


Trust in Decision-Making Authorities Dictates the Form of the Interactive Relationship Between Outcome Fairness and Procedural Fairness

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Abstract

Reactions to decisions are shaped by both outcome and procedural fairness. Moreover, outcome and procedural fairness interact to influence beliefs and behaviors. However, different types of “process/outcome” interaction effects have emerged. Many studies have shown that people react particularly negatively when they receive unfair or unfavorable outcomes accompanied by unfair procedures (the “low-low” interactive pattern). However, others find that people react especially positively when they receive fair or favorable outcomes accompanied by fair procedures (the “high-high” interactive pattern). We propose that trust in decision-making authorities dictates the form of the process/outcome interaction. Across three studies, when trust was high, the “low-low” interactive pattern emerged. When trust was low, the “high-high” interactive pattern emerged. The findings suggest that when people’s experience of outcome *and* procedural fairness diverged from how they expected to be treated, they reacted in the direction of their experiences; otherwise, their reactions were consistent with their expectations.

Keywords

trust, procedural fairness, outcome fairness, organizational commitment, organizational justice

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It has long been known that people’s reactions to decisions depend on both the outcomes and the procedures associated with the decisions (e.g., Adams, 1965; Thibaut & Walker, 1975). In the workplace, employees tend to be supportive of decisions, decision-making authorities, and the organizations that the authorities represent when the outcomes are fair or favorable, and when the procedures are fair (e.g., Colquitt, 2001; Lind & Tyler, 1988). Similarly, in court proceedings, litigants tend to respond positively to decisions when they receive a favorable outcome and when they believe that the arbitration process was conducted fairly (Lind, 1994). Other work has emphasized the interactive effects of outcome and procedure on people’s beliefs and behaviors (Colquitt, Greenberg, & Zapata-Phelan, 2005; Folger, Rosenfield, & Robinson, 1983). For instance, Brockner and Wiesenfeld (1996) examined over forty different studies and reported that the combination of an unfair/unfavorable outcome and an unfair procedure elicited especially negative reactions. Indeed, Colquitt et al. (2005) cited this process/outcome interaction effect in their review of noteworthy conceptual and empirical contributions to the justice literature.

Several more recent empirical developments suggest that further research is needed to better understand the interactive relationship between procedures and outcomes. First, some studies have shown that the process/outcome interaction is contingent on or moderated by other factors, such as relationship importance (Kwong & Leung, 2002), national culture (Brockner, Chen, Mannix, Leung, & Skarlicki, 2000), and uncertainty about one’s standing in an organization (De Cremer et al., 2010). The process/outcome interaction is more likely to emerge when people’s relationship with the decision-making authority is more important, when the study

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is conducted in a collectivistic rather than individualistic culture, and when people are more uncertain about their standing as organization members. In fact, in most of these studies, the two-way interaction between outcome and procedure was not significant. Instead, these studies always found a three-way interaction between outcome, procedure, and the moderating variable.

Second, other studies have shown that under certain conditions, the process/outcome interaction takes a different form than the one documented by Brockner and Wiesenfeld (1996). Whereas the earlier interactive pattern showed that the combination of low outcome fairness and low procedural fairness elicited particularly negative reactions, more recent studies have shown that under some conditions, fair outcomes accompanied by fair procedures elicit particularly positive reactions (Chen, Brockner, & Greenberg, 2003; Lin, Che, & Leung, 2009).

Thus, further research is needed to delineate when and why outcome fairness will combine interactively with procedural fairness, and if so, the form that this interaction will take. In this article, we draw on theorizing in the attitude and justice literatures to predict that whether people react particularly negatively to the combination of unfair outcomes and unfair procedures, or whether they react particularly positively to the combination of fair outcomes and fair procedures depends on how much they trust the decision-making authority. When trust in the decision-making authority is relatively high, the former interactive pattern is likely to emerge, whereas when trust in the authority is relatively low, the latter interactive pattern is likely to emerge. Next, we present the organizing framework underlying our hypotheses, followed by a discussion of the theoretical and practical importance of these hypotheses.

Organizing Framework

Three key assumptions, each well established by prior theory and research in social and organizational psychology, support our contention that trust will influence the form of the process/outcome interaction. First, inherent in people's trust in decision-making authorities is an expectation about how the authority is likely to behave toward them. Indeed, the definition of trust includes expectations about future treatment (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). For example, Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, and Camerer (1998) defined trust as "a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon the positive expectation of the intention or behaviors of another" (p. 395). Perceivers are likely to have expectations about both *what* the authorities will do (outcome fairness or the related construct of outcome favorability) and *how* they will do it (procedural fairness). The more people trust decision-making authorities, the more likely they are to expect that outcomes will be fair or favorable, and the more likely they are to expect that the procedures used by authorities to plan and implement the decisions will be fair.¹

Second, people's perceptions of and reactions to decisions are affected by their prior expectations. Several well-established frameworks in social psychology, such as cognitive consistency theory (e.g., Abelson et al., 1968), social judgment theory (e.g., Sherif & Hovland, 1961), and theory and research on motivated reasoning (e.g., Lord, Ross, & Lepper, 1979), suggest that people often perceive and respond to decisions in ways that are consistent with their prior expectations (the consistency effect). People who trust decision-making authorities thus are likely to evaluate the outcomes resulting from the authorities' decisions as more fair or favorable, and they also are likely to judge the authorities as more procedurally fair. For example, research in organizations has shown that employees who are more trusting of their managers are more committed to their organizations than their less trusting counterparts (Colquitt, Scott, & LePine, 2007; Dirks & Ferrin, 2002).

Third, whereas people often perceive and respond to authorities in ways that are consistent with their prior expectations, there are times when their actual experiences clearly diverge from their expectations. In the language of social judgment theory (Sherif & Hovland, 1961), in such instances people's experiences contrast with their prior expectations and therefore cannot be assimilated. When this happens, people are less likely to exhibit the consistency effect and are more likely to respond in the direction of their actual experiences. More specifically, assuming that people's actual experiences consist of both outcome information and procedural information, we suggest the following:

1. When trust in decision-making authorities is high, the experience that most qualifies as being clearly different from people's positive expectations is one in which they receive unfair or unfavorable outcomes accompanied by unfair procedures. Therefore, and as shown in Figure 1,

Hypothesis 1: People are likely to react particularly negatively to low outcome fairness and low procedural fairness when trust in decision-making authorities is high.

2. When trust in decision-making authorities is low, the experience that most qualifies as being clearly different from people's negative expectations is one in which they receive fair or favorable outcomes accompanied by fair processes. Therefore, and as shown in Figure 2,

Hypothesis 2: People are likely to react particularly positively to high outcome fairness and high procedural fairness when trust in decision-making authorities is low.

Thus, assuming that people's experiences include outcome and procedural information, when both sources of information violate their trust-based expectations, there is more likely to be a contrast effect (rather than an assimilation or consistency effect) between their expectations and their

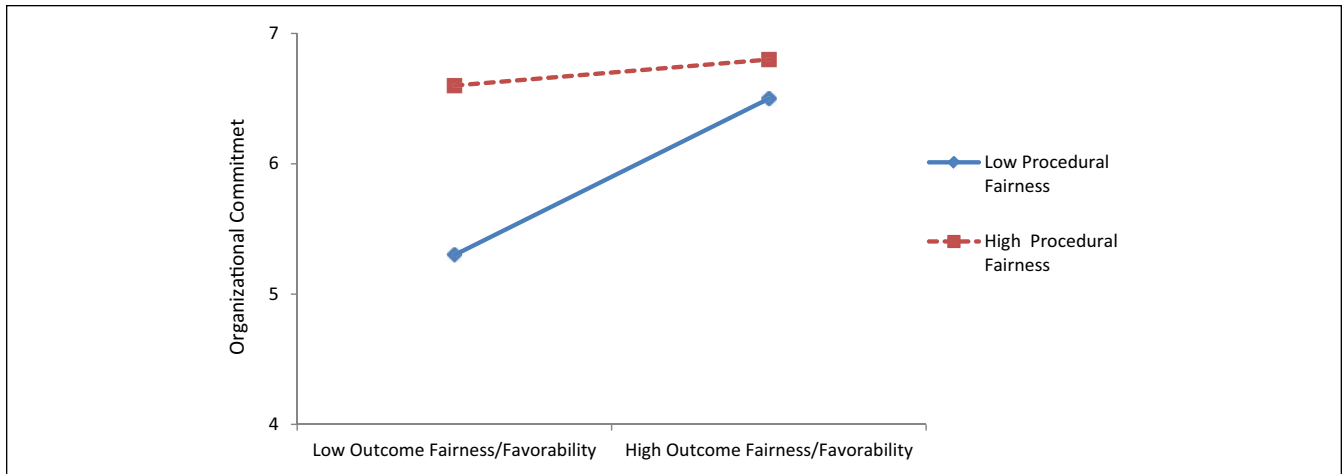


Figure 1. Predicted effect of outcome fairness/favorability and procedural fairness on organizational commitment when trust is high.

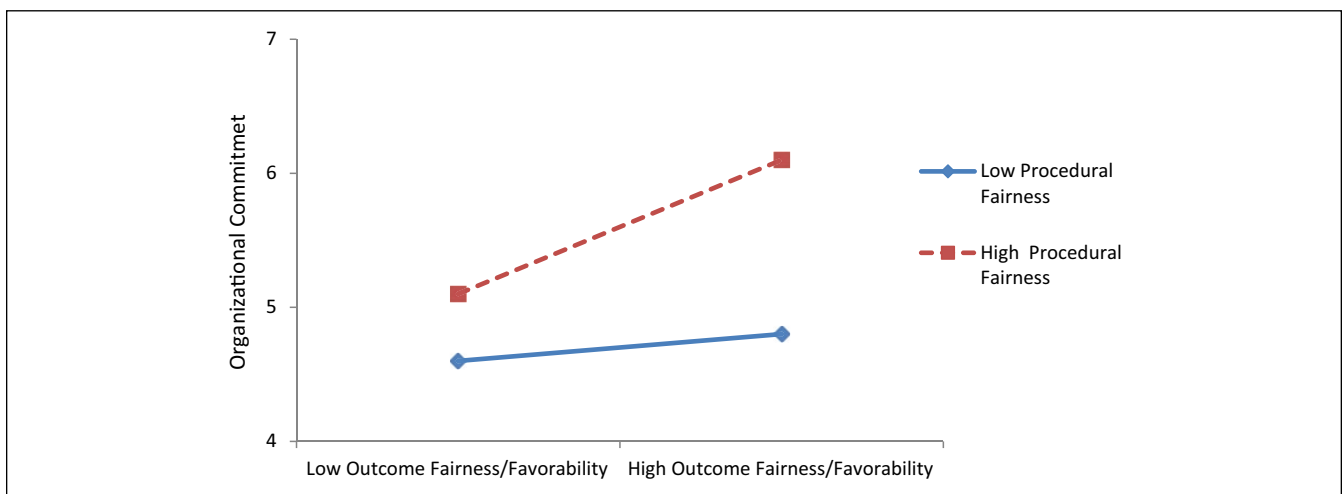


Figure 2. Predicted effect of outcome fairness/favorability and procedural fairness on organizational commitment when trust is low.

experience. When either outcome or procedural information violates people's expectations but the other does not or when neither violates their expectations, then people's experiences are not clearly different from their expectations; consequently, we would expect a consistency effect in which their experiences are assimilated to their expectations.

Fairness Heuristic Theory (FHT)

Additional support for our reasoning comes from FHT (Lind, 2001), which pertains more specifically to trust and fairness-related experiences. FHT argues that people would like to commit themselves to decision-making authorities but also are worried about being exploited by these authorities. As such, people will engage in a "judgment" phase, in which they gauge whether the authorities are trustworthy, that is, whether their concerns about exploitation are well-founded. Authorities who deliver fair or favorable outcomes, or who

use fair processes, engender greater trust (Kramer & Tyler, 1996). FHT further posits that after forming a fairness or trust judgment, people transition to the "use" phase, in which fairness-relevant information is assimilated to existing judgments. For example, litigants who have determined that their judge is fair and therefore trustworthy are likely to perceive subsequent fairness-relevant information in a similar light.

Whereas people typically perceive and respond to fairness information in ways that are consistent with their existing judgments, events or experiences that strongly contrast with these judgments may jolt people back into the judgment phase (Lind, 2001). Such experiences must strongly violate expectations for people to revisit and revise their fairness-related beliefs. As Lind (2001) argued, experiences that only mildly deviate from expectations will be "explained away" (p. 79).

Thus, much in the way that the attitude literature suggests that people usually draw upon their existing perceptions to

guide their beliefs and behaviors, FHT argues that people typically encode and react to fairness-relevant information in ways that are consistent with their existing fairness beliefs. Moreover, both frameworks suggest that people will re-evaluate and respond differently from their existing judgments when their experiences of outcome and procedural information clearly differ from their existing judgments.

Importance of the Research

The present studies speak to matters of theoretical and practical significance. Theoretically, we seek to extend our understanding of the interactive relationship between outcomes and procedures by delineating when and why the process/outcome interaction takes different forms. Moreover, the predicted results also have implications for how and why trust affects reactions to decisions. Prior research has shown that the relationship between trust and commitment is self-perpetuating (e.g., Dirks, Lewicki, & Zaheer, 2009; Kramer, 1999; Kramer & Tyler, 1996). For instance, trusting employees who, in turn, exhibit high commitment are the beneficiaries of a virtuous cycle. By showing commitment, they are likely to be treated more positively by their employers which, in turn, will enhance commitment, and so on. On the other hand, employees who show low commitment as a result of not trusting management are caught in a vicious cycle. Managers are likely to respond to employees' lack of commitment by treating them less positively, which is likely to reinforce their low levels of commitment, and so on. The present research may offer insight into when these self-perpetuating cycles may be interrupted. We examine the kinds of experiences that may cause trusting people to become less committed, and, more optimistically, the kinds of experiences that lead untrusting people to become more committed.

Relatedly, and practically speaking, it is important for decision makers to be aware of when and why the link between trust in decision makers and commitment may be attenuated. On the one hand, this possibility offers hope to decision makers who are relatively untrusting by suggesting that they may be able to elicit greater commitment. On the other hand, this possibility rings a cautionary bell to decision makers who are already trusted by suggesting that they need to act in ways that maintain the recipients' commitment.

The Present Studies

Across three studies, we examined the effect of employees' trust in decision-making authorities, outcome fairness/favorability, and procedural fairness on how committed or attracted they felt toward the organization. When trust in management is high, people were expected to show particularly low levels of commitment when they received an unfair/unfavorable outcome accompanied by an unfair procedure (Hypothesis 1; Figure 1). When trust is low, people were

predicted to show especially high levels of commitment when they received a fair/favorable outcome accompanied by a fair procedure (Hypothesis 2; Figure 2). Taken together, these predictions should manifest themselves statistically in the form of a three-way interaction between trust, outcome fairness/favorability, and procedural fairness.

Main effects. Secondly, we also expect to find significant positive main effects for each of the trust, outcome, and procedure variables. The main effects are predicated on prior theory and research which shows that employees react more positively when decision makers are trusted (e.g., Colquitt et al., 2007) and when they deliver fair or favorable outcomes and use fair processes (e.g., Lind & Tyler, 1988). Whereas main effects are expected for trust, outcomes, and procedures, the effect of greatest novelty and conceptual significance (and hence our main focus) is the three-way interaction between trust, outcome, and procedure.²

Studies 1 and 2 consisted of field surveys, in which all independent and dependent variables were measured in actual organizational settings. While these contexts enhanced external validity, the cross-sectional nature of the research design limited internal validity. To address this limitation, in Study 3 we experimentally manipulated the independent variables. Consistent results across studies with different methodological strengths and weaknesses should enhance the generalizability of the findings (Cook & Campbell, 1979). Finally, whereas all three studies focused on trust and fairness between managers and employees, we would expect similar effects to emerge in settings outside the workplace, particularly when hierarchical differences exist between the decision makers and the recipients of those decisions, such as in legal settings and other important social situations (Thibaut & Walker, 1975).

Study 1

Participants and Procedure

Participants in Study 1 were new employees in a cadet management/officer training program in a large global shipping company based in the United Kingdom (UK). Although headquartered in the UK, the company has more than 100 ships operating around the world with more than 2,300 employees. A total of 153 participants (all male) from 17 countries completed the survey. On average, participants were 26.43 years old ($SD = 9.66$) and had been at their jobs for 3.99 years ($SD = 6.64$).

The survey drew on existing validated measures of all constructs including trust in management (Robinson, 1996), outcome fairness (Niehoff & Moorman, 1993), procedural fairness (Niehoff & Moorman, 1993), and organizational commitment (Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982). All scale items were completed using 7-point scales, with endpoints labeled "strongly disagree" (1) and "strongly agree" (7). The full

Table 1. Summary Statistics, Study 1.

	M	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Organizational commitment	5.59	1.40	(.94)			
2. Procedural fairness	5.39	1.08	.51**	(.73)		
3. Outcome fairness	5.22	1.30	.55**	.41**	(.84)	
4. Trust	5.39	1.24	.70**	.46**	.60**	(.72)

Note. *n* = 153. Coefficients alpha are displayed on the diagonal.
***p* < .01.

Table 2. Summary Statistics, Study 2.

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. Organizational commitment	4.86	1.60	(.96)				
2. Procedural fairness	4.35	1.56	.80**	(.94)			
3. Outcome fairness	4.80	1.58	.75**	.77**	(.95)		
4. Outcome favorability	4.84	1.33	.78**	.74**	.76**	(.95)	
5. Trust	4.36	0.90	.59**	.61**	.53**	.53**	(.73)

Note. *n* = 363. Coefficients alpha are displayed on the diagonal.
***p* < .01.

Table 3. Results of Hierarchical Regression Analysis, Studies 1 and 2.

	Study 1			Study 2, Model 1 (outcome favorability)			Study 2, Model 2 (outcome fairness)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Outcome fairness	0.17* (0.08)	0.16* (0.07)	0.23** (0.07)				0.30** (0.05)	0.34** (0.05)	0.36** (0.05)
Outcome favorability				0.48** (0.05)	0.49** (0.05)	0.53** (0.05)			
PF	0.28** (0.08)	0.25** (0.08)	0.40** (0.09)	0.44** (0.05)	0.44** (0.05)	0.44** (0.05)	0.50** (0.05)	0.48** (0.05)	0.49** (0.05)
T	0.58** (0.08)	0.57** (0.08)	0.59** (0.08)	0.21** (0.06)	0.20** (0.06)	0.33** (0.07)	0.24** (0.07)	0.24** (0.07)	0.37** (0.08)
OF × PF		0.08 (0.09)	0.05 (0.06)		-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.02)		0.03* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
OF × T		-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.05)		0.11* (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)		0.07 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)
PF × T		-0.16 (0.07)	-0.20** (0.07)		-0.11* (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)		-0.14* (0.06)	-0.11* (0.05)
OF × PF × T			-0.14** (0.04)			-0.06** (0.02)			-0.06** (0.02)
R ²	.56	.58	.61	.73	.75	.75	.69	.70	.71
R ² _{adj}	.55	.56	.59	.73	.73	.74	.69	.70	.71
R ² _{change}		.01	.03		.00	.01		.01	.01
Overall F	62.41**	32.97**	31.95**	324.81**	166.10**	148.96**	271.85**	138.78**	122.11**
df	3, 149	6, 146	7, 145	3, 359	6, 356	7, 355	3, 359	6, 356	7, 355

Note. OF = outcome favorability (Study 1, Study 2, Model 1) or outcome fairness (Study 2, Model 2); PF = procedural fairness; T = trust.
p* < .05. *p* < .01.

scales for all constructs in all studies are included in the online Appendix. Summary statistics appear in Tables 1 and 2.

Results

Tests of Hypotheses 1 and 2. We used hierarchical regression analysis to examine the effects of trust, outcome fairness, and procedural fairness on employees' organizational commitment. We mean-centered trust, outcome, and procedure and constructed the interaction terms using the mean-centered scores (Aiken & West, 1991). In Step 1, we entered the main effects of trust, outcome, and procedure. In Step 2, we added all three of the two-way interactions, and in Step 3,

we added the three-way interaction. As shown in Table 3, there were positive main effects for all three independent variables. Of greater importance and as shown in Step 3, a three-way interaction between trust, outcome, and procedure emerged ($b = -0.14$, $SE = 0.04$, $t = -3.40$; 95% confidence interval [CI] = [-0.22, -0.06], $p < .01$).³ To illustrate the nature of the three-way interaction, we generated predicted values for the effects of outcome and procedure on organizational commitment at high and low levels of trust (one *SD* above and one *SD* below the mean level of trust, respectively; Aiken & West, 1991). In support of Hypothesis 1 and as shown in Figure 3, among those who were more trusting, organizational commitment was particularly low when both

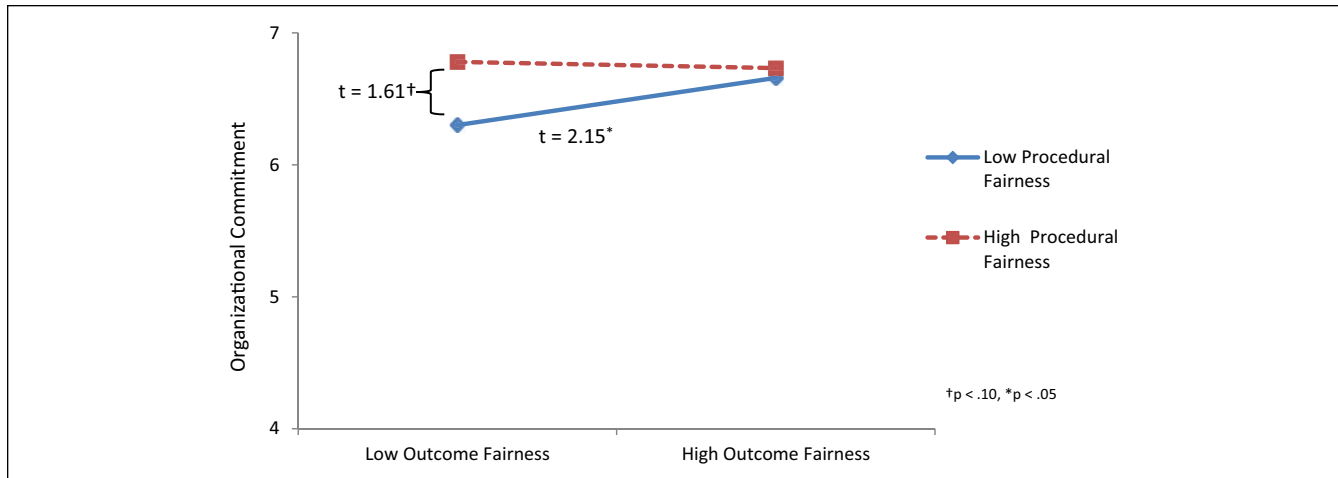


Figure 3. The effect of outcome fairness and procedural fairness on organizational commitment when trust is high (Study 1).

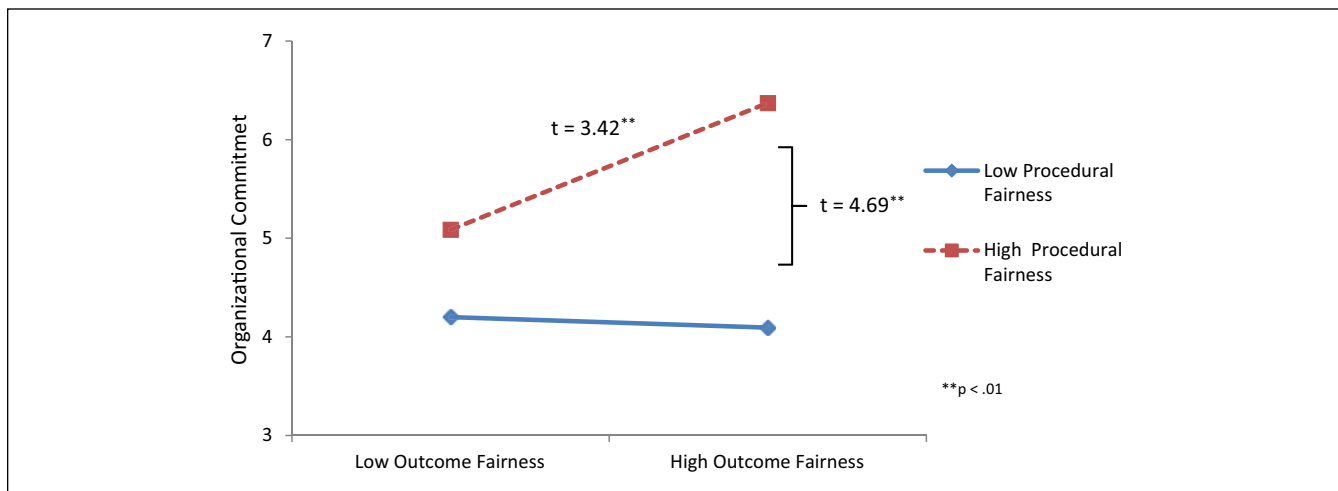


Figure 4. The effect of outcome fairness and procedural fairness on organizational commitment when trust is low (Study 1).

outcome fairness and procedural fairness were low. Moreover, consistent with Hypothesis 2 and as shown in Figure 4, among those who were less trusting, organizational commitment was especially high when both outcome fairness and procedural fairness were high.⁴

Decomposing the three-way interaction. We conducted simple slope analyses to further clarify the nature of the three-way interaction. When trust was high, the “low-low” combination of outcome and procedural fairness was expected to lead to particularly low levels of organizational commitment. Simple slope analyses may be used to compare the “low-low” combination to low outcome fairness/high procedural fairness and to high outcome fairness/low procedural fairness. Indeed, when trust was high and outcome fairness was low, the simple slope for procedural fairness was positive, though only marginally significant ($b = 0.32$,

$SE = 0.19$, $t = 1.61$; 95% CI = $[-0.00, 0.37]$, $p < .10$). When trust was high and procedural fairness was low, the simple slope for outcome fairness was positive ($b = 0.32$, $SE = 0.15$, $t = 2.15$; 95% CI = $[0.03, 0.62]$, $p < .05$).

When trust was low, the “high-high” combination of outcome and procedural fairness was expected to lead to particularly high levels of organizational commitment. Simple slope analyses may be used to compare the “high-high” combination to high outcome fairness/low procedural fairness, and to low outcome fairness/high procedural fairness. As expected, when trust was low and outcome fairness was high, the simple slope for procedural fairness was positive and significant ($b = 0.94$, $SE = 0.20$, $t = 4.69$; 95% CI = $[0.54, 1.33]$, $p < .01$). Finally, when trust was low and procedural fairness was high, the simple slope for outcome fairness was positive and significant ($b = 0.51$, $SE = 0.15$, $t = 3.42$; 95% CI = $[0.21, 0.81]$, $p < .01$).

Subsidiary analyses. The present findings were predicated on the notion that people compare their experiences of outcome and procedural fairness to their trust-based expectations. If so, then the three-way interaction between trust, outcome, and process should be stronger when the process of comparing experiences with prior expectations is more salient. The literature on early job experiences and socialization suggests that the process of comparing experiences with expectations is particularly salient when people are relatively new to their positions (e.g., Boswell, Shipp, Payne, & Culbertson, 2009; Saks & Ashforth, 1997). If so, then the focal three-way should be more pronounced among less tenured employees.

Participants in Study 1 were asked how many years they had been in their jobs (length of tenure). We then conducted a hierarchical regression to evaluate whether the focal three-way interaction was stronger among those who had been in their positions for shorter periods of time. In the first step we entered four main effects: trust, outcome fairness, procedural fairness, and length of tenure. In the second step we entered all of the two-way interaction effects and in the third step we entered all of the three-way interaction effects. In the fourth step we entered the four-way interaction, which was used to evaluate the above reasoning. If our reasoning is correct, then the four-way interaction should be significant, such that the focal three-way interaction between trust, outcome fairness, and procedural fairness is stronger among those who are relatively new to their positions.

Indeed, a significant four-way interaction effect emerged ($b = 0.04$, $SE = 0.02$, $t = 2.01$; 95% CI = [0.01, 0.09], $p < .05$). Follow-up simple three-way interaction effect analyses (conducted at low and high levels of job tenure) showed, as predicted, that the three-way interaction between trust, outcome fairness, and procedural fairness was more pronounced among those who had been in their positions for less time. When job tenure was low (one SD below the mean), the simple three-way interaction between trust, outcome fairness, and procedural fairness was significant (and its sign was negative, as expected; $b = -0.35$, $SE = 0.16$, $t = -3.05$; 95% CI = [-0.58, -0.12], $p < .01$). In contrast, when job tenure was high (one SD above the mean), the simple three-way interaction did not approach significance ($t < 1$).

Study 2

Study 2 was designed to build on the results of Study 1 in three important respects. First, we used other well-validated measures of trust, outcome fairness, and procedural fairness to evaluate the generality of the previous findings. Second, the sample in Study 1 was somewhat limited because all the participants were male and worked for a shipping company in the United Kingdom. The sample in Study 2 came from a different country (the United States) and was considerably more diverse in terms of age, gender, and the organizations for which they worked.

Third, we examined two different forms of outcome: outcome fairness and outcome favorability. As noted in Note 1, outcome fairness refers to whether the outcome is consistent with the prevailing resource-allocation norms such as equity, equality, and need (Deutsch, 1985) whereas outcome favorability refers to how much people stand to benefit (economically, psychologically, or both) from a decision. Though conceptually distinct, outcome fairness and outcome favorability are highly related (with correlations in the .70s, for example, Brockner et al., 2003).

More importantly, our prior reasoning suggests that outcome fairness and favorability should similarly interact with trust and procedural fairness to influence organizational commitment. People expect to be treated positively by those they trust (e.g., Rousseau et al., 1998). Positive treatment could be in reference to outcome fairness such that people expect fairer outcomes from those they trust more; it also could be in reference to outcome favorability such that people expect more favorable outcomes from those they trust more. Thus, Study 2 included measures of both outcome fairness and outcome favorability. We then conducted separate regression analyses, one in which the outcome factor was fairness and the other in which it was favorability. In both instances we expected to find a significant three-way interaction between trust, outcome, and procedure (Hypotheses 1 and 2).

Participants and Procedure

Participants consisted of 363 members of an online research panel of adults in the United States who were currently employed full-time. On average, participants were 44.30 years old ($SD = 11.75$); 53% were female. They completed a survey which included measures of trust in management, outcome fairness, outcome favorability, procedural fairness, and organizational commitment. Trust was measured using Mayer and Gavin (2005)'s 10-item trust scale. Both procedural and outcome fairness items were assessed using Colquitt's (2001) measures. Organizational commitment was measured using all 9 items from the widely used short form of Mowday et al.'s (1982) Organizational Commitment Questionnaire. The scale endpoints for all items measuring trust, outcome fairness, procedural fairness, and organizational commitment were "strongly disagree" (1) and "strongly agree" (7).

Outcome favorability was assessed using the five-item scale developed by Siegel, Post, Brockner, Fishman, and Garden (2005). Endpoints ranged from "very negative" (1) to "very positive" (7). The full scales for all measures in Study 2 are included in the online Appendix; summary statistics appear in Table 2.

Results

Two separate hierarchical regressions were conducted, one using outcome fairness and the other using outcome

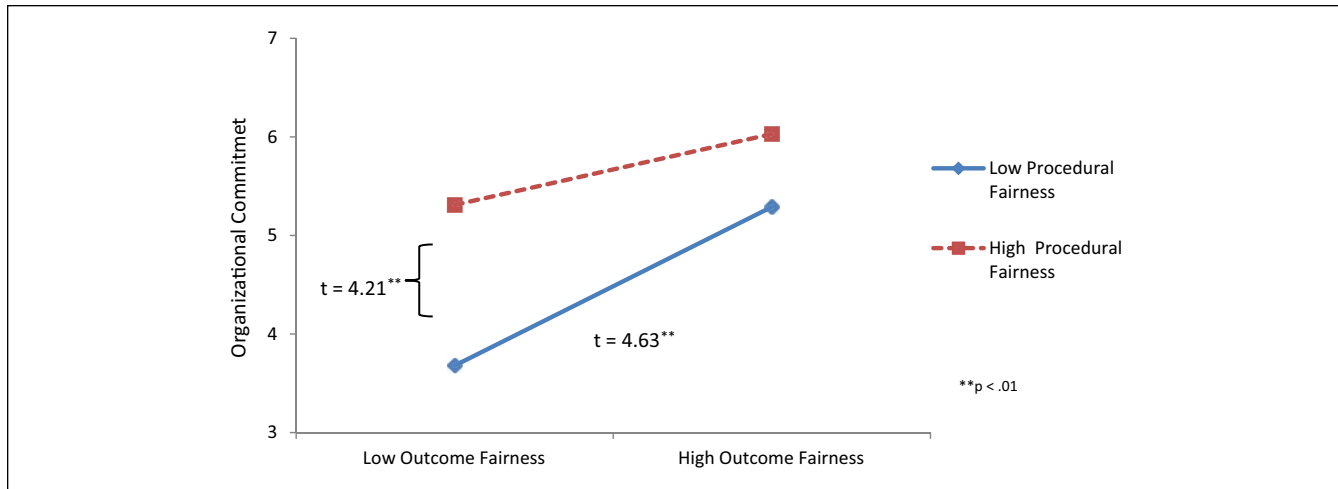


Figure 5. The effect of outcome fairness and procedural fairness on organizational commitment when trust is high (Study 2).

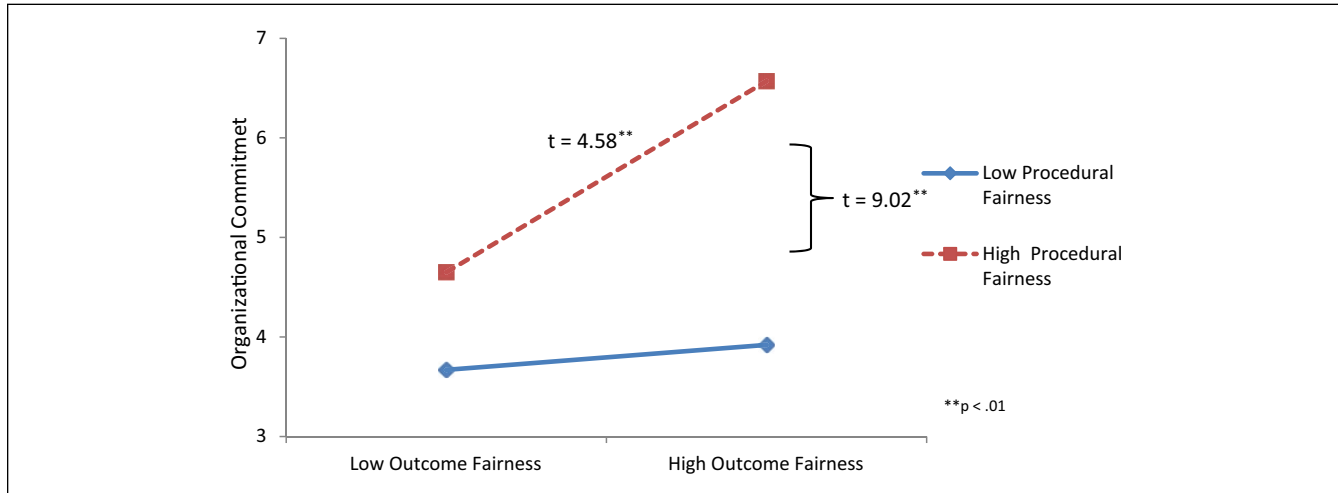


Figure 6. The effect of outcome fairness and procedural fairness on organizational commitment when trust is low (Study 2).

favorability. As in Study 1, and as shown in Table 3 (Study 2, Step 1), positive main effects emerged for trust, procedural fairness, and outcome favorability/fairness. Furthermore, both three-way interactions (Procedural fairness \times Outcome favorability \times Trust, and Procedural fairness \times Outcome fairness \times Trust) were significant; see Table 3, Study 2, Step 3. As shown in Figures 5 and 6, the three-way interaction involving outcome fairness took the same form as the one found in Study 1 ($b = -0.06$, $SE = 0.02$, $t = -3.59$; 95% CI = $[-0.09, -0.03]$). The three-way interaction involving outcome favorability also took the same form ($b = -0.06$, $SE = 0.02$, $t = -3.59$; 95% CI = $[-0.09, -0.03]$). This graph is not included but was similar to the graph using outcome fairness.

Decomposing the three-way interaction. Again, we conducted simple slope analyses to further illustrate the nature of the

three-way interaction. Consistent with the notion that when trust was high the “low-low” combination of outcome and procedure leads to especially low levels of organizational commitment, when trust was high and outcome fairness was low, the simple slope of procedural fairness was positive and significant ($b = 0.42$, $SE = 0.10$, $t = 4.21$; 95% CI = $[0.23, 0.62]$, $p < .01$). Moreover, when trust was high and procedural fairness was low, the simple slope of outcome fairness was positive and significant ($b = 0.40$, $SE = 0.09$, $t = 4.63$; 95% CI = $[0.23, 0.57]$, $p < .01$).

In accordance with the prediction that when trust was low the “high-high” combination of outcome and procedure leads to especially high levels of organizational commitment, we found that when trust was low and outcome fairness was high, the simple slope of procedural fairness was positive and significant ($b = 0.70$, $SE = 0.08$, $t = 9.02$; 95% CI = $[0.54, 0.85]$, $p < .01$). In addition, when trust was low and

procedural fairness was high, the simple slope of outcome fairness was positive and significant ($b = 0.45$, $SE = 0.10$, $t = 4.58$; 95% CI = [0.26, 0.64], $p < .01$). Moreover, all of these simple effects were significant when we examined outcome favorability rather than outcome fairness.

Discussion of Studies 1 and 2

The predicted three-way interaction found in Studies 1 and 2 exhibited high generality in a number of respects. It emerged across different samples, different measures of the key constructs, and different forms of outcome (i.e., fairness and favorability). Nevertheless, Studies 1 and 2 had several methodological shortcomings. First, we reasoned that employees' organizational commitment was affected by their tendency to compare experiences (of outcomes and procedures) to trust-based expectations. Implicit in this reasoning is that participants' trust judgments provide a standard against which outcome and procedural experiences are evaluated. However, all three dimensions (trust, outcome, and procedure) were measured in the same survey, making it difficult to know the sequence in which participants conceptualized the dimensions. Whereas the results of the subsidiary analysis in Study 1 are consistent with the possibility that commitment is affected by the comparison of experiences and expectations in that the focal three-way interaction was stronger among those relatively new to their positions, the cross-sectional nature of the design raises questions about internal validity. Therefore, it is important to examine the focal three-way interaction when the independent variables are experimentally manipulated. Moreover, to ensure that participants are evaluating their experiences of outcome and procedure in relation to their trust-based expectations, it is important for participants to receive information about how much to trust the decision maker prior to receiving outcome and procedure information.

Study 3

Study 3 was designed to address the methodological shortcomings of Studies 1 and 2. Drawing on stimulus materials used in previous research (Lin et al., 2009), we asked participants to read a vignette in which they played the role of someone applying for a coveted job. To address concerns about internal validity, rather than measuring the independent variables, we randomly assigned participants to conditions differing in the information they received regarding trust in management, outcome favorability, and procedural fairness. Moreover, the manipulation of trust preceded the manipulations of outcome favorability and procedural fairness information. The primary dependent variable consisted of how attracted or drawn participants felt toward the organization, an analogue of organizational commitment. Consistent with the results of Studies 1 and 2, we expected that those in the high trust condition would show particularly

low levels of attraction to the organization when they experienced unfavorable outcomes accompanied by an unfair procedure (Hypothesis 1), and that those in the low trust condition would show especially high levels of attraction to the organization when they received favorable outcomes accompanied by a fair procedure (Hypothesis 2).

Study 3 also was designed to evaluate the process underlying the three-way interaction. Our reasoning suggests that when people's experiences of *both* outcome and procedure deviate from their initial levels of trust, their attraction to the organization may fluctuate because their level of trust has been altered. That is, when people initially trust the decision maker but then receive an unfavorable outcome accompanied by an unfair procedure, trust is especially likely to be reduced. Moreover, when initial trust is low but outcome favorability and procedural fairness are high, trust in the decision maker is especially likely to be heightened. These altered perceptions of trust, in turn, may influence how attracted they feel toward the organization.

One way to evaluate this reasoning is to measure how much participants trust the decision maker *after* they have experienced the manipulations of all three independent variables. We predict a three-way interaction effect on such a measure of trust, similar in form to the one hypothesized for the main dependent variable, organizational attraction. Among participants who were initially told that the manager was someone they could trust, we expected trust in the manager to be particularly low when the manager subsequently doled out an unfavorable outcome accompanied by an unfair procedure. Moreover, among participants who were initially told that the manager was someone they could not trust, we expected trust in the manager to be especially high when the manager delivered a favorable outcome accompanied by a fair procedure. The trust that participants reported after experiencing all three manipulations, in turn, will be positively related to how attracted they feel toward the organization.

Hypothesis 3: The three-way interactive effect of manipulated trust, outcome favorability, and procedural fairness on organizational attraction will be mediated by perceived trust measured after participants experienced the manipulations of trust, outcome favorability, and procedural fairness.

Participants

Two hundred and forty-seven adults in the United States (165 women and 82 men) participated. Slightly more than half of the participants were between 35 and 55 years old. All were voluntary members of a research panel that completed occasional online surveys through internet-based advertisements in return for payment or credits for online retailers.

Design and procedure. We employed a 2 (Trust: high vs. low) \times 2 (Outcome favorability: high vs. low) \times 2 (Procedural

fairness: high vs. low) between-subjects design. All participants read a scenario in which they were asked to imagine they were applying for a desirable job. Participants were told that the organization had an extensive process for making hiring decisions which consisted of nine different selection dimensions, including intelligence tests, personality tests, and interviews. Ultimately, however, they were told that the hiring decision would be made by the Human Resources (HR) Manager. The trust manipulation took place first (see the online Appendix for the complete wording of all the manipulations). In the high trust condition, participants were told that several credible sources reported that the HR Manager was conscientious and reliable; in short, someone who could be trusted. In the low trust condition, participants were told that the HR Manager was not conscientious and reliable; in short, someone who could not be trusted.

Whereas the vignette and experimental manipulations in Study 3 generally followed those used by Lin et al. (2009), the experimental manipulation of trust in Study 3 differed in an important way from a related manipulation which those authors called "leader morality." In the Lin et al. study participants in their high (low) leader morality condition were given the information described above. Given our focus on trust, however, we wanted to manipulate trust more directly. Thus, we explicitly concluded the description of the HR manager in the high (low) trust condition by saying, "In short, the HR manager is known to be quite trustworthy (untrustworthy)." These concluding sentences pertaining to trust in the HR manager were not included in the Lin et al. manipulation of leader morality.

Next, participants were told that they had been contacted by the HR manager 1 week after they had applied for the job. Those in the high outcome favorability condition were told they received a job offer whereas those in the low outcome favorability condition were told they did not receive a job offer. Procedural fairness information followed after that. In the high procedural fairness condition, participants were told that the hiring decision was based on information about their performance on all nine components of the selection process. In the low procedural fairness condition, respondents were told that the hiring decision was based only on one of the nine components of the selection process.⁵

Measures

After reading the vignette, participants responded to a brief survey which included various measures, all of which were rated on 7-point scales.

Manipulation checks of outcome and procedure. To assess outcome favorability, we asked participants, "The outcome of the hiring decision was favorable to me," whereas for procedural fairness the item was, "The selection process used to make the hiring decision was fair." Endpoints ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7).

Attraction to the organization. The attraction measure consisted of three items, analogous to those used to measure organizational commitment. Coefficient alpha was .96. Given that the scenario was one in which participants were considering joining the organization (rather than already being members of it), it is more appropriate to refer to the dependent variable as how attracted participants felt toward the organization.

Trust in the manager. The measure of trust consisted of trait attributions of the HR manager, in which the manager was rated along six dimensions reflecting how much the manager was someone who could be trusted (e.g., integrity, morality, and well-intentioned; Mayer et al., 1995). Coefficient alpha was .98.

Results and Discussion

Manipulation checks. As expected, the manipulation checks for outcome favorability and procedural fairness were highly significant. Participants in the high outcome favorability condition reported that their outcome was more favorable than participants in the low outcome favorability condition ($M_s = 5.93$ vs. 2.40 , respectively), $F(1, 239) = 282.39$, $p < .001$. In addition, participants in the high procedural fairness condition made higher assessments of procedural fairness than those in the low procedural fairness condition ($M_s = 5.04$ vs. 3.61 respectively), $F(1, 239) = 40.40$, $p < .001$.

Attraction to the organization. As shown in Table 4, the analysis of variance showed that the main effects of all three independent variables were positive and significant. Attraction to the organization was higher when participants received a more favorable outcome, $F(1, 239) = 50.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .17$; when procedural fairness was relatively high, $F(1, 239) = 18.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$; and when the HR manager was higher in trust, $F(1, 239) = 21.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$.

Most importantly, the three-way interaction between trust, procedural fairness, and outcome favorability also was significant, $F(1, 239) = 6.28$, $p < .02$, $\eta^2 = .03$, and similar in nature to those shown in Studies 1 and 2.⁶ In the high trust condition, participants showed especially low attraction to the organization when they received unfavorable outcomes accompanied by unfair procedures (see Figure 7). In decomposing the three-way interaction, we conducted simple effect tests which were conceptually analogous to the simple slope effects computed in Studies 1 and 2. The results of these simple effects also were consistent with the simple slope results in Studies 1 and 2. When trust was high, attraction to the organization in the low outcome favorability/low procedural fairness condition ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 1.71$) was significantly lower than it was in (a) the low outcome favorability/high procedural fairness condition ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.79$; $t = 3.84$, 95% CI of the magnitude of the difference, 0.97 to 3.11, $p < .001$), and (b) the high outcome favorability/low procedural fairness

Table 4. Analyses of Variance for Effects of Outcome Favorability, Procedural Fairness, and Trust on Organizational Attraction and Trust in the HR Manager (Study 3).

	DV: Organizational attraction									DV: Trust in the HR manager								
	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3			Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	MS	F	η^2	MS	F	η^2	MS	F	η^2	MS	F	η^2	MS	F	η^2	MS	F	η^2
OF	136.35	50.75**	0.17	50.18	18.67**	0.07	20.76	7.90**	0.03	51.42	23.37**	0.09	11.37	5.18*	0.02	2.80	1.29	0.01
PF	48.55	18.07**	0.07	9.08	3.38	0.01	0.58	0.22	0.00	68.14	30.97**	0.11	9.54	4.34*	0.02	1.69	0.78	0.00
T	57.50	21.40**	0.08	4.77	1.78	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.00	243.79	110.81**	0.31	48.56	22.11**	0.08	18.99	8.77**	0.04
OF × PF				0.14	0.05	0.00	5.73	2.18	0.01				1.16	0.53	0.00	7.98	3.68	0.02
OF × T				0.77	0.29	0.00	12.30	4.68*	0.02				0.79	0.36	0.00	7.82	3.61	0.02
PF × T				6.89	2.56	0.01	22.83	8.68*	0.04				4.59	2.09	0.01	13.73	6.34*	0.03
OF × PF × T							16.52	6.28*	0.03							9.33	4.31*	0.02
Overall model	95.69	35.62**	0.31	49.16	18.29**	0.31	44.49	16.92**	0.33	142.70	64.86**	0.44	72.59	33.05**	0.45	63.55	29.33**	0.46

Note. DV = dependent variable; MS = mean square; OF = outcome favorability; PF = procedural fairness; T = trust.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

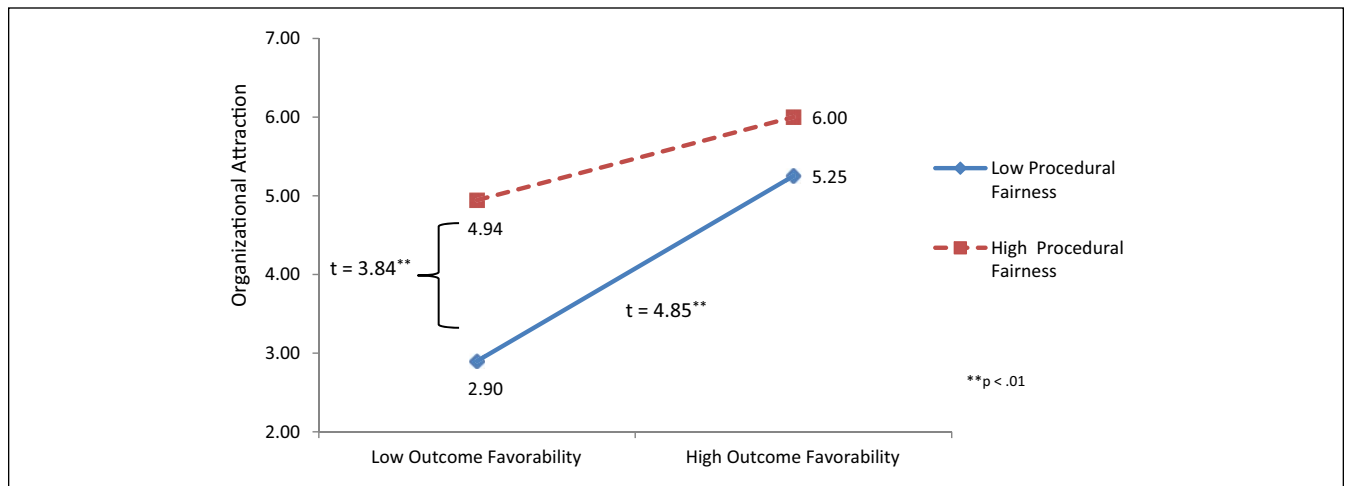


Figure 7. The effect of outcome fairness and procedural fairness on organizational attraction when trust is high (Study 3).

condition ($M = 5.25$, $SD = 1.64$; $t = 4.85$, 95% CI of the magnitude of the difference, 1.38 to 3.32, $p < .001$).

In the low trust condition, participants showed particularly high attraction to the organization when they experienced favorable outcomes accompanied by fair procedures (see Figure 8). According to the results of simple effects tests, when trust was low, attraction to the organization in the high outcome favorability/high procedural fairness condition ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.22$) was significantly higher than it was in (a) the high outcome favorability/low procedural fairness condition ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.74$, $t = 2.77$, 95% CI of this difference, 0.28 to 1.74, $p < .01$) and (b) the low outcome favorability/high procedural fairness condition ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.88$; $t = 4.74$, 95% CI of this difference, 1.09 to 2.67, $p < .001$).

Test of Mediation

We drew on Baron and Kenny’s (1986) and Preacher and Hayes’s (2008) mediational and bootstrapping procedures to evaluate whether trust in the HR manager (which was rated

after participants experienced the manipulations of all three independent variables) mediated the relationship between the focal three-way interaction and organizational attraction. For mediation to be present, the independent variables need to influence both the dependent variable and the hypothesized mediator. As previously noted, the focal three-way interaction had its predicted effect on the dependent variable, attraction to the organization. As shown in Table 4, the focal three-way interaction also had a significant effect on the hypothesized mediator, trust in the HR manager, $F(1, 239) = 4.31$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and took a similar form. As shown in Figure 9 (the high trust condition), trust in the HR manager was especially low when he doled out unfavorable outcomes favorability and used an unfair procedure. In addition, as shown in Figure 10 (the low trust condition), trust in the HR manager was particularly high when he delivered favorable outcomes accompanied by a fair procedure.⁷

For mediation to be present, the hypothesized mediator must be a significant predictor of the dependent variable even after controlling for the independent variable. Consistent

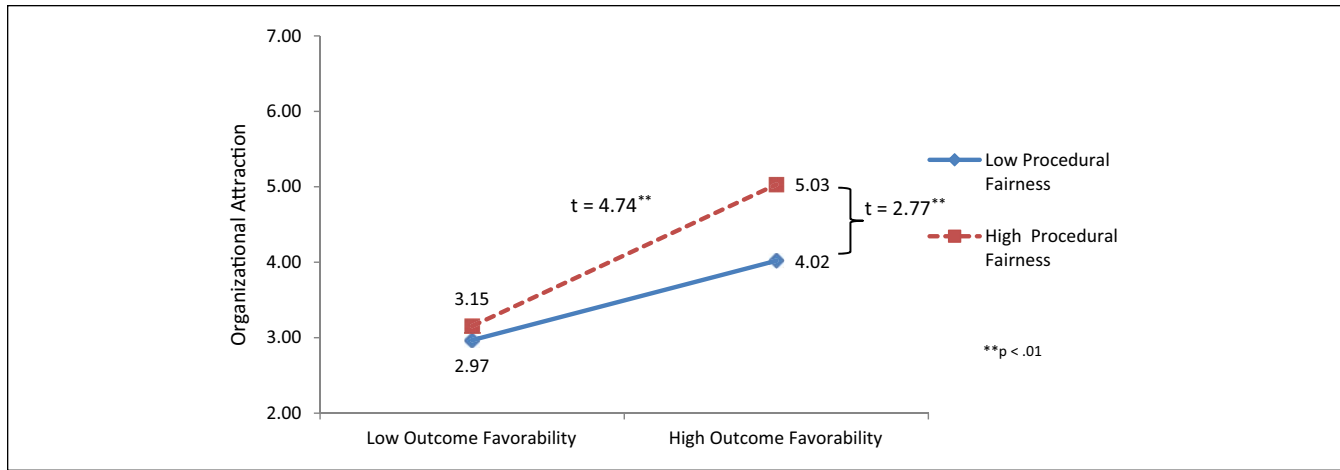


Figure 8. The effect of outcome fairness and procedural fairness on organizational attraction when trust is low (Study 3).

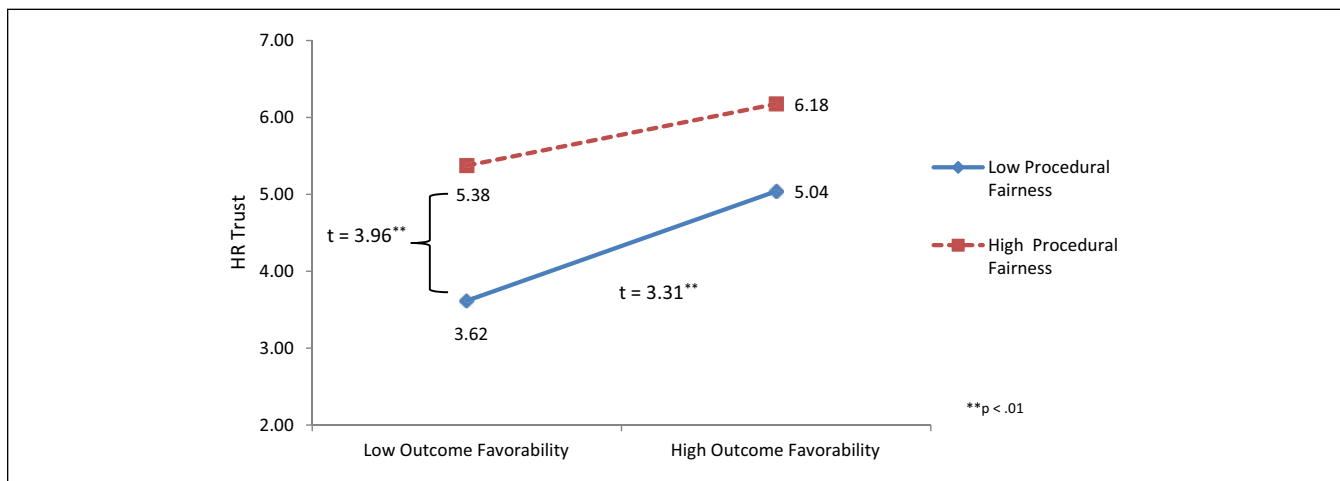


Figure 9. The effect of outcome fairness and procedural fairness on HR trust when trust is high (Study 3).

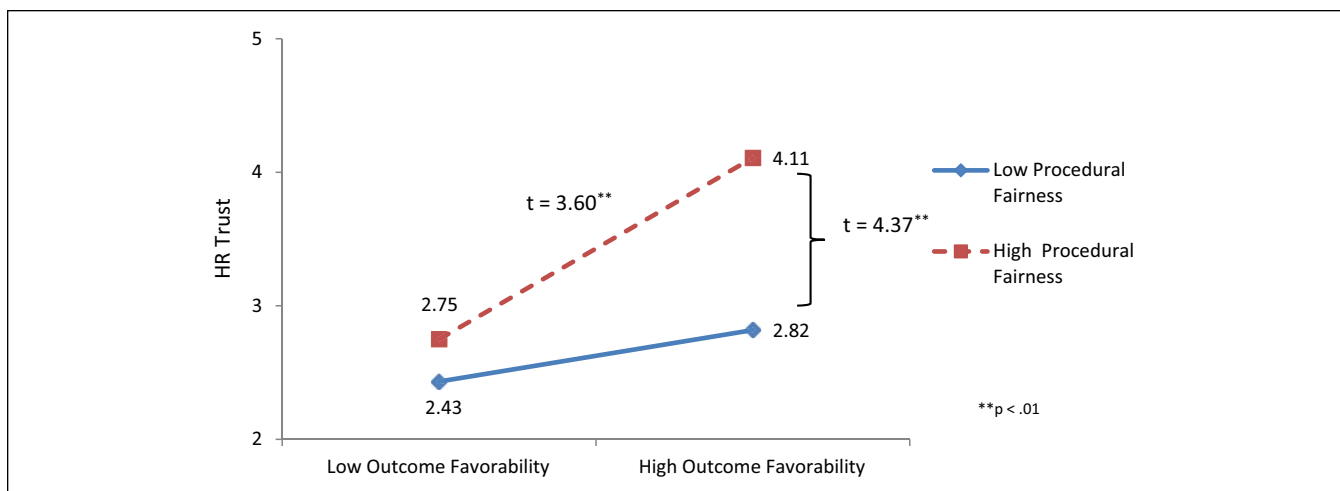


Figure 10. The effect of outcome fairness and procedural fairness on HR trust when trust is low (Study 3).

with this requirement, HR trust was highly predictive of organizational attraction even when the three-way interaction effect was added to the model, $F(1, 238) = 153.83, p < .01$. Finally, the relationship between the independent and dependent variables must be significantly reduced after controlling for the hypothesized mediator. Indeed, after accounting for the effect of HR trust, the three-way interaction was no longer a significant predictor of organizational attraction ($t = -1.53, n.s.$). Bootstrapping analyses based on 1,000 resamples showed that the indirect effect of the three-way interaction on attraction (as mediated by HR trust) was significant; $t = 2.08, p < .05$; 95% CI = $[-2.15, -0.06]$.

Study 3 drew on the methodology of Lin et al. (2009) but differed from and extended their work in several ways. First, whereas Lin et al. (2009) used “leader morality” as one of the independent variables, the present study used trust in management. Second, and more importantly, Lin et al. did not hypothesize that leader morality moderated the relationship between outcome/procedural information and participants’ attraction to the organization by influencing their trust in the HR manager. Rather, they posited that leader morality affected the importance people assigned to their relationship with the HR manager, such that relationship importance would be higher when leader morality was high rather than low. Lin et al. further posited relationship importance (rather than trust) moderated the interaction between outcome favorability and procedural fairness.

However, Lin et al. (2009) did not evaluate whether the effect of leader morality was accounted for by the degree of importance that participants assigned to their relationship with the decision-making authority. We evaluated this possibility in Study 3. Participants were asked to indicate the importance of their relationship with the HR manager with a three-item measure. Coefficient alpha was .77. A three-factor ANOVA (Trust \times Process \times Outcome) yielded only a main effect of trust, such that participants assigned greater importance to their relationship with the HR manager in the high trust condition than in the low trust condition, $F(1, 239) = 4.76, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$.

However, there was no evidence that relationship importance moderated the interactive effect of outcome favorability and procedural fairness on participants’ attraction to the organization. We evaluated this possibility by conducting a hierarchical regression on attraction to the organization in which the independent variables were relationship importance, outcome favorability, and procedural fairness. In the first step we entered all three main effects, in the second step we entered all three two-way interaction effects, and, in the third step we entered the three-way interaction effect. Of greatest importance, the three-way interaction between relationship importance, outcome favorability, and procedural fairness did not emerge, $F(1, 239) = 1.01, p > .30$.

Thus, Study 3 extends the research of Lin et al. (2009) by (a) evaluating and failing to find support for their untested claim that the moderating effect of leader morality on the

process/outcome interaction was due to relationship importance, and (b) offering a different explanation of the focal three-way interaction effect, namely, that trust in the decision-making authority moderated the process/outcome interaction, and by testing and finding support for that explanation. More generally, Study 3 provided further support for our predictions by conceptually replicating the results of Studies 1 and 2 using a research design that (a) was high in internal validity and (b) ensured that information about trust preceded information about outcome and procedure.

General Discussion

The results of three studies consistently showed that when trust was high, organizational commitment/attraction was particularly low when participants received unfair (or unfavorable) outcomes accompanied by unfair procedures. When trust was low, organizational commitment/attraction was particularly high when participants received fair (or favorable) outcomes accompanied by fair procedures. Importantly, similar results emerged across different research settings. Studies 1 and 2 consisted of surveys of participants’ actual work experiences while Study 3 utilized an experimental design. Whereas the experimental design of Study 3 allowed for high internal validity, the use of a hypothetical vignette raises questions about the external validity of the results. Studies 1 and 2, on the other hand, had limited internal validity but showed that the observed effects generalized to people’s actual work experiences. The presence of consistent results across three studies with substantial methodological differences attests to the reliability of the findings. It also suggests that the findings are not an artifact of the limitations of each type of design.

Moreover, by showing both moderating and mediating influences on the focal three-way interaction, the present studies shed light on the underlying process. The subsidiary analysis in Study 1 tested for a moderator and showed that the three-way interaction between trust, outcome, and procedure was stronger among employees who were relatively new to their positions, for whom the process of comparing experiences to expectations is more psychologically salient. Study 3 tested for a mediator and showed that the influence of the three-way interaction on organizational attraction was mediated by the extent to which participants trusted the decision-making authority.

Theoretical Implications

The present results contribute to theory and research on justice. In particular, the findings help reconcile when and how different aspects of fairness interact with each other to influence people’s beliefs and behaviors. The tendency for people to react particularly negatively to unfair outcomes and unfair processes emerges when trust in the decision-making authority is relatively high, whereas their tendency to react

especially positively to fair or favorable outcomes accompanied by fair procedures emerges when trust in the authority is relatively low. In fact, with the exception of research by Lin et al. (2009), this is the only study to delineate when one of these two forms of process/outcome interactions is likely to emerge, particularly in instances in which those on the receiving end are in a lower status position and in which the dependent variable is externally focused (e.g., organizational commitment) rather than self-focused (e.g., a measure of self-evaluation).

The present findings also have important implications for the trust literature. First, prior theory and research have shown that people typically assimilate their experiences to their prior expectations, unless experiences clearly contrast with expectations (e.g., Lind, 2001; Lord et al., 1979). The present work shows that one type of experience that clearly contrasts with expectations is when both outcome and procedural information are incongruent with the level of trust. Of course, this is not to say that deviations from expectations of either outcome or procedural information alone will never have an effect on commitment. Rather, what is particularly noteworthy about the present findings is that when outcome *and* procedural information deviated from trust, there was an especially strong tendency for participants to respond in the direction of their experiences and away from their expectations.

Second, past research suggests that the relationship between trust in decision-making authorities and organizational commitment may be the result of a positive or negative self-reinforcing cycle (Dirks et al., 2009). The present studies reveal one type of experience that may disrupt the self-reinforcing nature of this relationship. Our findings suggest that trusted authorities are given some leeway. If they provide either favorable/fair outcomes or a fair procedure, they are likely to maintain reasonable levels of commitment. Yet, the results also suggest that this cushion is not impermeable. If trusted authorities dole out unfavorable/unfair outcomes accompanied by an unfair procedure, they run the risk of violating expectations and thereby eliciting particularly negative reactions from those who were previously trusting.

The present findings also provide hope to untrusted authorities who are trying to bolster commitment. If they can deliver favorable/fair outcomes *and* utilize fair procedures, they may be able to disrupt the vicious cycle between people's trust in authorities and commitment. Indeed, the mediational analysis in Study 3 suggests that those receiving outcome *and* procedural information that diverged from their level of trust became more or less attracted to the organization *because* such information influenced their trust in the decision-making authority.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Whereas the present studies yielded consistent results that contribute to both the justice and trust literatures, they have limitations which also highlight directions for future research.

For example, although consistent results emerged across various operationalizations of procedural fairness, future work might examine whether similar results would emerge with other forms of process-related fairness, such as informational and interpersonal fairness (Colquitt, 2001). Furthermore, future research could provide further evidence on the mechanism underlying the present findings. Drawing from the attitude and fairness literatures, we hypothesized that people will perceive and respond to their experiences in ways consistent with their expectations, unless their experience is clearly discrepant from their expectations. Consistent with the present reasoning and findings, one possibility is that people use trust to disambiguate those instances in which outcome and procedure information differ from one another. For example, if people were to experience a fair procedure and an unfavorable outcome (or an unfair procedure and a favorable outcome), whether they will respond positively or negatively may depend on their level of trust. Moreover, while we expect that similar results will emerge outside workplace settings, future work should more directly test this possibility.

Practical Implications

Finally, the present findings have implications for both trusted and untrusted decision makers. We find that if recipients have both outcome and procedural information and both sources of information deviate from their level of trust, the consistency effect is especially likely to be attenuated. However, we are not suggesting that both outcome and procedural information always need to deviate from trust for people to experience a contrast effect. For example, if either outcome information or procedural information clearly differs from people's level of trust, and they have little or no information about the other dimension, a contrast effect also may be likely to emerge. It is common for decision makers to communicate (or for recipients to know) more about one type of information or the other. Indeed, people often have more information about the outcomes of decisions than they do about the process used to make those decisions. Alternatively, processes precede outcomes so sometimes people may have more information about the process than they do about the outcome. If people only are privy to outcome or procedure information, and if the information they have unequivocally deviates from their level of trust, we also would expect the consistency effect to be attenuated. For example, if a previously untrusted manager were to use an unambiguously fair process but outcome information was still unknown, then employees may show a significant rise in organizational commitment. These and related inquiries could continue to explore how trust interacts with experiences to shape people's beliefs and behaviors.

Authors' Note

Emily C. Bianchi and Joel Brockner contributed equally to this article.

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Notes

1. While outcome favorability and fairness are conceptually distinct, they are highly correlated (e.g., Brockner & Wiesenfeld, 1996; Lind & Tyler, 1988). In the present research, the predicted effect of outcome favorability is expected to be similar to the predicted effect of outcome fairness. The basis for this prediction is explained in detail in the introduction to Study 2. Moreover, similar results were found for outcome favorability and outcome fairness in Study 2.
2. Hypotheses 1 and 2 posit that the joint effects of outcome and procedural information on organizational commitment will differ among people *within* varying levels of trust in decision-making authorities. Hence, among the subset of people with high trust in management, commitment should be particularly low when both outcome and procedural information is negative, relative to *other members of that subset* (see Figure 1). Moreover, among the subset of people with low trust in management, commitment should be especially high when both outcome and procedural information is positive, relative to *other members of that subset* (see Figure 2). For example, we are not predicting that when people experience an unfavorable/unfair outcome that is accompanied by an unfair procedure, they will show lower commitment when their trust is high rather than low. Moreover, we are not predicting that when people experience a favorable/fair outcome that is accompanied by a fair procedure, they will show higher commitment when their trust is low rather than high. The present studies examine how trust dictates the nature of the process/outcome interaction effect. Our theorizing does not imply that the experience of outcome and procedural information will overturn the positive main effect of trust on commitment. Put differently, under no condition are we predicting that those with lower trust will be significantly *more* committed than those with higher trust.
3. In line with the call for the increased adoption of statistics beyond null hypothesis significance testing (Cumming, 2013), across all studies we report the unstandardized coefficients, standard errors, and 95% confidence intervals (CIs) as well as *p* values.
4. We also conducted all analyses in Study 1 using hierarchical level modeling (HLM) to account for the nested nature of the data. Similar results emerged using HLM. For instance, similar effects emerged for the focal three-way interaction when we adjusted for the nested nature of the data ($b = -0.14$, $SE = 0.04$, $t = -3.57$; 95% CI = $[-0.22, -0.06]$, $p < .01$).
5. It could be argued that the time interval in between the trust manipulation and the subsequent manipulations of outcome favorability and procedural fairness was not long enough for participants to absorb the trust information and hence be affected by the relationship between trust and the subsequent information about outcome and process. However, prior justice research

has shown that even short time intervals between experimental manipulations may allow for the predicted effects of order. For example, Van den Bos, Lind, Vermunt, and Wilke (1997) found that fairness information that comes first is more influential than fairness information that comes later. Moreover, the predicted order effects found by Van den Bos et al. (1997) emerged in the context of a vignette study quite similar to the one employed in Study 3.

6. A meta-analysis of the three-way interaction between procedures, outcomes, and trust conducted across all three studies found the weighted average *r* to be -0.26 , $p < .01$.
7. In addition to the three-way interaction on the measure of trust in the HR manager, there also was a significant main effect of manipulated trust, $F(1, 239) = 8.76$, $p < .01$, which provides suggestive evidence that the manipulation of trust was successful. Of course, an even better way to evaluate this measure as a check on the manipulation of trust would be to assess it after participants experience the trust manipulation but before they experience the outcome and procedural manipulations.

Supplemental Material

The online supplemental material is available at <http://pspb.sagepub.com/supplemental>.

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