transsystemic trust, which can be looked at from either an individual or a collective perspective. In addition to a basal paradigmatic approach, we will discuss both central fields of research in selected areas and the connection between concepts of social responsibility, sustainability and mindfulness.

2 On the Differentiality of Trust as a Social Resource for Societal Challenges

According to Schweer (1999), trust can be understood as the subjective feeling of security allowing to put oneself in the hands of other persons or institutions. However, this experience of security may vary considerably depending on each person and setting. This interindividual variance as well as the (perceived) setting-related specificity of trust exhibits two central presuppositions based on the differential theory of trust (Schweer 1997), which by no means come to an agreement within the field of multidisciplinary trust research (see Lewicki and Brinsfield 2012; Schweer 2010).

In accordance with this differential approach, we are able to theoretically conceptualize the construct of distrust, an independent social phenomenon which increasingly attracts attention within the scientific discourse (see Keyton and Smith 2009; Schoorman et al. 2007). Regarding both theory and method, discussion concerns the question of whether trust and distrust, firstly, are to be looked at as two poles of one dimension, or secondly, have to be considered as two completely separate concepts. Within the first one of these approaches, Rotter (1971) uses his *Interpersonal Trust Scale* to measure a generalized trust expectation versus an expectation of distrust, so the arithmetic average of the scale empirically separates individuals who are more likely to trust and those who are more likely to distrust. If elsewise, a two-dimensional approach is pursued, distrust, contrary to trust, shows a qualitatively different dimension – a lack of trust does not (yet) necessarily correlate with the experience of distrust. So it can be stated that one may be biased meeting a new business partner, however, this does not automatically indicate for an attitude of distrust.

Schweer (1999) therefore considers *distrust* as the social attitude which does not allow for placing oneself in the hands of other people or institutions without exposing oneself to a high, subjective danger of risk violation and the potential damage linked to that.

Distrust, in organizational networks as well as in the political field is said to bring along a positive contribution (Funken and Thoma 2012; Lewicki et al. 1998). Considering the approach of two separate dimensions, a certain degree of trust by all means accounts for a critical glance in terms of distrust.

Still, as our own findings on subjective distrust within the *VERMIKO* research association (*Trust Management Systems for Innovation Co-operations in Processes of Developing Products and Services,* see Schweer and Siebertz-Reckzeh 2013), which is funded by the *Federal Ministry of Education and Research* (FMER), the *European Social Fund* (ESF) and the *European Union* (EU) show, 61.7 % of the interviewed persons (N = 107) within participating companies stated that distrust in job-related practice is more likely to be considered the opposite of trust. A differentiation between trust and distrust is not always made in everyday life attitudes. Nevertheless, the constructive contribution of distrust may certainly be helpful to reflect on ways of looking at problems in society.

The differential theory of trust follows the *dynamic-transactional approach* (see Mischel 2004; Bergmann et al. 2003) to the extent that trust which has been experienced and the options of action derived from this fact, function as a complex interplay of personal and situational factors in their respective chronological dimension (*historicity of the situation*, see Holmes 2000). The so called *Bochum School* (Rosemann and Schweer 1996; Rosemann and Kerres 1985) in regard to this approach especially emphasized the aspect of situational perception of individual experience and behavior. This approach can be assigned to the analysis of the phenomenon of trust: In addition and dependent on each personal original condition, both the subjective definition and assessment of situational attributes become psychologically relevant. Thus we can observe that identic situational constellations in conjunction with trust relevant previous experiences lead to
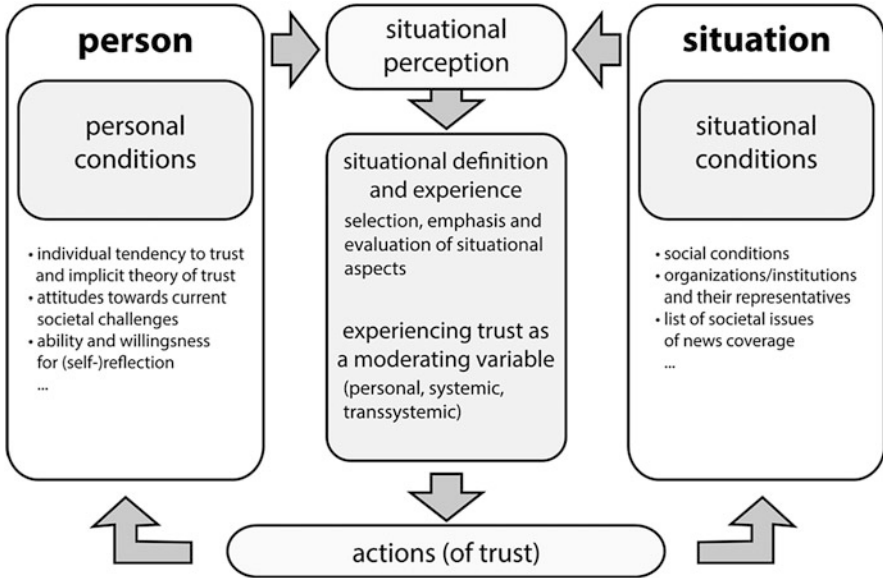
Fig. 1 Trust as a moderating variable of socially relevant patterns of action

different situational experiences. In order to identify inhibiting as well as facilitating factors of trust actions (e.g. trust in the energy transition i.e., changing provision of energy by sustainable resources), it will therefore not suffice to show generalizing factors which can commonly indicate trust (e.g. professional expertise of a female politician). Only a differential analysis of subjective patterns of perception and evaluation will provide a clear picture of trust experience and options for action, which will in turn influence the continuing interaction between person and situation (see Fig. 1).

Hence the stated differentiality provides a basis for approaching trust as a social resource on the societal level; personal, systemic and transsystemic components of trust are at the same time both requirement and result of a proceeding interaction between person and situation. At collective and individual level, acquired attitudes and experiences as well as the ability and willingness to deal with individual constructions and action orientations, influence the perception of social agents and organizations.

3 Facets of Trust in Their Complex Interplay

Personal, systemic and transsystemic trust represent three facets of a phenomenon, which are not at all independent from each other. However, there is still a need for theoretical and empirical research on the question of how – especially regarding

transsystemic trust – this interplay will develop in dealing with practical requirements.

3.1   The Component of Personal Trust

Personal trust means trusting one or more stakeholder (see Banerjee et al. 2006). Previously made, trust relevant experiences will echo, on the one hand, within the *individual tendency to trust* as subjective beliefs regarding certain spheres of life (e.g. politics) and how these spheres generally allow for relationships of trust. This tendency towards trust therefore functions as a pre-condition for perceiving practical situations within the respective area of life. Even though this may change due to long-term inconsistent experiences, it is more likely to show a tendency of stabilization in the course of information selection and information processing (see respective findings of social psychology, Fiske and Neuberg 2008)

Taking into account the construct of the implicit personality theory, the *implicit theory of trust* characterizes normative expectations towards existing interactive partners. There are, for instance, empirical findings at hand regarding normative expectations of students towards the teacher (Schweer 1996); the structures of this expectation are composed of a professional dimension (competency and assistance), and a social dimension of personal devotion, respect, accessibility and straightforwardness. The differentiality of normative expectations only becomes empirically evident since emphasis and accentuation of single aspects among these dimensions may distinctly vary interindividually. Based on a theoretic model, a differential approach especially proves to be significant regarding the methodology of empirical analyses as well as recommendations of action deduced from it. *Implicit theories of trust* may contain not only aspects which are applicable to more *general* contexts, but also those aspects characteristically for special contexts. Thus, we found that the management context shows social and professional dimensions of expectations that are certainly comparable to those of the educational field (see Schweer et al. 2013a; Bijlsma and van de Bunt 2003). When transferring this to social systems, e.g. politics or the health care system, there is a need to consider the area-specific variance of implicit theories of trust (Schweer 1997). According to the differential approach distrust results also from the interplay between practical situational frameworks and both the *individual tendency to distrust* and the *implicit theories of distrust* of a person.

The personal antecedents described above structure the process of situational perception. On the base of a more or less advantageous trust tendency, normative expectations towards trustworthy protagonists will be verified with perceived actions. The social proximity of interpersonal relationships allows for immediate experiences. This option is a fundamental condition for the process of trust development: On the one hand, the proximity of other people accounts for their attractiveness, on the other hand, processes of group dynamics (structuring of social relationships, formation of group norms etc.) come into effect during direct

interaction (see Oswald 2010; Schweer and Thies 2003). In group processes, trust relevant normative expectations can generally be exchanged, adjusted and revised. In addition, reciprocal trust actions of interactional partners can be experienced immediately, and actions possibly inhibiting trust may directly be addressed. Direct experiences can show that trust is both a condition for and a result of a satisfactory quality of relationships.

Still, personal trust often develops only based on indirect experiences (e.g. through the media or third party conversations). This phenomenon is explained by Political trust researchers by the construct of vertical trust, e.g. in politicians (see Kaina 2009).

Structural frameworks of potential trust relation may remarkably affect the experience of the relationship. This especially is held true for the understanding of reprocity (initiation and extent of giving and taking). Relationships within the family as well as in educational and on-the-job training areas are characterized by varying degrees of voluntariness and asymmetry (e.g. formal power, age, knowledge and experience, see Schoorman et al. 2007). Also, distal trust relationships can be described on the basis of structural frameworks – this may apply to the expertise of a scientist or politician characterized by an aspect of asymmetry. The suspicion of a leap of trust that is only motivated by strategic self-interest (Schweer 2008) is closely connected with (perceived) asymmetry: proximal asymmetric relationships (e.g. superior-subordinate-relation, betrayal of trust, see Zhao et al. 2007) are assumed to be characterized by the fact that the leap of trust from a subordinate person is connected with the suspicion of strategic self-interest. Such an action allegedly bears the intention of a person willing to reach a beneficial position in the eyes of a more senior person, although it is just as conceivable, that the reverse possibility also exists. Within distal relationships, no anticipated interactional link of a direct kind exists, so it is possible that actions of purely strategic self-interest are more likely to be perceived as short-term advantages (e.g. political campaign pledges, fair trade product advertisements relying on the participation of a well-known business person).

3.2   The Component of Systemic Trust

Systemic trust (see Schweer 2012; Sydow 2006) refers to (sub-)systems of society, such as institutions or organizations from an internal (e.g. members of the organization) or external (clients, patients, etc.) perspective. To what extent systemic trust always integrates a personal association is a controversial issue within the field of trust research (see Zhang et al. 2008; McEvily and Zaheer 2006; McEvily et al. 2002). However, it often occurs that building and stabilizing trust in a social system depends on the representatives of that system (ergo the process is personalized). The extent of perceived prototypicality of a system's protagonist is essential for this process. *Prototypicality* refers to the degree of compliance of the protagonist's actions with ethical and moral principles that are (or should be)

associated with the respective social (sub-) system. Within empirical research, fairness, appreciation and justice proved to be especially relevant in this respect (see Oswald 2010; Uslaner 2010). Thus, the systemic component of the phenomenon of trust can be experienced through established norms and action requirements, both system-internal and system-external, that can be found in organizational culture, corporate principles and party programmes. In the field of economy such an organizational fit (see Zaheer and Harris 2006) plays a key role with regard to interorganizational cooperation and networking, under the assumption that trust building aimed as output of a company requires a corresponding culture of trust within the own system (see Sydow 2006).

Referring to the differential theory of trust, the systemic component of a *individual tendency to trust* now depicts the underlying conviction that it is not clear whether organizations or institutions in a distinct area of life (e.g. economy and industrial branch, politics, jurisdiction) can even realize trust relevant principles. Accordingly, the *implicit theory of trust* characterizes normative expectations towards trustworthy social (sub-)systems, in which the perception of the systemic level is more or less abstracted from the individual representatives (for example, this holds true for the relationship of trust between customers and financial firms, when a longtime customer advisor leaves the organization).

Relevant *structural attributes* affecting systemic trust may be the size and power of an organization. Furthermore this allows a differentiation between single sectors like the economy (sectors and industrial branches), public administration authorities, the public health system and the political field with their respective legal framework and the connection of these sectors to areas of life that can immediately be experienced (see Greenwood and Van Buren III 2010). Older findings (Schweer 1997) show a higher degree of trustworthiness of social institutions in comparison with the trustworthiness of commercial enterprises and political organizations. In the case of current events, they mainly influence the trust verdict if there is a direct personal effect or an immediate reference to the individual environment. Monitoring instruments like the "GPRA trust index" (2012) provide empirical evidence – in this case, a loss of trust in energy companies was caused by news reports at the turn of the years 2012/2013 about the German Association of Energy Consumers criticizing the increase in energy cost (that was justified by companies through invoking the energy transition).

3.3   The Component of Transsystemic Trust

Looking at the level of society, both components of personal and systemic trust relate to acting protagonists and their (sub-systems), more precisely, commercial enterprises, associations, political parties and their respective representatives. In addition, the transsystemic level now resorts to complex action contexts, that make it nearly impossible to relate trust to specific individuals or systems (on the so-called world/- risk society see Beck 2007). An example for a transsystemic

action context would be the so-called energy transition, a relatively abstract construct which, by including different interests and inventories of knowledge and expertise, does not allow for an overview of all actions of each individual protagonist. But what we know from trust research is that trust building happens in small steps (see Neidhardt 1979; Petermann 1996), and that experiencing reciprocal relationships is crucial for this developmental process.

With regard to transsystemic processes, gaining trust in the energy transition therefore also means there is a possibility of (at least indirectly) gaining experience by weighing up the odds of realization of intentions with their potential risks and attaining comprehensible clues to achievements put into practice. Such action contexts are beyond individual control, and so they emphasize the significance of trusting in other individuals or authorities. On the systemic level, the question of the discussion on an experience of reciprocity is to what extent, if at all, an organization can actually return trust (see Schoorman et al. 2007; Schweer and Thies 2003; McEvily et al. 2002). Within even more complex contexts, the question is accordingly being raised, what base or anchor of perception in such a context can even generate direct or indirect experiences of mutual trust.

With regard to the differential theory of trust, the transsystemic component, which so far has not undergone extensive systematic research, comprises the subjective situational perception as a relevant source for gaining action orientation and the process of trust development. The *individual tendency to trust* in this respect includes the fundamental question on how highly complex, abstract action contexts can still realize ethical and moral principles and thus build up trust relationships. Following our example of the energy transition, the Shell Youth Study (Schneekloth and Albert 2011) provides evidence for a growing carelessness of approximately one of four in the upcoming generation (which will be influenced by climate change to a much larger extent) linked with skepticism towards predictions about climate change and therefore also towards measures taken against it.

If there will be an intensification of the belief that, within the environmental field, no trustworthy expertises nor an integration of effective measures exist, it will become challenging to overcome the often bemoaned discrepancy between environmental knowledge and effective action.

Transsystemic elements of the *implicit theory of trust* include normative expectations towards regulation and orientation of guidelines of action. Individuals or organizations particularly provide for prototypical models for dealing with complexity, when they obtain the perceived attribution of authenticity. Credible moral integrity, closeness to citizens, supportive dedication, a recognizable use for the solution of societal problems and an awareness of an accountability towards society are dimensions of normative expectations that play an important role in this process (Schweer 1997). Further interest regards the question of how, and to what extent incalculable outcomes influence the expectation of respect towards the person concerned (e.g. from politician to citizen). On a systemic level, open communication, transparency and participation are three central effective principles of trust (see Bijlsma and Koopman 2003; Norman et al. 2010), and realization of those also becomes trust relevant in transsystemic processes. For example,

commercial enterprises can transparently display – to both employees and customers – an environmental awareness in their own facilities (e.g. by handling the waste of energy) through disclosing places and conditions of production. Expectations and willingness to (having to) deal with balancing social, ecological and economical (follow-up) costs may differ. In the media, news about such (supposedly) newly uncovered risks have become quite frequent: An example of a current issue would be news coverage about serious supply difficulties of the pharmaceutical industry (in production and transport of drugs), since drugs that are essential for survival had to be replaced by alternative products with heavy side effects – obviously highly alarming for the concerned population (see SZ December 2012).

Looking at the *situational framework*, superordinate organizations (such as institutions for accreditation and certification, rating agencies, etc., see Strulik 2011), which are important in terms of orientation regarding the complex distribution of interests, power and information, gain priority on the transsystemic level. Furthermore the essential for transsystemic processes and trust relevant experiences is the proximity to an immediate area of experience (Konisky et al. 2008), e.g. the set of problems of virtual water (see Jahn et al. 2009; Hoekstra and Chapagain 2008): these are mostly invisible to the ultimate consumer and therefore do not trigger appropriate needs of action.

Thus, the empirical evaluation of transsystemic trust requires a survey of substantial beliefs and attitudes on both an individual and a collective level (espc. tendencies to trust and implicit theories of trust). Moreover, it has to be determined how the relationships to individuals and systems represent a central anchor of perception of transsystemic contexts (see in the context of public trust, Uslaner 2010; Bentele and Seidenglanz 2008) – the question must be: How, and to what extent are patterns of perception and evaluation providing directions for action responsible for subjectively understanding transsystemic contexts either as an interaction of systems, or as personalized processes?

4   Trust in the Context of a Societal Culture of Social Responsibility

Trust is said to be of fundamental importance regarding societal cooperation, the social ability to integrate and the quality of democratic systems altogether. In this regard, researchers especially refer to the function of trust in the sense of Luhmann's reduction of complexity (Luhmann 2000), which, on an individual as well as on a collective level, both reduces insecurity in the subjective experience and facilitates control. Due to the feature of risk which is imminent to every kind of trust, we find certain problems linked to this: besides the suppression of potentially harmful side effects of trust actions, these may definitely create further risks (e.g. when analyzing transsystemic trust, Strulik 2011 speaks of "risk dynamics").

When facing these conditions, one question is raised: In what ways can trust make an important contribution in promoting a societal culture of social responsibility, based on classical humanist ideas (see Auhagen and Bierhoff 2001), combined under the aspect of mindfulness this volume focuses on.

4.1 Trust as a Moderating Variable Within the Process of Social Responsibility

The construct of social responsibility emphasizes (possible) behavioral outcomes regarding their perception and evaluation under a perspective of morality. Regarding this, the construct is always embedded in a societal framework, thus "under an authority or towards an addressee" (Lenk 1992, p. 79, quoting Bierhoff 2000). For example, social responsibility affects the actions of a politician- towards his or her voters, the teacher's behavior towards the students, the action of food manufacturers towards customers, or even the media's action towards recipients.

Socially responsible actions respectively actions in terms of sustainability are seen as moral judgement and actions that may be largely affected by emotional components (see Kals and Maes 2002). This is mostly true for dilemma situations (see Osbaldiston and Sheldon 2002), which one can only decide through weighing out factors (e.g. in the case of a low priced product that is produced under conditions not socially acceptable). In these cases, psychological burdening dissonance effects are likely, that can only be actively reduced through cognitive restructuration.

How does socially responsible action develop as opposed to these principles of action? Bierhoff (2000), considering literature published hitherto, refers to two psychological approaches we can put in the context of a dynamic-transactional model and that we can directly link to the phenomenon of trust: Either, responsibility is designed for a specific sequence of action in terms of attribution theory, or a consistent sense of responsibility is stated in the context of behavioral dispositions (u.a. Berkowitz and Lutterman 1968). Against this background, social responsibility as a personal variable is linked to the willingness to act in a reliable and fair way of personal commitment towards legitimate expectations of others (on measuring instruments referring to this, see Bierhoff 2000). The listed facets coincide with key elements of perceived trustworthiness, therefore, in the context of reciprocity, they create a counterpart to normative trust expectations:

Classing the reliable dealing with hazard potentials of the nuclear energy among normative expectations of trust, the perceived moral integrity of a politician respectively a political party (see Schweer and Thies 2003) in terms of an effect of concordance is essential for progressive development of trust. Within this process it may be expected that perception and attribution of social responsibility is promoted by a certain amount of established trust. Social responsibility can therefore be initially experienced by actions – thus, the way of action and the

consequences of actions have to be recognizable and it is necessary to enable an attribution of responsibility in terms of weighing an action. Regarding this process, trust is an important moderating variable.

In addition to such external attributions in the context of social responsibility (see Greenwood and Van Buren III 2010), self-attributions play an important role. For example, when regarding a company's action on environmental protection, we do not only observe if external customers perceive reliability, but also if the same is true for members of the organization itself (see Schweer and Thies 2003). The subjective assurance concerning the effectiveness of one's own (organizational) action significantly satisfies the psychological need for control. The other extreme would result in the feeling of being at the mercy of organizational action. Even if, naturally not every potential outcome of such action is actually totally under control, integrating an organization internal and external effort to build trust in the context of social responsibility may lead to the development of a transparent and authentic way of dealing with possible action outcomes. With regard to the perceived reciprocity of trustful experiences, which is of great importance, a producing company on the one hand depends on trust regarding its responsible action, which means offering fair trade products, on the other hand, the organization needs to invest trust in its customers regarding their willingness to spend more money on such a product (see Castaldo et al. 2009).

Trust in the sense of information processing therefore moderates the procedures of internal and external attributions of responsibility. At the same time, the development of trust is embedded within the perception and anticipation of responsible action – trust, and the construction of responsibility correspond, while with regard to a societal culture of social responsibility, personal, systemic and transsystemic components of trust are equally important. In this context it is essential to what extent a basis for trust referring to transsystemic processes can even be developed, that allows for socially responsible action. Furthermore, we need to examine to what extent, within this conceptional context, individuals or institutions are able to serve as a model for the corresponding moral orientation.

4.2 Collective Perspectives of Trust: Regulatory and Resulting Element of Societal Processes

In the light of the foregoing conceptualized personal, systemic and transsystemic trust from an individual perspective, so to speak, against the background of individual learning and previous experience. But to appropriately analyse the phenomenon of trust with regard to dealing with societal challenges, we increasingly need to draw into consideration *collective* structures and processes of the genesis of trust as well. *Collective trust* means socially shared trust, that among other things develops in social courses of interaction for specific clusters, and is, as well as individual trust, subject to mechanisms of progressive and retrogressive

developments (Schweer 1999). Collective perspectives of trust form a regulating element that is key for democratic states, but at the same time these perspectives are a result of societal processes.

Within the organizational framework (see Salamon and Robinson 2008), we often find formal or informal (sub-)groups, whose implicit theories of trust and experiences of trust are relatively homogeneously (and thus, collectively) shared. Diagnostically, the degree of trust concerning this matter can be measured through the instrument of the *Vertrauensampel* (Schweer and Siebertz 2013; Lachner et al. 2013). Especially when analyzing specific factors of influence, the collective level of analysis plays an important role, e.g. when looking at demographic change. In a way similar to the differences (between young and old employees in the sense of birth cohorts with different backgrounds of socialization) in expectations towards work (for example the discussion about the psychological contract, see Hauff 2007) or in the effectiveness of specific principles of organization and work, those employees' expectations may differ with regard to how trust within the organization can be identified (above all, these expectations are not independent of other significant expectational structures). Corresponding influences on the experience of trust are the consequential outcome. The growth of enterprises, altered channels and styles of communication and the introduction of new management instruments prove to be trust sensitive changes. Regarding these changes, *systemic historicity* as an expectation within an organization influences patterns of perception and evaluation (Schweer and Siebertz-Reckzeh 2013), which again, may vary between different operational generations. An analysis of collective demographic structures as conducted within the DOMINNO research association (*Demography-Oriented Concepts of Measuring and Promoting Innovative Potentials*, see Schweer et al. 2013b), which is funded by the FMER, the ESF and the EU therefore provides important information on how intraoperational trust can be promoted.

Collective perspectives of trust that transcend the level of direct interaction are mostly brought up under the issue of public and horizontal trust (see Ingenhoff and Sommer 2010; Chryssochoidis et al. 2009; Milankovic and Wilke 2004). When trust is generated and modified within a collective process, its guiding function in the sense of a reduction of complexity is to be emphasized. However, the way of intermediation plays a special role the so called mass media (see Schweer in print, Ingenhoff and Sommer 2010), for example, by reporting trust-sensitive content temporarily decides on what the public current issues are. But then, the reception of messages delivered through the media may largely vary. The individual selection and processing of information mainly concentrates on confirming existing attitudes. In addition, one's orientation towards the attitudes of fellow human beings to a high degree influences the process of developing personal opinions. For this reason varying public opinions are only temporary, while affective components in particular are said to have a high influence on dynamics of collective processes (see Gamero et al. 2011).

Besides others, competency, consistency and authentic communication are said to be typical features of the genesis of public trust (see Schweer in print, Bentele and Janke 2008). Yet when looking at authentic communication a conflict of

Chart 1 Components of trust from an individual and collective perspective concerning the energy transition

	Personal trust	Systemic trust	Transsystemic trust
Individual perspectives	A citizen trusts in a politician	A citizen trusts in a political party	A citizen trusts in the energy transition
Collective perspectives (vertical)	The citizens share trust in a politician	The citizens share trust in a political party	The citizens share trust in the energy transition
Collective perspectives (horizontal)	The voters of a politician trust each other regarding their ambitions towards being conscious of energy (consumption)	The voters/members of a political party trust each other regarding their ambitions towards being conscious of energy (consumption)	The citizens trust each other regarding their actions towards a consciousness of energy (consumption)

interests is often suspected – this may be true for a company with the primary goal of profit maximization or for a political party with the primary goal of reelection (Strulik 2011). For this reason, a transparent display of their actions is of special importance for these social systems. In this regard, results of a comparable study (Fetchenhauer and van der Vegt 2001) show that trust correlates with the moral evaluation of "financial honesty", and economic growth is seen to be inspired by a corresponding positive "climate".

Further gainful considerations with regard to a societal culture consist of research on political attitudes: what is meant by that is that mutual trust between citizens serves as a fundamental element for the development of a communal consciousness (see Kaina 2009). Therefore, horizontal trust serves as an alternative draft working against the development of radicalizing social tendencies.

We finally see a gainful research perspective when differentially analyzing collective perspectives of trust. When doing so, we gain valuable evidence for the establishment of trust as an action principle in a societal culture of social responsibility. We can relate both individual and collective perspectives on personal, systemic and transsystemic trust, respectively (see Chart 1).

A differential analysis of the collective experience of trust is connected with along these lines shared patterns of perception and evaluation. For example, the question might be to what extent a consensus of individual tendencies to trust and implicit theories of trust exist in groups of voters or members of a party or associations, and which psychological clusters become apparent in a comparable experience of trust.

4.3 Mindfulness as a Reflexive Component of a Societal Culture of Social Responsibility

The concept of mindfulness aims at the ability of self-observation and -reflection, that in the context of anticipation, refers to possibly unthoughtful and unintentional outcomes of one's own behavior. Therefore we may consider it to be an individual

ability to reflect on and possibly change subjective patterns of perception and evaluation (s. Becke et al. 2012). The fundamental condition for a mindful attitude is, in the first place, the willingness to question such well-rehearsed patterns that developed over a long period of time. On a systemic level, the organizational mindfulness (Becke 2013) especially sheds light on innovation processes. The ability to question existing routines, as well as considering and uncovering unintentional outcomes of changes, proves to be a valuable organizational resource. With this potential, which gains importance through forming and fixing of reflexive processes, the concept of mindfulness is discussed on a societal level (Senghaas-Knobloch in this volume). A close connection exists with the concept of sustainability, which now is an issue of economic and social importance beyond the original ecological perspective (see Senghaas-Knobloch 2009; Littig and Grießler 2005). In this regard, not only is there a focus on a stable, resource-saving development, but also on previously not included, possibly severe outcomes. Mindfulness therefore defines the basis for reflection, which is closely connected with sustainability and the development of social responsibility.

In the context of complex constellations of problems, the significance of the so called non-knowledge (see Dorniok and Mohe 2011) is high: Through new knowledge (e.g. as part of innovation in technology), with outcomes that have not been studied yet, those outcomes constitute another kind of non-knowledge, which in turn increases uncertainty. An equally active and reflected handling of non-knowledge challenges research on trust and mindfulness.

In this regard, reflexive processes in the sense of mindfulness always require the willingness to invest trust. Only this will allow for the acquisition of fundamental action orientation and the reflection on options of possible innovation. Still, trust itself may be embedded in a reflexive process due to its successive development based on experience (see Neidhardt 1979; Petermann 1996). This reflection may proceed institutionalized (e.g. through public awareness campaigns by different associations) or through media-based exchange (e.g. message boards).

A mindful development of trust may be applied to the reflection on normative and anticipatory expectations. For a genesis of trust, there is a general need to highlight to what extent potentially trustworthy objects are in accordance with the normative expectations in perceived reality which result from the implicit theories of trust (trust concordance), or are not in accordance (trust discordance, Schweer 1996, 2008).

The historicity of trust relations allows for two approaches: Firstly, in a progressive manner, both normative and anticipatory expectations are in accordance with each other, secondly the expectations can be directly opposed – for example, an individual may normatively expect that scientifically proven consequences of climate change (should be) considered by policy makers, however, if the anticipatory expectation that principles of action will not be applied in the future is being confirmed, this will most probably result in a retrogressive development of trust.

Figure 2 gives an overview of the different effects of discordance and concordance, based on an initial contact, that can either relate to a person, a system or an abstract problem.
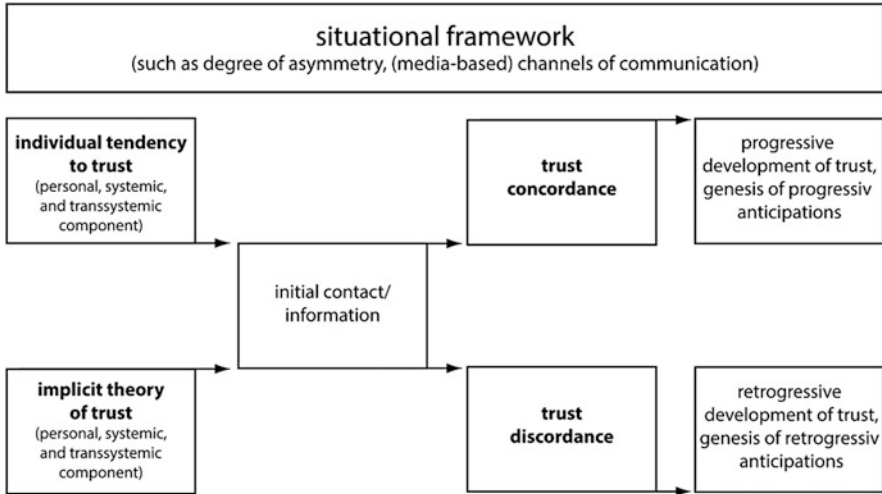
Fig. 2 Progressive versus retrogressive development of trust

Distrust, by aiming at subjectively experienced hazardous potentials, can unfold a positive function within this reflexive process. Such a critical observation of possible intentions and outcomes of action is under discussion as a protection against abuse of trust and power, distrust as well is under discussion (see Schweer in print). However, these observations often aim at blind trust, which is not based on experience, so what would be beneficial for further research is a systematic analysis of the normative and anticipatory expectations linked to distrust.

5   Conclusion

Based on a dynamic-transactional approach and against the background of the differential theory of trust, we are able to identify two central determinants of trust for processes of social perception and social cooperation and interaction. Due to the complexity and the high degree of abstraction of many challenges, the consideration of a transsystemic component in addition to the personal and systemic components of trust is increasingly necessary. Besides, the research perspective needs to focus on collective processes of the genesis and development of trust – especially regarding the question to what extent such processes can be attached to a societal culture as a fundamental element.

Trust, social responsibility and mindfulness influence each other: Trust supports the social construction of mutual responsibility, mindfulness promotes the reflexive development of trust. Depending on the respective implicit theories of distrust, this can make a contribution to a critical, positive consciousness.

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