C E O
Center for
Effective
Organizations

Explaining How Survivors Respond to Downsizing: The Roles of Trust, Empowerment, Justice and Work Redesign

CEO Publication
T 98-5 (333)

Aneil K. Mishra
Michigan State University

Gretchen M. Spreitzer
University of Southern California

March, 1998

Forthcoming, *Academy of Management Review*

Both authors contributed equally to this paper; their names are in alphabetical order. We thank Dan Brass, Rocki-Lee DeWitt, Jane Dutton, Sarah Freeman, Steve Grover, Dan Ilgen, Nancy Kurland, Michael Moch, Nandini Rajagopalan, Denise Rousseau, Maureen Scully and three anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. We also thank David Gabler and Lee Meiser for their editorial help.

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we develop a stress-based framework of survivors' responses to downsizing. First, we synthesize prior research findings into a typology of survivor responses delineated by two underlying dimensions (constructive/destructive and active/passive). Drawing on Lazarus's theory of stress, we posit that how survivors appraise the downsizing will shape their responses to it. Trust and justice are posited to influence primary appraisal and facilitate more constructive responses because they reduce the extent to which an organizational downsizing is evaluated as a threat. Empowerment and work redesign are posited to influence secondary appraisal and facilitate more active responses because they enhance survivors' assessments of their capacity to cope with the threat. Contributions of the framework and implications for research and practice are also discussed.

Explaining How Survivors Respond to Downsizing: The Roles of Trust, Empowerment, Justice, and Work Redesign

During the last decade, downsizing has become the strategy favored by many companies attempting to cope with fundamental, structural changes in the world economy. The popular press has suggested that downsizing does not appear to be dissipating -- 60% of companies plan to continue downsizing over the next few years (Peterson, 1996). Although the price paid by laid-off workers has been high, the costs to employees who survive organizational downsizings have been substantial as well. Trust and morale often erode as workloads increase and job insecurity escalates (Elshtain, 1996; Fisher, 1991). More than one-half of survivors report increased job stress and symptoms of burnout following downsizing (Cascio, 1993). However, some survivors do not experience emotional distress; instead, they are energized and consider the downsizing to be an opportunity for personal growth (Emshoff, 1994; Henkoff, 1994; Isabella, 1989). Indeed, empirical researchers have documented a range of seemingly contradictory survivor responses to downsizing. For example, following a downsizing announcement, survivors have responded by working harder, reducing their efforts, or not changing their efforts at all (Brockner, Grover, & Blonder, 1988). Some survivors increase their good citizenship behaviors (Bies, Martin, & Brockner, 1993), while others withdraw (Brockner, 1990). One purpose of this paper is to develop a typology of survivor responses that not only synthesizes prior research but also identifies the underlying dimensions of these varied responses.

Our second purpose is to develop a theoretical framework to explain the factors that influence the different survivor responses identified in our typology. Thus, we draw on the Lazarus theory of stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and its focus on cognitive appraisal. Through primary appraisal, survivors evaluate the potential threat of the downsizing. We posit that trust in management (because survivors believe that management is competent, reliable, open, and concerned about all stakeholders) and a perceived just implementation of the downsizing (because survivors believe they will be treated fairly) will reduce threat assessments and in turn will lead to more cooperative survivor responses. Through secondary appraisal, survivors evaluate their capability for coping with the downsizing. We posit that survivor empowerment (because of an enhanced sense of personal control) and the redesign of work (because of increased intrinsic job quality) will increase survivors' sense that they have the capability to cope with the downsizing and in turn will lead to more active responses to the downsizing.

Many downsizing researchers have focused on one of these variables, justice, and its interactions with outcome favorability (e.g., Brockner, Konovsky, Cooper-Schneider, Folger, Martin, & Bies, 1994; Brockner, Wiesenfeld, & Martin, 1995), the nature of work (e.g., Brockner, Wiesenfeld, Reed, Grover, & Martin, 1993), individual differences of survivors (e.g., Brockner, Tyler, & Cooper-Schneider, 1992), and social ties with victims (e.g., Brockner, Grover, Reed, DeWitt, & O'Malley, 1987). In our theoretical framework, we build on this substantial body of research on justice by articulating how survivor trust, empowerment, and the redesign of work also may have powerful influences on survivors' responses to downsizing. With the exception of some recent work focusing on the relationship between trust and justice (Brockner, Siegel, Daly, Tyler, & Martin, in press; Brockner & Siegel, 1996), few authors have examined the effects of these other constructs on survivors' responses.

Yet trust, empowerment, and work redesign may have important effects on survivors during downsizing. As described in our propositions, if survivors do not trust that top management is concerned with the interests of all organizational stakeholders, is open and honest with employees, or is competent to lead the organization through the downsizing, then survivors are more likely to be threatened by the downsizing and to respond in destructive ways. Without trust, survivors are more likely to either withdraw from the organization or retaliate against management and the downsizing implementation. If survivors do not feel empowered to take an active role in their work, then they will believe they have less capacity to cope with the downsizing and will be more likely to respond passively. Without empowerment, survivors experience a lack of personal control and feel helpless in the face of change. Likewise, if work is not redesigned to minimize overload or reductions in job autonomy that typically accompany downsizing, then survivors will see themselves as having less capacity to cope with the downsizing and will be more likely to respond passively. To the contrary, when survivors experience enhanced job variety and autonomy, they will be more likely to take an active role in the downsizing. Thus, because trust, empowerment, and work redesign may have important effects on survivor responses beyond the well-documented effects of justice, a theoretical framework that includes these additional constructs should contribute to the literature.

The paper is organized as follows. After defining downsizing, we introduce our typology of survivor archetypes, which begins to synthesize the growing body of research on survivor responses to downsizing. We then provide an overview of the Lazarus theory of stress and discuss its relevance in explaining the wide range of survivor responses to downsizing. We draw on the primary and secondary appraisal processes central to the Lazarus theory to develop our propositions, which explain how trust, empowerment, justice, and work redesign affect the range of survivor responses to downsizing delineated in our typology. We conclude with a discussion of the potential contributions of the framework, some directions for future research, and some implications for practice.

A TYPOLOGY OF SURVIVOR RESPONSES

Downsizing is defined as a purposeful reduction in the size of an organization's workforce (Cameron, Freeman, & Mishra, 1991; Cascio, 1993). It is conceptually distinct from organizational decline because its aim is the improvement of organizational efficiency, productivity, and competitiveness (Cameron et al., 1991; D'Aunno & Sutton, 1989; Kozlowski, Chao, Smith, & Hedlund, 1993). Victims (i.e., those who have lost their jobs as a result of the downsizing) have been studied extensively in prior research (e.g., Latack, Kinicki, & Prussia, 1995; Leana & Ivancevich, 1987). We focus on survivors (i.e., those who remain employed at the organization subsequent to downsizing) because they can either facilitate or impede the outcomes of the downsizing (Davy, Kinicki, & Scheck, 1991). Some researchers have speculated that intended outcomes such as greater productivity or profitability do not result because of poor survivor morale or implementation problems (Cascio, 1993).

Survivors can have a wide variety of responses to downsizing. We draw on Farrell’s (1983) exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect (EVLN) framework in building our typology. Building on Hirschman (1970), Farrell (1983) argued that responses to job dissatisfaction can be aligned along two separate dimensions: constructive/destructive and active/passive (see Figure 1). We apply these two dimensions to delineate the different survivor responses to downsizing. Constructive survivors do not view significant threat or harm from the downsizing and are thus willing to cooperate with top management in implementing the downsizing. For example, survivors may work more hours without compensation to help the organization through the transition. In contrast, destructive survivors feel more threatened or evaluate more potential for harm from the downsizing and are less willing to cooperate in implementing the downsizing. For example, survivors may hoard resources within their own department that could be better used elsewhere in the organization. This constructive/destructive dimension is consistent with the cooperative/uncooperative dimension in Thomas's (1976) model of conflict behavior.

An active survivor response reflects a belief that the survivor can cope with the downsizing and is manifested in an assertive response. For example, survivors may initiate efforts to identify redundancies in their unit or could offer informal or formal protests to the downsizing. In contrast, passive survivors evaluate themselves as having less ability to cope with the downsizing and tend to take little personal initiative in responding to the downsizing. For example, survivors may simply wait for their superiors to identify ways to reduce costs or eliminate unnecessary tasks. An active response deals with the problem, whereas a passive response is used to avoid or neglect the problem (Rusbult, Farrell, Rogers, & Mainous, 1988). This dimension is consistent with the assertive/unassertive dimension found in Thomas's (1976) framework of conflict behavior.

The juxtaposition of these two dimensions results in four archetypes of survivor responses to downsizing: *fearful, obliging, cynical,* and *hopeful.* The *hopeful* and *obliging* responses are constructive because they reflect survivors' beliefs that they will not be unduly threatened or harmed by the downsizing. In contrast, the *fearful* and *cynical* responses are destructive because survivors believe there is significant potential for threat or harm from the downsizing. The *hopeful* and *cynical* responses are active because survivors believe they have the capability to cope with the downsizing. In contrast, *obliging* and *fearful* are passive responses to the downsizing because survivors do not believe they have the capability to cope with the downsizing.

Our survivor archetypes capture the emotions, cognitions, and behaviors that survivors use to cope with the stress of downsizing (Kets de Vries & Balazs, 1997). Similar to the EVLN typology (Withey & Cooper, 1989), they are affective, cognitive, and behavioral composites. To help explicate the similarities and differences across the archetypes, we discuss the various emotional, cognitive, and behavioral components of each archetype below (Smith, Haynes, Lazarus, & Pope, 1996). However, we should note that not every survivor will experience all of the components of a specific archetype, but may experience different components selectively.

Figure 1 about here

The Fearful Response: "Walking Wounded"

Fearful survivors consider the downsizing as having potential for harm and believe that they have few resources to cope. Consequently, these survivors are destructive and passive in their response to a downsizing (see Figure 1). The fearful archetype corresponds to the "neglect" quadrant in the EVLN framework (Farrell, 1983), the "retreat" quadrant in Robinson's (1992) typology of responses to dissatisfaction, and the "avoiding" quadrant in Thomas's (1976) conflict framework.

Those manifesting a *fearful* response might be labeled the "walking wounded" of the organization. Because they believe they can be harmed by the downsizing, common emotions experienced by *fearful* survivors include fright, depression, and worry. Typical cognitive responses associated with this archetype might be anxiety (Astrachan, 1995), reduced concentration (Kets de Vries & Balazs, 1997), a sense of being out of control (cf. Folkman, 1984; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), and helplessness (Seligman, 1975). These survivors may reduce their level of commitment to the organization, because they identify with the loss of respected coworkers and friends (Brockner et al., 1987). Behaviorally, these survivors tend to withdraw from work (Brockner, 1988) and procrastinate about decision making (Kets de Vries & Balazs, 1997). Because they believe that they have few resources to cope with the downsizing, they may attempt to escape through absenteeism and lateness (Robinson, 1992) or by focusing on non-work interests and activities (Withey & Cooper, 1989).

The Obliging Response: "Faithful Followers"

Similar to *fearful* survivors, *obliging* survivors do not believe that they have the personal resources to adequately cope with the downsizing. However, unlike *fearful* survivors, they view the downsizing as less threatening with less potential for personal harm. *Fearful* survivors believe that the downsizing is inimical to their interests and that nothing can be done about it. In contrast, *obliging* survivors believe that the downsizing is basically benign, and they are willing to go along with what is expected of them because doing so is not expected to lead to harm. Consequently, *obliging* survivors are constructive, yet passive, in their responses (see Figure 1). The *obliging* archetype is consistent with the "accommodating" quadrant of Thomas's (1976) typology and the "loyal" quadrant of the EVLN framework (Farrell, 1983). We prefer the label *obliging* to "loyal" because loyalty has often been portrayed in the management literature as active or self-directed support (Withey & Cooper, 1989). We would conceptualize such active loyalty as more consistent with the *hopeful* response, which is described below. The *obliging* response might be more appropriately considered “blind” loyalty (Graham, 1986).

Whereas *fearful* survivors might be labeled the "walking wounded," *obliging* survivors could be called the "faithful followers." Emotionally, *obliging* survivors are not highly aroused and are likely to feel calm, relief, or even gratitude because they do not feel personally threatened by the downsizing. Cognitively, these survivors are likely to be committed and loyal to the organization, in spite of the problems it may be experiencing. Behaviorally, instead of withdrawing from the organization or procrastinating as was the case for *fearful* survivors, *obliging* survivors tend to respond to a downsizing by obediently following orders. Because they believe they have few personal resources for coping with the downsizing, these survivors are apt to willingly wait for conditions to improve and stick with the job through good times and bad (Robinson, 1992; Rusbult et al., 1988). Though they cooperate in the implementation of the downsizing, *obliging* survivors are largely compliant and accommodating, accepting the goals and objectives given to them by management (Rusbult et al., 1988). These survivors do not aggressively seek out new courses of action but instead stick to familiar ways of doing their work.

The Cynical Response: "Carping Critics"

Unlike *obliging* survivors discussed above, *cynical* survivors believe that they have the personal resources to cope with the downsizing. Like *fearful* survivors, *cynical* survivors feel personally threatened that they can be harmed by the downsizing. Thus, they are active and destructive in their response (see Figure 1). The *cynical* response corresponds to the “competing” quadrant in Thomas’s (1976) model and the "destruction" response to dissatisfaction in Robinson's typology (1992).

An appropriate label for these survivors might be the "carping critics." Emotionally, these survivors are highly aroused and are likely to feel anger, disgust, and resentment because they see significant potential for personal harm. This survivor archetype is cognitively manifested in a sense of moral outrage (Bies, 1987), cynicism, or the perception of a blatant violation of the psychological contract (Rousseau, 1995). Because they believe that they have the personal resources to cope with the downsizing, *cynical* survivors’ behavioral response is proactive, more so than the *fearful* or *obliging* survivors described above. *Cynical* survivors have a voice, but that voice tends to be destructive -- they militate against the downsizing process rather than support it. They may challenge or “badmouth” management during the downsizing (Cameron, Freeman, & Mishra, 1993), and at the extreme, may engage in acts of vandalism, retaliation, or sabotage (Kets de Vries & Balazs, 1997; Robinson, 1992). In sum, the *cynical* response comprises survivors who question or even interfere with the downsizing process rather than cooperate with management to implement the downsizing.

The Hopeful Response: "Active Advocates"

The *hopeful* response is the opposite of the *fearful* response; survivors in this quadrant believe they have the resources to cope and do not feel threatened by the potential for harm from the downsizing. Thus, *hopeful* survivors are both active and constructive (see Figure 1). The *hopeful* archetype shares the constructive-orientation of the *obliging* archetype (i.e., neither is particularly threatened by the potential for harm from the downsizing) and the active-orientation of the *cynical* archetype (i.e., both believe that they can actively cope with the downsizing). This archetype is consistent with the “collaboration” quadrant of Thomas’s (1976) framework and the "voice" quadrant of both the EVLN framework (Farrell, 1983) and Robinson's (1992) typology of responses to dissatisfaction.

An appropriate label for these survivors might be the "active advocates." Because they do not feel particularly threatened, this archetype is manifested emotionally in excitement about the future and hope that things will get better with time. Cognitively, because *hopeful* survivors believe they have the resources to effectively cope with the downsizing, they tend to be optimistic about the outcome of the downsizing (Smith et al., 1996). They experience a sense of ownership in helping to enhance the performance of the organization (O'Neill & Lenn, 1995; Robinson, 1992). Behaviorally, this quadrant reflects active and constructive efforts of survivors to improve conditions by discussing problems or taking actions to solve them (Rusbult et al., 1988). Rather than just following orders as is the case with *obliging* survivors, *hopeful* survivors are not afraid to take risks or develop novel ways to improve things. Such *hopeful* responses have been documented in the downsizing literature as good citizenship behaviors (Bies, Martin, & Brockner, 1993) and job involvement (Brockner, Grover, & Blonder, 1988). In contrast to *cynical* survivors who fight against the downsizing, *hopeful* survivors support the organization and find ways to fulfill the objectives of the downsizing effort.

Discussion of the Archetypes

Although we categorize survivor responses into these four archetypes, their actual responses may fall anywhere along the two underlying dimensions; this means that survivors may exhibit hybrid responses in coping with the downsizing mandate. For example, individuals may exemplify aspects of both the *cynical* and *hopeful* responses by being strongly critical of the organization's downsizing efforts, but in a constructive manner. Indeed, if the organization's efforts are misguided, a rebellious critic may be just what the organization needs. These critics are clearly constructive because they have the organization's long-term interests at heart; however, top management may initially view their efforts as destructive to their own well-laid plans for implementing the downsizing. Such hopeful critics have enough faith in the organization to believe that their disobedient efforts will lead to positive change.

Although the two underlying dimensions are conceptually distinct, we do not view them as mutually exclusive in practice. Thus, we might expect more survivor responses to fall in the "on-diagonal" archetypes (i.e., *fearful* or *hopeful*) than in the "off-diagonal" archetypes. The "off-diagonal" responses are nevertheless important areas for study. For example, the *cynical* response may have an important effect on the organization, particularly when it is manifested in behaviors such as employee violence. In contrast, *obliging* survivors, who work with top management to implement the downsizing as mandated, may be necessary to get the organization back on its feet after the tumult of downsizing. Thus, although the "off-diagonal" responses may be less frequent, they can still have important effects on organizational activities.

In addition, we suggest that survivors can shift from one quadrant into another throughout the downsizing process; survivor responses are dynamic. Based on progression theory (Beehr & Gupta, 1978), employees may progress from responses that require little cost or energy to more costly or demanding responses (Robinson, 1992). In other words, employees progress from less to more intense responses as dissatisfaction persists (Rusbult et al., 1988). In our framework, individuals who initially exhibit a *fearful* response may become more *obliging* through management's use of fair procedures for selecting layoff victims. Similarly, *obliging* survivors can become more *hopeful* if management enriches survivors' jobs as the downsizing is being implemented. Such shifts might be part of a virtuous cycle when employees become more active and constructive through the downsizing. In contrast, survivors also can become more passive and destructive over time if the downsizing is implemented differently. A destructive shift from a *hopeful* to a *cynical* response may take place if management reneges on promises or allocates workloads inequitably. A vicious cycle can take place if these *cynical* survivor responses are met with further management actions deemed undesirable by survivors.

In the section that follows, we draw on the Lazarus stress theory to develop a theoretical framework that articulates some of the key factors that may influence which survivor responses is most likely to occur in a downsizing situation.

A Stress-Based Framework of Survivors' Responses

We ground our framework in Lazarus's stress theory.[1] In this theory, stress is conceptualized as a process in which environmental stressors are mediated by cognitive appraisal which in turn leads to individual coping responses (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Folkman et al., 1986). Cognitive appraisal is the process of evaluating or "categorizing an encounter, and its various facets, with respect to its significance for well-being" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984: 31). According to Lazarus, there are two types of cognitive appraisal: primary and secondary. Through primary appraisal, individuals evaluate the potential threat of the stressor. Through secondary appraisal, individuals evaluate their own resources and capability for coping with the stressor. Both appraisals in turn influence a wide range of coping responses. Coping responses refer to individuals' emotional and behavioral efforts to deal with the stressful encounter (Folkman et al*.*, 1986). In summary, which coping responses occur will depend on how the individual appraises the environmental stressor (Lazarus, 1993).

We utilize Lazarus's theory of stress to explain survivor responses to downsizing for a number of reasons. First, downsizing reflects a potentially stressful encounter for survivors (Brockner et al., 1988), stemming in part from its inherent ambiguity (Sutton, 1987). Harm or "an irrevocable loss" (Lazarus, 1993: 5) may be one view survivors have of downsizing; survivors may have lost valued coworkers or been subjected to pay cuts to preserve their own jobs. Threat or "anticipation of harm that has not yet taken place" (Lazarus, 1993: 5) may be an alternative view that is taken. Survivors may fear that their own jobs could be lost in the future (Greenhalgh & Rosenblatt, 1984), that fewer promotional opportunities will be available as hierarchies are flattened (Sutton & D'Aunno, 1989), or that smaller pay raises may become the norm as cost-cutting is emphasized (Brockner, Grover, O'Malley, Reed, & Glynn,

---

[1]

1993). Moreover, survivors may anticipate workload increases because fewer people are available to do the required work (Sutton, 1989). Challenge or "an opportunity for growth, mastery or gain" (Folkman, 1984: 840) is another way in which survivors may view downsizing; they may learn new skills as they take over the responsibilities of the downsized victims.

The Lazarus theory of stress is also relevant because it posits that how individuals respond to a stressful situation will depend on how they construe or appraise it. Thus, primary and secondary appraisal processes can be used to help predict under what conditions we might expect the different archetypes in our typology of survivor responses. According to our typology, when survivors appraise downsizing as threatening or harmful (i.e., primary appraisal), survivors are likely to respond less constructively. When survivors believe they can effectively cope with the downsizing (i.e., secondary appraisal), survivors are likely to respond more actively.

Our theoretical framework identifies what we believe are the key factors influencing survivors' primary and secondary appraisals of downsizing. We suggest that trust in management and justice in the implementation process reduce perceptions of threat stemming from the downsizing and thus facilitate more constructive survivor responses. We also suggest that empowerment and work redesign play important buffering roles, serving as antidotes which enhance survivors sense that they can cope with the downsizing, and thus facilitate more active survivor responses. The theoretical framework is illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2 about here

Factors Shaping Primary Appraisal and Survivor Responses

In this section, we describe two factors that shape the primary appraisal process by reducing the evaluation of the threat inherent in the downsizing. First, trust in top management minimizes the categorization of threat by helping survivors to understand and believe in management's intentions and expected behavior. Second, the perceived justness of the downsizing implementation will reduce the degree to which the downsizing is evaluated as threatening by reducing the ambiguity of the expected outcome from the encounter (cf. Folkman, 1984). Because trust in management and a perceived just implementation of downsizing both work to reduce the appraised threat inherent in downsizing, we argue that they will lead to more constructive survivor responses.

Trust in top management. Trust is defined as a willingness to be vulnerable to others (Granovetter, 1985; Lewis & Weigert, 1985) based on the prior belief that they are trustworthy (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995; Mishra, 1996; Sitkin & Roth, 1993). Being vulnerable means that a significant potential for loss exists (Deutsch, 1973; Luhmann, 1979; Zand, 1972). In a downsizing context, this willingness to be vulnerable may be manifested in high-performing survivors who remain with the organization even though they could get good jobs elsewhere. It also could be manifested in a belief in top management's assurances that downsizing will improve competitive advantage despite initial evidence indicating the contrary. Survivors could make significant purchases (such as a buying a house) on the promise that no additional layoffs will occur, only to have those promises broken and their jobs lost (New York Times, 1996).

Several key dimensions of trustworthiness have been documented in the literature, including a concern for others' interests, competence, openness, and reliability (Hart & Saunders, 1997; Mayer et al., 1995; Mishra, 1996). Each dimension additively contributes to a party's trustworthiness. We use these dimensions to explain the logic for why trust may lead to less threatening primary appraisals. A belief that management is *concerned* about the best interests of survivors leads to less threatening appraisals because survivors believe that top management is acting not only in their own interests. Survivors who believe that management is *competent* may also appraise the downsizing as less threatening because they view top management as capable of enhancing the organization's competitive position. Survivors who believe that top management is *reliable* may also be less threatened because they believe that top managers will keep their promises. Finally, survivors who believe that top management is being *open* and honest about what is happening (O'Neill & Lenn, 1995) may be less threatened because uncertainty is reduced. Nevertheless, the fact that trust may be violated in each of these instances (i.e., management may be self-interested, lack the skills to lead the organization through the restructuring, break its promises, or withhold important information) reflects the vulnerability of trust.

Because trust facilitates less threatening appraisals of the downsizing, it is likely to foster more constructive survivor responses. In general, trust allows individuals to cooperate with others because it minimizes the threat of malfeasance (Fukuyama, 1995; Golembiewski & McConkie, 1975). More specifically, a belief that top management is *concerned* about the interests of employees enhances constructive responses because survivors presumably are willing to further their own interests. When top management is *reliable* in keeping its promises and open in sharing information, uncertainty and ambiguity are reduced for survivors. Lower ambiguity and uncertainty allow individuals to work together more easily to deal with a stressful encounter (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). A belief that top management is *competent* may also lead to constructive responses because survivors feel comfortable supporting top management's vision of the future. For these reasons, higher levels of trust prior to the downsizing are likely to lead to constructive survivor responses during the downsizing process.

> Proposition 1a. Survivors who trust top management prior to downsizing will be likely to exhibit constructive (i.e., *hopeful* or *obliging*) responses.

As defined previously, trust is a dynamic construct reflecting an individual's beliefs about person-environment relationships. Thus, we suggest that subsequent levels of trust that evolve during the implementation of the downsizing will also affect survivor responses. For example, a survivor may forgo an interview with another company and cooperate with the implementation of the downsizing following the promise of no further layoffs. If another layoff is announced, initial levels of trust may erode, even if the survivor is not affected immediately. In contrast, a survivor who initially has low levels of trust in top management may find the downsizing implemented in a way that enhances his or her trust in management (e.g., top management keeps it promises or shares sensitive information). Thus, because initial levels of trust may change during the course of the downsizing, we suggest that subsequent levels of trust also may have an influence on survivor responses.

> Proposition 1b. Survivors who trust top management during the implementation of the downsizing will be likely to exhibit constructive (i.e., *hopeful* or *obliging*) responses.

Justice. Brockner and his colleagues have produced a significant body of research showing that perceptions of justice or fairness have a strong influence on survivors' responses to a downsizing activity (e.g., Brockner et al., 1992; Brockner, Wiesenfeld, Reed, Grover, & Martin, 1993). Three different elements of justice have been identified: distributive, procedural, and interactional (Brockner & Siegel, 1996). In the following sections, we explain how each element of justice may mitigate the threat of downsizing in the primary appraisal process and in turn facilitate more constructive survivor responses.

1. Distributive justice. Distributive justice reflects the fairness of the outcomes resulting from the downsizing (Brockner & Greenberg, 1990). Prior research on distributive justice has been focused on how survivors perceive the outcomes provided to *victims* (e.g., adequacy of outplacement assistance and severance pay) (Brockner, DeWitt, Grover, & Reed, 1990; Brockner et al., 1994; Rousseau & Anton, 1988). Because survivors identify with victims, often viewing them as valued friends or colleagues (Brockner et al., 1987; Brockner et al., 1994), perceptions of distributive justice will influence survivors' appraisal of the downsizing. If victims receive generous benefits, survivors can be expected to appraise the downsizing as less threatening because they anticipate that they will receive similar benefits should they lose their own jobs.

A second element of distributive justice, which has received less attention, is the extent to which the burden of the downsizing is shared across levels of the organizational hierarchy. For example, in one organization, executives received significant performance bonuses at the same time that lower level employees were laid off with minimal severance packages (Dial & Murphy, 1995). We suggest that resource allocations that favor top management at the expense of survivors or victims will result in more threatening appraisals; in such cases, survivors are likely to believe that the allocation of scarce resources has been unfair and that they will suffer disproportionately (Brockner & Greenberg, 1990).

Because distributive justice facilitates less threatening appraisals, we suggest that it will lead to more constructive survivor responses. Thus, if survivors believe that the victims of the downsizing receive fair outcomes, they will be less likely to consider top management as adversarial but rather as helpful in easing the transition for victims, and thus will respond more constructively. Furthermore, if the burdens shouldered by downsizing survivors are distributed fairly (e.g., across-the-board pay cuts, budget reductions based on equality or need), survivors will feel less need to defend scarce resources and will be more likely to work constructively with management in implementing the downsizing. Sharing the burden across levels of the hierarchy creates the perception that everyone is “in this together,” thus reducing defensiveness and increasing survivors’ constructive behavior.

> Proposition 2. Survivors who appraise the downsizing as distributively just will be likely to exhibit constructive (i.e., *hopeful* or *obliging*) responses.

2. Procedural justice. Procedural justice reflects the fairness of the processes used to implement the downsizing (Brockner & Greenberg, 1990). It has typically been operationalized in terms of the decision rule to determine who is laid off and in terms of the amount of advance notice that is provided to victims (Brockner et al., 1992; Brockner, Konovsky et al., 1994). A decision rule based on merit (where poorer performing employees or those with less potential are laid off first) contributes to perceptions of procedural fairness (Brockner, 1988). In order to be perceived as fair, merit-based decision rules should be grounded in a well-established performance management system and should be linked to the future mission of the organization (Lind & Tyler, 1988). When the decision rule is based on merit, a survivor is more likely to appraise the downsizing as predictable and hence less threatening; thus, in such cases, we expect survivors to respond more constructively. In contrast, when survivors perceive the decision rule to be politically-based or random, they are less likely to see the implementation as fair and more likely to retaliate against the injustice of the system.

Advance notice, another component of procedural justice (Brockner et al., 1994; Kozlowski et al., 1993), allows individuals to respond constructively because the probability of an unexpected downsizing has been minimized. Rather than feeling incapacitated by anxiety about future downsizings, with assurances of advance notice, survivors can lower their defenses because they will be given adequate time to prepare for downsizings in the future. Thus, advance notice can reduce assessments of threat (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984: 95), thereby increasing constructive survivor responses.

> Proposition 3. Survivors who appraise the downsizing as procedurally just will be likely to exhibit constructive (i.e., *hopeful and obliging*) responses.

3. Interactional justice. Recent formulations of interactional justice focus on at least three types of social accounts, or verbal strategies, used to minimize the apparent severity of the encounter (Bies, 1987; Brockner & Greenberg, 1990; Tyler & Bies, 1990): (a) causal accounts that focus on credible mitigating circumstances for the downsizing (e.g., “We had to lay off workers because of an economic recession that was beyond our control”), (b) ideological accounts that link the downsizing to a vision of for the organization’s future (e.g., “Laying off workers will help improve our company’s competitive advantage in the future”), and (c) penitential accounts that focus on the interpersonal treatment of those who are affected by the downsizing (e.g., “We are really sorry to have had to resort to layoffs”). Research has shown that offering explanations of why the unpopular events must happen ameliorates negative reactions and promotes the belief that the decision makers’ action were fair and the result of good judgment (Bies, 1987).

Regarding the first type of social account, survivors may consider the rationale for the downsizing as justifiable when it addresses the mitigating circumstances in the external environment rather than the enrichment of shareholders or top management (Brockner & Greenberg, 1990; Brockner et al., 1994; Kleinfeld, 1996). Survivors are less likely to be threatened if they can clearly understand how external factors necessitated the downsizing because those external factors may eliminate “a worst-case reading of a harmdoer’s intentions” (Bies, 1987). Perceptions of intentionality can magnify the perception of injustice and thus increase the assessment of threat and in turn decrease the probability of constructive survivor responses.

Regarding the second type of social account, communicating a clear vision for how the downsizing will benefit all stakeholders also reduces the threatening nature of the downsizing because survivors can see hope for the future. This type of social account reframes the act of downsizing by placing it in a broader context that will legitimate the action (e.g., we have to take this drastic action now because it will help our organization to thrive in the future) (Bies, 1987). When survivors have hope in the future direction of the organization, they will be more likely to respond constructively because they can understand how the downsizing can enhance competitive advantage.

Regarding the third type of social account, if survivors are treated humanely and with dignity, it is likely that they will respond constructively because they feel valued and appreciated by the organization. This type of account commonly involves an apology and a public expression of remorse (Bies, 1987). In contrast, if survivors are ignored or blamed for the downsizing, it is likely that they will be threatened by the downsizing. Thus, they will be likely to respond destructively because they feel violated by the treatment of top management.

> Proposition 4. Survivors who appraise the downsizing as interactionally just will be likely to exhibit constructive (i.e., *hopeful* and *obliging*) responses.

Prior research suggests that trust and justice may not only have independent effects but may also have joint effects on survivor responses. Brockner and his colleagues have found that procedural and interactional justice may engender higher levels of trust over time (Brockner & Siegel, 1996; Brockner et al., In press). In addition, trust may interact with different dimensions of justice to stimulate even higher levels of constructive survivor responses. For example, researchers have shown that the degree of trust interacts with distributive justice to influence how survivors respond to downsizing (Brockner & Siegel, 1996; Brockner et al., In press). Because these joint effects have been developed in prior work, we do not offer specific propositions for them, but caution that they should be modeled in empirical tests of the theoretical framework.

Factors Shaping Secondary Appraisal and Survivor Responses

Through secondary appraisal, individuals evaluate what, if anything, can be done to overcome or prevent harm. Beliefs about the kinds of resources available to the individual to cope with the downsizing influence the secondary appraisal process and will lead to more active survivor responses. In this section, we describe two factors, personal beliefs about empowerment in the work role and work redesign, that we suggest will enhance survivors' evaluations that they can cope with the downsizing and will in turn lead to more active survivor responses.

Empowerment. "Appraisals of personal control are a key part of secondary appraisal . . . they refer to the person's judgment or belief about the possibilities for control in a specific encounter" (Folkman, 1984: 842). Layoffs are likely to threaten survivors' sense of control; therefore, factors that affect a sense of control before and during downsizing are likely to be important in mitigating the helplessness often experienced by survivors during downsizing (Brockner, 1988). Empowerment reflects a personal sense of control in the workplace as manifested in four beliefs about the person-work environment relationship: meaning, competence, self-determination, and impact (Spreitzer, 1995; Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). *Meaning* reflects a sense of purpose or personal connection about work. *Competence* indicates that individuals believe they have the skills and abilities necessary to perform their work well. This sense of competence is consistent with Bandura's (1989) notion of efficacy-expectancy (i.e., the conviction that people can successfully execute behaviors required to produce outcomes). *Self-determination* reflects a sense of freedom about how individuals do their own work. *Impact* describes a belief that individuals can influence the system in which they are embedded; it is consistent with Bandura's (1989) notion of outcome expectancy. Unlike more popular conceptions of empowerment, this definition does not imply an alignment with the vision of the organization. Thus, it is possible for an empowered employee not to be aligned with the vision of the organization and instead to work to further his or her self-interest. These are the "loose canons" that organizations fear will result from empowerment. In addition, this definition conceptualizes empowerment as residing within the survivor rather than in a set of management practices; thus, it reflects a set of beliefs about personal control in the work environment.

The four dimensions described above help to explain why empowerment should influence secondary appraisal. The more survivors believe they have a sense of *meaning*, the more that they can rely on their own sense of purpose and direction to cope with the ambiguity inherent in the downsizing. Second, the more survivors believe that they have the *competence* necessary to perform well in the changing environment, the more they see themselves as having the personal resources to cope with the changes in work associated with the downsizing. Third, the more survivors have a sense of *self-determination*, the more they see themselves as having choices about or control over how to cope with the downsizing. Fourth, the more survivors believe that they can have an *impact* on the downsizing implementation, the more likely they will believe they have the personal power to cope with outcomes associated with the downsizing. Thus, each of the four dimensions should enhance survivors' sense of personal control in the secondary appraisal process.

We suggest that such empowered survivors will be more likely to become active participants in implementing the downsizing rather than passive recipients of a top management mandate. "People fear and tend to avoid … situations they believe exceed their skills whereas they get involved in activities and behave assuredly when they judge themselves capable to handling situations that would otherwise be intimidating" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984: 70). Without having some sense of control over a stressful situation, individuals will withdraw into an utter state of helplessness (Greenberger & Strasser, 1986). Indeed, those who believe that they have less control over their work environment, as measured by their influence over work content, deadlines, and the people they work with in accomplishing assignments, exhibited greater stress as measured by coronary heart disease symptoms (Marmot, Bosma, Hemingway, Brunner, & Stansfeld, 1997). When empowered, however, employees do not feel as though they are mere "cogs" in a machine but more active shapers of the organization (Bell & Staw, 1989).

Self-determination and *impact* can add certainty to a context of ambiguity and facilitate less rigid or mechanistic survivor responses (Sutton & D'Aunno, 1989; Sutton & Kahn, 1987). Individuals who believe that they can influence the organization will be more likely to proactively respond to a stressful event, because they feel a greater sense of personal control (Greenberger & Strasser, 1986; Greenberger, Strasser, & Lee, 1988). Likewise, researchers using the EVLN framework have found that sufficient personal control contributes to more proactive responses to dissatisfaction (Withey & Cooper, 1989).

The *competence* dimension of empowerment should also facilitate more active survivor responses. Weick (1988) argued that individuals who believe they have "capacity" (competence in our empowerment terminology) will be less defensive and will see more opportunities to deal with a stressor.

These competence beliefs also expand individuals' responses for dealing with stressful events (Weick, 1988). Feelings of competence provide the self-confidence (Bandura, 1989) required to take risks, try new things, and be innovative (Spreitzer, 1995). Competence also affects individuals' willingness to persist in the face of obstacles and adverse experiences (Bandura, 1989). Finally, the *meaning* dimension of empowerment should also facilitate more active survivor responses. Survivors who have a strong personal connection to work should want to cope with the downsizing because their work is meaningful. Such survivors will be more likely to take an active role in the downsizing, because they are guided by their own purpose and direction. Thus, we argue that the four dimensions of empowerment should help survivors feel more in control, should help them to cope with the demands of the downsizing, and hence should increase their propensity to respond more actively. Given that our definition of empowerment does not imply an alignment with the vision of the organization, these active responses can be either constructive or destructive (which one will depend on the primary appraisal process).

> Proposition 5a. Survivors who feel empowered prior to the downsizing will be likely to exhibit active (i.e., *hopeful* or *cynical*) responses.

Empowerment is not a personality disposition; rather, it is a dynamic construct that reflects individual beliefs about person-environment relationships. Thus, we suggest that prior levels of empowerment will influence survivor responses and that subsequent levels of empowerment occurring during the implementation of the downsizing will also have an effect on survivor responses. We expect a survivor's empowerment to evolve over time, as prior empowerment is either reinforced or eroded during the course of the downsizing. For example, if management centralizes all decision making authority, survivors are likely to feel less *self-determination* and *impact* and thus decreased empowerment as the downsizing is implemented. In contrast, if management provides opportunities for the training of survivors to take over the tasks of their former coworkers, survivors are likely to feel more *competent* and thus more empowered as the downsizing is implemented.

> Proposition 5b. Survivors who feel empowered during the implementation of the downsizing will be likely to exhibit active (i.e., *hopeful* or *cynical*) responses.

Work redesign. The Lazarus theory of stress also suggests that situational factors will influence the secondary appraisal process because they help individuals understand what kinds of job-related resources are available for coping with a stressful situation (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). We suggest that the extent to which the design of survivors' work has been changed in conjunction with the downsizing (Brockner & Wiesenfeld, 1993) will influence the secondary appraisal process and survivor responses.

Job design changes which enhance the intrinsic quality of the survivors' work (Brockner, Grover, Reed, & Dewitt, 1992) are likely to help survivors to feel more able to cope with the downsizing and thus increase the likelihood of more active responses. If the intrinsic quality of work has increased or remained constant as a result of the downsizing, survivors can focus their attention on coping with the downsizing rather than being distracted with how they can return the design of their work to previous levels of intrinsic quality (Brockner, Wiesenfeld, Reed, Grover, & Martin, 1993). We focus on two elements of intrinsic job quality relevant to a downsizing context: job variety and job autonomy (Hackman & Oldham, 1980). First, as a result of the downsizing, survivors may be asked to take on the responsibilities for their former co-workers, thereby increasing the perceived variety of their work (Brockner, Wiesenfeld, Reed, Grover, & Martin, 1993). Survivors may consider the use or development of these additional skills as resources that can be used to help them cope with the downsizing. These newly developed skills and abilities may reduce survivors' sense of job insecurity and thus facilitate assessments of coping ability. Hackman and Oldham (1980) have shown that more job variety can increase individual motivation about the job and in turn facilitate more flexibility and initiative – qualities which are consistent with active survivor responses.

Second, job autonomy can increase if a concerted effort is made to drive down decision making authority in conjunction with the downsizing. Some downsizings reduce the number of layers of management and thus result in more decision making discretion for survivors. When survivors have more autonomy in decision making and more choice over how to do their work, they are likely to feel more in control during the downsizing and thus better able to cope. Some limited research suggests that if efforts to downsize go beyond layoffs to include work redesign which grants greater authority to lower echelon employees, then survivors see more potential to effectively cope with the downsizing (Cameron et al., 1991, 1993; Kets de Vries & Balazs, 1997), facilitating a more active role in the downsizing process. Thus, we suggest that work redesign that is focused on increasing job variety and autonomy will influence secondary appraisal by enhancing the set of personal resources to cope with the downsizing, in turn facilitating more active survivor responses.

The relationship between these two elements of work redesign and survivor responses is not unidimensional as in the cases of the earlier propositions. Work redesign changes that enhance job variety and autonomy may also capture some elements of distributive justice, because they reflect the type of work survivors end up with (i.e., an outcome). If survivors believe that the intrinsic quality of their jobs has decreased, then they are also likely to feel threatened by the downsizing (Brockner, Wiesenfeld et al., 1993) and thus respond less constructively. On the other hand, if survivors believe that the intrinsic quality of their jobs has improved as a result of the downsizing, the inherent threat of the downsizing is likely to be reduced (Brockner, Wiesenfeld et al., 1993) and, as described in Proposition 2, we can expect more constructive survivor responses.[2] Thus, work redesign changes that are focused on job variety and autonomy are likely to enhance both active and constructive (i.e., *hopeful*) survivor responses.

> Proposition 6a. Changes in the design of work during the downsizing that increase job variety and autonomy will increase the likelihood of *hopeful* survivor responses.

However, some changes in the design of work (e.g., role overload and reduced job autonomy) may reduce survivor beliefs that they can cope with the downsizing. Survivors may experience role overload as they struggle to complete the work formerly assigned to the victims of the downsizing (Cameron et al*.*, 1993; Cascio, 1993; Kozlowski et al*.*, 1993). If these new tasks require skills and competencies that survivors have not been trained for, then survivors may be less confident in their ability to cope with the downsizing. This is not atypical, as top management rarely conducts systemic analyses of tasks and personnel before downsizing (Cameron et al., 1993). To the extent that work demands exceed survivors' physical resources (e.g., stamina) or psychological resources (e.g., skills), survivors are likely to appraise their coping resources as limited (Folkman, 1984: 842). Believing that they have fewer resources for coping, when survivors experience role overload, they are likely to respond more passively, because of their limited coping ability.

In addition, as leaders seek to reduce their own uncertainty by centralizing decision making, survivors may experience greater restrictions and controls over their decision making (Sutton & D'Aunno, 1989). Mechanistic shifts in the design of work and reduced job autonomy are common in the aftermath of work force reductions (Sutton, 1990). Though reduced autonomy, survivors may evaluate themselves as having less discretion over how to best cope with the downsizing. Reduced job autonomy, because it reduces the discretion of survivors and their perceptions of personal control, is expected to lead to more passive survivor responses. When survivors believe that all decisions are being made at higher levels of the organization, they will take less initiative in responding to the downsizing because they believe they can have limited influence.

---

[2] We thank one reviewer for this helpful distinction.

Similar to Proposition 6a, we believe that work redesign also may capture some elements of distributive justice. When survivors feel overworked and when their autonomy is reduced, they are likely to feel that the outcomes (the content of their work) they have received from the downsizing are unfair as compared to before the downsizing. As described in Proposition 2, survivors who believe that the implementation of the downsizing is distributively unfair are likely to respond destructively, because they feel threatened by the downsizing and feel the need to protect what outcomes they still have (Sutton, 1990). Thus, work redesign changes that reflect work overload and reduced job autonomy are likely to increase both passive and destructive (i.e., *fearful*) survivor responses.

> Proposition 6b. Changes in the design of work during the downsizing that increase role overload and reduce job autonomy will enhance the likelihood of *fearful* survivor responses.

With the exception of the work redesign proposition, our propositions regarding the predictors of survivor responses are delineated in terms of the two dimensions of our typology -- constructive/destructive and active/passive. This is not to say that for some survivors trust and justice can also affect assessments of coping ability and that for others empowerment can also affect assessments of threat. However, our aim is to create a parsimonious theoretical framework where the focus is on the most dominant predictors of specific survivor responses. Thus, except for work redesign, all propositions are focused on unidimensional relationships with the primary or secondary appraisal process.

In order to predict a *specific* archetypal response, the combined effects of the different constructs in our framework must be examined. For example, we propose that trust and justice facilitate constructive responses and that empowerment and work redesign facilitate active responses. Thus, we would expect the most *hopeful* responses to occur with high levels of trust and justice coupled with high levels of empowerment and work redesign. However, if either trust or justice erodes during the downsizing process, survivor responses are likely to become less constructive in nature; consequently, there may be an increase in *cynical* responses. Similarly, if either empowerment or work redesign decreases during the implementation of the downsizing, survivor responses are likely to become more passive; as a result, there may be an increase in *obliging* responses. Finally, if either trust or justice declines and there is a decrease in empowerment or work redesign, survivor responses are likely to be more *fearful.* Consequently, the joint effects of the four constructs in our framework must be considered to predict a specific archetypal response.

DISCUSSION OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Contributions

Our typology of survivor responses to downsizing can contribute to the management literature in several ways. First, the four contrasting archetypes of survivor responses make sense of the varied and sometimes contradictory survivor responses found in prior research. The typology explains how survivor responses can be organized along two underlying dimensions (constructive/destructive and active/passive). In contrast to Farrell, our typology focuses on internal responses; it delineates the responses of survivors who choose to remain part of the organization rather those who choose to exit. Our typology also describes how survivor responses may evolve during the course of downsizing. Thus, survivor responses are conceptualized as dynamic; they are shaped by the implementation process of the downsizing.

Our typology also contributes to the refinement of the EVLN framework. According to previous empirical work, the "voice" element of the EVLN framework had the lowest internal consistency of any of the quadrants (Withey & Cooper, 1989). One explanation for this is that voice may be a complex category that includes several components. We divided voice into two archetypes: *cynical* and *hopeful.* Both are high on the active dimension; however, *cynical* survivors are destructive and *hopeful* survivors are constructive. In prior work, it was assumed that a voice response to dissatisfaction was aligned with the goals and objective of the organization, but we have distinguished constructive from destructive manifestations of voice. Thus, we believe we have provided greater conceptual clarity to the voice element of the EVLN framework.

The stress-based theoretical framework contributes to the management literature in other ways. Kets de Vries and Balazs (1997: 18) argued that current research "pays insufficient attention to the cognitive and emotional effects of downsizing on the individual … it has not gone into sufficient depth to deconstruct the psychological dynamics that are set in motion by the process downsizing." Although some work on organizational stress has been embedded in prior research on downsizing (e.g., Brockner et al., 1987; Greenhalgh & Rosenblatt, 1984), our framework is the first to explicitly apply the extensive body of research on stress by Lazarus and his colleagues to the context of downsizing. In our framework, we suggest that even though prior attitudes and beliefs shape survivor responses to downsizing, the process by which the downsizing is implemented is also crucial. In this way, our framework builds on the substantial body of research on the influence that fairness and justice have on survivor responses; it provides an initial explanation for how individual beliefs, such as trust and empowerment, and situational factors, such as work redesign, also shape survivor responses. In this way, the framework provides avenues other than justice for future research on survivor responses to downsizing.

Our paper also contributes to the literature on trust: we have focused on the potential of trust to explain individuals' reactions to threatening and ambiguous change in organizations. Few researchers, until recently, have focused attention on the role that trust plays in downsizing, despite the ubiquity of references to trust in popular accounts of downsizing. Our framework illustrates how trust can buffer survivors from the threatening aspects of change inherent in downsizing. Without trust, employees are likely to feel threatened by downsizing, leading to resistance and retaliation rather than the constructive cooperation that is necessary to facilitate deep change (Quinn, 1996). Trust is instrumental in overcoming resistance to change, for it shapes how individuals interpret the implementation process (Kotter & Schlesinger, 1979). If they have trust, survivors are willing to give managers the benefit of the doubt that they are indeed doing what is right for the company and its employees. If they do not have trust, survivors are likely to believe that management is misguided and putting their own interests ahead of those of the company and its employees.

We also contribute to the literature on trust by examining the joint effects of trust and empowerment. Trust shapes assessments of the degree of threat inherent in downsizing, whereas empowerment shapes assessments of the capacity to cope with the inherent threat. In conjunction with the situational factors, an understanding of both trust and empowerment is necessary for predicting survivor responses. High levels of trust and empowerment increase the likelihood of *hopeful* survivors. Because they do not appraise the downsizing as threatening and because they believe they have the capability to cope, these survivors are likely to work constructively and actively to implement the downsizing. In contrast, low levels of both trust and empowerment increase the likelihood of *fearful* survivors. Because these survivors are threatened by the downsizing and because they believe they will not be able to cope, they are likely to respond passively but destructively.

But trust and empowerment may not always move in the same direction. High levels of trust in top management coupled with little empowerment are likely to result in blind loyalty, and passive accommodation may result (i.e., the *obliging* response). High levels of trust can create feelings of security (Luhmann, 1979; Golembiewski & McConkie, 1975); if these are combined with low empowerment, they may reduce survivor motivation. Indeed, with restricted response repertoires stemming from low empowerment (Weick, 1988), a highly trusting but disempowered survivor's reaction may be simply to attend to dominant cues from superiors or to emit well-learned behaviors (cf. Staw, Sandelands, & Dutton, 1981). In contrast, empowered survivors with little trust are likely to respond *cynically*. Because this empowered survivor has a wide response repertoire, but lacks trust in management, he or she may choose to take action *against* the organization (cf. Bies & Tripp, 1996). When trust is lacking, employees are more likely to develop paranoid cognitions (Fenigstein & Vanable, 1992; Kramer, 1996) that are consistent with the *cynical* response. The origins of such cynicism may be a perceived violation of the psychological contract (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994; Rousseau, 1995). The combination of deteriorating trust in management coupled with increased monitoring on the part of the survivor for further violations is a perfect recipe for the *cynical* response.

Directions for Future Research

We also suggest some areas for future theoretical development and empirical research. Folkman (1984) and Oakland and Ostell (1996) emphasized the need to separate coping responses from assessments of coping effectiveness, because different coping strategies may be effective in different situations. Therefore, researchers should begin to identify the conditions under which each survivor response will be most effective and for whom. Regarding organizational effectiveness, the *hopeful* response appears to be effective, because survivors act as partners in implementing the downsizing. However, if the organization’s downsizing plans are misguided, a *cynical* response may also be effective. Indeed, a rebellious critic may be just the person to tell top management that its downsizing plan will damage competitive advantage (Wysocki, 1995). If top management has an established track record in managing downsizing efforts and if employees have low skills, then *obliging* survivors may involve the least risk for the organization. Thus, under different circumstances, the *hopeful*, *cynical*, and *obliging* survivor responses may be effective for the organization. It is not clear, however, when the *fearful* response might be effective from an organizational perspective.

Similarly, researchers could begin to assess the effectiveness of the different survivor responses for the individuals. The *hopeful* response also appears to be effective from an individual career perspective, because the survivor takes an active and constructive role in implementing the downsizing. However, *hopeful* survivors who exert a great deal of effort to help the organization may experience burnout over time and even exit the organization if management is not vigilant in identifying signs of excessive stress. As Brockner and colleagues (1992) found, individuals who are the most supportive can be the most damaged by a downsizing if they are not treated fairly. Under other circumstances, a *fearful* response may provide some psychological protection for the survivor and facilitate coping. For 60-year-old employees who know they have few job alternatives and know they will eventually be laid off, a *fearful* response, where they can begin to psychologically withdraw from the situation, may be an effective response for their mental health (cf. Folkman, 1984). This disassociation can protect survivors against the pain of downsizing (Kets de Vries & Balazs, 1997). The *cynical* response may have mixed effects for survivors. It can help survivors feel better in the short run by allowing them to let off steam, but it may derail the survivor's career in the future. The *obliging* response may result in survivors passively responding to the wishes of management and failing to take initiative on their own. Such survivor responses increase the susceptibility for conformity and groupthink. Following these ideas, researchers could expand the theoretical framework to address and empirically examine the individual effectiveness outcomes of the survivor response typology.

Researchers may also help to identify both the dynamics and sufficiency of trust within threatening or rapidly changing organizational contexts. It is commonly believed that although trust takes much time to build, it is fragile and can be easily lost through violated obligations (Morrison & Robinson, 1997; Robinson, 1997). The resiliency of trust within organizations can, however, be examined through longitudinal designs that take place during volatile circumstances such as downsizing. Downsizing provides an excellent context in which to evaluate whether trust must deteriorate, or whether it can be sustained or even enhanced during significant organizational change; it also can be used to evaluate the efficacy of organizational interventions in preserving trust. Whether trust is limited in its capacity or is a sufficient condition for reducing uncertainty and providing constructive responses to threat (Barber, 1983; Luhmann, 1979) can also be tested by examining the influence of trust on survivors' responses in concert with assessments of justice, empowerment, and changes in the design of work. We believe that this is a potentially fruitful area for research on trust given its salience in recent accounts of rapid, often threatening organizational change (Davidow & Malone, 1992; Handy, 1995; Labich, 1996).

Researchers also could address the effect that personality dispositions have on survivor responses. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) suggested that generalized beliefs (or personality traits) also affect primary and secondary appraisal. We focus on specific beliefs such as trust and empowerment rather than personality traits, because such beliefs are more malleable to the influence of the organization. Nevertheless, personality traits may be important moderating variables for the relationships specified in our framework. For example, Brockner, Davy and Carter (1985) and Brockner and colleagues (1993) found self-esteem to be an important moderator on survivor responses to downsizing. Moreover, Kets de Vries and Balazs (1997) suggested that hardiness can mitigate the stressful aspects of downsizing and result in more proactive and constructive survivor responses.

In the future, theorists might also address the effect of demographic variables on survivor responses. Typically, these variables have been included as control variables, but they have received limited theoretical development. For example, older workers may have concerns about age discrimination and reduced alternative employment and thus may be more likely to respond *fearfully*. In contrast, if older workers have the safety net of a pending early retirement package, they may respond *obligingly*. Organizational tenure may also matter. The longer the tenure with an organization an individual has, the more likely he or she will have acquired organization-specific training, socialization, vested retirement funds, and comfortable work arrangements (things such as convenient housing and commutes, friends at work, etc.) (Rusbult et al., 1988). Thus, survivors with longer tenures are likely to be more attached to the firm and may respond constructively. Future theoretical work can be used to examine the effects of other relevant demographic influences on our archetypal responses.

Our theoretical framework suggests one primary implication for the design of empirical research: in order to test the specified propositions, longitudinal data must be collected. Brockner (1988) called for more longitudinal and process-oriented research on survivor responses to downsizing. The Lazarus theory of stress is relational in that the person and environment are viewed as being in a dynamic relationship over time. Researchers can best capture the dynamic nature of the downsizing process through longitudinal data collection methods. Data on the trust and empowerment of survivors should be collected prior to the downsizing announcement. Data on survivors' perceptions of justice and job redesign as well as subsequent levels of trust and empowerment should be collected as the downsizing is being implemented. Finally, data on survivors' responses (i.e., the four archetypes) should be collected following the downsizing. Optimally, data on survivor responses should be collected at additional points in time as the downsizing progresses in order for researchers to be able to assess the evolution of survivor responses. Longitudinal designs will enable researchers to assess the sequence of events contributing to downsizing outcomes. Such data is also necessary for assessing causality. However, collecting longitudinal data presents a formidable challenge for researchers, because it requires that they enter the firm prior to the downsizing announcement. Many organizations, by necessity, keep their strategic plans secretive prior to announcing a downsizing, making it extremely difficult to identify a study site before an announcement is made. A further challenge is that many organizations are cautious about allowing researchers access to employees when they are facing stressful or emotional times (Sutton & Schurman, 1988).

Implications for Practice

Given the record numbers of organizations turning to downsizing in today's business environment, a framework is needed to guide managerial practice. Our theoretical framework suggests a number of strategies for managers to implement during a downsizing that may evoke more hopeful survivor responses. First, the framework emphasizes the importance of building trust and creating empowerment both before and during the downsizing. Trust and empowerment can buffer against the threat inherent in a downsizing initiative, but these can only be built over time through enduring and genuine interactions with management (Mayer et al., 1995; Mishra, 1996). However, trust and empowerment often are eroded during downsizing efforts (Hodgetts, 1996). Trust in management may erode because survivors believe that top management is withholding information or is not acting in the best interests of the entire organization (Noer, 1993; O'Neill & Lenn, 1995). Survivors' sense of empowerment also may erode during downsizing as job security becomes more tenuous and survivors come to see themselves more as independent contractors than valued members of the firm. Empowerment may further erode as management takes on more control, which is typical during a crisis situation (D'Aunno & Sutton, 1989; O'Neill & Lenn; 1995; Staw et al., 1981). The irony, then, is that downsizing may destroy the trust and empowerment that are necessary to make or keep the organization competitive in the future.

The framework suggests other implementation tactics beyond trust and empowerment. Facilitating perceptions of fairness is critical for influencing the hoped for, but often elusive, outcomes of downsizing. Researchers have shown that if the downsizing is not implemented fairly, employees who are more committed will actually respond to the downsizing in more dysfunctional ways than employees who are less committed (Brockner, Tyler, & Cooper-Schneider, 1992). Thus, organizations may antagonize the employees who have the most to offer during a downsizing. In addition, enriching survivors' jobs in implementing the downsizing mandate through work redesign also helps to achieve more active survivor responses. Such enrichment helps employees to believe they can better cope with the downsizing. In this way, the framework provides guidance to managers who anticipate future organizational downsizing. Although the way in which the downsizing is implemented does make a difference, our framework highlights the importance of good long-term managerial relationships with employees beginning long before an announcement to downsize. In this way, effective downsizing is not a short-term fix, but rather a long-term investment in the human resources of the organization.

REFERENCES

Astrachan, J. H. 1995. Organizational departures: The impact of separation anxiety as studied in a mergers and acquisitions simulation. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 31: 31-50.

Bandura, A. 1989. Human agency in social cognitive theory. American Psychologist, September: 1175-84.

Barber, B. 1983. The logic and limits of trust. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Beehr, T., & Gupta, N. 1978. A note on the structure of employee withdrawal. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 21: 73-79.

Bell, N. E., & Staw, B. M. 1989. People as sculptors versus sculpture. In M. B. Arthur, D. T. Hall, and B. S. Lawrence (Eds.), Handbook of career theory: 232-251. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bies, R. J. 1987. The predicament of injustice: The management of moral outrage. In B. M. Staw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), Research in organizational behavior, vol. 9: 289-319. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Bies, R., Martin, C., & Brockner, J. 1993. Just laid off, but still a good citizen? Only if the process is fair. Employee Rights and Responsibilities Journal, 6: 227-238.

Bies, R. J., & Tripp, T. M. 1996. Beyond distrust: Getting even and the need for revenge. In R. M. Kramer. & T. R. Tyler (Eds.), Trust in organizations: Frontiers of theory and research: 246-260. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Brockner, J. 1990. Scope of justice in the workplace: How survivors react to coworker layoffs. Journal of Social Issues, 46: 95-106.

Brockner, J. 1988. The effects of work layoffs on survivors: Research, theory, and practice. Research in organizational behavior, vol. 10: 213-255. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Brockner, J., Davy, J., & Carter, C. 1985. Layoffs, self-esteem, and survivor guilt: Motivational, affective, and attitudinal consequences. Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 36: 229-244.

Brockner, J., DeWitt, R. L., Grover, S. L., & Reed, T. F. 1990. When it is especially important to explain why: Factors affecting the relationship between managers' explanations of a layoff and survivors' reactions to a layoff. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 26: 389-407.

Brockner, J. & Greenberg, J. 1990. The impact of layoffs on survivors: An organizational justice perspective. In J. S. Carroll (Ed.) Applied social psychology and organizational settings: 45-75. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Brockner, J., Grover, S. L., & Blonder, M. D. 1988. Predictors of survivors' job involvement following layoffs: A field study. Journal of Applied Psychology, 73: 436-442.

Brockner, J., Grover, S. L., Reed, T. F., & DeWitt, R. L. 1992. Layoffs, job insecurity, and survivors' work effort: Evidence of an inverted-U relationship. Academy of Management Journal, 35: 413-425.

Brockner, J., Grover, S. L., Reed, T. F., DeWitt, R. L., & O'Malley, M. N. 1987. Survivors' reactions to layoffs: We get by with a little help for our friends. Administrative Science Quarterly, 32: 526-541.

Brockner, J., Grover, S., O'Malley, M. N., Reed, T. F., & Glynn, M. A. 1993. Threat of future layoffs, self-esteem, and survivors' reactions: Evidence from the laboratory and the field. Strategic Management Journal, 14: 153-166.

Brockner, J., Konovsky, M., Cooper-Schneider, R., Folger, R., Martin, C., & Bies, R. 1994. Interactive effects of procedural justice and outcome negativity and survivors of job loss. Academy of Management Journal, 37: 397-409.

Brockner, J., & Siegel., P.A. 1996. Understanding the interaction between procedural and distributive justice: The role of trust. In R. M. Kramer & T. R. Tyler (Eds.), Trust in organizations: Frontiers of theory and research: 390-413. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brockner, J., Siegel, P.A., Daly, J. P., Tyler, T., & Martin, C. In press. When trust matters: The moderating effects of outcome favorability. Administrative Science Quarterly.

Brockner, J., Tyler, T. R., & Cooper-Schneider, R. 1992. The influence of prior commitment to an institution on reactions to perceived fairness: The higher they are, the harder they fall. Administrative Science Quarterly, 37: 241-261.

Brockner, J., & Wiesenfeld, B. M. 1993. Living on the edge (of social and organizational psychology): The effects of job layoffs on those who remain. In J. K. Murnighan (Ed.), Social psychology in organizations: Advances in theory and research: 119-140. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Brockner, J., Wiesenfeld, B. M., & Martin, C. L. 1995. Decision frame, procedural justice, and survivors’ reactions to job layoffs. Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 63: 59-68.

Brockner, J., Wiesenfeld, B. M., Reed, T. F., Grover, S., & Martin, C. 1993. Interactive effect of job content and context on the reactions of layoff survivors. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64: 187-197.

Cameron, K. S., Freeman, S. J., & Mishra, A. K. 1991. Best practices in white-collar downsizing: Managing contradictions. Academy of Management Executive, 5 (3): 57-73.

Cameron, K. S., Freeman, S. J., & Mishra, A. K. 1993. Organizational downsizing. In G. Huber and W. Glick (Eds.), Organizational change and redesign: Ideas and insights for improving performance: 19-65. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cascio, W. F. 1993. Downsizing: What do we know? What have we learned. Academy of Management Executive, 7 (1): 95-104.

D'Aunno, T., & Sutton, R. I. 1989. The responses of drug abuse treatment centers to financial adversity: A partial test of the threat-rigidity thesis. Journal of Management, 18: 117-132.

Davidow, W. H., & Malone, M. S. 1992. The virtual corporation. New York: Harper Collins.

Davy, J. A., Kinicki, A. J., & Scheck, C. L. 1991. Developing and testing a model of survivor responses to layoffs. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 38: 302-317.

Dial, J., & Murphy, K. J. 1995. Incentives, downsizing, and value creation at General Dynamics. Journal of Financial Economics, 38: 261-314.

Deutsch, M. 1973. The resolution of conflict: Constructive and destructive processes. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Elshtain, C. 1996. Trust me. Training, January: 28-33.

Emshoff, J. R. 1994. How to increase employee loyalty while you downsize. Business Horizons, March-April: 49-57.

Farrell, D. 1983. Exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect as responses to job dissatisfaction: A multidimensional scaling study. Academy of Management Journal, 26: 596-607.

Fenigstein, A., & Vanable, P. A. 1992. Paranoia and self-consciousness. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 62: 129-138.

Fisher, A. B. 1991. Morale crisis. Fortune, June 6: 70-80.

Folkman, S. 1984. Personal control and stress and coping processes: A theoretical analysis. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46: 839-852.

Folkman, S., Lazarus, R. S., Gruen, R. J., & DeLongis, A. 1986. Appraisal, coping, health status, and psychological symptoms. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 30: 571-579.

Fukuyama, F. 1995. Trust: The social virtues and the creation of prosperity. New York: Free Press.

Golembiewski, R. T., & McConkie, M. 1975. The centrality of interpersonal trust in group processes. In C. L. Cooper (Ed.), Series of group processes: 131-185. New York: Wiley.

Graham, J. W. 1986. Principled organizational dissent: A theoretical essay. In B. M. Staw and L. L. Cummings (Eds.) Research in organizational behavior, vol. 8: 1-52. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Granovetter, M. 1985. Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. American Journal of Sociology, 91(3): 481-510.

Greenberger, D. B., & Strasser, S. 1986. Development and application of a model of personal control in organizations. Academy of Management Review, 11: 164-177.

Greenberger, D. B., Strasser, S., & Lee, S. 1988. Personal control as a mediator between perceptions of supervisory behaviors and employee reactions. Academy of Management Journal, 31: 405-417.

Greenhalgh, L., & Rosenblatt, Z. 1984. Job insecurity: Toward conceptual clarity. Academy of Management Review, 9: 438-448.

Hackman, J. R., & Oldham, G. R. 1980. Work redesign. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Handy, C. 1995. Trust and the virtual organization. Harvard Business Review, May-June.

Hart, P., & Saunders, C. 1997. Power and trust: Critical factors in the adoption and use of electronic data exchange. Organization Science, 8(1): 23-42.

Henkoff, R. 1994. Getting beyond downsizing. Fortune, January 10: 58-64.

Hirshman, A. O. 1970. Exit, voice, and loyalty: Responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hodgetts, R. M. 1996. A conversation with Warren Bennis on leadership in the midst of downsizing. Organizational Dynamics, Summer: 72-78.

Isabella, L.A. 1989. Downsizing: Survivors' assessments. Business Horizons, May-June: 35-41.

Kets de Vries, M. F. R., & Balazs, K. 1997. The downside of downsizing. Human Relations, 50: 11-50.

Kleinfeld, N. R. 1996. The company as family no more. New York Times, March 4.

Kotter, J. P., & Schlesinger, L. A. 1979. Choosing strategies for change. Harvard Business Review, March-April.

Kozlowski, S. W. J., Chao, G. T., Smith, E. M., & Hedlund, J. 1993. Organizational downsizing: Strategies, interventions, and research implications. In C. L. Cooper & I. T. Robertson (Eds.), International review of industrial and organizational psychology, vol. 8: 263-332. New York: Wiley.

Kramer, R. M. 1996. Divergent realities and convergent disappointments in the hierarchic relation: Trust and the intuitive auditor at work. In R. M. Kramer, & T. R. Tyler. (Eds.), Trust in organizations: Frontiers of theory and research: 216-245. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Labich, K. 1996. How to fire people and still sleep at night. Fortune, June 10: 64-72.

Latack, J. C., Kinicki, A. J., & Prussia, G. E. 1995. An integrative model of coping with job loss. Academy of Management Review, 20: 311-342.

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. 1984. Stress, appraisal, and coping. New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Lazarus, R. S. 1993. From psychological stress to the emotions: A history of changing outlooks. Annual Review Psychology, 44: 1-21.

Leana, C., & Ivancevich, J. 1987. Addressing the problem of involuntary job loss: Institutional interventions and an agenda for research. Academy of Management Review, 12: 301-312.

Lewis, J. D. & Weigert, A. 1985. Trust as a social reality. Social Forces, 63: 967-985.

Lind, E. A. & Tyler, T. R. 1988. The social psychology of procedural justice. New York: Plenum Press.

Luhmann, N. 1979. Trust and power. New York: Wiley.

Marmot, M. G., Bosma, H., Hemingway, H., Brunner, E., & Stansfeld, S. 1997. Contribution of job control and other risk factors to social variations in coronary heart disease incidence. The Lancet, 350: 235-239.

Mayer, R. C., Davis, J. H., & Schoorman, F. D. 1995. An integrative model of organizational trust. Academy of Management Review, 20: 709-734.

Mishra, A. K. 1996. Organizational responses to crisis: The centrality of trust. In R. M. Kramer & T. R. Tyler (Eds.), Trust in organizations: Frontiers of theory and research: 261-287. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Morrison, E. W., & Robinson, S. L. 1997. When employees feel betrayed: A model of how psychological contract violation develops. Academy of Management Review, 22: 226-256.

Noer, D. M. 1993. Healing the wounds: Overcoming the trauma of layoffs and revitalizing downsizing organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

New York Times. 1996. The downsizing of America. New York: Random House.

Oakland, S., & Ostell, A. 1996. Measuring coping: A review and critique. Human Relations, 49 (2): 133-155.

O'Neill, H. M. ,& Lenn, D. J. 1995. Voices of survivors: Words that downsizing CEOs should hear. Academy of Management Executive, 9 (4): 23-33.

Peterson, K. S. 1996. Living in fear of a layoff, boomers cope with downsizing. August 15. USA Today.

Quinn, R. E. 1996. Deep change: Discovering the leader within. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Robinson, S. L. 1992. Retreat, voice, silence, and destruction: A typology of behavioral responses to organizational dissatisfaction and an examination of their contextual predictors. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Northwestern University.

Robinson, S. L. 1997. Trust and breach of the psychological contract. Administrative Science Quarterly, 41: 574-599.

Robinson, S. L., & Rousseau, D. M. 1994. Violating the psychological contract: Not the exception but the norm. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 15: 245-259.

Rousseau, D. M. 1995. Psychological contracts in organizations: Understanding written and unwritten agreements. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rousseau, D. M., & Anton, R. J. 1988. Fairness and implied contract obligations in termination: A policy capturing study. Human Performance, 1: 273-289.

Rusbult, C. E., Farrell, D., Rogers, G., & Mainous, A. G. 1988. Impact of exchange variables on exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect: An integrative model of responses to declining job satisfaction. Academy of Management Journal, 31: 599-627.

Seligman, M. E. P. 1975. Helplessness. San Francisco: Freeman.

Sitkin, S. B., & Roth, N. L. 1993. Explaining the limited effectiveness of legalistic "remedies" for trust/distrust. Organization Science, 4: 367-392.

Smith, C. A., Haynes, K. N., Lazarus, R. S., & Pope, L. K. 1996. In search of the “hot” cognitions: Attributions, appraisals, and their relation to emotion. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65: 916-929.

Spreitzer, G. M. 1995. Psychological empowerment in the workplace: Dimensions, measurement, and validation. Academy of Management Journal, 38: 1442-1465.

Staw, B. M., Sandelands, L. E., & Dutton, J. E. 1981. Threat-rigidity effects in organizational behavior. Administrative Science Quarterly, 26: 501-524.

Sutton, R. I. 1987. The process of organizational death: Disbanding and reconnecting. Administrative Science Quarterly, 32: 542-569.

Sutton, R. I. 1990. Organizational decline processes: A social psychological perspective. In Staw and Cummings (Eds.), Research in Organizational Behavior, vol. 12: 205-253. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Sutton, R. I., & D'Aunno, T. 1989. Decreasing organizational size: Untangling the effects of money and people. Academy of Management Review, 14: 194-212.

Sutton, R., & Kahn, R. L. 1987. Prediction, understanding, and control as antidotes to organizational stress. In J. Lorsch (Ed.), Handbook of organizational behavior. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Sutton, R., & Schurman, S.J. 1988. On studying emotionally hot topics: Lessons from an investigation of organizational death. In D. Berg & K. Smith (Eds.), The self in social inquiry: Researching methods: 333-349. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Thomas, K. W. 1976. Conflict and conflict management. In M. D. Dunnette (Ed.), Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Thomas, K., & Velthouse, B. 1990. Cognitive elements of empowerment: An "interpretive" model of intrinsic task motivation. Academy of Management Review, 15: 666-681.

Tyler, T. R., & Bies, R. J. 1990. Beyond formal procedures: The interpersonal context of procedural justice. In J. Carroll (Ed.), Applied social psychology and organizational settings: 77-98. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Weick, K. 1988. Enacted sensemaking in crisis situations. Journal of Management Studies, 25: 305-317.

Withey, M. J., & Cooper, W. H. 1989. Predicting exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect. Administrative Science Quarterly, 34: 521-539.

Wysocki, 1995. Lean and frail: Some companies cut costs too far, suffer “corporate anorexia.” Wall Street Journal, July 5: A1.

Zand, D. E. 1972. Trust and managerial problem solving. Administrative Science Quarterly, 17, 229-239.

Figure 1
Archetypes of Survivor Response

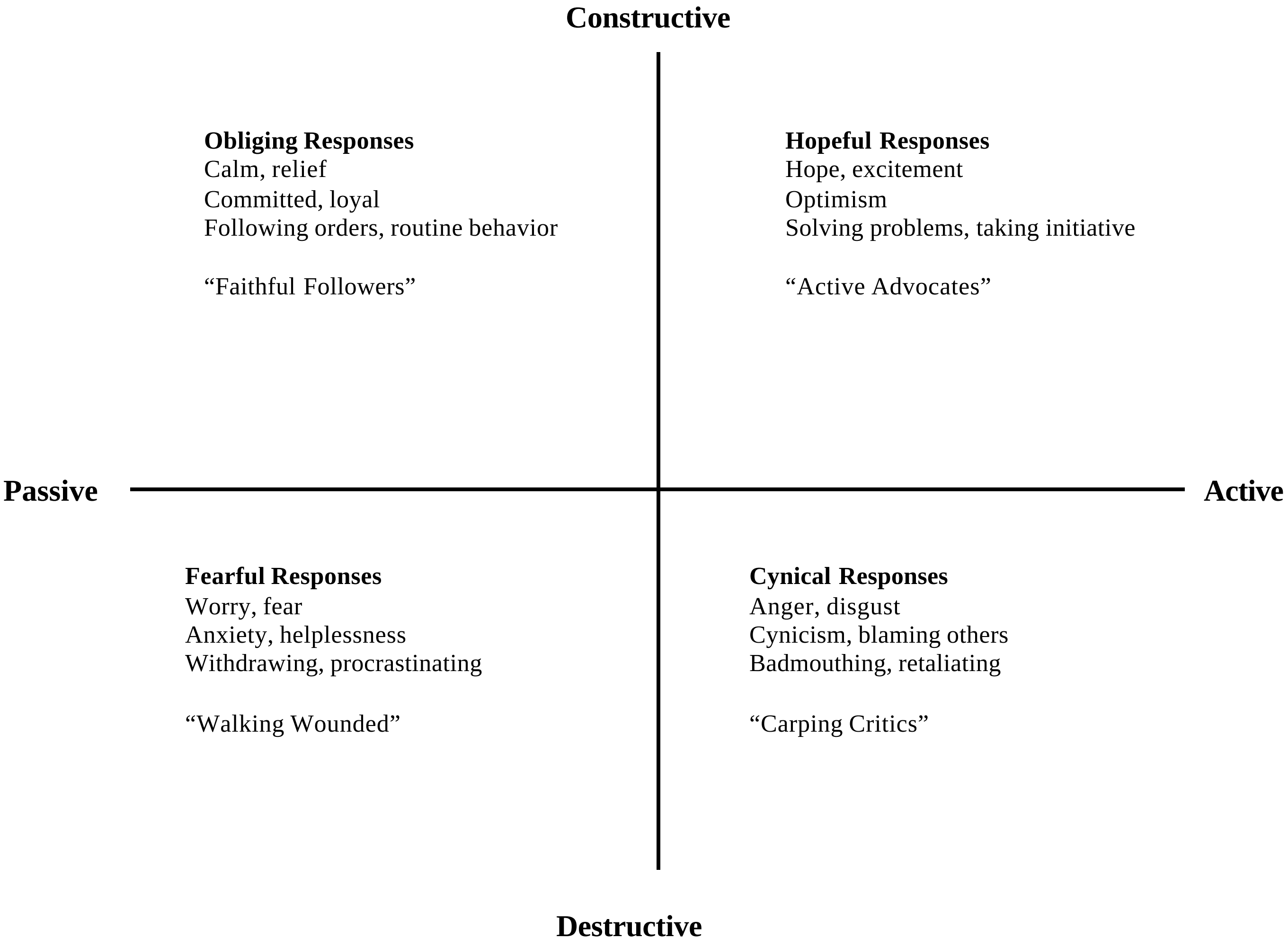
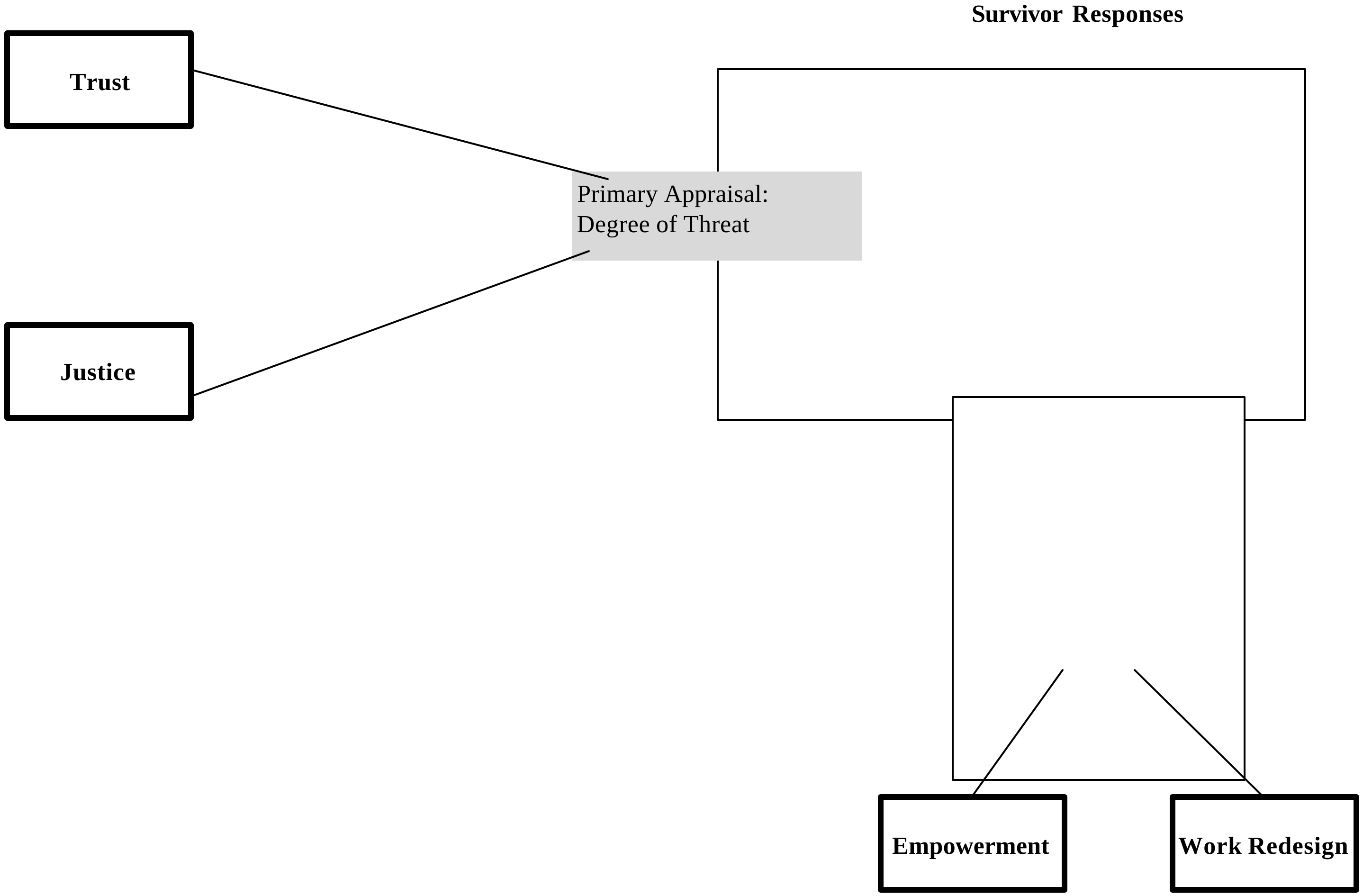

Constructive
Obliging Responses
Calm, relief
Committed, loyal
Following orders, routine behavior
“Faithful Followers”
Hopeful Responses
Hope, excitement
Optimism
Solving problems, taking initiative
“Active Advocates”
Passive
Active
Fearful Responses
Worry, fear
Anxiety, helplessness
Withdrawing, procrastinating
“Walking Wounded”
Cynical Responses
Anger, disgust
Cynicism, blaming others
Badmouthing, retaliating
“Carping Critics”
Destructive

Figure 2
Theoretical Framework of Survivor
Responses to Downsizing


Survivor Responses
Trust
Justice
Primary Appraisal:
Degree of Threat
Empowerment
Work Redesign