

1 Article

2 **Trusting/distrusting auditors' opinion**

3 **Waymond Rodgers¹, Andrés Guiral^{2*}, and Jose A. Gonzalo³**

4 ¹ University of Hull/University of Texas, El Paso. W.Rodgers@hull.ac.uk

5 ² School of Business, Yonsei University, Seoul 03722, Korea; andres.guiral@yonsei.ac.kr

6 ³ Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Empresariales y Turismo, Universidad de Alcalá. Plaza de la Victoria 3,
7 28802 Alcalá de Henares, Madrid (Spain). josea.gonzalo@uah.es

8 * Correspondence: andres.guiral@yonsei.ac.kr; Tel.: +82-02-2123-5458

9 **Abstract:** Trust relations are essential for effective interchanges in the financial markets. Investors
10 (trustors), as well as other market participants, can only trust financial markets if they trust their
11 auditors (trustees). Especially, auditors' assessment on the client's financial condition and its
12 ability to continue as a going concern is paramount to improving social capital and maintaining
13 sustainable financial markets. Research shows that a going concern opinion may have immediate
14 consequences for both the auditing profession and financial statement users. We utilize the
15 Throughput Model to illustrate how different trust positions are aligned with a particular
16 auditor's decision-making pathway to enhance trust, distrust or no trust from the point of view of
17 investors' and creditors'.

18 **Keywords:** trust; social capital; audit report; sustainable financial markets

19

20 **1. Introduction**

21 The main question posed in this paper inquires: Are financial information users' decisions
22 influenced by their trust in auditors' opinions? Given the apparent relationship between auditors
23 and stakeholders (such as creditors, investors, unions, regulators, interest groups), it seems
24 paramount to understand in what manner trust can nurture or erode social capital when parties
25 interact [1]. According to Putnam [2] (p. 167), social capital can be defined as "*features of social*
26 *organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating*
27 *coordinated action.*" Szczepankiewicz [3] (p. 319) argue that the value of social capital in
28 organizations is rooted in mutual social relations and trust units, which thanks to it can achieve
29 more social and economic benefits. Coleman [4] (p. 98) articulated that, "*like other forms of capital and*
30 *human capital, social capital is not completely fungible but may be specific to certain activities. A given form*
31 *of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or even harmful to others.*"

32 The primary goal of the accounting profession is to enhance social capital by honoring public
33 trust. Specifically, auditors contribute to society by assessing the truth and fair view of their clients'
34 financial statements [5–7]. In honoring public trust, auditors should act as the guardians of third
35 parties' interests rather than evaluate the consequences of their opinions in their relationship with
36 their clients.

37 When suspicion arises that auditors are not providing reliable and relevant information to
38 third parties, distrust may emerge [8]. Furthermore, if society believes that the auditor function is of
39 little or no value, then trust can be eroded [9–11]. In this paper, we share the view that trusting and
40 distrusting cannot be understood as the opposite ends of a continuum [8–12]. Accordingly, we
41 argue that the very complexity of the trustworthiness in auditors' function relies on simultaneous
42 high levels of trust-distrust relations [8].

43 Although some previous research investigates the association between trust and reputation of
44 different parties [13–15], research on the link between auditors and society is lacking [16, 17]. In this
45 paper, we focus on auditors' going concern opinions, probably the hardest and more controversial

46 task for this profession [18]. A going concern opinion is a powerful warning signal that might
47 negatively influence investors and other stakeholders in terms of credit re-allocation. However,
48 previous literature shows that auditors face trust dilemmas and potential economic and
49 non-economic incentives influencing their decisions, such as the possibility of being fired by their
50 own clients [7].

51 To illustrate this phenomenon, we utilize the Throughput Model [19–20] to demonstrate how
52 different trust positions are aligned with a particular decision-making pathway to enhance trust,
53 distrust or no trust. Particularly, we discuss six dominant trust positions taken from Kramer [21]: a
54 rational choice, rule-based trust, category-based trust, third parties as conduits of trust, role-based
55 trust, and history-based trust/dispositional-based trust, and apply them to the auditors' going
56 concern opinion. Because of the essential role played by auditors, we argue that a better
57 understanding of the aforementioned trust/distrust positions will contribute to improving social
58 capital and maintaining sustainable financial markets. This is important, since financial
59 sustainability is the foundation upon which both social and environmental sustainability rest [22].

60 The next section deals with trust definitions, followed by a section devoted to explaining the
61 institutional trust nature between auditors and primary stakeholders, such as stockbrokers,
62 shareholders, financial institutions, employees, and society. This section is followed by how the
63 decision-making model, The Throughput Model, is related to the dominant determinants of six
64 trust positions. Then, the case of the author's opinion about the going concern evaluation and the
65 six trust decision pathways are discussed. Lastly, we provide our conclusions and implications.

66 2. Trust, Trustworthiness and the Going Concern Opinion

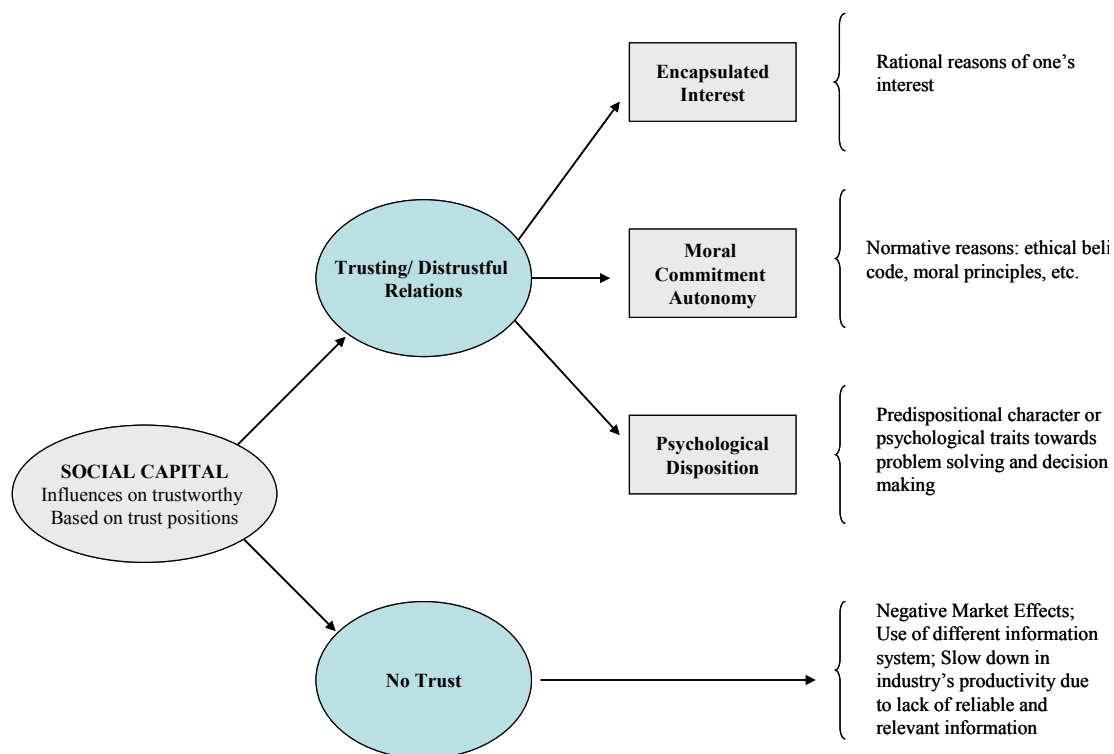
67 2.1. Social Capital and Trust

68 Trust is viewed in this paper as (1) a body of beliefs or expectations, and (2) a tendency to
69 behave with those beliefs accordingly [23]. These beliefs or expectations have grown up due to
70 often long-lived relationships, intense in nature when there may be a great depth to the
71 relationships between the parties, or where there are frequent interactions between them; the
72 parties may also be reciprocally interdependent, and bounded whether by law or contract, such that
73 the parties have incentives to maintain their relationship [24–25].

74 Trust affects auditors' positions within networks by influencing investment and credit
75 decisions. However, distrust can also provoke negative effects, e.g., auditors' clients not receiving
76 financing in a timely manner, and hence going out of business [26–27]. Gambetta [28] also
77 emphasizes that uncertainty can lead to distrust and less cooperation. Others [21] have suggested
78 that individuals' reactions, in term of defensiveness, may depend on the level of trustworthiness in
79 a given relationship. That is, stakeholders, relying on auditors' viewpoints, may experience
80 difficulties when interpreting organizational information and values and, therefore, will find these
81 less accurate, whereby an increased distortion of messages may result. Therefore, understanding
82 trust and distrust relationships are required for effective problem-solving in organized capital
83 markets worldwide [29]. When financial statement users rely on auditors' opinions, they recognize
84 their common interests and cooperative relations may take place [30].

85 Trustworthiness can be viewed as the underlying base that promotes an efficient solution to
86 problems of coordinating expectations and interactions between individual actors [20, 31–33].
87 Figure 1 summarizes the connection between trust/distrust/no trust scenarios and social capital. In
88 the trusting/distrusting situations, we differentiate three types of trustworthiness: incentive-based,
89 normatively based, or psychologically based. Incentive-based trustworthiness refers to the
90 incentives of the trusted person in order to act in accordance with that trust. Incentive-based trust is
91 rooted in a precise alignment with the motivations and desires of the other party, i.e., encapsulated
92 interest, allowing one to serves as an "agent" for the other and as a substitute for trades and other
93 interpersonal relations [34]. The second type of trustworthiness relies on the use of standards, rules
94 or abstract universal principles rooted in moral commitment autonomy under the social capital
95 framework. The third type of trustworthiness relates to reasons of character or psychological

96 disposition towards problem-solving and decision making. Finally, there is also possible a “no
 97 trust” scenario, where trustworthiness is null and may provoke undesirable effects, such as
 98 negative market responses and absence of reliable and relevant information.



99
 100

Figure 1. Trust/Distrust/No Trust scenarios & Social capital.

101 2.2. Auditors' Going Concern Opinions

102 As stated by Duska, “society has carved out a vital role for the independent auditor that is absolutely
 103 essential for the effective functioning of the economic system” [35] (p.21). In this way, the auditor's
 104 opinion on their clients' ability to continue in existence is an act to establish trust with stockbrokers,
 105 creditors, investors, employees, and society. That is, financial statement users need to know the
 106 possibility that an organization may go bankrupt and the auditor is expected to deliver such critical
 107 information [6, 36].

108 The irony of this relationship is that an organization (client) hires the auditor to report to third
 109 parties whether the client is truthfully revealing the outcomes and status of its operations [24] (p.
 110 39). Furthermore, auditors' going concern opinions are often associated with Type Error I (i.e., firms
 111 that receiving a going-concern opinion survive in the subsequent year) and Type Error II (i.e., firms
 112 that do not receive a going-concern opinion but subsequently going bankrupt) [37]. While auditors'
 113 opinions should be rooted in normative reasons, previous research indicates that their decisions are
 114 subject to several economic incentives and psychological biases [6–7]. Uncertainty appears to be an
 115 unavoidable feature of trust. However, if individuals are uncertain about the auditor's opinion,
 116 they might as well refrain from trusting, and seek other less informational sources. This would
 117 result in an undesirable effect since auditors are supposed to be the guardian of public trust [35].

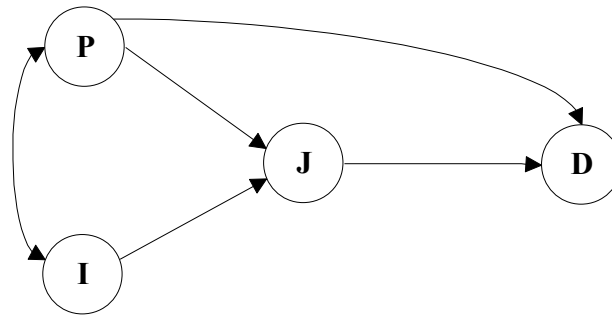
118 In the next section, the Throughput Model and its relation with dominant determinants of six
 119 trust positions are discussed. We then illustrate the six trust pathways with the case of the auditors'
 120 going concern opinion, before we present the conclusions and implications of this paper.

121 3. The Throughput Conceptual Model

122 The Throughput Model technique has been widely used to explore different financial and
 123 social issues such as lending [38–39], CEO's ethical reasoning [40–42], auditors' decisions with

124 environmental risk information [6–7, 43–44], information processing [45] and sexual harassment
125 [46].

126 The Throughput Model decomposed the ethical decision- making process into four main
127 stages, namely perception (P), information (I), judgment (J) and decision outcome (D) to isolate six
128 predominant ethical pathways (see Figure 2). As shown in Figure 2, information is likely to affect
129 the way an individual perceives a circumstance. But perception is also likely to influence how
130 individuals rely on the information to be employed in the decision-making process. Therefore,
131 under the Throughput Model lens, both perception and information are mutually dependent (see
132 the double-ended arrow in Figure 2).



133
134 **Figure 2.** Throughput Model. *Source:* Rodgers [16, 45].

135 The first processing stage (perception in Figure 2) involves the *framing* of an organization’s
136 problem or a circumstance (P). For the auditing case, framing implies the risk being perceived by
137 the auditor in the organization’s financial statements. An example of this framing is the auditor’s
138 assessment of the client’s internal controls. When internal controls are robust, audit risk will be
139 perceived as low compared to a client with a weak internal control system.

140 An organization’s information (I) as portrayed by auditors’ viewpoint can influence trust
141 relations. Wicks et al. [47] argued that trust “*lowers agency and transaction costs..., promotes smooth
142 and efficient market exchanges..., and improves organizations’ ability to adapt to complexity and change*” (p.
143 99). For example, John Morrissey, deputy chief accountant of the Securities and Exchange
144 Commission stated that the enhanced rules of the Ethics Committee of the International Federation
145 of Accountants “*... are based on the need to maintain investors’ confidence and trust in the reported
146 numbers, through the services of an auditor that will be perceived as objective and unbiased.*” [48] (p. 2)

147 The judgment stage (J) is critical in the auditor decision- making process. Both financial and
148 non-financial information are compiled at the subconscious level to develop alternative solutions or
149 courses of action by using compensatory or non-compensatory weighting methodologies [38, 49].

150 The trust decision (D) is rooted in positive confidence in the trustworthiness one attributes to
151 another party. Currall and Epstein [50] (p. 194) stated: “*Therefore, trust arises from judgments we make
152 about the likelihood that another party will behave in a trustworthy manner as well as assessments we make
153 about the possible costs we will suffer if the other party turns out to be untrustworthy.*” In this paper, we
154 explore investors and stakeholders decision to trust or distrust auditors’ opinions.

155 **4. Six Dominant Trust Pathways**

156 Once we have decomposed the ethical decision- making process into its four main stages, we
157 use the Throughput Model to conceptualize the dominant determinants of the above six dominant
158 decision-making pathways: (1) rational choice-based trust, (2) rule-based trust, (3) category-based
159 trust, (4) third parties as conduits of trust, (5) role-based trust, and (6) history-based
160 trust/dispositional-based trust [40]. Although other alternative pathways are also possible, they do
161 not do so as significantly as the dominant pathways. These dominant positions enhance or weaken
162 social capital based on the situation or contextual framework (see Table 1 and Figure 2).
163 Furthermore, these pathways can be divided into two broad categories: *primary* and *secondary*. (1)
164 Rational choice, (2) rule-based trust, (3) category-based trust are three *primary* trust pathways since

165 they either focus on perception (P) or evidence (I). Whereas, (4) third parties as conduits of trust, (5)
 166 role-based trust, and (6) history-based trust/dispositional-based trust are *secondary* since they
 167 include both “P” and “I” [38].

168 **Table 1.** Trust Positions connected to Social Capital.

#	Trust Position	Pathway	Type	Social Capital
(1)	Trust as a rational choice	P → D	primary	Encapsulated interest
(2)	Rule-based trust	P → J → D	primary	Moral Commitment Autonomy
(3)	Category-based trust	I → J → D	primary	Psychological Disposition
(4)	Third parties as conduits of trust	I → P → D	secondary	Psychological Disposition/Encapsulated interest
(5)	Role-based trust	P → I → J → D	secondary	Psychological Disposition
(6)	History-based/dispositional trust	I → P → J → D	secondary	Psychological Disposition/Moral Commitment Autonomy

169

170 **P → D** depicts the most direct pathway to a goal or decision choice from a perceptual
 171 point of view. That is individuals frame a problem based upon their experiences, training and
 172 education and make a decision choice. Moreover, perception and information are coherent,
 173 which is to say that incoming information is constantly updating perception similar to a
 174 Bayesian statistical approach. *Trust as a rational choice* indicates that people are typically stirred
 175 to behave in their self-interest [51]. In addition, trust decisions are expected to be comparable
 176 to other types of risky choice in that people are recognized to be motivated to make rational
 177 and efficient choices, thereby improving social capital between auditors and society. That is, in
 178 accordance with traditional economic models, individuals are assumed to take action to exploit
 179 expected gains or reduce expected losses from their dealings. This viewpoint comprises two
 180 primary components [52]. First, knowledge is contemplated, which drives a person to trust
 181 another person, place or thing. Second, it associates with the trusted person’s incentives to
 182 honor that trust. This particular kind of trust is predicated on a broad grasp of the other
 183 individual’s wants, needs, and desires; i.e., it is rooted in the encapsulated interest concept
 184 under the social capital framework. Consequently, this particular kind of trust permits one to
 185 act on behalf of (i.e., “agent”) the other and replace the other individual in interpersonal
 186 dealings [34]. Hardin [52, p. 189] stated: “You can more confidently trust me if you know that
 187 my interest will induce me to live up to your expectations. Your trust then encapsulates my
 188 interests.”

189 Investors and stakeholders see auditors as an expert “agent” who contributes to minimize
 190 expected losses or maximize expected gains in their transactions. If they are convinced that
 191 information focuses auditors on maximizing third parties’ interests, they are more likely to trust
 192 (distrust) them. This leads to the first proposition:

193 *P1: Auditors’ opinions on an organization’s information are trustworthy (untrustworthy) to the*
 194 *extent that they (do not) protect/maximize third parties’ interests.*

195 (2) **P → J → D** illustrates *rule-based trust* and focuses on the use of standards or laws which are
 196 rooted in moral commitment autonomy under the social capital framework. In other words, rules
 197 hinge on the arrangement of the decision choice together with the relational behavior of the driver
 198 of the action. The underlying and interpersonal mechanisms of rules are to be expected to prompt

199 perceived trust [53] (p. 88) and increase or decrease social capital. Hummels and Roosendaal [54]
 200 asserted that “*way to deal with complexity is to draw up an extensive contract that specifies the rights and*
 201 *obligations of the contract partners and to decide on the penalties when one of the parties fails to meet its*
 202 *obligations.*” $P \rightarrow J \rightarrow D$ assumes that direct evidence influence from I is downplayed and a trust
 203 decision is formed through judgment. Evidence is just ignored due to lack of reliability and an
 204 individual forms a perception with small or no weights on information. Then, he or she assesses
 205 alternative scenarios based on perception to arrive at a trust decision.

206 Currall and Epstein articulated that [50] (p. 196) “Because it involves such personal
 207 consequences, trust is a largely solitary decision. Under certain conditions, our decision to trust also
 208 may be influenced by what family or friends do or urge us to do. Indeed, it is common for us to be
 209 swayed to trust someone by what others tell us about him or her.” Kant’s Categorical Imperative
 210 states [55] (p. 1) “if it was right for one person to take a given action then it must be right for all
 211 others to be encouraged to take that same action.” Currall and Epstein also stated that
 212 “Furthermore, although trust is an evidentiary decision, we may use family members’ or friends’
 213 experience as a proxy for our own. And, because trust decisions are often made in the context of
 214 incomplete information, we may seek out the advice of others as a supplement to our own
 215 information.” [51] (p. 196). Individuals maintain a set of values that are either implicitly or explicitly
 216 understood. Besides, philosophers, religious and non-profit organizations have emphasized and
 217 promoted ideal sets of ethical principle or rules [40]. Illustrations of accepted moral values or rules
 218 at the implementation stage comprise bylaws, spiritual dogmas, trust codes for specialized and
 219 licensed groups, such as auditors, and a code of conduct at the organizational level. This leads to
 220 the second proposition:

221 P_2 *Society’s perception that auditors’ follow a higher (lower) level of standards (rules) than other*
 222 *market participants will result in a higher (lower) reliance on an organization’s information.*

223 (3) $I \rightarrow J \rightarrow D$ depicts that *category-based trust* relies on commitment and collaboration rooted in
 224 group belongingness. Category-based trust may be extended broadly within psychological
 225 disposition under the social capital framework and may be reinforced by ceremonial and figurative
 226 actions [56] that underline cultural similarity [57]. However, collaboration can exist without trust
 227 [58]. Trust can also be viewed as a means of promoting cooperation when other methods may not
 228 work or be as efficient. People are more willing to assign positive characteristics relating to honesty,
 229 cooperativeness, and trust to individuals within a particular group [59]. On the other hand, if
 230 common characteristics are absent, distrust can arise when dealing with an ethical issue (e.g., the
 231 prisoners’ dilemma game) [52]. A game such as “prisoner dilemma” can be implemented to
 232 discover how cooperation between unrelated parties can develop by normal choice. For example, in
 233 this type of game, each participant can either “cooperate” (invest in a common good) or “not
 234 cooperate” (exploit the other’s investment). Institutional form may obtain acceptability predicated
 235 upon perceptual framing pertaining to the trust on behalf of authoritative powers. Powell and
 236 Dimaggio [60] argued that an institute is a respected source to the degree that its structure and
 237 procedures follow the decrees of established laws and beliefs. This leads to the third proposition:

238 P_3 *More (fewer) market transactions occur when society believes that a trustworthy (distrustworthy)*
 239 *auditing professional was responsible for reporting habits of organizations.*

240 (4) $I \rightarrow P \rightarrow D$ emphasizes the *third parties as conduits of trust* and supposes that individuals use
 241 themselves or people within close proximity to them as their foundation for delineating ethical
 242 standards in lawless settings thereby impacting on social capital. Third-party material assists to
 243 underpin prevailing relationships, enforcing one’s perception to be assured of his trust (or distrust)

244 in a person, place or thing. Furthermore, the study conducted by Labianca et al. [61] demonstrated
 245 that third parties might be pulled into damaging interpersonal exchanges. Hence, trust rest on the
 246 undeviating link amid two entities as opposed to their indirect links through third parties and the
 247 circumstances that the strong indirect links, which augment trust overturn their effect to generate
 248 distrust. The certainty may also be an illusion of whether or not the individual or the institution is
 249 trustworthy or not. Likewise, Blau [62] (p. 112-113) argued that trust progresses since social
 250 exchange involves unspecified obligations for which no binding contract can be written.
 251 Henceforth, trust is obligated to a swap deprived of a person knowing how the other individual
 252 will respond. This leads to the fourth proposition:

253 *P₄ Bad (good) publicity of an organization will influence auditors to issue a negative (positive)*
 254 *opinion on an organization's financial reporting.*

255 (5) $P \rightarrow I \rightarrow J \rightarrow D$ accentuates that *role-based trust* is knotted to recognized societal
 256 configurations, contingent on a person or organizational particular social capital features. This
 257 particular pathway suggests that a person's perceptual problem framing will inspire the assembly
 258 and information kind to be exercised in analysis (i.e., judgment). In other words, a person is
 259 encouraged to act aptly (i.e., perception) that impacts upon the information compendium
 260 implemented to be evaluated (i.e., judgment) in advance of a trust decision choice. This viewpoint
 261 put forward that an ethically compelled person with suitable inspirations is more likely to
 262 understand what task should be accomplished than an ethically deficient person would do.
 263 Beauchamp and Bowie [63] (p. 39) advocated: "*A person who simply follows rules of obligation and who*
 264 *otherwise exhibits no special moral character may not be trustworthy.*" Simon [64] (p. 125) proceeded that
 265 the inclination to undertake an expert's decisions can happen through respect to the authorities'
 266 administrative part and can be made "*independently of judgments of the correctness or acceptability of*
 267 *the premise (of their decisions).*" Likewise, Tyler and DeGoey [65] maintained that people's
 268 assessments of organizational authority trust formed their readiness to receive the authorities'
 269 actions as well as prompting a state of mind of commitment to follow institutional rules and laws.
 270 Besides, Fisher et al. [66] acclaimed that people are bound together by professional positions within
 271 the social order. The special trust relationship between society and its professions can reduce or
 272 eliminate harm or exacerbate problems that people are confronted with on a daily basis. This leads
 273 to proposition five:

274 *P₅ Stakeholders are more (less) trusting when they view auditors as the guardians (agents of the*
 275 *organization) of reliable and relevant information for their decision-making purposes.*

276 (6) $I \rightarrow P \rightarrow J \rightarrow D$ illustrates the *history-based trust* and/or *dispositional trust* that is rooted in the
 277 personal experience of recurring exchanges. In addition, personal experiences are augmented by
 278 information sources, such as databases, records, archival files, etc.

279 *The historical-based/dispositional trust* position takes into account the probability of others likely
 280 actions based on past and present information. For instance, contracts are inherently incomplete –
 281 all the contingencies in a transaction simply cannot be specified. In a long-standing association,
 282 exchange is at the center of this course of action. Through this process, organizational dealings are
 283 connected to the social setting where psychological issues interlink with economic matters in
 284 reaching a decision choice [67]. In the aggregate, the security and constancy of repeated
 285 give-and-take interactions permit learning [68] and stimulate trust [69]. This outlook epitomizes the
 286 final conceivable distinct manner for people's decision-making based on information processing.

287 According to this pathway, a person evaluates the existing evidence (**I**), frames the issue (**P**),
 288 proceeds to assess the issue (**J**) to finally arrive at a decision (**D**) leading to some level of trust or
 289 distrust. This leads to the sixth and final proposition:

290 *P₆ Auditors' trustworthiness (distrustworthiness) is a function of how independent information can*
 291 *(cannot) influence their opinions regarding an organizations' performance.*

292 5. Illustrating Six Trust Pathways: The Case of the Auditors' Going Concern Opinion

293 In this Section, we applied the Throughput Model and its six dominant trust/distrust positions
 294 in the discussion of auditors' going concern opinions. We illustrate these positions with several
 295 examples in Table 2.

296 From a normative point of view, auditors should maintain an independent (trustworthiness)
 297 position in their decision-making process [7]. Investors' reaction to a going concern opinion (i.e., a
 298 warning signal) for a client with strong financial distress could be based on *trust as a rational choice*
 299 pathway, **P** → **D**. This pathway suggests that evidence (**I**) is disregarded, and the decision is made
 300 without a significant assessment (**J**). In trusting as a rational choice, investors and other
 301 stakeholders are expected to behave in their own interest to make efficient and rational decisions
 302 (i.e., encapsulated interest under the social capital framework). That is, investors just trust an
 303 auditor's opinion and then will decide whether or not to move their investment to other companies.
 304 In this regard, investors perceive that a qualified audit opinion (**P**) reflects a rational risk to keep
 305 their investment in the company. Thus, without looking for further information or making any
 306 evaluation of the company's ability to survive, investors would trust auditors' opinions moving
 307 their investment to other market opportunities (**D**).

308 In this process, investors and stakeholders see auditors as an expert "agent" who contributes to
 309 minimize expected losses or maximize expected gains in their transactions [70]. Similarity, potential
 310 consumers that trust an auditor's warning signal would decline to buy products of financially
 311 distressed companies [7, 71]. Other important trustors of the auditor's report are commercial
 312 bankers. To improve financial health, companies may try to get a loan from a bank institution. In
 313 this negotiation process, loan officers tend to reject requests for credit when auditors have disclosed
 314 concerns in their reports [72, 73].

315 However, the reality is that the auditing market is highly competitive [5] and auditors might
 316 face economic incentives to avoid going concern opinions. Several research papers indicate the
 317 proportion of going concern opinions for financial distress firms is low [71, 74]. Therefore, despite
 318 the fact that the final goal of the auditing profession is to honor and protect public interests,
 319 economic factors, such as the fear to be dismissed, or the magnitude of audit and non-audit fees,
 320 may affect auditors' independence [75–76]. Audit fees and client size have been some of the
 321 indicators used by the empirical research to measure the association between clean audit reports
 322 and economic incentives [73, 77]. For example, investors, such as bankers and financial analysts,
 323 may rationally distrust a clean audit report when they perceive that the company has been attested
 324 for a long time by the same auditing firm (i.e., long term contracts). Another reason to distrust
 325 auditors' opinion is the so-called "opinion shopping," that is, when the company management fires
 326 the auditor after the receipt of a warning signal about its ability to survive and hires a new one who
 327 issues a clean audit report [78–79]. Thus, investors and other users perceiving opinion shopping
 328 would distrust clean auditors' opinions regarding firms that are financially distressed. Following
 329 this argument, financial statement users will distrust if they perceive that auditors are not
 330 protecting their interests when issuing clean reports for financially distressed firms. In this
 331 situation, *distrust as a rational choice* pathway, **P** → **D**, may explain investors and other third parties'
 332 behavior.

333 The *rule-based trust*, **P** → **J** → **D**, highlights auditors' trust relations, whereby they issue their
 334 opinion based upon prescribed rules (i.e., moral commitment autonomy under the social capital
 335 framework). *Rule-based trust* describes much of the auditors' explicit and tacit understandings with
 336 other individuals. Indeed, it is based on auditors and other parties' common understandings of the

337 set of norms concomitant of proper behavior. For instance, auditors draw up a contract (**P**) based on
338 the rules, that determine if the company abides by the rules (**J**), and decide (**D**) on whether to issue
339 an opinion. From the *rule-based trust* pathway, investors may have confidence in auditors, a
340 self-correcting profession which has reacted after the Enron and other financial scandals. For
341 example, after the Enron-Arthur Andersen scandal, the American Institute of Certified Public
342 Accountants (AICPA) has significantly updated its code of ethics. In addition, recent reforms,
343 including mandatory audit tenure and the banning of non-audit services, have been executed after
344 the passage of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002 to enhance auditor independence.

345 However, some authors have argued that compliance with externally imposed rules may not
346 be construed that one is trustworthy [80–81]. This argument is also supported by the so-called
347 “strategy issue cycling” theory recently developed by Moore et al. [82] and Bazerman et al. [83]
348 asserting that current accounting reforms, rather than overcome auditors’ ethical dilemmas, seem to
349 hide the reluctance of the auditing profession to make changes in the system. Thus, more
350 regulation, such as the Sarbanes-Oxley Act, may be interpreted as a set of temporary and illusory
351 solutions to an unresolved problem. Here, the *rule-based distrust*, $P \rightarrow J \rightarrow D$, may help understand
352 why investors distrust auditors’ opinions within a robust legal system, which is more “apparent”
353 than real [82–83].

354 The *category-based trust* pathway, $I \rightarrow J \rightarrow D$, may explain why investors show a tendency to
355 trust international auditing firms highly. In this regard, big audit firms are seen as a specialist in
356 many sectors (i.e., banking, insurance, high-technology). That is, international audit firms might be
357 categorized as more trustworthiness in comparison to national and regional firms and have strong
358 incentives to protect their reputation in the global market [84]. Also, firms with higher international
359 reputation can hire and retain the best professionals [85]. Following this argument, investors would
360 tend to attribute positive characteristics, such as independence, reputation, industry knowledge, etc.
361 (i.e., psychological disposition under the social capital framework), to international firms. For
362 instance, a clean audit opinion for a company suffering from financial distress issued by a small
363 audit firm would provoke a feeling of distrust. On the other hand, the *category-based trust* pathway
364 would explain investors’ trust in the same unqualified opinion guarantee by a select few large audit
365 firms.

366 Auditors may be sensitive to *third parties as conduits of trust* (e.g., newspapers report on
367 litigation), $I \rightarrow P \rightarrow D$, and hence the issuance of an auditor’s opinion may alter trust relations with
368 others (e.g., bankers, bondholders, etc.). For instance, a qualified audit report may provoke credit
369 rating agencies to lower their recommendation (e.g., from “investment grade” to “junk”) [86–87].
370 Thus, third parties’ information (i.e., the financial press, financial analysts, credit rating agencies) (**I**)
371 might serve to reinforce investors’ trustworthiness (**P**), and an auditor’s opinion would be
372 trusted/distrusted (**D**). Furthermore, *third parties as conduits of the distrust* pathway are also useful to
373 illustrate why Arthur Andersen lost its reputation and, consequently, most of its clients after the
374 intense press coverage of the Enron scandal, where that auditing firm never issued a previous
375 warning signal about the company’s financial health.

376 From the *role-based trust* point of view $P \rightarrow I \rightarrow J \rightarrow D$, an auditor’s decision to avoid a going
377 concern opinion might be seen as a trustworthy behavior if the auditor takes into account the
378 environmental conditions that affect a client’s ability to survive. In deciding to issue a qualified
379 audit report, auditors face the so-called “self-fulfilling prophecy effect”, that is, a market belief that a
380 going concern opinion will contribute to a client’s failure due to its negative impact on creditors,
381 investors, suppliers and customers who would lose their confidence in the company [6–7, 44, 73]
382 [88–89]. For instance, the issuance of a going concern opinion has been found to cause clients’ stock
383 price declines [90] and reduce a loan officer’s willingness to approve a loan request [72, 73]. Then,
384 the auditor’s decision of avoiding a going concern opinion (**I**) can be trusted (**D**) whether the
385 investors believe there is still a chance for the company to recover its financial health (**J**) and
386 perceive that the release of a warning signal will unnecessarily hasten users’ confidence in the client
387 (**P**).
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Table 2. Simultaneous Trust/Distrust Positions on Auditors' Going Concern Opinions.

Position	Trustworthiness level	Definition	Examples
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>As a rational choice</i> (P → D) (Encapsulated interest)</p>	Trust	<p>Investors and stakeholders see auditors as expert “agents” contributing to minimize expected losses or maximize expected gains in their transactions, whereby the issuance of a warning signal is interpreted as protecting investors and stakeholders’ interests</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loan officers tend to reject requests for credit when auditors have disclosed concerns in their reports. - Stockholders move their investment to other companies after the issuance of a warning signal. - Potential consumers that trust auditors may decline to buy products of companies receiving warning signals. - Suppliers may fear that the client will not be able to pay once a going concern opinion has been issued.
	Distrust	<p>Investors and stakeholders may perceive that auditors have strong economic incentives to avoid the issuance of a warning signal. Thus, they distrust auditors’ clean opinions on the ability of their clients to continue in existence</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The higher the size of the client, the lower the possibility to receive a going concern opinion. - Auditors are less prone to issue a going concern opinion for new clients and for those that they have been serving for several years (e.g., Arthur Andersen was auditing Enron for about sixteen years, KPMG was Xerox’s auditor for approximately 40 years, etc.). - Given the current highly competitive auditing market, the recent loss of audit clients appears to decrease future going concern opinions. - Only a few number of financially unhealthy firms receive a going concern opinion from their auditors.

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Rule-based</i> (P → J → D) (Moral Commitment Autonomy)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Trust</p>	<p>Investors and other stakeholders may see the auditing profession as ethical exemplary due to a rigorous normative rule or legal system function in force. Also, the auditing profession may be viewed as a self-correcting profession which has positively reacted after the Enron-Arthur Andersen episode and other recent financial scandals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The AICPA has significantly updated its code of ethics. - The SOX may have contributed to mitigate auditor economic motives as well as by properly regulating auditor independence. - The European Commission mandated mandatory audit firm rotation, banned most of non-audit services, and imposed a limitation on permitted non-audit services.
	<p style="text-align: center;">Distrust</p>	<p>Investors and other stakeholders perceive that the weak current legal system leads them to highly distrust auditors' opinions (i.e., strategy issue cycling theory)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contrary to the <i>rule-based trust</i> position, the SOX may be viewed as a set of inefficient rules and laws. - The AICPA might update its code of ethics just to maintain its status quo against public interest after resounding financial scandals. - The PCAOB still nixes mandatory auditor rotation due to the heavy resistance of corporate board members and large companies.
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Category-based</i> (I → J → D) (Psychological Disposition)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Trust</p>	<p>Investors and other stakeholders highly trust auditors' opinions from international accounting firms</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In terms of a superior reputation, international auditing firms are viewed as high-status companies that convey more legitimacy than small audit firms. - High-status audit firms are considered as experts in many sectors, such as banking, insurance, and high technology. - International auditing firms have a superior ability to recruit, retain and motivate the very best professionals.
	<p style="text-align: center;">Distrust</p>	<p>Investors and other stakeholders tend to distrust auditors' opinions issued by small auditing firms.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Small audit firms have more economic incentives to be dependent on their clients. - Non-international accounting firms do not possess enough expertise to issue on-time warning signals regarding their client's risk of bankruptcy.

<i>Third parties as conduits of trust</i> (I → P → D) (Psychological Disposition/Encapsulated interest)	Trust	Investors and other stakeholders highly trust auditors' opinions when media reports support their clients' financial (either healthy or distressed) status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Negative news of the client in the press increases auditors' propensity to issue going concern opinions. - Credit rating agencies scores affect auditors' understanding of their clients' financial status.
	Distrust	Investors and stakeholders highly distrust on auditors involved in financial scandals and corruption cases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Arthur Andersen dramatic collapse after the media coverage on the financial scandal of Enron, which, at the time, was one of the world's top accounting firms. - PricewaterhouseCoopers paid \$175 million in 1998, as a result of a lawsuit due to its inappropriate way of examining the financial records of Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI).
<i>Role-based</i> (P → I → J → D) (Psychological Disposition)	Trust	Investors and stakeholders may perceive auditors' decision to issue a clean audit opinion for a financially distressed client might be seen as a trustworthy behavior if the auditor takes into account the environmental conditions that affect client's ability to survive.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is a market belief that suggests that a going concern opinion directly contributes to provoke the final bankruptcy of an already distressed client (i.e., going concern opinion serving as a self-fulfilling prophecy). For instance, many commercial banks reject firms' request for financing when those firms have received a warning signal from their auditors. - Auditors' fear of causing damage to their clients' shareholders. Several research reports indicate that the issuance of a going concern opinion significantly reduces clients' stock price.

	Distrust	Investors and stakeholders may perceive an auditor's decision to issue a going concern opinion (clean opinion) for a financially distressed client like an untrustworthy behavior under a high (low) risk exposure auditing environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the light of the recent financial scandals, auditors fear they will lose their market reputation when involved in. Thus, investors may perceive that auditing firms, rather than improve their compliance with externally imposed rules (e.g., Sarbanes Oxley Act), have increased the likelihood to issue going concern opinions to protect their market reputation. - Many auditing firms use their audit report containing a going concern opinion as a shield for potential lawsuits. - In auditing environments with low litigation risk, such as the cases of Spain, Belgium, and Hong Kong, auditors may offer a high reluctance to alert investors.
History-based and/or dispositional (I → P → J → D) (Psychological Disposition/Moral Commitment Autonomy)	Trust	Investors and stakeholders may trust a clean audit opinion (warning signal) for a financially distressed client might as a trustworthy behavior if they perceive that available information dominates auditors' decision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Auditors are in the best position to assess the going concern assumption due to their expertise and their privileged access to insider information. - After examining the financial information of a distressed client, the auditor must evaluate both management's plans (i.e., forecasts, budgets) and abilities to conclude the firm's risk of bankruptcy.
	Distrust	Investors and stakeholders may perceive a clean audit opinion for a financially distressed client as an untrustworthy behavior if they perceive that auditors' decision may be unconsciously biased when processing independent information (e.g., Bazerman et al.'s moral seduction theory [79])	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Selective perception, escalation of commitment and discounting of information</i> biases illustrate auditors' unintended predisposition to reach their own interest even when they want to honor public trust. For instance, to preserve future quasi-rents (audit fees), auditors may be unintentionally reluctant to issue going concern opinions.

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However, under the *role-based distrust* pathway, the issuance of a going concern opinion may lead stakeholders to distrust auditors. In recent years, some accounting auditing firms have issued going-concern opinions for companies that eventually went bankrupt. As a result, most of the financial and non-financial press has repeatedly asked auditors the reasons why they did not issue on time going concern opinions. This situation has provoked a new high risk-litigation environment

396 in which investors and other stakeholders now have a higher tendency to sue auditors [91–92].
397 Following this argument, the chance of being sued by stakeholders would lead auditors to perceive
398 that the potential costs of alerting them can be significantly greater compared to issuing a clean
399 audit opinion.

400 Finally, the *history-based trust* and/or *dispositional trust* pathway, $I \rightarrow P \rightarrow J \rightarrow D$, represents
401 auditors' trust relations given a sufficient amount of information in an attempt to behave in a
402 normative way. This pathway assumes that evidence influences auditor's perception in an
403 "unbiased" manner leading. For example, the consideration of the feasibility of management's
404 future plans can be critical information to avoid a going concern opinion [18]. Besides, the
405 *history-based distrust* argument might explain why auditors' psychological disposition may lead
406 investors to distrust auditors' role as vanguards. Moral seduction theory suggests that the unique
407 complexity of the auditor-client relationship precipitates auditors' unintended lack of professional
408 skepticism. Thus, even the most open-minded and diligent of auditors may be unconsciously biased
409 when processing information [6–7, 82–83].

410 6. Discussion and Conclusions

411 A vast variety of social capital devices, including institutions, norms, and so forth, enable
412 individuals/organizations to cooperate efficiently and effectively. In this paper, we propose the
413 Throughput Model as an efficient mechanism to better understand why auditors may act in a
414 manner that seems not to exploit social capital for positive results. Social capital augmented in a
415 positive manner is 'satisfactory' for civilization bestowing to the ethical sources of standard
416 philosophy, not rendering to the moral aspects of a particular assemblage of people or culture.
417 Beliefs about what is right, just and fair are possible influences on social capital.

418 The Throughput Model can provide more insight on auditors' and other professionals'
419 deliberations when they are confronted with the task of being the guardian of public trust. That is,
420 the model posits six dominant decision pathways that can influence knowledge transfer from client
421 and auditor informants effective enough to establish their trustworthiness [93]. We believe that
422 understanding the complexity of auditor trustworthiness is paramount to improving social capital
423 and maintaining sustainable financial markets [3–4, 94–95].

424 Our research has important practical implications for auditors, auditees, and regulators. For
425 instance, consider the long debate about imposing mandatory audit firm rotation to enhance
426 auditor independence and, as a result, audit quality. On the one hand, trust can be enhance if
427 regulators enforce mandatory audit firm rotation as an effective way to increase auditor
428 independence when a long association with audit clients exists (*rule-based trust*). However,
429 mandatory firm rotation may also create distrust since it is likely to result in a loss of client-specific
430 knowledge (*category-based distrust*) [96]. Alternatively, regulators may consider to enhance trust by
431 imposing joint audits, i.e., a team of two or more auditors sharing responsibility and providing a
432 single audit report (*rule-based trust*) [97].

433 Our study has limitations. First, we rely on a single decision-making model, namely the
434 Throughput model, to illustrate how main financial statements users can trust auditors' going
435 concern opinions. Alternative models with a different conceptualization of trust antecedents, such
436 as personality-based trust or cognition-based trust (i.e., built on first impressions), could be also
437 useful to examine our research question [98]. Second, there are other important decisions made by
438 auditors. For example, consider auditors' opinion on their clients' internal control systems. This
439 remains as an important research question since the vast majority of public companies with clean
440 internal control audit opinions announcing subsequent restatements continues to be very high,
441 around 75 percent in 2015 [99]. Finally, while we have focused our analysis on main financial
442 stakeholders, it is also possible that non-financial stakeholders, such as governments, the media,
443 not-for-profit organizations, regulators, etc., may trust/distrust auditors' opinions in a different
444 manner.

445 Future research can study whether a particular trust position, supported by a particular
446 decision-making pathway, is more appropriate given a particular situation involving "trust." Also,

447 future research can explore which decision-making pathway can typify better relationships
 448 between organizations; their auditors and investors' trust positions; and ultimately the
 449 improvement of social capital for society at large. Finally, the model's different pathways can allow
 450 us to understand better how trust is nurtured and eroded as different parties interact.

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