COMMUNICATING ACROSS CULTURES AT WORK 4TH EDITION
STUDENT COMPANION WEBSITE

Part A of this companion website allows readers to increase and deepen their knowledge of particular topics from *Communicating Across Cultures at Work 4th edition* or of the whole subject of culture and work communication, including intercultural work communication.

Part B gives our comments on those of the in-text questions where what we think might be useful.

Part C gives links to further videos (in addition to those referred in the text)

Part D provides a number of self-completion questionnaires and suggestions on analyzing them.

Contents

Part A ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

1.1.1 Another definition of communication and why the present authors prefer this one

One other definition of communication is the following: 'the process of using signs and symbols that elicit meanings in another person or persons for whatever intent, or even without conscious intent, on the part of the person producing the symbols or signs.'[1] The present authors, however, consider that although meaning can be read into unconsciously transmitted behaviour, communication does require a level of conscious intent and so prefer the definition given in the text.

1.1.2 To see a video on the skills that employers are seeking, go to

http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/globalization/building_the_next-generation_business_leader

Also note: On 10th August 2015, under the headline 'Students lack "employability" warns boss, *The Independent, a UK newspaper,* reported that

the director general of the British Chambers of Commerce had a great deal of 'anecdotal evidence' that students were often ill-prepared for work and cited resilience, communication skills "so they can communicate in the workplace and with customers" and motivation as often lacking in new employees.

To read about how increasing the focus on soft skills in an engineering organization helped build the world's largest train construction company, go to:

http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/organization/and_8220flying_people_not_planes_and_8221_the_ceo_of_bombardier_on_building_a_world-class_culture

1.1.3 More on the importance of skilled communication at work

Research in a large insurance company and two other organizations showed that persuasive ability was a relatively strong predictor of performance appraisal ratings, job level and upward mobility.[2] Another study investigated the link between communication abilities and organizational achievement among 394 employees of three south-east US organizations. This research established that communication abilities and achievement were closely linked for both men and women. The researchers concluded, 'The results lend additional support to the claim that these abilities help people attain desired social outcomes.'[3] It has also been shown that small business owners who give directions to their employees in a 'person-centred' way – that is, skillfully adjust their instructions and feedback to the characteristics of the individual employee – are perceived more positively as leaders by their employees. Research has linked person-centred communication by doctors to health outcomes, including the degree to which patients comply with 'doctors' orders'.[4] There is a developing body of work showing that teacher communication methods influence student empowerment.[5]

1.2.1 Exercise – questionnaire

	Very strongly agree	Quite strongly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Quite strongly disagree	Very strongly disagree
My motives for working/studying are mainly					

linked to the rewards I can gain from it					
My motives for working/studying are mainly linked to my interest in the work/subject					
I feel strongly about my work/subject					
I believe I know most of what I need to about my work/study					
I believe I know most of what there is to be known about my work/study					

1.2.2 A different diagram of a behavioural model of interpersonal communication showing influences on the process
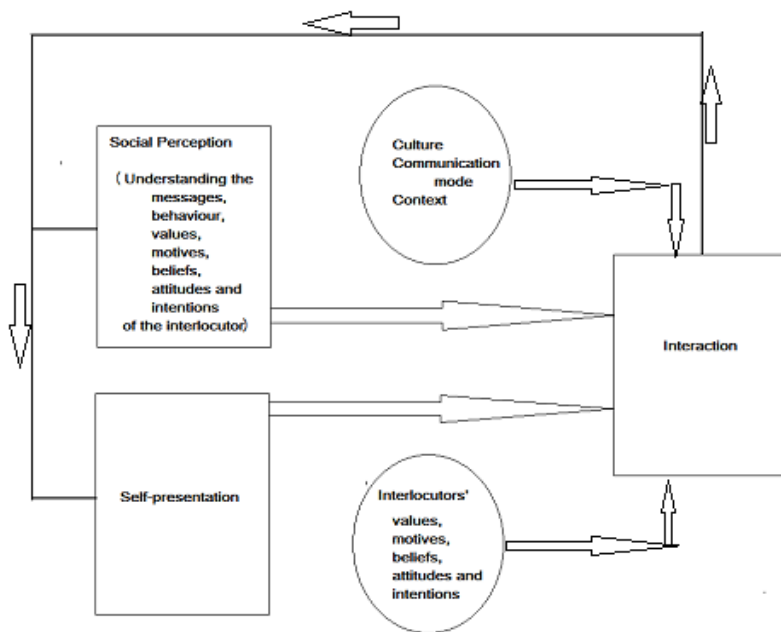
1.2.3 Explanation of Figure 1.4 Factors that increase the complexity of interpersonal work communication

Diversity of participants and 'voice' of minorities Workforces have become increasingly diverse and minorities often both contribute and make demands.
Prevalent use of multiple communication modes Several considerations complicate cmc work interactions, including the sender's choice of medium and how that choice will be interpreted by the receiver, the fact of a record in some cases and not others, etc. *See* Guirdham, M. *Work Communication, Mediated and Face-to-Face Practices.*
History of past interactions and expectations of future interactions Interactions that are part of a stream of communication are influenced by the past and the anticipated future as much in a work context as in private life.
Pressure from 'constituents' and stakeholders People in meetings often represent their unit or organization; the members of those units or organizations have expectations that participants in the meeting may be trying to achieve or at least that they are aware of. Meetings internal to organizations can have representatives of several departments either actually physically present or present in the sense that those physically present will report back to them; inter-organizational meetings necessarily involve representatives of more than one organization. Those not present but represented often exert direct pressure on their representatives.
Conflicting attitudes, suppressed emotion, mixed motives Although on the surface work interactions may appear rational discussions concerned with tasks, normal human differences still obtain. The 'mixed motives' refers to the fact that people both want their own well-being and that of their team or organization and the two do not always coincide.
Increasing emphasis on ethics Corporate responsibility' has gained traction in recent years and in conjunction with increased diversity of participants with differing ethics has complicated some issues.
Organization culture and work group culture Some organizations or work groups have cultures that are not supportive of open communication - 'blame' cultures, where individuals are openly criticized, are one example.

1.3.1 Explanations of linguistic pragmatists, cognitive communication theory and communication strategy

Linguistic pragmatists consider that words, phrases and sentences have no natural meaning; instead language is contingent on use, and meaning is produced by using words in familiar ways.

Cognitive communication theory is a theory of how psychological mechanisms lead symbolic communication to influence human thought, affect and action. Communication strategy theories are theories of individuals' attempts to negotiate meaning in interactions.

1.4.1 More about the trends that have increased the amount of contact and communication with 'different others' that people experience at work

Several trends of the late 20th and early 21st centuries increased the number and types of different others that many people meet through work. These trends included the phenomenal growth of both international communications and business and the increasing diversity of domestic workforces.

Prior to the 1980s, telecommunication monopolies were generally under the direct control of state ministries of postal services and telecommunications, and these monopolistic national networks co-ordinated international traffic flows using standard rate-sharing formulae. This changed rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s as a trans-national commercial communication system was set up as a result of major improvements in communication technology and barriers to the commercialization of media and communication systems were relaxed. 'The recent expansion of global access to voice telephony has been almost violent. During the 1990s, wire-line phone access shot upward; while, increasing from a tiny base as recently as 1990, 1 billion mobile phones were in use by 2002.' In addition to the growth enjoyed by international dial-up circuits, activated international private line circuits (referring to the in-house corporate and organizational telecommunication networks that employ leased circuits and other proprietary facilities on a full-time basis) grew exponentially, increasing tenfold in the years 1997 to 2000 alone. As a result, business users assimilated networks into a vast and growing range of business processes: payroll accounting, employment relations, inventory, sales, marketing, research and development, and so on. 'By revolutionizing network systems and services, large corporations acquired new freedom of manoeuvre in their attempts to reintegrate their operations … on a broadened, supranational basis.' Trans-nationally organized networks employed a lengthening list of media, including wireless, telephone lines, cable television systems, fibre optics, satellites, plus the software-defined means for network access, operation and management. This development expanded the geographical organization of business: by 1997 to 1999 fully half of global

telecommunication investment was being absorbed by developing and transitional countries.[6]

Although world trade is affected by recessions, between 2000 and 2008 world exports grew by an average 5 per cent year on year; most regions of the world shared in this growth. Over the same period of 2000 to 2008, Asian exports rose by 10 percent a year; while those of the 27 countries of the European Union (EU) increased by only 3.5 percent annually, this still meant that they nearly doubled from 683 to 1306 thousand million euros between 1999 and 2008.[7]

1.5.1 Some examples of aspects of the enterprise affected by culture

Cultural differences are known to affect people's purchasing behaviour, and therefore the most effective ways of marketing to them. Advertising appeals in global markets reflect the dominant cultural values in each country.[8] Cultural variables influence the focus of consumers' product information search activities.[9] With spreading globalization, more organizations must take these kinds of difference into account. Factors that influence perceived service quality, such as reliability, responsiveness, assurance, tangibles, and empathy, are influenced by culture[10].

National cultural differences helped explain the variance in firms' decisions to adopt innovations such as Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) software, a study of adoptions by medium-sized companies in ten European countries found. This finding indicates that globalizing business-to-business marketing as well as consumer marketing requires allowing for cultural difference.[11]

The importance of culture for international business and the problems managers have in dealing with it have been summarized as follows: 'As markets globalize, the need for standardization in organizational design, systems and procedures increases. Yet managers are also under pressure to adapt their organization to the local characteristics of the market, the legislation, the fiscal regime, the socio-political system and the cultural system.'

A dataset of 41 large European firms in the banking and insurance industry, found that entry into new foreign markets and new cultural zones was associated with higher levels of international capacity at top management team level.[12]

'As consumers, Koreans look for a complex product and service. This explains the failure of Walmart in Korea. Korean superstores, such as those of Emart, which is the dominant chain, unlike Walmart are attractively laid out and provide helpful assistants. Westerners are more practical in their shopping; Koreans are more emotional, and seek a pleasant shopping experience. Again, South Korean IT is unique - it shows high creativity and innovativeness. The country has 7 or 8 web search engines and they are very different in style from Google or Yahoo. Each page is much more densely filled with a variety of content. This may reflect a culturally-influenced, more holistic, less 'linear' way of using information and thinking. Again, for Koreans, their mobile is a navigation tool – it has been developed to have that functionality. Korea developed a social networking web service before Facebook, called 'I Love School'.[13]

Content analyses of Chinese and US food advertisements showed that in countries with a more collectivist, greater power distance, and stronger long-term orientation culture such as in China, community, popular, ornamental, status, dear, health, and nutrition appeals were more frequently used than in the US, whereas an independence appeal was more frequently used in an individualistic society like the US than in China. [14]

'Delivering service products requires employees with well-developed interpersonal skills; cultural similarity between the service provider and the customer may improve the effectiveness of service delivery and the perceived quality of service.'[15] The clear implication here is that culture influences the interactions between services providers and their customers.

1.5.2 More about equal opportunities laws and organizational diversity practices

Equal opportunities legislation in many countries made it unlawful to discriminate in employment against people on the grounds of their 'race' (ethnicity) or gender. Over subsequent years, the coverage and demands of this kind of legislation gradually expanded. However, traditional equal opportunities approaches came to be criticized for denying differences. 'Equal rights necessarily came to mean we are all the same.'[16] A later trend was

towards valuing diversity, which means 'viewing people as having equal rights while being different'.

Tung (1993) argued that there are important similarities, as well as differences, in managing diversity in international and national contexts. There is a need, however, for more emphasis on the domestic issue rather than the international one.[17] In a later presentation, Tung (1996) explained why: '[First] due to the localization policies of most host countries and the rising costs of expatriation, there will be a decrease in the number of expatriates. In comparison, the problem of managing intra-national diversity is definitely increasing in size and magnitude …; [second] … expatriates involved in managing cross-national diversity do so on a short-term basis (2 to 3 years). In contrast, in light of the changing demographics of the … workforce, those involved in managing intra-national diversity are expected to have a long-term (permanent) commitment to such policies and practices.'[18]

1.5.3 More on the factors increasing the importance of diversity at work

Concern with 'capturing individual capabilities and motivating the entire organization to respond to the demands of the environment' increased the importance of diversity at work. Earlier, companies were mainly concerned with strategy; organizational structures were designed to support strategy. Companies believed that by changing their structure they automatically changed the 'shared norms, values and beliefs that shape the way individual managers think and act'.[19] Because these assumptions of managerial responsiveness were false, many organizations were incapable of carrying out the sophisticated strategies they developed.

Recognizing the constraints placed on strategy implementation by individuals' limitations brought a shift in organizational priorities; there was a new emphasis on individual capabilities and motivations as key factors for implementing strategy. Growth, development and prosperity were seen to depend on developing a creative, consultative culture in which individuals could contribute fully. **Human capital** came to be regarded as the strategic resource of the future;[20] the role of managers began to change from directing to facilitating, coaching and mentoring.[21] Organizations started to try 'to build into their very structure' the capacity for individual learning and development.[22] Finally, the increasing use of teams as a way of organizing work added to the pressure for attending to the social aspects of work.[23]

Here is a link to a video that explains the importance of intercultural communication in business:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yXwE21BvsTM

2.1 More on how culture has been defined and for a video about what it means and its relationship to other concepts

There is a whole range of ways of defining culture, many of which provide complementary views of what it is.[24] The Table below briefly describes those understanding of culture that are drawn on in the book as underpinning for the study of cultural differences in communication.

Different understandings of what culture means

Theoretical approach	Basis of explanation
Anthropological	Core values shared by communities explain variation in behaviours.
Communication perspective	Process, interaction and meaning are central; people co-create their culture.
Cultural studies	Culture is about shared meanings.
Social identity	Culture is a historically transmitted system of symbols, meanings and norms.
Cultural psychology	Culture provides 'symbolic systems' and only by participating in these can the intentional states by which human experience and action are shaped be realized.

Note: Other definitional elements have been added by other scholars. For instance, Hall (1997) saw culture as drawing arbitrary lines between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour[25]; Triandis (1994) emphasized a' characteristic way of perceiving a social environment[26]; Spencer-Oatey (2005) brought in a description of the functions that culture performs, especially the function of influencing the interpretation of other people's behaviour[27].

Take a look at this video which defines what sociologists mean by culture.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UKpxfMCUAhE&list=PL416u5bH2h7GvNNq61UQkyivLtQEz6dIm

How are values, social norms, and roles linked to one another?
If you are English or have met English people how closely does the video's description of English culture correspond to your experience?

2.1.1. An example of a particular culture

'There are some commonly held attitudes in our [Italian] culture which are different from those in other European countries and which must be taken into consideration if we want to study in more depth the anomalous situation of the Italian family in a European context. We have found some aspects which are … strongly anchored in tradition: the lack of development of a "single" way of life, "over-coddling", the protection offered by the family, the desire for certain guarantees in order to leave home without running any risks and the emphasis placed on the parental role. These are all aspects which show the importance and the role of the family in Italy and which provide an answer – a family one – to the structural difficulties encountered by young people which have led them to "emancipate themselves within the family rather than to emancipate themselves from the family" Two elements have emerged that indicate changes in family characteristics, i.e. a change in the parent/child relationship and an attenuation in gender differences due to the female entrance in the labour force.'[28]

More on values as the basis of culture

Values are also broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs to others. Terms like good or evil and dirty or clean usually express values. Many values have to do with someone's position on and the importance they attach to various moral, religious, political or ecological issues. They have been described as 'the most important indicator in the analyses and prediction of human action and behavior' and 'a means to understanding the underlying motivation (the "why") behind individual behavior'.[29]

2.1.2 More on communication as the basis of culture

According to Burke *et al*. (2002) culture and communication are closely linked: 'Culture as communication is the process of creating and using shared meanings within a specific community and its history. This cultural approach to

communication emphasizes that people exist in a world of shared meanings, which they (usually) take for granted. Additionally, members of a culture continually participate in the production, maintenance and reproduction of a shared sense of what is real.' [30],[31] (Thus this cultural model of communication is based within the theories associated with the social construction of reality.) Human beings live in a world whose meaning they have produced through their own culture. This notion is reinforced by most theories of socialization, which suggest that within modern societies certain activities and institutions, such as religions, families and schools, function to tell citizens or group members who they are and how they are to behave.

One way of classifying cultures is based on nonverbal communication: 'according to cultural norms associated with the overall expressivity that is encouraged or discouraged in specific cultures.' This differentiates expressive and reserved cultures. Compared with reserved cultures, expressive cultures 'are likely to use facial expressions and gestures more frequently, with greater intensity and duration, speak in louder voices, use direct gaze, and feature relaxed and open postures at closer distances.'[32]

2.1.3 More on shared meanings as the basis of culture

Hall (1997) added the following: 'This is not to deny that, within a culture, there may be different meanings, even for the same word or symbol, or that people within a culture may feel that they belong to different groups, have different identities or think different thoughts.'[33] Furthermore, culture is seen as not only 'in the head'; it organizes and regulates social lives. It is a process or set of practices which means that individuals function within a context of cultural assumptions as well as a network of social, political and economic factors. Cultural studies treats discourses as ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic or practice: they reflect the ideas and assumptions implicit in the communication of a group or society. For example, medical discourse refers to the ideas and assumptions associated with the medical world. While any one society includes multiple discourses, some discourses may be dominant in their influence and ability to shape what is defined as reality. This means that discourses have power relations embedded in them. For instance, the phrase 'doctor's orders' expresses the power exerted over patients by doctors – power based on their expertise and assumed beneficence.[34] Following this logic, culture can be defined as the way of life of a group or society including meanings, the transmission, communication and alteration of those meanings and the power relations that

decide which meanings are accepted and which have more significance than others.

2.1.4 More on social identities as the basis of culture

Core symbols are particularly important. For example, a core symbol for collectivist cultures, such as Mexico's, may be bondedness, whereas a core symbol for a more individualist culture, such as mainstream culture in the USA, may be individual accomplishment.[35] Meanings include metaphors, stories and myths. Norms are patterns of appropriate ways of communicating; attached to norms are prescriptions, proscriptions and social sanctions, while stories that are told often relate to norm violations and how they are punished. For example, the Biblical story of Sodom and Gomorrah refers to Hebrew norms against certain sexual practices; the folk tale of the fisherman who was granted three wishes but lost everything through asking for too much refers to a widespread norm against greed.

Here is an example of how a cultural identity has influenced a country's policies:

> 'Switzerland's EU ties are governed by a web of some 120 agreements and treaties, and this bilateral approach is still the preferred choice of government, business and most voters.
> Swiss people fear their identity might "dissolve" in the EU, says Ms. Calmy-Rey [the Swiss foreign minister]. It is an identity that revolves around neutrality and an awkward tradition of citizens' referendums.'[36]

The meanings and associations attributed to any category of people 'are a product of the enduring images and characteristics people have ascribed and assigned to men [sic] in groups over time'. For instance, masculinity can be defined as a social and symbolic construct. Based upon a survey of contemporary published research regarding masculinity, Chesebro and Fuse (2001) concluded that masculinity is now a construct that attributes ten traits to people viewed as masculine. These traits, it is suggested, overlap with, but are not identical with, those that would have been part of the construct of masculinity at other times.[37]

Citations for papers referred to in Figure 2.1:

Kincaid (1988): Kincaid, D. L. (1988). The convergence theory and intercultural communication.*Kim, Young Yun*.

Burke (1966): Burke, K. (1966) *Language as Symbolic Action*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hall (1997): Hall, B.J. (1997) 'Culture, ethics, and communication', in Casmir, F.L. (ed.) *Ethics in*
Intercultural and International Communication, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Haslett (1989): Haslett, B. (1989) 'Communication and language acquisition within a cultural context', in Ting-Toomey, S. and Korzenny, F. (eds) *Language, Communication and Culture: Current*
Directions, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Aldridge (2002): Aldridge, M.G. (2002) 'What is the basis of American culture?' *Intercultural Communication*, 5 April. URL: http://www.immi.se/intercultural.

Collier (1988): Collier, M.J. and Thomas, M. (1988) 'Cultural identity: an interpretive perspective', in Kim, Y.Y. and Gudykunst, W.B. (eds) *Theories in Intercultural Communication*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

2.2.1 More on how culture is imparted to individuals

Culture can itself affect how social influence operates, research has shown. For instance, social factors are a stronger influence than traditional selection variables on how people choose a bank in Singapore, probably because 'social and other family ties are closer in oriental culture', and Oriental consumers are more susceptible than Westerners to advice from friends, neighbours and family members.[38] Social expectations to meet the needs of family and friends tend to be more fully internalized among Indians than among Americans, according to recent research by Miller et al (2011). [39]

2.3.1 An explanation of other uses of the term subculture

In sociology, the term subculture does refer to groups that may have a shared worldview – the gothic youth subculture, for instance. We would have used the term in that way but the result would be having no term for groups such as women or older people, who, if they come from different countries may not share a worldview but usually have some shared attitudes or values or ways of behaving and communicating that are different from those of other groups. So

we are using subcultures for these groups, as the sociological usage refers to groups that are not central to this text.

There is a view that groupings below the level of nation, such as those based on age, class, sex, education, ethnicity, religion, abilities, or sexual orientation, and other unifying elements, should be termed **co-cultures**. 'The term co-culture is embraced over other terminology to signify the notion that no one culture … is inherently superior (though it may be dominant) over other co-existing cultures. The intention is to avoid the negative or inferior connotations of past descriptions (i.e., *sub*culture) while acknowledging the great diversity of influential cultures that simultaneously exist.'[40] In the book, the term subculture will be retained, but it is not intended to connote inferiority, only that we are talking about a level of analysis below that or different from broad cultures.

2.3.2 More discussion on how widely concepts of culture can be applied

Some scholars have argued that particular types of national culture, such as a country's political culture, are most relevant for certain analyses. For instance, 'At first sight, Switzerland is a country with multiple internal cultures and borders; [however] a closer analysis shows that the Swiss people share a common political culture based upon attachment to local communities and institutions, to government through consensus and to conflict solving by resorting to arbitration and pragmatism. In the Swiss case, it is argued, management practices are embedded in national political cultures.[41]

Hofstede (1981) saw language and religion as rather insignificant in cultural terms, but Huntington (1997) saw them as 'the central elements of any culture or civilization'[42].)

Although less well known in the West than the Chinese Feng Shui system of architectural design, India has its own, called Vaastu, which is widely adhered to. New homes are advertised as 'Vaastu compliant' and newspaper columns are devoted to solving the problems caused by a lack of Vaastu compliance in the home. The term Vaastu, a Sanskrit term meaning a dwelling place, was initially used to refer to the homes of gods. However, with time, it came to be associated with the right location as well as design of almost any structure. Some examples of Vaastu principles are that the kitchen should be in the South-East, the dining room in the West, the living room and the master bedroom in the South-West, the guest bedroom in the North-West, the bath

room in the East or the North, the prayer room in the North-East and so also the well and water supply. Such general principles are, however, inadequate to make a building fully Vaastu compliant, and detailed charts are used to ensure compliance.[43]

2.3.3 More on whether societal cultural values are converging or diverging

The results of an analysis of the longitudinal World Values Surveys

'suggest some important points that the convergence thesis overlooks or underestimates. The evidence indicates that culture in post-industrial nations is far from static or uniform. Convergence implicitly assumes that unchanging cultural values exist in richer nations, and exaggerates the degree of consensus between the core values of Americans and Europeans. The convergence thesis then goes on to assume that developing societies assimilate this monolithic American/Western culture. But post-industrial societies themselves are experiencing profound long-term processes of value change – and they also differ significantly amongst themselves. There is a wealth of research demonstrating that the younger generation in rich nations differs significantly from their parents and grand-parents on self-expression values, such as tolerance of homosexuality, support for gender equality, concern about environmental protection, and willingness to … take part in direct political action. Far from being a static and homogeneous 'Western culture', the process of value change creates a moving target that affects all countries in the world. … Moreover important cultural differences exist between Protestant and Catholic Europe, and between Western and Orthodox Europe, as well as between Europe and the United States. The persistent imprint of deep-rooted cultural traditions, left by given societies' religious heritage, as well as by distinctive historical experiences, ethnic cleavages, and social structures, means that the values found in contemporary post-industrial societies differ in important ways.'[44]

The lead author of the surveys concluded in 2015 that Western values in particular had been changing in the direction of increasing emphasis on needs for belonging, esteem and self-realization.[45]

A study conducted in India, which has been somewhat exposed to Western influences in recent years,[46] explored whether there are significant shifts in cultural values there between baby boomers, born in the 1950s and Generation X and Y, born after 1990; for national culture dimensions, the study found that only individualism/collectivism tests for significant differences between Asian GenY and Baby Boomers, with a shift in the direction of individualism.

Data from representative samples from countries included in the 2002, 2004, and 2006 waves of the European Social Survey found that shifts of values were small but highly stable across time, providing 'some initial support for cultural evolution arguments'.[47]

'In terms of economic, demographic, knowledge, financial, and political dimensions of convergence (but not culture though this is surely related), during the 1960–2009 period, countries have not evolved to be significantly closer or more similar to one another, although groups of countries based on their core-periphery status or membership in trade blocs exhibit increasing internal convergence and divergence from members of other blocs.'[48]

2.3.4 More on cultural distance

In the context of international joint ventures, findings by Kaufmann and O'Neill (2007) suggested that greater cultural distance was associated with an increased probability that a marketing or supplier alliance would be formed and a lower probability that an innovation-oriented alliance would be formed.[49]

In international acquisitions, Reus and Lamont (2009) found that cultural distance impeded the understandability of key capabilities that need to be transferred and also constrained communication between the acquirers and their acquired units. These factors resulted in a negative effect on acquisition performance. On the other hand, if these difficulties could be overcome, they

found, acquisition performance was increased by cultural distance because, they postulated, it increased the range of learning opportunities available.[50]

Finally, analyzing a sample of 102 cross-border acquisitions by Dutch firms in 30 countries, Slangen (2006) found strong empirical support for the hypothesis that large differences in national culture reduced foreign acquisition performance if the acquired unit was tightly integrated into the acquirer, but that they enhance acquisition performance if post-acquisition integration was limited.[51]

2.3.5 More on the new cultural identities formed by new interpersonal communication media

The new cultural identity formed by new media may not change the traditional meaning of cultural identity as a unique product through interaction in a specific group context, which gives members a sense of belonging to the group, but it will directly challenge the traditional attributes of cultural identity, namely, temporality, territoriality, contrastivity, interactivity, and multiplicity. More specifically, cultural identity fostered by the new media is no longer a product of historical development (i.e., temporality) confined in an avowal process of people in a geographical place (i.e., territoriality). It may still be a distinct collective consciousness based on the members' **sense-making** process (i.e., contrastivity). The virtual community is characterized by a higher degree of heterogeneity and a lower level of interconnection. In addition, social interaction (i.e., interactivity) as the foundation of developing cultural identity remains unchanged in the age of new media, but the nature of interpersonal and group relationships via social interaction in the virtual community is unlike those constructed from traditional face-to-face interaction. Finally, it is still unknown if the new cultural identity formed by new media will continue to be a multi-faceted concept or practice (i.e., multiplicity), which can contrast with the facets of traditional cultural identity.[52,53]

2.3.6 More on how culture affects work-related interactions

Is it the case that: 'When social behaviour is regulated by other, less diffuse social roles, as it is in organizational settings, behaviour … primarily reflect(s) the influence of these other roles and therefore lose(s) much of its … stereotypical character?' The author who posed this question answered it in the negative from her own research findings on leadership styles: 'Nevertheless, women's leadership styles were more democratic than men's even in organization settings. This sex difference may reflect underlying differences in female and male personality or skills (e.g. women's superior social skills) or subtle differences in the status of women and men who occupy the same organizational role.'[54]

Figure 3.1 Citations for the authors shown in Figure 3.1

Hofstede, G. (1981) Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind, London: Harper Collins.

Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (1991). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind* (Vol. 2). London: McGraw-Hill.

Triandis, H.C. and Suh, E.M. (2002) 'Cultural influences on personality', *Annual Review of Psychology*, **53**(1): 133-60.

DiMaggio, P. (1997) 'Culture and cognition', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 263–87.

Schwartz, S.H. (1999) 'Cultural value differences: Some implications for work', *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, **48**: 23–47.

Hall, E.T. (1976) *Beyond Culture*, New York: Doubleday.

3.1.1 More on how cultures vary

Much of the research on cultural difference has been undertaken in or applied to business contexts. Hofstede's (1981) research was undertaken using data were from employees in multinationals; Hofstede & Hofstede (2005) discussed the implications of the broad values dimensions for intercultural encounters in international business organizations. Hampden-Turner and Trompennars (1993) modified and applied Hofstede's (1981) dimensions to comment on the impact of culture on business and to provide tips that help managers

communicate midst cultural differences.[55] Schwartz (1999) suggested that his theory of universal values may be applied to study societal norms about working and work and its centrality.[56] Earley and Ang (2003) included two chapters on work environments and the enactment of communication (or behaviour) was a central construct in their theory.[57] Hall's (1976) high- and low-context model has been widely used to explain differing communication styles in business.[58] Because of this bias in the available research this chapter will emphasize business-based findings, although the authors consider that most apply to all interactive work.

More on the Hofstede (1981 and 1991) cultural value dimensions

Collectivism-individualism Studies of social categorization and intergroup relations show that all people mentally 'group' others, using salient characteristics (i.e., those characteristics that are important to them. These range from family or work unit membership to demographic or other characteristics). The group that the categorizer feels similar to and identifies with is called the 'ingroup' and other groups are called 'outgroups'. People from all types of culture categorize others in this way, but the importance of the distinction is much greater for people from collectivist cultures. In individualist societies people primarily operate as individuals or as members of their immediate families, whereas collectivist societies are composed of tight networks in which people operate as members of ingroups and outgroups. They expect to look after other members of their ingroup in need and expect their ingroup to look after them. (Of course, even in individualist societies, there are rules and principles that reflect interconnectedness and serve to constrain an individual's pursuit of personal goals and outcomes. It is a matter of degree rather than kind.)[59] The IC dimension is associated with how people relate to one another. For people in collectivist cultures, the personal relationship generally prevails over the task, whereas the opposite is the case for those in individualist cultures.

In Hofstede's (1981) findings, five of the top six countries for scores on individualism were 'Anglo' countries – USA, Australia, Great Britain, Canada and New Zealand – with The Netherlands occupying position 5; five of the lowest in individualism (highest in collectivism) were South American and the sixth was Pakistan. Fourteen European countries clustered in the top 20 on individualism, none were in the lowest 18 and only three (Greece, Yugoslavia and Portugal) were in the middle group of 15 countries. In Asia, Japan and India were about at the mid-point on individualism-collectivism; Taiwan,

Singapore, Hong-Kong and China were high on collectivism; no Asian country was high on individualism.

More recent findings include:

Collectivism-individualism seems to be reflected in how much people use social networking sites (SNSs). US participants spent more time in SNSs, considered them to be more important and had more friends in SNSs than did Chinese participants. These findings suggest that in collectivistic cultures the importance of the family, friends and one's groups may be partly responsible for Chinese participants' lesser use of SNSs, whereas in individualistic cultures the importance of self and having more but less close and enduring friendships may be partly responsible for US participants' greater use of SNSs.[60] Again, while the major motives for using social network sites – seeking friends, social support, entertainment, information, and convenience – are similar between the US and Korea, the weights placed on these motives are different. Koreans put more weight on obtaining social support from existing social relationships, while Americans place relatively greater emphasis on seeking entertainment. Additionally, Americans' networks in an online social venue are far larger than their Korean counterparts, 'which may reflect the cultural difference between the two countries regarding developing and managing social relationships'.[61] Related research into the influence of cultural differences on the use of SNSs and the formation of social capital found: 'Although the theory of cultural differences turned out to be insufficient to explain diverse usage patterns of SNSs, the results showed that Korean and Chinese users form bridging and bonding social capital mainly through expert search and connection functions, but American users mainly use the communication function to form bonding social capital.[62]

Communalism

Some societies have been characterized as communalist rather than collectivist.[63] The term has been applied to countries as different in some ways as Brazil and Saudi Arabia and to Nigeria, Korea, Thailand and Jamaica. Kim (1994) found that 'family-oriented **communalism** has been transformed into corporate communalism in the Korean business sector', and that 'communal particularism' appeared to permeate the 'diffused, shared' systems of occupational welfare in Japan'[64]. In the words of Moemeka (1998) 'Communalism is the principle or system of social order in which, among other things, the supremacy of the community is culturally and socially entrenched,

society is hierarchically ordered, life is sacrosanct, and religion is a way of life. In such a community, people are not seen as important in their own right. Each one is an integral part of the whole, and derives his or her place in the context of the community. People in a communalistic community are born into the community.'[65] Furthermore, another scholar explained, 'In a communalistic social order, community welfare undergirds actions. Nothing done, no matter how important and useful it is to the individual, is considered good unless it has relevance for the community. … the guiding dictum is this: "I am because we are".'[66]

Adherence to communication rules (tacit but socially sanctioned understandings about appropriate ways to interact in given situations) is a strict requirement. Non-compliance provokes strict social, and often economic and psychological, sanctions. Unlike in collectivism, where the concern of the individual is with the adaptability of the self-presentation image,[67] in communalism the concern is the authenticity of the community-presentation image.

According to the proponents of the view that distinguishes communalism from collectivism, it is communalism which is particularistic, ascription-oriented and uses high-context communication; collectivism is more like individualism on these dimensions, being universalistic, achievement-oriented and uses low-context communication.

Power distance

In high PD societies, relations between unequals are formal, often patron–client in format, information flow is formalized and restricted, and companies are organized in rigid vertical hierarchies. In low PD societies relations are open and informal, information flows are functional and unrestricted, and companies tend to have flat hierarchies and matrix organizations.

Countries particularly high on PD in Hofstede's (1981) research were Malaysia, four South American countries and the Philippines; those particularly low on this variable were Austria, Israel, New Zealand, Ireland and the four Scandinavian countries. Eleven European countries were in the lowest 20 on PD, only three (Yugoslavia, France and Belgium) in the top 20. In addition to Malaysia, six other Asian countries, including China, India and Singapore, were ranked in the top 20 on PD; no Asian country was in the bottom 20, while Japan, ranked 50th, was the lowest-scored Asian country on PD.

Uncertainty Avoidance

In high UA societies, families, groups and organizations tend to be closed to outsiders, to stress compliance and obedience, to punish error and non-conformity, and to reward conformity, loyalty and attention to detail. Low UA societies tend to accept outsiders at all levels, stress personal choice and decision-making, reward initiative, team-play and risk-taking. They also stress the development of analytical skills. In low UA cultures, values include a tolerance for deviance and innovative ideas. What is different is seen as curious, as opposed to dangerous. Therefore, in low UA cultures, innovations will be looked upon more favourably than in cultures with high UA.[68] Two Southern European countries (Greece and Portugal) and two South American (Guatemala and Uruguay) were highest on UA, while those lowest in this characteristic were four small nations (Singapore, Jamaica, Hong Kong and Ireland) and two Scandinavian countries. European countries differed more on uncertainty avoidance than on individualism–collectivism or power distance: six were in the highest 20 countries, seven in the next 20 and four in the lowest 13. Asian countries tended to cluster at the lower end of the rankings on UA: only Japan, at 11th, was in the top 20, while China, Malaysia, India and Indonesia, as well as Singapore and Hong-Kong, were in the bottom 20. European Social Survey data for 25 European countries and Israel in 2014 allowed a close replication of Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance ($r = 0.81$, $p < 0.001$, $n = 17$) with strong face validity, internal reliability, and similar predictive properties to those of the original measure.[69]

Masculinity/Feminity

On the MAS variable, Japan was higher than any other nation, while Austria, Venezuela, Italy and Switzerland were in positions two to five; four Northern European countries were highest on the 'feminine' end of the dimension. European countries polarized on MAS, with seven countries in the top 20, nine in the bottom 20 and only one (Belgium) in the middle group. Apart from Japan, China, at 11th, was the only Asian country in the top 20 on MAS, while Vietnam and South Korea, ranked at 55-58 and 59 respectively, were the only two in the bottom 20. Hong-Kong, India, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Pakistan, Singapore and Indonesia were all in the middle range of the rankings. MAS was the only dimension on which Hofstede (1981) found significant differences between men and women, though, even then, not consistently. In the most 'feminine' countries, there was no real difference but in the most 'masculine' countries, men scored 50 per cent higher than women on MAS, and correspondingly for the countries in between. Because this was the only

dimension on which men and women differed, Hofstede (1981) labelled it 'masculine'/'feminine'; however, because sexism can be read into these labels, some writers have renamed its poles 'Achievement' and 'Relational' orientations.

Long-term or short-term orientation

In a smaller sample of 39 countries, China, Hong-Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Vietnam and South Korea were the top six countries on long-term orientation; only Brazil and Hungary were non-Asian countries in the top 10. Many European countries clustered in the center of the rankings, with the Czech Republic, Spain, Great Britain and Portugal in the bottom 10.
Hofstede (1981) found that national culture explained half the variance in employees' attitudes and behaviours.[70] Hofstede (1993) reported that although the original six European Community (EC) countries had a degree of homogeneity around individualism (with only 26 per cent of the variation seen across the worldwide samples) and power distance (with only 35 percent of the variance), the European Union (EU) of (at the time) 12 countries or a broader set of 18 European countries 'explodes' into massive cultural diversity. 'Nowhere on earth does such variation exist in such a small geographical space.'[71] 'Eighty-six percent of worldwide variance on uncertainty avoidance, 82 percent of variance on masculinity–femininity, 73 percent of variance on individualism–collectivism, and 70 percent of variance across power distance is found in Europe.'[72] Although the variability Hofstede found in Asia was less, differences were found especially in two major dimensions often perceived as definitional for Asian cultures: long-term orientation and collectivism. On long-term orientation, China was the highest ranked and Pakistan the lowest with scores of 188 and 0 respectively; even on collectivism, two major Asian countries, Japan and India, were well down the rankings.

Meaning of long-term orientation (LTO) and future orientation (FO)

'This paper shows that Hofstede LTO and GLOBE FO dimensions capture different aspects of time orientation of societies. In particular, Hofstede LTO focuses on past (tradition) versus future (thrift) aspect of societies, GLOBE FO practices capture the present versus future (planning) practices of societies, and GLOBE FO values reflect societal aspirations and preferences for planning.

Here is a link to a website that shows where individual countries are located on the

Hofstede dimensions
http://geert-hofstede.com/countries.html. Last accessed 10.10.2016.
However, when accessed on 1.12.2016 this website was having problems. If
that is so when you access it, you will need to look at Hofstede's book *Culture:
Software of the Mind* to find the data.

3.1.2 More on the Schwartz (1999) cultural values

Arguing that the crucial content aspect that distinguishes among values is the
type of motivational goal they express, Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) claimed to
have established the existence of ten value types: benevolence values (e.g.,
helpfulness, honesty, forgiveness, loyalty, responsibility), universalism values
(e.g., social justice, equality, broadmindedness), security, conformity,
accepting and acting on tradition, power values, self-direction, achievement,
hedonism and stimulation. Schwartz and his colleagues also claimed that 'a
near-universal structure of relations [exists] among the ten value types.
Individuals and groups may differ substantially in the importance they attribute
to the values that comprise the value types. However, the same coherent
structure of motivational oppositions and compatibilities apparently organizes
their values.'[73] At the top of the structure, with most importance, are those
values that contribute to the family - the benevolence values, followed by the
universalism values which contribute to a society's cohesiveness and
functioning. At the bottom are the values that serve only an individual and that
may be societally disruptive – power values are consequently at the bottom.
Intermediate values include those that primarily serve individuals but are likely
to have positive consequences for society; these include self-direction and
achievement.

Unlike Hofstede (1981), who inferred values from respondents' answers on
questions about preferred states or outcomes, Schwartz' (1999) measurement
instrument asked directly about values. Whereas Hofstede's approach reduced
the chance of respondents giving utopian answers that might not be reflected
in their actual behaviour, but risked the chance of situational variables having a
strong impact on the respondents, Schwartz's approach did the reverse: 'It
does eliminate, at least potentially, the chance of situational variables having a
strong impact on the respondents. On the other hand, it does open the
argument that when asked about values (rather than specific outcomes)
respondents may be inclined to choose a more utopian answer, which in turn
may not be reflected in their actual behaviour.'[74]

By 2012 Schwartz et al were proposing a refined theory of basic individual values, that treated values as forming a circular motivational continuum and had 19 values ordered according to their compatible and conflicting motivations, expression of self-protection versus growth, and personal versus social focus. Studies showed that the refined values theory provides greater and more precise insight into the value underpinnings of beliefs.[75]

3.1.3 More on societal values as the basis of culture

Previous editions of *Communicating Across Cultures at Work* also discussed the Trompenaars' (1993) relationships and attitudes taxonomy:

For Trompenaars (1993), culture was 'often intangible and difficult to define'.[76] However, Trompenaars, like earlier researchers, generated a set of dimensions by which cultures can be classified. The analysis was derived partly from 15 years of training of managers, and more specifically from academic research. This research used samples from 30 countries of a minimum of 100 people with similar backgrounds and occupations. 75 per cent were managers, while 25 per cent were general administrative staff from a variety of multinational companies.

The following are two examples that may conform to Trompenaars' relationship basis for culture:

- In Taiwan, relationships are social resources – they could even be described as business resources. The senior partner in a Taiwanese venture capital firm expressed the point in this way: 'For traditional Taiwanese businesses, mutual trust of contacts and reputation are key.'[77]

- Relationship patterns in two Taipei computer companies have been shown to be influenced by Chinese traditions which 'view human emotion and orders of relationship as the basis of society. Taiwanese employees, particularly salespeople, are shown as adept at fusing functional and emotional elements to flexibly manage interpersonal relationships in complex and dynamic Taiwanese social, political, and economic context.' [78]

Trompenaars (1993) identified three main categories and eight sub-categories of cultural dimensions. They are:

1. Relationships with people:

■ Universalism versus particularism.

■ Individualism versus collectivism.

■ Neutrality versus emotionalism.

■ Specificity versus diffuseness.

■ Achievement versus ascription.

2. Attitudes to time:

■ Future versus past orientation.

■ Polychronic versus monochronic time.

■ Time as a stream or a cycle.

3. Attitudes to the environment.

Universalism and particularism

Universalism is a preference for drawing general principles and is contrasted with particularism, which is a preference for the anecdotal or itemized. For example, where one person might say 'One of the characteristics of modern Western life is for married women with children to work,' another might say, 'It's a curious fact, but three of my friends – all married women with children – have got themselves jobs. There's Mrs. X running a playgroup, Mrs. Y working at the supermarket and Mrs. Z training to be a solicitor.' Much of the subsequent research into this cultural dimension has come from the USA, and is influenced by American cultural preferences. However, a British management writer, Charles Handy, illustrated the principle from a personal experience:

'Particularist countries think that the relationship is more important than the contract and that a good deal requires no written contract – the particular people and the particular situation matter more than the universal rules. You can see that you could cause great offence if you got it wrong, as I once did myself, when I insisted on bringing in a lawyer to sign an agreement that my Chinese dealer had thought we had settled with a handshake over a cup of Chinese tea. That particular deal fell through. Or perhaps I should say that when I tried to apply my universal approach to that particular situation, it failed.'[79]

Individualism and collectivism

Trompenaars (1993) defined this value dimension slightly differently from Hofstede (1981), as a conflict between what each person wants as an individual and the interests of the group he or she belongs to. Individualism is 'a prime orientation to the self', collectivism is a 'prime orientation to common goals and objectives'. For Trompenaars, writing in the early 1990s, the success of the 'Five Dragons' – Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan – raised 'serious questions about both the success and the inevitability of individualism'.

Neutrality and emotionalism

This dimension is about the display of feeling, rather than the level or range of emotions experienced. Trompenaars considered that emotional display is a major difference between cultures and argued, 'There is a tendency for those with norms of emotional neutrality to dismiss anger, delight or intensity in the workplace as "unprofessional".'

Specificity and diffuseness

This distinction is based on the concept of 'life spaces'. People have different senses of what is in the public and private domains of life and of how separate these different domains should be. For example, Swiss and Japanese people do not readily invite business contacts to their home; North Americans are much freer in this respect.

Achieved and ascribed status

This is a matter of the importance attached to what a person has done or is doing (what they have achieved through their own efforts) versus their position resulting from external factors. Trompenaars disputed the Western view that ascription is inferior to achievement, arguing that some ascriptions, such as age and experience, education and professional qualifications make good sense in predicting a person's business performance.

Concepts of time

There are several ways in which concepts of time vary between cultures – time as a cycle or a sequence; past, present and future emphasis (the British emphasize the past, North Americans the future); time as a precious resource which must not be wasted versus a more leisurely approach. A major distinction is between monochronic and polychronic notions of activity: people from Anglo-Saxon cultures often find their sense of order disrupted if work is not clock-regulated, if they are expected to do several things at a time or find others around them doing several things at once. For example, many British people would feel uncomfortable if they enter someone's office for an appointment, are waved to a seat and smiled at while the person they have come to see continues a telephone conversation, making notes. For an Argentinian, this would be quite normal and acceptable.

Concepts of the environment

Is the environment to be controlled or harmonized with?

Trompenaars' (1993) work has attracted the criticism that, while his variables are intended to be a continuum, only lip service is paid to this; in reality they are treated as dichotomous. For instance, he writes of 'the ascriptive culture', although 21 out of 39 countries in his research fall between 25 per cent and 33 per cent on this measure and of 'the achievement-oriented culture', although again 21 countries fall between 61 per cent and 70 per cent on this measure.

3.1.4 Findings on how attitudes to good pay, good job security, being able to achieve and opportunities to use initiative vary across countries

Findings from the World Values Surveys for four European countries (France, Great Britain, Italy and Spain) and four Asian countries (China, India, Japan and South Korea) are shown at the table below. The findings show the weighted average of the results for two years about ten years apart – 1990 and 1999, 2000 or 2001 of two of the questions that contributed to the assessment of instrumental and expressive work values. Not too much importance should be attached to the selection of figures shown here: they are given merely to indicate that work values do vary by country (but stage of economic development may be as important as or more important than culture in influencing them.)

Table 2.1 Factors mentioned as important in a job – Four Asian and Four European countries

| Country | Important in a job: percentage mentioning | | | |
	Good pay	Good job security	That you can achieve something	An opportunity to use initiative
China	66.4	55.7	34.2	42.8
India	89.1	81.6	64.4	58.0
Japan	81.0	70.7	60.2	43.2
South Korea	56.0	65.4	57.2	47.0
France	62.7	42.0	47.1	40.9
Great Britain	73.6	60.1	62.9	43.5
Italy	78.1	68.3	63.2	54.9
Spain	78.4	71.0	43.4	36.5

Based on: World Values Surveys URL: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org.

3.1.5 More on criticisms of values approaches to culture

Other criticisms focus on the lack of explanatory power of dimensional and 'shared values' models. Kim (1988), for instance, commented, 'When broad dimensions such as individualism–collectivism … are invoked to account for cultural differences, it is uncertain exactly how or why these differences occur. The use of culture as a post hoc explanation of observed differences does little to help us understand the underlying causes of behavior.'[80] Collier and Thomas (1988), too, criticized taxonomic conceptualizations because they do not supply answers to how many of the characteristics need to be different for there to be a cultural difference, because the fact that the characteristics vary in their impact on different cultures is ignored, and because such definitions may not capture the experience of the participants.[81] Osland and Bird (2000) commented that bipolar cultural dimensions do not convey the complexity found within cultures, so that people working across cultures are frequently surprised by cultural paradoxes that do not seem to fit the descriptions they have learned. Culture is embedded in the context and cannot be understood fully without taking context into consideration.[82]

A further criticism is that to the extent that these taxonomies claim to be comprehensive, they must be alternatives. Nevertheless, it is still not known

which is most valid, so they may all be learnt from and usefully applied in appropriate ways.

Differences in national values are the core concept behind most findings on cultural variation. Unfortunately, such national values found by research cannot legitimately be translated directly to the individual level, because different individuals have different priorities on values (including the meaning and importance of work). However, the average priorities attached to different values by members of a society 'reflect the central thrust of their shared enculturation. Hence, the average priorities point to the underlying, common cultural values.'[83] Work by Schwartz (2000), has produced a set of 'motivational' values, some of which can be applied at the individual level.[84]

A further criticism of the individualism-collectivism dichotomy is implicit in the assertion of communalism[85] as set out earlier, while the so-called 'collectivism' of East Asia may be better regarded as a lesser degree of individualism, rather than its conceptual opposite as an emphasis on groups.[86] This interpretation is consistent with Oyserman et al.'s (2002) finding that some East Asian cultures (Japan, Korea) did not differ from the USA's in collectivism, although the USA was higher in individualism than the East Asian cultures.[87] Furthermore, experimental research found that Japanese people were less trusting and trustworthy exchange partners than cultural Chinese. 'This suggests that Japanese collectivism is based more on long-term assurance networks, whereas Chinese collectivism provides a more expansive, *guanxi*-based approach to building new social networks.'[88]

There is a further problem in describing cultures as discrete entities. As de Munck (2001) put it, 'A theory of culture as a discrete entity (or as homogeneous) logically implies that every member of that culture is culturally more similar to each other than they are to any one member from any other culture. But this is obviously not so. This also leads to the confusion where culture is passive and one selects from it [known as hybridization theory], at the same time culture is active and shapes the individual.'[89] Hybridization theory itself is illogical because if individuals select, then no two individuals are likely to select the same set of elements and everyone is going to belong to a culture (or group) of one. 'We might [also] argue that culture is a whole made out of parts such as class, religion, politics, economics, education and so forth and those similarities are limited to part similarities. But this Humpty Dumpty analogy of culture doesn't work, for if religion and the other subsystems shape individuals, then 'culture' is reduced to a category label that signals all these

subsystems but has no function.' This critic concluded, 'The noun definition ignores and, in fact, hinders us from an analysis of the most constant and central aspects of culture – that it is a process and that it changes.' Unfortunately, de Munck (2001) was unable to propose a theory of culture that would satisfy his criteria, stating, 'At present I think we are not ready to develop a unified theory of culture, but we can develop many well-formed, midrange theories of culture that incorporate the core features: that it is shared, that it is located in the individual, and that it is learned. These features have many facets however, depending on the questions asked.'

Differing from the dominant bipolar paradigm of analyzing national cultures, Fang (2005-6) championed a dialectical approach that sees each national culture as having a life of its own, full of dynamics and paradoxes.[90] Findings by Zou et al (2009) run counter to the perspective that cultural differences in social judgement are mediated by differences in individuals' personal values and beliefs; instead, the findings support a view that culture affects people through their perceptions of what is consensually believed. Thus individuals who perceive that traditional views are culturally consensual (e.g., Chinese participants who believe that most of their fellows hold collectivistic values) will themselves behave and think in culturally typical ways. Participants' perceived consensus as much as participants' personal views mediated cultural differences in the bases of compliance, attributional foci and counterfactual thinking styles.[91]

Greenfield (1997) discussed the limitations of using Western-made research instruments in other cultures. She pointed out that it is not defensible to take a test to other cultures where respondents have different basic assumptions about values, as the response to a question on values may not have the same importance in every culture, knowledge, as people in the various cultures may not be equally likely to know something and communication, as the context of the test item may not have the same meaning in all the cultures.[92] Finally, the alternative view of cultures set out by DiMaggio (1999) is an explicit rejection of culture as values that 'suffuse other aspects of belief, intention, and collective life'. [93]

3.2.1 How Hall's (1976) cultural dimensions of monochromic/polychronic relate to cmc

In email communication monochronic cultures tend more to promptness and adherence to schedules than polychronic cultures do (showing that the ability

of cmc to support multitasking does not affect the perception and evaluation of time); monochronic cultures also communicate more precisely than polychronic.[94]

Hall (1976) identified a further cultural dimension: high- low-space. This relates to cmc as follows:
High-space cultures communicate with a higher degree of task-relatedness than low-space cultures; low-space cultures show a higher preference for relationship-relatedness than low-space cultures.[95]

3.2.2 More on tightness-looseness

Tightness-looseness results from 'a complex, loosely integrated multilevel system that comprises distal ecological and historical threats (e.g. high population density, resource scarcity, a history of territorial conflict, and disease and environmental threats), broad versus narrow socialization in societal institutions (e.g. autocracy, media regulations), the strength of everyday recurring situations, and micro-level psychological affordances (e.g. prevention self-guides, high regulatory strength, need for structure).'[96]

Subjective culture theory distinguishes tight cultures from loose cultures.[97]

3.2.3 More on culture as an institution

A country's level of institutional development may have a direct effect on the composition of entrepreneurs' networks (i.e., the prevalence of strong ties – between people who are in frequent contact with one another – versus weak ties, in which contact is relatively distant and infrequent). Furthermore, both strong and weak ties may have direct, positive effects on the speed of new venture internationalization through the rationale entrepreneurs use to draw on their social networks and drive internationalization.[98]

3.2.4 An alternative view on the relation between the strategic perspective on culture and cultural difference

In the view of Tipton (2009), in the USA, Japan and Western Europe 'individuals choose their own culture'.[99]

3.3.1 Another example of the implications for organizations of clusters based on work attitudes

Ronen and Shenkar (1985) provided a clustering of countries that is useful for improving intercultural work communication. Their clusters were based on work attitudes and so might be more closely linked to work communication than the general societal values. The clusters were based on a meta-analysis that drew on the work of eight earlier researchers. Later (Ronen and Shenkar 2013) the analysis was updated to include countries that were not accessible for this purpose in 1985, such as China, and two further research studies.

Eleven main clusters of countries emerged from the analysis - Far Eastern, Confucian, African, Anglo, Germanic, Nordic, Latin Europe, East Europe, Latin America, Near East and Arab. These clusters vary in how cohesive they are. The Latin American cluster, for instance, is not highly cohesive – geographical proximity, use of the Spanish language and the predominance of the Roman Catholic version of the Christian religion are not, it seems, enough to produce a highly cohesive cluster. The Anglo and the Confucian clusters, however, are high in cohesiveness; they also provide an illuminating contrast:

'Both are high on future orientation and performance orientation, [but] they are almost diametrically opposed on other dimensions. The Anglo cluster is high on individualism, participative leadership, coaching, general communication, and reliance on specialists, and low on power distance, uncertainty avoidance, autonomous leadership, self-protective leadership, and reliance on unwritten rules. In contrast, the Confucian cluster is high on power distance, uncertainty avoidance, autonomous leadership, self-protective leadership, reliance on vertical sources, unwritten guidance rules, and widespread beliefs, and low on individualism, participative leadership, and reliance on specialists and co-workers.

A number of implications can be drawn from this comparison. For instance, the Anglo cluster is characterized by a high degree of participative leadership and a low power distance; combined, this translates into a high level of involving others in making and implementing decisions. In contrast, the Confucian cluster shows a low degree of participative leadership and high power distance, suggesting a low level of involving others in making and implementing decisions.'

'Since the Anglo cluster combines high individualism with low uncertainty avoidance, an effective reward system would integrate intrinsic and extrinsic incentives, and set rewards and promotions on the basis of merit, performance, and contribution to the success. In contrast, in the high collectivism, high uncertainty avoidance Confucian cluster, an effective reward system would need to consider factors such as seniority, tenure, age, and personal relations. As a macro example, Anglo firms tend to be risk takers and early movers, while Confucian members, as a whole, tend to be more cautious, late market entrants.' [100]

4.1.1 More on the impact of culture on work behaviour, including entrepreneurialism

Lower levels of individualism in French culture may underlie findings that the French found it less important to be challenged while at work than members of Anglo cultures did. Furthermore, whereas Anglo countries viewed time as a valuable commodity ('time is money'), punctuality was expected, and deadlines were to be met, in contrast, Latin Europeans, including the French, were less inclined to abide by schedules. Again, collectivism as a cultural value orientation increased employees' commitment to their organizations and the relationships between commitment and outcomes is also stronger in a collectivistic context.[101]

Another study found that cultural values affected individuals' commitment to their organization, supervisor and workgroup. High UA led to individuals feeling more committed to their relationship with all three; high PD led to them feeling a stronger sense that they should feel committed; high collectivism led to a stronger sense of commitment to their workgroup, though not necessarily to their supervisor or organization. A third study that used a US-developed instrument to measure 'organizational identification', a construct related to organizational commitment, in Thailand, found key differences from the earlier US results. The US conceptualization of identification included employees' sense of membership, similarity, and loyalty to their organization, whereas the Thai dimensions reflected life values ('pride in membership'), social values ('fit with organization'), and personal values ('comfort zone').[102]

An interesting line of research suggested that European Americans had an attitude to interpersonal conflict at work that differed from that of members of many other cultures. A cross-cultural experiment showed that European

Americans were more likely than Koreans to join a talented team despite its likelihood of experiencing relationship conflict, and to take longer than the Koreans to reach a decision. The evidence suggested that this difference in behaviour was linked to the fact that compared with Koreans, European Americans were less likely to believe that relationship conflict — but not task conflict — limits a team's ability to succeed. Given that a long series of prior research has clearly demonstrated that interpersonal conflict reduces team performance, the researchers in the present case concluded that European Americans underestimated the negative influence of relationship conflict. A possible explanation for such an attitude could be found in Protestant Relational Ideology (PRI), a distinguishing attribute of European Americans' work style which tends 'to give diminished importance to the relational dimension of workplace interactions'. This 'anomaly' of European American attitudes (it does not apply outside the work context) has been shown by sociological, historical, and psychological research to be linked to the beliefs and practices of the founding Protestant communities of European American society. Over time, beliefs about the importance of restricting relational concerns while working were secularized and incorporated into the contemporary ethos of European American culture.[103]

Culture influences perceptions of IT usability, efficiency and satisfaction, though not of effectiveness. Hofstede's and the World Values Surveys' dimensions are related to the importance given to efficiency and satisfaction: with values relating to task-orientation influencing efficiency, and non-task oriented values affecting the importance users place on satisfaction.[104]

Individuals' values, particularly collectivism (defined as values that emphasize the
needs of the group over self-interests), are related to their affective and normative commitment to their organizations above and beyond the effect of organizational justice. However, the relationship of commitment to in-role performance and organizational citizenship behaviour is rather weak, suggesting that organizational commitment may not be as important for work behaviour as previously thought.[105]

Entrepreneurialism

Perhaps equally as important as a population's work behaviour in existing organizations is its tendency to start new organizations, in other words its

entrepreneurialism. A 2002 analysis of the findings of 21 empirical studies that examined the association between national cultural characteristics and aggregate measures of entrepreneurship found some evidence that broad cultural characteristics were associated with national levels of entrepreneurship, but these relationships were not consistent over time. National rates of innovation were positively correlated with individualism, negatively with uncertainty avoidance. Findings on power distance and national rates of innovation were contradictory.

Need for approval, perceived instrumentality of wealth, communitarianism, need for personal development, need for independence and need for escape are all motives associated with individual entrepreneurialism; the importance of these motives varies systematically across cultures. The same systematic cross-cultural variation applies also to need for recognition of achievement, learning and development and roles. On the other hand, one study found that entrepreneurs across several cultures scored high in power-distance, individualism, and masculinity and low in uncertainty avoidance, suggesting that entrepreneurialism is a trait with universal features. Contrastingly, another study found that entrepreneurial traits (internal locus of control, risk taking and high energy levels) decreased as cultural distance from the US increased.

Entrepreneurship within organizations in the form of corporate venturing, strategic renewal, and spin-offs for ideas generated within organizations was linked to uncertainty avoidance in a finding that it is positively associated with a preference for joint ventures and greenfield sites over acquisitions as an entry mode. A follow-up study found positive linear relationships between entrepreneurship and an external orientation, an organizational cultural orientation toward decentralization, and a long- versus short-term orientation.[106]

Finally, intra-organizational entrepreneurialism, in the form of product or process championing styles, have been linked to culture: styles that appeal to group norms were linked to low individualism, styles that emphasize monitoring strategies to high power-distance, styles that adhere to rules and procedures to uncertainty avoidance. A preference for licensing over foreign direct investment was linked to low uncertainty avoidance, as were preferences for network facilitator, transformational leadership, organizational maverick and organizational buffer types of championing roles.[107]

4.2.1 More examples of cultural differences in business ethics

A comparison of the contents of 197 corporate codes of ethics (78 Australian, 80 Canadian and 39 Swedish) revealed that the contents of the Australian and Canadian codes were similar but those of the Swedish codes were very different in some areas. In the view of the researchers these differences reflected the cultural differences between Sweden and the other two countries.[108]

Again, significant differences have been shown to exist between the USA and Peru on how two moral approaches - utilitarianism and egoism - impact the perceived benefits of ethics codes as deterrent mechanisms.[109]
Note that the attitude to ethics of the Australian negotiators referred to in the text was not inflexible:

> 'Knowingly violating company policy was deemed unacceptable for Australians. However, the Australian respondents seemed willing to accept non-explicit breaches of codes and were willing to complete a transaction if they were not directly informed of a transgression of company policy. If they did not know, or only suspected that there was a violation, participants were willing to look past the possible breach and continue with their business.'[110]

On the level of corporate ethics, an exploration of the discourse and practice of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in France showed how a country's cultural, socioeconomic, and legal traditions influenced the way ideas were raised, the kinds of questions considered relevant, and the sorts of solutions conceived as desirable and possible.[111] Another study tested the hypothesis that corporate social responsibility (CSR) practice varies considerably among Asian countries and that this variation is explained by stage of development, a factor only indirectly related to culture. The study's findings led to the conclusion, however, that CSR does vary considerably among Asian countries but that this variation is not explained by development but by factors in the respective national business systems which are more closely related to culture.[112] A 'complex interaction' of considerations, including cultural and social factors, but also historical development, legal system, corporate governance model, political system, and economic development 'provides the context' for corporate governance and business ethics in each of four Asian countries - Australia, China, Singapore, and India. The result is 'different orientations to stakeholder management and integrity behavior in the boardroom and

executives' offices'. The authors concluded that 'the human capacity to protect diversity and enshrine regional and local interests seems likely to inhibit rapid change'.[113]

4.2.2 This website gives country by country data for cultural values

https://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html. Last accessed 10 Oct 2016.
http://geert-hofstede.com/countries.html

4.2.3 A link to a PowerPoint presentation on the relation between culture and work organization and management

http://213.8.137.125/mshan/slides/16.pps. Last accessed 10 Oct 2016.

4.2.4 Examples of the differences in conflict, creativity and productivity between organizations with collectivist and organizations with individualist cultures

In organizations whose cultures emphasized collective goals, demographically different co-workers were more likely to find conflict beneficial than workers in organizations with individualistic cultures, who were more likely both to experience conflict (probably because their goals and values differed more from each other's) and to find it harmful.

Dissimilar people in collectivist organizational cultures had the highest creative output. This finding suggests that creativity emerges from the combination of access to a larger set of novel ideas afforded by more diverse members and trust that novel ideas will be used for the benefit of the collective.
While similar people were significantly more productive in individualist than collectivist organizational cultures, dissimilar people were equally productive across the two kinds of culture. They were also more productive than similar co-workers, although less likely to interact. This may be partly explained by whether the co-workers' interaction was task-related or social. Dissimilar co-workers may have focused more consistently on tasks, because they may have had fewer other topics in common to discuss with one another; they may also have had a wider variety of ideas to share and debate during their interaction, allowing them to achieve more in a given time. Unfortunately, interaction among dissimilar people, while perhaps the most beneficial, also appears to be the most difficult to cultivate.[114]

4.3.1 Other examples of cultural differences in social networks

For example, French employees preferred weak links at work, whereas Japanese workers tended to form strong, multiplex ties.[115]   Given the Japanese group orientation to decision making, incomparison to the relatively individualistic emphasis in France as a whole, it is not surprising that density and interconnectedness are greater in Japanese companies.

Guanxi, the sophisticated version of networking that operates in China, functions within as well as between organizations.[116]

4.3.2 More findings on the relationship between culture and corruption

Pillay and Dorasamy (2010), for example, argued that by mediating discretion and accountability at the individual level, national culture can engender either arbitrariness or pervasiveness in corruption,[117] while Nef (2001) pointed to a range of cultural attributes in Latin America to account for the region's corruption, including particularism (within the inner circle), formalism (a double standard), role expectations of dispensing favors, corporatism, authoritarianism, and even centralism.[118] The view taken by these scholars is that a culture of corruption feeds corrupt behaviour rather than fostering behaviour ensuring good governance.

A public goods game experiment conducted between Indians (from a culture high in corruption according to Transparency International) and Swedes (from a low-corruption culture) supported the contention that the higher the level of trust in a country the less corrupt it will be. Average contributions were significantly larger in Sweden, implying a higher level of trust and cooperation in Sweden than in India.[119] Since, as Chapter 4 shows, research has established a number of links between trust and culture, this finding reinforces the argument for a cultural basis to corruption.

Lopez and Santos (2014): 'According to our results, the universalistic trust (linking and bridging social capital) constitutes a positive social capital that is negatively linked to corruption. In contrast, the particularistic levels of trust (bonding) can constitute a negative social capital directly related to corruption levels. Furthermore, cultures which are favourable to the legitimation of dependency relations and the formation of closed particularistic groups

(power-distance and community factors) create a breeding ground for the development of these amoral rent-seeking structures.'[120]

Under the heading, 'The global crackdown on corporate bribery: governments around the world are making life difficult for corrupt firms', *The Economist* of 12th November 2009 reported on a series of record fines imposed on businesses that bribed government officials and others to obtain contracts. These punishments included the following:
'In February American courts fined KBR, a construction firm, and Halliburton, its former parent, $579m over bribes paid to obtain contracts in Nigeria. Last year they hit Siemens, a German conglomerate, with an $800m fine—the biggest to date. The German authorities also fined Siemens a similar amount.

That case has helped spur more zealous pursuit of corporate bribery in Europe, says Richard Dean of Baker & McKenzie, another law firm. In September British prosecutors secured their first big conviction, of Mabey & Johnson, a bridge-building company, over bribery of foreign government officials. But prosecutors are still weighing politically charged allegations of bribery involving BAE Systems, a defence contractor, and foreign officials. The British government says its proposed new law will close several loopholes and make prosecutions easier.'
Source: The Economist, 12th November 2009.

5.1.1 More on language differences

Many workforces now are not only multicultural, they are also multilingual. For example, the 500 employees of a British-owned start-up in India are all Indians but they speak nine different languages as their mother tongues. The working language is English, but away from the office they speak to one another in Hindi (the common language of North India), or in a local language such as Telugu, Malayalam, Oriya.[121]

In most languages there are dialects that reflect ethnic, regional and other differences. Dialects employ different pronunciation, vocabulary and grammatical structures. To linguists, the word 'dialect' refers to a way of speaking a language, and not to an incorrect way of speaking a language. While all dialects of a given language are linguistically legitimate, some achieve social prestige. In literate, economically developed societies, the dialect spoken by those with the most formal education, socioeconomic status and political power tends to acquire the greatest social prestige. Typically, it becomes the

standard dialect for the culture, for writing and education. Standard dialects also provide a medium that persons from different linguistic backgrounds use to communicate with one another. However, there are many kinds of non-standard dialect. These include those tied to social class and educational level.

5.1.2 More on the impact of language use on culture and work communication

During China's Cultural Revolution, Britain's Ambassador to Beijing, Sir Percy Cradock, 'was asked by the [Red] Guards, as they beat him round his back and shoulders, to cry "Long Live Chairman Mao!" He refused, "and fortunately the demand was not pressed." Forced to bow his head in the ritual kowtow, he kept trying to raise it. He was asked afterwards why he could not make just one small gesture of obeisance. He replied, with that opaque courtesy beloved of both Chinese officials and Whitehall mandarins, that it could not be done. He was a figure who might have been at home in the Middle Kingdom, where professional scholar-officials, with the equivalent of his double starred firsts in English and law from Cambridge, kept the vast realm ticking like clockwork. Like them he was low-key but razor-sharp, happy to let ministers have their say first, but with an impish glint in his eye, or a slow steepling of his fingers, that showed he had instantly grasped the danger, or the absurdity, of a situation. His regret was that he could not always lead others to grasp it too; that they could not learn to see things from the Chinese point of view.'[122]

How language and culture intertwine

Language switching is used by bi- or multi-lingual interactors to produce a change of emphasis between task and relational concerns or to signal a need.

As Chapter 3 showed, individualist cultures place more emphasis on task concerns, collectivist cultures more on relational concerns. Chen and Jackson (2008) found empirical support for the idea that individuals both intentionally and inadvertently disclose how they accentuate task concerns and express relational concerns through their use of language(s). The language used, they contended, influences individuals to perceive and recognize the intention of task or relational concerns. A change of language produces a change of cognitive behaviour; it can also signal a need. For instance, when multi-national company members who are capable of managing both lingua franca

and their mother language feel ignored or isolated from task collaboration, they may use, choose or switch to a high-context language or increase multiple language cues to disclose their wish for engagement.[123]

5.1.3 More on cultural variations in nonverbal behaviour

For Americans, forming a circle with thumb and forefinger signals 'O.K.'; it means 'zero' or worthless in France, money in Japan, and calling someone a very bad name in Germany; putting the shod feet on the table is a (male) American gesture which is offensive to nearly every other country around the globe.

US subjects engage in almost twice as much touching as Japanese subjects.[124]

Here is an example of Japanese nonverbal behaviour observed by one of the present authors:

> 'You can watch it in a restaurant in the evening [in Tokyo]. Six or seven salary men will be dining at a round table. Within a minute, you can tell who is the senior guy by the way all the others are silent if he even starts toopen his mouth and the way they laugh at his jokes. The younger ones, the rookies, will never speak at all unless spoken to. If the younger shows enough respect, the older will say, 'Let us speak frankly,' but the younger still knows he mustn't. No first names are ever used at work; occasionally the rookies will be given a nickname. In this so-called socialising after work, now that I am getting older, senior, I no longer have to keep offering food and drink to seniors.'[125]

A comparison of US and Japanese communication is instructive because they perhaps represent polar extremes; communication in most European countries is located at varying points between. The USA is a country formed by (comparatively recent) immigrants and is multicultural, despite past attempts to encourage assimilation. Japan, which was entirely closed to the outside world for centuries, is recognized as ethnically and culturally more homogeneous than any other major country in the world. These differences affect their preferred communication styles. The USA is 'a nation made up of ethnically diverse people who must work and live together. Reliance upon symbolic coding of experience has become a necessary survival skill.' For them, language is *the* mode of communication. For the Japanese, it is *a* mode of communication.

5.1.4 More on the Gibson and Manuel (2003) model

In encoding messages, communicators 'choose' between an implicit style that obscures any unpleasantness or excessively positive positioning and an explicit style that conveys the message directly, even when it is unpleasant. People from collectivist cultures are more likely than those from individualist cultures to adopt an implicit style. Secondly, in contrast to communicators from high context cultures, 'Communicators from low context cultures will tend to utilize external sources of information more often than internal sources when constructing messages'. Thirdly, messages are affected by cultural differences in the extent to which rational material based on facts is preferred versus material based on intuition and personal perspective. In the transmission phase, use of formal or more informal communication channels is influenced by the attitudes towards hierarchy in the communicator's culture.[126]

5.2.1 More on communication rules

Applying these rules is required in order to follow a 'co-operative principle', which allows listeners to assume that speakers are being co-operative and so make a wide range of inferences which would otherwise not be possible. This in turn allows speakers to imply a wide range of meanings without explicitly stating them. For example, if a speaker says, "The XYZ Company has 35% of the market," while it would be logically impossible for the statement to be true if the XYZ Company has less than 35% of the market, it could be true if it has more than 35%. Therefore, to tell a listener explicitly what XYZ Company's market share is, the speaker would have to say, "The XYZ Company has exactly 35% of the market." The principle of co-operativeness, however, allows the receiver to assume that if the speaker means that the XYZ company has more than 35%, s/he would say so (e.g. by saying "The XYZ Company has at least 35% of the market") and so to understand that s/he means that the company has just exactly 35%. These efficiency rules, it is claimed, are never violated without disrupting the flow of conversation or affecting the perceptions of others in the conversation. However, the violations may be seen as intentional and receivers may read inferences, such as an intention to deceive, into that interpretation.[127]

5.3.1 More on the difference between Asian and Western ideas about the function of communication

The Japanese prefer a style that employs assumptions about the opinions and feelings of their compatriots. (In Bernstein's (1971) terms, they use the restricted code.) The concept of *enryo* translates into a hesitancy about speaking frankly and immediately, which carries the risk of being thought brash. Japanese people are comfortable with silence, which has multiple meanings – for instance, showing respect by waiting for a senior to speak first. In Japan, the form of an event or communication is as important as its content. There are rituals for events, such as leavers' parties, which would be mainly informal in the USA. There are set phrases for apologies, excuses, requests and so on. For North Americans, interaction formats, especially at work, are persuasive, quantitative and pragmatic; in contrast, for Japanese, they are harmonizing, holistic and process-oriented. North Americans expect that each party, whether an individual or a small group representative, will state its own point of view and attempt to persuade the other party or parties. Japanese people aim to avoid distinguishing individual views or clarifying where differences lie. People are as likely to change their views out of respect or empathy as by responding to logical arguments. The receiver has as much responsibility for understanding what is said, as the speaker has to make him/herself clear. Japanese people tend to give feedback nonverbally rather than by asking questions or in other verbal ways. Arguments written by 239 Japanese respondents were significantly more indirect and succinct those written by their 90 US counterparts.[128]

Link to a video about culture and communication

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wszb2x51jnY Last accessed 10 Oct 2016

What is the emphasis in this book - on revealed, ignored or suppressed culture?
Do you agree with the content of the Michael Agar quote? and/or the Edward T. Hall quote?
Enjoy the Lost in Translation slide.

Here topic-comment is contrasted with subject-predicate and used as a style of language.

5.4.1 Criticisms of AUM theory

AUM theory has been criticized for being static and for taking the individual interactor, rather than the dyad or group, as the unit of analysis. However,

because **behavioural contagion** is known to be particularly common when one party is anxious, the theory has the potential to be interactive and dynamic. AUM theory has also been criticized for assuming that uncertainty will always produce anxiety.[129] These critics further suggest that it would be more appropriate to focus on communication and uncertainty management. To better explain these processes, they argue, answers are needed to questions about the experience and meaning of uncertainty, the role of appraisal and emotion in uncertainty management and the range of behavioural and psychological responses to uncertainty. However, the fact that these criticisms imply a reduced role for anxiety management means that they may be considered an error by those who appreciate the emotional as well as the cognitive aspects of intercultural interaction. In any case, AUM's focus on initial interactions and the early stages of acquaintanceship makes it valuable for understanding those aspects of intercultural work communication which involve meeting strangers, such as opening interviews between professionals and clients or international negotiations.

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5.4.2 More on cultural differences in facework

Face is 'grounded in the webs of interpersonal and sociocultural variability'.[131]

A study that investigated face and facework during conflicts across four national cultures, China, Germany, Japan and the USA, found the following:
■ Self-construals had the strongest effects on face concerns and facework. Independence was positively associated with self-face and dominating facework; interdependence was positively associated with other- and mutual-face and integrating and avoiding facework.
■ Power distance had small, positive effects on all face concerns and on avoiding and dominating facework.

■ Individualist, small power distance cultures had less other-face concern and avoiding facework, and more dominating facework than collectivist, large power distance cultures.
■ Germans had more self- and mutual-face concerns and used defending more than North Americans.
■ Relational closeness and status only had small effects on face concerns and facework behaviour.
■Chinese had more self-face concern and involved a third party more than Japanese.[132]

5.4.3 Examples of cultural differences in concepts of politeness

In relation to apologizing, Koreans and Americans showed a greater discrepancy between themselves and their estimate of most people in their own culture than did Chinese participants. On the other hand, both American and Chinese participants showed greater discrepancy than did Korean participants for feeling obliged to apologize to a stranger as compared to a friend, though people from all three cultures felt a greater obligation to apologize to a stranger than to a friend.[133]

5.4.4 More on rapport management

One important function of communication is the effective management of relationships of all kinds, including work relationships. In contrast with some linguists' focus on facework and politeness, scholars concerned with rapport management maintain that linguistic politeness is just one of the resources available for managing relationships. It should be studied within the situated social psychological context in which it occurs. It is therefore important to consider the motivational concerns underlying the management of relations.

People's perceptions of the level of rapport in an interaction are affected by their behavioural expectations, face sensitivities, and interactional wants (what they hope to get from the interaction). Negative rapport perceptions can lead to conflictual interpersonal relations, while positive rapport perceptions can generate interpersonal harmony. Rapport perceptions are dynamic, changing during the course of the interaction.[134]

Rapport management theorists suggest that face has two interrelated aspects:

1. Quality face: people have a fundamental desire for others to evaluate them positively in terms of their personal qualities, such as competence, abilities or appearance.
2. Social identity face: people have a fundamental desire for others to acknowledge and uphold their social identities or roles, for instance as group leaders, valued customers or close friends.

Similarly, rapport management theorists suggest that people have 'fundamental beliefs' that they possess certain 'sociality rights'. These rights have two interrelated aspects:

1. Equity rights: people have a 'fundamental belief' that they are entitled to personal consideration from others, so that they are treated fairly: that they are not unduly imposed upon or unfairly ordered about, that they are not taken advantage of or exploited, and that they receive the benefits to which they are entitled.
2. Association rights: people have a fundamental belief that they are entitled to association with others that is in keeping with the type of relationship that they have with them. People feel, for example, that they are entitled to an appropriate amount of conversational interaction and social chitchat with others (that they are not ignored on the one hand, but not overwhelmed on the other). These association rights also relate to the extent to which people share concerns, feelings and interests. Naturally, what counts as 'an appropriate amount' depends on the nature of the relationship, as well as on personal preferences, but also on socio-cultural norms.

5.4.5 Other-regarding preference behaviours – more on the Buchan study

The Chinese also exhibited no bias towards their ingroup (and in fact the US participants exhibited the greatest ingroup bias, exceeding not only China but Japan and Korea as well). This finding, which, in the words of Buchan et al (2006) 'does not line up neatly with any existing theory' may suggest that ingroup biases in collectivist cultures is only evident among naturally occurring groups in society, not among the kind of experimentally-conducted temporary groups used for this and other studies.[135]

5.4.6 Cultural differences in conflict-handling communication

Avoidance styles of conflict handling are more common in collectivist than individualist cultures, according to Kim and Leung (2000) who proposed a model that collectivists' tendency to avoid conflict can be explained by their desire to preserve relational harmony and by their motivation to save others' faces. [136] Other motivations also drive conflict avoidance in collectivist cultures. Outflanking (trying to work round the opponent in conflict) can arise from a combination of cooperative goals and fear of revenge. Among collectivists, avoiding conflict re-affirms existing strong relationships.[137] Other approaches to avoiding conflict found among Chinese employees consist of yielding, outflanking, delay and passive aggression. Overall, yielding and delay were positively associated with other-face concerns whereas passive aggression was positively associated with self-face concern, a study found. The association of social face concerns and avoidance was stronger among Chinese employees who interacted with Chinese managers compared with those working for Western managers.[138]

A useful distinction can be drawn between simplex relationships, which are confined to a single interest – for instance, that between a doctor and patient – and multiplex relationships, which serve many interests, such as economic, kinship and shared leisure time interests.[139] Because of the significant interdependence involved in a multiplex relationship, continuation of the relationship is very important to the well-being of the participants. In cultures and societies where multiplex relationships predominate, there is likely to be a preference for conflict resolution procedures that allow compromises, so that the relationship can continue smoothly. Examples of such conflict resolution procedures include negotiation and mediation. Societies where simplex relationships are more common, on the other hand, tend to prefer adjudication or arbitration, which lead to win–lose settlements. This might help account for the fact that in 1976, the USA had 18 lawyers per 1,000 people, West Germany four, France two and Japan one. Simplex-relationship oriented societies also tend to prefer adversarial adjudication, where the contending parties compete to make their case, rather than investigative adjudication, where a third party (magistrate or judge) investigates as well as judges.

A study of the conflict style of Vietnamese refugees concluded that they are part of a collectivist (as opposed to individualist), high-context (rather than low-context) culture which often desires to avoid conflict. In a 1994 conflict situation in Louisville, Kentucky, USA, the Vietnamese conflict-avoiding style

aided a defusion of tensions.[140] Yugoslavians (collectivists by Hofstede's measures) and Japanese prefer collaboration or compromise in handling a conflict, North Americans prefer competition.[141] Greeks, who by European standards are relatively collectivist, treat their ingroup as a source of protection and social insurance, but are more suspicious of and competitive with outgroup members, such as strangers.

Tjosvold and Sun (2002) interpreted their results as indicating that among collectivists avoiding conflict re-affirms existing strong relationships.[142]

People from feminine cultures, such as the Dutch, have been shown to prefer harmony-enhancing conflict resolution procedures (such as mediation and negotiation) to confrontational procedures (such as threats and accusations). This preference was stronger among the Dutch than among Canadians, who score high on masculinity.

A meta-analysis of studies of five methods of conflict handling at work based on Blake and Mouton's [(1964). *The managerial grid.* Houston, TX: Gulf Publishing] – smoothing, withdrawing, compromising, problem-solving, and forcing methods – was conducted to provide a clearer overall picture for the variables of culture (individualistic versus collectivistic), gender, and organizational role (superior, subordinate, and peer). Based on 123 paired comparisons within 36 empirical studies, the results of the meta-analysis indicated: (1) individualistic cultures chose forcing as a conflict style more than collectivistic cultures; (2) collectivistic cultures preferred the styles of withdrawing, compromising, and problem-solving more than individualistic cultures.[143]

Finally, emotion, particularly anger, compassion and guilt, affects conflict styles and face concerns in both Chinese and U.S. cultures, but there are also differences between the two: for instance, where in U.S. culture guilt leads to an obliging style of conflict handling, in China it is linked to an avoiding style.[144]

5.5.1 More on cultural differences in rhetorical sensitivity

Okabe (2007) suggested that American and Japanese conceptualizations of rhetorical competence and sensitivity differed. Among the differences noted were these: the US prototype of rhetorically competent communicators is that they consciously use symbols to create understanding and to form, strengthen

or change an attitude in their audience, whereas rhetorically competent Japanese communicators tend to view the function of rhetoric as a means of establishing consensual agreement and smoothing interpersonal relations. Their rhetorical competence is measured by the degree of their propensity for intuition, adaptability, and aggregation. Equally, rhetorically sensitive communicators of the US tend to look at things analytically and disparately while Japanese communicators of high rhetorical sensitivity are likely to employ a synthetic thinking pattern in framing and organizing the argument. Thirdly, the rhetorically sensitive US model is one of 'acting out' and is predominantly linear and uni-directional in nature, compared with the Japanese rhetorically sensitive communicators' presumption that the exchange between two interacting persons is primarily circular.[145]

5.5.2 More on how cultural values can be used to predict and explain differences among communicator styles in different countries

The cultural values of individualism–collectivism, power distance, masculinity/femininity and uncertainty avoidance can be used to predict and explain differences between communicator styles in different countries. A study by Gudykunst *et al.* (1996) [146] explored this question and found the following:

> Individualism–collectivism had both a direct effect on communicator styles and an indirect effect that was mediated through self-construals and values. Gudykunst *et al.* (1996) found that independent self-construals and individualist values mediated the influence of cultural individualism–collectivism on the use of low-context communication, while interdependent self-construals and collectivist values mediate the influence of cultural individualism–collectivism on the use of high-context communication.
> High power distance in general inhibited direct communication, leading to lower levels of disclosure, openness and informality than in low power distance cultures. At work, high power distance led to greater differences according to who is communicating with whom: between managers and subordinates, the above points apply and are reinforced, with subordinates' style conveying deference and managers' condescension or paternalism. On the other hand, between co-workers low down in the hierarchy, it could lead to high levels of informality, with joking, teasing and a private language, as the low level of

responsibility required of these workers encouraged a playful or childish approach.

Cultures with strong achievement (masculine) values, like Austria, Venezuela and the Republic of Ireland, tended to use more assertive and competitive forms of communication than cultures with more relational (feminine) values like Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands. Japan, which ranks first on the achievement values index, was an exception, possibly because the strength of collectivism in the culture outweighs even the powerful achievement value.

High uncertainty avoidance cultures, such as those of Greece, Portugal and the Latin American countries, are cultures where communicator styles were more expressive. 'They are the places where people talk with their hands, where it is socially acceptable to raise one's voice, to show one's emotions, to pound the table.'[147,148] Conversely, countries known for their low-key style of communication, such as Great Britain, Singapore and the Nordic countries, are also low in uncertainty avoidance. Gudykunst *et al*. (1996) concluded that culture influences communication both directly, guided by cultural norms and rules, and indirectly, through self-construals and values which influence individuals' styles of communication.

5.8.1 More on cultural differences in work communication practices

Marked differences in conversation rules were found among Finnish, Swedish and Austrian students of business. Finnish conversation rules encourage observation and reflection before speaking on important, controversial issues. Finns are often more likely to speak openly in one-on-one situations than in a group situation. They try to avoid open conflict and seek consensus via a strategy of listening and observing before speaking. This strategy can also lead to a polite, silent approach that avoids confrontation but leaves core controversial opinions unstated. In contrast, the Swedish and Austrian students in the study communicated according to conversation rules that encourage brainstorming. Their goal was to get a variety of views on the table and to use polite verbalization and phrasing of opinions when talking about problems and seeking consensus. They pursued strategies for talking around the problem with the goal of getting closer to a consensus without directly addressing a controversial issue.[149]

5.9.1 More on how culture affects cmc practices at work

A study of mobile phone users in Sweden, the US, Italy, Japan and Korea found that the Japanese stand out from the others in their low level of complaint ('like least') regarding the way phones lead to perpetual contact; a possible explanation is that Japanese culture inhibits people from complaining about being available to potential communication partners. Mobile phone users from Japan's close neighbour, Korea, however, closely resemble those of the three Western countries in having much higher scores on complaints about perpetual contact, though their complaints about an obligation to be responsive are close to those of Japan, being at a much lower level than those of the Western countries. Again, the importance Koreans attach to not having to listen to the other person's views as a reason for texting rather than calling, is close to that of Japanese people and lower than that of Westerners.[150]

Most empirical research has been carried out in relation to online marketing. One study examined the impact of culture on trust determinants in computer-mediated commerce transactions. The results showed that determinants of trust such as 'perceived importance of third-party seal' and 'perceived importance of positive referral' (labelled 'transference-based trust determinants' because the basis of trust is transferred from the vendor to a third party) were more positively related to consumer trust in e-vendors in a collectivistic/strong uncertainty avoidance/high long-term orientation/high context culture (labelled a Type II culture) than in an individualistic/weak uncertainty avoidance/low long-term orientation/low context culture (labelled a Type 1 culture). Contrary to expectations, however trust determinants based on perceived security protection and perceived system reliability did not show stronger relations to consumer trust in e-vendors in a Type I culture than in a Type II culture. Perceived privacy concerns were seen to have a stronger effect on consumer trust in e-vendors in a Type I culture than in a Type II culture.[151]

Another study found that potential user trust in information technology (IT) artefacts such as payroll software was enhanced when the artefact had higher quality navigational structure and greater visual appeal. The link between trust and such system quality attributes of course implies a limit on the effect of cultural distance on trust in these products. However, by comparing the trust of French and American potential users in e-commerce technologies, the study showed that not only did culture directly affect user trust in IT artefacts but it also moderated the extent to which navigational structure affected this form of trust.[152]

5.A Here is a link to a video about culture and communication:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CWxD5OKxvPg Last accessed 10 Oct 2016

6.1.1 A more detailed diagram of psychological influences on communication behaviour

Identity — Self-esteem — Motives — Values — Abilities — Self-construals — Intentions — Overt communication — Ethics and morals — Expectations — Cognitions — Emotions and moods — Emotional correlates e.g. event appraisal — Assumptions — Beliefs — Perceptions — Attitudes — Communication apprehension — Stereotypes — Religions — Worldviews
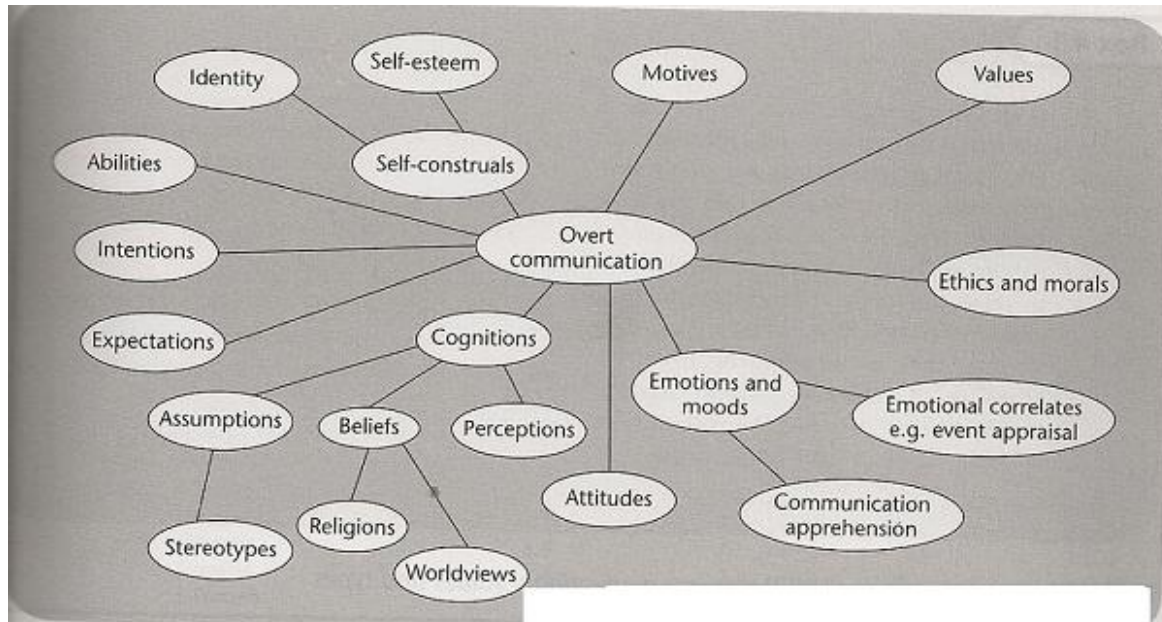
6.1.2 Can country level cultural values be used validly at the level of individuals?

In discussing cultural influences on values, it is important to note that while value dimensions are used widely to explain the behaviour of individuals within countries, researchers, including Hofstede (1981) and Schwartz (1999) have been adamant that individual-level value structures differ from those at country level and that their findings apply only to the second of these structures. Typically, as is the case with Hofstede's (1981) well-known research, cultural values are measured at the level of countries. Consequently, researchers who make causal inferences from such group data to individual behaviours are making the ecological fallacy, i.e they wrongly assume that relationships observed for groups necessarily hold for individuals.[153] However, recent research has found that dimensional structures at the two levels show substantial overlap and that a single value structure across levels is valid.[154] Again, a 2010 meta-analysis of the relationship between Hofstede's (1981) original four cultural value dimensions that used data from 598 studies

representing over 200,000 individuals found that values predict outcomes with similar strength at the individual level of analysis.[155] On that basis, the discussion of values given in Section 3.1 may perhaps be applied cautiously to individuals' values.

6.1.3 A discussion of cultural differences in ethics and morality

The assertion in the text that it is likely that possession of a moral code of some sort is universal is supported by the following quotation:

> 'People are motivated to think of themselves as ethical, and rate themselves as more ethical than the average person. When people do engage in ethically questionable behaviour, they often justify it as self-defence.'[156]

A study that compared Indian and American moral choices found cross-cultural differences in the priority given to interpersonal responsibilities relative to justice considerations. More Indians than Americans gave priority to interpersonal responsibilities. This difference was greater in non-life-threatening situations. Americans emphasized the potential harm involved in the choice situation rather than the 'uncaringness' involved in the choice; Indians did the opposite. (Unexpectedly, the various crosscultural differences were not more marked in older than younger people.) Indians categorized their choice of the interpersonal option in moral terms; the minority of Americans who chose the interpersonal alternative categorized it in personal rather than moral terms.[157] A comparison of beliefs about distributive justice found differences between Hong Kong and Indonesia. Hong Kong respondents perceived that the use of merit as a basis for distributing resources was fairer and more principled than the use of need; Indonesian respondents, in contrast, saw the use of need as fairer than the use of merit. (Both groups, however, perceived that the allocator who favoured the needy was nicer and acted more out of concern for others.)[158] Another study found cultural variation in the acceptability of most kinds of lies, although there was cross-cultural agreement that lies perceived as told for malicious or self-benefiting purposes were unacceptable.[159] Examples of moral standards of individual cultures include Ali's (1995) finding that in the Arab world, not only is bribery widespread but political elites encourage it, believing that the more customary the corruption, the more valid their system. 'In July 1992, I visited Jordan and found that, even

in a religious court, the clerk openly asked for a bribe (he called it "Ikrameh"). In Syria, it is impossible to get a request processed in any government agency without paying bribes.'[160]

Another study showed that whether individuals in organizations are aware of an issue being a moral one is decided in part by their perceiving a social consensus that an issue is ethically problematic. This finding supports the idea that socio–cultural influences affect individuals' moral beliefs.[161]

6.1.4 More on cultural differences in motives

Suggesting cultural differences in work motivation between North American and Japanese people, findings show that North Americans who failed on a task persisted less on a follow-up task than those who succeeded. In contrast, Japanese who failed persisted more than those who succeeded, and enhanced the importance and the diagnosticity of the task compared with those who succeeded, whereas North Americans did the opposite. The Japanese pattern, it is argued, is evidence for a self-improving orientation: failures highlight where corrective efforts are needed.[162]

Research has examined the effects on the structure and strength of achievement motivation of individualist and collectivist cultural orientations. The strength of achievement motivation varied markedly across US, Dutch, Israeli, Hungarian, and Japanese samples.[163] Respondents from the USA, a highly individualist culture, demonstrated the strongest tendencies for personal achievement. Respondents from the more collectivist cultures of Japan and Hungary showed the lowest levels of achievement motive. They had a tendency to avoid individual tasks or obligations that involved personal responsibility.

6.1.5 More on emotions and culture

Emotions have been defined as, 'first and foremost, modes of relating to the environment: states of readiness for engaging, or not engaging, in interaction with that environment'. Aspects of that engagement include, 'modifying inter-individual interactions … regulating the balance of power … determining general patterns of social interaction and … motivating social cohesion'.[164]

Among emotions' correlates are antecedent events (which trigger feelings), event categorization (e.g., as humiliating or flattering), appraisal of the event according to its category (e.g., humiliation as harmful, flattery as pleasant), physiological reaction (like sweating or blushing), action readiness (to run, to leave the room), emotional behaviour (like insulting vengeful speech or crying) and regulation (people can either inhibit or enhance responses). A review article reported that both cultural similarities and differences have been found for nearly all these correlates of emotions. For example, appraisal includes evaluating how controllable the outcome of the event seems and what causes it. These elements of appraisal seem to be universal, but the weight placed on the different elements varies across cultures. The importance of certain emotions also varies across cultures. Variations in cultural collectivism or individualism seem to explain these differences.[165]

Emotions are the psychological variable most closely related to cultural values, according to a 2010 meta-analysis, ahead of attitudes, then behaviours and job performance.[166]

Even in complex situations, such as work-related initial intercultural encounters, feelings generally affect behaviour, although thoughts modify the effect. For instance, it has been shown that when the situation is complex, being in a positive mood triggers more confident, direct interpersonal behaviours than being in a negative mood. Again, during complex negotiations, people in a positive mood had more ambitious goals, higher expectations and bargained in a more co-operative and integrative way, leading to greater success, compared with people in a negative mood.[167]

People conceptualize emotion differently – in the West, emotion is usually considered separate from reason, whereas the Eastern ideal is that emotion is a part of reasoning. This difference influences how people deal with their emotional experiences. In one study, directors from 48 separate factories in the People's Republic of China said they experienced intense pleasant and unpleasant emotions as a result of social, moral and material/economic conditions. Some directors expressed these emotions in culturally conforming ways, using reason to understand them; others vented or suppressed them, contrary to their cultural norm. The study concluded that those directors who used culturally conforming methods dealt with their emotions better.[168]

An example of anger-expression avoidance behaviour from China:

"A female employee working in a state-owned company in Guangzhou described an occasion when she found that her new superior was always seeking chances to judge her, not only her work performance, but also her personal life, even her appearance. She felt angry and tried to communicate with her boss, who was also a female, but her boss seemed to be accustomed to judging her and others. Department colleagues had the similar uncomfortable feelings. But they did not choose to express their anger, the collectivistic atmosphere in the state-owned company and the understanding of confirmation of social face prevented them to face the woman directly and express it. That would mean they did not agree with the superior's suggestions about their work, even if they were not related to work, and that they did not want to accept her considerate caring and did not show enough respect to her authority.

Instead, they frequently got together, laughing and gossiping, complaining about their boss behind her back. That has already become a tradition in the office and they all seemed to enjoy it. This interviewee admitted that as she has not been given respect in the workplace, she thought she did not have to make the best of herself, so she performed quite slowly on the designed job on purpose and did not hand in the work to her boss until the deadline."[169] Another study showed that African Americans self-reported different behaviours as revealing that they felt shy from those reported by White Americans; this implies that behaviours displaying shyness feelings may be culture-specific.[170] Finally, a cross-cultural comparison of the implications of self-disclosure found differences in the Eastern and Western concepts of 'sincerity'.[171]

6.1.6 More on communication apprehension

For instance, CA reduces people's tendency to talk to doctors or seek out health information, though it does not affect health-related behaviours such as taking exercise, going to health fairs or using tobacco.[172] CA may be culturally induced: Swedish children were found to be more apprehensive than North American children and older children (ages 9–11) more apprehensive than younger.

However, there is evidence that who suffers from communication fear and when is not stereotypical. The results of one study indicated that Middle Eastern and European subjects in the USA reported levels of apprehension well *below* statistical norms previously established by US subjects, while Asian and Latin American subjects reported levels just slightly below those norms when communicating in their native languages. [173]

All groups indicated that CA was more of a problem when speaking in English, with Asians and Latin Americans reporting the highest levels. Women were slightly more apprehensive overall when communicating in either language, but women in the Latin American sample reported less apprehension than men in every context except public speaking. Neither the subjects' number of years speaking English nor the length of time living in the USA correlated with CA.[174] CA in a first language is a much better predictor of apprehension in a second language than is self-perceived competence in that second language. Thus, if CA is culturally induced, it nevertheless varies between subgroups. CA is probably personal, though affected by (sub)culture. Among Chinese college students in Taiwan, individuals who held more independent views of the self and who received more encouragement from their teachers to speak up were less likely to be high in CA, though family communication patterns were not shown to have any effect.[175] Women were found to be higher in CA (men are higher in shyness), but it was suggested that this might be linked to cultural norms and stereotypes about gender rather than biological sex. It was not related to self-perceived competence in speaking a language.[176]

6.1.7 More about culture and social perceptions

It is not being suggested that individuals' social perceptions are rigidly determined by their culture. Instead they are guided by it only when it is activated – as in the case of heightened **need for closure**. Additionally, individuals may have other tools for understanding the social world in addition to their 'native' cultural theory. For instance, bicultural people may have developed 'foreign' cultural meaning systems that may be activated to guide their social perceptions.

Two factors can combine to shape evaluations of commitment. First, single female managers and male and female managers with families evaluate traditional behaviours differently than their single or childless married counterparts, even when controlling for the specific behaviour described and the individual characteristics of the actor. Second, work group gender

demographics shape managers' beliefs to the degree that managers conform to the beliefs of the majority. Thus, the more numerically male-dominated the work group, the more likely it is that traditional indicators of commitment, such as working long hours, will be used.[177]

A survey of 284 American executives affected by foreign or domestic acquisition of their company investigated their perceptions of (organizational) cultural differences, system changes in the acquired company, acquisition negotiations, executives' reasons for staying or leaving after the acquisition and post-acquisition outcomes for the organization. It was found that the executives' perceptions differed significantly in all five areas according to whether the executive was involved in a foreign or domestic acquisition.[178]

The Forgas finding about culture and social episode perceptions also found that age, sex and personality also predicted how social episodes were seen in both cultures, but the pattern of such links was culture-specific.[179]

Justice perceptions

Another cross-cultural study built on previous research which showed that people thought the procedure by which the outcome of a social exchange was decided was fair, they were less influenced in assessing it by whether the outcome was in their favour or not. For example, if a performance appraisal was thought to be based on a fair procedure, workers would be less aggrieved by an unfavourable appraisal. The cross-cultural study showed that this applied even more to people with interdependent self-construals than to people with independent self-construals.[180] Finally, a direct link was found between self-construals and ways of communicating. In making a request, individuals high in interdependence were more likely to use hint strategies on the first and second attempt, while independent individuals were more likely to use direct strategies. However, when non-compliance was high, both interdependent and independent individuals used direct strategies.[181]

6.1.8 Explanations of six fundamental belief systems and how they vary across cultures and subcultures:

■ Authoritarianism has been defined as consisting of three factors: submission to society's established authorities, holding to conventions that they seemingly endorse and support for aggression towards people who break society's rules

or conventions. Cross-cultural studies have shown that some people in many cultures score high on authoritarianism (Canada, Ghana, Russia, South Africa, USA included), though in varying numbers. For instance, a greater proportion of people high in authoritarianism was found in the USA than in Russia.

■ Social dominance orientation (SDO) refers to the belief in and support for a natural hierarchy among individuals and groups. SDO has been validated in the USA, Canada, Taiwan, Israel and China, but its expression varied across cultures. In the USA, people who strongly agreed with SDO blamed people in low-status positions (such as poverty) for their misfortunes. However, in Taiwan, people who strongly agreed with SDO tended to believe that people's misfortunes were due to forces outside of themselves. Agreeing with SDO predicted a tendency to justify inequality in the culturally endorsed manner. There were also within-culture variations in levels of SDO; in general, people in higher status positions were more likely to agree strongly with SDO, although their level of support depended on the context and situation.[182] One study found that men supported SDO more than women and that this varied little with culture, situation or context.

■ The Protestant work ethic (PWE) is an individualist belief system that stresses successful outcomes for anyone who works hard, and attributes failure to personal factors such as lack of effort and weakness of character. Tests of PWE beliefs among university students in 13 nations (including India, Germany, USA and Zimbabwe), found that, in general, wealthy countries were less likely to endorse PWE beliefs than countries that were not wealthy. This may be because striving for success is more necessary and useful in poorer societies. The research also found a strong correlation between PWE scores and power distance scores. Of the three European countries in the sample, Great Britain and Germany ranked low on most measures of PWE, whereas Greece ranked much higher.[183]

A study of 150,000 individuals from 82 societies found strong support for a Protestant work ethic: unemployment hurts Protestants more and hurts more in Protestant societies. [184]

■ Humanitarianism–egalitarianism (H–E) is a belief in and support for equality, social justice and concern for others. It is a belief central to relationship-oriented cultures, such as Norway's, but has also been referred to as an aspect of a US core value, despite that country's high masculinity (achievement) rating.

■ Beliefs about the malleability of human attributes refer to beliefs about whether people can change in their human qualities, such as morality, personality and intelligence. Opposing views on malleability have been found in different cultures (USA, Hong Kong and France).

■ Beliefs about diversity itself. These are positive or negative beliefs about ethnic diversity, other specified ethnic groups and women's equality. People may see value in the idea of working with others who are different from themselves, or they may think that working with people who are similar to themselves is preferable.[185]

These beliefs correlate with levels of awareness of racial privilege. Diversity beliefs are also correlated with ethnicity and gender – in sum, with the position of the belief holder's group in society, although the relationship is far from one for one.

■ Different diversity beliefs affect how people respond to working in a team that they perceive as high or low in diversity, as Section 8.5 shows.

6.1.9 More about culture and locus of control

A study in 43 countries found three different dimensions related to locus of control, which varied cross-culturally as follows:

> Eastern European countries endorsed harmony with the environment; most other countries endorsed mastery of the environment.
> Cultural collectivism and power distance predicted low scores on internal locus of control.
> Four Asian countries endorsed items asserting the role of luck or chance in life, but without an implication of failure. An East German sample produced an extreme negative measure on this dimension.[186]

6.1.10 More on self-efficacy beliefs

In the words of the originator of self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1964) 'Unless people believe they can produce desired effects by their actions, they have little incentive to undertake activities or to persevere in the face of difficulties. Whatever other factors may serve as guides and motivators, they are rooted in the core belief that one can make a difference by one's actions.'[187]

6.1.11 More about culture and religious beliefs

Differences in religious belief are clearly a strong influence on behaviour, although different religions agree on what they judge to be virtues. Written documents from Confucianism and Taoism (China), Buddhism and Hinduism (South Asia), and Athenian philosophy, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (the West) converged on six virtues: courage, justice, humanity, temperance, wisdom and transcendence.

Culture moderates the effects of religion. For instance, US church mission statements on websites emphasize the acceptance of and adjustment to difficult situations Whereas the Korean equivalents emphasise social affiliation. These differences have been attributed to the US's individualistic culture and Korea's collectivistic culture respectively.[188]

Showing that the impact of religious belief may be less significant in the work context, a study of 277 Moslem immigrants to the USA found that acculturation to US organizational practices was related to different factors from those that affected acculturation in private and/or social lives. Willingness to acculturate to the US national culture was promoted by collectivism (presumably because collectivists try to harmonize with the surrounding culture), and affected by religious beliefs and practices (the stronger and more active their religious beliefs, the more individuals clung to their national culture), gender, education (male and more educated respondents were more willing to integrate) and yea rs lived in the USA. Factors influencing acceptance of US organizational cultures, however, included acculturation to the US national culture but also how much discrepancy in work cultures the person perceived. Despite this, acculturation to US organizational cultures still occurred more readily: most were more inclined to retain their original national culture for their private lives but accepted US organizational cultures. More educated Moslems perceived greater discrepancies between the US and 'own country' organizational cultures; other demographic variables, collectivism and degree of religiosity were unrelated to this variable.[189]

6.1.12 More about ethnocentrism

In some conditions groups even seemed to minimize or invert their usual ethnocentric tendencies. Over allocation of resources, groups minimized their advantage or emphasized their disadvantage – in 'marked contrast to the usual ingroup–outgroup pattern in which groups see themselves favorably and others unfavorably'.[190] An obvious explanation of this last behaviour, however, is that the groups were motivated to lower the favourability of their self-perceptions in order to try to obtain more resources.

6.1.13 More about the stereotypes that different cultures hold about various minority groups

Some stereotypes are positive. Many, though, are negative: for instance, when working-class individuals do not use middle-class speech, they are stereotyped as unintelligent, uneducated and possibly lazy;[191] Commonly held stereotypes about the personality traits of overweight employees are that they are less conscientiousness, less agreeable, less emotionally stable, and less extraverted than their "normal-weight" counterparts; these persist although research findings tend to refute them.[192]

Other stereotypes may be positive in some contexts but negative in others. For example, stereotypes that are shared by many people about gender differences have men as high in instrumental traits such as aggressiveness and independence, and women as possessing expressive traits such as sensitivity, nurturance and tactfulness. Women's stereotypical traits may well be positively regarded in the context of friendship or the home, but they are generally regarded negatively in the context of work, especially higher-level executive or managerial work.

Because assumptions, including ethnocentrism and stereotypes, are both powerful and inaccessible to self-awareness, they are key variables in encounters. This applies particularly to assumptions about outgroup members, such as unconsciously-held stereotypes. There is evidence that one party's assumptions can change the reality for both parties, that 'interpersonal beliefs actively guide social interaction, creating a social world that fits the expectations of the actors. Actors engaged in social interaction behave as if their beliefs about the others are true, and their targets, in turn, tend to act in ways that verify these and its outcomes. Negotiators can, and do, "change the game." ʹ

A Dutch study showed that participants' stereotypes were 'domain specific' – for instance, they varied according to whether people were thinking of an ethnic outgroup as neighbours, colleagues, classmates or (marital) partners. The study also showed that how much social distance people imposed as a result of stereotypes varied according to the particular attributions in the stereotype – for instance, traditionalism, deviancy or low education/dark skin. (Imposing or maintaining social distance refers to avoiding intimacy or spending time with another person.)[193]

There is much evidence that people apply stereotypes to form complex images of others from first impressions. For instance, when 80 students guessed the attitudes of several people whose pictures they were shown, it was found that they expected men to have conservative attitudes on child discipline,

feminism, immigration, and homosexuality, while women were expected to be conservative on religion. Attractiveness was linked to liberalism, age to conservatism. The research also revealed that the participants used sub-stereotypes: the age and attractiveness of the target modified the impression based purely on gender.[194]

Stereotypes can be quite complex and evoked by just one aspect of another person. For instance, when British listeners gave their social evaluations of audiotaped voices, they upgraded standard accented speakers on competence-related traits but downgraded them on solidarity, regardless of age. Older speakers were perceived as less hesitant but more benevolent than younger speakers. Older-sounding standard speakers were judged most competent, older-sounding non-standard speakers least competent. Slow-talking younger speakers were most downgraded on competence.[195] However, people tend to overestimate the degree to which they themselves are perceived as different – that is, the extent to which they are stereotyped. This has been demonstrated for stereotypes of and by women, business students, and students from different geographical regions.[196]

People are more likely to create stereotypes of members of groups other than their own. Stereotypes also tend to favour ingroups. Outgroup members are believed to be less attractive, capable, trustworthy, honest, cooperative and deserving than ingroup members. As a result, people behave differently towards outgroup members. Because stereotypes are constructed socially, group discussion makes members' stereotypes more extreme.[197]

Stereotype examples

An Indian woman doctor who lived for many years in the Middle East and worked extensively with colleagues from different countries in that area, said, 'Iraqis and Palestinians are very hard working; Syrians are clever and they do work hard but more because there is so much competition there than because it comes naturally; Bengalis and Bangladeshis are not motivated to work hard. They don't seem to want to improve themselves.'[198]
Research into Black–White communication stereotypes found that Whites saw Black communication as argumentative, emotional, aggressive, straightforward, critical, sensitive, ostentatious, defiant, hostile, open, responsive and intelligent. Blacks saw White

communication as demanding, manipulative, organized, rude, critical, aggressive, arrogant, boastful, hostile, ignorant, deceptive and noisy.[199]

Demonstrations that stereotypes affect behaviour include showing that people whose concept of rudeness was primed interrupted the experimenter more quickly and frequently than did people primed with polite-related stimuli; people for whom an elderly stereotype was primed walked more slowly down the hallway when leaving the experiment than did those from a control group, showing that even their self-concept could be stereotypically primed; and participants for whom a negative African-American stereotype was primed reacted with more hostility to a vexatious request of the African-American experimenter than those for whom a positive stereotype was primed. Stereotypical beliefs significantly affected respondents' attitudes towards the training, promotion and retention of older workers, their willingness to work with older workers, and their support for positive discrimination.[200]

Other research, however, challenges the idea that implicit biases are automatically and invariantly activated when perceivers come into contact with members of stigmatized groups. For instance, people self-completing race attitude questionnaires showed less race bias when the experimenters were Black than when they were White.[201] Moreover, stereotypes are not continually affecting attitudes and behaviour. For example, when research subjects watched a video of a member of a group about which they had stereotypes, these were first activated (after 15 seconds), then dissipated (after 12 minutes). They were re-activated when the person portrayed expressed disagreement with the research subjects' own view on a court judgement.[202]

Here is a link to a video about cultural stereotypes:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LQQtoyStMe4

6.1.14 More on work-related beliefs

One cross-cultural analysis found significant differences in beliefs about money, business ethics, corporate social responsibility and guanxi among youths in two Asian economies – Hong Kong and Singapore – from those in two Western economies – Canada and Hawaii.[203]. 'Western' Christian (Australian) and non-Western Buddhist (Sri Lankan) reportedly had similar perceptions about the meaning of work, except that Sri Lankans seemed to be

more strongly committed to hard work and did not endorse the belief that hard work leads to success as enthusiastically as Australians did.[204]
Against these findings of a link between national culture and work-related beliefs, however, a study in five Hungarian firms with Anglo-Saxon or Western management found that factors such as national culture, functional area, education, age, rank and gender had relatively little influence on beliefs about company strategy compared with the factor of whether or not an individual was located in a unit favourably affected by that strategy.[205]

6.1.15 More about culture and attitudes

It has been shown, in the context of prejudice, that people may not be fully aware of their attitudes. A study found that although the explicit (self-reported) attitudes of Whites predicted their own assessments of their verbal behaviour towards Blacks relative to Whites, observers' assessments of their non-verbal behaviour and bias conflicted with these explicit attitudes. Instead, the Whites' implicit attitudes, assessed by reactions to primary stimuli such as schematic faces, predicted the observers' assessments.[206]

> Shifts in national attitudes to democracy, freedom and religion are likely as the proportion of people who qualify as members of the 'global middle class' increases, research has found. Compared with the poor, the middle classes are more likely to endorse democracy, favour freedom of speech over other freedoms such as freedom from crime and violence, and downplay the centrality of religion in their lives. Although globally there are exceptions to this last difference (the USA is both rich and religious), within countries the middle class is less likely to endorse religion. This applies to a variety of faiths. One-third of the middle class in predominantly Catholic Mexico said religion was very important to them, while about half (48 per cent) of poorer Mexicans expressed this opinion. Similar gaps exist in largely Hindu India (middle class - 60 per cent very important; lower income - 72 per cent). In Malaysia, which is majority Muslim but has significant Buddhist, Christian, and Hindu minorities, 60 per cent of the middle class said religion is very important to them compared with 86 per cent of those with lower incomes.
> The global middle class is also less likely to believe faith is essential for morality.

Trust

Power distance is another cultural variable that influences willingness to trust, while gender is a subcultural influence. From hypothesis-testing research on a sample of Hong Kong employees, it was found that, compared with high power distance individuals, those low in power distance were more likely to link trust in their supervisor and belief that their employing organization was fulfilling its contractual obligations to whether they thought decisions were reached and carried out in a fair way.[207]

There is a theory that high mutual trust is linked to economic prosperity and varies from country to country accordingly.[208] However, findings from the World Values Survey do not bear this theory out; instead a cultural influence seems to be operating. In Denmark, Sweden, Finland and the Netherlands people do indeed have high mutual trust and, as expected, economic prosperity is generally high. But although France, Belgium and Iceland are also prosperous, their people have much less mutual trust. (The same applies to Luxembourg, the most prosperous country in Europe, which does not have the highest score in terms of mutual trust.) Again, although Eastern European countries are considerably less prosperous than Western European countries, in a few cases the degree of mutual trust is just as high as in many prosperous Western European countries. The figures have changed little over time. Although the trend in most countries is towards a decline in trust, the change is only a few percentage points.[209]

Culture also influences the relative importance that people attach to different aspects of trust. Findings from a comparative survey of 153 Mexican and 177 US subjects showed that people from individualist cultures valued most the willingness to trust an agent from outside one's group to act on one's behalf, while setting limits to trust. In contrast, people from collectivist cultures most valued setting the level of trust according to the relationship.[210]

Attitudes to cmc

Attitudes towards the internet and computers are important for intercultural communication in the modern world, dependent as it is on cmc.

The United Kingdom sample, however, reported more computer-related experience, less anxiety and more positive attitudes. There was a large degree of overlap between the factorial structure for computer anxiety and attitudes between the two samples which is consistent with previous research.[211]

An assumption-matching approach, it has been argued, adopts a richer description of culture than the 'values' systems – for instance, reflecting proverbs such as 'Those who criticise us correctly are our teachers', 'If God is to be blamed, so are we', 'One tree does not make a forest, but three trees do.' Taking such an approach, Thang et al (2007) pointed to the varying degree of contextual fit of four HRM (human resource management) practices: pay for performance, multi-source feedback, involvement and empowerment, self-managed work teams. Of these, pay for performance appeared most readily compatible with the Vietnamese 'backdrop' of, for instance, preference for an equity to an equality allocation norm, use of individual ranks in education, and a critical attitude to blaming failure on external circumstances. The other practices 'face more subtle relationship stage barriers: only when the relationship among individuals grows closer and a certain level of trust is achieved will the application of these practices become more practical, as they conflict with obstacles such as "face saving", … low trust climates resulting from a long history of uncertainty in daily life and (in the case of self managed work teams) the modern Vietnamese trend of increasing popularity of pursuit of personal goals.'[212]

6.1.16 More about culture and expectations

The expectations a person has about the behaviour of people from another culture are related to all of the following:

> How much they know about that culture.
> What they believe and what their attitude is to that culture.
> Stereotypes of individuals from that culture.
> Their own self-concept (e.g., as 'proud to be British' or as 'a citizen of the world').
> Whether they have roles which require interfacing with people from the other culture.
> Previous experience of people from the other culture.

Perceptions of their own and the others' relative status.[213]

Differences in the definition of honesty may be among the important differences in behavioural expectations of parties in intercultural transactions. Two societies may have the same degree of honesty but may nevertheless define differently the components of honest or of cheating behaviour. Debates about comparative corruption indicate how definitions of honest and dishonest behaviour may vary between societies. Differences in the definition of honesty may mean that people from one society believe that they are being cheated when the other party is behaving honestly by their own code of conduct. This distinction may distort the perception of compliance with contracts or agreements, which of course is fundamental to the relationship between the two parties.[214]

Examples of culture and expectations

Research has shown that professional nurses in psychiatric wards are more likely to respond therapeutically to violent patient behaviour directed against staff if they perceived the behaviour as arbitrary rather than intended. In other words, their professional role created expectations about patient behaviour that were different from those most people would have about others' behaviour, and, if the expectations were not fulfilled, their response was affected.[215]

Miller et al (2011) showed that social expectations to meet the needs of family and friends tend to be more fully internalized among Indians than among Americans.[216]

A British-owned start-up in India was expanding very fast, planning to increase its head count from 450 to 900 in a single year. This entailed renting new premises. After an exhaustive search, suitable offices were located. It was in an older part of town, not in the new 'high-tech' area, but the building was brand new and better equipped. When the news was given out, however, there were strong objections from some of the staff: journeys to work would be longer (though in fact over half the staff affected by the move lived nearer the new offices than the old ones), there were inadequate lifts (there were only two but the offices were on the second and third floors and most staff were in their twenties), there was insufficient car parking.

The British Managing Director's reaction was as follows: 'This is about expectations and status. Expectations here are high on both sides: people work very long hours for relatively low pay and are quite prepared to interrupt holidays for work reasons. In return they expect transport to work, subsidised food in the canteen, and so on, but above all they want to work for a company that gives them prestige in the eyes of their families and friends. The problem with the new offices is simply that they are not in a prestige area.'

6.2.1 More on culture and personality

Adorno (1991) found that Church members, especially Catholics, in the USA were more authoritarian than those with no religion; fundamentalists – whether Hindu, Muslim, Jew or Christian – were the most authoritarian. In addition, dogmatism – being rigid in thinking, intolerant of ambiguity and unable to deal with new information – was highest among members of strict churches (American Catholics and Southern Baptists), lowest among non-believers.[217] On the other hand, Argyle (2000) recorded that religion was not much related to the general personality variables known to psychologists, such as extraversion or neuroticism.[218]

6.2.2 Critique of the concepts of self-construal and identity

The concepts of self-construal and identity have attracted criticism. Varela *et al.* (1991) criticized the whole concept of a 'self' as a Western myth, arguing that when people look inside themselves for a fixed, unitary self, no such animal can be found. Instead, they find that who they are is completely bound up with and relative to their environment. The inability to catch one's self with a self-perception, to separate the self from the world, can lead to anxiety, restlessness and self-grasping.[219]

There are also questions over using these constructs to understand communication. In the words of Bulow (2003), 'Reality is complicated by the fact that the multiple identities that we all carry around are not equally *salient,* not even for the space of one encounter. When things work smoothly, for example, people are using a professional script for their transactions and they do not pay much attention to other layers or boxes.'[220]

6.2.3 More on culture, identity, self-construals and self-esteem

Though not synonymous, self-construals and identity are closely related. Self-construals are our mental representations of ourselves, derived, at least in part, reflexively – that is, by interpreting how others seem, from their communication with us, to perceive us. Compared with self-construals, identity is usually considered to include a more affective element and to be associated with group membership; as a result, we all have multiple identities – mother, wife, lawyer, French national and so on.

For people with independent self-construals, then, although other people are crucial in maintaining the sense of self and also function as standards of comparison and sources of appraisal, the persistent concern in communicating is to express internal attributes. Against this, people from collectivist cultures are usually more strongly aware of the nature of their relationship to others and of maintaining reciprocity within those relationships. People with interdependent self-construals, such as the Japanese, may have less clarity about their selves than people with independent self-construals, such as Canadians.[221] It is, however, possible to have both interdependent and independent components in the self-construal. (They are orthogonal constructs, not a single bipolar one.)[222]

For communication theorists, cultural identification, such as that which causes someone to identify as French, is a process that happens in a constantly changing socio-economic environment and which is also affected by contact with other cultures. Cultural identities are negotiated, co-created, reinforced and challenged through communication. Whereas social psychological perspectives view identity as a characteristic of the person and the self as centred in social roles and social practices, a communication perspective views identity as something that emerges when messages are exchanged between persons. Throughout life, cultural identities are emergent, not created or completed.

Measures of self-esteem used in cross-cultural comparisons are often based on individual attributes rather than group attributes. Cross-cultural comparisons may therefore miss differences in self-evaluation derived from a person's 'collective identity'. Thus findings on whether people from certain cultural groups are more socially modest or internally depressed may be premature.[223]

North Africans in France used a range of rhetorical tools for rebutting French racism, probably to prevent it damaging their self-esteem:

> They claimed that people of all races, nations and religions are equal. Moral rules are emphasised: 'Whether black or white, if they don't do evil, they are OK.'
>
> They demonstrated cultural similarities between the French and Moroccans, Tunisians, Algerians or Kabyles, using historical and socio-cultural evidence.
>
> They argued that they personally conform to what they perceive to be universal moral criteria highly valued by the host (French) society. This distances the individual from the race/nation/religion in order to show that the group to which s/he belongs does not necessarily define a person.
>
> They demonstrated the superiority of Moslems (or their own national group) to the French – embracing an Islamic moral universalism: 'In France, old people are badly treated and their children don't come to see them. In contrast, in our country. …
>
> They explained racism by the characteristics of the racist (e.g. lack of experience of members of ethnic minorities). Only a small number of North Africans in France use this rhetoric.[224]

Self-construals and national culture

Personal characteristics may affect the level of cultural identity exhibited. People with high levels of national identification have been shown to be more likely to display the individualist or collectivist characteristics associated with their national culture than people with low levels of national identification.[225] Kim and Leung (2000) criticised the conceptualization of individualism and collectivism as polar opposites, arguing that a person can simultaneously maintain high independent and interdependent construals, that self-construals are dynamic, not fixed – they vary with context and over time – and that there is an increasing incidence of bicultural people. Asian students are higher than Americans on interdependent scales but not lower on independence. Kim and Leung (2000) saw 'biculturals' as having the most fully developed self-construals, 'independents' as having underdeveloped interdependence construals and 'interdependents' as having underdeveloped independence

construals. They also suggested there is a fourth category, 'marginals', who have underdevelopment of both construals.[226]

A study that found that among Italian workers, self-esteem, together with affective commitment to the organization, is the primary motivator for citizenship behaviours led the researchers to comment that their findings might be culture-specific.[227]

6.3.1 More on culture and social perceiving

Americans may use self-serving attributions more than Japanese people do to deal with success and failure, especially when the ability-related dimensions of attention and memory are at stake[228].

The effects of culture on self-rating of life satisfaction are strongly influenced by a general evaluative bias which is evident in people from North America. North American culture encourages positive biases in self- and other-perceptions.[229]

Religion has an influence on attribution processes and the extent to which an individual attributes an observed behaviour to the target's disposition or situation. Protestants endorse internal (dispositional) attributions to a greater extent than Catholics, probably because Protestantism focuses on the inward condition of the soul.[230]

7.1.1 Here is a link to a website that gives values differences for different countries;

http://geert-hofstede.com/countries.html. Last accessed 10 Oct 2016. However, when accessed on 1.12.2016 this website was having problems. If that is so when you access it, you will need to look at Hofstede's book *Culture: Software of the Mind* to find the data.

7.1.2 Details of the Pakistani cultural factors found to have influenced intercultural negotiations with them

Centralized decision making: especially when the negotiations were conducted in Pakistan, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) took part in the negotiations, whereas in most countries their involvement took place after all or most issues

were settled by lower-level executives. This presence of the CEO reduced the number of adjournments and delays to refer back.

Relationship building: a significant majority of the Pakistani respondents stated that they took time to evaluate the other party in order to build trust and confidence. One particular respondent said: 'During the first meeting an assessment can be made of the other party regarding its seriousness to do business, the way they would like to negotiate, quality of the product, and how much mutual trust and confidence can be built.'

Attitudes to time: Pakistani negotiators expected negotiations to proceed more quickly than their Japanese counterparts, they reported, but more slowly than European or American negotiators.

Need for agents: contrary to earlier assertions, Pakistanis did not usually use agents except when dealing with countries like Japan where direct negotiations are unacceptably prolonged.

Structured negotiations: except for three respondents, who stated that rules were agreed upon before face-to-face negotiations began, all the respondents stated that no such rules or procedures were agreed upon.

Direct versus indirect communication: the findings on this topic were weak, no clear pattern emerging, even though this is generally considered a major difference between cultures both in negotiations.[231]

7.1.3 Rate the following approaches to negotiating from 1 to 5, according to how closely they match the ways that people from your culture tend to behave. (1 = not at all closely, 5 = extremely closely)

Seeing the goal of negotiating as creating a relationship

Expecting the negotiated terms of a contract to be strictly adhered to

Thinking a buyer has more power than a seller

Trying to get as much information as possible from the other party without giving much away themselves

Dealing with one issue at a time

Expecting both sides to improve on their initial offers by making concessions

Aiming to 'win'

Selecting negotiators by seniority

Add your scores for questions 2,4,5,6 and 7; reverse your scores for questions 1,3 and 8 and add these to your previous total. You have assessed your culture as strongly favouring a Western-style approach to negotiating if your score is

above 32 and as moderately favouring it if your score is between 25 and 32. Scores below 9 suggest a strong cultural tendency to favour non-Western approaches to negotiating, 9 to 16 a moderate such tendency. Scores between 16 and 25 are indeterminate. Scores on the individual items are also revealing.

7.1.4 Cultural differences in negotiation

From a Western perspective, negotiations are understood as confrontational, focused on transactions or the resolution of disputes and evaluated in terms of integrative and distributive outcomes.[232]

What differences would you expect in the understanding of negotiations of people from, for instance, Japan?

Filipino negotiators are conciliatory, low in trustfulness and risk averse but do not display any particular characteristic with respect to belief in fate. The implications for their style of bargainng are that while they are inclined to problem-solving or cooperative behaviors during the negotiation process, they are also affected by the cultural nuances of the concept of pakikisama or camaraderie which seems to relate to their risk aversion characteristic and may lead them to avoid creative solutions.[233], [234]

The other differences may reflect other influences. In the view of Cai et al (2000), it is important not to see negotiators' behaviour as purely culturally determined. Negotiations 'are affected not only by culture but by contextual constraints, such as negotiator personality, organizational culture, age, prior relationship, experience, presence of interpreters, intercultural competence of the negotiators, countries' legal and economic systems, and roles'.[235] Culture had no direct effect on competitiveness or information exchange, a study showed; it did affect the level of fixed-pie errors. The strongest effect found, though, was that seller collectivism had larger and more consistent effects on communication behaviour and joint profit than buyer collectivism.[236]

7.2.1 More on the Chen et al (1998) hypotheses on culture and cooperation

These researchers also suggested that mediated communication will evoke higher levels of cooperation in an individualist culture than in a collectivist culture and that the reverse is true for face-to-face communication; and that equity-based reward allocation will be positively related to cooperation in both short- and long-term work relations in individualist cultures but in collectivist cultures equity-based reward allocation systems will be positively related to cooperation only in short-term relations; in long-term work relations equality-based systems will be positively related to cooperation in collectivist cultures. [237]

7.2.2 An example of how Russian cultural dynamics can affect coordination at work

'When we visited the factory we noticed a bottleneck which seemed to be caused by operating only one forklift despite three others parked nearby. We learned that the forklifts had been purchased three months ago, but three of them had been idle for the last three weeks with broken sparkplugs. We traced this problem through the system: the operators said that they had informed their supervisors of the problem. The supervisors told us that they had reported the problem to the repair center. The repair center director told us that those sparkplugs were difficult to get in Russia and had been ordered from Germany. Each person felt that he had done his job and that there was nothing to do but wait for the sparkplugs to appear.' [238]

7.2.3 More about knowledge stickiness

Birkinshaw et al (2002) found a 'neglected' dimension of knowledge that they called system embeddedness. This is the extent to which knowledge is a function of the social and physical system in which it exists. The system embeddedness of knowledge appears to be conceptually distinct from the tacit-articulate (also known as observability) dimension. In fact, Birkinshaw et al (2002) suggested that the interaction of these two orthogonal variables creates four categories of knowledge: isolated (where both observability [O] and system embeddedness [SE] are high), integrated (where both are low), transparent (where O is high but SE low) and opaque (where SE is high but O low). Transferability would be highest in the case of transparent knowledge,

lowest in the case of opaque knowledge, where it may be obscure even to the unit that possesses it. Isolated and integrated knowledge would display intermediate levels of stickiness.[239] Certain other characteristics, however, make knowledge less sticky. Szulanski (1996) found that the major barriers to internal knowledge transfer to be factors such as the recipient's lack of absorptive capacity and an arduous relationship between the source and the recipient, as much as ambiguity. Thus a reduction in the level of these factors would reduce knowledge stickiness. Mechanisms that are useful in transferring sticky knowledge include close observation and process mapping and documentation.[240]

7.3.1 Findings on people's preferences regarding group culture

In general, people in group contexts prefer group members who display collectivist as opposed to individualist behaviour – i.e. who show more concern for the group than for themselves as individuals. This applies to both collectivists and individualists, but less so in people from a collectivist background (but not in people from an individualist background) when the prevailing group norm prescribes individualism. [241]

7.3.2 Here is a link to a website that gives values differences for different countries:
 http://geert-hofstede.com/countries.html. However, when accessed on 1.12.2016 this website was having problems. If that is so when you access it, you will need to look at Hofstede's book *Culture: Software of the Mind* to find the data.

7.4.1 A summary of a case study about Swedish national culture and leadership in IKEA, the global furniture business:

The purpose of this case is to discuss and problematize how leadership and employees, or "employeeship", are constructed within IKEA, a global firm often associated with national identity, and connected to distinct values and a leadership ideal. From a critical management perspective, the authors' intent was to study whether there were hierarchies and polarisations in constructions of leadership and, if so, how they were manifested.

The analysis of the empirical material supports the finding that employees are constructed in superior vs subordinate positions based on beliefs about nationality (ethnicity), wherein the construction of Swedishness is ranked above other nationalities. Based on these constructions, two different dimensions of a leader emerge. The first dimension is one of leading and supporting, which involves personal development and is regarded as something positive. The second dimension involves being a manager, which is perceived as conservative, dreary and unappealing.[242]

7.4.2 More examples of cultural differences in managerial behaviour:

- A comparison with US culture found that Russian culture is lower in individualism, higher in power distance, uncertainty avoidance and Machiavellianism but similar in terms of masculinity (competitiveness) and dogmatism. Russians are open to ideas from outside. Younger Russians (business students) had values closer to US values than Russian managers had. Under present Russian conditions, in addition to horizontal and vertical relations, managers' so-called diagonal relations are also very important. These are the 'contacts of industrial managers with 'informal' (and, sometimes, criminal) structures. For example, managers of large enterprises bribed government servants to obtain state credits. Managers of small enterprises paid 'protection fees' to racketeers. These diagonal relations served from the perspective of managers as catalysts which increased the efficiency of official 'horizontal' and 'vertical' contacts.'[243]
- Early studies found that Greek preferences concerning management style reflected Greek culture, in particular acceptance of authority and co-operative behaviour within the ingroup, rejection of authority and extreme competitiveness with the outgroup. However, more recent work suggests the Greek model of management 'is not differentiated from the Western model'. The differences that do exist are considered more closely related to lack of modernization and are disappearing under the joint impact of the EU and globalization. These are differences such as concentration of power and control in the hands of top management and a lack of modern systems to support strategic decisions.[244]

- In Hungary, under Communism, ideological values encouraged the status quo, opposed a future orientation, equated entrepreneurship with cheating and criminal activity, and were against the desire to change and improve performance. A study found that Hungarian managers were 'friendly but not considerate, nor did they show regard for their subordinates as individuals or allow them to make decisions. Hungarian managers seem to be less sophisticated in planning routines, but nevertheless think and analyse carefully before making decisions.'[245]

- Moroccan managers combine a range of motifs in their practice:

  'living' Islam (including the interaction of Islam and personal beliefs, alongside the influence of kinship);
  Islam versus Moroccan Islam (the national culture's ingestion of a religion);
  national characteristics of family and patriarchy (including the support that employees expect from their managers);
  socio-economic factors, in particular education and gender (life experiences including education and the home);
  *foreign influences (*the impact of Western colonialism*).* [246]

A comparison of management in six nations – UK, France, Germany, USA, Japan and an Arab country – found a number of differences.[247] These differences could be understood in terms of cultural dimensions, as follows:

British managers were willing to 'listen' to subordinates (being low in uncertainty avoidance) and addicted to 'old boy networks' (being high in masculinity).

French managers were high in power distance (preserved through formality) and individualism (expressed through 'intellectualism').

North American managers were high on individualism and achievement, leading them to embrace a 'tough', results-oriented approach to manager–subordinate relations.

Japanese managers, though high on achievement, were strongly collectivist, which produced the 'nurturing father' type of manager.

German managers were high on uncertainty avoidance, shown in adherence to routines and procedures and in close control of subordinates, who were seen as apprentices. Managers in Arab countries were intermediate on all dimensions except power distance, where they were high: the distance between manager and subordinate

was maintained through the high value placed on loyalty and on avoiding interpersonal conflict.

However, although such differences are important, there are also similarities in how Europeans manage, by comparison with managers in other parts of the world. For instance, a model of a European style of management consists of four basic characteristics: an orientation towards people, a characteristic which is mainly based on the 'social market economy' system in Europe and European business systems; internal negotiation, which deals primarily with the nature of the social dialogue within firms across Europe; managing international diversity in environments and administration; and managing between extremes, which positions the European style of management between the North American and Japanese models.[248]

In the past, leadership similarities across groups of countries generated a country cluster taxonomy based on country commonalities such as language similarities. The assumption was that employees in countries with similar languages would display similar preferences regarding leadership. However new research using a database of 15,000 employees in 16 countries across four country clusters revealed that although the country cluster taxonomy could be used to predict leadership preferences regarding empowering, coaching, and supervising, it did not predict preferences regarding general and personal communication, review of achievement, and positive feedback in the form of making people proud. A general implication is that language similarities do not necessarily imply similar preferences regarding leaders' communication.[249]

Workgroup collectivism is important for charismatic leadership to emerge. A collectivist group may place a high value on interdependence, cooperation and sharing. Thus it may not only allow a leader who embodies these values to be more effective, but also respond to such a leader's call for teamwork and focus on collective goals. In collectivist teams, control is exercised through value consensus and not through impersonal rules. Control based in value consensus may be more appropriate than impersonal rules for a charismatic leader.[250] Moreover, collectivism and power distance are highly correlated. A collectivist group that is also high in power distance may provide opportunities for an individual to take independent action that is perceived as a successful attempt to change the status quo. In turn, this may lead to the individual being perceived as a natural leader, exhibiting charismatic behaviours and possessing charismatic qualities.[251]

Smith *et al.* (1995) argued that 'sources of guidance' serve as an intermediate variable between cultural values and actual managerial behaviours. Sources of guidance include formal rules, unwritten rules, subordinates, specialists, co-workers, superiors, own experience and widespread beliefs. Participation-oriented guidance sources, such as subordinates, are most employed in nations characterized not only by high individualism but also by cultural autonomy, egalitarianism, low power distance, mastery and masculinity. These are more typical of the nations of Western Europe than North America. Conversely, reliance on superiors and rules is associated not only with collectivism but with cultural embeddedness, hierarchy, power distance, mastery and masculinity. Most of the nations of Africa are especially high on these cultural dimensions, rather than the Asian nations more typically discussed as exemplars of contrasting management practices.[252]

7.4.3 More on mentoring

The mentoring relationship is intended to last over an extended period. Five phases of the mentoring process are influenced by cultural values, according to Murphy (1997): (a) attraction leading to the establishment of a mentoring relationship (b) contracting, the definition of roles and the evaluation of costs and benefits for mentor and mentoree (c) growth in trust and sharing of information through increased contact (d) maturation, the stabilization of the relationship through value congruence and (e) transition, the decision to end the relationship or move it to a different level such as informal friendship.[253]

Here is a link to a video about an intercultural student mentoring program:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qycVDTQKQ-Q. Last accessed 10 Oct 2016

7.4.4 Why cultural characteristics lead to certain performance appraisal characteristics(as shown in Table 27):

In the UK, performance appraisal is characterized as a joint problem-solving activity with decentralized responsibility over how individual objectives may be met. From a cultural point of view, this is not surprising. In the UK, but also in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands, the national culture combines low power distance with low uncertainty avoidance. The low power distance means that the boss can be bypassed and rules bent so that the employee can get things done. The independence and self-realization of the employee is an important value. During the appraisal process, therefore, the

boss may need to find out the detail of the subordinate's tasks. Moreover, because low power-distance is blended with low uncertainty avoidance, which is associated with a higher tolerance of risk and acceptance of dependencies in performance, a reliance on resourcefulness and adaptability in achieving goals and a tendency to reactive rather than proactive feedback, it is not surprising that it is legitimate to make the performance-appraisal discussion a joint problem-solving activity. In contrast, in Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Finland, the appraisal discussion is shaped by a desire to routinize goal implementation. In these countries, while power distance is still low, giving the employee an equal say, uncertainty avoidance is high. This leads to aiming for long-term forward control of goals and performance and a preference for final bureaucratic check-offs by superiors. In countries such as Portugal, Greece, Turkey, France, Belgium, Italy and Spain, uncertainty avoidance is high, bringing with it the desire for forward control, but power distance is also high. Therefore, there is an additional preference for centralized control, and a one-way direction of communication is more acceptable, under the assumption that the boss knows best and so may predetermine the 'how' of performance. Performance is seen as a duty, not a self-fulfilling activity, and face-to-face conflict is unacceptable. In any event, the boss has privileges and can bend the rules. Finally, although subordinates may be afraid to commit themselves to performance, they also expect protection from 'above'.[254]

8.1.1 More on gender inequality at work

In the world as a whole, men outnumber women in the ratio 100 to 98.6, in Asia (where the figures are distorted by the cultural preference for male children) by 105 to 100, but in Europe, women outnumber men by 105 to 100. The role of women in the European labour market continued to become more important between 2000 and 2006, as it had over the previous 15 years; in Asia it declined slightly, varying from China's 66 per cent down to Pakistan's 20 per cent in 2008. In the EU, labour market participation and employment rates are correlated with level of educational qualification: the higher the educational attainment, the higher the employment rate. This finding applies to both sexes but is more significant for women than for men. As the educational qualification level of women continues to increase, female employment rates are also expected to rise. Unemployment rates in Asia and Europe slightly favoured women by the year 2009, when the unemployment rate for women in the EU27 was for the first time lower than that for men.

Despite their growing participation in labour markets and their unemployment advantage, women face 'harsh realities'. They are more likely to be in part-time work (which is generally less secure, less protected, less well paid and more lacking in benefits than full-time work. As a result of these and other factors, women are disproportionately represented among the low paid. Again, while women managers 'appear to have achieved parity in salaries', when differences in productivity, behavioural factors and age are controlled for, it is clear that 'gender plays a significant role in salary determination'.[255] Furthermore, a review of studies of gender and entrepreneurship showed that societal attributions and socialization processes relative to the sexes may create barriers to entry for women due to the uneven distribution of assets, educational foci, and daily life activity expectations amongst the sexes. These factors, in effect, mean that the glass ceiling that women face extends to entrepreneurship.[256]

'Within the next few months women will cross the 50 per cent threshold and become the majority of the American workforce. Women already make up the majority of university graduates in the OECD [Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development] countries and the majority of professional workers in several rich countries, including the United States. Women run many of the world's great companies, from PepsiCo in America to Areva in France.

Women's economic empowerment is arguably the biggest social change of our times. Just a generation ago, women were largely confined to repetitive, menial jobs. They were routinely subjected to casual sexism and were expected to abandon their careers when they married and had children. Today they are running some of the organizations that once treated them as second-class citizens. Millions of women have been given more control over their own lives. And millions of brains have been put to more productive use. Societies that try to resist this trend—most notably the Arab countries, but also Japan and some southern European countries—will pay a heavy price in the form of wasted talent and frustrated citizens.'[257]

'There is a growing consensus among top executives that gender diversity is both an ethical and a business imperative. Yet progress is painfully slow. Despite modest improvements, women are underrepresented at every level of today's corporations, especially in senior positions.'[258]

Gendered wording associated with male stereotypes, such as leader, competitive, dominant is commonly employed in job recruitment materials and can maintain gender inequality in traditionally male-dominated occupations. When job advertisements were constructed to include more masculine than feminine wording, participants perceived more men within these occupations, and importantly, women found these jobs less appealing.[259]

8.1.2 More about the growing importance of older age groups at work

Age distributions of working age populations (15 to 65) show wide variations by region. In Asia excluding the Near East, in 2009 26.1 percent of the population was aged between 15 and 29, while 18.8 per cent was in the age range of 45 to 65; in Western Europe the equivalent figures were 17.8 per cent and 26.6 per cent respectively and for Eastern Europe they were 21.6 per cent and 26.4 per cent.[260] Projected age distributions for the developed world show an aging population, while the developing world outside China is expected to continue to benefit from continued growth in their young working age population. The unemployment facts both in Europe and some parts of Asia point to a serious disadvantage for young people; however, the predominant cause is less likely to be discrimination than labour market rigidities: the difficulty for younger people is to gain entry. Most job opportunities arise only as the total number of jobs expands or as natural wastage creates vacancies. People in the age group 25 to 49 tend to have a degree of tenure in the jobs they occupy. Worldwide the unemployment rate for the 15-24 age group is twice as high as for the workforce as a whole, and it has been increasing over the last 18 years.[261] In Europe and some parts of Asia (Japan and China, but not India) an existing situation of disadvantage for both younger and older workers may be about to change, however, as the following suggests:

'Companies in the rich world are confronted with a rapidly ageing workforce. Nearly one in three American workers will be over 50 by 2012, and America is a young country compared with Japan and Germany. China is also ageing rapidly, thanks to its one-child policy. This means that companies will have to learn how to manage older workers better. … How do you encourage older people to adapt to new practices and technologies? How do they get senior people to take orders from young whippersnappers? Happily a few companies have started to think seriously about these problems and generate insights that their more stick-in-the-mud peers can imitate. The leaders in this area are retail companies. Asda, a subsidiary of the equally gerontophile Wal-Mart, is Britain's biggest employer of over-50s. Netto, a Danish supermarket group, has

experimented with shops that employ only people aged 45 and over. … When BMW decided to staff one of its production lines with workers of an age likely to be typical at the firm in 2017, at first "the pensioners' line" was less productive. But the firm brought it up to the level of the rest of the factory by introducing 70 relatively small changes, such as new chairs, comfier shoes, magnifying lenses and adjustable tables.'[262]

Age trajectories for personality traits are known to be similar across cultures and so are age-based stereotypes. Raters across nations tend to share similar beliefs about different age groups; adolescents are seen as impulsive, rebellious, undisciplined, preferring excitement and novelty, whereas old people are consistently considered lower on impulsivity, activity, antagonism, and openness. These consensual age group stereotypes correlate strongly with published age differences on the five major dimensions of personality.[263]

8.1.3 More on the growing importance of ethnic minorities at work

In Switzerland, empirically measurable differences in attitudes, openness to technical communication forms and ethnocentricism clearly correlated with the linguistically distinct cultures of the German-speaking and Latin areas.[264] Other studies, however, have shown that subgroups that vary in acculturation may have similar cultural values. A scale of cultural identity developed for Latino adolescents included cultural values such as *respeto* (respect for authority) and *feminismo* (attitudes towards traditional sex roles). However, those cultural values did not differentiate among subgroups of Latinos identified as Latino, American or bicultural.[265]

8.1.4 More on the growing importance of other subcultural groups at work

Workforce trends in terms of social groups and data support the argument that minorities constitute an increasing proportion of the working population globally.

Persons defned as having disabilities are those with physical, sensory or mental impairments that can make performing an everyday task more difficult. Most disabilities are not 'handicaps' in the sense of making people unable to work and take part in community life on an equal footing with others. This includes severe disabilities such as being confined to a wheelchair. Often it is only the fact that an environment is not adapted – there are no wheelchair ramps or lifts – that makes full participation difficult for people with such impairments. A qualified person with a disability is someone who, with or without reasonable

adjustment by the employer, can perform the essential function of the employment position that s/he holds or desires. Disability increases with age in a rising curve.

People with disabilities are a significant part of the European workforce (no figures are available for Asia). Whether self-employed or employed, people with disabilities are an important part of workforces and are significantly involved in work-related communication of all kinds.

For instance in Great Britain in 2009 nearly one in five people of working age (7 million, or 18.6 per cent) had a disability There were 1.3 million disabled people in the UK who were available for and wanted to work. Although only half of disabled people of working age were in work (50 per cent), compared with 80 per cent of non-disabled people, that still meant that around 650,000 people with disabilities were at work in the UK. Employment rates varied greatly according to the type of impairment a person had; only 20 per cent of people with mental health problems were in employment.266 Data from the European Community Household Panel for the period 1995-2001 for 13 European countries showed that people with disabilities were more likely to be self-employed than people without disabilities. Self-employment provides flexibility and a better adjustment between disability status and working life. (Moreover, the levels of satisfaction with job, type of job and working conditions of self-employed disabled people are higher than those reported by disabled people who are wage and salary earners.)[267]

Homosexuals
Estimates for the numbers of male homosexuals and lesbians are, for obvious reasons, unreliable: the figures quoted for the EU range from 2 per cent to 10 per cent; none are available for Asia, where discrimination remains strong and most homosexuals stay 'in the closet'. Anecdotal evidence suggests that homosexuals often attain seniority at work more rapidly than the majority population; this is sometimes attributed to their greater commitment, owing to the demands of family life being lower for them than for heterosexuals. Although homosexuals may be affected by prejudice (discussed in Chapter 6) they constitute an important sector of the working community and are extensively involved in all kinds of communication at work.

Religious groups
Across the world, Christians were estimated at 32.88 per cent in 1999, Muslims 19.54 per cent, Hindus 13.34 per cent, and Buddhists at 5.92 per cent, with the rest of the world population spread across various religions and atheism.[268].

Communication by religious people about religion has certain characteristics: it cannot be expressed in non-figurative ways, it identifies metaphysical referents that can be grasped but not defined and it is metaphorical. The metaphors that communicators use become fraught with moral and ethical repercussions, as in the use of war metaphors by Christians.[269] Clearly, this is a long way from the usual discourses of business or management. However, we do not know to what extent people can be 'diglossal' between religious and other ways of communicating or to what extent they may 'interpret' from one to the other before speaking or responding.[270] Some religious groups emphasize spontaneity in prayer, which may carry over to other discourses.[271]

There are sociocultural moderators for the effects of religion: for instance, religion helps people maintain a sense of control, particularly secondary control—acceptance of and adjustment to difficult situation – but this applies more strongly to European Americans than it does to East Asians.[272]

Social class, education and other differences

Social class is one dimension on which Western European societies became less diverse during the last quarter of the twentieth century, with the growth of a large category of 'intermediate' and other non-manual workers and a decrease in the percentage of all manual workers, especially the unskilled. These changes were largely a result of the decline of manufacturing and heavy industry. These trends are set to continue, reinforced by government policies that see an increase in the educational and technical skill levels of the population as essential to international competitiveness. In Asia, increasing industrialization led to a major shift away from rural employment to urban, and to substantial growth in the size of the middle class. Final educational level is undeniably a major source of difference between individuals in the workplace. There is in the EU, for instance, a considerable amount of initial job segregation of graduates, eighteen-year-old school leavers with higher level school qualifications (such as A-Level), sixteen-year-old school leavers with qualifications and those who leave school at the earliest legal date without qualifications. In this respect, the UK, for instance, is still elitist, despite recent changes, compared with some international competitors, such as the USA or South Korea, where about 70 per cent of the population receive university-level qualifications.

The following illustrate some effects of class and caste differences:
'In Britain, class and money overlap, but only partially, like circles in a Venn diagram. Not all posh people are rich (some are shabby genteel, scrimping and saving for the school fees), and vice versa. Class is a magical amalgam of

education, occupation, accent, vocabulary ("lounge" or "sitting room"), outlook and habit.

There is no denying that class is alive and potent. The structure of the British economy has changed, with the proletariat shrinking and the middle class bulging; celebrities have ousted aristocrats in the gossip columns. But most Britons still instinctively filter themselves and others into social classes, with attendant suspicions and snobberies.'[273]

'Sixty years after India's constitution banned caste discrimination, Hinduism's millennia-old hierarchy retains a tight grip. Lonely-hearts ads in the newspapers are classified by caste and sub-caste. Brahmins, at the top, dominate many professions. There are still hundreds of "honour killings" by which families avenge inter-caste marriages and liaisons. Caste discrimination is still drearily evident in the wretched lives of *dalits*, formerly "untouchables", who remain India's poorest and least educated people.'[274]

Other educational/professional differences also create significant differences between groups of people at work. Examples include subject specialization (especially science versus arts), independent versus state-maintained schooling (because of its perceived implications for social class) and professional training (consider the problems created by legal jargon, 'academese' and civil-servant-speak.) These non-cultural differences are not, however, a major focus of this book.

8.2.1 More on gender differences in work behaviour

Women are less likely than men to initiate negotiations. This has been attributed to the backlash effect, a well-documented negative social reaction toward women who are seen as violating gender norms because they engage in counterstereotypical (noncommunal, agentic) behaviours during the performance of their jobs. [275]

8.2.2 More about the work behaviour of other subcultures

Explanations for professional and managerial mothers' departure from paid work concentrate on childcare and women's preferences or choices. In contrast, our study, based on in-depth interviews with professional and managerial mothers in London, shows that women's experiences within hegemonic masculine cultures play a key role. For example, working time norms require these mothers to work exceptionally long hours, to have permeable time boundaries even if they have negotiated reduced working

hours and to 'socialize' in the evenings. Mothers are limited in their ability to protest or implement creative working time solutions because they feel they must hide their motherhood, which in itself creates tension. Mothers who are seemingly supported to work fewer hours are sidelined to lower-status roles for which they are underpaid and undervalued in relation to their experience and previous seniority. Unless mothers mimic successful men, they do not look the part for success in organizations.[276]

In the context of ownership of family businesses and how such businesses vary, on the other hand, the cross-cultural differences are far larger and more consistent than those between male and female ownership.[277]

A study showed that similarity in age influences the likelihood of technical communication between co-workers, but not all that strongly. In a study of a 92–member technical project group, the coefficient of determination between age similarity and communication with other project members was 0.18.[278]

There is evidence that religious values impact on work behaviour. However, 'the similarities and differences across religious affiliations are not "either/or" choices but dualities that must be dynamically balanced in order to simultaneously meet multiple employee needs.'[279]

8.3.1 More on gender and communication practices

Regarding the effect of gender differences in responses to online marketing, one study focused on the relationship of trust in e-commerce and online word of mouth (consumer ratings of products offered for sale). The results showed that the effect of trust on intention to shop online was stronger for women than for men, that men valued their ability to post content online, whereas women valued the responsive participation of other consumers to the content they had posted, and that online word-of-mouth quality affected online trust differently across genders.[280]

Within marriage, women and men have similar conceptions of friendships, social support, language use, intimacy, responses to anger, sadness and jealousy, encoding and decoding nonverbal deception and how to maintain conversations.
In 1975, research was published that seemed to show that men interrupted their female conversation partners more than they interrupted other men.

Women interrupted speakers of either gender less than men did. (Interruption is 'a device for exercising power and control in conversation' because it involves 'violations of speakers' turns at talk'.) However, a 1998 meta-analysis of 43 published studies indicated that men were more likely than women to initiate interruptions, but only to a slight extent. This effect was higher, though, in the case of intrusive interruptions as opposed to supportive interruptions. Intrusive interruptions occurred more often in unstructured talk, which suggests that work-related conversations may be less prone to male attempts to dominate.[281]

Whatever the causes, both stereotype-based impressions of and actual differences in ways of communicating tend to be to women's disadvantage at work.

8.3.2 Material on the communication practices of people with disabilities, religious groups, social classes and other subcultures

Disability and communication practices

How some people with disabilities communicate is affected by both intrinsic and externally provoked factors. The clearest communication effects of intrinsic disability occur in people with a hearing impairment. Generally, communicators who are born with a hearing impairment speak with low fluency and mispronunciations; they also have difficulty in controlling how loudly they speak. People who are hard of hearing commonly repeat what has already been uttered and interrupt others because they do not hear them talking. Some adults who become deaf later in life have difficulty adjusting to their deafness but a few studies show that many late-deafened people can communicate perfectly well.[282]

Religion and communication practices

Are there differences that may be relevant at work in the communication behaviours of religious and non-religious people and between adherents of different religions?
It might be expected that religious people would be unlikely to use blasphemy, perhaps less likely than others to use swear words generally, and possibly be more easily offended by others who do.

One study found differences between religious groups in both communication behaviour and the factors underlying it. It found major differences between two denominations – Protestant and Catholic Christians in Northern Ireland – on measures of group identification, self-disclosure, attraction, trust and outgroup contact; on verbal and nonverbal behaviour when speaking with people from the other denominations; and on attitudes and experiences. Such differences imply that there may be a 'religious effect' on communication behaviour generally.[283] Another study found partial support for a relationship between a 'quest' religious orientation and an attentive communicator style, although no more general relationship between religious orientation and communicator style was found.[284]

Communication by religious people about religion has certain characteristics: it cannot be expressed in non-figurative ways, it identifies metaphysical referents that can be grasped but not defined and it is metaphorical. The metaphors that communicators use become fraught with moral and ethical repercussions, as in the use of war metaphors by Christians.[285] Clearly, this is a long way from the usual discourses of business or management. However, we do not know to what extent people can be 'diglossal' between religious and other ways of communicating or to what extent they may 'interpret' from one to the other before speaking or responding.[286] Some religious groups emphasize spontaneity in prayer, which may carry over to other discourses.[287]

There are sociocultural moderators for the effects of religion: for instance, religion helps people maintain a sense of control, particularly secondary control—acceptance of and adjustment to difficult situation – but this applies more strongly to European Americans than it does to East Asians.[288]

Social class and communication

Many working class people, particularly those from mainly oral cultures, tend to prefer a speaking style that presumes knowledge shared with the audience, 'shows' rather than 'tells' and implies linkages among a wide range of topics, which need not be presented chronologically. In working-class environments, 'people simply talk and do not have to prove everything that they say.'[289] Systematic studies show that middle class speakers tend to talk more, use more varied vocabulary and employ more varied grammatical constructions than working-class speakers. There is evidence that class differences in communication exist also on the nonverbal level – appearing already in pre-school age children; middle-class children are less affected than working-class

children by whether an instruction is spoken in a positive, neutral or negative tone of voice. However, the notion that in some (sub)cultures language is more simple or primitive is probably wrong. The basic structuring principles on which language is founded appear to be universal and most linguists now assume that languages do not differ greatly in their underlying structures or in their formal characteristics. In all languages, sentences are hierarchically structured and their interrelationships are equally complex. The same applies to the language of people of different socioeconomic status or ethnicity – the rules for constructing sentences are of equal difficulty and complexity in all cases.

Professional, business and organizational discourses and their reception

Professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, business executives in particular industries and company employees often use vocabulary, phrases and ways of speaking that are unknown to outsiders. These discourses may be the most efficient ways of talking about what are specialist areas, but they also have the effect of reinforcing the speaker's group membership and of excluding people who are not members of the group.
A study in two multinational accounting firms found that the work socialization of trainee accountants led to their professional identities and discourse prioritizing 'the client'. As a result, the authors suggested, management control, friends, family and the profit motive were all 'written out' of the accountants' professional discourse.[290] In certain roles, such as that of clergy, 'immediacy' is important in the evaluation of the role holder. From qualitative research, eight categories of immediacy have been identified: personal interest in the 'client' (parishioner) and its opposite, expressing appreciation for commendable work and its opposite, inclusion and exclusion, unexpected role behaviour and support for personal contributions.[291]

The communication expectations of those with whom professionals deal probably reflect those professionals' usual culturally-influenced discourses. A study found that there were both similarities and differences in US and Hong Kong Chinese patients' expectations of communications from medical staff. The main similarities were expectations of task competence, technical competence and information seeking; important differences were that the US patients looked for friendliness from receptionists and nurses and socio-emotional support from physicians; the Chinese patients did not expect these from their communications with medical staff.[292]

Marginalized groups

There is a body of theory and research, termed co-cultural communication, which asserts that in interactions between minority or marginalized group members and those from dominant groups, the communication of those from the subordinate group has particular features. Examples of the 25 or more strategies identified in the research range from emphasizing commonalities (focusing on human similarities while downplaying or ignoring co-cultural differences) to sabotaging others (undermining the ability of dominant group members to take full advantage of their privilege inherent in dominant structures). 'The ongoing research, termed co-cultural theory, explores the common patterns of communication both across and within these different marginalized groups.'[293] Six factors have been identified as central to the co-cultural communication process. These are preferred outcome, field of experience, abilities, situation, perceived costs and rewards, and communication approach. These factors are always present but their roles may vary greatly from one co-cultural interaction to another.

8.4.1 More on gender differences in assertiveness

Despite all the findings that men dominate, men perceive women as dominating a discussion even when they contribute as little as 30 per cent of the talk. One explanation is that men think it is the 'natural order of things' for women to contribute significantly less to a group discussion than their male counterparts do. It is, however, possible that women *let* men take more of the air time and that this behaviour reflects their self-perceived lower status – subordinates do the same for managers.

8.4.2 More on subcultures and cmc

Individual differences in texting may be related to variables associated with gendered self-perceptions and traditional gender roles. The only significant male–female difference in texting found by one 2014 study was in sexually explicit messages received, but smaller positive associations were found between more traditional gendered attitudes and texting interfering with studying/school, with relationship conflict, and, for men only, "sexting" and using vulgar abbreviations. Other findings included gender transcendence being negatively associated with the reported number of messages sent as well as being bothered by texting; femininity also predicted frequency of emoticon use.[294] Another 2014 study, however, found that there are gender and age

differences in beliefs about when it is polite to use cell phones. Women and older people advocate more restricted use (for texting as much as for speaking) in most social situations than men and younger people do.[295] Again, profile photos on Facebook differed according to gender. Males' photos accentuated status (using objects or formal clothing) and risk taking (outdoor settings), while females' photos accentuated familial relations (family photos) and emotional expression (eye contact, smile intensity and lack of sunglasses).[296]

Another piece of research found that in a setting of participants with diverse linguistic backgrounds (an arbitrarily selected 6.5-hour chat session which elicited 3092 contributions from 185 participants), the dominance of English was very strong. This feature may reduce participation by people with limited English language competence.[297]

8.5.1 Findings of another study on age-related changes in personality

A large-sample (20,434 subject) study in Germany found that patterns of mean-level change showed that Extraversion and Openness declined over the life span, whereas Agreeableness increased. Mean levels of Conscientiousness increased among young adults and then decreased among older adults. Trajectories for Neuroticism were relatively flat, with slight increases during middle age and a slight decline in late life.[298]

8.5.2 Findings about how relevant self-construals are at work

There is an ongoing debate about how relevant self-construals and cultural identities are at work. One study suggests that they are relevant, but to differing degrees. Homogeneous work groups that differed from other homogeneous groups in terms of ethnicity and gender were found to vary significantly in how far cultural identity was articulated, whether ethnicity, gender or religion was the most salient identity, whether the focus was on the ingroup or the outgroup and whether the references were positive or negative. However, discourses of separateness, narrowly defined identity and inequality were common.[299]

8.5.3 More on subcultural differences in the psychological factors and processes underlying work communication

Gender and attribution

Women classified as feminine on a sex-role inventory had less success in their careers, attributed their career performance less to ability and effort and had parents with lower educational expectations for them than women classified as masculine.[300]

Ageing and emotional functioning

Research conducted outside an organizational context has accumulated a large body of knowledge on the psychological effects of ageing. From a work and communication perspective, among the most interesting findings in this literature is that individuals' age has distinct consequences for their emotional functioning and affective experience. 2013). With scholars emphasizing that leadership, for example, is an inherently emotional phenomenon, it seems likely that such processes of emotional aging may decisively influence key aspects of leadership. For core managerial tasks such as clarifying task roles and coordinating followers' actions, as well as specific transactional behaviors, the majority of studies examining the role of leaders' age have reported non-significant relationships.

Ethnicity and identity

Ethnic identities ascribed to an individual by others can create 'treacherous crosscurrents' that have to be negotiated. When there is no alternative to an ascribed ethnic identity, intergroup conflict can easily arise. One alternative is a creative synthesizing of local identities. University students in Hong Kong, for example, perceived themselves as similar to but distinct from typical Hong Kong Chinese. They ascribed to themselves elements of a valued Western identity in equal measure to their Hong Kong identity.[301] This creative synthesizing of local identities provides an escape. The identifications achieved by individuals rather than ascribed to them by others then become the basis for various forms of intergroup behaviour, such as linguistic differentiation and styles of conflict management.[302]

Significant differences have been found in how accurately men and women perform the following:

- Estimate their own intelligence.
- Evaluate their productivity.
- Evaluate their performance at finding a route and on tests of sports trivia and knowledge of politics.
- Report prior grades.
- Judge their own attractiveness.

In almost all cases, women underestimate themselves. Replicating an earlier study, Beyer (1998) found that women expected to perform worse, judged themselves as having performed worse and wrongly remembered that they had performed worse (showed a greater negative recall bias) on tests of masculine knowledge (such as American football). There were, however, no significant differences in men's and women's expectations, judgements and recall of performance on tests of 'feminine' knowledge (of film and TV stars and fashion) or neutral tests of common knowledge, character detection, practical questions and anagrams. 'This emphasizes that females' inaccurate self-perceptions are highly task specific rather than generalized'.[303]

Multiple identity theory

Huntington (1997) argued that everyone has multiple identities that may compete with or reinforce each other: identities of kinship, occupation, culture, institution, territory, education, party, ideology and others. In the contemporary world, he argued, cultural identification is dramatically increasing in importance compared to other dimensions of identity. This is the result of social/economic modernization. At the individual level, dislocation and alienation create the need for more meaningful identities; at the societal level, the enhanced capabilities and power of non-Western societies stimulate the revitalization of indigenous identities and culture. Identity at any level – personal, tribal, racial, civilizational – can only be defined in relation to an 'other', a different person, tribe, race or civilization. The intra-civilizational 'us' and the extra-civilizational 'them' is a constant in human history. These differences in intra- and extra-civilizational behaviour stem from feelings of superiority (and occasionally inferiority) towards people who are perceived as being very different. Other sources are fear of and lack of trust in such people, difficulty of communication with them as a result of differences in language and what is considered civil behaviour and lack of familiarity with the

assumptions, motivations, social relationships and social practices of other people.[304]

Gender and speech acts

A very small-scale study found that male managers may use a larger percentage of imperatives (the most forceful form) to express directives than female managers although they respond to the same contextual factors as the women in terms of when they use the most and least forceful forms. Context plays a crucial role in understanding why people express speech acts in different ways. [305]

8.6.1 More on subcultural differences in how work activities are performed

Women who lack authority achieve better resolution as third-party mediators in work conflicts than either men or women who have authority do. This is probably because in those circumstances of low-authority mediation women, unlike men, use participation and collaboration rather than displaying agentic behaviour.[306]

9.1 More on the meaning of miscommunication

In this book, the term 'miscommunication' is used broadly, even to cover cases where communication is intended but none occurs – as when B hears what A says but ignores it and pretends not to hear. This broad definition means that miscommunication includes at least all the following cases:

Communication is intended but none occurs.
The receiver makes no sense of the message.
The receiver misunderstands the message – the speaker's meaning and the receiver's understanding of the meaning are different.
The speaker's communicative intention (to ask a question, make a request, make a promise, etc.) is not understood.
Information imparted by the speaker, which s/he intended to have believed, is not believed.
An attempt to persuade fails.
An attempt to exert power fails.
A communication is understood but provokes unintended conflict.

So broad a use of 'miscommunication' extends its usual definition, but allows it to refer to all cases where barriers to communication are effective. However, this does not mean that all cases of disagreement, for example, constitute miscommunication: a process of working through disagreement can increase understanding.

9.2.1 More on the general problem of intergroup communication

Intergroup bias

Intergroup bias is a complex phenomenon. For example, people without disabilities tend to display more bias towards people with disabilities than the latter do toward the former. The former are also more likely to be derogatory about people with disabilities than vice-versa. In contrast, following a rewarding interaction experience with a member of a 'no-disability' outgroup, people with disabilities display an evaluative bias in favour of, and identify with, the 'no disability' outgroup. An explanation can be found in social identity theory, which states that people identify more strongly with groups that they find socially rewarding.[307]

Self-enhancement motive or intergroup favouritism

Recent research tends to contradict the idea that the self-enhancement motive is important in intergroup favouritism. No support was found for the hypothesis that, following a group's showing ingroup favouritism in a particular domain, such as artistic ability, individual group members' self-esteem in that domain would increase. A similar finding applied to members of a religious group – American Baptists. One possible explanation for these negative findings is that the group members felt guilty about having shown favouritism.[308][309]

Effect of perceived legitimacy of an ingroup's relative status

How legitimate members of a group consider their status in relation to other groups profoundly affects their intergroup attitudes, emotions and behaviour. If their ingroup's status seems illegitimately low, its members experience higher perceived relative deprivation, prejudice and a desire for social change; they may engage in realistic and/or social competition, collective protest or action and intergroup conflict. Perceiving an ingroup's status to be illegitimately high leads to pro-social instead of discriminatory attitudes and

action tendencies. This has been found among White South Africans towards Black South Africans and West Germans towards East Germans. The perceived legitimacy of an outgroup's status seems to be related to how far the outgroup members conform to prototypical norms. When Germans were asked whether they thought that Turkey was entitled to become a member of the European Union (EU), the more they thought Germany was relatively more prototypical for Europe than Turkey, the less they thought Turkey was entitled to membership in the EU.[310]

Effects of 'othering' of alternative families

Dixon and Dougherty (2014) found that in the U.S.A. the compulsory traditional family "othered" people from alternative families. As a result of the othering, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and 'queer' (sic), single, and childfree workers experienced simultaneous and paradoxical invisibility and hypervisibility. The second theme revealed ways in which the compulsory traditional family was privileged, causing participants with alternative families to work around traditional family assumptions. [311]

9.3.1 More about prejudice

One major strand in approaches to the origins of prejudice is to view it as a personality trait linked to authoritarianism (measured by an 'F' – for Fascist – scale) resulting from early socialization. However, a cross-cultural study of prejudice in South Africa and the United States showed that racists in those countries did not necessarily have high levels of authoritarianism.[312] Furthermore, individual-level explanations of extreme prejudice fail to account for its widespread incidence in some societies. For these reasons, socio-cultural factors are now considered better at explaining prejudice.

National and ethnic prejudice

A Swedish study found that classical (overt or direct) racial prejudice and modern (covert or subtle) racial prejudice are distinct. It showed that a scale to measure modern prejudice distinguished both between native Swedes and immigrants and between men and women, the former in each case being more prejudiced in the modern sense. In contrast, a scale to measure classical prejudice found few differences between the pairs.[313]

There is an age bias in what characteristics of leaders are sought (endorsed): for times of change younger-looking leaders are endorsed whereas for times of stability (stable exploitation) older-looking leaders are supported.

Who are the prejudiced?

Religious belief has been linked to prejudice. Members of Christian churches are usually more racially prejudiced towards Jews and Blacks than non-members, although in Holland church members are less prejudiced than others against immigrants. Intrinsics – the 'uncritically orthodox' as opposed to those with multiple motivations for religiosity – are less racially prejudiced but are prejudiced against homosexuals. High correlations have been found between prejudice and measures of fundamentalism, not only for populations of Christians but also for Jews, Moslems and Hindus.[314]

An example of a widespread prejudice and an attempt to confront it:

9.3.2 More about discrimination including that against members of other subcultures

More on discrimination against women

One explanation for the gendering of organizations is that 'the suppression of sexuality is one of the first tasks the bureaucracy sets itself'.[315] This suppression occurs in order to try to control the interferences and disruptions to the 'ideal functioning of the organization' caused by sexuality, procreation and emotions. There is a view that women working in bureaucracies will alter them in a significant way, but others argue that it is more likely that women will become co-opted – that is, will function like men in order to operate effectively at senior levels.[316] Despite their progress in the last 30 years of the twentieth century, women as a group are still comparatively in low power positions at work. In the words of Colwill (1995), 'The lack of women in management is an issue, not of education and training, but of power. Time, patience and women's self-improvement do not appear to be the solution. The solution, in fact, is similar to the problem: power.'[317]

Limited access to career relevant experiences in childhood, adolescence and in organizations lead to on-going limitations on the ability of women to access

Chief Executive Officer (CEO roles) and the types of CEO appointments available to them.[318] However, social role information, particularly about leadership versus non-leadership roles, is more influential than gender information in hiring decisions, a German study found. Participants selected applicants described as leaders over applicants described as non-leaders, regardless of applicant gender. Female applicants portrayed as leaders were similarly short-listed and hired as male applicants with the same credentials. In the absence of role information, however, although female applicants were similarly short-listed as male applicants, male participants were more likely to hire male than female applicants.[319]

Discrimination against people with disabilities

Until the second half of the twentieth century, it was rarely recognized that, apart from their specific impairment, people with disabilities have the same needs, abilities and interests as the mainstream population. For many people with disabilities, the greatest handicap has been the image of them as a 'breed apart' who have often been pitied, ignored or placed in institutions that offered mere custodial care.[320] In Europe (but not in Asia) this situation has improved. People with disabilities are, as Section 1.2 showed, a significant part of the active workforce. Despite this, they continue to face discrimination. For example, a 2002 study found that most UK employers were aware of governing legislation, most gave positive statements of intent to meet their legal obligations, but that little use was made of government schemes to promote and assist employment of disabled people.[321] Organizations are often frightened of the cost of employing people with disabilities. However, a US analysis of more than 10,000 disabled employees showed that 31 per cent of their hirings required no added cost for special training or facilities, 50 per cent were under $50 and 69 per cent cost less than $500. Only 1 per cent cost over $5,000. Studies show that building a new facility that is accessible adds only one half of 1 per cent to the building's cost.

Another UK study found significant differences in the levels of satisfaction with their working conditions between men and women with disabilities. Only 43 per cent of men with a long-term illness or disability affecting their daily lives were extremely, very or fairly satisfied with physical working conditions, hours of work and amount of variety, and a slightly higher 50 per cent with relationships with management; only 29 per cent were satisfied with departmental management and attention paid to suggestions. In contrast, 85 per cent, 87 per cent and 82 per cent respectively of women with disabilities

were extremely, very or fairly satisfied with physical working conditions, hours of work and amount of variety, 81 per cent with relationships with management, and 64 per cent with departmental management and 67 per cent with attention paid to suggestions.[322] It is not clear whether these differences are due to different treatment of men and women with disabilities or other causes.

Discrimination against homosexuals

In Europe, (but again, not really in Asia), there is a widespread shift towards eliminating overt discrimination and reducing hidden discrimination against homosexuals. There are four factors promoting this favourable change: scientific evidence of homosexuality as innate, an around-the-world development of a middle-class, a category into which many gays fall, democratization – democratic societies are more permissive – and the use of the Internet for global information-sharing and resistance to oppression.[323] Despite such favourable trends, there are many persisting bastions of discrimination against homosexuals, including religious institutions and the armed forces. Moreover, although gay men appear to be empowered to self-identify as professionals in `gay-friendly' work contexts, even within `gay-friendly' organizational settings (such as a UK National Health Service Trust), for gays to fashion a professional identity involves negotiation and struggle. Professional norms and discourses assume that heterosexuality is normal and treat sexuality and professionalism as polar opposites.[324]

This is an abstract from an article in *Human Relations* in 2015:
> 'Deviations from heteronormativity affect labour market dynamics. Hierarchies of sexual orientation can result in job dismissals, wage discrimination and the failure to promote gay and lesbian individuals to top ranks. In this article, I report on a field experiment (144 job-seekers and their correspondence with 5549 firms) that tested the extent to which sexual orientation affects the labour market outcomes of gay and lesbian job-seekers in the United Kingdom. Their minority sexual orientations, as indicated by job-seekers' participation in gay and lesbian university student unions, negatively affected their workplace prospects. The probability of gay or lesbian applicants receiving an invitation for an interview was 5.0 percent (5.1%) lower than that for heterosexual male or female applicants. In addition, gay men and lesbians received invitations for interviews by firms that paid salaries that were 1.9 percent (1.2%) lower than those paid by firms that invited heterosexual male or female applicants for interviews. In addition, in male- or female-

dominated occupations, gay men and lesbians received fewer invitations for interviews than their non-gay and non-lesbian counterparts. Furthermore, gay men and lesbians also received fewer invitations to interview for positions in which masculine or feminine personality traits were highlighted in job applications and at firms that did not provide written equal opportunity standards, suggesting that the level of discrimination depends partly on the personality traits that employers seek and on organization-level hiring policies. I conclude that heteronormative discourse continues to reproduce and negatively affect the labour market prospects of gay men and lesbians.'[325]

Discrimination based on religion

Some of the discrimination affecting 'minority groups' is so accepted that even liberal members of the dominant (sub)culture are barely aware of it. For instance, many European societies provide a double bind for people from religious backgrounds other than the dominant Christian one, so far as accommodating their religious practices is concerned. The working week is built around the practice of Sunday worship, even though in some countries the majority of the population takes no active part, while the secular tone means that organizations and individual managers often underestimate the priority which people from religious backgrounds give to having time free for worship. For Moslems, being able to attend a mosque on Fridays, for Hindus time free for festivals and ceremonials, for Jews being home before sunset on Fridays are considerations which they are often forced to trade off against earnings or career.

One definition of indirect discrimination on grounds of ethnic or national origin is that it occurs when a person, X, applies to another person, Y, a provision, criterion or practice which X applies to everyone; and the provision, criterion or practice puts (or would put) people from Y's ethnic or national origin at a particular disadvantage; and the provision, criterion or practice puts Y personally at a disadvantage; and X cannot show that the provision, criterion or practice is a proportionate means of achieving a legitimate aim.
Within organizations, in addition to the consequences of direct and indirect discrimination, harassment and bullying, there may be glass ceilings and walls – invisible but impermeable barriers. These limit how far members of minorities may be promoted, segregate people into separate spheres and create status differences. In general, glass ceilings and walls in the workplace

reflect the conditions of the wider society. Writers on race comment on 'the silencing of the importance of race in organizations',[55] and ask, 'why so much attention [has] been given to race and ethnicity outside of organizations and why so little inside?'[326] Feminist writers argue that organizations are gendered, embedding the values, attitudes and norms of one gender, usually the male. It is possible to view gender and other classifications as something organizations 'do', rather than as a natural attribute of people. In some organizations, the relations between men and women doing similar 'male' jobs are defined by practices based on a 'symbolic' order which places women below men in the hierarchy. The result is rules and rituals which create and recreate ambiguity in the expectations of how women workers should behave.[327]

'Glass walls', or job segregation, keep women and minority men out of some functional areas (e.g., manufacturing) and locked into others (e.g., human resource management). Usually, the areas from which minorities are excluded are the ones most likely to lead to the top of the organizations; they may even be those where experience is essential to get there. For example, in a multinational company a woman or ethnic minority man may be less likely than members of the majority group to get an overseas posting, but international experience may be a requirement for a job at Board level; or, in an industrial marketing company, where a period of experience as sales representatives is regarded as basic for promotion above a certain level, women graduate trainees may not be allowed to gain such experience – theoretically, for their protection. A UK study found that senior posts to which women were promoted tended to be 'dangerous': those where the risks of failure were higher.[328]

As the introduction to this section stated, discrimination negatively affects minority groups' chances of obtaining employment, equal earnings and promotion. For instance, a naturalistic field experiment examined the responses of recruitment agencies to unsolicited resumés from native-born and immigrant candidates in the technology sector in New Zealand. The findings revealed that immigrant candidates with equivalent educational and occupational experience were significantly less likely to be contacted for further information and significantly more likely to have contact terminated than native-born candidates.[329]

Indirect discrimination

Examples of provisions, criteria or practices which might be indirectly discriminatory include the following: 'A firm's policy of filling senior management positions internally, from a pool of senior and middle managers, most of whom are white'; 'A word-of-mouth recruitment policy in a European firm where the majority of the workforce are Asian'; service provisions such as 'A bank requires applicants for a loan to be registered on the electoral roll, so that it can carry out credit checks. This may discriminate indirectly against non-citizens who are not eligible to vote'; 'If the proportion of qualifying people from an ethnic minority group who receive meals-on-wheels (a service provided by the local government) is smaller than persons who are not of that racial group'; 'If the proportion of potholes in the road filled in an ethnic minority area is lower than that in a nonethnic minority area'. Indirect discrimination can arise through lack of monitoring, rather than intention.[330]

More on why the value of family-friendly policies is limited

First, there is a widespread belief that the use of leaves and flexible working arrangements involves sacrificing career advancement, at least in the short term, and perhaps permanently. Second, it has been shown that an individual's immediate supervisor or manager affects how much work-family conflict individuals experience, and whether they fear negative effects at work from using family-friendly policies. Attitudes of such supervisors and managers are key and may often be unsupportive. A study in an insurance business found that supervisors often sent 'mixed messages' about work and family when implementing family-friendly policies amidst organizational constraints such as frequent deadlines and a team-based culture. These constraints often called for supervisors to make 'judgement calls' about work–family programme implementation, which they made while at the same time trying not to set a precedent they might regret. Third, research has shown that family-friendly resources are more likely to be available to senior and non-minority staff, which means they may actually reinforce the glass ceiling.[331]

9.3.3 More on harassment and workplace bullying

Psychosocial factors such as bullying are now being acknowledged as global issues, affecting all countries, professions, and workers.

Definitions of what constitutes sexual harassment depend on gender, with women consistently defining more experiences as harassing than men. The

differences in definition create comparability problems for studies of harassment incidence; however, there seems little doubt that it is widespread in the workplace. Research into the problem of sexual harassment has tended to focus on harassment that occurs within overt power relationships, for example, bosses and employees, teachers and students, doctors and patients, lawyers and clients. However, sexual harassment often occurs between peers – persons whose relationship is not based on an overt power or status differential. One study found that sexual harassment was pervasive both in terms of the numbers of females and males who had been victims/targets of peer sexual harassment, the relationship of the harassers to their victims, the settings in which harassment occurred, and the verbal and nonverbal behaviours communicated.[332]

Many feminists regard sexual harassment as a patriarchal control strategy used by men to keep women 'in their place': men are seen as intentionally or unintentionally reducing women employees to sexualized beings. In addition, feminists assert, men often subscribe to a 'male sexual drive discourse' in which their sexuality is treated as 'incontinent', 'out of their own control' and essentially biologically driven.

Black Asian and minority ethnic women's reports of experiences of sexual harassment in the UK workplace show that they are frequently sexually harassed by men from the same ethnic background. The fear of job loss, reprisals from male family members and negative organizational consequences result in over three quarters of the women not reporting these incidents.[333]

US data suggest that 50 per cent of women will be harassed at some time in their working lives; consequences include job loss, decreased morale, absenteeism, decreased job satisfaction and damage to interpersonal relationships at work, as well as negative effects on psychological and physical health.[334] A wide range of people – not just women – is affected by harassment. The victims of bullying as well as some sexual harassment are more often men than is generally acknowledged. For women, however, the psychodynamics of sexual harassment maintain an unequal power structure between the sexes, forcing women to comply with traditional sex roles. The findings from an Australian study suggest that organizational culture and environment influence respondents' attitudes to sexually harassing behaviour.[335]

A study of 594 male and 430 female Swedish medical doctors found that women who worked in medical units with a larger percentage of men reported more gender harassment; women who had a male supervisor reported less organizational support; and women who worked in an organization with a male head reported more gender discrimination. For men, gender composition was unrelated to any of the outcome measures.

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9.3.4 Further explanations of:

The consequences of micro-inequities

Micro-inequities can occur wherever people are perceived as different. These include Caucasians in a Japanese-owned company, African Americans in a white firm, women in a traditionally male environment and Roman Catholics in a traditionally Protestant environment. Micro-inequities 'include exclusion from informal peer support, networking, and mentoring; restricted information and a lack of feedback from supervisors and coworkers; inadequate or inaccurate performance appraisals by supervisors or work groups; and inequitable delegation of tasks. … One of the main things blacks complained about … was the withholding of information by white supervisors. Time and time again, they recounted how … their counterparts were given the whole picture.' Blacks were given jobs to 'prove their competence'; Whites were given learning experiences. Because they often encountered stereotypes, Blacks tended to be more aware than Whites of how others might perceive and evaluate their behaviours. This perception might inhibit open communication within a variety of formal contexts (e.g., team meetings, job interviews or sales consultations). Low report rates mean little: it has been shown that members of stigmatized groups are less likely to report an experience as discriminatory in the presence of a member of a non-stigmatized group than in private.[337]

The consequences of the persistent injustice effect

This experience of 'persistent injustice' may account for the findings that a social account reduced perceived injustice less for Black respondents observing Black than White victims or than for White respondents observing either Black or White victims. Black respondents observing Black victims when there was higher racial identification or higher levels of personal experience with

injustice were similarly less influenced by social accounts. The same applied when Black respondents observed Black victims hurt by White harm-doers. Black respondents also perceived higher initial levels of injustice, disapproval and intentionality when observing Black victims hurt by White harm-doers. These findings are consistent with earlier studies that found that social accounts were less effective at diminishing perceptions of injustice for union officials and female managers when the hypothetical victim was a member of their ingroup. When there is a persistent injustice effect, it is likely to be invisible to a manager who has given what on the surface may be received as a successful excuse, apology or explanation. As a result, '"solutions" end up being partial and temporary, and the conflicts get driven underground, to incubate and surface again at some other time, in some other form.' [338]

9.4.1 Examples of barriers linked to the communication practices of different groups

An example of communication problems created by ethnic differences in communication practices

In the UK schoolchildren of Afro-Caribbean ethnic origin, and elsewhere in Europe children of Algerian, Turkish or Indonesian ethnicity display differences from the majority in dialect, frequency of interruption, story-telling and conversational rules. These differences have resulted in lower performance expectations from teachers, excessive speech or language therapy placements, and communication differences being treated as discipline problems. For the children themselves, their treatment often results in lowered self-expectations and a tendency to see the school climate as negative.

Gender differences in ways of talking and nonverbal behaviour that cause problems

The male sex may be seen as powerful and decisive and the female as submissive and indecisive. Tannen (2001) argued, 'Communication between men and women can be like cross cultural communication, prey to a clash of conversational styles.'[339]
Whatever the intrinsic communication situation of some older people and those with disabilities, they are likely to be affected by the way they are addressed. It has been shown that messages to negatively stereotyped older adults are shorter, less complex and more demeaning in tone. There is clear evidence that patronizing talk from younger individuals to older adults is

common. It is likely that being spoken to in these ways affects how older adults communicate.[340] However, except among older people with less education, negative social experiences do not adversely affect older adults' ability to function.[341] The responses of people with disabilities to how others speak to them include shorter interactions, decreased eye contact and low verbal immediacy.[342] These are ways of avoiding communication.

An example of disability giving rise to communication barriers

This example concerns communicators with a hearing disability. Even in ideal conditions, skilled lip-readers accurately interpret less than 50 per cent of what is being said. The late-deafened communicator, especially, has a difficult time adapting to new communication strategies. People talking to communicators who are hard of hearing may not have the skills to repair communication breakdowns, leaving both parties dissatisfied with the communication encounter.[343] Problems persist even when efforts are made to overcome them. A deaf man who developed software for a big company could speak and lip-read, but said, 'I lose a lot of information, which leads to misunderstandings. I prefer written means to be sure I'm getting the full message.'[344]

For other kinds of disability, the communication problem usually arises because of the behaviours of an interlocutor without disabilities. Gaze is influenced by the stereotypes and prejudices about disabled people. People with visible disabilities can be made to feel worthless, unattractive and stressed by how others look at them. This happens especially in the medical context (some doctors perform 'public stripping'), but also within everyday social interaction. When one person in an interaction has a visible impairment the other person gains privileged information and therefore power.[345] According to Morris (1991), 'It is not only physical limitations that restrict us to our homes and those whom we know. It is the knowledge that each entry into the public world will be dominated by stares, by condescension, by pity and by hostility.'[346] People whose disability is invisible may fear 'exposure'.

Within the first few interactions with such an interlocutor, people with disabilities must often manage or fend off requests for information and invasions of privacy in an attempt to retain individuality and control. At the same time they have to try to build relationships. If uncertainty about the disability is not reduced, it often has a negative impact on inter-ability relationships, including premature termination of the relationship.[347]

A three-tier model of intercultural communication consists of the intrapersonal, interpersonal and systemic. At the intrapersonal level, social demands, such as the one to treat people with disabilities with kindness, might be in conflict with others, such as to treat them as equals. This paradox constrains interability interactions, especially those between strangers. At the interpersonal level, people without disabilities, operating with stereotypes, may be unclear as to what constitutes appropriate behaviour (e.g., to help or not to help). This leads them to constrain their behaviour. At the systemic level, which concerns power relations, people without disabilities, who have the upper hand in conversations, may misconstrue statements made by people with disabilities and guide behaviour in a way that supports negative stereotypes. A study had female confederates (trained to use a wheelchair) either feign a disability or remain visibly non-disabled when interacting with a non-disabled respondent. The study found that the non-disabled respondents sought more information and were more aware of behaviour from the non-disabled confederate than from the apparently disabled confederate. The results showed that less positive predicted outcomes led to less information-seeking behaviour.[348]

9.4.2 Here are some links to videos that make the point about why lack of shared knowledge impedes business collaborations

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LOKyhkRWUTg
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=glywa5MxbE4
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2-x7U-D3jow

All last accessed 10 Oct 2016

The differences, reported in Chapter 4, in the communication motives of the genders may reduce the chances that either side will find their communication satisfying.[349]

9.5.1 Example of errors in interpretations leading to intercultural communication problems

An apartment block in the new financial district of London has residents and leaseholders (owners) from all round the world in addition to the British: Chinese, Americans, French, Indians, Italians, Nigerians and others. In a two-year period the following intercultural incidents occurred:

A resident asked a neighbour the meaning of a Japanese term she had come across. She had been told by the porter that that neighbour was Japanese. 'We are Chinese, I cannot help you,' the neighbour said, clearly offended.

A newly-arrived American couple invited all the residents to a 'get-to-know-you' party. People attended and the conversation was lively. The gesture was appreciated. Soon thereafter, however, the American woman put herself forward to be Chair of the Residents' Association Board. This was seen as presumptuous in someone newly arrived and the party was re-interpreted as a political ploy.

A French accountant was elected to the Board. She noticed that a small invoice had been paid twice and demanded a thorough investigation going back some years. It was suggested by the other Board members that this was a one-off error, since no others had been found in a sample. When her request was refused, she sent an open letter to all the leaseholders. She found herself unpopular and eventually resigned from the Board.

An American resident put in charge of the Christmas decorations arranged for the traditional natural Christmas tree in the lobby to be replaced by an artificial one supplied by a local building firm. A notice stating that this was given by the builder stood at the foot of the tree. There was a saving to the Residents' Association finances, but some of the British residents were offended and found the new arrangement 'tawdry'.[350]

9.6.1 How cultural differences in the range of emotions expressed, level of formality, 'fixed' versus flexible appointments and task versus social orientation create tensions

A difference in emotional expression was exemplified in the following comment by a professional from Romania about face-to-face interaction with Swiss people: 'I found them extremely cold for me and very distant. I guess it has to do a lot with the nonverbal communication. […] The tone of their voice, it seemed for me very strict and created a kind of distance.'

Differences in the preferred level of formality emerged between participants who prefer to communicate on an informal basis, (generally) regardless of the relationship between sender and receiver (e.g. English and Mexican professionals) and those who convey varying levels of formality depending on the relationship between sender and receiver (e.g. Indians and Swiss professionals). There were also differences in how soon greater informality was acceptable and in the extent to which the media used affected the level of informality. Such differences are attributed to differences in power distance.

Differences in the perceived 'fixedness' of appointments create tensions – for example those who saw them as fixed (e.g. Swiss) felt frustrated when meetings began or ran late or when the other person did not show up, while those who viewed them as flexible (e.g. Indians and Mexicans) were surprised when the other party adhered to strict timelines or cancelled a meeting because they were not there on time. These differences are attributed to the cultural difference between monochronic and polychronic sense of time.

Differences in focus on task or social relationships, which showed up particularly in the context of success or failure in business dealings, led those who focus on social relationships (e.g. the British, Mexicans, Chinese) to find those who focus on task (e.g. Scandinavians) unsympathetic and even inefficient. These differences are attributed to high-context versus low-context cultural orientations.

These differences made both parties feel a level of discomfort.[351]

10.1 A discussion of issues involved involved in communicating effectively with 'different others'.

This chapter suggests techniques and approaches for communicating effectively at work with 'different others'. They are based in published theories and research; they may present individuals with a more complex interactional task than they previously thought necessary. However, it may be that such individuals have been living in a 'fool's paradise' in which lack of understanding, offence and even hostility went unrecognized; or that they have been imposing their 'definition of the situation' as members of a dominant group in an undemocratic and damaging way. There is an investment of energy and commitment needed to move through the stages of unconscious and conscious incompetence to first conscious and ultimately unconscious competence but there are both ethical and instrumental reasons for making that investment. Ethically, attempts to create a level playing field for members of minorities can be pointless if they are excluded or undermined by unskilled communication. Instrumentally, appropriate intercultural communication can help organizations win goodwill, attract the best talent, gain government business, do business with people from 'other' (sub)cultures, and have good industrial relations. For individuals, intercultural communication skills are an essential tool for providing services to, working as colleagues with or doing business with, people from backgrounds different from the individual's own.

The focus of this chapter is on effective intercultural communication at work. At this point, however, no clear distinction has been empirically established between intercultural work communication and intercultural communication in general, so in some cases findings from studies of general intercultural communication are given in this chapter.

Underlying the various models and concepts in this chapter is an assumption that people from different backgrounds who interact at work (both within and between organizations) import their own cultural values, beliefs, practices and so on and then one or both adapt to enable intercultural communication to take place. The effectiveness of their intercultural communication depends on how effectively one or both or all adapt. This view has been challenged by researchers within the sense-making perspective who assert that within international organizations culture itself is negotiated. When semi-structured interviews undertaken in a German-Japanese joint venture were analysed, the results showed that 'aggregate models of cultural difference are useful only to the extent that they serve as latent conceptual anchors guiding individuals' cultural responses to events'. Instead, 'organizational events and issue domains served as points of departure for cultural negotiations.'[352]

10.2.1 More on the stakeholder approach to ethical intercultural business communication

The communication ethics approach of Habermas (1998) suggests, as a principle, fair and open communication among all the stakeholders affected, in order to build a consensus.[353]

Deetz *et al.* (1997) argued that to increase the 'voice' of multiple stakeholders in organizations that are intrinsically biased against weaker stakeholders, such as the surrounding community, requires four changes. These are:

1. An end to the fixing of roles (e.g., by the division of labour) and to the suppression or ignoring of the complexity of people's identities and aspirations. These identities include those such as being a parent, citizen or softball player as well as an employee or customer.
2. Ending the limits imposed on discussion by rules and authority relations; such limits make stakeholders unequal in power.
3. Opening information production activities to stakeholder discussion: in most cases the information available to stakeholders is manufactured by management groups and is both limited and skewed.

4. Ensuring that discussion focuses on ends rather than means. [354]

Stage 1 Denial – complete denial of different ways of human existence (Example: black slaves haven't been treated as human beings).

Stage 2 Defence – now the others are recognized but there is great hostility and negative feelings towards them. Differences are perceived as a danger for own group. There are negative attitudes and prejudices towards other groups (Example: prejudice towards Jews in World War II era).

Stage 3 Minimization – the existence of the others is tolerated, by minimizing the differences between groups. For example 'We are all children of one God'. The problem is that this means that all people are same as me, or actually, we are all children of one, but My God.

Stage 4 Acceptance – acceptance of the others by respecting differences in behavior and values (Example: two language schools)

Stage 5 Adaptation – full respect and empathy with others and adaptation of personal behavior depending on cultural context (Example: parallel using of the same church for religious ceremonies of two different religions: Hinduism and Buddhism.)

Stage 6 Integration – absorbing and integrating some aspects of behavior and values of »others« into our culture, but keeping our own culture too (Example: integration of words, phrases of other culture, some aspect of dressing and food etc).

Studying the culture of the people with whom we interact in order to know what sensitivities they are likely to have is one possible solution. However, many people face the problem that they interact with people from a wide range of cultures and subcultures. For instance, a teacher who worked in a central London university might find in his or her classes people from several different European, African and Asian nations, from several different British ethnic and religious minority religious groups (e.g., Bangladeshi, Indian,

Pakistani, Afro-Caribbean, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh, Roman Catholic, Church of England), plus, of course of different genders, sexual orientations and levels of physical ability. In addition, often the answer to the question 'How can I learn about culture X?' is the discouraging information that there is no comprehensive book (or list) available about culture X. There is, anyway, no substitute for experience in gaining knowledge of other cultures. However, realistically, few service providers are likely to be able to visit all the countries represented among their students, patients or clients or even to get well acquainted with all the ethnic or religious groups so represented.

10.4.2 Suggestions on training oneself to learn from experience

According to Kolb's (1973) 'learning from experience' model, we learn from experience through thinking and reflecting on what has happened.[355] After an experience we go through a cycle of processes. For example, a new consultant might be over-forceful in expressing negative views of the client company's advertising and find that his opinions caused dismay and disapproval. Then the following learning processes are likely to occur: first, he would reflect on the experience, perhaps recalling additionally that he had been told that the company was proud of its advertising. From this reflection he concludes that the company's culture is one of uncritical loyalty, and that in future he will be more gradual. He has now completed the conceptualization stage. On the next occasion he tests out this idea by expressing his views more cautiously.

There is also a 'double-loop' learning model based on the idea that two kinds of learning are needed in all organizations. The first is single-loop learning, which is incremental and adaptive. It corrects errors by changing routine behaviour without, however, examining the appropriateness of current ways of learning. The second kind is double-loop learning, which corrects errors by examining the underlying values and policies of the organization.[356] Thus a single-loop learning response to a drop in sales of a product would be to look at the data on all the variables that usually affect sales, from economic variables like incomes and taxes to what the competition is up to and whether the company's own marketing efforts are as effective as they should be. Action would be taken to put right whatever this investigation found to be wrong, and some learning would happen which would lead to things being done differently in future. Such a process is often necessary and useful. Double-loop learning, though, would ask, "Are these the right questions to be asking about this sales problem? Is it possible that something quite different is going on here, possibly

a change in consumer preferences or a deep-seated loss of faith in our brand (such as U.K. retailer Marks & Spencer suffered around the year 2000)?"

According to Argyris, the originator of the 'double-loop learning' concept, the capacity for double-loop learning is rare. Most people in organizations use 'master programmes' and 'defensive reasoning processes' that are counter-productive for learning and change and have to be unlearnt before double-loop learning is possible. He argues that it only becomes widespread in organizations if it is adopted by leaders who will both model and reward it. Learning should be in the service of action, rather than simply discovery or insight. The targets of double-loop learning are 'theories of action' -- the sets of rules that individuals use to design and implement their behaviour. To change these theories of actions involves mapping defensive action rules applied to a live problem by dialoguing with a peer, creating productive action rules and applying them to the problem. The competencies required for double-loop-learning are the same when dealing with individuals, groups, 'intergroups' or organizations.[357]

10.4.3 Suggestions on encouraging others to give you feedback

As a minimum a culture of acceptance of criticism without resentment or loss of self-esteem is needed before subordinates, for instance, will offer constructive feedback to their supervisors and managers. to actively implement changes suggested by the feedback. This 'feedback-positive' culture takes time to develop in countries where it is not the cultural norm, though in some countries, such as Germany, it is part of the social culture.

Initial steps include:
1. Asking for feedback; this 'obvious' move is rarely made by managers
2. Listening actively when feedback is given. Signal active listening by eye contact, slight nodding, occasional smiling, "mmm," "Yes, I see . . ..", alert posture, attentive expression, being comfortable with silence. Making active listening visible. There is clear evidence that perceiving active listening results in positive emotional appraisal (it shows up in brain scans) of both the listener and the occasion.[358]
3. Rewarding individuals who provide constructive feedback - for instance in their appraisals or by public praise
4. Implementing changes suggested by feedback, particularly those related to the feedback receiver's practices.

10.4.4 An explanation of the difference between mindfulness as used in this text and as used in other contexts

Mindfulness in this book means awareness of one's own mental processes; it can be achieved in interaction or in other ways; a more popular meaning currently is awareness of oneself achieved through meditation.

10.5.1 More on adjusting for non-routine interactions

These suggestions are based on the constructivist approach. Much current social science research uses a metaphor of 'person-as-a-naive-scientist', attempting to make sense of his/her world; the constructivist approach, on the other hand, argues that when people are interacting, their inferences and behaviour are aimed at accomplishing goals. When they respond to each other, they typically are less concerned with understanding why others behave as they do than with understanding the immediate implications of what others do and say for their ability to achieve their own goal(s). These goals differ and may include personal goals or goals brought into being by the situation. Often the goal is simply to respond appropriately and keep the conversation on track. In routine situations, communication is dominated by conventional goals and plans 'given' to the interactors. For instance, at the end of routine work meetings, people discuss and decide the date of the next meeting without thinking about why or how. It is in such situations that the influence of culture and cultural differences on communication is most obvious. Thus, in a high power distance culture, the forward engagements of the most senior person present will be the deciding factor on the date of the next meeting; in a more egalitarian culture, a gap will be sought in everyone's diary. However, because these conventions are so well known, people entering into intercultural communication often are unaware that the conventions of the other culture may be different. Therefore, the influence of culture on communication may be least recognized, as well as strongest, not in initial interactions but in later stages of work relationships. This conflicts with most other views of the influence of the stage of relationship.

Constructivism offers a partial explanation for individuals' motivations within intercultural interactions, although, being goal-based, it is a highly cognitive

one, which leaves 'needs theories' out of account. It also provides little explanation for why people enter such encounters in the first place or how their motives in entering interactions relate to their goals within them.

10.6.1 More on grounding

A study that analyzed authentic spoken data revealed that common ground more often comes to be established between two persons through shared beliefs than through mutual knowledge. Shared beliefs are held to be true by virtue of indirect information or experience as a result of a prior discussion and interaction with another individual concerning the same belief. In contrast, mutual knowledge is held to be true by direct experience of both parties.[359]

10.6.2 More findings on shared representations of intercultural episodes

Other research included a comparative study of students and housewives. This study showed that for housewives, episodes were mainly thought of in terms of intimacy and friendliness, self-confidence and positive or negative evaluation. Results are not given for students, but it is implied that they were different.[360] A comparative study of university Faculty, research students and other staff showed that decreasing status was associated with an increasing role for anxiety in episode perceptions; involvement was a criterion used mainly by Faculty; and students were least evaluative but placed the greatest importance on task-orientation. [361]

10.6.3 Critiques of intercultural communication theories

It would be wrong to create the impression that intercultural communication theories are non-problematic. Jehn and Weldon (1992), for example, criticized the ethnocentric assumption that Western theories can be applied in any culture. Although their criticism focused on conflict management theories in particular, there is every reason to believe that it applies equally to the intercultural communication theories discussed here. They wrote: 'The problem centers on the way that conflict management behavior is conceptualized, and the way it is measured in studies of cross-cultural differences. In each case, a theory of conflict management behavior developed in the West is adopted. These theories focus on dimensions that differentiate strategies of conflict management. … These (Western-originated) dimensions

of conflict management behavior are then linked to dimensions of cultural variability.'[362] These shortcomings, they argued, suggest that research based on these theories provides little useful information. To produce useful information, Western-based measures must be discarded. Instead, an inductive search must be conducted for etic dimensions (outsiders' descriptions of what people do and why they do it, developed using the methods of linguistics and anthropology) and emic constructs (what people themselves relate about what they do and why they do it). Discovering true etics allows meaningful comparisons across cultures on a set of common dimensions, and the discovery of emics contributes to a full understanding of each culture.

Other difficulties with these theories are the fact that they are partial and yet each theory stands alone as if its proponents believe it to be a complete account. Little effort has so far been made to integrate them and, with limited exceptions, insights from other theorists' and researchers' work are not incorporated. However, this defect is probably characteristic of a young and vigorous subject area in the social sciences and while it reduces the immediate value of the work, it may well be productive for the further development of the field.

In addition, there are some obvious gaps in the variables covered. With the exception of accounts of intercultural competence based on Earley and Ang's (2003) account of cultural intelligence[363], which includes several aspects of motivation, including self-efficacy expectations, goal setting, and self-concept/-evaluation through identity, and the possible exception of CAT, accounts of motivation – why some people and not others are motivated to achieve effective intercultural communication – are weak or lacking; in one case, motivational analysis is reduced to the proposition that 'length of sojourn' is the key underlying variable (see Chapter 7). Little attempt has been made so far to draw on motivational theories from psychology and social psychology.

More surprisingly, perhaps, there is a lack of recognition of cultural difference in some of the theories. With the partial exception of AUM Theory, they are silent on such questions as whether collectivists are more or less likely than individualists, those high in power distance than those low in power distance, universalists than particularists to perceive interactions in terms of cultural identity, to have their expectations violated, to adapt and so on. (It is true that one of the reported pieces of research on

CAT relates part of the theory to cultural variability, but the theory per se does not do this.) Equally, only Cultural Identity Theory presents cultural difference as in any way a dependent variable, affected by the process of intercultural interaction. There is clearly potential for including cultural differences in the various models by a fairly simple logic, but the work has not yet been done, or not yet published.

10.7.1 More on co-cultural communication with examples of the behaviours produced by combinations of accommodation and assimilation strategies with the different modes

An accommodation strategy combined with a non-assertive mode leads to the person making him- or her-self more visible and trying to dispel stereotypes; in combination with an assertive mode to communicating their identity, intragroup networking, using liaison people and educating others; in combination with an aggressive mode to confronting others' stereotypes and trying to gain an advantage.

An assimilation strategy combined with a non-assertive mode leads to the person emphasizing commonalities, developing positive face, censoring their own opinions and averting controversy; in combination with an assertive mode to extensive preparation for intercultural interactions, overcompensating, manipulating stereotypes and bargaining; in combination with an aggressive mode to dissociating, mirroring strategic distancing and ridiculing the self.

10.7.2 Findings on subverting the suppression of parenthood in the workplace

Gendered and discriminatory organizational practices can coerce women into disguising their commitments as mothers. These practices include pervasive assumptions that working mothers are less reliable, less committed or less professional than their childless colleagues. A qualitative study found that women interpreted supervisory patterns and interactions and often decided to edit ties to motherhood, express their 'public' and 'private' identities differently and operate self-surveillance and control. However, most also engaged in family talk and 'bring children to work' through conversation.[364]

10.10.1 More on orienting to another culture

Orienting to another country's culture depends on understanding the self as a cultural being (i.e., being aware of one's own cultural identity), knowledge of the culture and its language, stereotypes of and attitudes towards people in the other culture and being able to suspend

evaluation of other people's behaviour. Self-awareness overcomes the dangers of cultural self-imprisonment. Cultural self-awareness means being aware that usual approaches may be inappropriate.

Knowledge of the host culture is needed to work out how people in the culture interpret and evaluate their own behaviour.

'Without understanding some of the host language, it is not possible to understand their behaviour.'[365] This does not necessarily mean speaking the language fluently; however, the more of the language is understood, the more of the culture can be understood. Also, host nationals usually take making an effort to speak the language as a positive sign. It increases their desire to get acquainted.

Two major factors that affect the amount and type of knowledge people obtain about another culture that they visit either short- or long-term are the nature of the contacts they have with people in the culture and their motivation to adjust to the other culture. The second of these is related to their attitudes to other cultures in general and the one they are visiting in particular.

Appropriate attitudes are vital to working effectively abroad. 'Once there is respect for different points of view as equally valid, there can develop a genuine desire to create new ways of working together. So long as individuals only accept the validity of their own view of the world, international working becomes a battle to get the French to follow the systems or to explain again to the Chinese that you are working to a deadline.'[366] The culture's own way of working probably represents the best way of doing things within a particular cultural context. Respect towards the other culture is one necessary attitude; another is respect for the individuals with whom one interacts. These two attitudes can sometimes be lacking in, for instance, expatriates working in the former Soviet countries; the obvious deficiencies of some of the systems which operate are translated into a broad disrespect for the entire culture and all its people, as in, 'They have no initiative,' or, 'They can all be bribed.' Such attitudes communicate themselves to the people among whom the expatriate is living and working. Naturally, they elicit responses that make the expatriate's life more difficult and thus more stressful.

Describing others' behaviour before evaluating generally leads to understanding; evaluating prematurely leads to misunderstanding. There is a 'natural' human tendency to evaluate others' behaviour. Such evaluation, however, is generally based on an individual's own cultural standards. Using personal cultural standards to evaluate others' behaviour often makes it harder to understand them fully. To understand others, what is needed is first to describe what is observed; next, to look at alternative interpretations of the behaviour and then to try to work out which interpretation is most appropriate in the other culture. (To do this the knowledge gained about the other culture is needed.) Only then is it possible to evaluate the behaviour, and even then the major reason for doing so is if it is necessary to take a decision on whether or not to engage in it personally. Suspending judgement of

others until the cultural logic behind their behaviour is understood is critical to making good decisions on how to react and behave towards them in various situations.

A review of the literature suggested that cultural knowledge, cross-cultural understanding and a number of intercultural behavioural skills and situational variables are important for good intercultural relations.[367] Sojourners and short-stay international visitors alike should focus on three areas of objectives:

1. Behaviour objectives: to act in accordance with another culture's norms, or to create new 'third culture' patterns which incorporate elements of both home and host cultures.

2. Skills objectives, including communication and group process skills and skills of coping with cultural differences. Some personal qualities, such as openness, flexibility, a sense of humour and pluralistic values and attitudes are also helpful.

3. Knowledge objectives, which should be focused on the following:

■ Realistic expectations of the target culture(s), of which the most important are those that involve different attributions or interpretations of behaviour.

■ Information about roles and role relationships. This may be more useful than information about, for instance, economic, political and educational systems.

■ What problems to expect. Anticipating problems of the kind quoted in Box 7.3 comes with experience; other people's reported experiences can also be relevant, provided that the possibility of bias is borne in mind.

In an overseas host culture, there is a need both for specific knowledge of the kinds given in Boxes 7.2 and 7.3, and the more general understanding of cultural difference and similarity derived from the kinds of analysis presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

The following reflects some values differences that can affect host-expat relations:

'As Europeans have become more environmentally conscious, it has become more difficult for them to live comfortably in countries like India – probably in the developing world generally. Many of the people in these countries whom one meets or works with as an expat are tasting the fruits of growth for the first time. They are avid consumers and seem to care little for environmental values. They will buy the biggest car they can afford (an SUV for a family of three in a built-up area), never use public transport or walk if they can avoid it, use twice as many free supermarket plastic bags as they need, run the subsidised air conditioning when Europeans feel fine with a fan and so on. At seminars I have seen huge piles of small plastic bottles of mineral water demolished while a large container (with a tap) of the same stuff was being ignored.

All these behaviours are upsetting, but you have to ask yourself what right have we, who have for so long been damaging the planet, to criticise or try to change them, who up to now have had so little?'[368]

10.10.2 More on coping with culture shock

Adjusting to a relatively similar culture is often as difficult as adjusting to a 'distant' one. This may be because expatriates do not expect differences in relatively similar cultures.[369] However, Canadian research showed that people who admitted to higher levels of culture shock were the same people who were more effective on the assignment. It also found that the importance of personal variables may outweigh the situation – that is, that selection may outweigh training and social support. For example, of two individuals, one found the same situation constraining, the other liberating.[370] The main characteristics consistently listed as negative factors for cultural adjustment include:
■ National origin and perceived discrimination: in the USA, for instance, sojourners from African or Asian countries have more adjustment problems than Europeans do.
■ Psychological depression.
■ External locus of control.
The last two characteristics, depression and external locus of control, point to 'personality' factors. Canadian research also showed that personal variables were related negatively to speed of adjustment: 'caringness', but positively to self-centredness, self-monitoring, adroitness and low security-consciousness.[371]

Parallel symptoms to those of culture shock have been described in the '**learned helplessness**' literature. Therefore, one author suggested, the application of reformulated learned helplessness to cultural adjustment can contribute to understanding culture shock.[372] Learned helplessness is a person's belief that what happens to them and the outcomes of what they do are independent of what they do and how they do it; people suffering from learned helplessness attribute negative events internally,
stably and globally ('global' here means that the cause is believed to operate on a large number of things, not just one). If people suffering from learned helplessness have a bad experience, they will tend to think it is caused by them, that the cause is long-lasting and unchangeable and that the cause will make other things bad, too. Thus, an individual's use of stable/unstable,

global/specific, and internal/external attributions can affect his or her adjustment to a new culture.

10.10.3 More on sojourner adjustment/adaptation

Earley and Ang (2003) argued that success in global work assignments (as measured by the individual assignee's general adjustment, work performance and completion of the global assignment) is related to CQ (cultural intelligence), which was introduced in Section 6.4, but that the relationship is modified by a large set of factors. These include the individual's personality and technical managerial competence, the (level of) adjustment of any spouse and children, the cultural toughness (novelty) of the host nation, the job, and the organizational effectiveness of both the parent and the local unit organization.[373]

10.10.4 More on acculturation

Acculturation is a stress-inducing process. Face-to-face interviews with over 2000 Asian immigrants to the USA found that the strongest predictors of acculturative stress were the level of the individual's English language proficiency and native language proficiency (lower proficiency meant more stress), discrimination, family cohesion and the context of migration.[374] It has been argued, however, that additional stress might result in faster and more effective acculturation.[375] For example, Canadians in Kenya 'who would ultimately be the most effective in adapting to a new culture underwent the most intense culture shock during the transition period.' When stress is extreme, 'human plasticity' is activated to form the person more fully into a more complete intercultural identity: in longer stays
(those of immigrants for instance), initial high stress levels result in more complete
acculturation, an earlier adoption of an intercultural identity and lower stress levels eventually. When three interactive acculturation strategies were tested on five measures of quality of intergroup relations in the context of Japanese-American co-worker relations, conflictual strategies produced less positive results than either consensual or problematic strategies. Contrary to predictions, however, problematic strategies were as effective as consensual strategies. A possible explanation for this finding is that users of problematic strategies are usually more deeply acculturated to their cultural outgroup and also that they make constructive use of stress.[376]

Other evidence to support this acculturation model has been found.[377] Studies of international students showed that those students with the most host-national contact also showed the most adaptation, that 'psychological stress is found in individuals who attempt to integrate' and that longer stays result in more acculturation. It was also found that language ability was correlated to feeling at ease and satisfied with an international student experience. Evidence that initial stress can lead to eventual

acculturation was found in studies of the spouses of international students. Amongst such spouses, stress was widespread. 'Initial feelings of sadness, loneliness, self-doubt, confusion, and frustration were present in their descriptions of the first weeks and months of the sojourn.'[378] Language difficulties made this initial stress worse. However, a 'positive change of mood usually happened within the first 3–6 months from arrival,' thus confirming the view that in time 'strangers become increasingly proficient in managing their life activities in the host society'.[379]

Conversely, there is some evidence that successful exchange student experiences are more related to expectations than to acculturation. Sojourners consistently reported that expectations were met or positively violated. This may mean that the value of stress to acculturation has been overstated, as well as the value of acculturation to a successful experience. 'The notion of self-fulfilling prophecy accounts for the similarity between expectations and fulfilment of these expectations.'[380] In Anxiety/Uncertainty Management theory, anxiety and the resulting stress is expected to drive sojourning individuals towards uncertainty reduction and eventual acculturation in the new culture. However, Witte (1993) considered that culture shock results in acculturation only when acculturation into the new milieu appears to be manageable. If the danger in a fear-provoking situation appears to be manageable, individuals' preferred adaptive response is to take action to reduce the danger. If the danger in a fear-provoking situation seems to be too large to handle, however, or danger reduction strategies are absent, fear reduction takes over and the danger is ignored or rationalized away. Such responses to new cultures would result in maladaptive seclusion, and not result in acculturation of the individual or the society.[381]

Work Abroad – 5 Things You Will Love & Hate about Working Abroad

Strong ties in dense networks are most conducive to helping expatriates stay attached to a national culture, whereas cultural diversity in a social network provides the impetus for cultural identity change. Cross-cultural interconnectedness within expatriates' social networks contribute to the development of multiculturalism in their cultural identities.[382]

video link needed for challenges of working abroad

Take a look at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SYbynThuONs. It is a bit basic, but helps bring these basic points home.
And at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dl5FV8O9Hqc; this student-acted video is rather clumsy and obviously scripted but does make some points about cultural clashes that can affect negotiations and are not covered in the text.

11.2.1 Explanations of the cultural patterns of vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism

Some cultural researchers have considered individualism/collectivism and verticality/horizontalism, a dimension loosely related to power-distance, to be orthogonal, so that their interaction yields the four cultural categories of vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism. People in vertical cultures are understood to consider their 'self' to be different from others in social status, whereas in horizontal cultures people consider their 'self' to be more or less the same as others.[383] Within horizontal collectivist cultures, such as Israeli kibbutz society, people see themselves as 'merged with the members of their own ingroup who are extremely similar to each other in terms of their tastes and preferences'. Vertical collectivists, while still prioritizing their group memberships, prefer to think of themselves as 'different' from other members of the ingroup. China, Korea, Singapore and India (with its caste system) exemplify vertically collectivist cultures, according to these researchers. Horizontal individualism is the cultural pattern that applies in countries where individuals consider themselves relatively independent of the ingroup but also as more or less equal in status with others. Australia, Denmark and Sweden are typical. Finally in countries where an independent self is postulated and individuals see themselves as relatively unique and expect inequality in status, the cultural pattern is described by vertical individualism. France, Germany, the UK and the USA exemplify this cultural pattern.
These four cultural patterns have been linked to the ease or difficulty with which different kinds of knowledge are absorbed and acted on in different

societies. As Chapter 8 explains, the four cultural patterns and the interactions among them have also been linked to the ease or difficulty of international knowledge transfers within and between organizations.[384]

11.2.2 Explanations of the analyses of the relative ease or difficulty of knowledge transfers between different types of culture

Table 37 is actually a set of logical deductions from the meaning of the terms with the additional premise that individualism/collectivism creates a higher barrier to knowledge transfer than verticality/horizontality does. Thus while a vertical/horizontal difference with an individualist/collectivist similarity only locates the transfer in the 2nd easiest category, the reverse - an individualist/collectivist difference with a vertical/horizontal similarity locates the transfer in the next most difficult category.

Table 1 Relative ease or difficulty of knowledge transfers between different types of culture[385]

Ease or difficulty of knowledge transfer	Types of transfer between cultures
Easiest	Vertical individualist to vertical individualist Vertical collectivist to vertical collectivist Horizontal individualist to horizontal individualist Horizontal collectivist to horizontal collectivist
2nd easiest	Vertical individualist to horizontal individualist and v.-v. Vertical collectivist to horizontal collectivist and v.-v.
3rd easiest	Vertical individualist to vertical collectivist and v.-v. Horizontal individualist horizontal collectivist and v.-v.
Most difficult	Vertical individualist to horizontal collectivist and v.-v. Horizontal individualist to vertical collectivist and v.-v.

11.2.3 More on barriers to intercultural cooperation, coordination and knowledge sharing

Distinct patterns of interdependence give rise to different information processing requirements and 'task architectures': 'Variations in organizing modes are actually variations in the capacity of organizations to process information.' Puranam et al (2010) drew attention to a particular kind of interdependence, which they called **epistemic interdependence**: this is the kind that means that in order to act in a way that maximizes his or her utility an agent (individual or unit) needs sufficiently accurate predictive knowledge about what another agent will do. 'Co-ordination problems are characterized by epistemic interdependence.' An example of a situation of epistemic interdependence and thus of a potential co-ordination problem might arise in a medical situation where a patient had more than one condition and some treatments for condition x would be harmful if condition y were being treated with certain medications. A business example which has often arisen in the past is the need of the advertising media schedulers to know when retail distribution will take place in relation to a new product launch. 'Whenever one agent's utility is maximized by acting on an accurate prediction of another agent's actions, there is a (potential) co-ordination problem. A *co-ordination failure* is fundamentally a failure to predict the actions of another in situations where such a prediction is essential for optimal action by oneself.' (In terms of the new product launch example, if the advertising breaks before retail distribution is achieved, much of the advertising expenditure may be wasted; while if it breaks too long after the product is available at retail, low initial sales may result in retailers rejecting it.) Thus, 'Any setting in which actions are unobservable – either because they are taking place simultaneously, because of communication/information transmission constraints, or because of timing (it hasn't happened yet) – but must be predicted, can be modeled as a co-ordination problem.'[386] (This line of argument suggests that co-ordination issues are not the same as knowledge sharing issues. For instance, providing a system of appropriate signals or a history of interaction experiences [which is equivalent to common ground] is in place, co-ordination can occur without much shared knowledge: that, after all, is the way interpersonal interactions with strangers occur.)

The text above gives examples of a potential co-ordination problem resulting from epistemic interdependence. Give two more examples from different fields.

High perceived knowledge complexity causes inter-unit knowledge sharing problems in MNCs that cannot be fully compensated for by either formal coordination or informal networking.[387]
The text quotes research conducted on knowledge sharing between Russian and Chinese subsidiaries and Western headquarters concluded that knowledge sharing is often defeated by 'knowledge sharing hostility'.[388] This behaviour is explained by Garvin (2000, p. 205) who clarifies that 'knowledge is power and shared knowledge usually means less power'.[389] However, it has been argued that knowledge sharing depends more on a social-cognitive state rather than a static hierarchical status, and that therefore the appropriate knowledge management tools and environment, especially referring to the soft aspects of emotions,

will enhance and even change former institutionalised and ingrained patterns of behaviours.[390]

In the case which led to the conclusion that informal lateral relations in the form of social interaction were found to be more effective than centralization for achieving coordination of subunits in MNEs, the more control the headquarters exercised on its subunits, the less the subunits were willing to share knowledge with other units. 'Centralization may impose certain identifiable costs on an organization. These costs include: (1) a tendency for headquarters to intervene excessively or inappropriately, (2) increased time and effort devoted to influencing activities with a corresponding reduction in organizational productivity, (3) poor decision making resulting from the distortion of information associated with activities to influence, and (4) a loss of efficiency as the organization adapts its structure and policies to enhance control activities Because of such costs, centralization can become an ineffective way to co-ordinate.'[391]

11.2.4 Factors in how well expatriates share knowledge

Expatriates' interactional and work adjustment is related to their level of self-transcendence (their universalism and benevolence traits) and the match between the expatriate's level of self-transcendence and the local level. Perceived expatriate-local difference in self-transcendence was a negative predictor of work and interactional adjustment. Females had higher (non-significant) self-transcendence than males[392]

11.3.1 More findings on the performance effects of different kinds of diversity in groups and teams and their causes

Arguing that perceived diversity has more effect than objective diversity, Hentschel et al (2013) found that objective diversity in age, gender, educational level, nationality, or tenure was not related to team identification, or emotional conflict, while perceived diversity was negatively associated with team identification and positively associated with relationship conflict. Objective diversity and perceived diversity were unrelated. Diversity beliefs moderated these effects; for instance, people who held negative beliefs about diversity were more likely to experience relationship conflict when they perceived diversity levels in their team to be high.[393]

In terms of objective, as opposed to perceived, measures, there are findings that moderately strong demographic subgroups in teams fostered learning

behaviour. 'Subgroup strength' was defined as the degree of overlap across multiple demographic characteristics. In other words, where teams included a variety of subgroups, each composed of demographically similar individuals, team learning was enhanced.[394]

Another study found that both homogeneous and highly heterogeneous transnational teams outperform moderately heterogeneous teams in the long run – in other words that the relation between diversity and performance is curvilinear.[395] Chae et al (2014) found that this curvilinear relation between team diversity and performance applied specifically to creativity: a medium amount of diversity produced the worst team performance in the creative processes of exploration and exploitation.[396]

Findings that diverse work groups sometimes do but sometimes do not outperform homogeneous work groups has led to theorizing and research about why. One leading explanation is that, instead of using the workgroup itself as the relevant ingroup, members of diverse workgroups treat their demographically or functionally similar co-members as their ingroup and the other members of the workgroup as outgroups. This reasoning suggests that inducing group members 'to replace cross-cutting demographic or functional categories with the inclusive workgroup boundary as the basis for social categorization will reduce the detrimental effects of intergroup biases'.[397]

Other analyses of the performance effects of diversity also distinguish different types. One such differentiated values, cognitions and demeanours as types of nationality-based diversity that differentially affect group effectiveness according to the type of group task. The types of task are creative tasks such as generating strategies; computational tasks that are likely to involve rather clear-cut data collection, analysis and solution generation; and co-ordination tasks involving elaborate interaction among group members. [398]

A field study of diversity, conflict and performance in 92 work groups lent support to the idea that some types of diversity may be beneficial and others harmful to work groups. Informational diversity positively influenced group performance but value diversity decreased satisfaction, intent to remain and commitment to the group. (Readers should note that in this study 'values' referred, not to cultural values, but to what group members thought the group's real task, goal, target or mission should be.) [399]

Most importantly for this book, the study found that social category diversity (age and gender) positively influenced group members' satisfaction, intent to remain, perceived performance and commitment, even though it also resulted in increased conflict. This finding runs counter to both conventional wisdom and past research. One explanation seems to be that high performance leads to high morale and low task conflict rather than that low task conflict leads to high morale and high performance. Diverse groups performed better and perhaps, therefore, were more pleased with the group in which they were working. Thus, this study found that teams were more effective when their members had high information diversity and low value diversity, more efficient when their members had low value diversity and had higher morale (higher satisfaction, intent to remain and commitment) when their members had high social category diversity and low value diversity. 'It is the diversity associated with values, and not social category, that causes the biggest problems in and has the greatest potential for enhancing both workgroup performance and morale.'[400]

Informational diversity is more likely to lead to improved performance when tasks are non-routine. Again, social category diversity unexpectedly led to greater satisfaction and commitment when task interdependence was high than when it was low. It may actually be that social category diversity results in higher morale in interdependent tasks. Being able to work together successfully, even when the group is diverse with respect to age and gender composition, may result in greater morale because the group has overcome a serious challenge to its effectiveness. Further, these groups may have discovered that the social category differences were not good signals of value diversity.

Another study explored the relations among work group diversity, two kinds of conflict within the group (task and emotional) and task performance. (This study concerned non-routine tasks performed by relatively newly formed groups.) In task conflict, group members disagree about task issues, including goals, key decision areas, procedures and the appropriate choice for action. In emotional conflict, group members have interpersonal clashes characterized by anger, frustration and other negative feelings. 'We suggest that job-related types of diversity largely drive task conflict.'[401]

Task conflict was positive for performance, fostering a deeper understanding of task issues and an exchange of information that facilitated problem-solving, decisionmaking, and the generation of ideas, functional background diversity was the key driver of task conflict, while diversity in race, gender, age and tenure within the group were related to task conflict but not to a statistically

significant degree. In contrast to task-related conflict, 'emotional conflict is shaped by a complex web of diversity types that increase emotional conflict based on stereotyping and decrease emotional conflict based on social comparison'. Dissimilarity in ethnicity and tenure increased emotional conflict and tended to encourage heated interactions in work groups. On the other hand, age dissimilarity decreased emotional conflict in work groups, probably because age similarity triggers social comparison. Age is a career-related attribute, so employees tend to measure their own career progress by looking at that of co-workers in their age cohort. When age similarity in a group increases, these comparisons of career progress, which prompt jealous rivalry, often increase. This study found no effect of gender on emotional conflict in work groups, though other studies have found important effects of gender heterogeneity on work group outcomes, including reduced performance on cognitive tasks, reduced cross-gender support, and increased within-gender support.[402] The study found no evidence that emotional conflict impaired performance. This may be because 'while relationship troubles cause great dissatisfaction, the conflicts may not influence work as much as expected, because the members involved in the conflicts choose to avoid working with those with whom they experience [emotional] conflict'.[403]

A study of employees from 41 workgroups found that ethnic group diversity was positively related to perceptions of the group's interaction climate and had no relation with satisfaction, but as the ethnic diversity of the group increased, members of majority and minority ethnic groups had different perceptions of interaction climate and satisfaction: ….[404]

Interpersonal conflict can destroy a team. Poor communication, dominant/passive personality clashes, status and rank in the company, as well as cultural differences, can trigger interpersonal friction. Time shortages, power struggles and excessive ego investment, along with different styles and inequitable distribution of tasks create further problems. Problems with co-ordination and motivation can make teams underperform, while lack of clear boundaries can lead to teams competing instead of co-operating with one another.[405] Moreover, a study published in 2008 found that different interpretations of team work and competing legitimacy claims which reflect divergent interests can lead working in teams in itself to reinforce status and power differences. The study was conducted among health professionals in operating theatres where 'ultimately, the privileged position of surgeons and

anaesthetists over nurses and operating department practitioners is legitimated and maintained.'[406]

11.3.2 Temporary teams (in which trust is a particular issue)

One kind of team that is used increasingly is the temporary team, in which trust is a particular issue. Temporary teams are groups of people who are brought together to work on important, complex tasks. In these the time for trust to develop between the parties will not usually be available. Typically, such teams are dependent on other teams but have too little time to determine if another team has a poor past performance. As Meyerson et al. (1996) stated, in order to trust a temporary group, the members must 'wade in' as opposed to waiting until experience shows if a team is trustworthy. To manage issues of uncertainty, risk, and perceptions temporary teams develop (or do not develop) 'swift trust'. This is an immediate trust, fostered by the common situation confronting them; it leads to the teams engaging in respectful collaborative efforts to make sense of the situation. Global (and hence intercultural) virtual teams may experience a form of 'swift' trust, but such trust appears to be very fragile and temporary, although it may lead to trusting behaviour that helps build longer-term trust.[407]

In theory situational cues or influences, not affiliation, will shape team member decision-making preferences in temporary teams. This argument suggests that intercultural temporary teams would be relatively easily able to overcome any cultural difference problems. However, research into JOCs found that both affiliation and situational characteristics appeared to influence team members. These effects appeared to operate at different points in time, with affiliation effects being stronger initially and attenuating over time, and situational effects possibly becoming more salient towards the end, perhaps partially offsetting the influence of affiliation. In more detail, the findings showed that organizational affiliation influences appeared to drive strategic decision making in early-stage responses, over the needs of the situation; outcome-based learning may have lessened the effect of affiliation in strategic decision-making over time; and as uncertainty decreased and information about the situation increased, observed affiliation effects dissipate. These findings appear to support long-held assumptions of uncertainty avoidance perspectives driving strategic decision-making preferences in temporary groups.[408]

Glossary for the Student Companion Website

Behavioural contagion The largely unconscious adoption by one person of another interactor's communication style

Co-cultures Groups within a nation or culture (ethnic or religious, for example) treated as equivalents, not main and subordinate

Cognitive dissonance Mental discomfort resulting from having conflicting beliefs or attitudes or behaving contrary to those beliefs or attitudes

Communalism A cultural value in which 'the supremacy of the community is culturally and socially entrenched, society is hierarchically ordered, life is sacrosanct, and religion is a way of life'; it is contended that communalism is distinct from collectivism and that some concepts of collectivism have confused the two.

Epistemic interdependence Situation in which effective co-ordination of work depends on effective sharing of knowledge

More on the text definition of an ethnic minority
Self-perceiving as a member of a minority affects how people use cmc: in multicultural societies disadvantaged groups show greater motivation to use CMC to expand business and occupational contacts, whereas members of the majority group are more motivated to use CMC to maintain existing family and friendships ties. [409]

More on the text definition of faultlines
'For instance, gender faultlines divide groups into male and female subgroups. … faultlines become stronger as more attributes align themselves in this way. For instance, when all of the women in a group are over 60 years old and all of the men are under 30, the sex and age faultlines align and form a single, stronger faultline.'[410]

Human capital A society's resources in terms both of its population's economic and social abilities and skills but also of its institutions (civil society)

More on the text definition of ingroup favouritism Ingroup favouritism in impressions, attitudes and behaviours is easily elicited. Small differences in minimal representations of faces lead people to judge a person as more

trusting, caring, intelligent and attractive if these differences correspond to their beliefs about their ingroup.[411]l

Intercultural communication, intergroup communication Unlike intergroup communication, which has a negative connotation established in the literature, intercultural communication is, and hopefully will remain, a neutral term.

Learned helplessness Theory that some people suffer from a sense of helplessness, learned from negative experiences

More on the text definition of sense-making Sense-making is a concept introduced by Karl Weick (1995, 2002). Its properties, he suggested, include the following:
Meaning is extracted from past experience and used to formulate meaningful actions in the future; sense-making is social. We make sense of things while in conversation with others, while reading communications from others, and while exchanging ideas with others. Sense-making requires talking, interaction, conversation, argument and dialogue with others. Sense-making is focused on extracted cues; the cues we extract from situations tend to be simple and familiar and are crucial for their ability to get us moving*. Sense-making is driven by plausibility rather than accuracy. Looking for what is plausible in the complex, confusing world in which we live is often of more practical help than finding accuracy. Totally accurate perception is not needed, which is a good thing because it is seldom achieved.[412]

More on the text definition of task interdependence

*We may miss important cues that others may see and be able to bring to our attention.

Part B COMMENTS ON THE WITHIN-TEXT QUESTIONS

Most of the in-text questions are intended to provoke discussion or thought and have no right or wrong answers. Comments from us would not be helpful. On a few, however our comments given below might be useful. The numbers below refer to the section of the book which contains the question.

1.1 Give examples of communications that fit into each of these categories. In which is most interpersonal work communication likely to take place?

Membership negotiation: job offer letters
Organizational self-structuring: company rule books
Activity coordination: task schedules
Institutional positioning: contracts with suppliers

A study of CEO emails found that activity coordination dominated their communications.[413]

1.3 What are the main points of agreement and disagreement between these understandings of communication competence? Which of them do you prefer and why?

Cupach and Spitzberg (1983) defined it situationally[414]; Duran and Spitzberg(1995) emphasized mental processes, ie a dispositional understanding[415]; Banks (1989) and other linguistic pragmatists emphasized the use of language that is appropriate in the given social conditions and the purposes of the interaction. Thus Banks to some degree reconciles the other two by emphasizing a combination of disposition and situation, though ultimately this approach is closer to the dispositional attribution[416].

> 1.4 According to an article published in 2015, nearly 40 million Muslim women joined the global labour force in the previous ten years: among them, 9 million in the Arab world, 8 million in Indonesia, 7 million in Pakistan, 7 million in Bangladesh, 2 million in Turkey, and 1 million in Malaysia. Many of these women are well educated: In Algeria, Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia, university-enrolment rates for women now exceed those for men. In Egypt, there were three women for every four men in university a decade ago. Today, those numbers are nearly equal. In Saudi Arabia, the university gender gap was closed ten years ago, but the absolute numbers are also rising: of all women in the university age bracket today, about 50 percent actually attend, compared with 30 percent a decade ago.[417]

This article is entitled 'Women in the Muslim world are taking the fast track to change'. Do you agree with the statement in this title? Why or why not?

In many Muslim countries women still face high legal and customary barriers.

1.5 Internal communication was identified as the HRM (human resource management) practice most sensitive to cultural difference in a study that analysed data from nineteen countries (Australia, Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, former East Germany, former West Germany, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and UK). The HRM practice least sensitive to cultural influences was found to be rewards and benefits.[418]
How would you explain these findings?

Rewards and benefits, being quantifiable, are comparatively likely to be adjusted for international standards. However, the researchers themselves commented, ' Minimum significant relationships were revealed between the dimensions of societal culture and the function of remuneration. ... Earlier research also supports the existence of a strong relation between the dimensions of collectivism and certain forms of pay. As no such significant relations were found in the present research, further investigation is needed.'

On internal communication they commented, 'The most significant relations were found between dimensions of societal culture and internal communications. Uncertainty avoidance is positively related … to the existence of a joint consultative committee or a work council, as opposed to in-group collectivism. ... It seems that such methods of communication become obsolete in cases of high in-group collectivism, since they are substituted by the strong bond between the organizational members. On the other hand, the need to avoid uncertainty results in the foundation of representative bodies that are formally responsible for communication on the part of the employees.'[419]

1.6 In some countries female patients are almost always accompanied by male relatives when they visit a doctor and usually the male relative speaks for the patient – she says little.[420] How would you suggest a doctor should deal with this situation?

A woman doctor told us that she would insist on the male relatives leaving the room. These countries are usually ones where doctors have authority and so can exert it to 'silence' the male relatives but that does not mean the woman will speak up.

1.7 Discuss whether the distinction between 'virtual' and 'real' is meaningful. If so, in what way? If not, why not?

The contention here is that 'virtual' communication is just as 'real' as face-to-face communication. So the vocabulary is wrong. However, people do behave differently in some ways when communicating by cmc compared with ftf.[421]

1.7 *According to St. Amant (2002) online communication technology makes intercultural communication faster and more direct than was ever before possible, but, in doing so, it may also amplify culture-derived rhetorical differences.[422]* Do you agree? Why or why not?

We don't, really. The evidence so far is that people adjust their communication online to make it serve their purpose - email does not, for instance, lead to more impersonal communication unless people want it to. the same is likely to be true of culture-derived rhetorical differences.

1.7 The impact of new media (ICTs) has been described as the next frontier in intercultural communication. Do you agree? Why or why not?

It really depends on what is meant by a frontier. New media are certainly expanding the amount of intercultural work communication and increasing its already sufficient complexity as the effects of mode interact with those of culture so adding a whole new dimension.

2.1 How valid is it to analyze culture in terms of values?
The discourse/practice approach to culture conflicts with the culture-as-shared-values approach because the latter portrays culture as having a pervasive influence on people's communication behaviour and in so doing fails to explain variations within a culture or variations between cultures that share a broad value. Complexity and variation in communication patterns are often ignored.[423]

2.1 What criticisms occur to you regarding these perspectives (of Kincaid [1983] and Haslett [1989])?

Kincaid is rather deterministic, begging the question of why, except in the case of geographically isolated communities, their group boundaries are where they are. Haslett does not provoke this question but gives the prime cause to communication (culture's existence depends on communication; communication's form and nature, but not its existence, depends on culture).

2.1 Is the discourse/practice approach vulnerable to criticism?

There has been criticism of its ambition – whether it is possible to 'reveal the socio-psychological characteristics of a person/persons' through their use of language.

2.1 Does the 'shared meanings' approach complement or conflict with the 'values' and 'discourse/practice' approaches?

It is much closer to - more compatible with - the discourse/practice approach than the 'values' approach, though more static.

2.3 What do you think on this one? Is culture a constraint or is it a resource?

We think it is a bit of both, varying with individuals and situations.

3.1 Explain how 'high masculinity' as a cultural value differs from the conventional idea of machoism.

The most obvious difference is that 'high masculinity' says nothing about the relative roles of men and women. Societies that value competitiveness etc are labeled as having masculine values even if women dominate social, economic and political life.

3.1 Countries where gendered languages (in which all nouns are either 'masculine' or 'feminine') are spoken evidence less gender equality compared to countries with other grammatical gender systems.[424]
How would you explain this finding?

Here is the explanation given by the researchers:
'Systems of language can actually shape our cognitive understanding of the world around us.
Language (even that which appears mundane and purely grammatical, such as the use of la versus le in French) can actually impact our perceptions. For example, researchers have discovered that the grammatical gender of a term for an inanimate object can influence people's perceptions of the masculine or feminine characteristics of that object, and this cannot be due merely to the properties of the object as the researchers used terms that were grammatically

masculine in one language and feminine in another. The same findings are true even when pictures are used instead of text.' [425]

We have omitted the internal references but you can look up the article – it is available online, at least at the time of writing. Note that the use of 'masculine' and 'feminine' here is a third type of use, differentiated from both the conventional and Hofstede's values.

3.1 What criticisms, if any, would you make of the Schwartz typology?

'Armchair theorizing' about the basic issues that confront societies and the assumption that they translate into cultural values may be a weak foundation. Testing the hypotheses on one population group - teachers and students - is also contestable, although insofar as the results only assert comparatives - that one culture is more embedded than another, for instance, this criticism is less powerful.

3.1 What are the implications for culture of the finding that post-industrialization is negatively related to intrinsic as well as extrinsic work values?

By countering the point that economic development is more important than culture in this context, it leaves the stage open for culture to be the main driver.

3.2 Nelson et al (2002) found that Arab-Egyptian males make less use of indirect strategies when refusing a request than Americans do.[426] (Egypt's culture is collectivist, and in general collectivism correlates with high-context communication.) Discuss whether this finding contradicts Hall's (1976) theory and what might explain the finding.

We don't know whether Egypt's culture is an HCC one, but its collectivism suggests it may be. However, Egypt is much higher in power distance than the USA. It is possible that by making a request a person by definition becomes 'subordinate' and so Egyptian males' high power distance leads them to less 'polite' – ie indirect – strategies when refusing. If that logic is correct, it may suggest that HCC may not be a characteristic by which a culture can be

defined, but only a tendency that is more common in some cultures than in others and that even within those cultures it applies in some situations and not others. However, without more information no definitive answer is possible here.

3.2 How convincing do you find HCC and LCC as a way of differentiating cultures?

As the previous answer suggests, we think it is over-stating its applicability.

3.3 What other criticisms of country clustering occur to you?
A second criticism is the random selection of dimensions lacking a theoretical foundation; by generating clusters where no meaningful groups exist, results may range from inaccurate to misleading. However, the researchers in this case assert that all their variables come from a single, well-defined domain or 'world of content', and hence cannot be said to be random or unrelated. 'Our limitation would rather be that, in choosing studies on the basis of scale and geographic spread, we did not have the luxury of screening them based on adequate dimensional representation, so some dimensions may be overrepresented.'[427]
4.1 The European Values Survey found that the data 'show higher levels overall and wider cross-country differences for expressive than instrumental work values'. What might account for this finding?

Instrumental values are related to basic motives such as biological needs and needs for security whereas expressive values are related to higher-order motives such as needs for belonging, esteem and self-expression. As Maslow's hierarchy explained, the higher-order motives only occur once the basic motives are chronically satisfied. Different levels of economic well-being are therefore likely to be related to different distributions of the expressive values, but not to the instrumental values.

4.2 Identify the relationships of these organizational cultural dimensions to Hofstede's (1981 and 2001) societal cultural values.
Process-oriented is more closely related to high than low uncertainty avoidance
Job oriented to masculinity than femininity
Professional to individualism than collectivism
Open system to low-than high- uncertainty avoidance

Tightly controlled to high-, not low uncertainty avoidance and to high', not low, power distance
Pragmatic to low-, not high- uncertainty avoidance.

4.2 Recent years have seen a trend for organizations to develop and emphasize their 'organizational culture' in order to unite their employees and coordinate their approaches at a deeper level than that achieved by plans and strategies. Consider the implications of your reading so far in this book for this process.

Hofstede (1991) and the institutional framework[428] both contend that all aspects of organizations are strongly affected by national culture. However, In the words of Gerhart (2009) to the extent that national culture acts as a constraint on organizational culture, we expect to see within-country variance in organizational culture to be restricted relative to between-country variance. Gerhart's (2009) literature review, though a rather limited one, did find that within-country variance in organizational culture is substantial and so that national culture leaves scope for organizations to influence organizational culture.

4.2 Does a relationship orientation conflict with getting the job done? Give your reasons.

It probably depends on the nature of the task – urgency and some technologies could mean that a relationship orientation is less effective (think of battles); however, with fewer time constraints and tasks that require highly motivated performance a relationship orientation could be more effective.
This is not a complete answer! Add thoughts of your own.

4.2 How can a relationship orientation be communicated? Does it vary according to the culture?

Maintenance is crucial to communicating a relationship orientation – maintaining contact beyond the demands of the task. For more on this, see Guirdham, M. (2002) *Interactive Behaviour at Work*, Pearson/FT, p.517.

It almost certainly differs according to the culture, though we lack evidence. In feminine cultures a relationship orientation likely implies more attention to others' feelings and more person-centredness than in a masculine culture.

4.3 Explain why brokerage might not 'fit' with the collectivist values of China.

This is the explanation given by the Xiao and Tsui (1987):

In Chinese culture, to establish the right guanxi and be included in the in-group is crucial for career and business success or survival. People who stay at the boundary of two in-groups tend to be distrusted by both groups—both in-groups are likely to regard them as out-group members who do not deserve in-group treatment. Spanning structural holes, as a Chinese saying has it, is like standing on two boats, which is one of the most socially disparaged behaviors and subject to heavy social sanctions. Simple and dense networks that represent clear group membership, rather than networks full of structural holes, constitute resources for social actors.

5.1 Find more examples of cultural variations in language usages.

English people, when speaking, continually use the words *please* and *thank you* in their conversations, and often avoid direct statements. English language and behaviour aims to avoid offending or alienating the other person. The result can be, however, that people from other cultures, like Spain, suspect that they are insincere.
Greeks have many different words for various family relationships and relatives that are very important in their large and extended families. Many of these words cannot be directly translated into English, as there is no exact word equivalent or in some cases there is not even an approximate word equivalent. In Chinese and Hindi, the word for 'please' is seldom used. In fact, the closer you are to someone you communicate with the less likely you would use 'please' because the word sounds distant and formal in both languages. In Australian culture 'please' is one of the most used words, to friends and family members as well as to strangers. However, the fact that Chinese and North Indians are not used to the word 'please' of course does not mean they are not polite. There is a languageissue. In Hindi 'Bato' is an unsoftened imperative meaning 'Sit,' whereas 'Bataie' means 'Please sit'. When Chinese speak Chinese they use many 'functional words' to soften the tone of their speech. These functional words include particles such as *ya, la, ma* and so on which do not have any semantic meaning except to soften the tone of speaking. *Ni zuo shenme* would be a formal or impolite way of saying 'What do you do?' or 'What are you doing?' whereas *Ni zuo shenme ya* would be warmer and softer. However, these kind of particles and constructions are very difficult to translate into English.[429]

Japanese people can speak to another using a selection of many different address forms to indicate explicitly any one of a whole range of relationships – for example, intimate, familiar, neutral, polite, deferential or authoritative. This illustrates the hierarchy and ceremony of interpersonal relationships in the society.

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The Indian language Hindi has separate words for: my sister's husband (*behnoi*), my husband's elder brother (*jait*), my husband's younger brother (*deva*), and my husband's sister's husband (*nandoya*). Kinship vocabulary is an indication of the nature of the more significant family relations in a culture. The single word *brother-in-law* in English indicates that one behaves similarly towards all the men in those different kinship statuses. The variety of words in Hindi indicates that each of these categories of people is treated differently. Greeks, too, have many different words for various family relationships and relatives that are very important in their large and extended families. Many of these words cannot be directly translated into English, as there is no exact word equivalent or in some cases there is not even an approximate word equivalent.

5.1 Is the values or the discourse/practice approach more convincing and can the two be reconciled?

A thorough discussion of this question requires further reading, particularly about the discourse/practice approach. The following articles are a good start: Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). 18 Critical discourse analysis. *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 349-371.
Sherzer, J. (1987). Discourse-Centered Approach to Language and Culture.*American Anthropologist*, *89*(2), 295-309.

5.1 'Unlike in the USA, where asking a single question will elicit ample information from a salesperson or office clerk, in France a question is understood in a narrow way, with the assumption that you know everything else there is to know about the topic. …

Relying purely on the answer to one question in France is the best way to have a miserable time. Here is a very recent illustration: One of my clients went alone to get information about the status of a performing artist who wants to work in France. There are actually two options for this artist, yet

this client was only told about one because his question did not directly ask for information about other options.'[430]

What cultural differences between the USA and France might explain this?

France is much higher in uncertainty avoidance than the USA, which could lead to people not wanting to prejudge what information someone wants unless they ask specifically. Interestingly, in India, which is even lower in uncertainty avoidance than the USA, the authors have often experienced people starting to answer a question well before it has been fully expressed.

Only a limited amount should be read into such anecdotal evidence, however.

5.2 Why does communication 'require people to co-operate'?

To understand this, it is only necessary to consider what would happen if they did not: everyone speaking at once, following their own line of thought without reference to what others say, refusing to answer questions, and so on. Communication breakdown would follow.

5.2 A study showed that Americans self-disclosed (told others about themselves) more than Europeans who, in turn, self-disclosed more than Asians. In business transactions, Americans generally tolerated open discussion of errors and accepted criticism of performance, while Koreans did not. Again, Americans differentiated criticism of a person from criticism of that person's actions, while Koreans viewed criticism as personal and face-threatening.[431] How might Americans' willingness to self-disclose and their tolerance of criticism in business (by comparison to Koreans') be related to the cultural factors described in Chapter 2?

To answer this, you may need to look up the USA and Korea in Hofstede's (1981) *Culture's Consequences*. Individualism, with its treatment of strangers as trustworthy (to a degree) and uncertainty avoidance are probably the key cultural dimensions here.

5.4 Sachin is Indian. Today he was late for work. What cultural factors would influence what Sachin would say when he arrived?
Wilhelm is German. Today he submitted a report written, he knew, in substandard English. He had been rushed and unable to check it fully. What cultural factors would influence what Wilhelm would say when he handed in his report?

Sachin: Indian collectivism takes the form of treating the extended family as the ingroup and the organization as an outgroup (see Table 24).[432] The present

authors' experience, which is extensive, would suggest that he would apologise and give an excuse but with little regard to whether the excuse was true. (This does not mean that Indians do not work hard. On the contrary, they do.)

Wilhelm: German uncertainty avoidance makes getting it 'right' imperative. Wilhelm would probably apologise profusely and promise to work late to get it 'right'.

Of course, individual variations can over-ride cultural influences.

5.4 Why do you think that AUM theory predicts that an increase in collectivism will produce a decrease in uncertainty in outgroup communication relative to ingroup communication?

We think it is because collectivism lowers the perceived importance of outgroup communication and tends to increase reliance on stereotypes, both of which, though they may be dysfunctions for communication will decrease the communicators' level of uncertainty.

5.4 Do you agree with the contention of rapport management theory that people are as much concerned with their 'rights' in interactions as with their 'face'? Give your reasons.

We would predict higher levels of concern with 'rights' among individualists than collectivists – to my knowledge the rapport management theorists do not take a stand on this, though perhaps they should.

5.5 Do you agree with Gross et al (1997) on the characteristics of rhetorically sensitive online communication? Why or why not?

The list does not include adjustment for cultural difference and preferences.

5.5 Assertiveness is associated with both gain and satisfaction for Canadians, but only with satisfaction, not gain, for the Chinese.[433] What might explain this difference?

High MAS cultures endorse assertiveness, competition and aggressive success; low MAS cultures prefer modesty, compromise and cooperative success. Check whether these countries are differently located on this variable at http://geert-hofstede.com/countries.html. However, when accessed on 1.12.2016 this website was having problems. If that is so when you access it,

you will need to look at Hofstede's book *Culture: Software of the Mind* to find the data.

5.9 In a negotiation being conducted by audio-conferencing or instant messaging, what consequences for people from high power-distance cultures might follow if the negotiators do not announce who they are before they speak/write?

High uncertainty for the other party, which they would find difficult to resolve by direct questioning as it would seem inappropriate and risky to ask in case their opponent is of a high-power status and might be offended. Without knowing, however, they might find it difficult to concentrate on the negotiation.
If they are themselves of high-status, they might not experience uncertainty, but act on assumptions that could be wrong.

6.1 When comparing American and East Asian managers' preferences for using indirectness cues in communication, Sanchez-Burks et al. (2003) found no differences in indirectness between work and non-work settings for East Asians. In contrast, Americans reported significantly more indirectness – that is, being more attentive to face saving cues – when communicating with a co-worker than with a social acquaintance.[434]
How does this finding relate to the concept of Protestant relational ideology?

Attention to face-saving cues is an indicator for active concern with the interaction. Protestant relational ideology theory states that the holders of this belief have a different attitude to work-related interactions – more concern with status, less with emotions – than non-work interactions. Thus the finding supports the theory.

6.1 There is evidence that a person who is differently-abled is often regarded as atypical of people who are differently-abled because he or she does not act in a stereotypical way; how does this help to keep stereotypes intact?

Excluding counter-instances is a common way of avoiding **cognitive dissonance** and so preserving existing beliefs.

6.1 Explain in your own words the meaning of stereotyping. How does it differ from ethnocentrism? How can ethnocentrism and stereotyping, respectively, affect work behaviour?

Ethnocentrism is a biased set of assumptions in favour of one's own ethnic group; bias, which does not necessarily apply to stereotypes and the focus on one's own ethnic group differentiate it from stereotyping; ethnocentrism leads to discrimination, exclusion, etc.

6.2 Attention is being drawn to what is described as a 'new demographic' of employees – individuals who identify with two or more cultures and have internalized associated cultural schemas. [435]

How would you expect such employees to be able to contribute to their organizations?

They are obviously well-placed to act as cultural brokers, bridging misunderstandings both internally and externally.

7.4 An Indian HRM consultant said, 'There's a lot of interest in mentoring training here at the moment. There's a problem in that mentors tend to think that the way they got there is the right way for every mentoree. They don't listen and they do lecture.'[436]

What cultural factors might lead to this mentoring behaviour?

High power-distance is the obvious answer.

8.1 What skills are younger workers likely to need to work effectively alongside or manage older workers?

Active listening, inclusive language, rhetorical sensitivity, and others listed in Chapter 8.

8.5 Social class has been shown to affect values. Less educated, low-status employees in various Western countries have more authoritarian values than their higher-status co-workers. These authoritarian values are manifested not only at work, but also at home. A study in the USA and Italy showed that working-class parents demanded more obedience from their children than middle-class parents. The difference was larger in the USA than in Italy. [437] However, when Hofstede (1981) divided occupations within IBM into six groups according to the level of achievement or relationship (masculine or feminine) values they reported, people in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations recorded the highest level of relationship values apart from office workers. This placed them above managers of all categories, skilled workers/technicians, professional workers and the group with the most masculine values, sales representatives.

Do these findings directly contradict each other? Give your reasons.

High authoritarian values do appear on the surface to conflict with relationship values but the findings suggest the domain-specificity of some values: they may be different in the work domain than the family domain. Another explanation could lie in the power position of the holders of the values: high in the context of family, low at work.

Again, relationship values as recorded by Hofstede are a dimension with task as its opposite pole. Placing a low value on task might be more explanatory than placing a high emphasis on relationships.
Again, there is a form of authoritarianism that stresses paternalism which would be a high relationship value.
So they might not conflict.

8.5 There is a negative relationship between authoritarian leadership and subordinate performance that is stronger for female than for male leaders and also a positive relationship between benevolent leadership and subordinate performance that is stronger for male than for female leaders.[438]

What might explain this gender difference in the effects of authoritarian and benevolent leadership?

Acting contrary to subordinates' gender stereotypes is beneficial for males and harmful for female leaders.

8.5 A woman member of a minority ethnic group was being interviewed about her claim to housing benefit. The officer asked her to describe her circumstances. She replied with a long story about the difficult behaviour of her child, her husband's being out of work, her own poor health and the failures of the (private) landlord to deal with problems in her flat. The officer thought she was being evasive. He interrupted her – 'I didn't mean that, I meant your financial circumstances. How much money do you have coming in each week?' The woman was silent.

How would you explain the behaviours of the two participants in this interaction?

The woman, coming from a collectivist culture, believed that personal appeals have most influence when you are trying to persuade. The benefits officer,

from an individualist culture, preferred the impersonality of obtaining the essential information to enable him to complete the necessary form. (This is a true-life example.)

9.2 'People know how to get to know other people from the same culture but not from different cultures.' Does this statement explain why people behave differently when communicating with culturally different others? Give your reasons.

This is part of the explanation but not the whole. Other factors include, for instance, intercultural communication apprehension.

9.3 How might the persistent injustice effect be overcome in a work context? There are no silver bullets but the following should help and the first, at least, is anyway worthwhile:
(a) Instituting processes that ensure fairness and are transparent
(b) Valuing diversity training
(c) Advocacy

9.4 Reword the following to put the topic, background or reason first and the main point,
suggested action or comment second: ''Take the ring road to go to the factory because there are road works creating traffic holdups on the direct route, so if you go that wayyou will be late for your important meeting with the CEO of our client.'
There are road works creating traffic holdups on the direct route to the factory, so if you go that way you will be late for your important meeting with the CEO of our client. This means you should take the ring road instead.
Reword the following to put the main point, suggested action or comment first and the
topic, background or reason second: 'Because of difficulties in transit which have led to delivery delays and increases in packaging costs which are beyond our control, we have been forced to reconsider our pricing policy, leading to a new price structure from 1st November.'

From 1st November we will be implementing a new price structure. We have been compelled to do this because there are difficulties in transit which are

leading to delivery delays and increases in packaging costs which are beyond our control.

10.3 Explain how intercultural social perceptiveness can be improved by communicators being aware of their own and others' cultural sensitivities, of the context and of perceptual barriers.

Awareness of others' cultural sensitivities prevents so upsetting them that they reduce or distort the cues they emit; of one's own avoids succumbing to biases; of the context supports allowing for its effects, so reducing attribution bias (a tendency to over-attribute to disposition rather than situation); of perceptual barriers reduces the certainty that closes out or distorts new information.

10.4 Give an example to illustrate three processes that comprise mindfulness.

These are the processes that your example should illustrate: reasoning from a positive perspective, using a kaleidoscopic perspective, speaking thoughts and feelings aloud, precisely, and conditionally, and acknowledging communication substantively.

10.4 How can expectations of people from another (sub)culture be made both more supportive of intercultural communication effectiveness and less subject to violations?

By all the methods described in Section 10.4 'Gaining enhanced intercultural understanding of others'. Only expectations based on false preconceptions and ignorance are likely to be violated.

10.5 How might individualist, achievement-oriented interlocutors need to adjust their behaviour in order to increase their affective resourcefulness?

By developing their EI (the ability to be aware of one's own feelings, be aware of others' feelings, to differentiate among them, and to use the information to guide one's thinking and behaviour).

10.5 List five implications of Adaptation theory that point to behaviours, expectations and understandings that are beneficial to speeding progress with tasks that involve significant amounts of intercultural communication.

In addition to the three specifically linked to task completion on p.198 choose two from the five given above.

10.5 Barkema and Vermeulen (1997) found that cultural distance in uncertainty avoidance and long-term orientation are more detrimental than cultural distance in individualism, power distance or masculinity for the survival of international joint ventures. How can these findings be explained?

The authors offered the following explanation: 'Apparently, these differences (uncertainty avoidance and long-term orientation) which translate into differences in how IJV partners perceive and adapt to opportunities and threats in their environment …. are more difficult to resolve than differences along the other three dimensions. Perhaps cultural differences regarding power distance, individualism and masculinity are more easily resolved because they are mainly reflected in different attitudes towards the management of personnel - something firms can make explicit agreements about before entering the partnership.

10.5 Give another example of grounding, if possible from lived experience.

The following took place during an interview in English between an immigration lawyer and her Chinese client:
Lawyer: 'Another option would be to switch into another category, like the "Highly Skilled Migrant Programme". Do you understand?'
Client: 'Do you mean, instead of getting my employer to support my application for permanent residence?'
Lawyer: 'Yes. It's a points system – so many for a degree, so many for relevant experience. You have to have enough points.'
Client: 'Do you get points for professional qualifications?'
Lawyer: 'Yes.'
Client: 'So that might be better for me?'
Lawyer: 'It's another option.'
Client: 'Yes, I'll have to decide which is best.'
Lawyer: 'Yes.'

11.2 Primary data from the Arab cultures of Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Sudan showed that Arab cultural beliefs were a very strong predictor of resistance to systems and thus information technology transfer.

In particular, the research focused on the Arab sense of time, arguing that Arab culture is polychromic – viewing time as a static phenomenon, where events simply transpire without necessarily being tightly coupled to antecedents. Therefore Arabs tend not to plan for a single event.[24] Discuss this finding in relation to intercultural coordination.

The following might contribute to your discussion:

Anthropological studies suggest that much of the technology designed and produced in developed countries is ethnocentric, that is, culturally biased in favor of their own social and cultural systems (industrialized socio-cultural systems). Consequently, developing countries encounter cultural and social obstacles when attempting to transfer technology, created abroad, into practice at home (Yavas et al 1992)

Although few of its inhabitants identify themselves with a culture in regional or national terms, there are recognizable continuities from Morocco to the India, such as urban life, translocal networks and social/moral traditions.

Bukhari and Meadows (1992)[439] among others found that ITT is often hampered by technical organizational and human problems in Arab cultures.

The Arab preference for face-to-face dealing mitigates against email and groupware as does the cultural tendency to build consensus and create family-like environments within organizations.

Arab sense of time

Arab culture is polychronic - viewing time as a static phenomenon, where events simply transpire without necessarily being tightly coupled to antecedents. Therefore Arabs tend not to plan for a single event.[440]

Part C LINKS TO FURTHER VIDEOS (IN ADDITION TO THOSE REFERRED IN THE TEXT)

Intercultural negotiation:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iX6OiiENh50; this is watchable and throws out several ideas that should be discussed rather than accepted unquestioningly. (Forgive the mis-spelling of dimensions at the start.)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-4GjC0ipJIA; we dislike the use of 'cross-cultural' for 'intercultural' because it means there is no term available for unambiguous use in comparisons - thus, for us, you can undertake a cross-cultural comparison of America's and Italy's culture, but you cannot undertake an equivalent intercultural comparison. These INSEAD faculty would have to

use cross-cultural for both. Furthermore, as our book argues, it makes better sense to treat societal differences below the level of the nation (or sometimes region) as subcultures, so speaking of 'race culture', 'gender culture' as in this video is misleading. Otherwise it makes some elementary points but in a vivid way.

Intercultural coordination:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2sT_zaofuuE; this puts forward an interesting set of findings that suggest that cultural barriers to coordination are not, in practice, significant. Do you accept this argument? If so, why, if not, why not?

Intercultural groupwork:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NCZjCf__xa0;
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i2XKB-YSO7Q; these Canadian examples illustrate microaggressive behaviours, both verbal and non-verbal, and their impact, very well.

Intercultural decision-making:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LzyOSdbnGSM; this could be said to illustrate the impact of cultural differences in uncertainty avoidance, though the commentator puts a different gloss on it, one that would apply intraculturally as much as interculturally.

Intercultural management:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OYOil8b3o70; this presentation video from Volvo makes some useful points about the importance of social influence at work, emphasises the business importance of diversity and inclusion training, and gives many practical examples of both negative and positive intercultural management and technological aids. A rather HR perspective but interesting.

Part D SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRES AND SUGGESTIONS ON ANALYZING THEM

1. Complete the following questionnaire on your own culture.

People in my group (culture) generally tend to:	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree

			disagree		
1. prefer self-sufficiency. This means that they do not allow their behaviours to be strongly influenced and defined by others.					
2. be strongly influenced, even defined, by others: they give full recognition to their interdependent roles and obligations to their ingroup.					
3. have open, informal relations, and functional, unrestricted information flows. Companies tend to have flat hierarchies and matrix organisations					
4. avoid ambiguity and prefer rules and set procedures to contain uncertainty. Families, groups and organisations tend to be closed to outsiders, to stress compliance and obedience, to punish error and non-compliance.					
5. prefer flexibility in responses and find rules and procedures irksome or see them as obstacles to be circumvented. People tend to accept outsiders at all levels, stress personal choice and decision making, reward initiative, team-play, and risk-taking and stress development of analytical skills. They tend to endorse					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
assertiveness, competition and aggressive success and to believe that wealth and status are related to ability.					
6. place a high value on modesty, compromise and cooperative success. They believe that wealth and status are matters of birth, luck, or destiny.					
7. place a high value on modesty, compromise and cooperative success. They believe that wealth and status are matters of their religious devotion, their social conscience, their intellectual or artistic abilities, their stature as a wise elder, or their rights as a fellow member of a caring society					

Scoring: 1,3,4,6,7: Strongly agree 5, Agree 4, Neither agree nor disagree 3, Disagree, 2, Strongly disagree 1. 2 and 5 reverse scored.

Total 1 and 2: these indicate individualist or collectivist values: the higher the score the more individualist.

3 indicates power distance values: the higher the score the lower the power distance.

Total 4 and 5: these indicate uncertainty avoidance values: the higher the score, the greater the uncertainty avoidance.

Total 6 and 7: these indicate masculine/feminine values; the higher the score the more feminine the values.

2. Complete the questionnaire.

Note that 'stranger' here just means a person not met with before.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. I often find that					

encounters with strangers turn awkward					
2. I rarely ask questions early on in encounters with strangers					
3. I think most people would regard me as a competent communicator					
4. I try to avoid too many meetings with new people					
5. I usually tell new people I meet, a good deal about myself					
6. Meeting strangers of the opposite sex is more awkward than other meetings with strangers					
7. Meeting strangers with disabilities is more awkward than other meetings with strangers					
8. Meeting strangers from foreign countries is more awkward than other meetings with strangers					
9. Meeting strangers who are ethnically different from myself is more awkward than meeting other kinds of strangers.					

This questionnaire scores different types of communication apprehension (CA).

Scoring: For all questions except Q3, score 5 for 'Strongly agree', 4 for 'Agree', 3 for 'Neither agree nor disagree', 2 for 'Disagree' and 1 for 'Strongly disagree'; Q3 is inverse scored.

Add your scores for questions 1 to 5: scores above 20 and 16 to 20 indicate very high and moderately high CA; below 6 and 6 to 10 very low and moderately low CA; 11 to 15 are indeterminate.

Questions 6 to 9 score different kinds of CA: 6 with people of the opposite sex, 7 with people with disabilities, 8 with foreigners, 9 with people from other ethnic groups. For each of these questions, scores of 4 or 5 indicate high CA, 1 or 2 low CA and 3 is indeterminate.

3. Complete the following questionnaire:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. When I communicate with others, I am always aware of my relationship with them.					
2. In communication with others, I am mainly concerned to have them understand where I am 'coming from'.					
3. I like the people I meet to know my tastes and preferences at an early stage in our acquaintance.					
4. When I communicate with others, I try to maintain an even balance between meeting my own needs and meeting theirs.					
5. I place a high value on self-expression.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
6. I like the people I meet to understand my important beliefs and values.					
7. It is important to get across one's personality in social conversations.					
8. I am generally concerned with how other people see me – what they think of me.					
9. I am very concerned that my interactions with others should be at all times harmonious.					
10. I use other people's attitudes and behaviours as ways of setting standards for my own.					

This questionnaire scores self-construals through their effect on communication.

Scoring: For questions 1, 4, 9 and 10, score 5 for 'Strongly agree', 4 for 'Agree', 3 for 'Neither agree nor disagree', 2 for 'Disagree' and 1 for 'Strongly disagree'. For questions 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8, score 1 for 'Strongly agree', 2 for 'Agree', 3 for 'Neither agree nor disagree', 4 for 'Disagree' and 5 for 'Strongly disagree'.

Add your scores for all ten questions; scores above 40 indicate strong interdependent
self-construals (InterSCs); scores of 31 to 40 indicate moderately strong InterSCs; scores
below 11 indicate strong independent self-construals (IndSCs); scores from 11 to 20 indicate moderately strong IndSCs; scores between 21 and 30 are indeterminate.

4. Complete the following questionnaire.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

1. I think other people, no matter how different their background to my own, are easy to understand					
2. During the first few minutes of an encounter with people from a different background, I usually tell people a good deal about myself					
3. I generally have a clear idea of what is going on in any meeting, even with strangers in a new situation					
4. My expectations about the behaviour of others from different backgrounds are usually confirmed					
5. I think the world is hard to understand and make sense of					
6. My expectations about the outcomes of encounters with people from different backgrounds are usually confirmed					
7. I generally have a clear idea of how to behave in any circumstances, however new to me.					
8. I experience high levels of anxiety whenever I meet					

people who are very different from me.					
9. I find it hard to get to know new acquaintances.					
10. There are many kinds of situations at work, from interviews to speaking up in meetings, which make me nervous.					

This questionnaire scores communication apprehension/confidence.

Scoring: For questions 1, 3, 4, 6 and 7, score 5 for 'Strongly agree', 4 for 'Agree', 3 for
'Neither agree nor disagree', 2 for 'Disagree' and 1 for 'Strongly disagree'.
For questions 2, 5, 8, 9 and 10, score 1 for 'Strongly agree', 2 for 'Agree', 3 for
'Neither agree nor disagree', 4 for 'Disagree' and 5 for 'Strongly disagree'.
Add your scores for all questions. Scores above 40 indicate very low communication apprehension (CA): this can be too low for effectiveness – see the comment on anxiety/uncertainty management on p.64-66 scores of 31 to 40 indicate moderately low CA; scores below 11 indicate extremely high CA; scores of 11 to 20 indicate moderately high CA; scores of 21 to 30 are indeterminate.

5. Complete the following questionnaire:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. I look forward to meeting and getting to know some of the people in a foreign country					
2. I am willing to learn about the history, geography, arts, sports or politics of the foreign country					

3. I will try to learn the language					
4. I am willing to leave behind friends and family, and to reach out to make new relationships					
5. I am capable of giving up my job or my role as spouse/parent without great resentment or stress					

This questionnaire allows students/participants to assess their own readiness for relocation abroad. We do not provide a scoring answer for this questionnaire, as the questions are transparent.

Scores over 40 indicate ability to adapt readily in the new environment, while scores below 30 suggest difficulty. All should look again at the questions where they scored low, and think about how they could work to raise the scores, or should reconsider the assignment.

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