

**Cultural Others:
A New Conception of
Cross-Cultural Management**

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Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements
of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2011

Melbourne School of Graduate Research
The University of Melbourne

Produced on archival quality paper

ABSTRACT

Organisations have increasingly become stages for cultural pluralism through engaging in workforce diversity, cross-border expansion and international cooperative arrangements. This thesis argues that much of the cross-cultural management literature has portrayed cultural differences as potentially damaging to organisational effectiveness. In emphasising culture-as-difference, this literature has marginalised a view of culture as differentiated perspectives in ways of ‘seeing’ and ‘doing’.

This thesis contends that culture is a unique form of knowledge that can make a valuable contribution to the organisational learning practices of organisations and argues that this can be facilitated through better understanding of the impact of the organisational environment on ‘cultural others’.

The argument is advanced through exploring traditional conceptions of culture and organisational culture that within organisations encourage management practices that mitigate individual cultural differences and promote cultural homogeneity based on unifying organisational values, beliefs and goals. As a result, organisational learning is confined to a subset of what is known by cultural others, filtered by the organisation’s own actions.

It is argued that a new conception of culture is needed that considers an individual’s cognition as basic to the formation of knowledge as cultural and therefore as more than the de-contextualised accumulation of information in the ‘black box’ of the individual mind. As such, a framework of cognitive science, and in particular connectionist theory of learning and distributed cognition, are used to provide a more holistic account of knowledge as the meaning and actions that arise from situated learning and experiences that are contextually bound. At the individual level this thesis seeks to explain how individuals come to share in the ‘knowing’ and the ‘doing’ required in their activities.

This view is expanded to the practice of workgroups where individual knowledge is combined, revealing the nature of cognition as socially distributed and regulating the

group's activities. Approaching the argument from the organisational context, this thesis draws attention to the factors that influence an organisation's structure and culture, which in turn influence their perception of the value of knowledge and the learning strategies they employ. In particular, it focuses on 'organisational culture' as setting the context for the organisation's activities which workgroups interpret to frame their practice.

In bringing individual cognition and organisational context together, the discontinuity between the two is exposed as inhibiting both the effectiveness of 'cultural others' in deploying their knowledge and the organisation's opportunity for realising value in differing perspectives and practices. To redress this failure, this thesis proposes a new framework as connection to practice that guides organisations to reconceptualise culture as knowledge to support their organisational learning ambitions.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that:

- the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD,
- due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used, and
- the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of bibliography.

Kathleen M. Le Lievre

March 2011

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the unequivocal support of my Supervisor, Professor Gabriele Lakowski. Her patience, understanding and encouragement were precious gifts in what were often trying times. I feel very privileged to have completed this work under her supervision where the serious business of academic rigour framed every discussion yet, while in the midst of chaos, there was still a good laugh to be had.

My sincere thanks also extend to Dr Ian Roos who set the foundations for this academic pursuit, and my fellow Doctoral students whose support and camaraderie were an integral part of the experience and the process.

No work such as this can be undertaken without the love, support and forbearance of close family and friends. My most humble thanks and love go to my sister Kerry; Dave, Annabel & Kaitlin Brown and Jane Schurmann who are the best of friends by anyone's measure; and Sylvia Davies whose wise counsel has helped in so many ways, over so many years.

I reserve my most heartfelt appreciation for my husband, and resident editor, John, whose belief in me, and support of me has never wavered. He survived the highs and lows of his mercurial wife like no other. I don't know what I ever did to deserve John, but I am thankful for whatever it was. My deepest love and grateful thanks go to you.

I would also like to acknowledge some very special people who were the inspiration for this work, and whose support and love have always meant so much. My parents Margaret & Charles MacGregor, and my parents-in-law Elaine & Bramwell Le Lievre. Words cannot express the love and admiration I have for you all.

Lastly, and most worthy of mention are my faithful four-legged family, (at various times) Siberian Huskies, Otter, Sierra, Sugar and Kianna (thank you Mara and Richard Herba), and Calli the Samoyed. Day in and day out they lay (mostly) quietly nearby,

acknowledging all the highs and lows with wags of their tails. John and I may have rescued them, but their unconditional love rescued me more than once in bringing this work to its conclusion.

DEDICATION

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED TO

KATHRYN ALLISON PHILP

(NEE LE LIEVRE)

1968 - 2004

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CHAPTER 1: RECONCEPTUALISING CULTURE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Information Age heralded the ‘New Organisation’ (Drucker, 1998) as operating in an environment of unprecedented complexity and speed of change. Markets have been reshaped through technological innovation, globalisation, government intervention, emergence of new economic regions, increased competition and the changing nature of work¹. These conceptual and structural changes have led researchers and organisations to seek new ways of improving organisational competitiveness, effectiveness and responsiveness.

Products as the traditional source of competitive advantage have declined in importance in favour of services. This change in focus has led to the emergence of knowledge as a commodity and pivotal to this view is the role of employees (Laurent, 1986; Pfeffer, 1994; Becker *et al.*, 1997; Davenport & Prusak, 1998). Organisations now have ‘Human Capital’, as the ‘soul’ of the organisation (Stacey, 2001), where knowledge and the keepers of it are central to strategic development (Christensen, 1997; Livingstone, 2001; Baird *et al.*, 2003; Hugo, 2006). The contribution of the employee as a ‘knowledge worker’ is now ‘The’ asset not just in organisations, but also at the broader economic level where the ‘Knowledge Economy’ is seen as making a significant contribution to the formation of wealth within nations (Iredale, 2005). Competition amongst organisations to acquire the ‘best and brightest’ has increased, however the pool of skilled applicants is failing to keep pace with demand.

In Australia, the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI) listed the ‘availability of suitably qualified employees’ as one of the top 10 ‘constraints on

¹ See discussions by: Tyson (1995), Beer (1997), Brockbank (1997), Ehrlich (1997), Ulrich (1997), Giddens (1999), Barley & Kunda (2001), Söderberg (2002) and Myloni *et al.* (2004).

investment' over the 14 year period to 2011 (ACCI, 2011)². Faced with staff shortages in many trades, professions and 'leading edge' technologies, successive Australian governments have modified migration policy to allow organisations increased latitude in recruiting from overseas to bridge the skills deficit (Khoo *et al.*, 2004; Iredale, 2005; Hugo, 2006). Where once skilled permanent migration was the focus, temporary business migration has become an 'evolving norm' of short-term contracts and intercompany transfers (Koser & Salt, 1997). Organisations and governments alike have lauded the benefits of the potential for knowledge and skills transfer from temporary business migrants to local employees³. This is by no means a phenomenon unique to Australia.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) indicates that many of its member nations are engaged in programs to support this form of human resourcing (OECD, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010a). In addition, the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) has sanctioned this type of labour mobility by liberalising the flow of services between its member countries that also includes guidelines for temporary migration (Shah & Burke, 2005). Even at the regional level this appears to be a priority issue. For example, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is in the process of developing an agreement to facilitate the free movement of professionals, business persons and other skilled individuals across its member nations (OECD, 2010b) while the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum has created a Business Mobility Group to shape migration regimes for business travellers (APEC, 2010; Business Mobility Group, 2010).

² In the face of the worldwide financial crisis 'availability of suitably qualified employees' dropped from the list in March quarter of 2009 returning in the March quarter of 2010 (ACCI, 2009, 2010). It is currently rank fourth as of January 2011 (ACCI, 2011).

³ See: Report by the Committee of Inquiry into the Temporary Entry of Business People and Highly Skilled Specialists to Australia (Roach Report, 1995), Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA, 2002), Australian Financial Markets Association (2007), Access Economics (2002) and Khoo *et al.* (2004; 2006; 2007).

Across the globe, millions of individuals (see: Gera & Songsakul, 2004; United Nations, 2004) are ‘selling’ their knowledge and skills for the purposes of career development, financial reward, and as a lifestyle choice (see Tharenou, 2010), often referred to as the ‘International Mobility of the Highly Skilled’ (Hugo, 2004). While many opt for permanent migration, a large proportion are only interested in temporary assignments (DIMIA, 2002) preferring to relocate regularly to build their knowledge and skills through exposure to diverse contexts (see Inkson & Khapova, 2008), leading Rosewarne (2001, p. 72) to state “ . . . that the resurgence in migration appears to have placed people on the same footing as capital, as being no longer territorially bound”. The significance of migration as the movement of human capital is that migrants present a broader opportunity for organisations than merely acquiring the skills required to fill a vacancy. As ‘cultural others’⁴, these skilled individuals have participated in the practices of different societies and organisations, building knowledge and understanding as differentiated ways of ‘seeing’ and ‘doing’.

This thesis argues that culture offers a unique form of knowledge and that cultural others as ‘knowledge workers’ (Drucker, 2003) can make a valuable contribution to the organisational learning practices of an enterprise. More broadly the theoretical base used to develop this argument can be seen as supporting an organisation’s aspirations to become one that acquires the capability to learn at all levels as “[t]he ability to learn faster than your competitors may be the only sustainable competitive advantage” (De Geus, 1988, p. 71). This thesis also argues that to fulfil the promise of ‘sustained competitive advantage’, cultural others must be seen as integral to furthering this goal. Furthermore, in organisational contexts the perception of cultural others has been unduly influenced by the cross-cultural management literature and underlying research

⁴ The concept of ‘other’ (or ‘otherness’) figures large in psychology, sociology, gender discourse and cultural texts, with each adding a level of complexity to the understanding of its meaning (e.g. de Beauvoir, 1972; Hegel, 1997; Gupta & Chattopadhyaya, 1998; Sartre, 2000; Said, 2003). For the purposes of this thesis, and in forgoing a lengthy discussion of the antecedents of the concept, ‘cultural others’ are defined simply as individuals perceived to be different in fundamental ways due, in the first instance, to their societal background. Specifically, this definition focuses on the organisational context where the perspectives of established members, most particularly at the group level, lead to differentiation between themselves and those from other cultures as ‘others are different from us’ (Cristoffanini, 2004).

that has portrayed ‘culture-as-difference’ (Holden, 2002) as potentially damaging to organisational effectiveness which has further marginalised a view of culture as differentiated perspectives in ways of ‘seeing’ and ‘doing’.

In contrast to the view of culture-as-difference, the perspective offered by this thesis is rather based on human similarities underlying cultures. By this is meant that the cognitive processing of individuals is ‘learning in context’ which builds knowledge structures in the brain. In addition, these structures can be interconnected and are subject to modification and extension as new learning and experiences are encountered. This is what ‘Culture’ is, a view unknown in cross-cultural management.

The significance of this thesis is its adoption of a multidisciplinary approach to explaining culture, learning, and knowledge in organisational contexts. It draws on the abundant literature across these domains and synthesises them with advances in understanding of how the human mind comes to ‘know’ thus providing a more holistic account of individuals as both cultural and knowledgeable. This approach, so it is argued, has been ignored in the existing cross-cultural management literature. It therefore expects to contribute to the debate on how cultural others should be managed in the workplace by offering an alternative perspective that moves the focus from the perceived immutable differences between individuals to the similarity across them.

1.2 CULTURE AND CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT

There are over 200 definitions of culture, and a broad description is that culture consists of values, beliefs and norms of a society that shape the world views of members and can be observed in artefacts such as architecture, language, objects and customs (Harris *et al.*, 2003). In essence culture is seen as learning that results in a shared mindset of those in a particular nation, an extreme interpretation of which is offered by Lewis (1999, p. 4) who states:

the mind is conditioned, culturally, at an early age. Once one realises the almost irreversible nature of this childhood training, creating in each of us a set of values so

different from those extolled in other parts of the world, the possibilities for complex or hampered interaction in later life become clear.

The study of culture has traditionally been the preserve of anthropology and while research continues in this discipline, cross-cultural management has developed its own body of work based on research that Fang (2005, p. 72) describes as a pre-globalisation, functionalist, bipolar approach where:

[c]omplexity is tackled through simplification; nationality or nation-state forms the basic unit of analysis; the focus is on cultural differences; values determine behaviour, not vice versa; values are stable over time; and national cultures are difficult to change.

As the name implies, cross-cultural management has become focused on the management of cultural others where culture-as-difference is seen as a constraint of the effectiveness of management practices within organisations (Boyacigiller & Adler, 1991; Hofstede, 1993). Abundant literature exists detailing the problems that can be encountered by organisations when they expand beyond their national borders or foster cultural diversity within them (e.g. Cox, 1993; Seelye & Seelye-James, 1995; Reuvid, 2009). Conflict, lack of trust, misunderstanding and resentment are some of the issues raised that result in organisations adopting defensive approaches to interactions with cultural others (Day, 2007).

What is also significant is that accountability for these cultural issues has been squarely placed at the feet of (International) Human Resource Management professionals who are either directly responsible for the integration of cultural others or for preparing employees for expatriation to overseas postings where they will interact with them. There is an abundance of literature in both practitioner and academic circles that

supports these as a core function of (International) Human Resources Management⁵. Conversely, literature rarely focuses on providing insight or guidance for managers at the ‘coal face’ who are more clearly ‘cross-cultural managers’ in their day-to-day interactions with a multicultural team. This is noted by Rodrigues (1998) who sees the literature as indicating that managers need to fulfil the multiple roles of cultural expert, anthropologist, psychologist, system designer and knowledge manager to understand the past and reshape the future. He also suggests that the focus on understanding the past is rooted in the research perspectives that dominate the field (i.e. understanding the extent of cultural differences) as justification for why roles for shaping the future are needed. It is unclear in the literature whether line managers are prepared toward this end but it seems highly unlikely given (International) Human Resource Management professionals’ mandate of dealing with culture-as-difference across the organisation. In general, the literature focuses on issues of the equity and equality of cultural others in the form of anti-discrimination and cultural sensitivity training for the local workforce, while some organisations invest in expatriate training to promote ‘cultural competence’ in dealing with them while posted overseas (Baker & Ivancevich, 1971; Tung, 1982; Brewster & Pickard, 1994).

The benefits of cultural diversity are rarely researched by cross-cultural management. This is left to other fields (e.g. economics) where research has identified benefits of improved productivity, creativity, innovation, and problem solving, particularly at the group level (e.g. McLeod *et al.*, 1996; Ely & Thomas, 2001; Bellini *et al.*, 2008; Spiers, 2008b, 2008a). More generally, migration is also associated with improved organisational performance (Access Economics, 2002; Khoo *et al.*, 2004; Markusen & Trofimenko, 2007) although research in this area is sparse (Williams, 2007a). This

⁵ Mathis and Jackson (2008) identify 7 activities of the Human Resource Management function: strategic management (e.g. succession planning, alignment of practice with organisational culture); equal employment opportunity (e.g. diversity management, compliance, affirmative action); staffing (e.g. recruitment, selection); talent management (e.g. career planning, training, performance management); rewards (e.g. benefits, incentives, compensation); risk management and worker protection (e.g. health and safety), and; employee relations (e.g. policies and procedures). Also see: Briscoe & Schuler (2004), Harzing & van Ruysseveldt (2004), Jayne & Dipboye (2004), Gerhart & Fang (2005), Kossek *et al.* (2006) and Sparrow (2009).

thesis contends that the basis of these benefits is the unique knowledge embodied in cultural others that can make a valuable contribution to organisational learning and shape the ways organisations manage their knowledge resources.

1.3 LEARNING AND MANAGING KNOWLEDGE IN ORGANISATIONS

Organisational learning is seen as a departure from the traditional view of organisations and management (Addleson, 1996). Where once organisations were run as machines with humans as an instrument of production and management was administrative practice in applying rules and methods to achieve efficiency, the focus has moved to how organisations learn and utilise their knowledge. Initially perceived as the sum of the individual learning of employees applied to the predefined tasks of the organisation, organisational learning triggered a great deal of activity in improving the transfer of learning from formal education and training settings to the workplace (e.g. Candy & Crebert, 1991; Lynch *et al.*, 2006; Konkola *et al.*, 2007). The discipline has now embraced a broader view of an organisation as learning *through* members' experiences and actions as they engage in problem solving activities on its behalf that can lead to change or adaptation of organisational practice (Addleson, 1996; Argyris & Schön, 1996). Indeed, the concept of cognition as the function of learning normally attributed to humans has also been extended to organisations highlighting their propensity for information processing as the 'thinking' of their members that inform actions (see: Walsh, 1995; Nicolini, 1999). These views have encouraged a conception of the organisation as a 'learning system' that sanctions the vertical and horizontal integration and communication of what is learned.

Strategies for advancing organisational learning have become prolific but are largely descriptive or prescriptive approaches manifesting as quality programs (e.g. Six Sigma, Quality Circles, Total Quality Management, see Vecchi & Brennan, 2009), Business Process Reengineering (e.g. Hammer & Champy, 2001), Communities of Practice (e.g. Lave, 1991; Wenger, 1998; Wenger *et al.*, 2002), Organisational Design initiatives to encourage broader participation of employees (e.g. de-layering, decentralisation,

restructuring, rightsizing, see O'Neil, 1994) and systemic models for creating organisations that learn (e.g. Senge, 1990; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). These strategies seek to release the knowledge held by individuals for competitive advantage in the face of a growing body of literature that suggests failure to do so may result in organisational extinction (De Geus, 1988; Wick & Leon, 1993; Harvey & Denton, 1999). Argyris (2000, p. 3) argues that these strategies also proffer advice on how to transform the organisation but “ . . . most of the advice is – most of the time – simply not actionable. And even if it is implemented correctly, it will lead to consequences that run counter to the intentions of those providing it”. A significant element of many of these strategies is the promotion of an ‘organisational culture’ with the literature emphasising the need for one that unifies organisational members through shared values, beliefs and goals, while fostering learning and knowledge sharing. What is more significant is that culture in the societal sense is rarely mentioned in the context of an organisation’s learning practice.

Notwithstanding abundant theoretical and empirical work in numerous countries and contexts, organisational learning has remained detached from issues of cultural heterogeneity despite increasing workforce diversity, cross-border expansion and international cooperative arrangements. This aspect of organisational life has become the preserve of cross-cultural management and with its focus on minimising the perceived disruptive qualities of cultural diversity it has not advanced alternative perspectives on what an organisation can learn through cultural others. Culture as a form of knowledge is predominantly ignored and simply slips into limbo between cross-cultural management and organisational learning. The argument offered here agrees with Argyris’s (2000) point that organisational learning approaches have unintended consequences and argues that one of these consequences is a failure to appreciate the impact of the organisational environment on cultural others that can impede the socialisation of their knowledge within the larger organisation. Furthermore, it also argues that this is a failure of cross-cultural management in emphasising culture-as-difference that must subsequently be managed.

In general, organisational learning has become an arena where idealistic solutions are applied to ill-defined problems that view organisations as culturally homogenous. In reviews of the literature, fragmentation in approaches has often been noted. Shrivastava (1983) pointed out that there was a lack of clarity and consistency in the terms and concepts associated with the discipline. This theme was echoed by Fiol and Lyles (1985) whose criticism included the notion of what ‘learning’ is understood to be in an organisational context, particularly given the lack of differentiation between ‘learning’ and ‘adaptation’, and outcomes as ‘cognitive’ or ‘behavioural’. Similarly, Field (2004) argued that confusion and ambiguity surrounds the terms ‘learning’ and ‘organisation’, whose paring is regarded by Weick and Westley (1996) as oxymoronic, while Huber’s (1991) analysis concluded that although the literature was ‘voluminous and multi-faceted’ it suffered from a lack of synthesis. On the other hand, Dodgson (1993) and Nicolini and Mezner (1995) argued that variety in approach is essential if organisations as learning entities are ever to be understood.

Much of this fragmentation in approach to organisational learning stems from conceptions of learning and knowledge found in disciplines such as sociology, psychology, cultural anthropology, management/organisational science and even economics⁶. These disciplines have each proposed multiple perspectives and interpretations in attempting to uncover the essence of what learning is and how knowledge is formed, and writers in organisational learning often align themselves with one or other of these perspectives. Easterby-Smith (1997, p. 1103) summarises this as follows:

Each of these [disciplines] has a distinct ontological view and consequently a bounded understanding of its dynamics and problematics. . . . the literature on organizational learning is analytic and concentrates on understanding learning processes within organizational settings, without necessarily [sic] trying to change those processes. . . . the ontologies represented by different disciplines lead to confusion in the research agenda, with regard to important topics, appropriate methods, and contributions. Hence, it might be

⁶ For example, the papers included in the 1991 *Organization Science* Special Issue (i.e. Brown & Duguid, 1991; Cohen, 1991; Eppe *et al.*, 1991; Huber, 1991; Hutchins, 1991; Levinthal, 1991; March *et al.*, 1991; Simon, 1991; Weick, 1991).

best to think of several parallel research agendas and of complementary contributions from different perspectives, rather than a unified body of knowledge and practice.

Dodgson (1993) suggested that the dominant focus of organisational learning is on the outcomes of learning while the complexities of learning are ignored. This comment draws attention to the theoretical underpinnings of learning that, in the organisational context, are inclined towards an ability to measure its results. Behaviourism (learning of desired behaviour), humanism (learning as personal development), cognitivism (developing higher order thinking skills) and constructivism (creating new knowledge) as the dominant schools have two things in common. Firstly they approach learning and knowledge as if the individual's mind were a discrete entity containing all the cognitive tools necessary to function effectively, and secondly they disregard context thereby, as Dodgson (1993) suggests, ignoring the complexities in knowledge formation. Furthermore, while organisational learning has been able to develop wide ranging research agendas, a view of learning that is inclusive of cultural variation is not evident. If organisational learning is to be understood, and if the knowledge of cultural others is to be better utilised, then there is a need to broaden the conception of human cognition to account for the 'complex collectivity' that is the modern organisation (Evers & Lakomski, 2000). This view appears to echo the contention of Addleson (1996, p. 34) who states that organisational learning is broadly:

silent on issues such as differences in the interpretation of organizational problems and on individuals' tacit understanding, it provides no justification for seeking consensus from a diversity of viewpoints or for canvassing people to ascertain whether they hold differences of opinion about a matter.

While organisational learning may be silent, the literature on managing knowledge in organisational contexts appears, at least superficially, to be more open to the prospect of a diversity of views.

The literature on managing knowledge in the workplace appears divided between the need to 'capture' it (e.g. explicit knowledge - manuals and databases), 'share' it (e.g. tacit knowledge - learning from knowledgeable others), and in the case of what is called 'knowledge management', an uneasy combination of both as making tacit knowledge

explicit so it can be transferred across organisational boundaries. Regardless of the approach there is presumption that knowledge can be separated from the human being and therefore is able to be owned, managed, controlled and measured by the organisation, a view that is quite problematic. As Stacey (2001, p. 146) argues:

If knowledge is thought of as something stored and shared, then it may make sense to talk about measuring and managing it. If knowledge is process, if it is emergent themes patterning the experience of being together in the living present, if it is ordinary, everyday human relating in conversation and other kinds of communication in local situations, then it makes no sense to talk about measuring and managing it. . . . [therefore] what is done in the name of knowledge management must be serving some other purpose.

Snowdon (2002a) sees the management of knowledge as an evolving practice that has now reached a third stage of evolution. The first stage was initially conceived for the purposes of decision making but soon became an information technology fuelled efficiency drive to capture ‘what we know’ and channel it to those who ‘need to know’, removing the need for the original human source (Davenport & Prusak, 1998; Snowden, 2002a). When it was realised that technology could only go so far in capturing knowledge a second stage began by identifying and advertising what people knew to link them with people who needed to know (Dalkir, 2005). While this was successful in relationship building, it was not the knowledge building activity envisaged and attention quickly moved to making the tacit knowledge of others explicit. This was influenced by the work of Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) who concerned themselves with how knowledge moved between tacit and explicit states in the workplace context. This was essentially the era of ‘learning by doing’ or knowledge transfer through socialisation as epitomised by the age old practices of communities in developing the skills of apprentices. However, in classifying knowledge as tacit or explicit it overlooked factors that influence and frame conceptions of knowledge.

Snowden (2002a) believes that the third stage of the management of knowledge provides a more fertile environment for advancing the approaches organisations use through highlighting the importance of context and the role of culture in creating a ‘shared context’. Similarly, Holden (2002) contends that culture as embodied in the individual is in effect different perspectives that can promote organisational capability

and effectiveness therefore making culture itself a source of organisational learning. These revised views of knowledge may be due to the burgeoning body of research on knowledge transfer across culturally diverse environments, particularly multinational and hybrid organisations (e.g. International Joint Ventures), that has given rise to numerous papers on the determinants and impediments in the knowledge transfer process⁷. Regardless of this increase in activity directed toward a nexus between cultural diversity and knowledge there is rarely any discussion of the nature of learning and formation of knowledge.

The premise of the argument made here, following an earlier discussion of McDermott's (1999), is that current conceptions of knowledge held by organisations fail to consider that knowledge stems from human acts of learning and reflection which build greater understanding as 'knowing' distributed across the vast neural network of the brain. Knowledge is the 'sticky residue' of thinking as information transformed by experience and where the 'living act of knowing' creates new knowledge at the boundaries of old as past 'mental models' are mediated by present situations. In addition, knowledge also belongs to communities and is more than the contents of the mind as it involves participation in the practices of the community as it has defined them. This knowledge circulates through communities as undocumented practices, tools, stories, language, and other objects that the community members engage with and forms a distributed cognitive network. Most importantly, it is argued, the knowledge of cultural others as differentiated ways of seeing and doing does not act as a filter in connecting with a new community. By expanding conceptions of what knowledge is and the role individuals' play in its creation, this thesis hopes to move from a mechanistic view of knowledge transfer to a more organic one.

⁷ There are, literally, hundreds of papers on knowledge transfer across cultural contexts. Some of the more recent examples consulted for this thesis are: Bjorkman *et al.* (2004), Dhanraj *et al.* (2004), Jensen & Szulanski (2004), Simonin (2004), Štrach & Everett (2006), Evaristo (2007), Kotabe *et al.* (2007), Minbaeva (2007), Riege (2007), Bonache & Zarraga-Oberty (2008), Frenkel (2008), Bengoa *et al.* (2009), Cadiz *et al.* (2009), Courtney & Anderson (2009), Crowne (2009), Hong *et al.* (2009), Wilkesmann *et al.* (2009), Chen *et al.* (2010), Fang *et al.* (2010), McLaughlin (2010) and Martinkenaite (2011).

As a new approach to organisational learning is warranted for the culturally heterogeneous organisations of today this thesis is predicated on the belief that a new conception of culture is required that considers individual cognition as basic to the formation of knowledge as cultural. From this perspective, knowledge becomes more than a de-contextualised accumulation of information in the 'black box' of the individual mind. The re-conceptualisation of culture as knowledge is advocated from a perspective of cognitive science that provides a coherent account of individual knowledge as the meaning and actions that arise from situated learning and experiences that are contextually bound.

It is claimed that this approach will dispel many of the assumptions organisations have made about culture, knowledge and learning as outlined above, and lead them toward improved understanding of the complexities in the acquisition and deployment of knowledge. Consequently, this understanding should better inform their choice of methods in developing their human capital, integrating newcomers into the organisational context and managing their knowledge resources, particularly in regard to cultural others. To develop this understanding, the field of cognitive science is drawn on to explain how humans learn and how their minds develop over time.

1.4 UNDERSTANDING THE BRAIN: AN INTRODUCTION TO COGNITIVE SCIENCE

Emerging from growing disenchantment with behaviourist perspectives of learning, cognitive science draws on cross-disciplinary discourse from anthropology, psychology, sociology, philosophy, linguistics, and most importantly from the field of neuroscience (Kukla & Walmsley, 2006). Cognitive neuroscience has given insight into the biological functioning of the brain as it processes, stores and retrieves information from the external world (Albright & Neville, 2001). Indeed, empirical investigations in the field have challenged the traditional views of learning as the passive acquisition of information and behaviour. Acts of remembering, learning, thinking, understanding and perceiving, long used to describe what individuals 'do' with their brains, have become a

focal point for exploring the cognitive processes that actually occur at the biological level⁸.

Contemporary cognitive science has been aided by technological advances that have made ‘visible’ some of the functioning of the human brain (see Carter, 1999). Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI, e.g. Lenroot & Giedd, 2006), Positron Emission Tomography (PET, e.g. Cabeza & Nyberg, 1997), Magnetoencephalography (MEG, e.g. Fuchs *et al.*, 2000) and Electroencephalography (EEG, e.g. Klimesch, 1999) have all offered images of the brain processing information in response to stimuli (see Driver *et al.*, 2008). These have provided evidence of the brain’s plasticity in its ability to generate new neurons⁹ as well as a parallel processing capability that allows attention to be paid to more than one stimulus at a time. Laboratory experiments testing visual and verbal recognition, multitasking, spatial awareness, pattern recognition, problem solving, and memory have further strengthened our knowledge of how the brain works.

These empirical investigations of the brain’s physiological functions have unlocked some of its ‘secrets’ and have advanced our understanding of how humans learn and deploy knowledge. Most importantly, the seemingly infinite numbers of links that can be built across the vast population of neurons have been shown to form powerful networks that allow simultaneous activation and processing across multiple neurons in response to stimuli. This revelation points to the learning of humans as being the synthesis of what is known with what is knowable. More simply, rather than the brain being a blank canvas upon which knowledge is written, knowledge consists of patterns formed from previous experiences that are distributed across a vast network where, according to Shanks (2005, p. 45), “ . . . learning involves moment-by-moment increments and decrements in mental associations”. To learn then is a change in existing, or the emergence of new, patterns in this network. With their foundations in

⁸ It should be noted that the terms brain and mind are used interchangeably within this thesis. Philosophical distinctions made between the physical (body) and non-physical (mind) such as the offered in Descartes’ (1988) dualism are not incorporated into the body of the argument.

⁹ A neuron is the basic unit of the brain which mediates cognitive functioning and therefore is central to learning and knowledge formation.

these scientific discoveries, connectionist models are the closest representations of the biological human brain and more importantly explanative of how humans learn (Memmi, 1990; Ellis & Humphreys, 1999; Lakomski, 2009).

The connectionist perspective was brought to prominence by Rumelhart and McClelland's (1986c; 1986b) two volume collection of research papers from the Parallel Distributed Processing Research Group, who for some time had been experimenting with connectionist models. Computer based models represent knowledge as a network of simple processor units (i.e. neurons) that are layered and interconnected. They are activated by the external environment or other units, where the strength of connections between units is intensified through repetition and influences the activities of other units (Strauss & Quinn, 1997; Bechtel & Abrahamsen, 2002; Ravenscroft, 2005; Kukla & Walmsley, 2006). As Strauss and Quinn (1997, pp. 52-53) describe it:

[n]o single unit knows much, but the combined action of many of them, linked by weights modified by repeated experience, leads to intelligent outcomes . . . changing connection weights shift the likelihoods of what units will activate which.

As a whole, these units form a 'neural net' where each unit is capable of sending signals that 'excite' or 'inhibit' other units (McClelland *et al.*, 1986; Houghton, 2005; Kukla & Walmsley, 2006). In theory there is no limit to the number of connections that any unit may have (see Bechtel & Abrahamsen, 2002) as the structure of the networked units depends on the complexity of the operations to be carried out that in turn form the distributed patterns (or schemata) across the neural net.

The strength of connectionist approaches is that they have 'biological plausibility' (Ellis & Humphreys, 1999). They mimic the brain's architecture as a parallel processor that distributes representations of 'things' in the real world across units and therefore memory becomes pattern recognition across the neural network as the result of prior learning and experience (Ellis & Humphreys, 1999; Dawson, 2005; Houghton, 2005;

Ravenscroft, 2005; Kukla & Walmsley, 2006). More significant is that connectionist systems have been shown to learn¹⁰ and therefore offer a theoretical base that is a departure from traditional accounts of cognition, presenting a new and powerful approach to understanding learning (Ramsey, 2001; Ravenscroft, 2005). St. Julien (1997) believes that in taking the functioning of the brain seriously, connectionist approaches have made a valuable contribution by linking context, situation and experience with the process of learning.

This thesis argues that by offering a better understanding of the brain and an empirical account of how human beings learn, connectionism is an appropriate knowledge base from which to explore and explain culture and learning at both the individual and organisational level as demonstrated in the work of Strauss and Quinn (1997). In their view, culture is the shared, or partially shared meanings derived over time from an individual's interpretation of the world and represented in their brain as schemata. Therefore:

[w]hat something (a word, an object, and event) means to somebody depends on exactly what they are experiencing at the moment and the interpretative framework they bring to the moment as a result of their past experiences. . . . To the extent people have recurring, common experiences – experiences mediated by human created products and learned practices that lead them to develop a set of similar schemas – it makes sense to say they share a culture (Strauss & Quinn, 1997, pp. 6-7)

Unlike traditional conceptions found in anthropology and prevalent in cross-cultural management literature, culture itself is not a carbon copy of values, beliefs and norms imprinted on every individual within a geographic boundary but an interpretation of life experiences garnered *within* a cultural setting. Hence knowledge is the meaning and actions that arise from learning that is situated and contextually bound. From this perspective culture is just one type of knowledge that an individual accumulates in their lifetime, and which may or may not affect their future learning and knowledge building.

¹⁰ (Bechtel & Abrahamsen, 2002; Christiansen & Curtin, 2005; Dawson, 2005; Houghton, 2005; Kruschke, 2005; Shanks, 2005).

1.5 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In developing the argument of this thesis, the first step was to review the cross-cultural management literature to identify the approaches to the management of culture others in organisational contexts. Sources consulted included both academic and practitioner based texts to ensure the broadest possible representation of the discipline. As an analysis of the discourse, the primary purpose of this was to identify key themes as a means to “. . . draw a picture of the presuppositions and meanings that constitute the cultural world of which the textual material is a specimen” (Peräkylä, 2005, p. 870).

The key themes then provided the focus for a more detailed and cross-disciplinary examination of the historic and contemporary contributions to the views articulated in cross-cultural management with the aim of broadening understanding of its theoretical and empirical underpinnings. These offerings are also critiqued from the perspective of their treatment of cultural others, with particular focus on the perceived value of their knowledge and contribution to organisational learning. Furthermore, it also explores the research perspectives adopted for their parsimony in discovering how culture manifests in organisational contexts (Rousseau & Fried, 2001). It is this literature review and critique that provides the foundation of the argument for a more holistic perspective of culture, an improved understanding of the individual as cultural and the need for a new conception of cross-cultural management that “. . . re-examine[s] the construct of culture at its core” (Tsui *et al.*, 2007, p. 462).

1.6 SUMMARY

Organisations have increasingly become stages for cultural pluralism through engaging in workforce diversity, cross-border expansion and international cooperative arrangements. Cross-cultural management, it is claimed, has been instrumental in promoting a view of culture as problematic based on research that accentuates cultural differences and portrays them as potentially damaging to organisational effectiveness. This has lead to the perception by organisations that culture is a factor that must be mitigated through organisational practices which homogenise the workforce, a view

incongruous with the culturally diverse markets and workforces that they are engaged with. It is argued that the knowledge of cultural others as differentiated ways of 'seeing' and 'doing' is a valuable but neglected source of competitive advantage marginalised by the cross-cultural management discourse and therefore contrary to the aims of organisational learning in building an organisation's stock of human capital.

Traditional conceptions of culture and learning are seen as reinforcing the view of culture-as-difference through conceptualising the brain as a 'black box'. It is argued that a connectionist theory of learning is a better approach to understanding culture through recasting it as differentiated learning, knowledge and experiences.

At the individual level this thesis explores how individuals come to share in the 'knowing' and the 'doing' required of their activities. This view is expanded to the practice of workgroups where individual knowledge is combined, revealing the nature of cognition as socially distributed and regulating the group's activities. Essentially:

[r]ather than solely construing cognition as a neural or information-processing system, explanations of cognitive performance at the personal level construe cognition as an overt system involving an embodied individual, an environment (which includes other people), and the person's goals, purposes, and beliefs (Kingstone *et al.*, 2008, p. 327).

Approaching the argument from the organisational context, this thesis draws attention to the factors that influence an organisation's structure and culture, which in turn influence their learning strategies and perceptions of the value of knowledge and the mechanisms used for its capture and sharing.

In bringing individual cognition and organisational context together, the discontinuity between the two is exposed as inhibiting both the effectiveness of 'cultural others' in deploying their knowledge and the organisation's opportunity for identifying value in differing perspectives and practices. To redress this failure, this thesis proposes a new framework as 'connection to practice' to guide organisations in reconceptualising culture as knowledge and supporting their organisational learning efforts. The argument is developed as follows.

1.6.1 CHAPTER 2

In Chapter 2, cross-cultural management is surveyed to discern its major themes in dealing with cultural others in organisational contexts. After initially giving a short account of the foundations of cross-cultural management, a review of the literature reveals four distinct agendas: (i) comparative research as identifying the extent of differences between cultures; (ii) organisational culture as substituting one culture for another; (iii) culture as learning in context or seeing and doing differently; and (iv) cultural interaction. Each of these agendas is investigated individually, drawing on the literature of relevant disciplines to understand more fully the basis of the perspectives offered by cross-cultural management. The first three (i.e. comparative research, organisational culture, culture as learning in context) are discussed in following chapters; however, the discussion of cultural interaction, forms the remainder of Chapter 2 to highlight the central concern with the pervasiveness of literature that portrays cultural others as problematic and a challenge to organisational effectiveness.

Cultural interaction refers to the management of cultural others in overseas and local contexts. In cross-cultural management these are generally termed as expatriation whereby individuals are relocated to 'foreign' cultures, and cultural diversity as an increasingly multicultural workforce. For organisations, the central concern in expatriating employees is achieving its goals for the overseas posting. As the literature shows, cultural others are perceived as a barrier to these goals with some organisations investing their energies in preparing soon-to-be expatriates to deal with 'culture shock' and developing their 'cultural competence' to manage in foreign locales. On the other hand, cultural diversity has been subsumed beneath a blanket approach to diversity in general (e.g. gender, religion, disability). In this case, the literature highlights issues of the equity and equality, often as legal compliance, in what appears to be risk mitigation of discriminatory practices or behaviours. Cultural others in this perspective are just another variable to be accounted for within policies and procedures, with no specific focus on them as individuals. But it is argued here, that in attempting to mitigate the perceived disruptive influence of cultural differences, organisations are also reducing

their potential to benefit from cultural others as a unique and valuable source of knowledge.

1.6.2 CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3 presents three paradigm cases commonly cited in comparative research of organisations and employee behaviour in explaining variations across societies. This chapter pays particular attention to Hofstede (1980a; 2001a) whose work is seen as foundational to studies in cross-cultural management. His dimensions of culture are seen by many as central in explaining *why* organisations function differently across societies and more importantly *how* individuals are programmed to conform to their society's values, beliefs and norms. Other major works by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1993) and the GLOBE¹¹ researchers (House *et al.*, 2004) are also presented, offering alternative definitions of culture and different approaches to uncovering its *essence* while retaining the notion of culture as something a society 'has' and individuals learn. These three cases are seen as indicative of the primacy of comparative research in influencing cross-cultural management toward a view of culture-as-difference.

1.6.3 CHAPTER 4

The topic of Chapter 4 is the third agenda identified in cross-cultural management, that of organisational culture. An organisation's culture is often seen as reflecting the values, beliefs and norms of the society in which it was founded and which may, over time, adapt to changes within that society. With the increased pace of globalisation and the commensurate changes to the environment in which organisations operate, organisational culture has taken on new meanings. This chapter surveys the literature giving an account of the evolution of organisational culture, the ways in which it has been conceptualised, and the theories and models that are associated with it. An important perspective in this thesis is its role in promoting learning and the sharing of knowledge across the organisation. This view connects with the idea of an organisation

¹¹ Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness.

as a learning system that has become a key goal in creating competitive advantage. The remaining sections of this chapter are therefore devoted to the discipline of organisational learning. In so doing, the discussion highlights organisational learning as not only failing to consider the knowledge of cultural others, but also as lacking a theoretical base from which to support its assertions. These deficiencies are addressed in the following chapter.

1.6.4 CHAPTER 5

Chapter 5 begins by surveying the literature from the cross-cultural research agenda where culture is seen as 'learning in context'. What transpires is that although culture is seen as the cognitive property of individuals, how it becomes so is not elaborated upon. This is seen as a significant omission in understanding either the nature of culture or what learning and knowledge formation actually entail. This chapter then proceeds to address this issue by offering a perspective of learning that is inclusive of culture.

After initially offering a general overview of learning theory to differentiate connectionist approaches from more traditional accounts, connectionist theory is then presented as explaining how individuals come to share in the 'knowing' and 'doing' required of their activities and where culture can more accurately be seen as meaning and actions that arise from learning and experiences in context. This view is then extended to the notion of socially distributed cognition in demonstrating that the knowledge structures of individuals are inextricably linked to the socio-cultural environment where people and 'things' interact with the 'hidden' processing of the brain. It is from this basis that the situation of cultural others is developed.

In conclusion, this chapter introduces the notion of a 'community of practice' in conceptualising employees of an organisational workgroup as 'insiders' of a community whose relationships and practices are embedded in context and where cultural others are considered 'outsiders'. Drawing from the discussion of connectionist learning theory and distributed cognition, insiders are seen as having learned in the context of the community that has invested them with a sense of purpose, identity, and acceptance as a

practitioner. Outsiders on the other hand are tasked with making meaning of the community as insiders have defined it. This lays the foundation for deeper exploration of the workgroup context in Chapter 7, where outsiders seek status as an insider through engagement in the socio-cultural practices of the community as ‘connection to practice’.

1.6.5 CHAPTER 6

Chapter six discusses the organisational environment as a precursor to defining the workgroup context. From the position that organisational culture is central to the creation of a frame of reference for employees, this chapter takes the perspective that organisational culture is therefore a form of learning. In particular, it demonstrates how organisational culture is not just what is articulated by the organisation, but how it is enacted and experienced by employees as ‘learning in context’.

Seen as fundamental in an organisation’s culture, approaches to cultural diversity and organisational learning are exposed as the conscious and unconscious actions of organisations in mediating cultural differences that affect the perspective and expectations of existing employees in relation to cultural others and their knowledge. As the transfer of knowledge is crucial in the argument of this thesis, the traditional ways in which organisations manage knowledge are presented. The connectionist approach to learning offered in Chapter 5 frames this chapter with research presented to support and illustrate the arguments made.

1.6.6 CHAPTER 7

The workgroup context is the focus of this chapter. Where the preceding chapter evolved a view of organisational culture as a form of learning, this chapter uses connectionist theory to describe how it manifests in the workgroup context as the views and practices of a community as learning in context. In particular, it looks at community members as insiders who are ‘carriers of culture’ and who have an evolved ‘social identity’ that marks them as belonging to the community, and a ‘professional identity’ that indicates their status within the community. These three attributes of existing community members are seen as inhibiting the full participation of cultural

others. Further underpinned by learning that is biased toward a view of culture-as-difference, the confluence of these attributes is seen as marginalising the knowledge of cultural others. It is from here that the framework of 'connection to practice' is developed.

Connection to practice is offered to reconceptualise the workplace as a dynamic context that can better incorporate cultural others through facilitation that legitimises their practice and builds social and professional identities in keeping with the receiving community. This is seen as more consistent with the harvesting of the knowledge of cultural others as different ways of seeing and doing from which competitive advantage may be gained. In developing this framework, connectionist theory and distributed cognition are utilised to illustrate the 'connections' required to become a fully participating member of the community and one which positions cultural others as contributors to practice. Through a more inclusive approach to cultural others in connecting them with their community and its practices, it is envisaged that new knowledge will emerge to make a contribution to organisational learning. However, as this chapter makes clear, there is a remarkable lack of investigation of cultural others and their experiences in connecting with their new communities. The lack of research at this level is seen as a major failing of cross-cultural management. In support of the need for research, this chapter advances two perspectives that may provide a way forward in understanding cultural others and their colleagues in the context of a community of practice as defined in this thesis.

1.6.7 CHAPTER 8

Chapter eight summarises the argument of this thesis to underscore the need for cross-cultural management to review its current approach to the concept of culture and the management of cultural others. It draws together the four agendas identified in Chapter 2 (i.e. comparative research, organisational culture, culture as learning in context and cultural interaction) and recaps the contribution of each.

The chapter recommends a new conception of cross-cultural management and proposes the connection to practice framework based on culture-as-knowledge as an alternative to the current culture-as-difference perspective. Research is called for that more fully explores the experiences of communities and their cultural others that is presently absent from the discipline.

Lastly, this chapter recommends that the role of 'managing culture' be devolved from (International) Human Resources Management professionals to managers/supervisors with front line' responsibility for cultural others in the workplace context.

CHAPTER 2: CULTURE, DIVERSITY, AND ORGANISATIONS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Issues of diversity as dealings with cultural others in organisational contexts surfaced in the period following the Second World War as firms sought new opportunities in international markets (Sackmann & Phillips, 2004). The belief was that organisations needed global strategies to operate effectively beyond their own borders (Adler, 1997). More recently, through the influx of migrants and with the ‘International Mobility of the Highly Skilled’ (Hugo, 2004), culture has also become an issue within organisations as the cultural diversity in the population is reflected in their workforce requiring approaches that promote cooperation and harmony. The discipline that addresses these issues is cross-cultural management.

This chapter reviews the origins of cross-cultural management and identifies its current research agendas. It then explores the directions that the discipline has taken in underscoring the significance of culture paying particular attention to the approaches used in organisational contexts that reflect the democratic expectations of modern societies in supporting the fair and equitable treatment of cultural others. The purpose of this chapter is to contrast these views with the needs of modern organisations.

2.2 ORIGINS OF CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT

The foundations of cross-cultural management are to be found in theories of organisations dating back to the Industrial Revolution. Towne (1817), Smith (1822), Babbage (1835) and Metcalfe (1894) were among many instrumental in highlighting the need for effective administration and management of resources in the then new forms of organisations that Barley and Kunda (1992) describe as the period of industrial betterment. The first half of the 20th century continued these themes with the likes of Taylor (1911), Fayol (1949), Weber (1947), Follett (1942) and Mayo (1946) investigating factors significant in the functioning of organisations, including

motivation, working environment, organisational structure and the specialisation and division of labour. In what Perrow (1973) described as the 'forces of darkness' the majority of research and theorising about organisations was rooted in their conceptualisation as a machine. Supported by the behaviourist psychology of Watson (1913; 1924), Thorndike (1907; 1931) and Pavlov (1927), the focus was on obtaining the desired outputs through eliciting the behaviour required of employees as 'scientific management' (Barley & Kunda, 1992).

During this period, established cultures such as those of European nations were perceived as largely homogenous based on shared history, regardless of any regional differences in language, customs or beliefs. Therefore, the management of culture was not a prime consideration. Those of the 'new world' such as the USA, Canada and Australia had a 'hybrid' culture (Durham, 1992) encapsulating an image for the new nation founded on colonialist visions of society. The assumption was that migrants would simply assimilate into the 'melting pot' of culture. For example, in Australia there had long been reliance on skilled migration but only within the bounds of supporting the reproduction of English society¹² and the promotion of a homogeneous culture (Collins, 1991; Jupp, 1991). While immigrants from other European nations were present, their numbers were small resulting in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon population (see: Sherington, 1990; Jupp, 1991). As such, there was no apparent need for organisations to manage cultural differences due to the perceived cultural homogeneity of the workforce and therefore consistent with the values and practices of the organisation that had drawn on the same cultural base. At this early stage management discourse, in general, supported a mechanistic approach to organisations and was parochial by nature. It was only in select academic circles, primarily anthropology, that the notion of cultural differences was addressed in any depth.

¹² The influx of Chinese during the gold rush period was perceived as having a detrimental effect on society and triggered discussions of who was settling in Australia (Sherington, 1990; Collins, 1991; Jupp, 1991; Teicher *et al.*, 2002). What emerged was a 'Great White Wall' (Price, 1974, cited in Sherington, 1990) that would eventually be formalised at Federation by the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, or the 'White Australia Policy', which would dominate Australian immigration policy for decades to come (Collins, 1991; Jupp, 1991; DIMA, 2001).

Following World War II, the analysis of existing theories of organisations drew the attention of Simon (1946) who questioned whether the touted ‘principles of administration’¹³ as applied to organisations were truly instrumental in making them more effective and efficient. He evolved his argument by demonstrating how open the said principles were to misinterpretation or misapplication and highlighted that their underpinning assumption of organisational actors as rational decision makers was flawed in light of factors such as skill, ability and motivation that could impinge on their decision making process. Simon (1957, p. 198) was to later develop his theory of ‘bounded rationality’ on the basis that:

[t]he capacity of the human mind for formulating and solving complex problems is very small compared with the size of the problems whose solution is required for objectively rational behavior in the real world--or even for a reasonable approximation to such objective rationality.

Essentially this suggests that the decision making processes of the individual are limited by their cognitive abilities, by what they know or can readily evaluate, and the time they have available to make a decision. Simon’s (1982)¹⁴ analysis of organisational life was indicative of the growing discontent with mechanistic perspectives that did not take into account the human factor in organisations.

Described as the welfare capitalism/human relations ideology (Barley & Kunda, 1992), a humanistic view in the face of changing labour, market and social conditions (Perrow, 1973) was first intimated by Barnard (1938, p. 46) when he stated that organisations should be described rather than defined, introducing the idea of the organisation as a cooperative through the conscious, deliberate and purposeful acts of its members, adding that “[t]here are no cooperative systems in which physical, biological, personal, and social elements or factors are not all present”. Later Drucker (1954) wrote of the

¹³ In brief these principles relate to: efficiency through specialisation by the firm; creation of a hierarchic structure that supports unity of command; permits only small numbers of individuals to report to a single person thereby limiting their control; and division of labour.

¹⁴ Simon’s legacy goes beyond an economic perspective of organisation with his diverse research interests spanning many disciplines. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, his groundbreaking work, with collaborators such as Newell, was the foundational in Artificial Intelligence.

need to communicate objectives that result in the achievement of both personal and organisational goals, highlighting the increasing importance of the relationship between managers and subordinates, and heralding the 'Management by Objectives' philosophy of business still prevalent today. Despite these varying perspectives of organisational life, the culture of individuals was still not a widely acknowledged factor within management circles.

As research was continuing into conceptions of organisation and management practice, their implicit cultural homogeneity was being challenged by the movement of individuals across borders.

2.3 CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT, MIGRATION, AND CULTURE

The post World War 2 period saw increased migration to traditional and non traditional countries (e.g. England, Hansen, 2000; also the work of Castles & Miller, 2003). In Australia, fledgling industries under threat due to skill shortages required the relaxation of migrant selection criteria out of economic need and community interest (Sherington, 1990; Collins, 1991; Crock, 1997; Teicher *et al.*, 2002). Driven by the slogan 'populate or perish'¹⁵, the Australian immigration net was cast wider focusing on skilled and semi-skilled migrants in an effort to boost the pool of low or non existent skills, including 12,000 Baltic refugees considered 'splendid human capital' (Markus, 1984; Sherington, 1990; Moore, 1994; Teicher *et al.*, 2002; Shah & Burke, 2005).

There was still an expectation however, that these individuals would assimilate into the culture that defined Australia. This was not peculiar to Australia with many countries opening their doors to the peoples of other nations and equally expecting them to 'fit in' (see: Reimers, 1981; Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Boyd & Vickers, 2000; Castles & Miller, 2003). The war also saw the cooperation between many nations translate into trade

¹⁵ The slogan 'populate or perish' was originally coined in 1937 by Billy Hughes (Jupp, 2002) and was widely used to underscore the need for Australia to engage in immigration in the face of economic decline (Collins, 1991; Jupp, 1991; Stalker, 1994).

agreements such as General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which aimed to regulate international trade of merchandise through negotiation of import quotas, subsidies and taxes on foreign goods (World Trade Organization, 2008) thus marking the first tentative steps in creating what is today's global economy.

From the 1950s onward technological advances in computing, communications and transportation enabled faster and cheaper business transactions, and physical distance between nations became less of a barrier. As trade between countries increased it highlighted the extent of differences between cultures. Commensurate with the growing cultural interaction, cross-cultural research branched off in several directions that, as a body of work, became cross-cultural management.

Cross-cultural management arose from the 'management theory jungle' (Koontz, 1969a) coupled with anthropological research traditions in investigating culture based differences and similarities but in organisational contexts. In an early review of the field Roberts (1970) described cross-cultural management discourse as a 'morass' divided between an interest in the effects of culture at the micro level of individual behaviour and attributes, and macro level of organisational structure, environment and methods of communication. Research goals were also seen as unclear and the supporting methodologies flawed (Roberts, 1970; Goodman & Moore, 1972). Indeed, methodological approaches were often at the core of discussions (e.g. England & Harpaz, 1983; Sekaran, 1983) as the field sought to establish itself as having more than a peripheral interest in management theory. Goodman and Moore (1972) advocated methodological rigour that would permit replication of studies in many cultures as a way of identifying the core aspects of each culture. For them the crux of the matter was a need to delineate the concept of culture using 'dimensions' that would highlight cultural similarities and differences (Goodman & Moore, 1972). Debates on methodology did little to slow research into issues of organisations and culture.

Management in organisations became a major focal point in trying to settle the argument of whether practice was universal or culture bound (Oberg, 1963; Negandhi &

Estafen, 1965; Koontz, 1969b; Peng *et al.*, 1991; Earley & Singh, 1995). Eventually this led to heightened interest in comparative management studies across cultures (Schollhammer, 1969). Adler (1983b) included comparative research in a review of methodological approaches to studies of management with a particular focus on their salience in addressing the needs of managers in confidently addressing cross-cultural situations. What is notable is, that while confirming the contribution of comparative research to cross-cultural management, the specific needs of managers were not articulated nor any indication given for the basis of this managerial need, only a plea for researchers to continue using eclectic approaches and be methodologically creative in uncovering them (Adler, 1983b). Another point made by Adler (1983a) was in regard to the research conducted in the USA in the 1970's. She found that fewer than four percent of studies published in the period from 1971 to 1980 were cross-cultural in nature and the vast majority of those reported were single country investigations or two country comparisons with only a small proportion reporting on any specific aspects of culture. So, despite recognition that interactions between cultures were on the rise, cross-cultural management was at this time failing to keep pace with corporate expansion into international markets. A later review by Peng *et al.* (1991) for the period 1981 and 1987 established that little had changed. Of the 8400 articles published in the top 24 management journals of the time, only 6 percent related to cross-cultural management, and, like Adler's findings, the majority were single culture or comparative studies.

Literature from this period often supported the notion that management practice was contingent on cultural setting but opinions differed as to the basis of difference. Explanations offered included level of economic development, strength of factors in the internal environment (e.g. political, legal), socio-economic circumstances and behaviours and attitudes originating in cultural values, beliefs and norms¹⁶. Cross-

¹⁶ See: Schollhammer (1969), Ajiferuke & Boddewyn (1970); Roberts (1970), Negandhi & Estafen (1975), Whitely & England (1977), Bhagat & McQuaid (1982), Triandis (1982b) and Negandhi (1983).

cultural management was, in general, no more than collected discourse with a cultural theme and no focal point.

As stated earlier, Goodman and Moore (1972) had seen the identification of 'dimensions' of culture as the way forward for cross-cultural management. Various dimensions had been identified in early studies (e.g. Parsons & Shils, 1951; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1973; Hall, 1976.), but none were as widely acknowledged or replicated as that of Hofstede (2001a) who described his study as a 'paradigm shift'.

2.4 DIMENSIONS OF CULTURE

Periodically during the 1970s results of an employee opinion survey conducted across offices of an 'international corporation' reported on cultural differences detected in varying aspects of its organisation life¹⁷. Indeed, at the 18th International Congress of Applied Psychology, a presentation of managerial attitudes made by two employees, Hinrichs and Ferrario, uncovered the corporation as being IBM (see Kraut, 1975). These events were all precursors of what is considered to be a landmark in cross-cultural research, the 1980 publication of *Culture's Consequences*, credited as Hofstede's (1980a) seminal study of culture.

Peterson (2003, pp. 128-129) states that Hofstede's work "... did not create the field of cross-cultural studies, [but it] certainly has shaped the field's basic themes, structure and controversies". It was a catalyst for increased cultural research within organisations where its quantitative methodological framework has become 'the' benchmark and most frequently replicated study in relation to culture (see Kirkman *et al.*, 2006). The significance of Hofstede's work lies in its empirical presentation of universal dimensions illustrating the cultural distance between nations that has underwritten much of the agenda of contemporary cross-cultural management.

¹⁷ i.e. Sirota & Greenwood (1971); Hofstede (1972), Simonetti & Weitz (1972), Hofstede & Kranenburg (1974), Hofstede (1975a; 1975b; 1976b; 1976a), Sadler & Hofstede (1976) and Hofstede (1980b).

While differences between national cultures had previously been noted as a significant factor in international trade, *Culture's Consequences* provided insight into the foundations for such differences. There was already broad acceptance of the need for 'intercultural competence' (Hofstede, 2001a) in dealing with individuals and organisations from different cultures (e.g. Pati & Fahey, 1973; Edström & Galbraith, 1977; Tung, 1981) and Hofstede's work gave it a focus¹⁸. Cross-cultural research now concerned itself with developing and refining the extent and form that cultural differences took, with multitudes of studies conducted in organisations across the globe. Although this implies Hofstede's study was a catalyst for significant improvement in the state of cross-cultural management with several subsequent reviews lauding its progress¹⁹, an appraisal by Tsui *et al.* (2007) concludes that it is still far from achieving a consistent and rigorous approach to its research agendas.

While Hofstede is said to have given cross-cultural management a focus, the changing face of the global economy has given it impetus.

2.5 CONTEMPORARY INFLUENCES ON CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT

The period following the Second World War not only witnessed increased migration and trade between nations but also the emergence of new economic regions and geopolitical changes that have reshaped the world and global business.

The rise of Japan following the devastation of war has been a continuing source of wonderment. Described as a 'miracle', the success of the nation in rebuilding its economy and industries to become a 'superpower' shook the established markets of Europe and North America to their core (Beasley, 2000; Jansen, 2000). Toyota, Panasonic (Matsushita Electric), Mazda, Sony, and Mitsubishi became fierce competitors and their brands household names across the globe. Researchers

¹⁸ Hofstede's study will be presented in the following chapter.

¹⁹ (e.g. Earley & Singh, 1995; Cavusgil & Das, 1997; Werner, 2002; Schaffer & Riordan, 2003; Kirkman *et al.*, 2006; Cheng, 2007; Gelfand *et al.*, 2007; Peterson, 2007; Jack *et al.*, 2008; Prasad *et al.*, 2008; Taras *et al.*, 2009; Brannen & Doz, 2010; Fang, 2010).

investigated them to come to an understanding of the source of their success creating what Keys and Miller (1984; 1994) described as the 'Japanese Management Theory Jungle'. Western organisations quickly sought to emulate them in an effort to remain competitive based on literature that promised significant improvement in performance (e.g. Ouchi, 1981; Pascale & Athos, 1981; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Although Japan's fortunes have waxed and waned, it is still a favourite with researchers and its legacy to organisations lives on in the notion of 'kaizen' as quality management/continuous improvement (see Singh & Singh, 2009), 'kanban' as just-in-time processing (see Sendil Kumar & Panneerselvam, 2007) and 'kieretsu' as organisational structuring (see McGuire & Dow, 2009). Cross-cultural management has continued to find Asia a rich target for research. The rise of the 'Asian Dragons' (or tigers) of Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea also proved a fertile environment for comparative research. More recently this has extended to Mainland China. In all these cases, a central concern has been uncovering the differences between Eastern and Western approaches to organising, managing and participating in global business (e.g. Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Chen, 2009). As will unfold in the following chapter, this East/West dichotomy is a major theme in the literature. The fall of many communist states has also contributed to increased research into culture.

The disintegration of the Communist Block²⁰ forever changed the political canvas and geographic boundaries of Europe. Grancelli (1995, p 5) suggested it was now necessary " . . . to understand the adaptive reactions by social actors in this new context" and cross-cultural management was only too willing to oblige. How these new nations and their organisations coped with their new status and the facilitators/inhibitors to their participation in the global economy has been and continues to be well represented in cross-cultural management (see: Michailova, 2000; Bakacsi *et al.*, 2002; Dickerson *et al.*, 2006). In a similar stream of enquiry, many nations have emerged from under colonial rule (e.g. British, Portuguese, Dutch empires) to reclaim and reconstruct their culture and history. In this domain, specific concerns have been expressed for the

²⁰ Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Romania and the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia)

presumed enduring effects of the hegemony of colonisers on the indigenous culture that has resulted in a post-colonial perspective being applied to these nations. Furthermore, the way in which some social scientists can disregard the views of those they study in preference for the presumed intellectual superiority of their own perspective is also being brought into question as tainting the scholarship of their inquiry²¹.

While this is by no means a comprehensive account of the changes and challenges to cross-cultural management, it does illustrate the complexity of the environment it seeks to investigate. As this thesis progresses the relevance of the evolving landscape of cross-cultural management and the contested nature of culture will become more salient.

It is from the broad, diverse, fragmented and often contentious body of work surrounding cross-cultural management that the ensuing discussion draws in identifying the agendas prevalent in the discipline.

2.6 CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT RESEARCH AGENDAS

A review of the cross-cultural management literature produces four distinct but interrelated research agendas of comparative research, organisational culture, learning in context and cultural interaction.

The first agenda, comparative research, extends beyond that previously identified by Adler (1983b) to one that is dominated by replication of Hofstede's societal dimensions in investigating aspects of cultural differences in organisational contexts (see: Sondergaard, 1994; Kirkman *et al.*, 2006). Leadership, socialisation, organisational citizenship, entrepreneurship, strategic choice, ethical practice, trust, negotiation behaviour, management practice, organisational structure and human resources management are some of the many facets of organisations that have been explored for cultural variation across nations (see: Gannon & Newman, 2002; Punnett & Shenkar,

²¹ (see: Kwek, 2003; Said, 2003; Westwood, 2004; Fougère & Moulettes, 2006; Jack & Westwood, 2006; Westwood & Jack, 2007; Goh, 2008; Özkazanç-Pan, 2008; Prasad *et al.*, 2008).

2004; Tsui *et al.*, 2007; Smith *et al.*, 2008; Thomas, 2008). Each describes the degree of variation offering causal factors such as differing values and beliefs to highlight issues for consideration in establishing an overseas base or engaging with organisations based in other societies with the aim of promoting successful business outcomes²². Boyacigiller *et al.* (2004, p. 114) argue that the cultural dimensions so widely used in comparative research have two critical flaws in (a) assuming nation states are a proxy for culture and (b) that “ . . . culture is a given, single, immutable characteristic of an individual”. This writer agrees, and in Chapter 3 will present the work of Hofstede (1980b; 2001a) and two other large scale quantitative studies in advancing the argument that culture is more complex than can be described by statistically derived dimensions that imply nations are culturally homogenous. Furthermore, these cultural dimensions are only superficially likely to predict behaviour or any other attributes of a cultural other as an individual.

A second agenda, organisational culture, posits the organisation as a distinct cultural entity. Organisational culture surfaced in studies of leadership that depicted leaders as a unifying force in overcoming divisions within the organisational membership, implicitly extending to those based on societal culture, where the leader is often fated as guiding the mission, goals and values of the organisation itself²³. The term organisational culture is now widely used to describe the values, credo, environment and practices of an organisation (Schein, 2004) reflecting its pursuit of an internal culture consistent with accomplishing business-related outcomes and providing the cohesion and solidarity of effort needed to achieve them (Kabanoff & Holt, 1996). Organisational culture was, and is, seen as binding an organisation together with cultural differences at

²² Some of the research has also led to organisational practices of one culture being replicated in another culture. For example, following World War II, the rise of Japan as an economic giant and competitive force drew intense interest in Japanese organisations and management practices (Richter, 1996). Many of their practices have been adopted by Western organisations (e.g. Total Quality Management, Just-In-Time processing).

²³ Many early studies (for examples see review by Bass, 1990) demonstrated that culture was a significant factor in leadership behaviour, goals and strategy. As will be illustrated in Chapter 3 with the GLOBE project (House *et al.*, 2004), leadership studies continue to offer a fertile environment for cross-cultural research (see Smith & Peterson, 2002).

the individual level being subsumed by ‘being’ a follower, implying that a heterogeneous group could be made homogenous and cohesive through the sharing of a common culture (e.g. Stumpf *et al.*, 1994). While the culture of organisations equates to more of a work ethos, it shares common assumptions with conceptions of societal culture as that of the people of a specific country. In Chapter 4 organisational culture as socialisation in the workplace will be explored and, as will become apparent, it too has its limitations.

Culture as learning in context is a third and underdeveloped agenda. The cross-cultural management literature suggests that this learning is a potential source of competitive advantage to organisations and a ‘mother lode’ of creativity (Foldy, 2004). This view steers away from the presumption that culture is explained by reference to dimensions such as those proposed by researchers such as Hofstede, and portrays the individual as a learning agent with the focus moving to what Hutchins (1995a, p. xii) described as “ . . . looking inward to the knowledge an individual had to have to function as a member of a culture”. This cognitive view of culture has an established basis in disciplines such as psychology, sociology and anthropology however it represents only a very small proportion of research in cross-cultural management but one that is gaining some support across a broad range of factors at work in organisational contexts such as motivation, personality, and identity (e.g. Triandis, 2001; Bird & Osland, 2005; Peterson & Wood, 2008; Das & Kumar, 2010b). This view of culture as cognitively derived is the core of the argument in this thesis. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, culture can be conceptualised as an attribute of every individual and is a form of domain knowledge that shares mind space along with knowledge and experience drawn from a variety of different contexts. Furthermore, it explains how individuals come to interpret their environment, attribute meaning and make connections that allow them to apply knowledge across contexts. This is seen as a more reasoned interpretation of the *essence* of culture.

The final agenda, managing cultural interaction, explores what actions organisations take to mitigate the perceived threat of cultural differences in organisational settings and is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

2.7 MANAGING CULTURAL INTERACTIONS

In general, literature in cross-cultural management has led organisations to the realisation that the ‘act’ of cultural interaction is an issue requiring serious reflection. In acknowledgment of this, larger organisations have mandated their (International) Human Resource Management function with responsibility for addressing the problem (e.g. diversity management, see Mathis & Jackson, 2008). A central consideration in managing cultural matters is the incorporation of a democratic approach that champions equity, equality, respect and tolerance for the differences of cultural others in two organisational situations. The first is concerned with the preparation of employees for international dealings and the second, cultural diversity in the workplace.

2.7.1 *INTERNATIONAL DEALINGS AND CULTURE*

As organisations became ‘multinational’ in expanding their operations across borders, their concern was focused on preparing employees, particularly managers, for expatriation to overseas offices. More recently this has extended to ‘hybrid’ organisations such as international joint ventures, mergers and acquisitions and strategic alliances where groups with different cultural backgrounds are brought together (e.g. Gertsen *et al.*, 1998; Matthews, 1999; Stahl & Mendenhall, 2005; Hanges *et al.*, 2006; Ulijn *et al.*, 2010). These different organisational forms are seen as presenting the possibility of societal ‘culture clash’ based on the lack of a shared frame of reference. Anecdotal and descriptive accounts of the failure of such ventures are generally explained as the result of incompatibility between cultural views and often described in terms of dimensions such as those defined by Hofstede (see: Yan & Luo, 2001; Reuer, 2004; Stahl & Mendenhall, 2005; Dunning & Lundan, 2008). Cross-cultural management research has focused on issues such as team performance, cooperation, communication, cohesion, managing cultural differences and other workgroup dynamics

that has informed International Human Resources Management practice in managing cultural issues ‘across borders’ (see: Harzing & van Ruysseveldt, 2004; Sparrow, 2009).

Expatriation, or international transfer of personnel, is a common strategy of organisations as a means of augmenting and transferring technical expertise, ensuring control and coordination of effort in achieving organisational mission and goals, and developing the global perspective of managers²⁴. As the number of international assignments has increased, so have the reports of failure to achieve desired outcomes, although accurate data on the failure rate is not obtainable with organisations reluctant to admit to them (Gooderham & Nordhaug, 2003). Some authors have cited sources suggesting the numbers are significant, as are the attendant financial costs and implications for the reputation and productivity of the sending organisation²⁵. However, even these figures may underestimate the extent of problems in cultural interaction (Harzing, 1995; Johnson *et al.*, 2006) for as Harzing (1995, p. 457) suggests “[o]ne can equally argue that those expatriates who stay their assignment but who fail to perform are (potentially) more damaging to the company”. A significant point made by Kamoche (1997) is that expatriate failure, what ever form it takes, can be regarded as a wasted learning opportunity.

The problems of expatriation appear to be wide ranging with many contributory factors advanced for the poor performance or premature return of individuals from international assignment, and prominent among them is the perceived lack of expatriate preparedness for the cultural differences they will encounter²⁶. While other factors such as poor recruitment and selection of a candidate may equally be a cause of failure, when

²⁴ See: Tung (1982); Bennett *et al.* (2000); Bonache *et al.* (2001), Harzing (2001), Gooderham & Nordhaug (2003), Hocking *et al.* (2004), Tan & Mahoney (2006), Brock *et al.* (2008) and Crowne (2009)

²⁵ Solomon (1996), Eschbach *et al.* (2001), Storti (2001), Jack & Stage (2005), Takeuchi *et al.* (2005), Johnson *et al.* (2006) and Yeaton & Hall (2008).

²⁶ See: Baker & Ivancevich (1971), Black & Gregersen (1991), Naumann (1992), Birdseye & Hill (1995), Shay & Tracey (1997), Martinko & Douglas (1999), Apud *et al.* (2003), Haslberger (2005), Johnson *et al.* (2006), Brock *et al.* (2008), Dowling *et al.* (2008) and Yeaton & Hall (2008)

combined with a lack of knowledge or understanding of the cultural setting, any problems are intensified (Dowling *et al.*, 2008).

A need for cultural empathy is also reflected in the burgeoning number of publications seeking to draw attention to the role of culture in international business, with some titles suggesting the possibility of cataclysmic events should the ill-prepared venture into foreign environments. *When Cultures Collide* (Lewis, 1999), *Culture's Consequences* (Hofstede, 1980a, 2001a), *Culture Clash* (Seelye & Seelye-James, 1995) and *Resolving International Conflict* (Trompenaars, 1996) are some of the more emotive and antagonistic titles, driven by increasing research that depicts 'culture' as quantifiably different across nations. A more dire picture often waits within. For example, according to Seelye and Seelye-James (1995, p. 1):

Culture Clash happens when people from different cultures come into contact. Sometimes, the clash begins before anyone has a chance to properly introduce you, before you even open your mouth. Culture clash can lead to world-class fatigue or even clinical shock or depression.

Grounding in the basics of a culture was identified early as a requirement for successful expatriation with the strategic relocation of personnel considered to be flawed if the organisation fails to provide adequate intercultural training or other mechanisms that prepare and support them (Webb & Wright, 1996; Harris & Kumra, 2000; Morley & Heraty, 2004; Jack & Stage, 2005). Initially few companies offered such programs (Baker & Ivancevich, 1971; Tung, 1982; Brewster & Pickard, 1994) but they have become more popular especially with the availability of web based training solutions (Morris & Robie, 2001). Although, in general, the efficacy of such training initiatives is still unclear (Kealey & Protheroe, 1996; Puck *et al.*, 2008) there is support that they are developing some appropriate skills for overseas postings (Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Bennett *et al.*, 2000; Eschbach *et al.*, 2001; Waxin & Panaccio, 2005). Interestingly, a study by Shen and Lang (2009) of Australian multinationals found that while there was still a lack of recognition of the importance of cross-cultural training there was a growing trend toward the use of frequent short-term assignments allowing employees 'active experimentation' in a culture before any longer term appointment was made by

the organisation. Presumably this also allowed the organisation to assess employee suitability and performance before any decision for expatriation was considered.

Black and Mendenhall (1990) have suggested that theoretical foundations and suitable models to underpin intercultural training are deficient, and Kealey and Protheroe (1996) argued that a lack of academic rigour in empirical research was of concern because it cast doubt over the reliability of the findings. This situation does not seem to have significantly improved if more recent reviews of intercultural training are accurate (see: Mendenhall *et al.*, 2004; Littrell *et al.*, 2006). Nevertheless, the building of intercultural or cross-cultural competence (e.g. Berry *et al.*, 2002; Magala, 2005; Johnson *et al.*, 2006) continues to be a prevailing topic in international business with program models, facilitator skills and qualities, delivery methods, timing, and pre and post training assessment some of the many facets under discussion²⁷. In general there appears to be more concern with developing specific factual and conceptual knowledge rather than building more generic knowledge, skills and abilities that promote a broader, more adaptive competence in dealing with cultural others (Earley, 2002; Johnson *et al.*, 2006).

The particular content of programs appears of less import to the argument in favour of intercultural training programs as little is written about their specifics (Brewster & Pickard, 1994). Much of the discourse is anecdotal or descriptive in illustrating the cultural gaps that exist with many offering generic guidelines for what should be included²⁸. What is missing is discussion of the contextual or situational properties of intercultural encounters for as Selmer (2005, p. 69) points out “ . . . the impact of such training may be contingent on circumstances at the host location, as for example, the organisational context of the foreign assignment”.

²⁷ See: Kealey & Protheroe (1996), Forster (2000), Selmer (2001), Schuler *et al.* (2004), Waxin & Panaccio (2005), Littrell *et al.* (2006) and Brislin *et al.* (2008).

²⁸ For example, Knotts (1989), Bennett *et al.* (2000), Harris & Kumra (2000), Zakaria (2000), Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (2004) and Brislin *et al.* (2008).

Much of the literature notes the ‘fact’ that expatriates will undoubtedly suffer varying degrees of ‘culture shock’ (Forster, 2000; Eschbach *et al.*, 2001; Morley & Heraty, 2004). Therefore, the purpose of intercultural training is to prepare them for what form culture shock may take and arm them with skills to mitigate the risk to the goals of their assignment (Baker & Ivancevich, 1971; Zakaria, 2000). Rather than championing cultural synergy, training appears to lean toward stereotypical learning of rules and processes for cross-cultural interaction and communication where culture becomes ‘implanted cultural software’ promoting instrumental adaptation and the alignment of business objectives (Szkudlarek, 2009). Indeed Szkudlarek (2009, p. 977) questions whether intercultural training develops:

culturally sensitive leaders, who will help to shape the open-minded, tolerant and responsible corporate citizenship of tomorrow . . . [or] ruthless manipulators who apply their intercultural communication skills to pull the wires of international business and politics.

A more moderate view is laying the foundations of cultural sensitivity, where the aim is to ensure that offence is not given and misunderstandings are minimised, although Hanges *et al.* (2006) suggest training in culturally appropriate behaviour does not translate into overcoming differences that have their basis in individual assumptions and understandings about a culture. While essential rules of behaviour and cultural taboos may be specified for most cultures and elaborated on in formal training, sensitivity is only built through experience within the cultural context and through meaningful relationships with cultural others who can assist with the process of enculturation. Furthermore, although Kuin (1972, p. 89) describes the ‘magic’ of the multinational organisation as its “. . . ability to produce open, positive employee attitudes toward other nationalities and cultures”, his comment identifies somewhat of a void in the literature in how this is facilitated and supported, leaving in doubt the veracity of his claim.

In this section the discussion has focused on expatriates as personnel sent from ‘head office’ to some foreign location. Often this process is reversed in multinational organisations. Referred to as inpatriation (Williams *et al.*, 2010), select personnel from

overseas offices are temporarily transferred to the home country to develop their skills and knowledge of the organisations' operations. Also, in situations such as International Joint Ventures, staff may be exchanged to facilitate cooperation and collaboration. As these do not fit the traditional brand of expatriate, Kamoche (1997) argues they have been overlooked in terms of both the problems they face and the learning opportunities they present. Indeed, he sees any assignments to international locations as building knowledge that may be of value in both source and destination organisational contexts. One author who has noted these knowledge sharing opportunities is Crowne (2009) who argues that if organisations are not capitalising on them then they are not only losing knowledge that is valuable in a global market but they are also failing to capitalise on their investment.

There is no doubt that there is a need for intercultural competence as 'we' move across actual and virtual national boundaries to work with 'them'. What is at issue is how best to achieve cross-cultural understanding such as that espoused by Evanoff (2004) whose approach goes beyond adaptation to creating a new and shared cultural reality based on an ethical constructivist approach. He believes this requires reflection by both sides of the cultural divide as:

it cannot be assumed that individuals from different cultures will automatically arrive at a shared perspective on the basis of shared understandings, values, or reasoning strategies, common ground can nonetheless be constructed through a dialogical process in which both sides critically reflect on what is positive and negative within their respective traditions and imaginatively seek to integrate positive aspects of both traditions into a wider conceptual framework (Evanoff, 2004, p. 449).

The creation of this type of 'virtual third culture' (Szkudlarek, 2009) may be some way off as it holds only a peripheral position in thinking on cultural interaction. A position reinforced by cross-cultural management in its preoccupation with what divides cultures over what unites them ensuring intercultural training follows suit.

Where expatriates are assumed to need specialist soft skills in order to survive the clash of cultures while on assignment, demographic changes within societies have resulted in

the multicultural workplace where organisations now grapple with the integration of peoples from many cultures into one cohesive workforce.

2.7.2 DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

Organisations in countries with high migrant intakes have often sought ways of achieving cultural harmony in the workplace. In the 1970s, the increased multiculturalism of Australia raised the issue of cultural diversity and, supported by the *Race Discrimination Act 1975*, it took measures to promote a more inclusive and cohesive society. As Bean (2006) points out, Australian public sector and community organisations invested in cross-cultural training due to economic, legal and social pressures with the aim of preparing individuals to “ . . . interact appropriately and effectively with culturally diverse customers and co-workers” (Bean, 2006, p. 2). In the private sector many organisations followed suit by rolling out ‘diversity training’ to accomplish outcomes supporting tolerance and respect for those from different cultural backgrounds and which also eventually addressed social justice issues such as age, gender and disability²⁹ which have continued to be a focus of Australian governments and organisations through to the present time. The USA faced similar challenges in its multicultural workforce but their response was more prescriptive.

Drucker (1969) wrote of (American) management’s ‘new role’ in harnessing culture in the face of growing diversity in the workplace. America, a country whose population is also largely the product of migration, has long pursued programs supporting cultural diversity in the workplace. Driven by the Civil Rights and Women’s Liberation movements, much of the early literature is dominated by diversity as the legal requirement underpinning Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity³⁰. The approach to these issues is managed through ‘discrimination-and-fairness’ (Ely & Thomas, 2001) that rejects any discriminatory practices based on age, nationality,

²⁹ Based on legislation such as: *Australian Human Rights Commission Act 1986*, *Age Discrimination Act 2004*, *Disability Discrimination Act 1992* and *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*.

³⁰ See discussions by: Pati & Fahey (1973), Johnson & Welch (1976), Thomas (1990), Cox (1993), Ferdman & Brody (1996) and Shore *et al.* (2009).

ethnicity, disability, religion and gender, and is often used to service mandated diversity levels. Compliance failure often seeks remedy within the legal system (Kilgore, 1985; Lynch, 1992; Delikat, 1995; Overmyer-Day, 1995) and therefore diversity training has become one way in which organisations seek to mitigate risk of litigation.

The considerable increase in diversity training in the USA since 1987 is now more often attributed to the publication of *Workforce 2000* (Johnston & Packer, 1987) which predicted substantial demographic changes in the workforce and urged organisations to plan ahead for this expected shift (Johnston & Packer, 1987; Hemphill & Haines, 1997; Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 1997; Zanoni *et al.*, 2010). Cultural diversity was also becoming evident in the consumer base of organisations, many of which saw the opportunity to appeal to market segments through staffing practices that mirrored the consumer demographics of those segments. Termed the ‘access-and-legitimacy’ perspective (Ely & Thomas, 2001) workforce diversity was now a method for promoting organisational effectiveness and competitive advantage that improved an organisation’s ‘bottom line’ (Overmyer-Day, 1995; Kochan *et al.*, 2003; O’Leary & Weathington, 2006; Marquis *et al.*, 2008). Diversity training to support this perspective is no different to that of ‘discrimination-and-fairness’ programs administered across organisations, though conceptually it appears a more exploitative approach that creates other diversity issues by ‘pigeonholing’ individuals through matching little understood knowledge and skills with niche markets (Thomas & Ely, 1996).

A less discussed perspective is ‘integration-and-learning’ where the knowledge, skills and experiences of cultural others are posited as a resource that can add value to an organisation through a differentiated view of the world (Thomas & Ely, 1996; Ely & Thomas, 2001). With an open-minded approach to the ideas and opinions of cultural others, new knowledge and insights are made available to the organisation. According to Thomas and Ely (1996, p. 85, original emphasis):

it enables them to *incorporate* employees’ perspectives into the main work of the organization and to enhance work by rethinking primary tasks and redefining markets, products, strategies, missions, business practices, and even [organisational] cultures.

Like ‘discrimination-and-fairness’ and ‘access-and-legitimacy’, ‘integration-and-learning’ has its foundation in the tenets of equality and equity. Unlike them it also embodies the belief that cultural differences can provide an opportunity for learning. Diversity training may help build the foundation of ‘integration-and-learning’ but to succeed it requires an organisational environment that releases its potential. This environment makes employees feel valued, encourages personal development, and provides an atmosphere where openness, high standards, clearly defined goals and an egalitarian approach are essential (Thomas & Ely, 1996). Significantly, these conditions are similar to those often associated with organisational culture (discussed in Chapter 4) where, how organisations position themselves in utilising their ‘human capital’ is an extremely active and important area of research within the greater body of literature (e.g. Senge, 1990; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Argyris & Schön, 1996). The view of diversity as a source of new knowledge promoting creativity and innovation is often alluded to but rarely discussed in terms of its facilitation³¹. The overriding interest is the consequences of culture for business. Managing these consequences lays with the Human Resources Management function of ‘diversity management’ that D’Netto and Sohal (1999, p. 531) describe as an emphasis on:

building specific skills, creating policies and drafting practices that get the best from every employee. It assumes a coherent environment in organisations and aims for effectiveness, productivity and ultimately competitive advantage. Through effective integration of diversity management principles in the key human resource functions of recruitment and selection, training and development, performance appraisal and remuneration, an organisation can effectively manage workforce diversity.

As this quotation illustrates, the emphasis is on the Human Resource Management practice to deal with diversity and therefore the traditional, pre-cultural issues of managing and developing resources have simply been reinforced with policy measures that are legally compliant and mitigate the risk of cultural conflict (see Mathis & Jackson, 2008). Essentially cultural others are ‘groomed’ in line with organisational requirements and obligations.

³¹ Some exceptions are: Ospina (1996), Foldy (2004), Chavez & Weisinger (2008) and Weissenberger-Eibl & Schwenk (2009).

Diversity in the workplace is becoming a pressing issue of organisations in nations around the world³². However discussion is dominated by the view that culture must be ‘managed’ and in the first instance managed through diversity training programs (Chavez & Weisinger, 2008). The value of such programs in laying the foundation for an effective and inclusive organisation and multicultural workforce is far from clear³³. Indeed, Armitage (1993, p. 3; cited in Rynes & Rosen, 1995) observed that “ . . . organizations are scrambling to develop training programs but find little concrete guidance”. In organisational contexts, diversity has become a pillar of organisational culture as a means to homogenise the workforce, thereby minimise the characteristics of difference at the individual level and mitigating legal risks (Kalev *et al.*, 2006; Özbilgin, 2008; Zanoni *et al.*, 2010). Cultural diversity is therefore subsumed beneath an overarching philosophy that promotes the equity and equality of all. This is no less true of the knowledge of cultural others. In seeking heterogeneity, the use of ‘best practice’ methods essentially marginalises cultural others’ knowledge as a narrow view of what represents value to the learning of the organisation. A contrasting view of ‘managing for diversity’ which champions all individuals’ uniqueness, supports cooperative learning among them, and builds an inclusive organisation plays only a minor role (Chavez & Weisinger, 2008).

2.8 CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT AND ORGANISATIONAL NEEDS

In 1993, Adler (1993) saw the role of cross-cultural management as one of searching for better understanding of cultural differences leading to improved interaction between co-workers. Since that time, it can be argued that the understanding and improvement promised is at best superficial, with organisations overly influenced by cross-cultural management literature that is “ . . . replete with foreboding, representing cultural

³² For example, France (Valla, 2007; Klarsfeld, 2009), Switzerland (Ostendorp & Steyaert, 2009), Germany (Süß & Kleiner, 2007), South Africa (Human, 1996; Thomas & Bendixen, 2000), Sweden (Hamde, 2008), Brazil (Fleury, 1999), China and Taiwan (Wu & Chiang, 2007), Malaysia (Bhopal & Rowley, 2005), India (Ratnam & Chandra, 1996) and Sub-Saharan Africa (Nyambegera, 2002).

³³ See: Noe & Ford (1992), Paskoff (1996), Von Bergen *et al.* (2002), Roberson (2006) and Holvino & Kamp (2009).

differences and even culture, plain and simple, as fiendish causes of . . . corporate undoing” (Søderberg & Holden, 2002, p. 105). More significant is that cultural others are not seen as a differentiated source of knowledge organisations can find value in, suggesting an ethnocentric view of what constitutes the ‘right’ knowledge. As it stands, cross-cultural management seems to be satisfied with the measurement and management of culture-as-difference based on a research goal that Holden (2002, p. 27) describes as “ . . . largely normative – to advance general action instructions that may predict and thus minimize integration problems and promote more effective managerial action”.

The intercultural interaction agenda described in this chapter is evidence of this narrow focus where the concern is with advocating better ways of facilitating cultural harmony and cooperation as a function of (International) Human Resource Management while championing democratic principals that promote respect and the rights of others (see Mathis & Jackson, 2008). It is noteworthy that this agenda is the primary source for practice in regard to dealing with cultural others in organisational contexts. Other agendas noted earlier in this chapter either underpin it (i.e. comparative research), connect with it (i.e. organisational culture) or fall outside mainstream concerns espoused in the current literature (e.g. culture as learning in context). Essentially the cultural interaction agenda is the principal source that informs organisational actions, or more correctly their (International) Human Resource Management function, in matters relating to cultural others. Its message is that we ‘need to know’ the extent of these differences in order for integration to be realised, conflict minimised and organisational efficiency and effectiveness promoted. With the advent of globalisation this message is an important one, but not the only one that organisations should be made aware of.

It can be accepted that expatriates need to know how to survive ‘culture shock’ and manage in their new environment to achieve the goals of their assignment. It can be accepted that workers need to know how to accept differences in others and work considerately and cooperatively with them. However, prescriptive approaches in simply ‘managing away’ cultural differences has limited the relevance of cross-cultural

management to today's organisations where cultural diversity is played out on a daily basis at the team level. Cross-cultural management has become rooted in a functionalist tradition (Lowe, 2001; Jack *et al.*, 2008). Cultural dimensions that expose distance between cultures, and which will be the focus of the following chapter, are deemed definitive and provide the framework by which cultural others are judged. As Kirsch argues (2001, p. 20):

categorization of individuals in groups has been treated causally, yielding explanations and expectations of individual skills and behaviors on the basis of category membership, assuming that all group members share the same set of experiences, skills and interests.

Cross-cultural management has ostensibly become a forum dedicated to descriptive, behaviourist perspectives of culture and therefore not connecting to the practice of the very individuals it seeks to serve. Leung *et al.* (2005) have signalled this as the effect of a simplistic conception of culture supported by equally simplistic views of its effects and advocate broader research agendas drawn from advances in alternative perspectives of culture and international business.

The purpose of this chapter was to contrast the views of cross-cultural management with the needs of modern organisations. The literature indicates that the overwhelming concern of organisations is the perceived detrimental effects of culture-as-difference and a preoccupation with controlling for it. As practitioners, the voices of organisations are infrequent in the literature, and even then more often articulated by consultants (e.g. Bean, 2006; Bowes, 2007; Day, 2007; Spiers, 2008a; Wong, 2008). Indeed, the main sources of literature for cross-cultural management are academic institutions around the world. This would indicate that the discipline as a whole has become stagnant in supporting a self-perpetuating, myopic agenda based on 'traditional' research interests to the virtual exclusion of competing views of culture evident in other disciplines, such as psychology, sociology and anthropology. Shore *et al.* (2009, p. 127) argue:

Scholars have spent a significant amount of time studying diversity from a reactive stance. Such a stance has historical and present-day merit as prejudice and discrimination are still serious problems in society. However, this approach does not seem to have yielded positive results for individuals or organizations. Diversity is typically viewed as something

to deal with or manage. In fact, in both practice and research, communications about diversity have been inundated with negative wording such as 'abide by', 'accommodate' and 'tolerate'. . . . In order to move forward, we need to change our originating paradigms which are primarily negative, emphasizing discrimination and victimization, to explore diversity from a more positive and proactive standpoint. Questions, such as when and in what ways diversity aids in organizational success, move the focus from management and control to opportunity and possibility.

These statements are directed at diversity in the workforce, and expatriation as 'culture shock' shares the same pessimistic idea of culture as a one-dimensional proposition of culture-as-difference. Generally, optimistic views of cultural others as individuals, and any value they may add in organisational contexts, is marginalised by the weight of research and opinion to the contrary. Bartholomew and Adler (1996, p. 52) also seem disenchanted with cross-cultural management when they state:

To date, the academic community, by itself, has remained primarily dedicated to single culture and comparative research, which, while still necessary, is no longer sufficient – and therefore no longer relevant – for the competitive environment of today's transnational firm.

Another point of significance is the focus on (International) Human Resource Management professionals as the principal agents in managing cultural issues³⁴.

The role of (International) Human Resource Management professionals has been clearly defined by cross-cultural management. The literature suggests that they are expected either to prepare employees for the culture shock of overseas postings or to negate any unfavourable outcomes that may arise through diversity in the workforce. In managing cultural issues properly the assumption is that conflict will be reduced. Although there are themes in the literature suggesting that culture can be an asset to organisations, for example as exposure to different perspectives that can result in learning (e.g. Ely & Thomas, 2001), these are not reflected in the current mandate of (International) Human Resource Management. Furthermore, rarely are the needs of organisational personnel with day-to-day responsibility for cultural others directly articulated or addressed. It

³⁴ For example, Kamoche (1997), Briscoe & Schuler (2004), Harzing & van Ruysseveldt (2004), Kossek *et al.* (2006), De Cieri (2008), Dowling *et al.* (2008), Mathis & Jackson (2008) and Sparrow (2009).

could be assumed that this may be incorporated into training and education programs, but these too are also likely to be based on the same simplistic views of culture as those presented here, and therefore less likely to promote the synergy required to access the fuller repertoire of the knowledge, skills and experiences of cultural others.

Much of the discussion in this chapter has focused on the narrow view of culture evident in the cross-cultural management literature. This view is driven by research that has isolated culture to a few facets that can be demonstrated to have significant variation across nations. As Leung *et al.* (2005, p. 374) state:

a simplistic view of culture tends to examine static influence on a few cultural elements and contextual variables. For instance, much of the research inspired by the Hofstede dimensions falls into this category.

2.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has provided an overview of the origins of cross-cultural management and the factors that have contributed to its rise as a significant field of research important to organisations and researchers alike. A review of the cross-cultural management literature revealed four distinct but overlapping research agendas of cultural interaction, comparative research, organisational culture and learning in context.

In this chapter the first of these agendas, cultural interaction, was explored to uncover the perspectives and concerns of organisations where they anticipate contact with cultural others. It was found that, by and large, there was a perception that cultural others presented a challenge to organisational harmony and efficiency that must be met with pre-emptive measures to mitigate the risks they presented. Research, as investigation into expatriation and workplace diversity, has reinforced this perception, virtually to the exclusion of any more moderate positions. Alternative views such as those offered by Crowne (2009) and Thomas and Ely (1996) of cultural interaction as an opportunity for learning are few and far between and are overwhelmed by the culture-as-difference to be managed perspective.

To better understand the foundation of cross-cultural management and the dominance of the culture-as-difference perspective, the following chapter examines the second agenda of comparative management. This chapter examines the study of Hofstede (1980a; 2001a) and two other large scale studies commonly cited in the literature, all of which focus on culture as the product of societies. The remaining two agendas (i.e. organisational culture, learning in context) will be the subject of chapter subsequent to this.

CHAPTER 3: COMPARATIVE RESEARCH AND CULTURE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter identified and explored the ‘cultural interaction’ agenda of cross-cultural management in dealing with cultural others in organisational contexts. This chapter investigates ‘comparative research’ as another important agenda identified in Chapter 2 and one which represents the chief influence on the cultural interaction agenda. Furthermore, this chapter lays the foundation for discussion in following chapters of the two other cross-cultural management agendas identified in Chapter 2 of ‘organisational culture’ and ‘learning in context’.

This chapter presents and critiques three major research studies that have underwritten much of the discourse in cross-cultural management and therefore can be considered paradigm cases. All three studies have relied on survey data collected from organisational personnel in uncovering the essence of culture and have attracted both support and criticism. As will become apparent, the need to isolate the significant dimensions of culture and measure their extent has driven a perspective of culture-as-difference that is pervasive in cross-cultural management.

Before discussion of these studies, this chapter briefly introduces anthropological views of culture to position the three studies against their theoretical foundations.

3.2 ANTHROPOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS

The fascination with cultural others has a long pedigree driven by explorers engaged in ‘empire building’ and ‘voyages of geographical discovery’ (Erickson & Murphy, 2008). Encounters with people and societies who were ‘different’ generated thought around what defined humanity and explained culture, becoming the discipline of Anthropology (Sperber, 1985; Moore, 2004). An often cited definition of culture that illustrates its encompassing nature is offered by the eminent English anthropologist Tylor (1889, p. 1) who said “[c]ulture . . . taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole

which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”. Three main categories of the origins of culture have emerged from anthropology: (a) culture as evolutionary; (b) culture as the product of socialisation and (c) culture as cognitive.

Initially culture was seen as an evolutionary process³⁵ of natural selection and adaptation; the human ability to survive and find a ‘niche’ in the world through solving ecological challenges (Keesing, 1974; Ingold, 1992). One perspective was to see culture as a linear progression by a society through stages³⁶ that signalled humankind’s passage through time and space (Keesing, 1974; Lesser, 1985; D’Andrade, 1995). Alternatively it was seen as ‘diffusion’ where culture arose from contact between societies where ‘foreign’ culture is gradually assimilated, spreading from one society to another (Sahlins, 1968; Sapir, 2006; Rosman *et al.*, 2009). These views of culture as evolutionary are preserved in the works of Engels (1943), Malinowski (1944), Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1973) and Boas (1940) amongst others. It is a view which still attracts a large degree of interest in academic circles with new areas of application emerging, particularly in light of effects of new technology, mass media and migration³⁷. Culture has also been conceptualised as the effects of socialisation.

The socialisation perspective is more interested in the role of social phenomena in the development of culture in both primitive and contemporary societies (Crothers, 2002; Evans-Pritchard, 2004). Social phenomena can be said to include observable behaviours, institutions, relationships, characteristics, or other elements of a society that integrate to form culture and underpin its transmission from one generation to the next (D’Andrade, 1995). Durkheim (2007) described culture as the established realities of a

³⁵ Sometimes referred to as ‘Social-Darwinism’ (Berry *et al.*, 2002).

³⁶ For example, the work of Morgan (1877) who described seven stages of development from ‘savagery’ to ‘civilisation’.

³⁷ For example, the Neo-evolutionism movement of the mid 20th century (see: Sutton & Anderson, 2004).
Also see: Orlove (1980), Durham (1990), Pels (1997), Roseberry (1997), Levitt (1998), Sahlins (1999), Scoones (1999); Lewis (2001) and Geertz (2002).

society that unconsciously coerce the way individuals think, feel and act, manifested in practices, institutions and beliefs that constrain individual action and steer it toward predictable behaviour. Culture from this perspective is ‘systems of thought’ (Moore & Sanders, 2006) which combine human experience and result in a ‘common body’ of values, beliefs, norms, attitudes and meanings that become integrated into the fabric of a society (Evans-Pritchard, 2004). Theorists such as Radcliffe-Brown (1931), Lévi-Strauss (1963), Mead (1928) and Geertz (1973b) are some of many who have contributed to this perspective. As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, this conceptualisation of a culture is suggestive of the cultures that organisations seek to create in homogenising their workforce.

The ‘cognitive revolution’ (Gardner, 1987) took a cerebral view of culture questioning whether it could be shared, transmitted and reproduced were it not for the internal machinations of individuals (Quinn & Strauss, 2006) as “[c]ultural groups are formed not just by physical proximity of individuals but by relative participation of individuals in each other’s conceptual world” (Sharifian, 2003, p. 188). Rather than simply acknowledging that social and mental processes produce cultural symbols, meaning and knowledge, the mental processes themselves are the object of inquiry (Linger, 1994; D’Andrade, 2001; Henrich & Boyd, 2002). Essentially this view of culture proposes that ‘cognitive representations’ are the shared aspects of culture whereby learners within a culture attach similar meanings to terms and artefacts within their society (Romney & Moore, 1998; Goodenough, 2002). Notable contributors include Strauss and Quinn (1997), Tyler (1969), Goodenough (1956) and D’Andrade (1995). This last category of cultural inquiry will be the focus of Chapter 5 in presenting a cohesive account of the complexity of culture at the level of the individual.

As this brief overview suggests, anthropology has produced a range of views on culture. Many have emerged from ethnographic and qualitative studies that have seen researchers immersed in the life of other societies or communities providing a rich knowledge base from which studies of culture in the business context have drawn.

However, unlike anthropology, studies of culture and business have used different strategies and narrower frames of reference in studying its manifestations.

The three studies discussed in the following sections rely on quantitative measures that focus on values and/or practices. The studies selected are Hofstede's *Culture's Consequences*, Trompenaars' *Riding the Waves of Culture* and the GLOBE project conceived by Robert House. Each study has sought to uncover the *essence* of culture by using methodologies that are similar in some ways but unique in others. All three have also devised dimensions that they believe reflect the substantive elements of culture that will permit comparison across nations. In addition, the respondents in each study were drawn from organisational contexts and in Hofstede's case across one organisation. What is also noteworthy is that the work of Trompenaars and GLOBE was influenced by Hofstede's work and therefore it is appropriate that the first study to be discussed is Hofstede's as it has both stimulated and underpinned much of the subsequent research into cross-cultural management (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998; Triandis, 2004; Smith, 2006; Taras *et al.*, 2009).

3.3 HOFSTEDE AND CULTURE'S CONSEQUENCES

Since the publication of *Culture's Consequences* in 1980 it has become one of the most cited pieces of cultural research across many disciplines (Kirkman *et al.*, 2006). Hofstede's (1980a; 2001a) research was based on responses to two employee attitude surveys conducted across IBM's substantial global workforce during the period 1967 to 1973³⁸. His hypothesis was that as all respondents were employees of IBM, any variation in responses would highlight cultural value differences at the national level due to socialisation before joining the organisation (Hofstede, 2001a).

According to Hofstede (1991) culture is the 'collective mental programming' we share with some individuals but not others. Furthermore, "[b]y the time a child is ten, most of

³⁸ The survey resulted in completed questionnaires from 72 countries, in 20 languages, giving a total of some 116,000 responses (Hofstede, 2001a)

his or her basic values are probably programmed into his or her mind” (Hofstede *et al.*, 1990, p. 312). Hofstede blends anthropological views of culture as evolutionary (i.e. historically based) with culture as the product of socialisation (i.e. learned values and behaviour). He compares culture to the layers of an onion with values at the core and cultural practices observable by others (i.e. rituals, heroes and symbols) forming outer layers (Hofstede, 2001a).

Hofstede’s initial research focused on work related values and revealed four dimensions of culture: *Power Distance*, *Uncertainty Avoidance*, *Individualism/Collectivism* and *Masculinity/ Femininity* to which a later study added *Long term/Short term Orientation*. Statistical analysis of individual and group level data was then aggregated to country scores for each dimension. These dimensions are described in the following sections.

3.3.1 *POWER DISTANCE*

The dimension of *Power Distance* measured ‘the search for truth’ (Hofstede & Bond, 1988) as the extent to which individuals expected and accepted unequal distribution of power (Cheung & Chan, 2008), and specifically related to the superior-subordinate relationship as the degree to which individuals accepted centralised power and relied on those above to provide structure and direction (Rodrigues, 1998). The questions used for *Power Distance* targeted employee’s perceptions of their current superior’s leadership style³⁹, their freedom to express disagreement with them and their preferred style of leadership (Hofstede, 2001a). The findings indicated that in high *Power Distance* countries (e.g. Malaysia), organisations supported deep hierarchies and exerted more authority over employees who therefore expected direction in their tasks. In contrast, low *Power Distance* countries (e.g. Austria) were more egalitarian, had a flatter structure and a consultative approach in valuing openness and employee experience. Hofstede’s second dimension was *Uncertainty Avoidance*.

³⁹ Drawn from Tannenbaum and Schmidt’s (1958) leadership patterns to describe the behaviour of managers (Hofstede, 2001a).

3.3.2 *UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE*

Uncertainty Avoidance is the extent to which individuals feel threatened by ambiguity and try to avoid it (Adler, 1997). Hofstede (2001a) suggests that each society has built mechanisms for coping with the unknown that provide a measure of confidence about life. In organisational contexts, these mechanisms are the technology, rules and rituals that promote social cohesion and are observable in day-to-day functions such as meetings, reporting procedures and career training (Hofstede, 2001a). To measure this dimension Hofstede used responses to questions on rule orientation (whether rules should be broken), employment stability (intention to stay with the organisation short/long term), and stress levels. High scores on *Uncertainty Avoidance* (e.g. Greece) indicated greater levels of stress and therefore a desire for rules and regulations and a preference for long term employment (Hofstede, 1984, 2001a). Low *Uncertainty Avoidance* cultures (e.g. Singapore) tend to apply themselves to situations as they arise, taking pride in their ability to confront a situation without formalised rules or processes (Hofstede, 1991). The third dimension, *Individualism/Collectivism*, is one of the most widely researched dimensions of culture predating even Hofstede's work (see Earley & Gibson, 1998).

3.3.3 *INDIVIDUALISM/COLLECTIVISM*

Individualism/Collectivism is conceptually the easiest dimension to grasp as it relates to whether individuals see themselves as either independent or interdependent of a social or work group (Thomas *et al.*, 2003). This can be seen as a predisposition toward either emphasising the interests of the individual on the one hand, or the group on the other (Hofstede, 1983, 1984). Individualistic cultures are perceived as achievement orientated with goals that realise personal (e.g. higher pay, social status) and professional advancement (e.g. greater power, recognition). Conversely, collectivistic cultures are more concerned with the needs, wellbeing and harmony of the group favouring loyalty based relationships. Work goal questions were used to measure *Individualism/Collectivism* focusing on the relative importance of 'intrinsic' factors, or what an organisation does for the employee promoting dependence, over 'extrinsic' ones as the employee's independence from the organisation in promoting self interest

(Hofstede, 1991, 2001a). Data analysis indicated wealthy, urban and industrialised nations were more individualist (e.g. United States) and poorer, rural, often agrarian nations more collectivist (e.g. Guatemala). According to Hofstede (1991; 2001a), organisations that engender individualist values base their human resourcing decisions on the skills and abilities of the individual. In contrast, collectivist organisations base their human resourcing decisions on maintaining group cohesiveness and dynamics with employees more likely to be directed in their work than manage themselves. The last of the four original dimensions is *Masculinity/Femininity*.

3.3.4 *MASCULINITY/FEMININITY*

In analysing the work goal questions, Hofstede noted that there were significant differences between the options selected by men and women that resulted in the *Masculinity/Femininity* dimension. As ‘gender role patterns’ (Hofstede, 2001a) they uncovered “ . . . the extent to which cultures emphasize so-called ‘masculine’ qualities of assertiveness, ambition and competition over more ‘feminine’ ones of modesty, caring and solidarity” (Geletkanycz, 1997, p. 620). Women favoured ‘social goals’ such as helping others, building relationships and the physical environment in contrast to men who indicated that ‘ego goals’ associated with career, recompense and recognition were more important (Hofstede, 2001a). At the country level, social goals were rated more highly by females, and ego goals by males, leading Hofstede (1991) to declare that on average men were ‘programmed’ with tougher values than women. His dimension placed Japan as the most masculine culture and Sweden the most feminine.

The preceding four dimensions were derived from the original IBM research by Hofstede (1980a), however this was extended to include a fifth dimension, *Long Term/Short Term Orientation*, in the second edition of *Culture’s Consequences* (Hofstede, 2001a) to redress the ‘Western bias’ associated with the original survey.

3.3.5 *LONG TERM/SHORT TERM ORIENTATION*

Social scientist Michael Bond and fellow researchers jointly authored a paper (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987) reporting the results of a survey with a decidedly Chinese

ethos as a means to redress the cultural bias they believed was inherent in past surveys designed by ‘Western minds’ (Matthews, 2000; Hofstede, 2001a; Lowe, 2001). The Chinese Value Survey (CVS) questions were composed by Chinese researchers to measure value preferences in their society and were founded in the work of Confucius (551–479 BC). As Gabrenya (1996, p. 309) states, the Confucian system regulates social behaviour through principles of benevolence, righteousness/justice and propriety/courtesy and is therefore “ . . . a useful heuristic for describing the professed values of Chinese people”. Analysis of responses produced four cultural dimensions, three of which correlated with Hofstede’s (2001a) dimensions while a fourth, Uncertainty Avoidance, did not⁴⁰. However, a new dimension emerged that was not present in Hofstede’s work, *Confucian Dynamism*, which identified values of future orientation⁴¹ and past/present orientation⁴². After collaborating with Bond, and recognising the lack of balance between Eastern and Western perspectives, Hofstede (2001a) included *Confucian Dynamism* in his work as a fifth dimension of national culture, *Long Term/Short Term Orientation*⁴³.

Long Term/Short Term Orientation is the extent to which actions are driven by more dynamic, future-directed needs as opposed to more static, present needs (Hofstede, 1991; Chong & Park, 2003). From an organisational perspective this dimension identifies contrasts such as gaining long term market position versus short-term profit, synthetic thinking (combining ideas) as opposed to analytic thinking and deferred gratification over immediate fulfilment (Hofstede, 2001a). Using CVS data, Hofstede was able to rank 23 countries relative to one another with most Asian cultures

⁴⁰ Hofstede’s comment on the missing dimension of *Uncertainty Avoidance* was that “ . . . it seems the Chinese do not believe this to be an essential issue” (Hofstede & Bond, 1988, p. 16).

⁴¹ Perseverance, status ordered relationships, thrift and sense of shame (Hofstede & Bond, 1988).

⁴² Personal steadiness and stability, shaving face, respect for tradition and reciprocating greetings, favours and gifts (Hofstede & Bond, 1988).

⁴³ The reason given for renaming of the dimension was that of the 23 countries surveyed for this dimension, at best only six had heard of Confucius and not all Confucian principles were covered by the questionnaire (Hofstede, 2001a; Ashkanasy *et al.*, 2004).

gravitating toward long-term orientation (e.g. China) where it was observed that there was a strong link with economic growth⁴⁴ (see: Hofstede & Bond, 1988).

The five dimensions offered by Hofstede have provided the foundation for thousands of studies in differing contexts, however Baskerville (2003) argues it is a case of ‘paradigm myopia’.

3.3.6 COUNTING THE CONSEQUENCES

The first release of *Culture’s Consequences* (Hofstede, 1980a) heralded a renaissance in the study of culture. Hofstede’s framework has had a profound and lasting effect, and been a ‘guiding light’ and foundation for better cross-cultural theory building (Hunt, 1981; Sekaran, 1983; Fernandez *et al.*, 1997; Bhagat, 2002; Baskerville, 2003), however there is a tendency to gloss over the shortcomings noted by several authors active in cultural research.

After its initial release Hofstede’s (1980a) work attracted criticism on a number of levels. The survey data used was originally collected for the purposes of gauging employee morale within IBM which was perceived as a major problem in restricting the scope of true cultural inquiry. A significant concern was the use of one multinational’s subsidiaries which implied an artificially homogeneous culture that may not truly be representative of a nation’s culture (Cooper, 1982; Portwood, 1982) particularly since employees had been selected by the organisation’s own personnel department (Goodstein, 1981; Hunt, 1981; Triandis, 1982a). Likewise, as a study of values, it was questioned whether those espoused in an organisational context could be assumed as equally prevalent in the wider society (Baumgartel & Hill, 1982; Triandis, 1982a) for as Taras and Steel (2006, p. 6) state “IBM has a strong distinct organizational culture and this impact on employees’ work-related values is a potential problem”.

⁴⁴ This significance of this is that Confucian principles are lauded as a key factor in ‘The Asian Dragons’ economic prosperity; however in the past this has also been given as a reason for their ‘backwardness’ (Hofstede, 2001a; Eckhardt, 2002).

The sole use of questionnaires was also raised as a limitation in that the meanings attributed by respondents in choosing answers could not be followed up through qualitative methods that validated understanding of questions (Hunt, 1981; Triandis, 1982a), although Triandis (1982a) does acknowledge that as a *post hoc* analysis of existing data this was a virtual impossibility. It was also suggested that there was a lack of clarity in regard to relationships between what the dimensions purport to measure and the questionnaire items used to create them (Hunt, 1981; Schooler, 1983) as these were obfuscated by interpretations of differences based on historic, economic, educational and demographic factors that are not evidence but inferential conclusions as ‘antecedent-factor-consequent’ (Portwood, 1982; Triandis, 1982a; Silvers, 1986) making little contribution to practice or theory (Cooper, 1982). The number of dimensions was also seen as too few to represent the complexity of culture (Goodstein, 1981; Triandis, 1982b).

Despite these criticisms the number of studies replicating and supporting Hofstede’s cultural dimensions continued to grow (see: Sondergaard, 1994; Kirkman *et al.*, 2006). This has lead some to suggest that it has been adopted widely and uncritically (Lowe, 1996; Baskerville, 2003; Baskerville-Morley, 2005) in a ‘stampede’ to use what is perceived as ‘the’ accepted framework which in many cases led to inappropriate use and inaccurate results (Lowe, 2001; Sivakumar & Nakata, 2001; Eckhardt, 2002; Kirkman *et al.*, 2006; Taras *et al.*, 2009). Hofstede (2001b, p. 15) also appeared troubled by this stampede when he stated:

The disadvantage of replication and extension studies is that they are caught in the straitjacket of my model, and therefore unlikely to make new contributions.

The study’s high adoption rate may in part be due to its scope and complexity which was beyond anything previously undertaken (Baumgartel & Hill, 1982; Silvers, 1986). This, coupled with a sample size and country spread that was more comprehensive than anything done before or since (Kirkman & Law, 2005; Nakata, 2009; Taras *et al.*, 2010a) appears to have captured the imagination of those seeking the ultimate measure of cultural distance.

The second edition of *Culture's Consequences* (Hofstede, 2001a) attempted to address many of the issues that had been raised, as well as incorporate additional material to broaden relevance, reinforce validity and maintain dominance in cultural studies. Countries excluded in the original data were added⁴⁵ as well as chapters on organisational culture, cultural interaction, application of dimensions and, as indicated earlier, the inclusion of an additional dimension (*Short-term/Long-term Orientation*) to redress Western bias. Despite reservations about replication and extension of his model, Hofstede included many studies that had confirmed his results as evidence of the veracity of the model and its findings. This generated a new wave of criticisms - some old, some new. Data from a single research method renewed calls for the need for multi-method approaches to validate and give depth to the dimensions (e.g. Schwartz, 1999; Bhagat, 2002; Straub *et al.*, 2002; Peterson, 2007; Taras *et al.*, 2010a) which was also seen as a way of addressing the lingering doubts surrounding the consequences of using one multinational's subsidiaries (e.g. Schwartz, 1994; Steenkamp, 2001; Berry *et al.*, 2002; Eckhardt, 2002; McSweeney, 2002). Hofstede's use of data manipulation, aggregation and statistical factor analysis to support his value dimensions was also noted by some as a reason for caution (e.g. McSweeney, 2002; Baskerville, 2003; Gerhart, 2008; McSweeney *et al.*, 2010) with Ailon (2008, p. 893) going so far as to state:

[c]orrelations were celebrated even if quite a bit of statistical manipulation was needed to bring them into existence. . . . [Hofstede] did not set out to explore the manifestations of cultural paradoxes and value contradictions but to search for countable, graphable elements that could be statistically manipulated to produce an image of order and reason.

Criticism has also continued on Hofstede's use of historic, economic, educational and demographic generalisations as the rationale for all forms of cultural differences (e.g.

⁴⁵ Initially Hofstede only included countries with a 'reliable' sample size however by 2001 he had given this further thought and concluded that "[i]n spite of the fact that the country scores added were based on fewer respondent than those in the initial set of 40, there was not evidence that they were less reliable. They fit smoothly into the four dimensional framework developed from the 40 country set, demonstrating the robustness of the framework" (Hofstede, 2001a, p. 52).

Eckhardt, 2002; McSweeney, 2002; Peterson, 2003). A more fundamental problem, and one that is increasingly noted, is Hofstede's narrow conceptualisation of culture.

It is argued here that Hofstede's (1980a; 2001a) work has attracted many valid criticisms. His cultural framework was based largely on functionalist anthropological thought of human groups satisfying similar physical, social and psychological needs therefore developing collective traits that became integrated into a whole labelled society (e.g. Parsons & Shils, 1951; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1973; Parsons, 1977). Hofstede's view of culture is often criticised as being a static, simplistic view out of touch with the culturally heterogeneous contexts of a globalised world and now often coupled with calls for culture as the equivalent of nation state to be abandoned⁴⁶. It is argued here that Hofstede's stance on culture as historically grounded values that remain stable over time is itself a cultural product conceived in a different time and place. It could not, and does not, account for the substantial changes that have taken place in the cultural demographics of nations (and workplaces), geographic changes (e.g. break up of the Soviet Union), social transformations (e.g. South Africa⁴⁷), the effects of globalisation and the spread of technology in the 40 years since the data was collected and therefore, as others have noted⁴⁸, the data is a relic of a time passed.

In attempting to find universally applicable dimensions, Hofstede's study is limited by its functionalist approach to culture as a residual artefact of history that can be explained through cause and effect relationships (Fougère & Moulettes, 2006) that emphasise differences over similarities (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Signorini *et al.*, 2009) and do not take into account context (Douglas & Craig, 2009). The value dimensions reflect only

⁴⁶ See discussions by: Tayeb (2001), Eckhardt (2002), Holden (2002), McSweeney (2002), Myers & Tan (2002), Straub *et al.* (2002), Baskerville (2003), Leung *et al.* (2005), Askegaard *et al.* (2009), Earley (2009), Nakata (2009), Signorini *et al.* (2009), Fang (2010) and Taras *et al.* (2010a).

⁴⁷ A study of 586 managers in South Africa (Thomas & Bendixen, 2000) indicated there had been a significant change in Power Distance, Individualism/Collectivism and Masculinity/Femininity scores since the dismantling of apartheid, illustrating how a more permanent change in a society's values can occur.

⁴⁸ Fernandez *et al.* (1997), Holden (2002), Smith (2002), Baskerville (2003), Kwek (2003), Fougère & Moulettes (2006), Javidan *et al.* (2006), Taras & Steel (2006), McSweeney *et al.* (2008), Nakata (2009), Signorini *et al.* (2009), Fang, 2010 (2010) and Taras *et al.* (2010a).

certain aspects of the complexity of culture in isolation from their context and are unfairly generalised as an East/West dichotomy. Even the inclusion of *Long-term/Short-term Orientation* in the second edition has failed to redress perceptions of a Western bias⁴⁹. As Jacob (2005) argued, it is unclear how value components of this dimension typify Confucian values to the degree that a clear philosophical distinction can be made between Western and Eastern cultures. Many are now arguing that a more dynamic conceptualisation of culture is needed that moves beyond the search for cultural universals, breaks from the conception of culture as immutable ‘software of the mind’ and expands the theoretical knowledge base of cross-cultural management⁵⁰.

Hofstede’s own study was drawn from anthropology but his work is largely ignored by the discipline, and as Hofstede (2003) has pointed out, this has been lamented by one anthropologist who ‘crossed over’ to the world of business (i.e. Chapman, 1997). However, Hofstede (1991, p. 250) seemed to want to distance himself from anthropological traditions when he wrote:

Cultural anthropology has resorted to the participant observation method because this is the only way of collecting information about isolated and preliterate societies. . . . Valid information on national culture differences between literate and easily accessible societies can more readily be collected from indirect sources - like national statistics and the results of comparative surveys

What he fails to acknowledge is that aggregated data to produce a ‘quantitative map of culture’ (Bing, 2004) does not demonstrate its complexity and situatedness. Furthermore, as Taras *et al.* (2009, p. 370) argue:

the qualitative approach has been successfully used for centuries and remains the main mode of enquiry in anthropology, the original field of cross-cultural studies. With the increasing popularity of the quantitative approach to studying any social phenomenon, including culture, are we limiting the richness of the data we work with? Quantitative approaches are useful for making comparisons across cultures but often fail to capture the unique variance that is specific to a few or only one culture alone.

⁴⁹ Sivakumar & Nakata (2001), Eckhardt (2002), Straub *et al.* (2002), Kwek (2003), Fougère & Moulettes (2006), Ailon (2008), Szkudlarek (2009), Fang (2010) and Taras *et al.* (2010a).

⁵⁰ Lowe (2002), Sackmann & Phillips (2004), Leung *et al.* (2005), Earley (2006), Yeganeh & Su (2006), Bjerregaard *et al.* (2009), Fischer (2009), Signorini *et al.* (2009) and Fang (2010).

Hofstede's (2001a, p. 4) definition of culture as 'collective programming of the mind' raises concerns especially when he adds "[t]o be equipped for life, humans need a period of intensive programming by their social environment". His assumption is that culture is relatively stable because individuals are programmed to think and act in certain ways based on the dominant values in their society. It is argued here that this also highlights an underlying belief that cognitive processes are limited to thinking in cultural ways and assumes that as a fixed mindset learned early in life, cultural programs remain largely unchanged and need to be 'unlearned' (Hofstede, 2001a) before new experiences and learning can replace them. Even Hofstede's allowance of unique mental programming as individual personality only extends as far as the choice between alternative behaviours rather than values. This conforms to the view of the brain as a 'blank slate' where learning is the passive storage of data for later retrieval and does not countenance any meaning attached to what is learned. This in part explains why Hofstede finds the averaging of questionnaire items and their aggregation by country unproblematic in defining culture as a national tendency. With advances in the social sciences, more consideration should be given to the utility of Hofstede's dimensions given they are based on such a narrow conceptualisation of culture and learning.

There is not doubt that Hofstede's research has provided significant impetus for cultural studies in organisational contexts and will continue to play a role in cross-cultural research. However, this author believes it has had unfortunate consequences in portraying culture as only differences that are a source of conflict. In doing so, more optimistic views of cultural interaction based on similarities have been overlooked. Furthermore, when it is assumed that cultures are largely homogenous based on shared mental programs, any observations of a lack of homogeneity are also couched in pessimistic terms by Hofstede (1991, pp. 10-11):

[i]n modern society they [mental programs] are partly conflicting . . . Conflicting mental programs within people make it difficult to anticipate their behaviour in a new situation

This view implies cultural heterogeneity is conflict exacerbated by an inability to control for its consequences that in larger scale interactions between countries only result in an even more difficult situation.

Hofstede's work was intended as a stepping-stone from which better and more targeted research and theory building could flourish. However, it has yet to reach that potential. In part, this shortfall is due to Hofstede's overly protectionist defences of his 'scientific' findings (Fougère & Moulettes, 2006; Ailon, 2008) and a rather dismissive approach to those who criticise any aspect of his study (e.g. Hofstede, 1996, 1997, 2002, 2003, 2006). More importantly, failure to re-examine his findings through the lens of more contemporary theories of cultural 'programming' illustrates sensitivity to disconfirmation of his findings. Combined, these issues do not strengthen his contribution to cross-cultural studies, only highlight further weaknesses in its assumptions.

Although Hofstede's cultural dimensions have provided the impetus for the study of culture they offer only a simplified view that is not particularly helpful to organisations in an increasingly globalised world. However, Hofstede is not the only researcher to adopt the 'culture equals nation' perspective. Another stalwart (Jacob, 2005) of large scale cultural studies is Trompenaars who conducted similar research in an effort to develop a more comprehensive account of culture.

3.4 TROMPENAARS AND THE WAVES OF CULTURE

In the preface to the second edition of *Riding the Waves of Culture* (1998) Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998, p. xii) state "[by] defending [Hofstede's] 25-year-old model, we found an extra impetus to go beyond 'plotting' differences, to develop a method of taking advantage of these differences through reconciliation". The premise is that culture should be viewed as shared meanings within and between societies (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). This study, while acknowledging aspects of evolutionary and social anthropology, is the only one of the three presented in this

chapter where culture is viewed as contextually bound and cognitively derived⁵¹, but these aspects of the research remains largely unexplored.

Like Hofstede, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner conceive of culture as the layers of an onion as shown in Figure 1.

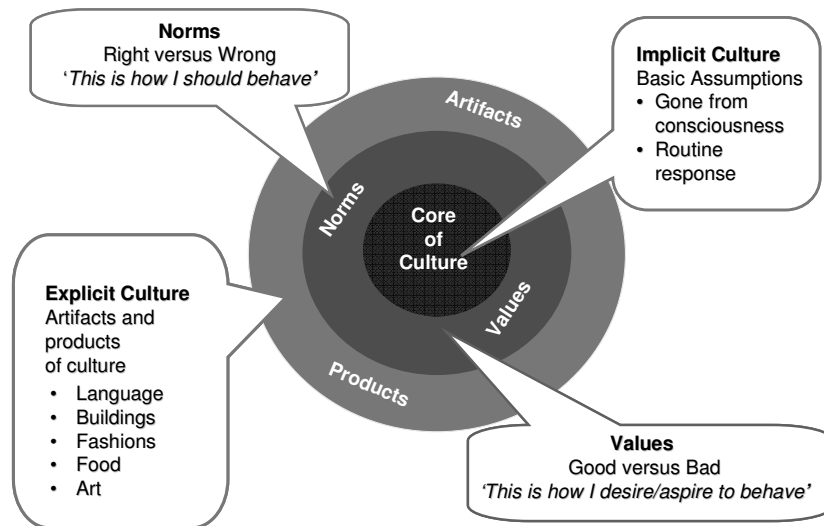


Figure 1: Waves of Culture Model

(Source: Adapted from Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, pp. 20-24)

The outer circle is ‘explicit culture’, the symbolic manifestation that can be observed by ‘outsiders’ beneath which lie norms (formal laws or informal social mores) and values as choices from existing alternatives. At the ‘core of culture’ are the implicit assumptions that underpin the satisfaction of needs and maintain the human condition. The two inner circles represent the formation of culture where experience and interaction with the environment builds an ‘organisation of meaning’ applied to everyday situations (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Simply stated, societies

⁵¹ Trompenaars’ (1985, p. 116) original dissertation extended to culture as meaning mediated by the brain by contrasting the functions of the left and right hemispheres as “. . . each one of the two hemispheres of man’s brain specialises in certain functions: the left brain seems to specialize in verbal, analytic, logical, and rational thinking, whereas the right brain displays rather non-verbal, synthetic, intuitive, and emotional trains of thought”. His contention was that cultures favoured one or other side in attributing meaning.

face similar challenges but deal with them differently due to diverse frames of reference built from unique interpretations of learning and experience.

Riding the Waves of Culture (Trompenaars, 1993; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998) reports the results of continuing data collection and analysis that started with Trompenaars (1985) Doctoral Dissertation and by the second edition of the book had grown to a dataset of some 30,000 surveyed individuals (mainly middle managers) employed by 30 companies in 50 countries (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998)⁵². The data analysis identified seven dimensions, grouped here as ‘relationships with others’ and ‘time and nature’. Unlike Hofstede’s framework, the dimensions do not represent ‘static points’ on a scale but fluid states where “. . . cultures **dance** from one preferred end to the opposite and back” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, p. 27, original emphasis).

3.4.1 RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS

The first dimension, *Universalism/Particularism*, is the degree to which rules are applied in a relationship. The complexity is in the strength of the relationship which in turn affects an individual’s judgement in a given situation. At the universalist pole, rules, codes, laws and generalisations apply regardless of a situation as ‘the one best way’, while at the particularist end, exceptions and special circumstances lead to a case-by-case judgement and subsequent application of the rules (Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003a; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2004). As a characteristic of cultures, individuals in a nation may be predisposed toward one pole of the axis or the other, however “. . . the two extremes can always in a sense be found in the same person” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, p. 43). Using scenarios from which respondents chose from one of two options, data analysis showed Eastern nations gravitating toward particularism where the focus is on relationships with others and flexibility in approach that translates into treating each situation and individual

⁵² The addition of Charles Hampden-Turner as co-author only occurred with the publishing of the second edition of the book.

according to circumstance. Western countries were more universalist indicating a predilection toward equality and consistency where rules are applied ‘across the board’ and, at least in the workplace, relationships are a secondary consideration, if at all (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998).

Individualism/Communitarianism is similar to Hofstede’s *Individualism/Collectivism* in that it attempts to surface a nation’s preference for either advancement of the individual or the community by measuring how individuals relate to one another in the conflict between self-interest and the welfare of the group (Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003a; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2004). The three scenarios used to measure this dimension indicated that many Western nations were more inclined toward individualism and Eastern ones communitarianism but there was by no means a clear-cut divide with a few nations going against the trend of societies perceived as culturally similar to them (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). By and large, the findings for *Individualism/ Communitarianism* supported Hofstede’s *Individualism/Collectivism* as a common value spectrum within cultures (Hofstede, 2001a).

The *Neutral/Affective* dimension refers to the nature of the approach in dealing with others. From the neutral perspective there is greater control and restraint of emotions, almost dispassionate or detached, demonstrating a reasoned approach that seeks an equally neutral response (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, 2004). At the other end of the axis is the affective dimension where emotion is plainly evident through facial expressions, gestures and emotive language that in turn evoke a direct, emotional response (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, 2004). A single scenario, ‘You are upset by something that happens at work. Would you reveal your feelings openly?’ was used to gauge countries on this dimension (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2004). There was no distinct East/West divide with the majority of countries falling in the mid range of the scale (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Given this research is based on individual judgement when faced with a dilemma, the non-specific nature of the cause of the ‘upset’ may indicate that the question itself led to a ‘middle of the road’ response.

The *Specific/Diffuse* dimension is the degree to which a relationship is specific to areas of life, or extends beyond them (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). For example, a person may defer to the authority of a more senior colleague in the workplace, but not outside of it. Based on the work of Lewin (1936), a specific orientation regards the individual as seeing a sharp separation between what is private, as a small inner sanctum where only those closest are permitted, and a large public outer space segregated along lines of relationship through activity (e.g. sport, school, work). In the workplace this constitutes shared public contexts governing interactions, where the relationship and strength of commitment is bounded by the specific context (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Those gravitating toward the diffuse end overlap both public and private worlds therefore relationships and commitment span both. At the extreme, this can translate into superiors in an organisation having just as much authority over and responsibility for subordinates outside of the work environment as they do in it.

The *Specific/Diffuse* relationship was again measured using scenarios. One in particular clearly illustrated how tests devised by ‘western minds’ can harbour preconceived ideas about eastern cultures and highlights a lack of contextual understanding. The scenario described a ‘boss’ wanting a subordinate to help paint his house with respondents asked to choose between helping (specific) or not helping (diffuse). An East-West split was evident with Eastern countries more likely to help and Western less likely to do so. The authors relate how they were surprised by the score for Japan (medium-high Diffuse) which was so different from their Asian neighbours. Follow-up interviews with a few Japanese uncovered the fact that Japanese did not, in fact, paint their houses (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Nevertheless, the dimension did generally confirm less differentiation between ‘home’ and ‘organisation’ in Eastern societies.

Achieved, as status gained through what you do, and *Ascribed*, as status based on what you are, form the last relationship dimension (Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003a). Status that is ascribed can be based on education, social or family connections, profession, age or other criteria that relate to ‘being’, while achieved indicates status

earned through ‘doing’ (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Respondents were asked whether they strongly agreed or disagreed as to whether respect came from family background specifically or was the result of individual merit. Significantly, of the 47 countries, none agreed that respect depended on family background (*Ascribed*) although some were evenly divided. Furthermore, only nine scored just below the mid point for individual merit and were considered only ‘very broadly’ ascriptive (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). The conclusion was that this dimension clearly illustrated the ‘dance’ of individuals along dimensions as:

[t]hose who start by ascribing usually exploit their status to get things done and achieve results. Those who start by achieving usually begin to ascribe importance and priority to the persons and projects that have been successful (Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003a, p. 75).

3.4.2 *TIME AND NATURE*

Attitude to time is the relative importance cultures give to the meaning of the past, present and future and the relationship between them (Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003a). The premise is that time is an ‘idea’ that cultures conceive of differently (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). More primitive cultures measure time through such events as change of season and lunar/solar movements while more advanced cultures use calendars and timepieces to measure the passing of time (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, based on research by Cottle (1969), measured ‘time horizons’ as the boundaries separating the past, present and future by asking respondents to use time segments (e.g. seconds, days, years) to complete statements that defined when their past, present and future began and ended (e.g. My past started 30 years ago and ended 5 minute ago). These statements sought to uncover whether cultures favoured short-term or long-term planning for the future (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). There was no clear distinction along the East/West lines as with Hofstede’s (2001a) *Long term/Short term Orientation* but then his focus was on how Confucian values influenced a culture’s time orientation. Attitude to time was concerned with only the perception of time, however one interesting observation was made. In Hofstede’s (2001a) findings Pakistan was deemed

to have the lowest long term orientation but Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) ranked it as having one of the highest time horizons (Ashkanasy *et al.*, 2004; Jacob, 2005). This paradox illustrates how cultures apply different meanings to concepts such as time depending on their context which highlights how culture is more multifaceted than unilinear dimensions can describe (Jacob, 2005).

According to Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998; 2003a) cultural differences are also apparent in attitude to the environment as something that must be dominated (*Inner-directed*) or submitted to (*Outer-directed*) by humans. Two views were elicited, the first a personal view (fate) and the second a societal view (nature) as the distinction between whether “ . . . people’s fates rest in their own hands or the wider human system” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2004, p. 125). For controlling nature, the vast majority of the 48 countries (94%) believed it was best to ‘go along’ with nature (*Outer-directed*) indicating acceptance of the fact that nature cannot be controlled but that to varying degrees it is possible to live in harmony with it (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). The personal view indicated there was strong support for being master of your own destiny (*Inner-directed*) with 90% of countries scoring over the mid point of this scale. A degree of East/West dichotomy was present with many Asian and Middle Eastern nations found toward the outer-directed pole of ‘Nature’ and the inner-directed end of ‘Fate’, although not exclusively so. A most interesting aspect of this dimension is the comparison between the ‘societal’ view of nature and the ‘personal’ view as fate in some countries. Individuals in nations encompassing less than hospitable regions and a highly structured society, often enforced by strong leadership, tended to feel more at the mercy of the elements and their societies than nations with more moderate climates, societal structure and leadership.

Through contrasting how individuals perceived control of these aspects in their lives, this dimension exposes internal factors that have moulded societies and formed the cultural perspective of their citizenship. This is one of the facets of Hofstede’s work that is lost in the dimensions themselves but is found in his supporting arguments (e.g. discussion of Power Distance and political systems: Hofstede, 2001a). Climate, politics

and ideology are some of the ‘invisible dimensions’ of culture. When internal environments are stable dimensions could be seen as largely enduring, but dimensions are no more than a snapshot of a society ‘as was’ at a point in time.

3.4.3 *EBBS AND FLOWS OF CULTURE*

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998, p. 6) believe that “culture is the way in which a group of people solves problems and reconciles dilemmas” derived from Schein’s (2004) definition of organisational culture. This view has its basis in Trompenaars’ (1985, p. 2) dissertation that dealt with the “ . . . interrelationships of culture and the way people assign meaning to the structure of organizations. . . . [culture] refers to the way people given meaning to the things around them”. Implicit in this is that people interpret ‘things’ rather than the interpretation being externally represented and learned. What is surprising, especially for its time, is that Trompenaars’ (1985) dissertation explored the concept of culture through the functioning of the left and right hemispheres of the brain in interpreting the external world that can result in a seemingly endless variety of meanings attributed to the same situation. This is the basis for the ‘dance’ of cultures along dimensions; however the insightful use of the brain was omitted from *Riding the Waves of Culture*.

Riding the Waves of Culture was aimed at business as means of promoting the

genuinely international organization . . . in which each national culture contributes its own particular insights and strengths to the solution of worldwide issues and the company is able to draw on whatever it is that nations do best (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, p. 12).

In highlighting how the dimensions related to relatively unique attributes of culture, the body of the book used case study stories to compare and contrast the interaction of cultures toward diagnosis of difference and opportunity for reconciliation (Mendonsa, 1999). However, it fails to deliver on the promised synthesis of culture in that it essentially presents a series of formulae for managing cultural diversity that to some degree just succeeds in perpetuating models as stereotypical behaviour. More troubling are the ‘tips’ for recognising difference and doing business in other cultures which

Mendonsa (1999) sees as a particularly worrying aspect that may encourage 'unsophisticated managers' to treat those cultures according to average tendencies⁵³. In presenting the accumulated data as another study with a 'nationalist orientation' of culture as nation state, it failed to address the sub-cultures that can and do exist within countries (Lester, 1993; Mendonsa, 1999). Although it does not portray dimensions as static scales on which nations are ranked, it also did not explore the conceptual properties of the 'dance' of culture that lead to differentiated meaning. In part, these criticisms can be seen as the result of the insights lost from the original work of Trompenaars (1985). Regardless, the work was well received as a practitioner focused publication (Darlington, 1994; Mendonsa, 1999), filling the gap between the 'analytically inclined' and the vacuum in practical management literature on the manifestations of culture in business (Keaney, 1997; McIntosh, 1999), but it could have been so much more.

As stated earlier, Trompenaars' (1985) dissertation was originally based on a cognitive view of culture as meaning mediated by functions of the brain. In embracing this view he was better situated to explain cultural meaning as knowledge and experience gained in a specific context. Instead of expanding on this in his subsequent research and incorporating later advances in cognitive theories of learning to support it, the premise was omitted completely in favour of what he considered to be going beyond Hofstede's model by use of definition alone. What he succeeded in doing was to reduce his initial proposition of meaning to the 'dance' by individuals along dimensions, implying variability within cultures without explanation of why this might occur. This author believes that by omitting the cognitive quality of the original thesis the latter work lost its distinctive quality that for some made it just another replication and/or extension of Hofstede's original dimensions (e.g. Lester, 1993; Hofstede, 1996; Mendonsa, 1999; Carr, 2004). As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, the inclusion of culture as learning in context could have greatly enhanced this work and distinguished it from similar studies such as those described in this chapter.

⁵³ Bell (2006) makes this observation about values dimensions in general.

Naturally, this work drew comparison with Hofstede's and foremost among them was Hofstede himself who critiqued the first edition of the book. The title of Hofstede's (1996, p. 198) review, *Riding the Waves of Commerce*, says much about his perception of the book as "... a fast food approach to intercultural diversity and communication". Hofstede reanalysed the data and concluded that not only did the questions not support the dimensions but that there was only limited support for seven anyway (Hofstede, 1996), although Earley (2006, p. 927) suggests that the number of dimensions is of little consequence in general. In addition, Hofstede (1996) also believed the methodology used was poor and that the data was inadequate, incomplete or erroneous. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner rebutted much of what they called 'the-world-according-to-Geert' on the grounds of viewing culture from different perspectives (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 1997). Considering the original research was predicated upon culture as cognitively derived meaning, this was an accurate statement. However, Hofstede's (1997) subsequent response indicated he was unmoved by the argument leaving the impression of a 'turf war' more than an intellectual debate.

In the second edition of *Riding the Waves of Culture*, an appendix by Woolliams (1998) sought to redress these criticisms and in the view of this writer, not convincingly so. Explanations were limited, out of context with the dimensions therefore losing their impact and relevance, and lacked transparency of methodological rigour so noticeable in Hofstede's offering. As stated earlier, Hofstede's (2001a) research was a stepping stone, and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner used it to move on, if only a little. In general, their conception of culture did highlight some differences and illustrate the contextual and multifaceted properties of culture not evident in Hofstede's research, but not decisively so. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) did attempted to distance their work from the idea of culture as static by using 'The Rainbow Nation' of South Africa as an example of the value shifts that can be experienced by nations. This additional chapter amounted to little more than a superficial treatment of the complex issues that had reshaped that nation, which Keaney (1997) described as almost an afterthought.

There are parallels between Hofstede's (2001a) dimensions and those of Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998). However, they cannot be directly compared because their approaches, assumptions and conceptions of culture are different, as is the audience, writing style and presentation of the respective publications. *Culture's Consequences* is an academic text with an overwhelming scientific presentation whereas *Riding the Waves of Culture* is aimed at organisational personnel faced with cultural dilemmas that presents an alternative view of cultural differences and seeks to demonstrate the benefits of finding commonalities through reconciling those differences. Ironically, despite Hofstede's criticism of the commercial nature of *Riding the Waves of Culture*, he also succumbed to the need to broaden market appeal by publishing *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (Hofstede, 1991) that presents a succinct account of his findings.

The third and final research study to be discussed is that conducted by GLOBE and its search for a 'Culturally Endorsed Implicit Theory of Leadership' (House & Javidan, 2004).

3.5 PROJECT GLOBE

As noted in the preceding chapter, research in management and leadership practice has played a significant role in the development of the discipline of cross-cultural management. Worldwide observations of different management styles and leadership behaviours and their effects have surfaced cultural factors at both the societal and organisational levels. The GLOBE⁵⁴ study is illustrative of how leadership and management research continues to influence cross-cultural management in seeking dimensions of culture that predict behaviour, but on a far larger scale. The definition of culture arrived at by the GLOBE researchers reads:

⁵⁴ Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness.

The most parsimonious operationalizations of *societal* culture consists of commonly experienced language, ideological belief systems (including religion and political belief systems), ethnic heritage, and history (House & Javidan, 2004, p. 15).

This definition places the GLOBE study alongside that of Hofstede (2001a) in viewing culture as both evolutionary and the product of socialisation, although socialisation in this case is perceived as including a degree of cultural convergence due to globalisation. The survey specifically focused on the relationship between leadership behaviours and cultural attributes, with the primary purpose of forming a ‘Culturally Endorsed Implicit Theory of Leadership’ (House & Javidan, 2004). A more recent study than the two previously discussed, data was gathered between 1994 and 1997 from some 17,370 middle managers across 951 non-multinational organisations in 62 countries (House & Hanges, 2004). The project was initially based on the ‘inherited’ dimensions of Hofstede (Grove, 2005). However, the analysis of data from two pilot studies resulted in a deviation from Hofstede’s framework of five dimensions to one of nine (House & Javidan, 2004).

The GLOBE survey also had unique qualities that make it stand out. Firstly, 179 ‘social scientists’ from each of the 62 participating countries formed the ‘GLOBE community’ (House & Javidan, 2004). They contributed to the development of survey questions, validation of words and phrases to minimise ambiguity in translation, participated in data analysis and administered the survey in their respective countries (Hanges & Dickson, 2004; House & Javidan, 2004; Javidan *et al.*, 2006), a collaborative effort seen by many as a desirable quality in cross-cultural research⁵⁵. Secondly, the survey instrument itself had distinctive features. It explored culture at both the organisational and societal levels as well as differentiating between practices (i.e. the way things are done) as the tangible aspects of culture, and values (i.e. the way things should be done) as the intangible basis of culture (Hanges & Dickson, 2004). In addition, societal culture and organisational culture were surveyed separately using different groups of respondents, although only societal culture will be discussed in this chapter. Lastly,

⁵⁵ (e.g. Boyacigiller & Adler, 1991; Teagarden *et al.*, 1995; Peterson, 2001; Tsui, 2004; Von Glinow *et al.*, 2004; Meyer, 2007).

analysis and presentation of the results provided a differentiated view of a country's position on a dimension.

Hofstede (2001a) ranked countries along a scale for each dimension suggesting they should be interpreted such that countries whose scores are close are culturally quite similar while those at the top and bottom were the least alike. What is not transparent is how much of a spread in scores is representative of significant cultural distance⁵⁶. In contrast, GLOBE used banding to group together countries where the differences in scores were not 'meaningfully significant' therefore reducing the tendency to over interpret a country's position on their scales (Hanges *et al.*, 2004). The bands themselves however represent a significant difference between groups and therefore countries. The following sections look at the societal dimensions and results found by GLOBE.

3.5.1 DIMENSIONS OF HOFSTEDE

Power Distance is the degree to which a country sanctions inequality through the stratification of its society (Carl *et al.*, 2004). GLOBE found that countries who registered a higher *Power Distance* score for practices also desired a more equitable distribution of power on the values scale, while those who scored lower placed less emphasis on the need for power balance (Carl *et al.*, 2004). An interesting hypothesis of GLOBE was that countries with a large immigrant population such as Australia, Canada and the USA would score lower on *Power Distance* than nations with a lesser migrant intake (Carl *et al.*, 2004). This hypothesis was supported with those countries clustered closely in the same band at the lower end of both values and practices scales. In comparing results to those of Hofstede (2001a), GLOBE researchers found a strong positive correlation with societal practices, but a significantly negative one for values leading them to conclude that Hofstede's results reflected societal practices not values

⁵⁶ For example, on the *Power Distance* index Australia scored 36. The closest scores to this are those of West Germany, Great Britain and Costa Rica all with 35, the Netherlands with 38, Canada with 39 and the USA with 40. This leaves the question of whether the variation in scores between 35 and 40 are significant or not.

(Carl *et al.*, 2004). In addition, comparison of the relative positions of countries showed a marked change in some societies in the years between the two studies. For example, Malaysia, at the top on Hofstede's *Power Distance* scale, appeared in the same GLOBE band as Australia indicating that there was no meaningful difference between scores. In both studies Australia scored relatively low on *Power Distance* pointing toward a major change in the power relations of Malaysian society (see: Hofstede, 1991; Carl *et al.*, 2004).

GLOBE measured *Uncertainty Avoidance* in terms of the emphasis placed on “ . . . consistency-orderliness, structured lifestyles, explicit specification of societal requirements and societal regulations” (De Luque & Javidan, 2004, p. 626). In comparing the two measures of *Uncertainty Avoidance*, this characteristic was more evident in values than practices. In general, those high on the value scale reported less incidence of uncertainty in their practices, while those recording mid to low value scores showed a greater preference for reducing uncertainty through regulation and structure of practice (De Luque & Javidan, 2004). While carrying the same name, this dimension was virtually impossible to compare with that of Hofstede due to his aggregation of variables, only one of which was values based, therefore the two measures were not the same (De Luque & Javidan, 2004). This point is reinforced by comparing Hofstede's (2001a) ranking of Japan (high *Uncertainty Avoidance*) and the USA (low *Uncertainty Avoidance*) whereas GLOBE banded them the same in values and Japan lower in practices. The researchers infer this exposes a flaw in Hofstede's measurement, also noted by others, that when drawn to his attention becomes a debate over qualitative analysis methods (De Luque & Javidan, 2004).

3.5.2 SHADES OF HOFSTEDE

The GLOBE pilot studies indicated a different approach to Hofstede (2001a) in measuring the individualist/collectivist and masculine/feminine characteristics of societies. *Individualism/Collectivism* became two distinct dimensions of *In-Group Collectivism* measuring “ . . . the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty and interdependence in their families” (Gelfand *et al.*, 2004, p. 463) and *Institutional*

Collectivism that considered whether group allegiance overrode individual ambition and whether the role of rules and practices encouraged collective behaviour (Gelfand *et al.*, 2004; House & Javidan, 2004).

All countries surveyed rated *In-Group Collectivism* values and practices higher than those for *Institutional Collectivism* with values scored higher than practices suggesting there was a perceived need for more collectivist values in societies across nations (Gelfand *et al.*, 2004). As Gelfand (2004, p. 466) expresses it, “. . . the less a society practices collectivism and emphasizes collective goals and interests, the more it values societal collectivism”. *In-Group Collectivism* produced remarkably similar results to Hofstede’s (2001a) *Individualism/Collectivism* with many of the same countries inhabiting the collectivist and individualist poles of the respective studies although a few countries (e.g. Hong Kong) appear to have become less collectivist over time (Gelfand *et al.*, 2004). These results may reflect the significant research that has been done into the concepts of individualism and collectivism across many cultures and over many years that has more clearly defined its nature (e.g. Earley, 1989; Kagitcibasi, 1994; Triandis, 1995; Oyserman *et al.*, 2002) with the two GLOBE dimensions further adding to this knowledge through illustrating not only the durability of certain aspects of these dimensions but also in highlighting hitherto unknown variability between countries based on the values/practices and in-group/institutional differences.

On the basis that Hofstede’s (2001a) *Masculinity/Femininity* had subsumed ‘underlying dimensions’ (Den Hartog, 2004) three distinct measures of *Assertiveness*, *Gender Egalitarianism* and *Performance Orientation* were developed to quantify cultural tendencies across populations (not genders). *Assertiveness* measured whether aggressive qualities and toughness are encouraged (practices) or should be encouraged (values) within societies. For practices, all countries clustered around the middle of the scale but were far more polarised on values with almost two thirds preferring less assertiveness, possibly concerned with the need for societal cooperation and integration, while the remaining third desired more assertiveness suggesting a need dispel a perception of weakness; however GLOBE suggested that this may reflect the

‘managerial’ views of participants more than the greater society in which they live (Den Hartog, 2004). Despite being an underlying dimension, the results for *Assertiveness* were comparable with Hofstede’s (2001a) *Masculinity/Femininity* with countries high on the GLOBE practice scale high on Hofstede’s masculinity scale, however, like *Power Distance*, there was no correlation with values which supported the notion that Hofstede had in fact measured practices.

The extent to which gender role differences are minimised and equality promoted within a society is the focus of GLOBE’s *Gender Egalitarianism* dimension. Rather than measuring masculine/feminine attributions, GLOBE’s scales gauged the extent to which biological sex affects (or not) the allocation of roles within a society (Emrich *et al.*, 2004). Not unexpectedly the practice scale indicated that no society was dominated by the female gender, although based on the mean score of practices there was ‘modest’ support for some roles being allocated based on biological sex (Emrich *et al.*, 2004). Overall, societies desired more gender egalitarianism than current practices supported, although Emrich (2004) suggests that this may again be middle managers responding in socially desirable ways.

Performance Orientation is the degree of support and reward for innovation, high standards and performance with results indicating that all countries value these attributes but their societal practices lag well behind (Javidan, 2004). Javidan (2004) speculates that the disparity between values and practices is due to the values scale reflecting a need ‘to belong’ to a successful society or its perceived ‘social desirability’ therefore the assessment of current practices falls well short of these expectations. However, at this stage, the concept of performance at the societal level is neither fully defined nor developed (Javidan, 2004).

3.5.3 FUTURE AND HUMAN ORIENTATIONS

As the name suggests, *Future Orientation* is similar, but not identical to Hofstede’s (2001a) *Long-term/Short-term Orientation* as it simply explores the goal setting behaviours exhibited by societies (Ashkanasy *et al.*, 2004). Unlike Hofstede’s

dimension, the results for *Future Orientation* showed no sign of a distinction between Eastern and Western societies with both interspersed across the bands leading Ashkanasy *et al.* (2004, p. 313) to suggest “ . . . a need for caution in interpreting the *Confusion Dynamism* scale as a proxy for long-term orientation”. Additionally, all but one⁵⁷ of the 61 societies scored values higher than practices indicating a desire for more future oriented planning, rejecting the notion that countries with low socioeconomic status are more concerned with immediate survival and suggesting they desire to escape current material deprivations or make sacrifices for longer term prosperity (Ashkanasy *et al.*, 2004).

Human Orientation as the encouragement and reward of those who demonstrate fairness, generosity, kindness and consideration of others as opposed to self interest is the last dimension (House & Javidan, 2004; Kabasakal & Bodur, 2004). This dimension is relatively new in mainstream cultural studies but has its roots in the research conducted by Schwartz (1994) and his value of ‘self transcendence’ and to a lesser degree the feminine pole of Hofstede’s (2001a) *Masculinity/Femininity* dimension. Across all societies values scored higher than practices to the extent that the lower the practices score, the higher the values score (Kabasakal & Bodur, 2004) indicating that societies in general perceived a need for more altruism, benevolence and tolerance.

3.5.4 GLOBAL WARMING

Reviews of GLOBE lauded it as offering a new perspective of culture supported by a sophisticated, rigorous and innovative methodological approach (Smith, 2005; Teagarden, 2005; Wilson, 2005; Earley, 2006; Tsui *et al.*, 2007). The separation of values (should be) from practices (as is), and their negative relationship to one another suggests that the perceived values of societies do not meet the expectations of citizens, and is therefore a significant step in surfacing the complexity of culture (Peterson, 2004;

⁵⁷ The exception was Denmark for which the researchers’ state is a product of that countries concern with historical perspective (Ashkanasy *et al.*, 2004, p. 305).

Smith, 2005). Peterson (2004, p. 643) goes so far as to say that the research “. . . challenges cross-cultural scholars to rethink what we are studying”. Issues of methodology and data analysis were raised (Peterson, 2004; Smith, 2005; Wilson, 2005; Peterson & Castro, 2006) but generally only sought to highlight areas that needed clarification to make the process more transparent, which GLOBE researchers duly attended to (see: Hanges & Dickson, 2006; Javidan *et al.*, 2006). In addition, GLOBE has supplemented its findings with the publication of a companion book of case studies (Chhokar *et al.*, 2007) that explore the historical and contemporary culture of 25 countries, including the cultural ‘enigma’ of Australia (Ashkanasy, 2007) written by the country specific researchers that formed the ‘GLOBE Community’. GLOBE inevitably drew the attention of Hofstede (2006).

Hofstede (2006) asserted that GLOBE was a replication and elaboration of his research and believed fundamental flaws significantly affected the outcomes in not supporting his findings. He declared that the research instrument was defective as it was rife with ‘US hegemony’ causing a Western bias, ethnocentric in that most GLOBE researchers had received their higher degrees from North American universities implying that they were incapable of independent thought and reflective practice, and “GLOBE’s respondents’ minds classified the questions in a way that the researchers’ minds did not account for” (Hofstede, 2006, p. 882). What Hofstede fails to acknowledge is the diversity that formed the ‘GLOBE Community’ which played far more than a token role in the project (Hanges & Dickson, 2004; House & Javidan, 2004). In addition, and as the GLOBE researchers pointed out (Javidan *et al.*, 2006), Hofstede’s study was based on a survey designed for IBM needs of the late 1960’s and early 1970s so would not have been without its own US centric flavour. Furthermore, the inclusion of an Eastern perspective by Hofstede only occurred later and was not based on IBM data therefore exposing a shortcoming in his research instrument and probably because IBM did not consider it important (Javidan *et al.*, 2006). The bulk of Hofstede’s (2001a) criticism focuses on the operationalisation of GLOBE dimensions, the statistical procedures and logic used, and the interpretation of the results that if done properly, as he did when he

re-analysed their data, would have supported his five dimension model of culture. Four years later, Hofstede (2010, p. 6) has reignited this argument on the basis that:

All contributions to the debate so far have avoided the most important question of all: what are GLOBE's "as is" and "as should be" dimensions good for?

One response could be that new studies develop new insights, give pause for reflection and move the field forward (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). In the case of Hofstede versus GLOBE, their studies should be viewed as complementary rather than opposites (Peterson, 2004). GLOBE makes a valuable contribution to cross-cultural research (Boyacigiller *et al.*, 2004; Peterson, 2004; Teagarden, 2005; Wilson, 2005) in broadening the knowledge base and opening up discussion of factors that may explain variation across cultures. A good example of this is the exchanges between Maseland and van Hoorn (2009; 2010), Taras *et al.* (2010b) and Brewer and Venaik (2010) who debate the role of 'diminishing marginal utility'⁵⁸ and its relationship to values and practices in explaining differences in and between the Hofstede and GLOBE dimensions. Although these writers hold different viewpoints, the value of their exchange lays in the shared belief in theory building to explain cultural differences while offering alternative perspectives on the utility of cultural dimensions and future directions. As Brewer and Venaik (2010) summarise:

[t]he GLOBE study provides cultural scholars with an important set of measures, which should support a wealth of future culture research. It is up to the academic community to develop a more complete understanding of this asset that we have at our disposal.

GLOBE (House *et al.*, 2004), Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998), and Hofstede (2001a) have all made contributions to the understanding of culture and their dimensions have exposed attributes that highlight some of the factors at work in societies. What is less clear is how these dimensions of societal culture are applicable, or even relevant to, organisational contexts and the people in them.

⁵⁸ “. . .the more of a good a person consumes, the less preference they will accord to having more of it” (Brewer & Venaik, 2010).

3.6 LOST IN TRANSLATION

This chapter has presented three key studies of culture drawn from surveys of individuals in organisational settings. In selecting responses based on country of origin, each study has presented its findings for culture as the equivalent with the nation state. These studies are also representative of mainstream culture research that underpins much of cross-cultural management. They can be seen as the ‘best sellers’⁵⁹ of the culture-as-difference industry where the preference appears to be for their continued debate, refinement, replication and extension that occasionally results in theory building and explanations of cultural variance. Although alternative perspectives of culture are on offer (e.g. Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Holden, 2002; Sackmann & Phillips, 2004), they have not attracted wide support, are infrequently cited in the cross-cultural management literature and have not generated the research required to expand their support in cross-cultural management circles.

As quantitative studies these three pieces of research appeal to organisations as they are consistent with the ‘business rule of thumb’ that if something can be measured, it can be managed. With ‘culture clash’ often linked to poor performance and outright failure of projects, these studies as measures of cultural distance gain more weight as predictive of the problems that can be expected. Even if organisations, and particularly their (International) Human Resources Management function, never consult the original studies, popular or practitioner focused texts present them as incontrovertible evidence that shapes the perspective of their readership⁶⁰.

All three studies made it clear that the values and/or practices measured are aggregated survey items that highlight general societal tendencies, and that culture is infinitely

⁵⁹ According to Google Scholar, Hofstede’s (1980a; Hofstede, 2001a) two version of ‘Culture’s Consequences’ combined have been cited just under 20,000 times, which is almost 10 times those for *Riding the Waves of Culture* (Trompenaars, 1993; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998) or the GLOBE study (House *et al.*, 2004).

⁶⁰ Cox & Blake (1991), Lewis (1999), Briscoe & Schuler (2004), Harzing & van Ruysseveldt (2004), Mathis & Jackson (2008), Rugman & Collinson (2009) and Sparrow (2009)

more variable at the group and individual level. These disclaimers, however, have done nothing to stem broad application of dimensions to numerous organisational contexts predicated on the single assumption of culture-as-difference, which for organisations has transformed descriptions of differences to prescriptions for managing them. The societal tendencies identified may serve as cultural insights for organisations considering or engaged in cross-border expansion and international cooperative arrangements, however at the level of individual interaction they are inappropriate. Organisations do not deal with entire cultures - they deal with individuals, individuals who have lived, worked, socialised and gained experience in contexts that may be quite similar or significantly different. As Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) rightly point out, the meaning people attach to a particular context and what is in it, are a key factor in creating synergy between them. This is underscored by Rousseau and Fried (2001, p. 3) who see a lack of consideration of context in research as limiting its relevance in an increasingly diverse and complex world where “[o]ne person's context is another's taken-for-granted assumption”.

In linking back to the cultural interaction agenda of cross-cultural management discussed in Chapter 2, the studies presented here can be seen as developing the ‘mind-set’ of its literature as the need to manage culture-as-difference. They leave little room for (International) Human Resource Management professionals to move beyond the purported difficulties cultural others present when faced with overwhelming evidence of the cultural distance between nations.

It is argued here that less attention should be paid to cultural dimensions as predicative of what may be encountered in dealing with cultural others in organisational contexts and more concern should be shown regarding how individuals learn to become cultural. As Earley (2006, p. 928) advocates, ‘grand-values’ measurements of culture should cease and be replaced by theory development that links culture to action, as:

we have enough of these values-based, large-scale surveys, and it just is not terribly useful to have more of them. . . . I would now suggest that scholars refocus their attention away from any more of these values surveys and toward developing theories and frameworks for

understanding the linkages among culture, perceptions, actions, organizations, structures, etc.

Similar views have been expressed by a number of writers (e.g. Lowe, 2002; Sackmann & Phillips, 2004; Yeganeh & Su, 2006; Fischer, 2009). Indeed, Tsui *et al.* (2007, p. 461) regard the proliferation of values measures as hindering cultural research and state that:

It is curious that culture researchers continue to treat culture as a global property by using nation as a proxy or assume a shared property of culture by using mean scores of culture values. Treating culture as a global construct, especially the use of a proxy for culture, does not provide informative insight into how culture influences employee behaviors in different national contexts.

At the very least, mixed method approaches to the study of culture should be the norm to more fully explore what surveys alone cannot, the individual as manifesting culture in context. It seems ironic that the one element that could provide better understanding of culture, the lived experience of individuals as cultural, is not a central concern of research. A fact that has not gone unnoticed by others⁶¹. As Bjerregaard *et al.* (2009, 219) suggest, there is a need for more focus on culture-in-context as:

abstraction of culture from the context in which cultural meanings are produced and brought to bear on action leads to serious failures in accounting for how cultural processes actually unfold and inform communication among people in international workplaces.

Similarly, Tsui *et al.* (2007) believe research should use a polycontextual⁶² approach to expose the individual's 'ways of knowing' arising through participation in multiple contexts that develop different meanings. In their view more potential lies in the

⁶¹ Caulkins (2004), Leung *et al.* (2005), Peterson (2007), Tsui *et al.* (2007), Özkazanç-Pan (2008), Shenkar *et al.* (2008), Brannen (2009), Taras & Steel (2009), Fang (2010), Pauleen *et al.* (2010) and Tung & Verbeke (2010).

⁶² Based on Von Glinow *et al.* (2004) and Shapiro *et al.* (2007), Tsui *et al.*'s approach not only includes the historic, economic, geographic and political contexts of a nation but also investigation of the physical, sensory, psychological, philosophical and communication aspects of the contexts in which the individual engages.

exploration of culture at this level and will deliver the new insights required for organisational contexts⁶³.

It is clear that there are now many voices raised in opposition to culture as a static and immutable property of the individual. What is also becoming clear is that if the formation of culture can be understood in terms of an individual learning in context, then there is a greater likelihood that managing culture will become less about the need to mediate its perceived consequences and more about the need to connect cultural others with the new context in which they deploy their knowledge and skills. Implicit in this is the need for (International) Human Resource Management professionals and incumbents of managerial/supervisory roles to share in the responsibility for making this connection. Managers/supervisors are more in touch with the reality of the day-to-day situations in which cultural others are expected to participate and should have a vested interest in ensuring their new group member is able wholly to contribute their expertise.

3.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to present and critique representative research that underpins much of the perspective and discussion of societal culture that in turn influences the cross-cultural management discourse. As such the work of Hofstede (1980a; 2001a), Trompenaars and Hampden Turner (1998) and GLOBE (House *et al.*, 2004) were presented as paradigm cases which focus on cultural distance. The influence of studies of this type can be seen in the literature on interaction with cultural others such as diversity management and expatriate preparation (see Chapter 2) where the need to mitigate the perceived threat of cultural differences is an overriding consideration.

⁶³ Indeed, in what can be considered a review that gets to the heart of many troubling issues in cross-cultural research, these authors offer insights and recommendations that researchers in the field would do well to respond to.

A third agenda of cross-cultural management was identified as organisational culture (Chapter 2) which is often portrayed as mediating individual differences through employees subscribing to a shared, third culture. It, too, has become an area of cultural comparison across societies as researchers attempt to define what it is that individuals come to understand about their employers and how, or whether, this culture reflects the greater culture of the society in which the organisation is embedded. The following chapter explores the concept of organisational culture through the wider literature, as well as its treatment within cross-cultural management. In extending the concept of organisational culture, a discussion of knowledge and learning in organisations ensues as these now hold a privileged place in organisations and are now widely seen as important pillars of an organisation's culture.

CHAPTER 4: ORGANISATIONS, CULTURE, AND LEARNING

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The term ‘organisational culture’ has become one of the most ubiquitous in management and organisational literature regardless of whether one is surveying the academic or popular offerings. It is often associated with reinventing organisations to achieve aspirational goals by harnessing employee commitment that Barley and Kunda (1992) suggest is the new ‘managerial ideology’ in responding to the forces of globalisation. Furthermore, as Norman (1985, p. 231) suggests:

I would interpret the increasing interest in the concept of culture as really an increasing interest in organizational learning – in understanding and making conscious and effective as much as possible all the learning that has taken place in an organization. To be aware of culture is to increase the likelihood of learning. Only when the basic assumptions, beliefs, and success formulas are made conscious and visible, do they become testable and open to reinforcement or modification.

In this chapter, the concept of organisational culture is introduced as a unifying ideology used by companies to promote employee sharing of their vision and objectives. Literature is used to illustrate the complex and multifaceted reality of organisations, suggesting they are far from the homogenous cultural entities described or expected. In addition, the allure of competitive advantage through tapping into the knowledge, skills and capabilities of employees has demanded a learning ethos be enshrined in an organisation’s culture propelled by literature that lauds the benefits of a ‘learning organisation’. This conceptualisation of an organisation as a learning system is explored to uncover what it means in organisational contexts.

In Chapter 2 organisational culture was also identified as an agenda in cross-cultural management that posits it as mediating cultural differences. The expectation is that the overarching culture of the organisation will become a frame of reference for all employees to guide their role-related duties and relationships in the workplace, and mediate any variance in perspectives that could otherwise exist outside of that context (Stumpf *et al.*, 1994). In advocating a ‘strong’ culture to this end, organisations may to

some degree achieve their aims but at the expense of limiting the contributions employees, especially cultural others, can make to learning by the organisation. This chapter argues that strong organisational cultures, particularly those that apply narrow definitions to learning and knowledge, restrict the competitive advantage that exists in their workforce.

4.2 ORGANISATIONS AS CULTURAL ENTITIES

Whyte's (1956) *The Organisation Man* was one of the first texts to hint at organisations having a culture. In what he described as the decline of the 'Protestant Ethic' in American society, Whyte saw organisations as representing a new hope for workers through subscribing to their 'Social Ethic' values that offered a sense of belongingness and harmony. Likewise, Parsons' (1956a; 1956b) 'cultural-institutional level' of organisations encompassed the values underlying the functions, patterns and goals of the enterprise in responding to its environment which acted as guidance to employees and stemmed from the type of organisation and its power relations. March and Simon (1958) went further by describing organisations as not only having cultural attributes but also a form of social milieu where individuals with different backgrounds and experiences were drawn together, turning 'conflict' into 'cooperation'.

In the 1980s, Peters and Waterman's *In Search of Excellence* (1982, p. 51) which stressed that " . . . top performers create a broad uplifting shared culture – a coherent framework within which charged up people search for appropriate adaptation"⁶⁴ is often seen as at the forefront of the 'corporate culture boom' sparking substantial research and discussion into its source, manifestation and effects (Alvesson, 2002). In the wider literature, organisational culture draws on the combined resources of anthropological and organisational thought in advancing its perspectives.

⁶⁴ Ironically, in 2001 Peters discredited his own work with admissions such as he had 'no idea what he was doing' and he 'faked the data' among others (see Peters, 2001).

Theories of organisation have contributed to perspectives of organisational culture in much the same way as they underpin cross-cultural management. Beginning with Weber's (1930) view of a bureaucracy as an ideal type of organisation, 'culture' became the Western value of the legal/rational authority of individuals to apply rules across the board. This image of the organisation as a mechanistic and dehumanised collective was further developed by 'Classical Management' theorists such as Fayol (1949) and Taylor (1911). These and other theorists of the time could be said to have generated the managerialist approach to organising and organisations relying on 'command and control' that is still prevalent in many contemporary organisations. The concept of organisational culture has subsequently drawn on contingency (e.g. Fiedler, 1964; Hersey & Blanchard, 1977), symbolic (e.g. Smircich, 1983b; Jeffcutt, 1994), transformational (e.g. House, 1971; Bass & Avolio, 1994) and cognitive (e.g. Walsh, 1995; Weick, 1996) theories of organisation in an effort to broaden the meaning of culture in this context, all of which have made contributions to the discipline.

In what Jelinek *et al.* (1983) describe as a 'rainbow' or 'code of many colours', the study of organisational culture has also benefitted from the substantial anthropological literature exploring the roots and manifestations of culture from many perspectives. The evolutionary, socialisation and cognitive perspectives outlined at the beginning of Chapter 3 have played their role in shaping the study of culture in organisational contexts. According to Smircich (1983a) anthropological and organisational theory have melded into thematic notions of organisational culture as shown in Table 1 on the following page.

Anthropology	Organisational Culture Themes	Organisation
Culture as an instrument serving human biological and psychological needs (e.g. Malinowski, 1944)	Comparative management. Focus on organisation structure & management practice. Cultural similarity/difference and implications for effectiveness.	Organisations are social instruments for task accomplishment (e.g. Classical Management)
Culture functions as an adaptive-regulatory mechanism (e.g. Radcliffe-Brown, 1977)	Corporate culture as socio-cultural. Focuses on moulding, shaping or changing internal culture consistent with managerial purposes.	Organisations are adaptive organisms (e.g. Contingency Theory)
Culture is a system of shared symbols and meanings (e.g. Lévi-Strauss, 1963)	Organisational symbolism. Shared symbols of meaning. Focuses on how experience becomes meaningful and relates to action.	Organisations are patterns of symbolic discourse (e.g. Symbolic Theory)
Culture as a projection of mind's universal unconscious infrastructure (e.g. Geertz, 1973b)	Unconscious processes and organisation. Culture as hidden within minds. Focuses on what patterns of organisation reveal about the mind.	Organisational forms and practices manifest as unconscious processes (e.g. Transformational Theory)
Culture is a system of shared cognitions (e.g. Strauss & Quinn, 1997)	Organisational cognition. Thought is linked to action. Focuses on relationship between knowledge structures and organised activity.	Organisations are systems of knowledge (e.g. Cognitive Theory)

Table 1: Themes of Organisational Culture Research
(Source: Adapted from Smircich, 1983a, pp. 342-351)

These five themes are representative of organisational culture discourse where culture is either a variable (i.e. comparative and socio-cultural themes) used to explain difference in much the same way as cross-cultural management has done, or as a root metaphor (i.e. themes of symbolism, patterns and cognition) as the way in which organisations and their culture are 'imagined' (Smircich, 1983a).

Organisations can be imagined in many ways. The work of Morgan (1998) is a prime example where metaphors such as organism, brain, psychic prison, political system, instrument of domination and, significantly 'culture' are used to describe varying organisational forms. Organisational culture has also attracted the use of metaphor with Alvesson (2002) using terms such as exchange regulator, compass, social glue and even sacred cow to describe different manifestations of culture. As a variable, organisational culture is perceived as having evolutionary roots that are partly the product of the national culture in which an organisation is established (Mintzberg, 1989; Schein, 2004). Furthermore, Huber (1991) identifies 'congenital learning' as a factor whereby

the founder's intentions for an organisation are grounded in their cultural proclivities which in turn shape the values, beliefs and norms of the organisation. These perspectives of organisational culture as a variable or metaphor are the contrast between something an organisation 'has' (variable) or something an organisation 'is' (root metaphor).

As was noted in Chapter 2, cross-cultural management literature is dominated by academic research and scholarly opinion that has implicitly or explicitly influenced perspectives on 'managing culture' found in practitioner oriented texts. Interestingly, organisational culture appeared to have reversed this trend with practitioner orientated publications influencing perspectives in academic circles. After a review of literature from mid 1975 to the end of 1984, Barley *et al.* (1988, p. 24) suggested that:

those who wrote for practitioners and academics initially conceptualized organizational culture differently. Over time, however, academics appear to have moved toward the practitioners' point of view, while the latter appear to have been little influenced by the former.

In the following section organisational culture is discussed drawing on the work of a few of the most influential contributors to the field which contrasts culture as something an organisation *is* or something that it *has*.

4.3 CULTURE IN ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXTS

Schein's *Organizational Culture and Leadership* is the basis of the first subsection representing a view of culture as something the organisation *is*. His view is one of an evolutionary process where culture begins with the founder, develops over time and is passed from generation to generation. In contrast, the subsection following this on Deal and Kennedy's *Corporate Cultures* is indicative of culture as something an organisation *has*. Furthermore, it is an example of the culture change industry that has sprung up whereby an organisation's culture is diagnosed and a new formulation prescribed if the current is found to be maladaptive to external conditions. In this sense, organisational culture is a consumable that can be manipulated or replaced to improve performance.

In extending the research discussed in Chapter 3, a third subsection presents an overview of findings from research by Hofstede (2001a) Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) and the GLOBE researchers (House *et al.*, 2004) in relation to organisational culture. Each of these also studied organisational culture, therefore this subsection provides a point of comparison for how these researchers distinguished between culture as that of a society and that which is peculiar to an organisation.

4.3.1 SCHEIN AND THE CULTURES OF ORGANISATIONS

Arguably the most influential writer on organisational culture is Schein who has shaped theory and practice through ‘A Drama in Five Acts’ (2006) as the chronicle of his learning and experiences applied to roles as academic, consultant and practitioner. Schein (1984, p. 3) defines organisational culture as:

the pattern of basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered, or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, and that have worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems.

For Schein (1983), a key agent in creating the culture of an organisation is its founder whose cultural inheritance and strength of character shape the basic tenets of the organisation. Founders initially develop solutions for external adaptation (e.g. strategy, mission, goals and performance criteria) and internal integration (e.g. structure, hierarchy, policies, procedures) which when proven successful become ‘underlying assumptions’. Schein (1984, p. 4) argues “ . . . that as certain motivational and cognitive processes are repeated and continue to work, they become unconscious”. In this sense, assumptions are patterns of learned behaviours and taken for granted beliefs and values that form a ‘cultural paradigm’ shared by members of the organisation and which promote consistency and order across it⁶⁵ (Schein, 1984). They define the look and feel of the organisation, eventually manifesting as artefacts and behaviours that are observable (Schein, 1983). However, as Schein (1990; 2004) argues, artefacts may be

⁶⁵ Schein (1984) does note that inconsistencies can and do exist by virtue of the fact that at a group level variations arise, however by and large there is still coherence across the system.

visible but they are difficult to decipher as the meaning ascribed to them cannot be observed or reconstructed to uncover underlying assumptions. Significantly, he identifies surveys as a poor measure of culture as they often capture its artefacts as superficial characteristics, not the underlying assumptions that frame respondents' choices (Schein, 2004), an observation it could be said, that is equally true at the societal level (e.g. Hofstede). Between underlying assumptions and artefacts are espoused values and beliefs that are the shared culture of a group used to justify actions (Schein, 2004). This middle level is where Schein has made allowance for organisational culture to be more than a single ideal to which everyone in the organisation subscribes.

Schein (2004) conceptualises organisational culture as a group level phenomenon formed through day-to-day interaction of group members and the different ways in which they are managed. In this case, the founder is replaced by a coordinator, team manager, or other leadership role. Founders hold their own assumptions about, and intentions for the group based on their interpretation of the overarching culture. As the group develops⁶⁶ the dynamics of the process engender learning as building consensus among members. As Schein (2006, p. 297) describes it:

Once people make sense of their world collectively, creating norms and developing tacit assumptions, those norms and assumptions define reality, the individual's identity and group membership.

This sense making process can be viewed as the development of a shared meaning system influenced by the leader as a context specific version of the overarching organisational culture.

According to Schein (1996a; 1996c; 2004), culture can also be broadly occupational through primary function for which he offers three generic sub-cultures of management as operator, engineering and executive. Operators are at the coal face, producing and delivering the output of the organisation and applying their knowledge and skills to the

⁶⁶ Schein (2004) describes this as a four stage process of formation, building, work and maturity.

day-to-day problems, frustrations, and challenges in meeting organisational goals. Engineering cultures are more concerned with creating new products and streamlining or automating existing processes and procedures to reduce operator intervention. The executive culture represents those setting the goals and direction of the organisation bounded by the needs and expectations of shareholders, governments, boards and others with a vested interest in the organisation, particularly its fiscal viability. Therefore, within one organisation three cultures are working under the umbrella of the overarching organisational culture, but functionally each group's development and learning represents a somewhat differentiated set of underlying assumptions and espoused values and beliefs. Of particular interest is the conflict that Schein (1996a) sees between these cultures.

Engineering considers the operator culture as an unnecessary complication that absorbs resources and must be effectively managed and controlled to achieve its goals. Operators, on the other hand, see engineering as thwarting their desire to build and improve their capacities by countering with technical solutions that may also threaten their jobs. As Schein (1996a, p. 238) concludes:

One consequence is that when the operator culture attempts to improve effectiveness by building learning capacity, which requires time and resources, the executives disallow the proposed activities on the grounds that the financial returns cannot be demonstrated or that too many exceptions are involved that would undermine the control system. Executives thus unconsciously collude with the engineers in wanting to minimize the human factor. In effect, all of the research findings about the importance of teamwork, collaboration, commitment, and involvement fall on deaf executive ears, because in the executive culture, those are not the important variables to consider.

Schein (1986) also suggests that sub-cultures can develop for any occupational group and gives the example of the 'American model' of organisations that underpins the culture of organisational training and development communities. Assumptions that organisations should advance individualism, engender humanistic values and promote goals of effectiveness and efficiency have underwritten the bulk of the discourse in these fields, yet there is little recognition that outside of American contexts these may not be desired, or only partially so. A parallel can be drawn with this occupational

conception of culture in relation to the discipline of cross-cultural management where views of culture-as-difference to be managed dominate the discourse.

The role of the wider society in which an organisational culture is embedded is also acknowledged by Schein (1983; 2009) and cognition is clearly part of his conceptualisation of the formation of culture as the meaning attributed by individuals (e.g. Schein, 1986, 1996b, 2004). These factors are more fully explored by Sackmann (1991a; 1992; 2003), in her expansion of Schein's work.

For Sackmann (1991a, p. 33), culture is a dynamic construct as sense-making which forms a 'cognitive cultural map', therefore:

the essence of culture can be conceptualised as the collective construction of social reality. Sense-making is a complicated, holistic process in which perception, existing knowledge, and judgements interact with each other. These, in turn, influence actions, perceptions, judgements and thinking.

This definition has utility in articulating not only culture as a property of organisations but one that can be equally applied to other levels of 'organising'. Sackmann (1997) presents a 'supra-organisational' view of culture as a nested and overlapping construct. Organisations are embedded in regions (e.g. rural, urban), industrial sectors, nations and greater regional areas (e.g. Asia) while harbouring their own subcultures as intra-organisational segmentation based on ideology, ethnicity, gender, community and other affiliations (e.g. interest groups, organisational tenure or hierarchy) that individuals may identify with. Profession, on the other hand, is portrayed as trans-organisational in that members of a profession or occupation may be bound by external standards (e.g. Medical associations) that become an intersecting culture. Known as a form of 'normative isomorphism', the acquisition of professional credentials and legitimacy amongst peers comes with inherent standards and practices which may ultimately override those of the organisation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). As Sackmann (2003, p. 62) points out:

The cultural context of a company may thus be characterized by cultural influences at the intra-organizational, organizational, transorganizational and supraorganizational level – all

acting and interacting at the same time and influencing the behavior of individuals, groups, as well as the entire company.

Sackmann's elaboration on Schein's work takes culture in organisations beyond notions of homogeneity or partial differentiation (e.g. executive, engineering and operator cultures), to the idea that multiple, simultaneous cultures can coexist and contribute to the overarching organisational culture while still preserving the unique attributes and needs of a group. Their shared view of culture as meaning also offers a differentiated view more consistent with anthropology as learning and experience in context thereby situating meaning in the individual rather than the cultural system. Sackmann (1991a; 1997; 2003) and Schein (1986; 2004; 2009) also share deep reservations about typologies of organisational culture seeing them as not congruent with the complexity of modern organisations and too prescriptive in defining the elements of an organisation's culture.

Typologies of organisational culture emerged in the era of 'Reaganomics' and 'Thatcherism' where business competitiveness became a primary concern as internal markets were deregulated in moving toward the ideal of a free market economy. This, coupled with the successes of Japanese organisations in gaining market share, moved the focus from understanding organisations to mapping a new course for them and their management. Publications such as *In Search of Excellence* (Peters & Waterman, 1982), *Theory Z: How American Business can meet the Japanese Challenge* (Ouchi, 1981), and *The Art of Japanese Management: Applications for American Executives* (Pascale & Athos, 1981) provoked organisations into the quest for an organisational culture that would assure their existence. One of the most influential typologies was Deal and Kennedy's (1982) *Corporate Cultures: The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life*.

4.3.2 DEAL AND KENNEDY'S TRIBES

Deal and Kennedy (1982) were very influential in the study of organisational culture, however their approach was quite different to that of Schein. In describing human beings as flocking together in search of meaning and purpose they argued " . . . that deep-seated traditions and widely accepted and shared beliefs governed modern

business organizations, just like they did primitive tribes” (Deal & Kennedy, 1982, p. iv). Despite this view couched in anthropological terms of meaning and sharing, their conclusions of corporate culture are based on what Schein would describe as observation of artefacts (e.g. heroes, rituals, and symbols) or lack of them (e.g. no reserved car spaces or organisational hierarchy charts), supplemented by the espoused views of employees and anecdotal stories of how culture makes a difference. The organisations described were some of the largest and most successful at the time (e.g. General Electric⁶⁷) while others have ceased to exist (e.g. Tandem Computers⁶⁸). Based on their observations, Deal and Kennedy (1982, p. 4) defined organisational culture as a single mission of “the way things get done around here” and advocated organisations cultivate a strong culture to promote a substantial increase in productivity.

Core values as the basis of a strong culture were seen as the philosophical statements (e.g. mission/vision statements) organisations articulate that inspire employees as well as ‘market’ an image to the external world. While promoting the benefits of a strong culture, Deal and Kennedy (1982) acknowledge that it may equally become a disability if the external environment changes and the organisation’s culture is no longer consistent with it as, once a culture is entrenched, it is difficult to change. They also point out that having strong philosophical statements only becomes part of an organisation’s culture if managers behave in a manner consistent with their tenets. Deal and Kennedy’s (1982) observations of values, rituals, and heroes within companies and their approach to risk and feedback resulted in four organisational culture types.

The first, *Tough-Guy Macho* cultures are marked by high stakes and rewards for success. The fast-paced, ‘pressure cooker’ environment thrives on immediate feedback, champions the individual and supports risk taking behaviour that can make or break a career and, in some cases, an organisation (e.g. Nick Leeson and the 1995 collapse of Barings Bank). Those that survive become heroes. In contrast, the second culture of

⁶⁷ General Electric is now the second largest corporation in the world, growing its business through acquisition and diversification.

⁶⁸ Tandem was acquired by Compaq in 1997 which was itself acquired by Hewlett Packard in 2002.

Work Hard/Play Hard, takes comparatively few risks and feedback as the outcomes of actions is quick. The culture is one more likely to strive for quality or at the very least value for money and is therefore often customer focused in its goals. Sales organisations dominate this cultural group with the ‘work hard’ of achieving results counterbalanced by the ‘play hard’ through contests, conventions and meetings to reward, motivate and inspire employees (e.g. Mary Kay cosmetics). Heroes are the ‘high flyers’ whose achievements are broadcast through the organisation as role models others should emulate. However, when problems surface (e.g. deteriorating sales figures) and quick fix solutions fail, the organisation as a whole can fall into a downward spiral marked by large staff turnover and cynicism (Deal & Kennedy, 1982).

High stakes and pressure are also a hallmark of the third culture *Bet your Company*. Unlike the quick results of *Tough-Guy Macho* it may take a protracted period of time before feedback on the gamble taken is received. This could be considered as betting on or investing in the future such as would occur in exploration projects (e.g. space, minerals, oil). As Deal and Kennedy (1982, p. 119) describe it:

Bet-your-company cultures lead to high-quality inventions and major scientific breakthroughs - they help move the country's economy ahead. But they also move with awesome slowness. They do not produce on a mass scale, nor perform with the speed and decisiveness of a quick-feedback environment. In addition, because of their long-term perspective, these companies are vulnerable to short-term fluctuations in the economy and cash-flow problems while they wait for major ventures to pay off.

The last culture of *Process* is marked by low risk, almost risk averse organisations. They are often heavily regulated, conservative and bureaucratic, relying on the adherence to processes and procedures to ensure conformity and consistency of output. As unimaginative entities, process style organisations are more concerned with how things are done and are predominantly not achievement orientated.

Deal and Kennedy (1982) describe their four strong cultures as ‘corporate tribes’ based on anecdotal evidence that implies cultural homogeneity. However, as Schein (1990, p. 117) argues:

organizations can be presumed to have 'strong' cultures because of a long shared history or because they have shared important intense experiences (as in a combat unit). But the content and strength of a culture have to be empirically determined. They cannot be presumed from observing surface cultural phenomena.

There are several other well known typologies such as those offered by Cameron and Quinn⁶⁹ (2006), Handy⁷⁰ (1993), and Mintzberg⁷¹ (1989) that provide descriptive and/or prescriptive accounts of organisations and their culture. In Schein's (1997) opinion these sorts of typologies are dangerous as they do not account for the complexity of culture. Furthermore, he believes that they influence leaders of organisations to think that they can diagnose their culture and adjust it or select a new one to cure their current concerns without ever determining the root cause of corporate woes (Schein, 1997).

Similar to the issue of cultural others, the management of an organisation's culture is also seen as a function of (International) Human Resource Management (see Mathis & Jackson, 2008). Ensuring employees act in accordance with the organisation's culture on the assumption that it is the only frame of reference they should draw on in the workplace, programs to reinforce its tenets, often supplemented by incentive schemes, are common in organisational contexts. Views of culture as fragmented or differentiated are seen as deviant from the organisation's intentions and subversive of their goals. This assumption is also directed toward cultural others where there is a belief that they must be enculturated into the larger ideals of the organisation, which subsumes their own ideas, beliefs and values.

As indicated earlier, Hofstede (2001a), Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998) and GLOBE researchers (House *et al.*, 2004)

⁶⁹ Hierarchy, Market, Adhocracy and Clan culture as having an inward or outward focus (Cameron & Quinn, 2006).

⁷⁰ Culture manifested in Power, Person, Task and Role reflected in the organisational structure (Handy, 1993).

⁷¹ Entrepreneurial, machine, diversified, professional, innovative, missionary and political (Mintzberg, 1989).

also turned their attention to organisational culture. Their contributions are briefly reviewed in the following subsection.

4.3.3 ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE AND SOCIETY

In the mid 1980s, Hofstede and colleagues (1990) conducted research of organisational culture using mixed methods to explore differences in values and practices across 20 ‘culturally homogeneous’ units of five organisations in each of Denmark and The Netherlands⁷². Across all 20 groups there were significant variations in the scores for values and practices, although the variance in values was only half that found for practices leading Hofstede (2001a) to conclude that while values were more pronounced in societies, in organisations practices were the core of its culture. Underlying this statement was the belief that values result from learning in external society and practices were learned through workplace socialisation.

Hofstede (2001a) developed six bipolar dimensions of organisational culture⁷³ and by his own admission the findings and resulting dimensions were ‘limited’ and ‘meaningless’ outside of the contextual and operational parameters of his study. He also stated that the culture of an organisation is in part determined by factors such as nation, founder’s philosophy, industry, market and primary operations so not all his dimensions would be valid, or indeed appropriate to all organisations (Hofstede, 2001a). In acknowledging the cultural complexity of organisations, Hofstede (2001a) supports the view extended by Sackmann (1991b; 1997), which seems remarkable given his emphatic defence of his societal dimensions.

⁷² Culturally homogeneous in this context refers to the culture of organisational groups. Hofstede (2001a) acknowledged that organisations may have sub-cultures based on department or the work of a group, so took a ‘pragmatic’ approach to what organisations or groups should be included by seeking the judgement of unit managers. Culture as a societal level construct was assumed to be mediated by the use of two countries whose scores on the societal dimensions were close.

⁷³ Namely Process/Results, Employee/Job, Parochial/Professional, Open/Closed, Loose/Tight Control and Normative/Pragmatic (Hofstede, 1991, 2001a).

Hofstede (2001a) envisioned his dimensions of organisational culture as a means of analysing cultural 'rifts' that could be harmful to an organisation. In particular, he identified as damaging the schisms that arise based on management assumptions about professional and occupational roles that lead to differentiated treatment and practices for each group. His point appears to be that this form of stereotyping can lead to more favourable conditions for one group over another, creating an air of discontent and allowing subcultures to flourish. Hofstede (2001a) uses a later study of a Danish Insurance company to illustrate his contention. Functional groups (e.g. sales) across the organisation were found to vary greatly on his organisational culture dimensions. Subcultures of professional, administrative and customer interface were identified, with Hofstede (2001a) describing customer interface as a counter-culture to that of professional. The organisation had earlier faced a significant degree of unrest with both sales staff (i.e. poor working conditions and pay) and female employees (i.e. lack of career opportunities) disrupting its activities. Hofstede saw this unrest as symptomatic of cultural disharmony resulting from the rifts between sub-cultures. In a manner consistent with his societal work, Hofstede (2001a, p. 408) comes to a cause-effect conclusion that in choosing to ignore his advice to address the rifts "[s]oon afterward, the company started losing money; a few years later it changed ownership and top management". This link is tenuous at best and indicates a lack of consideration of changes in the organisation's operating environment that may have included societal mandates of equity and equality. The organisation may have failed to acknowledge the schisms in its culture, but more fundamentally it appears to have failed to respond to its environment. However, Hofstede's assumption that societies are stable over time would not have led to this conclusion. While the solution he proposed was to manage culture in concert with the organisational structure, strategy and control mechanisms to shape the behaviour of employees, no amount of effort will save an organisation if it is not in tune with its environment.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) describe organisational culture in terms of 'corporate images' that have their foundations in the purpose, structure and relationship building of the organisation. Their typology is based along two intersecting dimensions

of Egalitarian/Hierarchical and Person/Task orientations highlighting cultural preferences at the societal level which “ . . . influence the models people give to organizations and the meanings they attribute to them” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, p. 161) resulting in four types of ‘corporate culture’ metaphors of *Family*, *Eiffel Tower*, *Incubator* and *Guided Missile*.

Traditional views of organisations are represented by the *Family* or person-oriented and *Eiffel Tower* or role-oriented types as the ways in which goods are produced and labour utilised that are rooted in a hierarchical system of command and control (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, p. 161). In *Family* cultures the leader is seen as ‘parent’ whose wisdom and experience guides members and who has ultimate authority over the organisation and its direction (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998; Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003b). A *Family* culture is an ‘ideal’ that is becoming rare in business, particularly in western societies where hierarchic organisations and the role people perform are more important than the people themselves. The *Eiffel Tower* culture is a ‘machine bureaucracy’ (Mintzberg, 1989) with a hierarchic structure based on the division of labour where the role of managers is to hold the levels below together (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). With a primary purpose of ensuring clarity and purpose in all facets of organisational operations, it formalises rules, reporting structures and duties. These organisations operate best in stable environments but in times of unpredictability rely on altering their structure and governing rules, and processes and procedures often associated with management philosophies such as restructuring, de-layering, re-engineering, and flattening (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998).

Incubator cultures are people centred with a ‘fulfilment’ orientation as a belief that when individuals are freed from the constraints of roles with rigid tasks and practices a creative synthesis flourishes promoting innovation that can ultimately translate into competitive advantage (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998; Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003b). The structure tends to be self-organising, with only essential rules formalised (e.g. ethical or safety issues) and goals broad based (Trompenaars &

Hampden-Turner, 1998; Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003b). Leaders may self-elect on the basis of a new perspective or idea but only become the leader by virtue of others following as approving of the direction and its potential (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Organisations that support an incubator culture are generally small due to the nature of their endeavours and the logistics of maintaining such a group through 'management by enthusiasm' (Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003b). Management by objectives is the *Guided Missile* culture which relies on flexibility, creativity and a strong sense of purpose (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, p. 161). It is task focused, adopting an attitude of 'do what ever it takes to get the job done', as the continual process of successful problem resolution (Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003b). Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) describe the *Guided Missile* culture as 'the *Eiffel Tower* in flight' with organisations commonly superimposing the former over the latter as 'Matrix Management' in creating multi-disciplinary teams (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Individuals gather under a central figure who acts as enabler and coordinator. Although individuals may be 'experts', it is egalitarian in that all members of the team are considered equal and any member may be required to 'take the lead' (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998).

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) concluded that just as interaction between societies may cause conflict and misunderstanding, organisational culture may also be a source of tension when employees familiar with one type of culture join an organisation whose culture is different. One study by Khoo *et al.*⁷⁴ (2004) suggests that the culture within organisations is more complex than imagined as "... about half of all employers reported that they had experienced problems with [temporary business migrants] lack of understanding of Australian workplace culture". This implies that societal factors may have some impact on an organisation's culture. Although, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) believe that societal culture is not strongly predicative of organisational culture. They found that countries close on the societal dimensions consistently differed

⁷⁴ The study was conducted over 135 employers ranging from small companies to multinational organisations.

on their organisational culture types⁷⁵ raising questions of what organisations modelled themselves on (e.g. competitors), were influenced by (e.g. ‘best practice’) and the validity of respondents perceptions (e.g. a good/bad fit between personal preference and organisation). Regardless of these unanswered questions, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) plotted countries against each culture type creating an expectation that particular societies favoured a certain organisational culture over another. As noted in Chapter 3, this work was based on Schein’s perspective that included acknowledgment of sub-cultures and overlapped with the original assertion by Trompenaars (1985) that meaning was, at least in part, cognitively derived. These points were not expanded upon by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) leaving the impression that each organisational culture represented a homogeneous type.

The GLOBE researchers (House *et al.*, 2004) surveyed the perceptions of values and practices at the organisational level using the same dimensions as their societal research discussed in Chapter 3. The researchers acknowledged that there were a ‘myriad’ of factors that could influence organisational culture, but held a belief that some would have a more systemic impact that could be comparable across cultures (Dickson *et al.*, 2004). Organisational culture was conceptualised by the GLOBE researchers as a nested culture within a larger society and therefore could be expected to reflect the dominant values and practices of that society (Brodbeck *et al.*, 2004). They also agreed that an organisation’s founder(s)/leader(s) could mediate the culture and took a cognitive view of this as the effects of schemata representing values and practices learned in a cultural context (Dickson *et al.*, 2004). Another issue considered was the effects of coercive isomorphism as the pressure exerted by societies on organisations to conform to its expectations. For example, this influence is seen in companies who publicised their ‘environmental polices’ in response to public opinion; large organisations who dictate the affairs of smaller suppliers dependent upon them; or

⁷⁵ For example, Australia, the UK and the US whose societal scores were closely grouped favoured cultures of Eiffel Tower, Incubator and Guided Missile respectively (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998).

government legislation⁷⁶ that targets industries, directly affecting their operating and environmental conditions.

Six of the original GLOBE dimensions showed a strong positive relationship supporting the notion that societal practices and values are strong predictors of those found in organisations⁷⁷. However, *Power Distance* measures highlighted an interesting difference between societies and organizations. At the societal level there was a large disparity between practices and values scores indicating a higher perception of inequality and greater need for more equal distribution of power. At the organisational level the difference was significantly smaller revealing a belief that to some degrees these inequalities were mediated within organisations (Brodbeck *et al.*, 2004). *Assertiveness* and *In-group Collectivism* dimensions showed significant correlation between societies and organisations on values but not practices (Den Hartog, 2004; Gelfand *et al.*, 2004) although the possible reasons for these ‘unexpected’ findings are neglected. Regardless of these aberrations, societies in general were seen as having a significant effect on organisations. The GLOBE researchers also sought to uncover any effects that industry sector may have on organisational practices both across societies, as industry specific, and within societies. Brodbeck *et al.* (2004, p. 667) found some support for industry influence on the practices of organisations but it was eclipsed by that of the larger society and in particular the effects of coercive isomorphism leading them to conclude that “ . . . the organizational design and competitive advantage of firms tend to be strongly influenced by their domestic home base”.

Despite organisational culture being specifically incorporated into GLOBE’s research there is remarkably little in-depth discussion of the meaning of results or implications for organisations. This may be due to the primary focus on the pursuit of a ‘culturally indorsed implicit theory of leadership’ (House & Javidan, 2004) and therefore the

⁷⁶ For example, workplace safety protocols, regulation of specific technology, taxation laws, policies for use of natural resource and import tariffs.

⁷⁷ Performance Orientation, Institutional Collectivism, Future Orientation, Uncertainty Avoidance, Humane Orientation and Gender Egalitarianism (Ashkanasy *et al.*, 2004; De Luque & Javidan, 2004; Emrich *et al.*, 2004; Gelfand *et al.*, 2004; Javidan, 2004; Kabasakal & Bodur, 2004).

culture of an organisation is seen as intrinsically linked to the leader through their preferences, decisions and world view built over time (Dickson *et al.*, 2004). However, developing the discussion of organisational culture as part of leadership practice is beyond both the scope and focus of this thesis.

4.4 IMAGINING ORGANISATIONS AND CULTURE

The perspectives presented above split across assumptions of organisational culture as homogenous in the typologies presented by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) and Deal and Kennedy (1982) or as an overarching framework beneath which lurk sub-cultures. These may either have a detrimental effect as portrayed by Hofstede (2001a) or are a fact of life due to complex interactions at functional and contextual levels as described by Schein (2004) and Sackmann (1997). The GLOBE research stands alone in not presenting a typology of organisational culture or addressing sub-cultures.

Organisations are initially the product of the founder as the manifestation of their intentions that frame purpose, commitment and order (Pettigrew, 1976). In the language of organisations, this is seen as its vision articulated in its mission, values and goals. The term ‘founder’ is now mainly reserved for young organisations (e.g. start-ups or entrepreneurial ventures) where every aspect of the organisation is the sole purview of its creator (Schein, 2009). Today founders have been replaced by ‘leadership’ and in what Pettigrew (1976) defines as the social dramas of organisations, change in leadership may eventually move an organisation from its original vision. Small firms such as family businesses are more likely to remain true to the original ideal as they are generally localised, targeting niche markets or have another edge over competitors⁷⁸. Larger organisations as they mature, diversify, and expand (particularly across borders), are more likely to transform that vision in staying aligned with their

⁷⁸ For example, ‘Australian owned’ could invoke national pride or concern for jobs ‘going offshore’ in appealing to local consumers.

market and remaining competitive. Rarely does the original ideal remain intact⁷⁹. Leaders are therefore seen as creating, maintaining or adjusting vision to assure the organisation's future in converting ideology into the 'social tissue' of organisational culture that creates meaning and potentially links attitude to action (Pettigrew, 1976). But what of societal culture?

Consistent with Sackmann's (1997) concept of any culture being deeply embedded in a larger context, organisations as a product of a society are not the clear cut manifestations that Hofstede's (2001a) believes true of human societies. Organisations may be identified as American or Australian but that does not translate into them being wholly a reflection of those societies, particularly in the case of hybrid or multinational organisations. Although some firms can be categorised as such, an American organisation in Australia is not the same as an American organisation at home or in another country. It is more appropriate to view organisations as adapting to external forces in a society as well as in a larger context such as industry. Therefore, organisations can be viewed as more a product of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) than society at large, as coercive, normative and mimetic factors influence the organisation.

In modern organisations, regardless of their founder/leadership, country of origin or size, societies influence organisations through coercive isomorphism as the external "... formal and informal pressures exerted on organizations ... by cultural expectations in the society within which organizations function" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150). Formalisation can be government legislation and informal could be seen as a society applying pressure for organisations to practice environmental sustainability or shareholders expectations of corporate governance in financial dealings. Acceding to these expectations confers legitimacy on the organisation as a good corporate citizen. Normative isomorphism as best practices, industry standards, professional guidelines

⁷⁹ Although one notable exception is the Japanese Matsushita Corporation (i.e. Panasonic) that still maintains the tenets of its founders philosophy almost 90 years later, despite the expansion and modernisation of the organisation (see Craig, 1997; Holden, 2001; Holden, 2002; Benn *et al.*, 2006).

and the like, all seek to regulate aspects of an organisation's functions. The pressure exerted depends upon industry and function as the contrast between what is required of a pharmaceuticals company in handling chemicals in comparison to a legal firm within the greater legal system. As the GLOBE researchers (Brodbeck *et al.*, 2004) found with industry factors however, societal influences described here as aspects of coercive isomorphism have a greater impact than those of normative isomorphism. The last of the three institutional isomorphic factors is mimetic as a voluntary, albeit reactionary response to uncertainty in the environment. One organisation seeing competitors excel attempts to copy it but as an approach to 'organising' it is inherently dangerous as the assumptions about the source of success may be inaccurate or inappropriate to the context. In this case the catalyst is external but the decision and responsibility for implementing it is internal to the organisation.

Organisations do have a culture but at the same time various sub-cultures can exist beneath it. In surveying the research on organisational culture Martin (1992) has made just this point and, furthermore, identified this as just one of three perspectives. The first, as the traditional view of organisational culture, is one of 'integration' where harmony and consensus is seen to exist across the organisation's membership. A second, differentiation, acknowledges the existence of sub-cultures on the basis that you cannot assume that consensus is achieved across any organisational culture, even if employees say they agree with what is espoused by the organisation (Martin, 1992). A differentiated perspective accepts the existence of overlapping and nested sub-cultures and sees consensus as a group level phenomenon arising from a shared, localised context beneath an overarching culture. In the last perspective, fragmentation, consensus is characterised as fleeting rather than stable and clear. As a 'web of individuals' it represents the convergence of people, tasks and information to tackle a specific issue. In summary Martin (1992, p. 7) states:

organizational researchers have developed radically different approaches to studying culture. Some define culture in different ways and study quite different phenomena; other researchers define culture in nearly identical ways (usually as consensus about shared values or assumptions), but from the evidence they present, it is clear that they do not have the same understanding of the meaning of the term. Some are generalists, writing as if any aspect of organizational life were part of culture, while others attempt to define culture

more narrowly, in order to distinguish it from related concepts such as norms, climate, or values.

While Martin has captured the broad categories of organisational culture, what has become clear in surveying the literature is that it is dominated by the traditional view of a strong, homogenous culture with a managerialist undercurrent as a means of managing organisational performance.

Managerialism is based on the assumption that there is an objective body of knowledge, skills and techniques that can be used to support the desired performance objectives of organisations. As Alvesson (2002, p. 123) states “ . . . [i]t is argued that by managing culture, e.g. creating ceremonies, rites, slogans, specific expression, etc, it is possible to facilitate a range of positive outcomes” and as such it is the inalienable right of managers to propagate it in promoting the common good. Like the situation of cultural others in cross-cultural management, at the heart of organisational culture lies a managerialist ideology as the need to control employee expectations and behaviour by teaching them how to perceive, think and feel, as Schein (1990) described it. Furthermore, Willmott (1993) argues that the managerialist approach is in fact reinforced by organisational culture.

These points are overlooked by most contributors to the field, with the culture of an organisation seen as a positive influence on performance and profitability, whose maintenance is the primary responsibility of the leadership and management team. If positive results are achieved, a causal relationship with organisational culture is presumed, acting as evidence of managerial performance alongside traditional measures such as growth and profit. Conversely, when things go wrong the finger is rarely pointed at the culture but those who are responsible for it. A great deal of the organisational culture literature has been devoted to cementing this positive relationship between performance and culture. Beginning with the ‘Quality Movement’, the success of Japanese organisations has fuelled this belief and been instrumental in the ‘culture change’ industry to instil new values and beliefs consistent with the latest version of organisational ambition and competitiveness (see Lewis, 1996a, 1996b). Nowhere is

this more evident than in the substantial proportion of literature now devoted to the need for organisations to change their culture in line with the view of organisations as a learning system.

4.5 KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, AND ORGANISATIONS

The view of organisations as learning systems is based on the belief that the knowledge and experience of employees as the product of learning internal and external to the organisation is a major source of competitive advantage and profitability (Marshall *et al.*, 2009b, 2009a). Organisations are repeatedly exhorted to weave a learning ethos into the fabric of their culture to foster learning at all levels of the organisation (Lewis, 2002). As a result, research into learning in organisations has experienced commensurate, and at some points exponential growth in demonstrating the need to harness the potential of the workforce (Crossan & Guatto, 1996; Davenport & Prusak, 1998). Supporting this ideal is organisational learning as the body of work exploring the capacity of organisations to create and share knowledge. The following section looks at what knowledge is and what it means in organisational contexts.

4.5.1 KNOWLEDGE AND ORGANISATIONS

As a general definition, knowledge is the accumulation of learning and experience an individual has formed over time, in varying contexts, which is continually modified and applied in everyday activity. A substantial amount of energy has been expended in classing knowledge types (see Spender, 1996; Alavi & Leidner, 2001), however for clarity the terms used in this discussion are: (a) explicit knowledge as that which can be reduced to instructions, procedures, specifications or some other form of precise information that can be written down or verbalised, and (b) tacit knowledge that cannot be easily articulated and is therefore virtually inaccessible to others⁸⁰. In organisational

⁸⁰ Although Tsoukas (2005) holds that the distinction between tacit and explicit is meaningless on the basis that both kinds are deeply entwined.

contexts the creation and sharing of knowledge, especially across the tacit/explicit boundary, is central to arguments that support organisational learning.

Most notable among contributors to organisational learning are Argyris and Schön (1978; 1996) who view organisations as entities that concurrently ‘hold’ and ‘represent’ knowledge in a mixture of tacit and explicit forms. In their view, organisations hold knowledge gained through their operations and retained inside people’s heads, documentation and physical objects that have a specific meaning. They represent knowledge as endorsed practices and procedures as the way tasks should be performed based on certain beliefs and values. Argyris and Schön (1996, p. 13) term these forms of knowledge as schema or theories-of-action “. . . as systems of beliefs that underlie action, as prototypes from which actions are derived, or as procedural prescriptions for action in the manner of a computer program”.

According to Argyris and Schön (1996), theories-of-action have two subcategories, espoused-theory and theory-in-use. In the individual, espoused-theory is used to rationalise or justify action that has its basis in beliefs, values and assumptions, while theory-in-use is what they actually do. Argyris and Schön assert that both forms are learned early through participation in society and organisational culture. At the level of organisations, the individual’s knowledge embodies values, beliefs, policies and strategies as their ‘window to the world’ or espoused-theory which may be far from the lived reality of their theories-in-use (Lakomski, 2009). This contrast between the subcategories of an organisation’s theories of action sits well with Schein’s underlying assumptions and espoused values and beliefs that form organisational culture. It can be seen as the disparity between what an organisation articulates as its culture and to what degree its practices support that culture. When organisational and individual theories-of-action are drawn together, another cause of organisational sub-cultures becomes clear as the duality of theories-of-action in competing meanings at the organisational and individual levels.

This view of competing theories-of-action brings some clarity to the circumstances in which cultural others find themselves in joining an organisation. Their theories-in-use have drawn on different societal and organisational contexts. As 'outsiders', their participation in the activities of the organisation and interaction with its members rely on their ability to make meaning of the new context. At the same time there is an expectation on the part of the organisation that cultural others will embrace its culture and contribute to its learning. At this level there are three sets of competing theories-of-action in evidence, those of the organisation, those of its employees and those of the cultural other, that may be vastly different, quite similar, or anywhere in between.

A central premise of organisational learning is that the culture of the organisation will develop an environment that values openness and inquiry, makes it 'safe' to explore and challenge, removes bureaucratic and political obstacles, encourages innovation and even risk, and makes it 'OK' to fail or make legitimate errors (Chiva-Gomez, 2003). A significant contribution of Argyris and Schön's (1996) theories-of-action is that it exposes the pitfalls of an organisational culture that espouses learning and knowledge sharing on the one hand, yet in practice (i.e. theory-in-use) fails to facilitate or value it. In this situation, an organisation cannot hope to learn and ultimately improve its position. As a consequence of this, employees also develop divergence in their theories-of-action through experiencing the organisation's lack of fulfilment of its 'cultural promises' of learning and knowledge sharing.

Parallels with Argyris and Schön (1996) can also be seen in the work of Sackmann (1992). In her view culture produces categories of knowledge within the organisational context. She terms these knowledge types as: (a) 'dictionary' as the descriptions given to people and things that define what is to be done; (b) 'directory' as practices or how things are done; (c) 'recipe' as prescriptions for how things should be done; and (d) 'axiomatic' as why things are done the way they are. Each of these may be indicative of the organisation's culture as a whole or they may become differentiated forming sub-cultures, each of which are to some degree also influenced by the sub or trans-organisational factors (e.g. profession or gender) described earlier. In making sense of

their working environment, individuals use their cognitive processes individually and as a group to mediate a shared context where, according to Sackmann (2003, p. 59), culture is the “ . . . basic beliefs commonly-held and learned by a group, that govern the group members’ perception, thoughts, feelings and actions and that are typical for the group as a whole”.

Blackler (1995) is another author who sees knowledge as central to organisations. His approach is seen as presenting a framework “ . . . to explain the formation of different types of knowledge organizations” (Moodysson & Jonsson, 2007, p. 121). Blackler (1995) asserts that different organisational forms engender different kinds of knowledge⁸¹. The first, encoded knowledge, resides in books, databases or other information repositories allowing individuals to access precise information. As explicit knowledge, its value to an organisation is that it is not lost if personnel move on (Williams, 2005). In Argyris and Schön’s terms, this forms part of the knowledge each organisation ‘holds’. The remaining four types focus on both explicit and tacit dimensions of knowledge.

Knowledge can be described as ‘embodied’ in key individuals as ‘know-how’ derived from learning, experience and socialisation in a specific context (Lam, 2002; Moodysson & Jonsson, 2007). According to Blackler (1995), embodied knowledge is the hallmark of *Expert-Dependent* organisations as professional bureaucracies (Mintzberg, 1989). They rely on acquiring the expert knowledge and skills of formally trained and highly credentialed individuals whose tacit knowledge is grafted onto units of the organisation. These units form a wide but flat hierarchical structure and can be likened to oligarchies with their own culture nested beneath the umbrella of the *Expert-Dependent* organisation. As experts, practice is often mandated by external bodies deemed competent to oversee professional activities (Starbuck, 1992), a view consistent with Sackmann’s (1992) trans-organisational culture based on profession. Therefore, the culture of the larger organisation becomes an overarching philosophy drawn from

⁸¹ These knowledge types were originally identified by Collins (1993).

the sub-cultures below, bonded to the obligations of the organisation in servicing its client base (Mintzberg, 1980). Described by Buttera (2000, p. 410) as “. . . a ‘box’ to contain professional practice” the *Expert-Dependent* organisation and its experts are less likely to exhibit variation between theories-in-use and espoused-theories due to the rigid professional framework that defines practice⁸².

Embrained is a second type of knowledge identified by Blackler (1995). This knowledge is acquired primarily through formal education that can be said to include the development of higher order conceptual and analytic capabilities (Lam, 2002; Moodysson & Jonsson, 2007) and the ongoing process of reflection on assumptions and experiences (Schön, 1991; Williams, 2005). Embrained knowledge dominates *Symbolic-Analyst-Dependent* organisations (Blackler, 1995) as knowledge is their key commodity⁸³. These types of organisations pursue individuals who have the ability to ‘think outside the box’ combined with a stock of explicit knowledge acquired through formal education and professional experience (Starbuck, 1992; Lam, 2002; Moodysson & Jonsson, 2007). In attracting these individuals, organisations are focused on their ability to make new connections, recognise patterns, create opportunities and identify alternative solutions. Unlike professional bureaucracies there are minimal formal hierarchies, policies or procedures as they only serve as barriers to the interpersonal interaction that stimulates individual creativity and ideas thus promoting learning by others (Nurmi, 1998). *Symbolic-Analyst-Dependent* organisations endeavour to create and maintain an organisational culture that balances standards for employee behaviour with autonomy and the flexibility to encourage innovation within the organisation. By its nature these organisations develop sub-cultures and divergence in theories-of-action through recognising the individual over the collective that could be considered more synthesis than conflicting factions.

⁸² For example, the often prescriptive relationship between hospital, doctor and medical association. However, an interesting paper by Waring & Currie (2009) exposes the contested ground of professional jurisdiction when the professional autonomy of doctors and the risk management of hospitals meet over the issue of organisational learning.

⁸³ Often described as Knowledge Intensive Firms these type of organisation conceive of knowledge as being more important than other forms of capital due to its commercial potential.

Knowledge-Routinised (Blackler, 1995) organisations rely on embedded knowledge that resides within the context of the system as routines, habits and norms established over time through continuous social, cultural and technological interactions (Guile, 2002; Lam, 2002; Lewis, 2005). As a ‘machine bureaucracy’ it has clearly defined roles, rules, standards and processes to maintain command and control (Mintzberg, 1989). Strategic directives are mandated by the senior management who “. . . are the ones who create knowledge” (Nonaka *et al.*, 2001), conveyed through multiple layers of middle management in a complex structure of vertical hierarchy with the power at the ‘strategic apex’ (Mintzberg, 1989). The ongoing role of management is to translate “. . . individual knowledge into rules and procedures and . . . [filter] information up and down the organizational hierarchy” (Lam, 2000, p. 495) as its primary concern is with embedding knowledge in technology to make the organisation’s collective operations run more efficiently and effectively. The culture of a *Knowledge-Routinised* organisation is a ‘sacred cow’ of belief in the historical validity of the ideals and values upon which the organisation has so far succeeded, which is perceived as tacitly accepted by its members (Alvesson, 2002). This type of organisation is a fertile environment for sub-cultures and divergence in theories-of-action, even to the degree of fostering counter-cultures such as those noted Hofstede (2001a).

The last knowledge type identified by Blackler (1995) is encultured knowledge favoured by *Communications-Intensive* organisations where shared understandings are the product of acculturation and socialisation within a group, exemplified by the concept of communities of practice (Blackler, 1995; Guile, 2002; Lewis, 2005). As an ‘ad-hocracy’ (Mintzberg, 1989) it is the antithesis of a machine bureaucracy with minimal formalised rules, regulations or hierarchy, operating as a collective who share a common purpose. It is what Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) identified as typifying the *Guided Missile* culture as this type of organisation “. . . is able to fuse experts drawn from different specialities into smoothly functioning project teams” (Mintzberg, 1980, pp. 336-337). These teams are flexible and responsive to change and as a collaborative effort are seen as promoting knowledge sharing and creation (Mintzberg & McHugh, 1985; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1997; Criscuolo *et al.*, 2007). The

existence of sub-cultures and divergence in theories-of-action are therefore perceived as different points of view that can aid creative processes and innovation.

Blackler's intention was to highlight dominant knowledge types associated with broad organisational forms (Buttera, 2000; Lam, 2002). In his view, organisations do not neatly fall into one type of knowledge organisation or another as some functions or units can extend across boundaries into other types. For example, research and development functions in largely bureaucratic, knowledge-routinised organisations may operate as more of a knowledge intensive unit. What Blackler's (1995) discussion highlights is that an organisation's dominant knowledge type and associated structure may in large part dictate the knowledge the organisation is geared to hold or represent as described by Argyris and Schön (1996). The type of knowledge that dominates an organisation may be at odds with its articulated culture in terms of knowledge creating and sharing strategies, further adding to divergence in its theories-of-action and highlighting another possible factor in the emergence of sub-cultures.

The relationship between an organisation and the type of knowledge that can dominate it paints a complex picture of the organisational context that has implications for learning. In the next section the literature on the concept of organisational learning is surveyed to uncover what 'learning' means to organisations.

4.5.2 LEARNING AND ORGANISATIONS

The idea that an organisation may learn is anathema to many, as learning is considered the preserve of humans and is therefore incongruous and virtual heresy when applied to organisations (Argyris & Schön, 1996; Lewis, 2005; Scarbrough & Swan, 2005). In the early years some took the view that organisational learning was simply the sum of the learning of organisational members. However, as Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995, p. 59) argue, organisational learning should be the “ . . . process that 'organizationally' amplifies the knowledge created by individuals and crystallizes it as part of the knowledge network of the organization”. Argyris and Schön (1996, p. 6, original emphasis) further argue that while organisations can be viewed as collectives housing

individual learning, but if “ . . . the knowledge held by individuals fails to enter into the stream of distinctively organisational thought and action, organizations know *less* than their members do”. However, Hedberg (1981, p. 6) states that:

Although organizational learning occurs through individuals, it would be a mistake to conclude that organizational learning is nothing but the cumulative result of their members' learning. Organizations do not have brains, but they have cognitive systems and memories. As individuals develop their personalities, personal habits, and beliefs over time, organizations develop world views and ideologies. Members come and go, and leadership changes, but organizations' memories preserve certain behaviors, mental maps, norms, and values over time.

A distinct problem with organisational learning is that conceptualisations of ‘organisational’ and ‘learning’ are not clearly defined (Weick & Westley, 1996; Schein, 1999). ‘Organisational’ implies a whole of organisation conception that could be attributed to the work of Senge (1990, p. 4, original emphasis) who stated that “[t]he organizations that will truly excel in the future will be the organisations that discover how to tap people’s commitment and capacity to learn at *all* levels in an organization”. His conceptualisation is that of a ‘learning organisation’ where learning pervades the entire organisation and, as noted earlier, is a pillar of its culture.

The terms ‘organisational learning’ and ‘learning organisation’ have therefore caused some confusion as they are often used interchangeably (e.g. Crossan & Guatto, 1996; Clarke & Clegg, 1998; Field, 2000). Many authors now view them as opposite sides of the same coin. The ‘learning organisation’ literature takes a prescriptive approach providing models, practices and interventions for developing an organisation that learns written with the practitioner in mind, while on the other side ‘organisational learning’ represents theory based descriptions of how learning takes place in organisational settings⁸⁴. However, Burnes *et al.* (2003) remark that the term learning organisation is becoming far less common in the literature due to few organisations having achieved this hallowed status as the realisation of learning across the breadth and depth of the organisational structure, while Garvin (1998) suggests that the literature surrounding the

⁸⁴ Argyris & Schön (1996), Tsang (1997), Harvey & Denton (1999), Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2000), Schwandt & Marquardt (2000) and Vera & Crossan (2005).

concept is too abstract and finesses many of the issues regarding what it means and how it is managed and measured. With continuous learning across an entire organisation seen as idealised (Irani *et al.*, 2009; Marshall *et al.*, 2009b), ‘organisational’ has become the more modest aspiration of generating knowledge anywhere and making it accessible across the organisation with the aim of promoting a positive effect in other areas (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2008b; Marshall *et al.*, 2009b, 2009a). This is seen as the sharing and diffusion of knowledge that can generate new ideas, promote ‘best practice’ or result in learning as “ . . . a problem-solving process targeted at filling the gaps between actual and potential performance” (Štrach & Everett, 2006, p. 56). Evidence of this can be seen in the literature with a substantial increase of research into learning at the group level (e.g. Lick, 2006; Edmondson *et al.*, 2007; London & Sessa, 2007; du Plessis, 2008; Bunderson & Boumgarden, 2010).

The term ‘learning’ in organisational contexts is more problematic as it reflects the lack of consensus evident in the contributing social sciences (see Fiol & Lyles, 1985; Dodgson, 1993; Miner & Mezias, 1996; Weick & Westley, 1996; Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2000). It has been described as the sharing of mental models (Schein, 1993), the product of systems thinking (Senge, 1990), adaptation (Cyert & March, 1963), reflection on action (Schön, 1991), error detection and correction (Argyris, 1977), the product of friction (Bijlsma-Frankema *et al.*, 2006), conscious and critical reflection (Lipshitz *et al.*, 2007), meaning (Wenger, 1998), change in behaviour (Daft & Weick, 1984; Akbar, 2003), a change in situation (Carroll *et al.*, 2005) information diffusion⁸⁵ (Huber, 1991) and sharing of experiences and prior learning (Salk & Lyles, 2007), to name a few. Alternatively, it is couched in broad terms such as ‘learning by doing’, ‘learning by searching’, ‘learning by imitating’ and ‘learning by experimentation’. However, few authors writing on organisational learning address the actual process of learning. A notable exception is the work of Argyris and Schön (1996) who argue that the majority of learning in organisations constitutes a simple feedback loop that is merely error detection in coping with or solving an immediate problem.

⁸⁵ As a process of knowledge acquisition, information distribution, information interpretation and organisational memory as physically recording of information (Huber, 1991). .

This 'single loop' of identification-solution-result temporarily cures the 'symptoms' but not the underlying cause and allows the organisation to maintain the status quo. When there is a discontinuity between action and outcome as unwanted or unanticipated results, another cycle of the loop occurs but no substantive learning takes place. In effect, the single loop equates to nothing more than employees applying 'tried and tested' solutions to familiar problems and situations. Some minor adjustments may be made but these are bound by entrenched norms and behaviours reinforced by past experiences (Levitt & March, 1988; Clarke & Clegg, 1998; Murray, 2002). As simple adaptive learning, it can lead to 'strategic drift' as organisations become more disconnected from their environment (Murray, 2002). Argyris and Schön (1996) advocate that if organisational learning is to take place then 'double loop' learning is required.

Double loop learning seeks to process a problem or situation at a much deeper level through a second feedback loop where the "... error is detected and corrected in ways that involve the modification of an organization's underlying norms, policies and objectives" (Argyris & Schön, 1978, p. 3). This requires the organisation to 'learn how to learn' (Mirvis, 1996) as 'deutrolearning' (Bateson, 1972; Argyris & Schön, 1996), 'higher-level learning' (Fiol & Lyles, 1985) or 'generative learning' (Senge, 1990) which focus on the development of higher level cognitive abilities that promote a holistic or 'world view' (Murray, 2002). In the case of double loop learning, this means questioning the values and assumptions of the theory-in-use by looking at a problem or situation as if it were unfamiliar or unconvincing, therefore going beyond symptoms to cause. As Reynolds (1998, p. 189) describes it, this strikes at the heart of "... taken-for-granted, beliefs and values reflecting the view of the majority or those in power so pervasively that they have become unquestioned 'common sense'".

Returning to Blackler's (1995) typology, *Expert-Dependent* and *Knowledge-Routinised* organisations primarily support single loop learning. *Expert-Dependent* organisations focus on familiar problems where "[p]roblem solving involves the application of an existing body of abstract knowledge in a logical and consistent way" (Lam, 2000, p.

494). Learning is narrowed to specialisation resulting in convergent thinking to perfect the speciality taking precedence over cooperating with others where divergent thinking about a problem may result in innovation (Mintzberg, 1989; Lam, 2000, 2002). *Knowledge-Routinised* organisations stifle any substantive learning as they hold the conviction that all the knowledge needed is embedded in their systems which in turn indoctrinate employees into the ‘one best way’ of doing things and thus repel innovation from within. Conversely, *Symbolic-Analyst-Dependent* and *Communication-Intensive* organisations are more adept at double loop learning. *Symbolic-Analyst-Dependent* organisations rely on the ‘higher order’ cognitive abilities of employees to process problems at a deeper level as ‘reflection in action’ (Schön, 1991). As Mezirow (1990, p. 13) argues “ . . . reflection is not concerned with the how or the how-to of action but with the why, the reasons for and consequences of what we do”. The *Communications-Intensive* organisation allows the *status quo* and ‘sacred cows’ of the organisation to be challenged. Knowledge and experiences internal and external to the organisation are shared in a synergistic relationship. Essentially, the *Communications-Intensive* organisation encourages a systemic and ongoing reappraisal of itself by its communities that is only possible because it is committed to braking down the barriers consistent with highly bureaucratic structures.

The conclusion that can be drawn is that organisational learning consists of more than the sum of the individual learning. Following this discussion, it could be said that organisational learning is a way of developing an organisation’s capacity to translate continuously the experiences of individuals into practices that will contribute to performance improvement. Therefore, organisations learn through the participation of their workforce, and it is important to acknowledge that they as carriers of knowledge play a significant role in its diffusion. However, enabling knowledge to diffuse in this way is only possible if the organisation’s structure, culture and perception of the value of knowledge facilitates the integration of this new learning by individuals into its activities and knowledge base.

While Argyris and Schön (1996) have provided insight into learning in the organisational context, organisational learning is marked by a distinct lack of concern with the actual process of learning as a human function.

4.6 THE COMPLEXITY IN ORGANISATIONS

Organisational culture is described as an essential tool in the arsenal of organisations in promoting organisational values, beliefs and behaviours over those of the individual that implicitly includes those of cultural others. Martin (2002) describes this as a culture of integration, a solid monolith of consensus and perspective. Significantly, unlike the view of societal culture presented in the previous chapter, there is far more acceptance of organisational culture as less than homogeneous with sub-cultures often emerging as a result of sense making by groups as they endeavour to produce the outcomes desired by the organisation. As Argyris and Schön (1996) have demonstrated, the dichotomies in theories-of-action at the levels of organisation and individual are one such source of cultural fragmentation. Although typologies are useful in describing organisations in general terms of culture type or knowledge attributes but they fail to account for the existence of sub-cultures and do not capture the fine detail of the layers below as the way in which employees make meaning of their environment.

Organisational learning, as a pillar of organisational culture in a time when knowledge is seen as competitive advantage, is surrounded by descriptive and prescriptive accounts that celebrate its value but significantly ignore the process. Pawlowsky (2001) sees it as ‘management science’ that has embraced the promise of learning but not adopted a broader conception of what constitutes learning or knowledge. As Dodgson (1993, pp. 376-377) argues “[t]he various literatures tend to examine the *outcomes* of learning, rather than delve into what learning actually is and how these outcomes are achieved”. Even Argyris and Schön (1996) who generally tackled learning as either single- or double-loop (leaving aside ‘deuterolearning’ here) skirt in-depth discussion of cognition and learning as reference to thinking, meaning, knowing, remembering, and schemata of theories of action.

In terms of organisational culture and organisational learning, few authors attach any significance to the presence of cultural others, and even fewer see them as a source of differentiated knowledge that can make a contribution to the organisation's stock of knowledge beyond their defined skill set. Discussions of this nature are generally reserved for hybrid organisations and multinationals, and even in these cases the process of learning is defined in terms of high level constructs⁸⁶. Williams (2005; 2006; 2007a; 2007b) has researched this issue albeit as knowledge transfer from migrants. Similarly, psychological perspectives of organisational learning have been offered but in-depth discussion of the processes are omitted (see Maier *et al.*, 2001; Defillippi & Ornstein, 2005).

4.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has investigated the links between cross-cultural management and organisational culture as an agenda identified in Chapter 2. It has unearthed a tacit belief that employees as individuals come to understand the organisation through learning its culture in terms of what it values, how it sees itself and its ambitions, and based on the assumption that the organisation's structure and practices are consistent with these. This learning of a new culture holds the expectation that any societal differences as immutable properties of the individual will be reduced by such new knowledge.

More broadly, notions of learning and knowledge frequently hold a privileged place in an organisation's culture on the basis that they are a source of competitive advantage. However, societal culture as learning that forms differentiated knowledge appears discarded from such consideration, principally because conceptions of culture, learning and knowledge are so narrowly defined and so poorly synthesised into an understanding of individuals as learning agents.

⁸⁶ For example, Gupta & Govindarajan (2000), Antal *et al.* (2001), Lyles (2001), Macharzina *et al.* (2001), Salk & Simonin (2005), Sparrow (2006), Bonache & Brewster (2007), Salk & Lyles (2007), Kieser & Koch (2008), Lervik (2008) and Law & Gunasekaran (2009).

This chapter has reinforced the need for culture to be recognised as a form of knowledge. As differentiated ways of seeing and doing, regardless of its source, it has the potential to make a valuable contribution to organisational learning. In the following chapter this claim will be supported by presenting an account of learning as individual cognition that is basic to the formation of culture and knowledge. By thus addressing the fourth and last agenda of cross-cultural management originally identified in Chapter 2, the next chapter presents a view of knowledge as more than the de-contextualised accumulation of information in the 'black box' of the individual mind and reframes it as the product of situated learning that is contextually bound.

CHAPTER 5: CULTURE, LEARNING, AND COGNITION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 3, the comparative research agenda of cross-cultural management pointed to culture as the product of learning within a society that shaped an individual's view of the world. Conversely, in Chapter 4, the organisational culture agenda of cross-cultural management highlighted the need for individuals to learn the culture of the organisation which Schein (1984) described as ways of perceiving, thinking and feeling in relation to the problems of the organisation. In both cases, it was made explicit that culture must be managed to prevent conflict or unintended consequences. Further to this, organisational culture is often used to promote learning within an organisation as an integral component in obtaining competitive advantage through the creation and sharing of knowledge. Notably, the literature across this field, and the supporting discipline of organisational learning, fails to address in any depth how humans learn or how knowledge is formed.

In this chapter, the last cross-cultural management agenda of 'learning in context' is presented and, as will become apparent, it too fails to provide a comprehensive account of knowledge or learning. This deficit across the literature is dealt with by offering a cognitive account of learning and knowledge that reframes the meaning and manifestations of culture.

A view of culture as a cognitive property of individuals is advanced through the lens of contemporary cognitive science and in particular connectionist theory as it provides a superior account of culture as a form of knowledge distributed across the neural net of the brain along other schemata formed through learning. This unfolds the nature of culture as a dynamic construct where meaning and actions arise from situated learning and experiences that are contextually bound. It explains how individuals come to share in the 'knowing' and the 'doing' required for their activities. The discussion is then

extended to socially distributed cognition as the way in which individuals connect with, and make sense of their environment, particularly in organisational contexts.

This chapter also provides an overview of learning theory as a means of differentiating connectionist theory as it applies to learning from traditional conceptions before exploring connectionism and socially distributed cognition.

5.2 CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT AND LEARNING IN CONTEXT

As discerned in Chapter 2, an agenda within cross-cultural management describes culture as ‘learning in context’ that frames the knowledge of cultural others. Although well established in Anthropology, Sociology and Psychology, it was only as observations of the differences in management and leadership styles across organisations embedded in different nations became apparent that the idea was drawn into cross-cultural management (e.g. Witkin, 1967; Redding, 1980 #2413; Lord & Smith, 1983). Several early writers in the field developed views that culture was connected to mental representations as ‘cognitive maps’ developed by the individual (e.g. Sekaran, 1983; Maruyama, 1985; Adler *et al.*, 1986) and described by Shaw (1990, p. 627) as people developing:

cognitive structures that help them organize and process information efficiently. These structures consist of categories (referred to as schemas) that develop slowly over time through repeated experiences with objects, persons, and/or situations. Schemas organize the way individuals perceive their environment.

When employees of different cultures come into contact, particularly in hybrid organisations, the ‘cognitive’ aspect is often integrated into the text.

In strategic alliances, Das and Kumar (2010a; 2010b) refer to ‘intercultural sensemaking’ as partners learn about each other, but the discussion is levelled at ‘managing the problem’. Similarly, Haslberger (2005) sees cultural interaction as a process of adaptation where cognitive factors can be measured to assess the progress of the relationship, and describe language skills as one mediating factor. These views

imply that ‘new learning’ is undertaken by the cultural others in connecting their existing learning and knowledge to a new context. Earley and Mosakowski (2004a; 2004b) portray individuals as having a cognitive component of ‘cultural intelligence’ that allows them to come to understand and adapt to people in different cultural contexts⁸⁷. They see this as a competence necessary in today’s globalised world and provide an instrument to self assess and steps to cultivate this form of intelligence. From this perceptive, all individuals need to build some level of cognitive ‘cultural confidence’ that will allow them to learn from experience and apply their knowledge in different cultural contexts.

Mitchell *et al.* (2011) describe cultural diversity as cognitive heterogeneity that can promote knowledge creation through the synthesis of different knowledge and perspectives. Indeed, culture as learning is often linked to potential benefits of increased productivity, innovation and creativity in organisational settings, particularly in studies of international hybrid organisations and multinationals where issues of learning as ‘knowledge flows’ are seen as imperative to the venture⁸⁸. Although the literature aligns with Foldy’s (2004) observation that at least groups appear capable of learning from and across cultural differences, invariably culture as a cognitive property of individuals remains coloured by cross-cultural management’s overarching view of culture-as-difference to be managed, often linking back to Hofstede’s dimensions as the

⁸⁷ Although ‘cultural intelligence’ is described as a new way to conceive of culture, it should be pointed out that it is based on an information systems/symbol processing view in contrast to the connectionist perspective that will be offered in this chapter. More specifically, it advocates that interaction with other cultures can develop cultural knowledge that can then be categorised to enhance future interactions and diffuse situations of cultural conflict. Furthermore, cultural intelligence is seen as something that can be learned through developing advanced cognitive processing that allows culture and situations to be analysed (see: Earley, 2002; Earley & Ang, 2003; Earley & Mosakowski, 2004a, 2004b; Earley & Peterson, 2004; Thomas, 2004; Sternberg & Grigorenko, 2006; Thomas, 2006; Triandis, 2006; Ang & Van Dyne, 2008; Gregory *et al.*, 2009). The distinction between an information systems/symbol processing perspective and connectionism will be elaborated on in this chapter.

⁸⁸ McLeod *et al.* (1996), Lawrence (1997), Chatman *et al.* (1998), Jehn *et al.* (1999), Gupta & Govindarajan (2000), Lyles (2001), Macharzina *et al.* (2001), Dess *et al.* (2003), McMillan-Capehart (2005), Sparrow (2006), Bonache & Brewster (2007), Mir *et al.* (2008), Rose-Anderssen & Allen (2008), Collins *et al.* (2009), Shore *et al.* (2009) and Zanon *et al.* (2010).

basis of differences (e.g. Earley & Mosakowski, 2004b; Chen *et al.*, 2010; Das & Kumar, 2010a).

The view of culture as ‘learning in context’ lacks a theoretical basis for either learning or knowledge and carries the implicit assumption that the reader will go in search of what these constructs mean and how they relate to cognition. Generally, the literature adopts self referential approach by circling back to the need for a strong organisation culture, and one that promotes learning and a supportive environment. The field of organisational learning is then invoked in matters associated with the learning itself. As Mitchell *et al.* (2011, p. 99) state, “[i]t is only when both diverse knowledge and processes to analyse and integrate such knowledge coexist, that diversity will have a positive impact on performance”. However, before integration comes understanding of cognitive functioning which has remained an under-developed and under-researched facet in cross-cultural management that has itself failed to learn from advances in contemporary learning theory.

The view of culture-as-difference stems from the omission of where ‘real’ learning takes place. The perspective offered by this thesis is based on human similarities underlying cultures as the cognitive processing by individuals as they ‘learn in context’ and build knowledge structures in the brain. These structures can be interconnected and are subject to modification and extension as new learning and experiences are encountered. This is what ‘Culture’ is, a view unknown in cross-cultural management.

The cognitive account of culture offered by this thesis is done using connectionist theory of learning and distributed cognition. In clearly differentiating this approach from others, the following section overviews traditional accounts of learning.

5.3 FROM BEHAVIOURISM TO CONSTRUCTIVISM

A behaviourist perspective takes an approach to learning that separates the ‘inner workings’ (e.g. thinking and feeling) of the individual from their outer behaviours, as the inner workings are perceived as behaviours in themselves (D'Andrade, 1995). As

Huber (1991, p. 89) articulates it “[a]n entity learns if, through its processing of information, the range of its potential behaviors is changed”. Early behaviourism held that learning was the conditioning of a subject using stimulus and response to imprint on the ‘black box’ of the mind (Heil, 2004).

Pavlov (1849-1936) conditioned dogs to salivate at the sound of a bell in anticipation of food. This learning, as ‘classical conditioning’ promoted a reflexive response that can be described as simply training leading to a predictable behaviour (salivation) by connecting one stimulus (i.e. bell) with another (i.e. food) (Harnish, 2002; Bermúdez, 2010). Watson (1878-1958) extended the observations of Pavlov in conditioning an infant, ‘Little Albert’, to cry at the sight of a pet rat after being repeatedly frightened by a loud noise each time he reached for it (Lefrançois, 2000). The child, while initially unafraid of the rat, learned to associate it with the noise evoking the fearful response of crying and highlighting automatic, unconditioned responses inherent in humans. Watson’s aim was to predict and control this spontaneous behaviour (Harnish, 2002). Thorndike and Hull, while still of the stimulus-response school, adopted a different approach in theorising that learning is governed by a set of laws.

Thorndike’s (1874-1949) laws held the theoretical view that learning was the result of strengthening connections between stimulus and response through practice (Law of Exercise), reinforcement through reward or punishment (Law of Effect), and was dependent on disposition (Law of Readiness) to learn the desired behaviour (Lefrançois, 2000; Mowrer & Klein, 2001). Essentially, it supported a view of learning as trial and error in finding the most appropriate response to a given stimulus leading to habit formation (Tomlinson, 1997). Where Thorndike’s laws were the articulation of theory, Hull’s (1884-1952) laws were defined as mathematical formulae that he believed could quantify learning and predict behaviour. Effectively, it is a system where knowledge of a set of input variables (stimulus characteristics, e.g. number of prior reinforcements), each corresponding with a set of intervening variables (mathematical functions), that predict the likelihood (or not) of a specific behavioural response (Lefrançois, 2000). The significant contribution of these two theorists consisted of highlighting the

importance of reinforcement in learning which was also a pillar of the work of Skinner, considered to be the most radical of the behavioural learning theorists (Lefrançois, 2000; Bermúdez, 2010).

Skinner (1950) was a vocal critic of learning theory, which he described as ‘a refuge from the data’ in inferring or speculating on the unobservable aspects of learning. Skinner’s own approach was an elaboration of classical conditioning seeking to uncover laws of behaviour (Hinson, 1987; Bermúdez, 2010). Based on direct observation, his ‘operant conditioning’ proposed modification of voluntary (i.e. cued by the environment) behaviour through consequences as positive or negative reinforcement and punishment that would lead to change in behaviour over time (Hinson, 1987; Lefrançois, 2000). Skinner later turned his ideas to linguistics and for many this marked the end of dominance by behaviourist perspectives (Evers & Lakowski, 2000; Harnish, 2002; Heil, 2004; Marcus, 2009; Bermúdez, 2010). Skinner (1957) proposed that verbal behaviour could be controlled by reinforcement and punishment which drew a critical and detailed review by Chomsky (1959, p. 26) who stated:

The magnitude of the failure of this attempt to account for verbal behavior serves as a kind of measure of the importance of the factors omitted from consideration, and an indication of how little is really known about this remarkably complex phenomenon.

The phenomenon that wasn’t accounted for was the functioning of the unobservable black box between the observable stimulus as input and behaviour as output (Harnish, 2002; Heil, 2004; Marcus, 2009). Unlike many behavioural theorists who were hostile to explanations that included unseen mechanisms (Churchland, 1999; Elman *et al.*, 1999), some began to embrace a cognitive conception of learning to save behaviourism from being completely discredited.

Hebb (1904-1985) proposed that ‘higher mental processes’ in the brain mediated stimuli before a response became observable (Hebb, 1958). These processes were seen as ‘impulses’ that switched between cells of the brain. In not straying too far from his belief in the tenets of behaviourism Hebb (1958, p. 64) stated that:

All behavior is under sensory guidance, through the switchboard of the central nervous system. Reflexive or sense-dominated behavior is controlled by direct connections; higher behavior involves mediating processes (roughly, ideas or images). The mediating process is an activity of the switchboard itself, not a straight-through transmission. It can hold a sensory input for an appreciable time before transmitting it; it may also be excited by other central activities (i.e. other mediating processes), instead of by sensory input.

Similarly, Tolman (1886-1959) speculated that ‘cognitive maps’ (Tolman, 1948) were developed through learning and that these maps were associated with expectations in relation to a goal and therefore behaviour was purposive in linking stimuli with these expectations in achieving the goal (Lefrançois, 2000; Mowrer & Klein, 2001). While Hebb and Tolman were North American, cognitive views of learning were also emerging in Europe and particularly important were those of Gestalt psychology. Köhler (1887-1967), Wertheimer (1880-1943) and Koffka (1886-1941) as proponents of Gestalt theory were influential in framing the process of learning as more than the objective observation of inputs and outputs favoured by most behaviourists. Wertheimer (1924, p. 2) argued that:

There are wholes, the behaviour of which is not determined by that of their individual elements, but where the part-processes are themselves determined by the intrinsic nature of the whole.

Central to this argument is that the functions of the brain must be viewed as a unified and dynamic system where cognitive processes such as perception and insight are key functions in the learning of individuals as their direct experience of the world (Lefrançois, 2000). This view of learning and those of Tolman and Hebb illustrated the weakness in a purely behaviourist perspective that ignores the ‘black box’ of the mind, the realisation of which gave cognitive perspectives an opportunity to flourish.

Behaviourism also has strong association with the view of culture as evolutionary in that the observable actions and behaviour of people in a cultural group are considered conditioned responses learned by individuals. Predicated on the belief that all cultures developed similarly but advanced at different rates, evolutionary culture sought to explain the universal artefacts of culture and the rules that regulated their creation. From this perspective culture is simply the sum of learned behaviours that forms a basis

for the cultural dimensions of Hofstede, Trompenaars and GLOBE, and against which countries are measured and perceptions of their citizens are drawn. While these studies acknowledged some degree of variation in the cultural views held by a society, they still held that averages of scores reflected behavioural ‘laws’ rooted in the past.

Behaviourism was useful in shedding light on relatively simple learning (e.g. correctly assembling an object on a production line) and its contribution was helpful in early theories of administrative behaviour but it still failed to account for the complexity of human behaviour (Evers & Lakomski, 2000). One principal flaw in this perspective is that learning may not always result in observable behaviour. As Friedlander (1983, p. 194) so eloquently puts it:

Change resulting from learning need not be visibly behavioral. Learning may result in new and significant insights and awareness that dictate no behavioral change. In this sense the crucial element in learning is that the organism be consciously aware of differences and alternatives and have consciously chosen one of these alternatives. The choice may be not to reconstruct behavior but, rather, to change one's cognitive maps or understandings

A cognitive view of learning is by no means new with the work of the philosopher Locke (1632 - 1704) focusing on the role of education in developing cognitive abilities that generated ideas through reflection on “ . . . perception, thinking, doubting, believing, reasoning, knowing, willing, and all the different actings of our own minds” (Locke, 1841, p. 51). This moved the focus from indoctrination to achieve the right behaviour, to understanding how individuals develop. Learning is seen as the result of a person’s thinking, how a person processes the information they receive and how they respond to it, so the ‘cognitive architecture’ (Fodor & Pylyshyn, 1988) of these interrelated processes was central to understanding the process itself. Foremost amongst theorists of this persuasion was Vygotsky (1978; 1986) and his work of the cognitive development of children.

Vygotsky (1994b) described learning in terms of social development, grounded in contextual activities that build knowledge based on the individual’s views and experiences which “ . . . shape their conceptions of needs and their interpretations of the

purposes or goals of an activity” (Crawford, 1996, p. 44). Often termed Social Constructivism, it is the capacity of humans to construct a social reality based on the interpretation and meaning as knowledge built in a social context. He included culture as a factor in initially framing the intellectual and psychological development of the child teaching them both what to think and how to think. Vygotsky (1978, p. 57) describes the process thus:

Every function in the child’s cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals.

His belief was there was a ‘zone of proximal development’ that was the difference between the ‘real’ development of knowledge by groups and the ‘potential’ of the individual to develop further if assisted by a more capable or experienced other (e.g. parent, teacher).

Similarly, Bruner (1964) compares the development of children with evolution that parallels culture as Social Darwinism. As humans evolved and their tools became more advanced so did their ‘rationcinative’ or intellectual capacity (Lefrançois, 2000). Described as enactive (i.e. strengthening motor skills), iconic (e.g. mental images of objects) and symbolic (e.g. language skills) representations, Bruner (1964, p. 14) sees learning as building and integrating these capacities from an early age through engaging learners in ways that they can construct their own version of the world as:

[w]hat is significant about the growth of mind in the child is to what degree it depends not upon capacity but upon the unlocking of capacity by techniques that come from exposure to the specialized environment of a culture.

This variation of learning that occurs when individuals reflect on their experiences and construct new knowledge is inherently social through their interaction with others and the environment (von Glasersfeld, 1996; Lefrançois, 2000; Henson, 2003; Schunk, 2008) and would also be true for the others involved in the activity. Learning through observation, imitation and participation in a social context is therefore construction of

knowledge and “ . . . by and large human knowledge, and the criteria and methods we use in our inquiries, are all *constructed*” (Phillips, 1995, p. 5, original emphasis). Another significant contributor to this perspective was Piaget (1896-1980).

Piaget contended that knowledge is built through learning as adaptive processes of assimilation and accommodation (Coon, 1998). Assimilation is using present knowledge to respond to a given situation, and accommodation as the act of changing this knowledge through deeper understanding gained through experience. His *Genetic Epistemology* (Lefrançois, 2000) identified stages of cognitive development in children through observing them interacting with their environment. Learning from Piaget’s (2001) perspective was a process of maturation as an increasing capacity to understand and make meaning of the world, a view that has underpinned models of teaching, learning and curriculum.

Freire (1921-1997) emphasised learning as facilitated through dialogue where teacher and learner build new knowledge through negotiating content and strategies for that learning (Freire, 1972). Active engagement of the learner is essential to their construction of reality and the development of critical thinking that should be grounded in the context of their society. Freire and Faundez (1989) advocated encouraging learners to ask questions allowing them to compare current knowledge with what was being learned, leading them to not only externalise knowledge but identify any missing connections. They also noted that cultural norms can impede a learners’ ability to question as it may be seen as a challenge to authority, therefore a democratic approach in the learning situation is required to make learners feel motivated to ask questions and feel safe in making errors (Freire & Faundez, 1989). An important aspect of the work of Vygotsky, Bruner, Piaget and Freire is their cognitive view of the process of learning coupled with research that was primarily conducted in natural environments using human subjects, as opposed to behaviourism which had relied heavily on laboratory experiments with animals. The observations of these theorists in regard to learning also have their parallel in studies of culture.

Within cultural anthropology, the concept of ‘cognitive representations’ as shared aspects of culture was founded upon the belief that learners within a culture attach similar meanings to words, symbols or concepts (Romney & Moore, 1998; Goodenough, 2002). Terminological, or classification systems⁸⁹ were a common method of cultural inquiry based on the premise that language is the coded thoughts residing in individual minds (Romney & Moore, 1998; Goodenough, 2002), so “ . . . finding the ‘things’ that go with words” reveals the conceptual system (Frake, 1969, pp. 28-29)⁹⁰. The ‘things’ form taxonomies of hierarchical relationships as the ways in which people organise their knowledge that identifies that ‘x’ is a type of ‘y’ (D’Andrade, 1995).

Levi-Strauss (1963; 1969a; 1969b; 2001) believed social relationships were central to culture as the ‘unconscious structure’ of mental processing used to impose order on the world, therefore meaning was cultural thinking patterns embedded deep within language (Crothers, 2002). Geertz (1973d) rejected the notion that meaning was purely a system of relationships between symbols as this would de-contextualise their role in people’s lives. He advocated that culture was also ‘context’ and should be studied from a stance of objective reality as the point of view of the actors in understanding the “ . . . organized system of dispositions which finds its manifestation in some actions and some things” (Geertz, 1973a, p. 58). For Geertz (1973d; 1973c), culture was public meanings that are symbolically expressed and which communicate and shape views, attitudes and values, transmitted from one generation to the next. These two examples illustrate how cognitive functions were embraced by anthropology in searching for the ‘meaning’ underlying culture. As Hutchins’ (2000, p. xii) observed:

⁸⁹ Piaget had in fact observed such classifications systems in children as they grouped objects based on common features.

⁹⁰ Some examples are: language usage (e.g. Wallace, 1961; Chomsky, 1965; Romney & Moore, 1998), kinship systems (e.g. Goodenough, 1956; Wallace, 1962; Romney & D’Andrade, 1964; Jones, 2003), colours (e.g. Berlin & Kay, 1999; Steels & Belpaeme, 2005; Wierzbicka, 2008), law (e.g. Winter, 1989) and stimulus based research (e.g. Rosch, 1975).

[i]n the quest to learn what people know, anthropologists lost track of both how people go about knowing what they know and of the contribution of the environment in which the knowing is accomplished.

In general, constructivism emphasises learning as building knowledge and meaning through personal experience of the world. In the formative years this is achieved through providing environments that give learners the opportunity to explore and problem solve individually and within groups supporting the concept of cognitive development toward ‘Lifelong Learning’. Strauss and Quinn (1997, p. 104) suggest that in such environments “ . . . parents, teachers and other socializers engineer repeated occasions for the learner to observe, attend to, and practice the desired behaviour”. The implications of this can be seen as foundational in both culture as socialisation and culture as the product of cognitive processing, on the basis that culture itself is the manifestation of widely shared meaning. Constructivism has made many significant contributions to theory building but it still does not account for learning as a core function of the brain. This was only to emerge with advances in science that allowed the brain’s structure and capabilities to unfold, thereby permitting greater understanding of the design behind the mind (Haugeland, 2000).

5.4 COMPUTERS, SCIENCE, AND COGNITION

In the early years of cognitive science, information technology was used to simulate simple cognitive processes (see Schlimm, 2009 for a brief review of four such models). As technology advanced so did the use of computers for more sophisticated operations (see Gardner, 1987). Eminent among those who forged this path were Simon and Newell (1958) who believed that they had developed elements of a theory that could be used to “ . . . understand human heuristic processes and to simulate such processes with digital computers” (Simon & Newell, 1958, p. 6). By 1961 they asserted that computers now had the ability to manipulate symbols, problem-solve and compose, design and prove theorems that in humans required ‘thinking and learning’ (Newell & Simon, 1961b). Based on insights from Piaget’s *Genetic Epistemology*, and employing the hypothesis that “ . . . a child acquires the capacity to store symbols in lists” (Simon,

1962, p. 153) like the taxonomies of cultural anthropology, Newell and Simon (Newell & Simon, 1961a; Simon, 1962) developed the *General Problem Solver* to simulate these ‘schemata’⁹¹ and use computer programs to evaluate, transform, store, retrieve, find and compare sets of data.

Newell and Simon later developed the *Physical Symbol System Hypothesis* (PSSH, Newell & Simon, 1976) that held that if a computer based symbol system is designed and organised well enough it will exhibit intelligence such as that observed in human action. The PSSH philosophy has heavily influenced, and underwritten, much of what has followed in using computers to model human cognition. This early use of computers developed into the field of Artificial Intelligence where the human brain is viewed as a serial processing system for the ‘language of thought’ (Haugeland, 2000; Ravenscroft, 2005; Kukla & Walmsley, 2006; Horst, 2009; Bermúdez, 2010). In Artificial Intelligence, models of cognition are divided between representational/computational theories of ‘mind-as-a-container’ (Bereiter, 2000) and are mainly concerned with symbol manipulation of words, letters and numbers, based on the assumption that human ‘thinking’ is essentially the manipulation of just such symbols (Ravenscroft, 2005; Kukla & Walmsley, 2006).

On the premise that symbols (e.g. letters, numbers) have meaning that when combined have semantic and syntactic properties that structure ‘thinking’, computer programs are ‘scripted’ with instructions about what action to take when certain symbols are received. In simple terms these programs seek to mimic the cognitive steps of an activity using specialist languages to describe a current state and a desired state separated by a sequential series of operations to move from the former to the later. The operations themselves are possible alternatives selected on the basis of ‘IF <this> THEN <do this>’ for a given point in the process (Smolensky, 1987). The computer technology employed to execute these programs uses a central processing unit that serially executes

⁹¹ A schema can be defined as a “. . . cognitive structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attribute and the relations among those attributes” (Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

the steps defined in each program. In this way, Artificial Intelligence becomes a means-end approach to uncovering the transformation process of input to output, where failure to obtain the right result gives insight into incorrect inferences or flaws in modelling cognition (Stillings *et al.*, 1995) and therefore can be considered a behaviourist application of thinking implemented with information technology.

Developments in Artificial Intelligence have led to ‘robotics’ as automation systems able to perform human functions (e.g. assemble cars) and ‘expert systems’ as knowledge repositories with interfaces allowing humans to specify input to trigger problem solving and diagnostic activities (e.g. medical, chemical). While there have been significant developments in the field and many valuable insights gained as a basis for psychological theorising (Kukla & Walmsley, 2006), no Artificial Intelligence system has yet passed the Turing Test⁹² (see: Turing, 1950; Halpern, 1987; Oppy & Dowe, 2009) as the benchmark of non-biological intelligence, although Haugeland (2000) is of the view that in emphasising ‘talking’ the bar may have been set too low. As far as Artificial Intelligence has come, its models can still only partly reproduce the complex functions the brain uses in manipulating data (Keesing, 1974)⁹³. Cognition as mainly information or symbol processing ‘in the head’ falls short of adequately explaining learning.

Churchland (1999) argues that to understand intelligent thought a ‘bottom up’ approach drawing on neuroscience is more productive than the ‘top-down’⁹⁴ one favoured by behaviourist/cognitivist perspectives. In what he terms ‘methodological materialism’, Churchland (1999, p. 96) states:

The basic idea is that cognitive activities are ultimately just activities of the nervous system; and if one wants to understand the activities of the nervous system, then the best

⁹² Essentially, if a computer could hold a conversation with a human that was indistinguishable from a human to human conversation it could be regarded as intelligent.

⁹³ For example, computer models such as SOAR (Lehman *et al.*, 2006), ACT-R (Anderson, 1996) and EPIC (Kieras & Meyer, 1995).

⁹⁴ Observing what intelligent creatures do and then going in search for what cognitive functions of the brain could explain the behaviour (Churchland, 1999).

way to gain that understanding is to examine the nervous system itself, to discover the structure and behaviour of the tiniest elements, their interconnections and interactivity, their development over time, and their collective control of behavior.

The premise of his argument is that in studying the physical, chemical and electrical activity of the brain it will be possible to construct a 'functional map' as detailed understanding of the interrelatedness and localisation of its areas (Churchland, 1999). Churchland's argument for the need to uncover these brain phenomena is germane to the approach of this thesis in using connectionist theory as it applies to learning to explain the formation of knowledge, and particularly culture based knowledge, as schemata that form the human neural network. In advancing this approach, a broad overview of what constitutes the physiological view of 'thinking' is presented.

The basic building block of the brain is the 'neuron' of the central nervous system which mediates cognitive functioning. In simple terms, the main elements of the neuron as the basis of the brain's learning and knowledge capabilities are dendrites for receiving input, the soma that processes the input and the axon that carries the output from the soma (for more detailed description see: Siegler, 1989; Coon, 1998; Bear *et al.*, 2007; Bermúdez, 2010). An external stimulus triggers an electrical impulse (neural signalling) to propel data through the neuron. What happens to the output depends on the strength of the stimulus. If a stimulus is weak, the electrical impulse will be weak and the output is eliminated. If the stimulus is strong, then the output triggers connection to another neuron. This process can repeat many times, with neurons triggered as required until an end point is reached (e.g. action or elimination). As a result, a single neuron can be connected to many thousands of others. As Gosswami (2004, p. 3) observes:

Brain volume quadruples between birth and adulthood, because of the proliferation of connections, not because of the production of new neurons. Nevertheless, the brain is highly plastic [can change and reorganise] and significant new connections frequently form in adulthood in response to new learning.

As identified in the opening chapter, advances in contemporary cognitive science (e.g. fMRI, PET, MEG, EEG: see Carter, 1999) have led to greater understanding of the

brain as the physiological basis of learning, memory and thinking (Elman *et al.*, 1999; Bermúdez, 2010). Evidence of the ‘plasticity’ of the brain in generating new neurons, its ability to create, modify and eliminate connections between them and its parallel processing capability provides an empirical base from which to advance an alternative to Artificial Intelligence models of learning and cognition (Elman *et al.*, 1999; Churchland, 2007).

This ‘new cognitive science’ (Evers & Lakowski, 2000) as connectionist theory gives a fuller account of learning. As Lakowski (2000, p. 205, original emphasis) states of connectionism:

it is intimately connected with the need to reconsider the development of human culture from a naturalistic perspective since we live and learn in communities of different cultural contexts. In other words, the task is not only to explain how knowledge is generated in individual skulls, but also explain its *socially distributed* character.

A connectionist approach as ‘learning in context’ that extends beyond what is in the skull is central to this thesis in proposing culture and knowledge as differentiate ways of ‘seeing’ and ‘doing’.

5.5 A CONNECTIONIST APPROACH

The focus of connectionism are the cognitive mechanisms that mediate behaviour (Elman *et al.*, 1999), not in the sense that learning can only be said to occur if a change in behaviour can be observed, but as the process of how humans come to know what they know to do what they do. As noted in the introductory Chapter, the profile of connectionism was raised by Rumelhart and McClelland (1986c; 1986b) with the publication of papers by the Parallel Distributed Processing Research Group. Since that time it has become an area of increasing interest as explanative of learning and cognition (Plunkett, 2001; Houghton, 2005; Kukla & Walmsley, 2006). Indeed Clark (1993, p. ix) suggests that connectionism:

promises to be not just one new tool in the cognitive scientist's toolkit but, rather, the catalyst for a more fruitful conception of the whole project of cognitive science.

Where the earlier cognitive approach of Artificial Intelligence focused on finding ‘things’ that go with ‘words’ to build schemata which focused on content (Frake, 1969; Memmi, 1990; Hanges *et al.*, 2006), connectionism seeks to explain how humans associate ‘things’ drawn from their stock of knowledge and use them to interpret the world that can result in new meanings. In this way both structure and content are important (Hanges *et al.*, 2006). Essentially, connectionism accounts for the complexity of learning as knowledge existing over the neural network that is drawn together and organised as opposed to discrete structures that are modified, added to, and accessed (Clark, 1993; D'Andrade, 1995; Strauss & Quinn, 1997; Hanges *et al.*, 2006). As described by Strauss and Quinn (1990, p. 314) connectionism is “ . . . patterns of learned associations distributed over an extensive neural network”. Therefore schemata actually emerge from the patterns of activation over the network (Memmi, 1990; Smith, 1996; Hanges *et al.*, 2006).

Schemata in artificial neural networks are the theoretical equivalent of neuronal activity and present an intricate picture of cognitive functioning as illustrated in Figure 2.

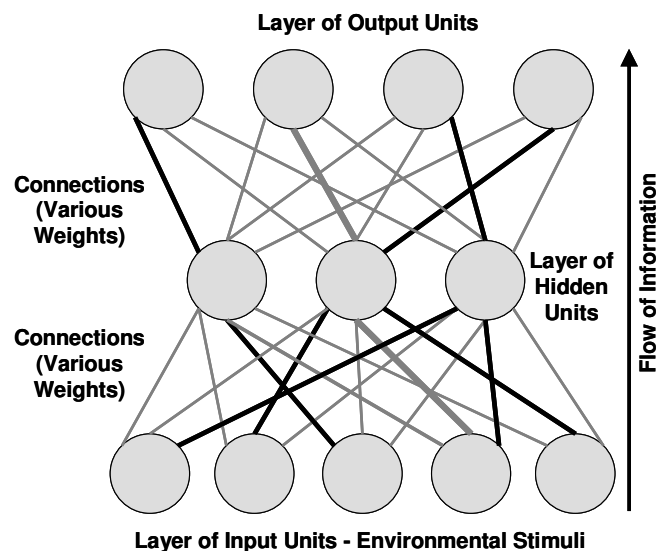


Figure 2: Artificial Neural Network
(Adapted from: Churchland, 1999; Hanges *et al.*, 2006)

Just as the central nervous system has layers of connections between neurons, so do artificial neural networks. The three layer model⁹⁵ shown in Figure 2 uses input units to detect stimuli as signals from the external environment, output units to move signals back to the external environment and in between is a layer of hidden units that do not have a direct connection to the external environment, but connect units that do. These hidden units are the core of knowledge. The connecting lines between units indicate the possible routes a signal can take. In this example each of the five input units can signal one of three hidden units that in turn can signal one of four output units. The path the signal takes however, will depend on the weight associated with each connection through previous activations (Smolensky, 1987). Repetition builds connections of different strengths (weight) in a ‘matrix’ making subsequent iterations more effective as pattern recognition (Anderson, 1992; Smith, 1996; Bechtel & Abrahamsen, 2002; Shanks, 2005). Examples of this are indicated in Figure 2 by darker or thicker connecting lines. Therefore connectionism as learning is any change in the weight of a connection (Elman *et al.*, 1999; Bereiter, 2000).

In contrast to the Artificial Intelligence models of cognition that use a central processor to perform serial operations, neural network models use sophisticated languages, algorithms and ‘fuzzy logic’⁹⁶ over multiple interconnected but simple processors to simulate the ‘parallel distributed processing’ of the brain as patterns of activity forming schemata (Smolensky, 1987; Memmi, 1990; Kartalopoulos, 1996; Haugeland, 2000; Hanges *et al.*, 2006). As schemata are not rigid structures but the result of cognitive processing, each usage has the potential to facilitate new interpretations, updating or building additional related information (D’Andrade, 1992; Hanges *et al.*, 2006) thereby simulating the interplay between neurons identified in physiological research into brain

⁹⁵ The example and description used here is but one model of an artificial neural network termed ‘feed-forward’. More complex models incorporating additional layers of units and flexibility in the direction in which signals are passed or looped are used to model different aspects of cognitive functioning (see: Stillings *et al.*, 1995; Kartalopoulos, 1996; Smith, 1996; Elman *et al.*, 1999).

⁹⁶ Fuzzy logic refers to handling a state that is neither true nor false (i.e. a partial truth). In artificial neural networks fuzzy logic sets are used to describe objects that may be related to some degree. An example of a set could be the ‘Beaufort Wind Scale’ that describes 11 degrees of ‘wind’ ranging from ‘calm’ (no wind) to ‘hurricane’.

activity. In addition and in contrast to Artificial Intelligence models that utilise specific memory addresses to recall content, Kukla and Walmsley (2006) see connectionist models as strengthening their position as truly representative of cognitive functioning by using the content of a particular unit to cue missing pieces of information across the neural net as pattern recognition.

Connectionism has attracted a good deal of interest with models becoming more prolific across a number of disciplines, and more importantly, connectionist systems have been demonstrated as capable of learning⁹⁷. As argued by Strauss and Quinn (1997), connectionism in providing a holistic theory of learning makes a significant, yet undervalued contribution to understanding how individual knowledge is built and utilised, particularly in relation to culture as explaining both individual variation and intra-cultural diversity. Interestingly, one of the studies presented in Chapters 3 and 4 has folded a connectionist view into their research. The GLOBE researchers (Dorfman *et al.*, 2004) investigated whether cultural values influenced members' 'shared conceptions' about what constituted effective leadership. The basis for their inquiry came from earlier work by Hanges⁹⁸ *et al.* (2000, p. 133) who proposed that "... a connectionist network is useful for understanding how culture and leadership affect follower reactions and behaviour". GLOBE found evidence that both societal and organisational culture had an influence the attributes followers expected of their leaders and that some of these were universal (Dorfman *et al.*, 2004; Hanges *et al.*, 2006). Strauss and Quinn's (1997) work provides an explanation for these findings.

Strauss and Quinn (1997) use connectionist theory to present culture as schemata produced by the individual brain interacting with the external world, therefore no longer as a separation between the mind as private knowledge and culture as its public manifestation (Lakomski, 2001). From their perspective culture is learned by

⁹⁷ Rumelhart & McClelland (1986a), Smith (1996), Ellis & Humphreys (1999), Bereiter (2000), Chang (2002), Christiansen & Curtin (2005), Dawson (2005), Houghton (2005), Hanges *et al.* (2006), Kasabov (2007) and Mayor *et al.* (2008)

⁹⁸ Hanges is also a member of the GLOBE research project.

individuals who share comparable contexts leading to common patterns in understandings and meanings. The patterns emerge as individuals are taught the values, beliefs and social norms of their culture, reinforced by ongoing experience and supplemented by reward, punishment and other reinforcers that strengthen connections and promote culturally desirable over undesirable behaviour (Schwartz, 1989; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). The environment itself contributes to culture through ‘cultural products’ (e.g. language, institutions) that allow individuals to share many of the same experiences which Strauss and Quinn (1997, p. 123) describe as ‘modal patterning’ that is:

characteristic of human social life, a requirement of many of the practices by which people interact with each other, share knowledge, coordinate common activities, collaborate in common ventures, play the established roles expected of them, and otherwise conform to the laws of government and the conventions and values of their fellows.

As such, cultural schemata can be durable, widely shared and applicable in numerous contexts (Strauss & Quinn, 1997). In short, schemata are socially learned, educationally reinforced, and experientially altered.

Learned schemata are not immutable, nor do they act as filters for experiences that do not conform to previously held ideas (Strauss & Quinn, 1997). Schemata are able to accommodate multiple variations that rely on the agency of the individual in making choices between alternatives. Cultural discontinuities, experienced as a conflict between currently held views and ‘new ideas’, are processed by the individual and can result in acceptance of the new view, a compromise as partial integration with that which exists, contextual compartmentalisation so the new is only triggered in certain circumstances, feelings of ambivalence or outright rejection (Strauss & Quinn, 1997). With the exception of rejection, all these result in changes to their neural network⁹⁹.

⁹⁹ In an artificial model of a neural network this would be the equivalent of a new unit or a change in connection weight between units.

Schemata are also associated with feelings experienced as part of the learning process that affects motivation to perpetuate actions as desirable or undesirable based on the strength of those feelings (Strauss & Quinn, 1997). So while individuals may share some of the same schemata the motivation underpinning them may be entirely different or vary in potency resulting in differing individual actions. As Strauss and Quinn (1997, p. 112) point out:

when people are motivated to enact and reenact the schemas they have learned from their own experience, they recreate the public world of objects and events that they knew, reproducing patterns of experience from which the next generation learns.

This understanding locates motivation in the realm of the individual rather than the anthropological tendency to see it as a function of the society in which the individual lives (Munro, 1997). Furthermore, as D'Andrade (1992) argues, an individual's motivation is one factor that demonstrates that culture is not entirely predictive of behaviour. New experiences (or observations) may arouse an emotional response that challenges previously held patterns of belief. Further to the 'new ideas' discussed above, the feelings and motivations associated with each form part of the cognitive evaluation based on the interpretation of events and their relative importance.

The essence of Straus and Quinn's argument is that while learning builds knowledge of the way in which people regulate and organise themselves within a culture, at the individual level this enculturation is unique. As individuals, people live different lives and have divergent experiences. They bring different interpretations, evolve different meanings and associate varying feelings and motivations with learning that creates *their* unique account of culture. Learning therefore is personal and situationally and contextually bound.

Strauss and Quinn (1997) stress that the more complex a society the more scope for divergence in the learning and experiences at the individual level. This complexity combined with the agency of the individual, accounts for the often noted discrepancies between an individual's view and that of 'their' society found in the studies discussed in Chapter 3. The oversimplification of the relationship between public culture and

personal culture as mirroring each other underscores the pitfalls of stereotypes that label people ‘the X’ that is so often implicit or explicit in the cross-cultural management literature. This led Strauss and Quinn (1997, p. 246) to warn “ . . . be very careful when drawing conclusions about cultural meanings from public culture”.

5.6 CONNECTING CULTURES, LEARNING AND ORGANISATIONS

Strauss and Quinn’s (1997) argument provides a persuasive account of how knowledge becomes ‘cultural’ in the individual. Culture as schemata can be widely shared and are formed through social interaction (Quinn & Holland, 1987; Strauss & Quinn, 1997; Sharifian, 2003). The values so important to research of cultural differences at the societal level such as those presented in Chapter 3 are based on what Jackendoff (2006, pp. 376-377) calls the ‘folk logic’ of an “ . . . internal accounting system that helps connect many sorts of disparate objects, actions and persons”, and while similar values may be found across societies, the weight they carry varies according to the individual and the context, leaving “ . . . a lot of room for slop”.

Culture, then, is the sharing of some cognitive structures with other members of society (Romney *et al.*, 1996; Romney & Moore, 1998) and as Strauss and Quinn (1997) argue, it makes “ . . . each person a junction point for an infinite number of partially overlapping cultures”. As a connectionist approach has demonstrated, culture is knowledge formed through situated learning that is contextually bound. It is distributed across the neural net building new connections and forming new schemata with other knowledge from other domains of learning (e.g. engineering). At the societal level, this dispels the notion of cultures as homogeneous and promotes a heterogeneous view of sub-cultural groups cooperating within a given society that can be likened to ‘islands of meaning’ (Zerubavel, 1996). As is argued here, culture is an over-utilised construct.

In organisational contexts, the cross-cultural management research agenda of cultural interaction (see Chapter 2) has singled out culture as an attribute of the individual to be managed, yet bases its actions on research that aggregates scores and identifies average traits of a society (see Chapter 3) making cultural others stereotypically different.

Individuals are treated as artefacts of their culture rather than individuals whose agency has produced a personal culture, or what Schwartz (1989) calls an 'idioverse' that, in concert with the other learning and experience, embodies a broad range of interconnected and differentiated knowledge. Cultural universals as the basis for managing cultural others are not appropriate, and in the workplace this can also be extended to the attempt to substitute the 'other' culture as that of the organisation in the belief that it will mediate individual differences.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the organisational culture literature continues to laud the benefits of a homogeneous culture based on shared meaning of values, beliefs and norms which must be managed to ensure currency and compliance. Research suggests that organisations have far from homogeneous cultures with increasing acceptance and evidence of the sub-cultural groups that exist within organisations (e.g. Morgan & Ogbonna, 2008; Brunton & Matheny, 2009; Kondra & Hurst, 2009; Smith, 2009). Martin (2002) has defined these as 'cultures of differentiation'. Connectionist theory also accounts for the existence of organisational sub-cultures and supports Argyris and Schön's (1996) observation of the divergence in theories-of-action. In drawing on existing knowledge to interpret and make meaning of the workplace, individuals develop schemata as they socialise, learn and experience that context. At the level of a functional group within the organisation these schemata may be modified by the situation that is the reality of performing their duties that may result in a theory-in-use that is different to that espoused. In addition, organisational culture has embraced learning as a key contributor to performance, yet the underpinning literature fails fully to explore theoretical perspectives of learning, such as discussed in this chapter, that may enhance learning outcomes and competitive advantage (see Pawlowsky, 2001). Furthermore, Engeström (2007) questions whether organisations' preoccupation with certain types of knowledge (e.g. explicit, tacit) has overshadowed alternative views. He ventures that 'possibility knowledge' exists beyond these conventional conceptions. One such possibility is presented here by the connectionist theory of learning where culture becomes differentiated ways of seeing and doing.

Connectionism has provided an alternative view of culture formation as the internal cognitive structuring of information by the individual embedded in an environment (Hollan *et al.*, 2000). While connectionism acknowledges the interaction of the individual with the environment and elaborates the internal structuring of their knowledge, it alone does not explore the rich and complex socio-cultural environment in which it is gathered (Hutchins, 2000, p. xii). Hutchins (2000, p. 288) argues that:

Human beings are adaptive systems continually producing and exploiting a rich world of cultural structure. . . . Instead of conceiving the relation between person and environment in terms of moving coded information across a boundary [of external to internal], let us look for processes of entrainment, coordination, and resonance among elements of a system that includes a person and the person's surroundings.

Hutchins (2000) here refers to is the concept of 'socially distributed cognition' that is ". . . interested not only in what people know, but in how they go about using what they know to do what they do" (Hollan *et al.*, 2000, p. 179). This perspective of cognition casts a different light on learning as embedded in context.

5.7 COGNITION AS DISTRIBUTED

A view of human cognition as distributed across more than the mind emerged from observations of how computers in a 'parallel distributed processing' (i.e. connectionist) network were able to detect and complete patterns using external data spread across the network (Giere & Moffatt, 2003). This perspective encompasses the larger environment as a context filled with 'things' such as other individuals, artefacts and 'tools' (e.g. physical objects, technology, symbols, language) that interact with cognitive processes (D'Andrade, 1995; Evers & Lakomski, 2000; Hollan *et al.*, 2000; Giere & Moffatt, 2003). According to Perkins (1993, p. 10) the individual is a 'cognitive agent' who consistently uses ". . . the surround (including other people) to support, share, and undertake outright aspects of cognitive processing". Essentially an extension of connectionist theory, it considers the role of the larger socio-cultural environment and its interaction with schemata. As Clarke (2008) sees it, this makes a valuable

contribution to understanding the web that connects people to their environment through the power of human cognition.

Evidence of the distribution of cognition has been described in observations of individuals using tools (e.g. paper, pen, symbols, calculators) to perform mathematical calculations (Rumelhart *et al.*, 1986; Lave, 1988), students using note-taking skills to 'offload' information for future use (Perkins, 1993; Salomon, 1993a), groups using 'division of cognitive labour' in working together in navigating a ship (Hutchins, 1993, 1995a), landing an aircraft (Hutchins, 1995b), maintaining air space (Bentley *et al.*, 1992; Fields *et al.*, 1998; Wright *et al.*, 2000; Walker *et al.*, 2010), carrying out medical duties (Symon *et al.*, 1996; Nemeth *et al.*, 2004; Cohen *et al.*, 2006), analysing the Challenger Space Shuttle disaster (Holt & Morris, 1993), managing the operations of a train line in the London Underground, and managing a small airline (Heath & Luff, 1991; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1998).

Socio-cultural properties are distributed among members of a society where they can have a significant effect on how people come to view the world and are more than simplified meanings that are linguistic or symbolic in nature (Brown *et al.*, 1989; Resnick, 1991). Learning occurs in diverse settings such as the home, educational institutions, workplaces and through participation in wider society and, therefore, the resulting knowledge as schemata are embedded in a cultural context. Values, beliefs and norms, facets of which have been uncovered by Hofstede (1980a; 2001a), Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (Trompenaars, 1993; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998) and GLOBE (House *et al.*, 2004), form the basis of the wider socio-cultural context and, contrary to the emphasis of these large scale studies as a 'unitary model' of cultural homogeneity (Schwartz, 1989), the settings themselves are culturally heterogeneous through the activities of those who participate in them (Cole & Engeström, 1993). Schwartz (1989, p. 114) argues that:

[a]s culture is learned rather than inborn, its only source is the experience of the individual members of that population and it consists of the stored derivatives of the experience of each individual in all of the events of [their] life history. The individual learns in interaction with others and objects, some of which are artifacts which may be read or used

for the cultural information they embody. . . . As an experiential derivative, culture will vary to the extent that the experiences of individuals and subgroups of the population vary.

Essentially the individual is part of a greater cognitive network where the social, cultural, physical and cerebral interact generating learning and knowledge in context. The interaction between the internal processes of the individual and context are 'reciprocal' in modifying the cognitive structure of knowledge through learning that informs future actions in the external world (Brown *et al.*, 1989; Salomon, 1993b; Evers & Lakomski, 2000). Therefore the activities in which an individual participates and the situations they encounter are central in both cognition and learning (Brown *et al.*, 1989). One way in which to illustrate this connection between context and individual is through borrowing from the conceptual design of Activity theory.

5.8 ACTIVITY THEORY: SEEING DISTRIBUTED COGNITION AT WORK

Inkpen (1998) states that as individuals we “ . . . operate within unique, individually, socially and organizationally embedded contexts”, and as such our activities vary within those contexts. Activity theory shares this basic assumption with distributed cognition, along with the belief that artefacts, tools, and other people in context interact with the cognitive process of individuals. Its point of departure is that where distributed cognition concerns itself with the complex interplay between the individual's mind and how they engage in activities, activity theory is more concerned with how the activity is directed by its intended outcome (see discussions by Nardi, 1996; Gilbert, 1999). A detailed discussion of activity theory is not offered here as in the present argument context is the primary focus in unfolding the connection with learning. However, as developed by Engeström¹⁰⁰ (2000), activity theory does provide a method of 'viewing' the contextual and structural elements of activities. In this way it demonstrates the

¹⁰⁰ Activity theory is based on the psychological concepts articulated in Vygotsky's (1978; 1986; 1994b; 1994a) *Social Development* perspective along with fellow Russians Leont'ev (1978; 1981) and Luria (1973; 1976; 1994) that has been further expanded to the 'anatomy' of activities by Engeström (2000).

complexity of the distributed cognitive network in which individuals participate as learning from the activities of a community (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003).

The complexity of the distribution of cognition is illustrated in the activity system diagram shown in Figure 3 which uses a doctor as an example.

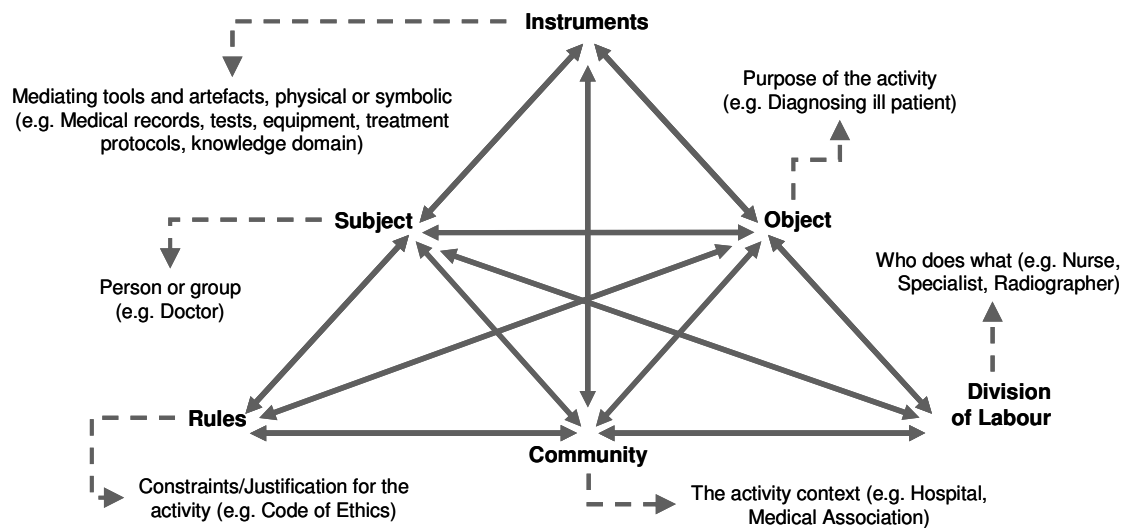


Figure 3: Activity System and Doctor/Patient Interaction
(Adapted from: Engeström, 2000; Marken, 2006)

As the arrows indicate, the components of the activity system are heavily interrelated. From the perspective of a doctor (i.e. subject), the purpose of the activity is to treat an ill patient (i.e. object). However, a doctor's actions are bound by the communities in which they offer treatment or practice (e.g. hospital, Medical Association) as well as the rules that govern those communities (e.g. code of ethics or conduct). The 'instruments' as extensions of the mind (Evers & Lakomski, 2000) are the conscious and unconscious operations that mediate the subject's actions and may take many forms such as a doctor's existing medical knowledge and experience, patient history records, diagnostic aids (e.g. stethoscope, sphygmomanometer), questions asked of a patient, medical databases and patient observation/examination (Lebeau, 1998). Division of labour is also often required. In the case of a doctor the skills of others (e.g. radiographers, pathologists) may be required or consultation with members of their specific community

(e.g. fellow doctors). An important aspect of the division of labour is that it can also mandate practice accounting for both task performance and power/status relations. For example, a junior doctor may be bound by a hospital's rules that decree they must consult with a more senior colleague before recommending a particular procedure or calling on the professional expertise of a surgeon. In this way the hospital is defining how an individual or group must function. Therefore, the elements that populate each component of the activity system (e.g. instruments, rules, communities) are contextually and situationally specific. More importantly, in viewing distributed cognition as the ways in which people engage in activities it becomes clear that individuals cannot be understood in isolation from the context, nor can the context be understood without the people (Igira, 2008).

Cognition as distributed, or 'stretched over' the activities of individuals (Lave, 1988), and activity theory as a way of illustrating this, demonstrates how culture and learning are tied to the 'deep structure' of context (Kirsh, 2001). As Brown *et al.* (1989, p. 34) argue:

The activities of a domain are framed by its culture. Their meaning and purpose are socially constructed through negotiations among present and past members. Activities thus cohere in a way that is, in theory, if not always in practice, accessible to members who move within the social framework. These coherent, meaningful, and purposeful activities are authentic, according to the definition of the term we use here. Authentic activities then, are most simply defined as the ordinary practices of the culture.

Therefore culture as a socio-cultural construct emerges when any group of individuals comes together. Where culture is seen as differentiating nations or organisations, the culture of workgroups is also differentiated as schemata emerging from meanings derived in a shared context and as participation in practice. It is from this perspective that the issue of cultural others is considered in conceptualising them as 'outsiders' to a 'community of practice'.

5.9 COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE AND CULTURAL OTHERS

The concept of ‘Communities of Practice’ popularised by Lave and Wenger (Lave, 1991; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) subscribes to the view that while formal learning takes place through education and training, a community of practice is a model of learning as an apprentice learning from a master through “ . . . participation in the doing, the sharing of perspectives about the doing itself and the mutual development of both the individual and the collective’s capabilities in the process” (Liedtka, 1999, p. 7). In the original sense a community of practice was a phenomenon, the observed practice of knowledge sharing between people in a particular group or subgroup. Once the ‘value’ of communities of practice as conduits of knowledge was recognised by organisations, the focus moved from research into their organic formation to the development and application of models, rules and mechanisms for manufacturing them in a ‘nature versus nurture’ fashion to realise their potential (Brown & Duguid, 2001; Wenger *et al.*, 2002). As a result, communities of practice have become a widely accepted model supporting organisational learning that fosters learning and innovation through the transfer and generation of new knowledge and skills. While not synonymous with a group in an organisation’s hierarchical structure they often equate to a team or project within its boundaries (Brown & Duguid, 2001; Huysman, 2002).

The way in which a community operates is embedded in its context (Inkpen & Dinur, 1998) and individuals can belong to multiple communities of practice at any given time (Wenger, 1998). For each community they have established some form of identity that signals their belonging and acceptance. In the broader literature, identity is the blend of physiological, psychological, ideological and sociological factors that form an individual’s personality. For the purposes of this discussion in unfolding the workgroup context, the term ‘identity’ is used to convey an individual’s affiliation within an organisational community and acceptance into that community. In the case of existing members and cultural others this surfaces the notion of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’, where outsiders may be perceived as not fitting the workplace community as insiders have defined it.

As ‘insiders’, existing members of a community have negotiated a ‘social identity’ over time as the ongoing process of learning and making meaning out of the social relations and lived experience of working together (Kogut & Zander, 1996; Wenger, 1998; Jørgensen & Keller, 2008). As a community, activities are negotiated, bounded by the rules, values, norms and expectations that govern behaviour and decision-making processes (Kogut & Zander, 1996; Jørgensen & Keller, 2008). Through ongoing association this has evolved as organisationally specific learning and knowledge (Williams, 2005) as the shared cognitive structures and distributed cognitive network that allows members to collaborate and coordinate their activities and therefore exceed what could be achieved by a single member (Lebeau, 1998). As such, members of a group fall into patterns of work that are considered valid and they develop a shared culture as ‘the way we *see* things around here’ that distinguishes one community from another and identifies members of a community as ‘belonging’. Kogut and Zander (1996, p. 506) argue that “[t]he act of identifying has important implications for the shared cognitive schemas and moral values that people apply to how others are categorized”. This is a significant factor in the acceptance of cultural others. According to Wenger (1998, p. 153), as outsiders, cultural others are in ‘unfamiliar territory’ where they:

do not quite know how to engage with others . . . do not understand the subtleties of the enterprise as the community has defined it . . . [and] lack the shared references that participants use.

At least initially they will have to rely on another form of identity, their ‘professional identity’ as having knowledge and skills consistent with, or complementary to the practice of the group to gain entry to the community.

In general, the term ‘professional’ is associated with recognition of an individual’s competent deployment of knowledge and skills gained within a specific context. With the professionalisation of occupations this often goes hand-in-hand with education and training that renders them competent to practice in the public domain (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). In some professions (e.g. medical) there are additional steps of

accreditation through overseeing bodies that mandate professional behaviour and practice¹⁰¹. In the case of cultural others who have gained their credentials overseas, processes and procedures are in place to ensure their practice meets with local standards¹⁰². DiMaggio and Powell (1983) see the professionalisation of occupations as resulting in normative isomorphism where members of a profession seek to legitimise and regulate practice founded upon a 'cognitive' base of knowledge gained from similar education and socialisation across a peer network. A more significant point made by them is that the emergence of professional identity stems from the cognitive and social development of the individual as a competent, knowledgeable and skilled practitioner. While this will be explored more fully in Chapter 7, it is sufficient to say that existing members of a community as insiders will have an established professional identity through participation in their current community as well as the wider context of the organisation. However, the 'new knowledge' of cultural others may be seen as representing a rejection of current practice (Parent *et al.*, 2007), and therefore the professional identity of these insiders may be perceived as under threat.

Cultural others on the other hand, have established their professional identity in other contexts where their knowledge and experience has been accepted by other communities. In the new context they need to re-establish their professional identity as gaining recognition for their expertise as a valuable addition to the group (van der Heijden, 2002) and this can only come through participation in practice. Dokko *et al.* (2009, p. 52) argue that:

prior work experience may include not only relevant knowledge and skill, but also routines and habits that do not fit in the new organizational context. Indeed, these routines and habits may limit the positive effect of prior experience on performance, suggesting that when individuals move across firm boundaries, their prior experience may not be wholly beneficial.

¹⁰¹ In many ways this is the modern equivalent of the Guilds associated with traditional apprenticeship systems. They sought to preserve and control particular trades and crafts creating a type of professional elitism.

¹⁰² For example, in the case of medical practitioners, the Australian Medical Council is responsible for ensuring overseas doctors are suitably qualified to practice (Australian Medical Council, 2010).

As outsiders, the knowledge and experience of cultural others has been built in often diverse cultural and social settings. Billet (1996) points out that how knowledge is constructed, valued and utilised varies from community to community; therefore, the transfer of knowledge to a new context is not simply based on the similarity of domain knowledge (e.g. engineering) but how it connects to that of the community. By engaging in the practices of a new community cultural others learn how their expertise fits with ‘the way we *do* things around here’. Engagement in practice is the key to their becoming a fully participating member of the community as acquiring understanding of the community’s ways, viewpoint and language (Ghosh, 2004). It is also through practice that professional identity is re-established and social identity evolves as validation of their legitimacy as a practitioner and ‘insider’ of the community.

When viewed through the lens of connectionist theory, the cultural other as practitioner in a previous community has developed schemata from situated learning as ways of ‘seeing’ and ‘doing’ in context. In transitioning to a new community, they make new connections as ways of seeing and doing for that context where over time practice strengthens connections. While this allows cultural others to practice within their new community, the knowledge associated with old ways still forms part of their neural net and can be recalled. In this way, so it is argued in this thesis, the knowledge of cultural others is unique, as they essentially have a comparative base that holds knowledge of old and new practices, in which lies a source of competitive advantage to organisations.

This thesis uses the term ‘connection to practice’ as a metaphor for the joint learning by cultural others and members of their community as the cognitive development of knowledge that links schemata of what is known with what can be known through which improved practice may emerge.

5.10 MAPPING THE TERRAIN OF CULTURAL OTHERS

Issues of cultural others are not drawn together by any one discipline. As discussed in Chapter 2, the cross-cultural management agenda of cultural interaction considers them as a source of conflict to be managed away, based on empirical studies, such as those

presented in Chapter 3, that have stressed culture-as-difference. Organisational culture's implicit assumption is that any outsider will become an insider by virtue of sharing in the organisation's culture, although there is no clarity around how this sharing is achieved and, as was argued in Chapter 4, suggestions of its homogeneity are far from accurate. While the literature suggests cultural others are a potentially valuable source of knowledge and skills that can be transferred to and in the workplace through migration (Williams, 2005, 2006, 2007b, 2007a)¹⁰³, and as the product of cultural interaction in hybrid organisations and multinationals, Chapter 4 demonstrated that there is a distinct lack of discussion about how this is facilitated¹⁰⁴. The field considered most pertinent to this, organisational learning, is also silent on the issue of cultural others. However, in regarding learning as simply an outcome it is therefore not well placed to offer cogent advice. In this chapter it is argued that the existing cross-cultural management agenda of learning in context, although acknowledging the cognitive dimension of learning, fails to elaborate on its theoretical underpinnings or the agency of the individual. Therefore, at the confluence of this literature, organisations seeking to expand their stock of knowledge through cultural others are in fact marginalising it.

The views expressed by cross-cultural management, organisational culture and organisational learning are invariably predicated on traditional views of learning and knowledge as mostly the passive absorption of information that includes culture. The cultural learning of individuals from other societies is seen as immutable and must be mitigated in some fashion. The failure of cross-cultural management, organisational culture and organisational learning to appreciate the advances in learning theory, particularly connectionist approaches that more fully explore the role of cognition in learning, knowledge and therefore culture formation, is a distinct weakness. Theoretical views such as those offered by Strauss and Quinn (1997) would dispel perceptions of

¹⁰³ In the Australian context research has explicitly noted this (see: Roach Report, 1995; Access Economics, 2002; Khoo *et al.*, 2004; Khoo, 2006; Australian Financial Markets Association, 2007; Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2007; Khoo *et al.*, 2007).

¹⁰⁴ (e.g. Bresman *et al.*, 1999; Simonin, 2004; Adenfelt & Lagerstrom, 2006; Salk & Lyles, 2007; Zaidman & Brock, 2009; Martins & António, 2010; Zander & Zander, 2010).

culture as dominating everything a person does or thinks and rebalance it as situated learning that shares the same neural net as learning to 'be' or 'do' anything else (e.g. solicitor, ride a bicycle). Insights such as those offered by Hutchins (1995a) of cognition as going beyond what is in the head would also highlight the importance of context in situated learning, further refining how knowledge structures as schemata, and the connections between them, are developed. However, even with a move toward a more cognitive view of the cultural other as a knowledge agent there remains another impediment.

In the majority of organisations, the (International) Human Resources Management function is responsible for organisation-wide programs and initiatives in regard to managing cultural differences, maintaining the tenets of organisational culture and supporting organisational learning practices. While they may facilitate the initial induction of the cultural others into the workplace, in reality they are too removed from the context of the community to be able to play an ongoing or constructive role in their integration. Those who oversee and maintain the day-to-day cohesion and effectiveness of the community are the ones who need an understanding of knowledge, learning and culture such as discussed in this thesis. If the community and the organisation are to benefit from the inclusion of cultural others, managers/supervisors are in the position to affect the outcome, although there is little evidence to suggest that anyone is concerned with supporting or assisting them in this endeavour, and it cannot be expected that diversity or expatriate training would prepare them for such a role.

Those directly responsible for cultural others can only 'tell' so much and with a lack of understanding of how any individual relates to the context and practices of a group, they are ill prepared to facilitate this process. Most organisations already have the foundations for this in their existing personnel development plans. Not only are a high proportion of training programs and facilitator practices based on cognitive or learning 'styles' (see Evans & Sadler-Smith, 2006) as methods to connect learners with course content, some managerial and supervisory training extols the virtues of such practices in developing personnel. The drawback is that most rely on prescriptive approaches,

omitting any real discussion of how cognitive functioning makes learning possible. This thesis asserts that in improving understanding of the learning and knowledge formation such as described here, and diffusing this to the coal face of supervision, organisational learning will be more fully supported in general and in particular, knowledge held by cultural others will become available to the organisation.

A more comprehensive account of the issues and approaches for connecting cultural others with the workgroup context and the long term actions needed to support it are addressed in Chapter 7. Before moving to this, a further area needs to be explored. As described in Chapter 4, some types of organisations value certain kinds of knowledge over others (e.g. Blackler, 1995) and, therefore, they can favour particular approaches to its capture and sharing. Many of these are adopted prescriptively rather than as a basis for finding what best suits the organisation. This can have a detrimental effect on organisational learning through inadvertently disregarding valuable knowledge, including that of cultural others.

5.11 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has highlighted how current perspectives of learning and knowledge have failed to account for culture as ‘learning in context’ even when portrayed in cross-cultural management as central to explaining how cultural differences emerge. To address this void in understanding this chapter has offered a connectionist theory of learning that provides a more compelling explanation of knowledge formation and how connections are made with what is already known. Further to this, the notion of distributed cognition demonstrates the importance of context in learning and applying knowledge. In the case of cultural others in organisational contexts, the concept of a community of practice was used to highlight their position as ‘outsiders’ who do not share the frame of reference that guides the activities of ‘insiders’ of the community. This delivers a different perspective of the management of cultural others in shifting the focus from societal differences to connecting them with the organisational context to facilitate the application of their knowledge from which the organisation may learn.

To better understand this need to connect, the following chapter explores organisations as knowledge miners by focusing on their ambition to becoming a learning system. It draws on the main points in Chapter 4 and links them to the connectionist perspective of learning and knowledge presented in this chapter. In particular, it describes the organisational context framed by the situation of cultural others and how their knowledge can be marginalised by the actions of the organisation itself.

CHAPTER 6: THE ORGANISATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Organisations seek to create an inclusive environment by articulating a mission, goals and values that frame their operations and the expectations they have of employees. As organisational culture, this is seen as crucial to the viability and success of the organisation and carries with it the assumption that employees will be enlisted by its vision and message therefore creating a homogeneous culture. This culture has come to include principles of employee equality and equity that, as discussed in Chapter 2, are further supported by dogmatic training, policies and procedures to manage difference or discrimination in the workplace. Cultural diversity is included in this as a response to cross-cultural management's assertion that the differences of cultural others pose a threat to organisational harmony, a view based on research such as described in Chapter 3 which has measured the extent to which cultures diverge.

More recently organisational culture has also become central in espousing the need for employees to learn and share knowledge across the organisation thereby supporting the tenets of organisational learning. As Chapter 4 illustrated, the literature surrounding this concept treats learning as an outcome and pays scant attention to what it entails. Allix (2003) suggests that assumptions of what knowledge is have had an influential and detrimental effect on practices aimed at developing knowledge within organisations as well as those designed to effect its transfer. As such, the learning practices of organisations tend to fall short of the ideal enshrined in their culture through adopting prescriptive approaches to the creation and sharing of knowledge. This also has the unintended effect of limiting the knowledge of cultural others to only a subset of what they know.

This chapter advances the perspective that organisational culture can be seen as the core of an organisation and central to the formation of a frame of reference by its members. It takes the approach that organisational culture itself is a form of learning engaged in

by employees as they make meaning of the organisation's vision and their role in it and seeks to demonstrate that, far from being homogeneous, an organisation's culture is by nature heterogeneous as the normal effect of learning in context. As a pillar of organisational culture, attention is paid to the issue of diversity management¹⁰⁵ in exposing the conscious and unconscious approaches organisations take to mediating cultural difference that affect the expectations of employees, and highlights the consequences of such approaches. The focus then moves to organisational learning as a second pillar of organisational culture in advancing a view that if organisations do believe that knowledge is the only real source of competitive advantage in a globalised world, then they need to take a broader perspective and more flexible approach to learning that does not diminish the value of the knowledge of cultural others who represent an increasing proportion of their workforce. The purpose of this chapter is to explore these elements of the organisational context as those most significant in creating the workgroup context in which cultural others as knowledge workers ultimately find themselves situated.

This chapter specifically draws on the connectionist theory of learning presented in the preceding chapter to provide an alternative view of organisational culture, cultural diversity and organisational learning.

6.2 ORGANISATIONS AND CULTURES

Many who research organisations subscribe to the view that organisational culture is a rallying point for employees as sharing the organisation's vision, values, beliefs and behaviours in framing their work and giving meaning to their activities (e.g. Lai & Lee, 2007; Raid, 2007). Frequently it is seen as a management tool that will influence an organisations' performance, improve its 'bottom line', facilitate the realisation of its goals and provide some measure of control (Fard *et al.*, 2009). Hanges *et al.* (2006) go

¹⁰⁵ For the purposes of this discussion the term diversity management includes expatriate preparation and diversity in the workplace as they are both framed by the organisation's perceptions of what is need in dealing with cultural others.

so far as to say that a strong organisational culture is often a strategic choice by the organisational leadership to minimise the salience of cultural diversity in the workforce through what they term an assimilation strategy. They state that:

[i]n this strategy, the managers endeavor to reduce differing perspectives among the workgroup by supplanting individual employees' value sets and goal orientations with a single management advocated perspective. This can be accomplished by [the leader] creating a strong organizational culture and the establishment of policies, practices and procedures that reinforce the organisation's perspective and culture. . . . Leaders who prize this strategy probably view employee schema diversity as an obstacle to overcome rather than a strategic business advantage (Hanges *et al.*, 2006, p. 28).

The powerful attraction of what are perceived as strong, homogenous cultures was exemplified in Chapter 4 by Deal and Kennedy's (1982) corporate tribes in using anecdotal accounts of how organisations can fuel the success of their enterprise. This continues to be a recurrent theme in the literature, now most often in relation to organisational change initiatives where realigning employees expectation with the organisation's strategic direction is seen as vital (e.g. Cameron & Quinn, 2006; Lai & Lee, 2007; Schabracq, 2007; Daft, 2009). Golden (1992, p. 3) is very critical of writers who adopt this homogenising view of organisational culture stating that "[i]nstead of empirically testing the extent to which individuals share - or do not share - cultural beliefs, meanings, perceptions, these writers assume *a priori* that sharing exists". More to the point, Mason (2003) argues that seeking to maintain a homogeneous organisation culture as prescriptive of success is counterproductive as it fails to take into account the requisite variety consistent with Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995) view of combining different viewpoints and experiences, a view that echoes the observation made by Hanges *et al.* (2006) in the above quotation.

On the other hand, and also discussed in Chapter 4, Schein (2004), Sackmann (1997), Trompenaars and Hampden Turner (1998), and the GLOBE researchers (Brodbeck *et al.*, 2004; Dickson *et al.*, 2004) have theorised that organisational culture is not as homogenous as assumed due to varying combinations of societal, occupational and contextual factors that have influence at different levels of the organisation. This view of organisational culture as heterogeneous is now receiving increased empirical support

and heightened interest¹⁰⁶ with Boisnier and Chatman (2003, p. 89) going so far as to state that organisations can benefit from letting subcultures emerge as they “ . . . permit an organisation to generate varied responses to the environment without necessarily destroying its internal coherence. . . . [and] may provide the flexibility and responsiveness that a unitary culture may limit”.

However, across the literature, what is not explored is how organisational culture, whether conceived of as homogenous or heterogeneous, becomes salient to the members of an organisation. Consistent with the cognitive approach taken by this thesis, organisational culture is viewed as learning in context where individuals attribute ‘meanings’ to the organisation’s vision.

6.3 ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE AS LEARNING

Choo (1998) has recognised the cognitive basis of organisational culture in her ‘knowing organisation’ that is characterised by information seeking, creation and usage as a ‘sense-making recipe’ for the social construction and collective action of employees who act on behalf of the organisation.. She sees this type of organisation as scanning the external environment looking for potential opportunities or problems that may require them to respond with a shift in strategy, a change in identity (e.g. norms, expectations, accountability) and new learning.

In drawing on the work of Martin¹⁰⁷ (1992), Choo acknowledges the possibility of an organisation’s culture not being entirely homogeneous and therefore does not limit the applicability of her model to that one conceptualisation. Her ‘knowing cycle’ as a sense-making recipe of organisational culture is modelled in Figure 4.

¹⁰⁶ (e.g. Van Buskirk & McGrath, 1999; Alvesson, 2002; Martin, 2002; Adkins & Caldwell, 2004; Trefry, 2006; Igira, 2008; Kondra & Hurst, 2009).

¹⁰⁷ Martin (1992) was introduced in Chapter 4 in categorising the organisational culture literature into integrated (homogenous), differentiated (sub-cultural) and fragmented where the nature and extent of consensus is organisation wide, group level or issue specific respectively.

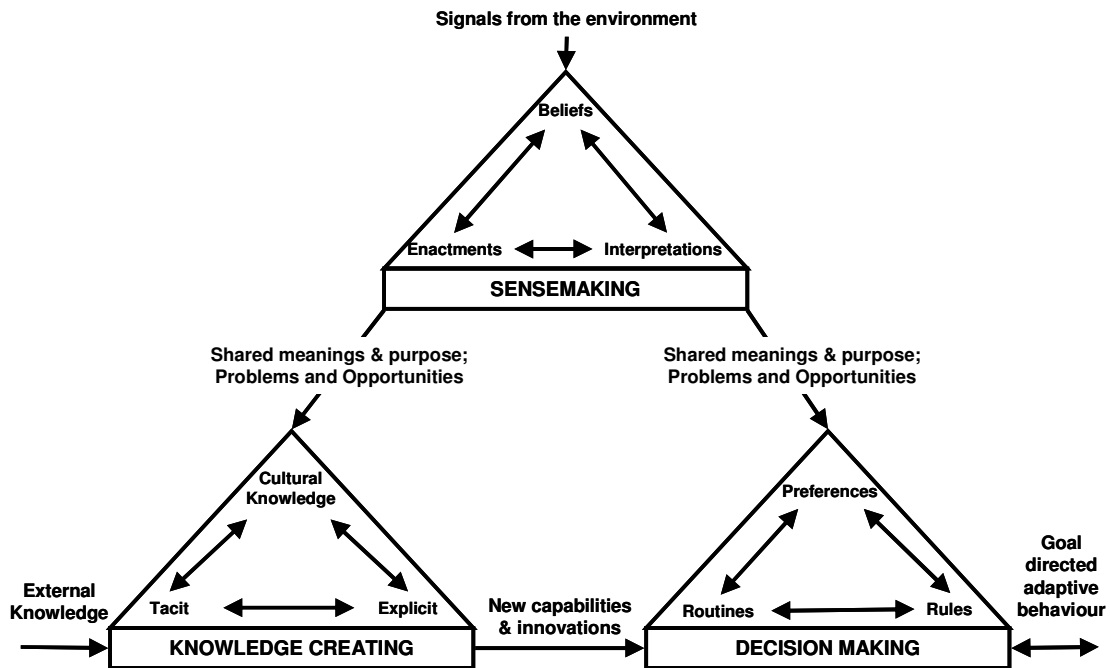


Figure 4: The Knowing Cycle
(Source: Choo, 2001, p. 200)

The initial focus is the need by employees to reconcile the organisation's response, which Choo (2001) defines as 'sense-making'. Sense-making can be seen as the realignment by employees of their current beliefs, interpretations and actions in making the organisation's response salient, or in other words the negotiation of new meanings. Choo's (1998) contention is that sense-making can be driven by the organisation through the careful structuring of information that becomes a cognitive frame of reference guiding employees through the process.

Following sense-making, employees have 'cultural knowledge' and 'preferences' as a frame of reference for how the organisation's new strategy should be carried out. In the 'knowledge creating' process, 'cultural knowledge' guides the updating and synthesis of any tacit and explicit knowledge required to bridge perceived skill gaps, while a third process of 'decision making' applies 'preferences' in updating decision methodologies to ensure existing rules or routines are congruent with the 'new' culture (Choo, 2001). What is significant about Choo's contribution is that its focus on 'knowing' draws

together Schein's (2004) basic assumptions of organisational culture, and Argyris and Schön's (1996) theories-of-action.

The beliefs, cultural knowledge and preferences drawn from each process represent the basic assumptions of Schein's (2004) organisational culture (e.g. beliefs inform sense making). In the case of Argyris and Schön (1996), interpretations, explicit knowledge and rules form espoused-theory, while actions, tacit knowledge and routines become the theory-in-use. Despite this cross-fertilisation of theoretical perspectives and the implied cognitive functions that go into 'knowing', Choo does not elaborate on what sense-making entails that is most pertinent to understanding how the organisation's culture comes to be shared. Instead she focuses on the role of dialogue in creating shared meaning, a common approach in the surrounding literature as 'specialising in talk' rather than understanding what underlies the process (Quinn & Holland, 1987). The notion of sense-making by employees however, is a powerful way in which to conceive of how they integrate into the organisational environment for, as Mills (2008, p. 29) argues, it allows us to:

grasp the processes whereby people make sense of their realities by extracting cues, dealing with plausibility, meshing their sense of reality with their ongoing identity construction, before making retrospective sense that enacts the environment and thus alters it.

Views such as Choo's, where cognitive functions (e.g. sense-making, interpreting, meaning, understanding) are often coupled with how employees relate to an organisation's culture (e.g. Earle, 2003; Balthazard *et al.*, 2006; Fischer, 2009; Kondra & Hurst, 2009; Danişman, 2010) and, equally, they also fail to explore how this comes about. In not exploring the deeper dimensions of human learning there is a failure to appreciate the complexity of the process or the role of context.

As a form of learning, organisational culture is not simply coming to an 'understanding' of the words that describe the mission of an organisation and how it intends to achieve its aims. Furthermore, while training programs, reward schemes and other initiatives may reinforce the tenets of an organisation's culture (e.g. goals, beliefs, values) and improve comprehension by employees, they do not lead to acceptance and compliance.

In Chapter 5 the connectionist theory of learning illustrated how knowledge is situationally and contextually bound learning and experience. When surveyed from this perspective, organisational culture becomes knowledge of how that culture is *enacted* by the organisation's actions and how this affects individuals and groups. Essentially organisational culture is learned by members both individually and within groups as they participate in the reality of the day-to-day activities of the organisation. It is more akin to what Schneider *et al.* (1994, p. 18) describe as an organisation's climate or:

the 'feeling in the air' one gets from walking around a company . . . [it] is the atmosphere that employees perceive is created in their organizations by practices, procedures, and rewards. These perceptions are developed on a day-to-day basis. . . . Employees observe what happens to them (and around them) and then draw conclusions about their organization's priorities. They then set their own priorities accordingly. Thus, these perceptions provide employees with direction and orientation about where they should focus their energies and competencies.

These observations by Schneider *et al.* (1994) are consistent with Argyris and Schön's (1996) notion of theories-of-action, where espoused-theory can be seen as the rhetoric of the articulated mission, goals, beliefs and values as the image the organisation wants for itself. How this image is enacted and integrated into the fabric of the organisation is often not consistent with the environment it maintains and therefore represents its theory-in-use. For example, organisations in seeking to promote team work may have in place incentive schemes that reward individual performance making the reality of sharing, cooperation and collaboration less attractive (see: DeMatteo *et al.*, 1998; Milne, 2007). Further to this, and as testament to the pervasiveness of cross-cultural research in promoting culture-as-difference (Chapter 3), Kirkman and Shapiro (1997) draw on Hofstede (2001a) and others in proposing a model based on certain cultural dimensions that would indicate the likelihood of the acceptance or rejection of self-managed teams and their contingent reward schemes in varying nations across the world. They propose, for example, that collectivist cultures would be more accepting of self-managed teams

and consequently team based rewards would be more appropriate¹⁰⁸. The inherent problem with this type of proposal is the assumption that an organisation's workforce is culturally homogenous *à la* Hofstede, or at the very least made so by organisational culture. It also implies that individuals are so constrained by their cultural knowledge that they cannot learn new ways and adapt to change.

The concept of teams is just one way in which to illustrate the potential divergence in an organisation's theories-of-action that can result in 'mixed messages'. As employees experience an organisation's culture they learn its meaning as knowledge that emerges as schemata across the neural network. This view of organisational culture as a form of knowledge is consistent with Strauss and Quinn's (1997) 'modal patterning' that develops through learning and experience in context and which can become shared by groups. The effects of this at the workgroup level will be more fully developed in the following chapter. However, cultural diversity as an important inclusion in organisational culture also has the ability to send mixed messages, the consequence of which are significant to the realisation of competitive advantage from the knowledge of cultural others.

6.3.1 DIVERSITY AS A MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE

Wentling and Palma-Rivas (1997) were of the opinion that, in the USA at least, organisational cultures were originally based on the dominant demographic of the workforce, that being European white males. The increased participation of cultural others is said to have changed this (Cox, 1993; Rynes & Rosen, 1995; Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 1997).

¹⁰⁸ A study by Chiang (2005) also used Hofstede's dimensions to gauge reward preferences of varying cultures. However, she concluded that while Hofstede's framework provided useful insights, it was not predictive as "... the issue of reward is complex and intermingled with the way in which individuals see themselves, their employing organizations and the environment" (Chiang, 2005, p. 1559). In addition, as Gibson and Zeller-Bruhn (2001) point out, what 'teamwork' means is also likely to diverge across cultures.

In Chapter 2, organisations were shown to have acknowledged the ‘demographic imperative’ of cultural diversity as an issue that needs to be managed (Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000). As ‘diversity management’, initiatives such as cultural sensitivity training have become an essential ingredient in making employees who are ‘different’ better understood and accepted by their colleagues (Grensing-Pophal, 2002; Kulik & Roberson, 2008). In addition, ‘difference’ is said to have moved from a focus of legally defensible policies (e.g. equal opportunity) as a form of social engineering, to one of competitive advantage¹⁰⁹. Despite this purported shift in focus, many still hold to the view that such initiatives are always bound to legislation and the ideal of corporate social responsibility, essentially making diversity management as competitive advantage the rhetoric of organisations¹¹⁰. Regardless, over time issues of diversity have infiltrated the culture of the majority of organisations in making explicit their ‘valuing’ of a diverse workforce. Thomas (1990, p. 114) states that in diversity management the “ . . . goal is not to assimilate diversity into the dominant culture but rather to build a culture that can digest unassimilated diversity”. This leaves a question of how diversity management in supporting an organisation’s culture aids in valuing cultural others. Although the circumstances are somewhat different, an article by Boxenbaum (2006) holds the mirror to diversity management as a ‘one size fits all’ approach across cultures (see: Agars & Kottke, 2004; Nishii & Özbilgin, 2007).

The product of a real time inquiry, Boxenbaum (2006, p. 945) relates the results of a research study into “ . . . translating a foreign managerial practice into a society that is not very receptive to it”. The practice was American diversity management, perceived by Danish society as an un-democratic approach in emphasising the differences of

¹⁰⁹ For example, Cox & Blake (1991), Richard (2000), Swann *et al.* (2004), Waller Vallario (2006) and Spiers (2008a). Also see review by Shore *et al.* (2009).

¹¹⁰ See: Kersten (2000), Bertone & Leahy (2003), Kalev *et al.* (2006), Broughton & Strebler (2008), Leveson *et al.* (2009); Syed & Kramar (2010).

others¹¹¹. This underscores the argument of this thesis that culture-as-difference is overemphasised in the literature and has led to unintended consequences in organisational contexts. In attempting to eliminate or mediate differences, diversity management is in fact highlighting them as a negative force that signals individuals marked as ‘not the same as us’ (whoever ‘us’ is) be treated in a particular kind of way, while ignoring the possibility that these differences may very well be a positive influence in organisational contexts.

Through observation and interviews with a team of human resources staff drawn from two Danish firms, Boxenbaum’s (2006) study focused on how this team ‘translated’ the American diversity management practice with the goal of making it acceptable for implementation in their respective organisations. The processes in which team members engaged have significance for this thesis as they highlight not only the individual cognitive processing in attributing meaning to the practice of diversity management, but also the negotiation of shared understanding amongst the group from which they were able to advance their goal.

Boxenbaum (2006, p. 940) identified three stages as ‘frames’, or the “. . . interpretative lens through which individuals perceive and interpret the world and occurrences in the world”, that were applied in the diversity management translation activity. These frames can be considered to parallel the connectionist perspective offered in Chapter 5, particularly that of Strauss and Quinn (1997). The first frame, ‘individual preference’ refers to the meanings individuals attributed to American diversity management and its practices. Essentially the Danish team linked their personal and professional knowledge and experience to arrive at some personal level of understanding of the intention of this ‘foreign’ practice. A second stage of ‘strategic reframing’ was a collective activity where individuals contributed their personal understanding and, as a team, constructed shared meaning of the practices and rationale underlying them. From here the Danish

¹¹¹ The principal of democracy is deemed a cornerstone of Danish society and “. . . taken for granted in all spheres of life, including politics, work, education and family” (Boxenbaum, 2006, p. 942). Interestingly, Boxenbaum’s view of Danish society and diversity management is also supported by the work of Kamp and Hagedorn-Rasmussen (2004).

team was able to negotiate the strategic rationale that would gain funding for the implementation of the diversity management practices in the Danish organisations¹¹². Furthermore, the Danish team's shared meanings facilitated the final stage of 'local grounding' where they were able to create a 'hybrid frame' that legitimised diversity management so it was not perceived as un-democratic but as a socially responsible initiative (Boxenbaum, 2006). The connectionist approach of Strauss and Quinn (1997) can be seen in the translation teams' learning as they created shared meaning and reconciled cultural differences across organisational and societal boundaries, illustrating that cultural schemata do not act as filters to what is possible. This also ties in well with Choo's (2001) sense-making process as individuals and groups seek to make salient a new direction. A further insight offered by this study relates to the underlying rationale for diversity training.

The chief stumbling block identified for American diversity management¹¹³ in Danish organisations was its emphasis on improving financial performance over democratic and humanistic principles (Boxenbaum, 2006). This is a clear example of a distinction between a business strategy of 'cultural diversity' and an organisational culture that 'values diversity', a distinction not often evident in the literature (some exceptions are: Richard, 2000; Kochan *et al.*, 2003; Waller Vallario, 2006). The significance of this distinction is that it exposes another possible flaw in 'organisational thinking' from which divergence in theories-of-action can emerge. On the basis that cultural diversity is a business strategy often promoted as a source of competitive advantage, the question of whether employees experience it as organisational support and commitment to valuing diversity, is an important consideration. The only way this can be assessed is by asking those at the coal face of diversity issues. While managerial support of

¹¹² While the research project was funded by the Copenhagen Business School and Danish Social Science Research Council, the implementation of the diversity management practices was funded by the European Union and the two Danish organisations that had members on the team (Boxenbaum, 2006).

¹¹³ It should be noted that the source for 'American diversity practice' is not explicitly stated (e.g. drawn from literature or an existing program) although the article infers it is based on Human Resources Management literature. Other interesting summaries of the American perspective are offered by Kersten (2000) and Holvino & Kemp (2009).

diversity practices has received increasing attention¹¹⁴, research into diversity from the perspective of non-managerial organisational personnel is virtually non-existent (Leveson *et al.*, 2009). One exception is a study by Leveson and colleagues (2009) whose premise was that the management of cultural diversity by an organisation could only be considered successful if it was recognised at all levels of the organisation as well as evident in its formal and informal communication networks.

For Leveson *et al.* (2009, p. 380) the epitome of a true multicultural organisation is one where “. . . discrimination, prejudice and intercultural conflict are relatively rare and where different cultural groups are represented and encouraged to respect and learn from one another”. Using a single organisation with a culturally heterogeneous workforce¹¹⁵, they surveyed non-managerial employees to ascertain their perceptions of how the organisation managed diversity. The main finding was that the organisation was seen by the vast majority of its employees as taking diversity management seriously with both formal and informal communication channels reflecting its ‘message’. Significantly, Leveson *et al.* (2009, p. 387) concluded that “[m]ore generally, the study highlights the dynamic nature of workplace relations where employees continually monitor and respond to their perceptions of their organization’s commitment to them”. From a connectionist position this suggests that most employees had developed a shared understanding of the organisation’s aspirations that had subsequently built commitment through learning in context as the organisation matched its words with its actions. This has infused the organisation along the lines of Choo’s (2001) knowing cycle where sense-making has developed cultural knowledge and preferences that influence the practices and behaviours of employees.

While the study by Leveson *et al.* (2009) is limited to a single organisation and a relatively small sample, it does draw attention to the need for organisations to link what

¹¹⁴ For example, Eisenberger *et al.* (1986), Eisenberger *et al.* (1997), D’Netto & Sohal (1999), Hicks-Clarke & Iles (2000), Eisenberger *et al.* (2002), Bertone & Leahy (2003) and Palmer (2003).

¹¹⁵ The sample was quite heterogeneous with respondents from 10 countries as 61 percent born in countries other than Australia and 70 percent of the total sample indicating a language other than English was spoken at home (Leveson *et al.*, 2009).

they espouse to their actions if employee commitment to their vision is to be achieved. It also stands out as it actually surveys grass roots perceptions, whereas the overwhelming bulk of literature concerns itself with ‘why’ and ‘how’ diversity should be managed or what any initiatives should include. While a later study by Yap *et al.* (2010) supports the findings of Leveson and colleagues (2009) in regard to the positive influence of diversity management on the perceptions of employees, its large sample across multiple organisations lacks the communications focus that highlights the congruence in theories-of-action of the organisation in the Leveson *et al.* study.

There is a dearth of investigation into the outcomes of diversity management at the level of those ‘living it’ which is a serious flaw that the research community must address. Only through sustained empirical study at this level can the validity of current and future diversity management practices be assessed. In terms of its embeddedness in organisational culture, the need for more focused research on diversity management is encapsulated in Härtel’s (2004, p. 192) observation that:

[o]rganisations differ in their culture including how they view dissimilarity within the organisation. Organisational stories, symbols, and practices signal to organisational members how actual dissimilarity in its membership will be viewed. Traditionally, diverse people were expected to assimilate to the existing culture. Assimilation, though, is having a pre-defined idea of what the culture should be and is thus, closed to diversity. Therefore, organisations that expect assimilation to the dominant, existing culture, are not open to diversity.

In not exploring organisational environments, the approaches used and the outcomes achieved, diversity management is consigned to what Kalev *et al.* (2006) describe as ‘best guesses’ disguised as ‘best practices’.

The work of Boxenbaum (2006) has shown the contested meaning of diversity management, especially with its focus on the ‘differences’ of others. As a (International) Human Resource Management function based on largely prescriptive approaches it has the ability to send the wrong message despite intentions to the contrary. On the other hand, Leveson *et al.* (2009) have illustrated the need for organisations to make diversity management palpable in their actions. As ‘talk the talk

and walk the walk' of organisational culture, congruence in theories-in-action is essential to the 'diversity dividend' (Bertone & Leahy, 2003). Viewed from a connectionist theory of learning, both these situations come more sharply into focus. Through understanding how an individual's schemata emerge across their neural nets as sense-making (i.e. American diversity management) and how experience shapes their perceptions (i.e. words match actions) is a fundamental need for the development of more cogent and appropriate approaches to diversity management theory and research that in turn will inform better practice. As Holvino and Kamp (2009, p. 397) rightly observe:

It is from the contextual analysis of dilemmas, rather than from universal pronouncements about what diversity is or is not, that we can understand its limitations as well as its future possibilities.

At present, the primary purpose of diversity management is to level the playing field and ensure that no one, regardless of the source of difference, is disadvantaged or privileged over another. No particular attention is paid to cultural others outside of issues of equity, equality, respect for difference and barriers to integration such as language skills, loss of social network and settlement issues (e.g. see Syed & Kramar, 2010, for the Australian context). Therefore it must be concluded that, currently, cultural diversity as a source of competitive advantage to organisations is 'leveraged' in another way and the literature indicates that this is through contributing their knowledge and skills.

6.3.2 ORGANISATIONS AS KNOWLEDGE MINERS

Traditionally knowledge and skills were passed from generation to generation through drawing, narrative, books, apprenticeships, and other 'pre technological' methods. In modern organisations, how to create and share knowledge has become a central concern in supporting the concept of organisational learning as the effective and efficient management of intellectual assets. However, many of the approaches adopted are inconsistent with the aim of becoming an organisation that learns. Although now a significant pillar of many organisations' culture, the ways in which they manage their

knowledge, like diversity management, is largely prescriptive and runs the risk of prioritising one source of knowledge over more productive sources.

The following sections review how organisations manage what they know before shifting the focus to cultural others as an untapped source that requires a new conception of culture-as-knowledge. It identifies literature that has influenced organisations' perceptions of knowledge and what is required to manage it before offering an alternative view appropriate to the inclusion of cultural others.

6.3.2.1 Information as Knowledge

As knowledge emerged as a pre-eminent source of competitive advantage (e.g. Bresman *et al.*, 1999; Argote & Ingram, 2000; Weissenberger-Eibl & Schwenk, 2009) and new technology allowed organisations to store, process and distribute information cheaply and rapidly, organisations saw an opportunity to deliberately take control of it (Dalkir, 2005). Roberts (2000) notes that it was difficult to know whether technology drove the need or vice versa.

Indeed, a model by Meyer and Zack (1996) was specifically developed in response to an opportunity for 'selling knowledge' to external clients using a 'refinery' model of information processing shown in Figure 5.

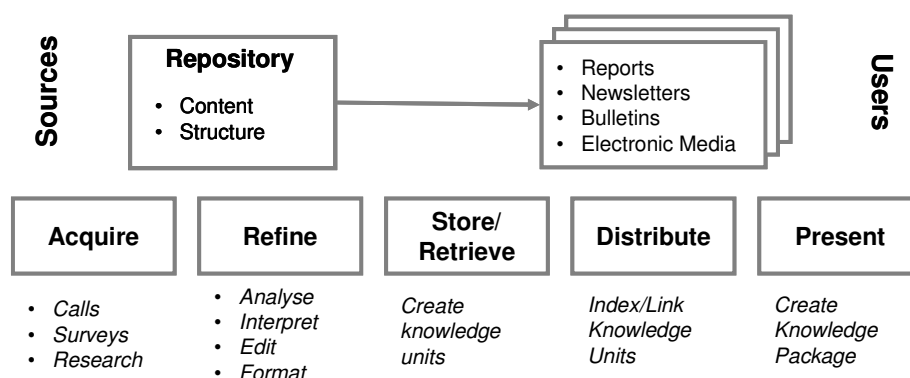


Figure 5: Myer and Zack Knowledge Cycle
(Source: Adapted from Meyer & Zack, 1996)

This model itself is indicative of those of the time (e.g. Zorkoczy, 1991; Bukowitz & William, 1999), fuelled by the belief that information technology was the way forward in creating repositories that made knowledge accessible to anyone at anytime.

Snowden (2002a) describes this as the ‘rape and pillage’ of reengineering when what was ‘known’ was codified (e.g. databases, manuals, procedures) and made available to anyone who ‘needed to know’. The attraction for organisations was that once this knowledge was captured they believed they could dispense with the original human resource (Davenport & Prusak, 1998; Snowden, 2002a; Nonaka & Holden, 2007). More broadly it could also be seen as risk prevention or a mitigation strategy in the advent of key individuals leaving the organisation or becoming unavailable. However, it was later realised that technology could only go so far.

The ‘know how’ of tacit knowledge built from experience, reflection and action had been lost to the organisation (Kogut & Zander, 1992; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Davenport & Prusak, 1998; Shariq, 1998). Organisational learning in this era was reduced to *information*, the content of which was syntactically and semantically structured in an effort to convey meaning (Kogut & Zander, 1992; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Davenport & Prusak, 1998). What actually constituted knowledge was not considered with implicit trust placed in the technology to make what was stored accessible and ‘knowledgeable’. As Davenport and Prusak (1998) saw it, organisations had heavily invested in technological solutions only to find that they did not meet their expectations. They believed this was due to a failure to appreciate the distinction between data, information and knowledge. Data can be regarded as raw, unorganised descriptors whereas information is organised according to patterns that can be seen in the data by those analysing it. According to De Long and Fahey (2000, p. 114):

Knowledge, on the other hand, is a product of human reflection and experience. Dependent on context, knowledge is a resource that is always located in an individual or a collective, or embedded in a routine or process. Embodied in language, stories, concepts, rules, and tools, knowledge results in an increased capacity for decision making and action to achieve some purpose.

In their opinion, little thought has gone into understanding knowledge in this way. The validity of De Long and Fahey (2000) statement is plain when a connectionist view of learning is applied whereby knowledge that is contextually and situationally bound. Furthermore, the insightful inclusion of ‘tools’ speaks of distributed cognition that is frequently overlooked when considering the capture and application of any knowledge acquired. McDermott (1999) makes the point that as a tool itself, information technology has failed to deliver because it was seen as an answer not an *enabling tool* that connects individuals with information and other people thereby promoting knowledge through ‘thinking with information’. Essentially his description defines technology as part of the distributed cognitive network in which individuals are embedded.

While most organisations still adhere to the need to capture knowledge using technology, the need to reconnect with tacit knowledge was acknowledged.

6.3.2.2 *Knowledge as a Process*

In recognising the need to ‘leverage’ the tacit knowledge of employees, organisations began searching for ways in which their knowledge could be made explicit. One popular approach was that offered by Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) based on their work in Japanese organisations which was also instrumental in changing conceptions of knowledge as its transformation by humans from tacit to explicit states (Snowden, 2002a).

Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) conceptualise knowledge along epistemological lines of tacit and explicit, ‘socialised up’ through ontological levels of individual, group, organisation and even inter-organisation. Their position is that knowledge is a dynamic process representing the beliefs, commitment, actions and meanings that individuals have come to see as ‘justified true belief’, where the enterprise “ . . . amplifies the knowledge created by individuals and crystallizes it as part of the knowledge network of the organization” (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995, p. 59). Their SECI (Socialisation, Externalisation, Combination and Internalisation) model as a four stage process of

learning was seen as a more promising and realistic view of the diffusion of knowledge. What is more significant are the ideas underlying it. Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995) approach to the movement of knowledge between tacit and explicit states¹¹⁶ has a cognitive flavour as associations between what is known, what is being learned and what will ultimately be practiced, are built by the individual. This is evident in their stages that promote shared mental models (Socialisation), use metaphors to create an 'image' in a learners mind (Externalisation), form connections with other knowledge (Combination) and learn by doing as making knowledge tacit in a different individual (Internalisation). In spite of these references to cognitive processes, they are simply allusions to theories of learning as the authors fail to incorporate even a broad discussion of theoretical base for their work. However, a significant point is their idea of 'requisite variety' as facilitating interdisciplinary knowledge through simplified organisational structures and job rotation that gives individuals the opportunity to build new knowledge through combining different viewpoints and experiences (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Nonaka *et al.*, 2000). This view also speaks of the value of cultural others in the workplace.

Although Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) moved the focus from information to knowledge their approach advocated a systemic change to how an organisation should function, with organisational culture the essential ingredient in making plain an organisation's 'knowledge vision'. Similarly, the model of a 'learning organisation' (see Chapter 4) proposed by Senge (1990) also required systemic change and a cultural shift in the organisation to sustain learning. While many organisations were, and continue to be, attracted by these visions of organisational renewal, few were willing or capable of making the large scale changes required.

In a useful extension to the work of Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995), Wiig (1993) describes knowledge as public, shared, and personal that evolves in concert with the

¹¹⁶ However, Tsoukas (2005, p. 425) disputes Nonaka and Takeuchi's approach on the basis that "[t]acit and explicit knowledge are not the two ends of a continuum but the two sides of the same coin: even the most explicit kind of knowledge is underlain by tacit knowledge".

progression in status from ‘novice’ to ‘master’. Figure 6 is an interpretation of this progression.

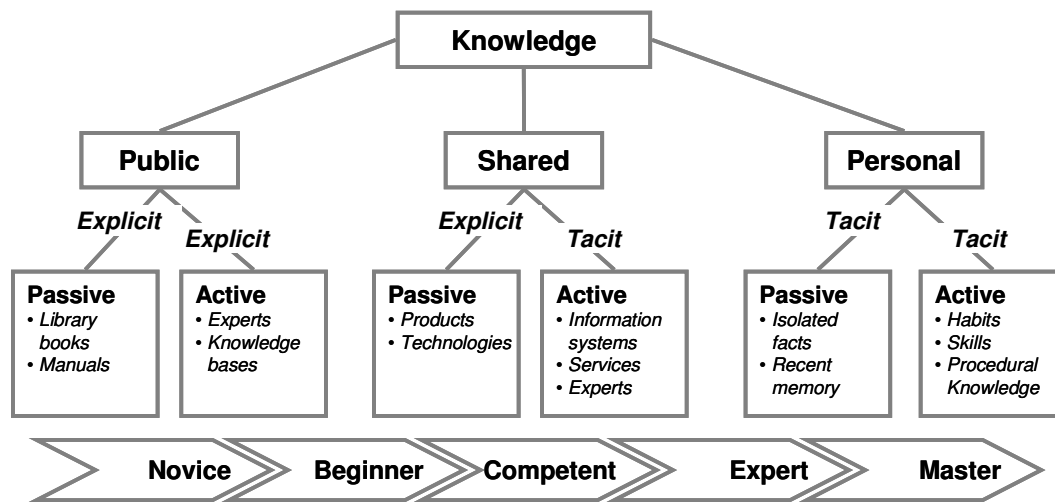


Figure 6: A Conceptualisation of Wiig’s Internalisation Model
(Source: adapted from Dalkir, 2005, pp. 64-65)

According to Wiig’s (1993) conceptualisation of internalisation, a ‘novice’ learns from explicit information sources that are both passive (i.e. presented) and active (i.e. searched for) in building some understanding of context. In moving to a ‘beginner’ they know “ . . . the knowledge exists and where to get it but cannot reason with it” (Dalkir, 2005, p. 64). In this sense the individual has access to more concrete information but lacks exposure to its practical application. In moving to the level of ‘competent’, information becomes knowledge through connecting with practice and is supported by access to more detailed information and knowledgeable others who can support the process of learning. Over time, continued learning, experience and practice, develops the ‘expert’ who rarely needs to consult other sources of knowledge. At some point the individual is deemed a ‘master’ who, according to Dalkir (2005, p. 64), “[i]nternalizes the knowledge fully, has a deep understanding with full integration into values, judgement, and consequences of using that knowledge”.

Wiig’s (1993) work neatly illustrates the development of the individual’s professional identity within a community of practice as discussed in the preceding chapter, and the

concomitant change in their knowledge from information to embodied expertise. The importance of professional identity will be explored more fully in the following chapter on the workgroup context. Wiig's (1993) five stages of the individual development of knowledge also indicate where and imply how organisations need to manage their knowledge resources. Explicit sources in public and shared domains need to be maintained to ensure currency, accuracy and ease of use, an area where technological solutions can be of most use. On the other hand, tacit knowledge requires mechanisms that encourage knowledgeable others to participate in the development of the less experienced that could be driven through mentoring programs, internships, and particularly communities of practice. However, while amplifying the evolution of knowledge, the cognitive processes that make it all possible are not explored.

The preceding two sections can be seen as indicative of the theoretical basis of two types of architecture that organisations have implemented to manage their knowledge. Realising that information technology alone wasn't the answer, and in lieu of systemic changes, many organisations have opted for a third alternative as a combination of approaches to promote knowledge transfer. Nonetheless these too have fundamental flaws that are equally disadvantageous to the pursuit of knowledge as competitive advantage.

6.3.2.3 Learning Across the Organisation

On the basis that knowledge is distributed throughout the organisation and needs to flow across structural boundaries to promote reuse and best practice, organisations have attempted to put transfer mechanisms in place to sustain organisational learning. Argote and Ingram (2000, p. 151) define knowledge transfer as:

the process through which one unit (e.g., group, department, or division) is affected by the experience of another. . . . Although knowledge transfer in organizations involves transfer at the individual level, the problem of knowledge transfer in organizations transcends the individual level to include transfer at higher levels of analysis, such as the group, product line, department, or division.

The methods available to organisations are supported by extensive research and numerous models for effective knowledge transfer, particularly in multinational or transnational organisations¹¹⁷. Inevitably the more attractive options are tied in with technology, not just to connect people and information but as a means to gauge participation in knowledge transfer activities.

Online communities of practice, virtual worlds¹¹⁸, forums, knowledge repositories, enterprise portals and videoconferencing are some of the mechanisms used to ‘see’ knowledge transfer at work (e.g. Ardichvili, 2008). They allow organisations to ‘measure’ knowledge through monitoring activities across defined criteria such as number of contributions to a repository or forum, user rating scales for quality of information, the number of participants in a community or world and the reuse of information (see Shannak, 2009). This sort of statistical data is also used to justify the purchase and ongoing maintenance of the technological infrastructure as a business case for further investment. Essentially, these are accounting standards as the measurement of ‘knowledge capital’, the ‘intangible and invisible’ asset of organisations that in Australia has resulted in the ‘Melbourne Protocol’ for the management, measurement and reporting of ‘knowledge economics’ (Global Access Partners, 2005)¹¹⁹. As a reductionist approach to intellectual capital it effectively limits the scope and possibilities of any knowledge that falls outside prescriptive metrics (Snowden, 2002b). Although a significant element of organisational culture, like the view of diversity described above, knowledge has become a business strategy subjected to quantitative methods that gauge successes, therefore reducing the valuing of knowledge. Furthermore, even employee knowledge is measured to ensure alignment with the needs of the organisation.

¹¹⁷ See: Werner (2002), Coakes (2006), de Pablos (2006), Evaristo (2007), Miesing *et al.* (2007), Minbaeva (2007), Parent *et al.* (2007), Hong *et al.* (2009) and Oddou *et al.* (2009).

¹¹⁸ For example, a Multi-User Virtual Environment (MUVE) such as ‘Second Life’.

¹¹⁹ See review by Reinhardt *et al.* (2001) of the varying perspectives taken to the measurement of intellectual capital.

As a more ‘human’ oriented focus, the ‘Balanced Scorecard’ (Kaplan & Norton, 1996) is a specific tool used extensively to translate vision into strategy and align employees with that strategy. Learning and knowledge as part of a strategy is therefore included. The Balanced Scorecard advocates a top-down approach by identifying financial and non-financial measures that can be used to track performance against objectives. According to Kaplan and Norton (1996, p. 10):

The measures represent a *balance* between external measures for shareholders and customers and internal measure of critical business processes, innovation and learning and growth. The measures are *balanced* between the outcome measures – the results from past efforts – and the measures that drive future performance.

The measures themselves reveal factors of coercive isomorphism (e.g. governments, shareholders, customers) discussed in Chapter 4 as influences on an organisation’s strategy, goals and values thereby framing its culture. More interesting is the focus on outcomes, as it suggests the measures are underpinned by prescriptive formulae of what remedial actions should be taken if progress toward objectives is not satisfactory. In the case of knowledge, the literature indicates that managers need to be proactive in closing gaps in knowledge and skill to drive performance in the desired direction, primarily through the use of education and training¹²⁰. As formal learning, education and training is viewed as of higher value than informal methods (Enos *et al.*, 2003; Skule, 2004; Hamilton, 2008; Chivers, 2011) primarily because, as knowledge creation, it too is easy to measure through employee participation in training initiatives that are seen as having a causal effect on the performance of the organisation (e.g. Global Access Partners, 2005; Shannak, 2009). It is argued here that this perceived ability to measure knowledge has unduly influenced organisations in what *constitutes* knowledge. In addition, focusing on the closing of knowledge and skills gaps implies that competitive advantage lies in some objective body of knowledge as ‘best practice’ that the organisation needs to implement. Indeed, Boisot (2002) sees best practice as restrictive of possibilities, while Fischer and Ostwald (2001) contend it is ‘specialist privileging’

¹²⁰ For example, the discussions by: London & Beatty (1993), Yarnall (2008), Kutcher *et al.* (2009) and Van den Bossche *et al.* (2010).

of those who prefer didactic, de-contextualised dissemination of knowledge as top-down mandates for standardising work. Best practice is an over used term by organisations and is more suggestive of what poorly performing organisations can aspire to in the hope of doing better in the future.

In seeking to promote organisational learning, organisations enshrine the pursuit of knowledge in their culture but inevitably their practices presume that knowledge is quantifiable and are preoccupied with measuring it. This is far from the 'knowledge vision' imagined by Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995). Furthermore, when an organisation articulates a knowledge vision that is at odds with its practices, as a divergence in the organisation's theories-of-action (Argyris & Schön, 1996), employees are more likely to be influenced by what the organisation practices (e.g. measuring employee contribution to knowledge initiatives) rather than what the organisation says it values. Even when the perceived ability to measure the transfer of knowledge is removed from the equation, views of knowledge in organisations are still constrained.

Most models take a position that transfer is exchange of information that when shared or socialised between individuals becomes knowledge. There are many models of knowledge development that vary along epistemology and/or ontology lines¹²¹, some of which conceive of it in terms of cognitive structuring although a detailed theoretical basis is absent (e.g. von Krogh *et al.*, 1996; Wathne *et al.*, 1996; Boisot, 1998). There are also models that have been developed for specific cultural contexts (e.g. China, Wang *et al.*, 2004; Japan, Štrach & Everett, 2006), define factors that can mediate cultural differences (e.g. trust, Evaristo, 2007), and facilitate the 'repatriation' of knowledge gained in different cultural contexts (e.g. Bonache & Zarraga-Oberty, 2008; Crowne, 2009; Oddou *et al.*, 2009). More generally, the nexus of knowledge transfer and cultural others rely on organisational or group level observations. Table 2 on the following pages lists and summarises recent research as a snapshot of the type of investigations that have been conducted.

¹²¹ For example, Després & Chauvel (2000), Alavi & Leidner (2001), Akbar (2003), Scarbrough & Swan (2005), Vera & Crossan (2005) and Parent *et al.* (2007).

Context	Researchers	Key Findings
Multinationals	Bonache and Brewster (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expatriate transfer can promote knowledge exchange. • International assignments are most suitable where the knowledge to be shared is tacit.
	Minbaeva (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of long-term assignments positively influences expatriates' willingness to share knowledge. • Knowledge sharing is enhanced through prior short-term assignments
	Martins and António (2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural sensitivity and local priorities needed to be accounted for • Transfer is facilitated when knowledge is not seen as imposed. • Prior related knowledge required for transfer • Climate of trust facilitates transfer
	Fang and Schilling (2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expatriates knowledge transfer is not universally beneficial but depends on context and absorptive capacity. • Transfer of knowledge from one location/community to another does not necessarily lead to better absorptive capacity • Expatriate transfer of knowledge is moderated over time
	Zaidman and Brock (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge transfer is affected by global, business, local and professional contexts. • Contexts combine to influence who talks to whom, what kind of information is transferred, and the extent to which people are willing to share knowledge. • Global norms, corporate governance and professional culture enable the creation of a shared corpus of professional data and knowledge that is at least partially available to employees.
University partnerships - Australia & China	Courtney and Anderson (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-way transfer of knowledge from Australia to China • Impacted by misunderstandings regarding concepts such as intellectual property • Cultural distance and isomorphic factors • Lack of trust
Outsourcing from USA to China	Chen <i>et al.</i> (2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on Szulanski's (1996) knowledge transfer phases. • Structured knowledge transfer processes impeded by lack of absorptive capacity of recipients. • Evidence suggested that cultural distance was a contributing factor (e.g. Power Distance, Hofstede, 2001a). • Need for 'foreign' knowledge to be contextualised along side local knowledge and socialisation to build relationships.

Table 2: Sample of Research into Knowledge Transfer in Cultural Contexts

Context	Researchers	Key Findings
International Joint Venture	Evangelista and Hau (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge transfer as acquiring the other partners skills • Management commitment has a positive effect on transfer of explicit knowledge • Strength of relationship between partners impacts on acquisition of tacit knowledge • Cultural distance impacts on acquisition of tacit knowledge • Teamwork between foreign and local staff plays a key role in the acquisition of both explicit and tacit knowledge
International Mergers and Acquisitions	Sarala and Vaara (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National culture differences can have a positive effect on knowledge transfer. • Organisational culture was not a significant impact on knowledge sharing. • Integration as developing relationships between people is of significant importance. • May be predicated on the type of organization.
	Reus and Lamont (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural differences are a 'double edge sword'. • Cultural distance impedes communication of key capabilities that need to be transferred. • Cultural distance increases potential for learning.
	Nielsen and Nielsen (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The tacitness of knowledge may inhibit transfer and learning but enhance companies' ability to innovate. • Tacit knowledge is transferred through imitation • Trust between partners is a significant factor in the learning process.
Workplace Diversity	Lauring (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focused on culturally diverse division on an organisation based in Denmark • Communication across the group was poor despite high proficiency in English • Different socialisation and work ethics created tensions • Some employees preferred to consult with others based on their origin, age, gender or professional background. • Many believed their knowledge was not utilised to its full effect
Higher Education	Brewer (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recipient's perceived value of source's knowledge motivates acquisition. • Source's willingness to share knowledge facilitates transfer. • In this specific context (higher education institution) culture was not found to be a barrier to the transfer of knowledge.

Table 2: Sample of Research into Knowledge Transfer in Cultural Contexts, continued

By using models organisations have sought to improve knowledge transfer through a variety of methods. Newsletters, simulations, workshops, symposia as well as the electronic forms identified earlier (e.g. knowledge repositories) are all suggested as ways in which to promote the transfer and sharing of knowledge. However, the most influential option was ‘communities of practice’ as described in Chapter 5 which became practically essential in the arsenal of organisations (Parent *et al.*, 2007). In the following chapter this concept will be used to frame the realities of knowledge sharing and creation in workgroups and explore how cultural others can make a contribution to their new community.

There are two additional concepts that are significant themes in the knowledge transfer literature. This is the belief that knowledge can be ‘sticky’¹²² and that the absorptive capacity¹²³ of an organisation is a factor in its ability to learn. These are seen as making a further contribution to how organisations have come to view knowledge.

6.3.2.4 Absorptive Capacity and Stickiness

Cohen and Levinthal (1990, p. 128) define absorptive capacity as an organisation’s “... ability to recognize the value of new external information, assimilate it, and apply it to commercial ends”. Therefore, it is the capacity of an organisation to learn from knowledge created outside the organisation and is consistent with the view of cultural others as a source of competitive advantage if their knowledge can be integrated into the new context. In a review of the literature and based largely on the work of Cohen and Levinthal, Lane *et al.* (2006, p. 856) present a model of absorptive capacity that reconceptualises it as.

a firm’s ability to utilize externally held knowledge through three sequential processes: (1) recognizing and understanding potentially valuable new knowledge outside the firm

¹²² Schultz (2001), Szulanski (2003), Jensen & Szulanski (2004), Walker & Christenson (2005), de Pablos (2006), Bonache *et al.* (2007), Walker *et al.* (2007), Sié & Yakhlef (2009), Richtnér & Åhlström (2010) and Wu *et al.* (2010)

¹²³ Cockburn & Henderson (1998), Lane & Lubatkin (1998), Lane *et al.* (2001), Tsai (2001), Zahra & George (2002), Daghfous (2004), Jansen *et al.* (2005), Van Den Bosch *et al.* (2005), Vinding (2006), Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2008a), Cadiz *et al.* (2009), Khoja & Maranville (2010) and Schmidt (2010).

through exploratory learning, (2) assimilating valuable new knowledge through transformative learning, and (3) using the assimilated knowledge to create new knowledge and commercial outputs through exploitative learning.

The conceptualisation of an ‘organisation’ having these abilities is somewhat of a misnomer as absorptive capacity rests with the cognitive abilities of individuals in being able to assimilate new knowledge based on prior related learning. Although emphasised in Cohen and Levinthal’s (1990) original framework predicated on the belief that memory is associative, this level of detail has been largely ignored in subsequent research on absorptive capacity. Easterby-Smith and colleagues (2008a) note this, and see the root cause as the dominance of quantitative research methodologies more appropriate to testing theories rather than developing them and therefore failing to capture what makes it possible. The review by Lane *et al.* (2006) concludes that absorptive capacity has become reified and taken-for-granted in the bulk of the literature. As a result, an organisation’s expenditure in education and training, research and development, and technological infrastructure is linked to the presumption that they are improving their absorptive capacity as return on investment¹²⁴. This view has been criticised for simplifying the concept at the expense of the thick description that reflects the multiple components that combine to enhance or inhibit knowledge sharing (Zahra & George, 2002; Lane *et al.*, 2006; Minbaeva, 2007). Therefore the concept of absorptive capacity has become yet another casualty of business strategy which has diminished the power of Cohen and Levinthal’s (1990) argument.

Cohen and Levinthal (1990, p. 129) state that “[t]he concept of absorptive capacity can best be developed through an examination of the cognitive structures that underlie learning” which integrates well with connectionist theory as presented in Chapter 5. Furthermore they argue that diversity of knowledge and experience is what really develops absorptive capacity and advocate ‘learning by doing’ through exposing employees to a range of experiences (e.g. job rotation, research and development projects) that build on their cognitive maps, a point reflected in the work of Nonaka and

¹²⁴ Cohen & Levinthal (1989), Cockburn & Henderson (1998), Lane & Lubatkin (1998), Simonin (1999), Minbaeva (2007), Khoja & Maranville (2010) and Schmidt (2010).

Takeuchi (1995) as the need for requisite variety. Cohen and Levinthal (1990) also suggest that communication channels that rely on individual specialists in the organisation can limit what knowledge is transferred across it and extend this to their filtering of the knowledge of newly recruited expertise, views that mirror Fischer and Ostwald's (2001) 'specialist privileging'.

This appears as particularly salient to the situation of cultural others. It highlights the pitfalls of perpetuating the 'one-best-way' in selecting information that may add value but not upset the status quo of the organisation as 'the way we do things around here'. An organisation's 'mind set' in relation to 'outside' knowledge limits the building of absorptive capacity and potentially a new source of competitive advantage. It is folly to dismiss the outside knowledge of cultural others simply on the basis that it was 'not-invented-here' (i.e. a specific organisational context) and, given they were selected on the basis that their knowledge is a fit to the organisation, it is contrary to the expectation that their knowledge will be transferable to other members of the organisation¹²⁵. Organisations, even those who believe themselves open to the stock of knowledge offered by cultural others, are also faced with issues of 'stickiness'.

Knowledge has been described as 'sticky' in situations where there has been a belief that it would be transferable to a new context but it has only partially succeeded or entirely failed to meet this expectation. The term 'stickiness' was coined by von Hippel (1994) who defined it in terms of the cost involved in transferring information from one context to another such that it is serviceable at the destination. Likewise Nelson and Winter (1982) saw the need to transfer knowledge as a cost to organisations, the extent of which was dependent on the type of knowledge to be transferred (i.e. tacit/explicit) and the cognitive abilities of individuals. However, it was Szulanski (1995) who 'unpacked' its characteristics.

¹²⁵ This transferability of the knowledge of cultural others is often identified in the literature as of benefit to organisations. See: Roach Report (1995), Access Economics (2002), Khoo *et al.* (2004), Williams (2005), Khoo *et al.* (2006), Williams (2006), Australian Financial Markets Association (2007), Khoo *et al.* (2007) and Williams (2007b; 2007a).

Szulanski (1995; 1996) identified two sets of characteristics, knowledge¹²⁶ and situation¹²⁷, in relation to the stickiness of knowledge that are the dynamic interplay between the type of knowledge to be transferred, the disposition of the source and the recipient, and the context in which transfer takes place. He concludes that “[t]aken collectively, the findings point to the attributes of the situation as the primary origins of stickiness” (Szulanski, 1995, p. 440) and argues that cost is a poor basis from which to gauge difficulty of knowledge transfer as each case may vary subtly and through a combination of many different factors. In his later work Szulanski (2000) identified stickiness as arising at various stages of the transfer process¹²⁸ thus illustrating how these characteristics may emerge at different times, and for different reasons. Predictably, Szulanski’s work became a catalyst for increased research into the dynamic environment of knowledge transfer.

Characteristics such as trust and confidence, face-to-face versus virtual communication, group socialisation, the tacitness of knowledge, motivation to learn or share knowledge, compatibility of partners (e.g. hybrid organisations), adaptive process, relevance of new knowledge, organisational structure and control mechanisms, cultural distance (societal and organisational) and the management of relationships are popular topics as

¹²⁶ Two characteristics of ‘causal ambiguity’ (lack of clarity surrounding how a new context will affect the replication of knowledge from another context) and ‘unproven record’ (knowledge that does not have a proven record of usefulness and transferability is more difficult to transfer). Adapted from Szulanski(1995; 1996).

¹²⁷ Seven characteristics of ‘source lacks motivation’ (knowledge source may be reluctant to share critical information), ‘source is not perceived as reliable’ (recipient does not feel the knowledge source is reliable or trustworthy), ‘recipient lacks motivation’ (recipient is reluctant to accepted knowledge, e.g. not-invented-here syndrome), ‘absorptive capacity’ (recipients need to have existing knowledge of the domain to fully exploit new knowledge), ‘retentive capacity’ (the higher a recipient’s capacity to retain knowledge the more ‘unlearning’ required before new knowledge replaces old), ‘barren organisational context’ (the context does not facilitate the transfer of new knowledge, e.g. structure, systems, behaviour) and ‘arduous relationship’ (a lack of or distant relationship between source and recipient). Adapted from Szulanski (1995; 1996).

¹²⁸ Szulanski’s (2000) transfer process consists of four stages: initiation (e.g. deciding knowledge is required), implementation (e.g. coordination, communication, infrastructure, training), ramp-up (e.g. resolving unexpected problems in usage of new knowledge) and integration (e.g. making new knowledge routine).

moderators of knowledge transfer¹²⁹ with some writers adopting unique perspectives such as knowledge transfer across generations (i.e. generations X to Y, McNichols, 2010) and expertise as passionate individuals motivated to pass on their knowledge (Sié & Yakhlef, 2009). What can be surmised from the copious literature is that it is not so much the knowledge that sticks but contextual factors and the human side of enterprise which Becker (2007, p. 43) describes as “ . . . the behaviours, skills and attitudes of colleagues and managers that influence informal learning . . . and the corporate attitudes, values and behaviours that influence communication and interaction patterns”. This contextual and human based ‘sticky situation’ highlights other probable effects of the divergence in the theories-of-action at both the organisation and individual level. More importantly, the literature on stickiness has clearly overlooked the opportunity to explore disconnects between the ‘mental models’ of individuals in accounting for the difficulties in transferring knowledge that is contextually and situationally bound as offered by a connectionist approach.

The concepts of absorptive capacity and stickiness both point to the role of context in the formations of knowledge. Inkpen and Dinur (1998) argue that “[e]very organizational practice, routine, or piece of information is deeply embedded within its context” and identify societal culture as impinging on the movement of knowledge across such contexts. Similarly, de Pablos (2006) suggests that, as learning grounded in context, the societal culture in which knowledge was created will affect any transference to a new context in a different society. However, cognitive perspectives of either absorptive capacity or knowledge stickiness are virtually non-existent with exception of the work of Cohen and Levinthal (1990). It appears that more attention is paid to describing the transfer process and identifying causal factors than looking for the deeper processes that are at play at the level of the individual.

¹²⁹ Nonaka & Takeuchi (1995), Zander & Kogut (1995), Inkpen (1998), Bresman *et al.* (1999), Hansen (1999), Gupta & Govindarajan (2000), Schultz (2001), Kostova & Roth (2002), Tsang (2002), Bjorkman *et al.* (2004), Dhanraj *et al.* (2004), Jensen & Szulanski (2004), Simonin (2004), Adenfelt & Lagerstrom (2006), Meyer (2007), Salk & Lyles (2007), Evangelista & Hau (2009), Nielsen & Nielsen (2009), Reus & Lamont (2009), Gao & Riley (2010) and Richtnér & Åhlström (2010).

6.3.3 *UNDERSTANDING KNOWLEDGE IN ORGANISATIONS*

The preceding sections have sought to draw attention to the vagaries of organisational approaches to knowledge. Given the vast body of literature that debates the types of knowledge¹³⁰, offers an array of approaches to facilitate knowledge flow, and supports a seemingly infinite combination of factors that are said to impinge on the creation, maintenance and transfer of knowledge, it begs the question of how an organisation's culture can support organisational learning.

De Long and Fahey (2000) provide an alternative conception of knowledge that is better suited to an organisation wide view as it pertains to organisational culture and its impact on levels within the organisation. The authors divide knowledge into three types: 'human' as individual expertise, 'social' as the collective knowledge that develops in groups, and 'structured' as the explicit policies, procedures and tools mandated by the organisation. De Long and Fahey (2000) believe that most research on managing knowledge is focused on only one of these knowledge categories rather than all three. Furthermore, they see four ways in which organisational culture shapes any sub-cultures that may be present as well as the behaviours of employees in using, sharing and creating knowledge. De Long and Fahey (2000) identify these as:

1. Organisational culture that shapes assumptions about what knowledge is and which knowledge is worth managing. For example, is an organisation so focused on structured knowledge that human and social knowledge is ignored?
2. Organisational culture that dictates ownership of knowledge and who controls it. For example, how do employees perceive an organisation that requires them to contribute what they know individually or collectively (human and social knowledge) into a knowledge repository (structured knowledge)?
3. Organisational culture that creates the context for social interaction that defines how knowledge will be used in a specific situation. For example, do the policies and

¹³⁰ In Chapter 4, the traditional tacit/explicit dichotomy was presented along with Blackler's (1995) typology of organisations as favouring embodied, embedded, embrained or encultured knowledge.

procedures (structured knowledge) or norms of the organisation shape how individuals or groups interact?

4. Organisational culture that defines how new knowledge is created, legitimised and disseminated in organizations. For example, do the norms and practices of the organisation inhibit or facilitate the creation and dissemination of new knowledge?

These points are quite relevant to the situation in which cultural others may find themselves. Their (human) knowledge can be marginalised because it is not recognised as fitting the social knowledge of a group as their interpretation of what the organisation values in the way of knowledge. Similarly the group may reject the knowledge of a cultural other as cementing the ownership of their social knowledge. Even if the knowledge benefits, and is accepted by, the group, an organisation's culture may inhibit its adoption as beyond what it mandates as knowledge through its norms and practices. In one way or another, knowledge as the competitive advantage of cultural others is eroded.

Although not explicitly referred to by them, what De Long and Fahey (2000) have illustrated are issues that contribute to the divergence in the theories-of-action of organisations, their units or individual employees. When attempting to foster organisational learning, the culture of an organisation must account for a balance between structured, social and human knowledge that best suits their mission and environment. The methods for facilitating knowledge usage, creation and sharing, and the factors that are said to impinge on it, need to be considered, but not at the expense of addressing the issue of maintaining consistency between espoused-theory and the theory-in-use. In connectionist terms, the real key to organisational learning lies in the ability of an organisation to create an atmosphere where mental models can be surfaced that challenge long held assumptions or dominant practices which may facilitate new knowledge and promote more effective approaches to the functions of the organisation.

In regard to the proliferation of choices available to organisations in managing knowledge, von Krogh *et al.* (2000) see most as having three fundamental drawbacks: (a) a reliance on discernible, quantifiable information that can be documented in some

way, therefore missing the distinction between information and knowledge; (b) a preoccupation with ‘tools’ such as skill inventories, value measures and models for connecting groups to promote new knowledge; and (c) the perceived need for a specific individual or group to ‘manage’ the function, especially given they are often too removed from where knowledge is used and created to be useful in facilitating its transfer. While von Krogh *et al.*’s. (2000) last point has not formed part of the discussion, the final chapters of this thesis will address the issue of responsibility for managing the knowledge of cultural others.

As stated in Chapter 1, the premise of this thesis is that the current conceptions of knowledge held by organisations fail to consider the human act of learning. This thesis has sought to redress this through adopting a connectionist approach where knowledge becomes the meaning and actions that arise from learning that is situated and contextually bound. As such, the knowledge of cultural others as differentiated ways of seeing and doing does not act as a filter to future learning. Furthermore, when individuals are viewed as engage in learning on behalf of the organisation, knowledge can be seen to circulate through undocumented practices, tools, stories, language, and other objects that form a distributed cognitive network. This approach is seen as consistent with Snowden’s (2002b; 2002a; 2004) call for the new age of knowledge mining that will be a more fertile environment for organisations wanting to capitalise on their knowledge assets in moving from a mechanistic view of knowledge transfer to a more organic one.

In general, the emphasis is now on the complex ecological system of human interaction, where identity and context are continually renegotiated by individuals, where learning and working are seen as collaboration, and where informal networks are equally as important as more formal channels of the organisation¹³¹. As supporting the shift in emphasis to the individual as a learning agent, this thesis expects to make a contribution

¹³¹ For example, Kaplan & Norton (1996), Fischer & Ostwald (2001), Boisot (2002), Snowden (2002a; 2002b), Huang & Newell (2003), Snowden & Stanbridge (2004), Janowicz-Panjaitan & Noorderhaven (2008), Crowne (2009) and Fang *et al.* (2010).

to perspectives of knowledge and organisational learning, specifically in relation to cultural others.

Mason (2003) believes that the narrow views of what constitutes knowledge has led to the marginalisation of the knowledge of cultural others, a situation he feels requires a more considered approach. The approach suggested is one framed by contemporary learning theory to make research more relevant to the increasing diversity in the workplace. Similarly, Holden (2002, p. 81) is of the opinion that traditional approaches to managing knowledge operated in:

a unitary kind of vacuum, in which diversity in terms of language, cultural and ethnic background, gender and professional affiliation are compressed into one giant independent variable, which is in any case pushed to the side. This approach may be convenient for conceptualizing, but it is very limited for practical purposes in the modern international business world with its complex forms of cross-cultural learning, interactive networking, and knowledge acquisition and sharing.

Holden's (2002) contribution sits at the nexus of organisational culture, organisational learning and cross-cultural management. By his own admission his work is less a treatise on managing cultural differences, and more a crusade to highlight the potential of cultural others as a knowledge resource. His perspective moves culture-as-difference to culture-as-knowledge.

6.4 CULTURE AS KNOWLEDGE

Holden's (2002) contention is that rather than culture being viewed as a source of difficulty in business it should be seen as a situation needing 'translation activity', unlocking pathways to new ideas that ultimately supports organisational learning. From this perspective culture is an opportunity to grow an organisation's knowledge, promote knowledge transfer and therefore redefine the role of cross-cultural management as how " . . . knowledge, values and experiences are transferred into multicultural domains of implementation" (Holden, 2002, pp. 208). He does not belittle the effect of cultural differences and provides an alternative that advances the notion of cultural synergy as facilitating an environment that makes possible the sharing of knowledge across cultural

boundaries, rather than attempting to homogenise the workforce according to prescriptive ideas found in the prevailing literature which obfuscate the practicalities of such endeavours.

According to Holden (2002), the marginalisation of the knowledge of cultural others is the result of the continual search into the extent of culture-as-difference that is marked by a ‘Hofstedian grip’ on research activities. In general, he sees models of culture as able to highlight some factors that impinge on cross-cultural interaction. However:

impacts on managers and organizations cannot be anticipated or meaningfully analysed *solely* by the application of cultural categories such as values, language difference, or Hofstedian mental programmes *without* an appreciation of the peculiarities – even the idiosyncrasies – of contextual embedding (Holden, 2002, p. 14, original emphasis).

Holden (2002) argues that cross-cultural management is now dominated by an essentialist concept of culture that continues to focus on its characteristics and properties to the virtual exclusion of possibly more ‘thought-provoking’ avenues. In his view it is still the ‘morass’ described by Roberts (1970) through drawing on literature from multiple fields and failing to integrate it into anything useful. Furthermore, and consistent with the findings of Chapter 2, Holden (2002) sees the field as essentially split between mediating difference or promoting cultural sensitivity based on views that invariably portray culture as the unrelenting product of socialisation within a nation and therefore the purview of (International) Human Resources Management in avoiding ‘culture clash’. He believes that this approach to culture fails to resonate with organisations or managers who are seeking to collaborate with cultural others in what is a globalising world, concluding that “[t]his is where cross-cultural management *is waiting to be discovered*” (Holden, 2002, p. 27, original emphasis). He advocates that rather than focusing on the supposed threats culture poses as described in the ‘outrageous hyperbole’ of certain literature, a more reasoned approach is required “. . . as the management of multiple cultures within and among organizations, involving processes of knowledge transfer and organizational learning” (Holden, 2002, p. 58).

The argument for cultural others as a knowledge source is advanced through a social constructionist approach using case studies of four international organisations. In what Holden (2002) describes as a ‘narratological’ style, the stories of each are unfolded, drawing together issues of culture and learning that illustrate how differences are overcome and knowledge is able to transcend boundaries, concluding that employees can overcome the culture divide so often discussed in the literature as, “[g]enerally speaking, culture, primarily in the sense of national culture and cultural difference, is not experienced as aggravation” (Holden, 2002, p. 221).

Holden (2002) sees knowledge as contextualised in ‘habitats’ formed by groups as they collaborate and create shared meaning and practice in the context of their work. These habitats are the ‘common knowledge’ of a group that by its nature is also cultural. Holden (2002, p. 227) argues that from this perspective “[i]t now becomes possible to understand culture as infinitely overlapping and perpetually redistributable habitats of common knowledge” mirroring Strauss and Quinn’s (1997) view that individuals are a junction point for an infinite number of cultures. While Holden (2002, p. 228) does not offer any theoretical insight into the process of learning, his views are grounded in cognitive conceptions as his dialogical approach of ‘interactive translation’ is “. . . the cognitive movement of knowledge, ideas and experience among different languages”. The core of Holden’s (2002) argument is that language is the primary barrier to successful interaction and learning across cultures, a view widely supported in the literature as hindering the flow of knowledge in organisational contexts¹³². His long term solution is to create a ‘new language’ of business and management that facilitates better intercultural communication and translation of knowledge from tacit to explicit states.

Despite this thesis adopting a cognitive approach to culture instead of a dialogical one, Holden’s conclusions are relevant to the more central concern with the ‘culture-as-difference to be managed’ perspective that surrounds the issue of cultural others in

¹³² For example, Riege (2007), Courtney & Anderson (2009), Wilkesmann *et al.* (2009), Rask *et al.* (2010) and Ulijn *et al.* (2010).

organisational contexts. His challenge to cross-cultural management is to move from a perspective of managing and mediating culture based on 'periodic tables' such as Hofstede's, to one of task orientation in promoting cultural interaction with an agenda that focuses on promoting cross-cultural collaborative learning, knowledge transfer, networking and communication and creating an atmosphere that is more inclusive than that promoted by diversity training. He scoffs at the 'ideal' of the 'cross-cultural manager' whose role has been cast as simply offsetting culture shock and advocates the use of 'global knowledge workers' as enablers and facilitators informed by the 'new' cross-cultural management. Holden's work therefore provides a framework that can be employed at the group level.

Holden (2002) defines cultural knowledge as a tripartite configuration of general, specific and cross-cultural know-how. When cultural others effectively engage in practice and learn from each other, cross-cultural know-how is produced as an organisational resource that is "... unique, hard to imitate, and adds value" (Holden, 2002, p. 290) that may eventually become tangible as products, concepts and services that promote competitive advantage. The general and specific domains refer to levels of knowledge that relate to a culture. General cultural knowledge can be gained from a range of resources as it is explicit, objective and documented in various forms (e.g. internet) including commercial offerings (e.g. Hofstede, 1991; Lewis, 1999; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2004). Often this information is aimed at preventing cultural *faux pas* but as Schein (2009, p. 202) argues "[c]ertainly it is important to know what kinds of things will be offensive in other cultures, but that will not be enough to build good working relationships". Specific cultural knowledge requires more than a superficial understanding and is the 'common knowledge' relevant to, and gathered in a particular context. Early and Mosakowski (2004a) state understanding cultural knowledge and developing communication channels may require obtaining the services of specialist managers who have considerable 'cultural intelligence'. In what can only be described as the 'culture fit' industry, literature is available for marketing and advertising purposes (e.g. de Mooij, 2010), the formation of hybrid organisations (e.g. Stahl & Mendenhall, 2005; Bhaskaran & Gligorovska, 2009; Ulijn *et al.*, 2010) and

even recruitment (e.g. Harris *et al.*, 2003; Sparrow, 2009) while numerous firms provide services that specialise in cultural training and research.

It is Holden's (2002) belief that before individuals from different cultures interact the general and specific knowledge they hold is passive, and when they come into contact this knowledge becomes active. It is the act of translation that builds cross-cultural know-how as a combination of knowledge and knowing, where knowing is the additional expertise required to apply knowledge (Holden, 2002). Holden identifies ambiguity, interference and a lack of equivalence in language as factors that can inhibit the knowledge translation process. Bound as Holden's approach is to translation as communication between humans in constructing their social reality these factors are solely related to linguistic properties. While Holden's work has been central to the perspective taken by this thesis, it adopts a broader approach to the inclusion of cultural others as more than just language based translation activities¹³³. The fundamental difference is the application of connectionist learning theory to reframe the activities of communities as will be offered in the following chapter. In this way, language is accounted for as individuals participate in the sensemaking process of their new environment through engaging with other members of the community and therefore going " . . . beyond the verbal medium" (Shapiro *et al.*, 2007, p. 130). Furthermore, where Holden identifies societal culture as the central concern of the translation activity, this thesis adds organisational culture as other forms of general and specific knowledge the translation of which is equally important to the building of cross-cultural know how.

¹³³ Holden's view of language as a factor in successful cross-cultural interaction is indeed important. Language as miscommunication between speakers of foreign languages has been widely reported in the literature across many disciplines and is often cited as an impediment to achieving common understanding and hindering the flow of knowledge in organisational contexts (e.g. Von Glinow *et al.*, 2004; Riege, 2007; Bjerregaard *et al.*, 2009; Courtney & Anderson, 2009; Wilkesmann *et al.*, 2009; Rask *et al.*, 2010; Ulijn *et al.*, 2010). Even where a working knowledge of a language is present, nuances not obvious to a non-native speaker can lead to misunderstandings (e.g. Evaristo, 2007). It could also be said that language barriers extend beyond differences in 'native tongue' to the language of professions, communities, organisations and even teams (Davenport & Prusak, 1998; von Krogh *et al.*, 2000; Plaskoff, 2005). Indeed, the work context is loaded with linguistic nuances and acronyms based on organisation, industry and occupation as well as the 'shorthand' that can develop in workgroups in the performance of their tasks. As such, the complexities of 'language' often lead to misunderstanding or outright confusion in cross-cultural encounters whether based on verbal or written communication.

This view is consistent with the later work of Holden and his colleague Von Kortzfleisch (2004, original emphasis) when they emphasise knowledge transfer in organisational contexts as “. . . not just a personal experience, *but a collective sense-making process*”.

6.5 SYNOPSIS OF THE ORGANISATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

This chapter has taken the position that organisational culture is a form of learning as employees engage in the day-to-day activities of the organisation, a view offered through the lens of a connectionist theory of learning. As a culture, it is seen as framing their attitudes, behaviours and actions in the workplace and extends to their views of cultural others. As elements of an organisation's culture, and central to the concerns of this thesis, the management of diversity and knowledge were explored to outline the approaches organisations take in these areas.

Through the research of Boxenbaum (2006), diversity management was shown to be a concept that has its own cultural difficulties when surveyed through the lens of another culture. This raises the question of how cultural others interpret and experience the diversity practices of an organisation. As research into the experiences of cultural others is virtually nonexistent, and cross-cultural management as the overarching discipline is only focused on mediating the effects of culture-as-difference (Chapter 2), the answer to this question remains the work of future research. Leveson *et al.* (2009), in surveying non-managerial employees for their opinion of the organisation's diversity management practices, were able to demonstrate that the culture of an organisation must be congruent with its actions if diversity is to be taken seriously by employees. As learning, employees were able to match the espoused vision of the organisation with the way it which it operationalised it, that, from the perspective of Argyris and Schön (1996), implies a high degree of equivalence in the theories-of-action of both organisation and employee. Culture as a source of competitive advantage is an idea that eludes diversity management. Furthermore, a lack of clarity surrounds whether diversity management is a business strategy, and what that means in organisational

contexts, or a mechanism to manage friction is the workplace (Klarsfeld, 2009). At a more basic level, some writers see the problem as stemming from confusion about what type of ‘diversity’ is the focus of diversity management¹³⁴. In ‘valuing diversity’, organisations need to move beyond current models to extracting what Bertone and Leahy (2003, p. 110) describe as the ‘diversity dividend’ which is “ . . . about far more than just adding a few bilingual workers, or recognising that people speak other languages”. To date, diversity management has been unable to deliver this dividend (see: Harrison & Klein, 2007; Marquis *et al.*, 2008; McVittie *et al.*, 2008).

Knowledge and its management are seen as crucial to the survival of contemporary organisations. Their cultures invariably reflect a need for learning across the organisation and concomitant with this is the need to use, share and create knowledge. As this chapter has shown, varying approaches have been taken by organisations. Initial attempts to capture knowledge using technology resulted in failure due to a lack of appreciation of its contextual nature and the ‘value add’ of employees. In attempting to reverse this oversight, organisations were drawn to models of learning that required systemic change, but most found these difficult to implement and sustain. The ‘hybrid option’ of knowledge transfer has become the new solution as an uneasy mix of the predecessors. Uneasy in that the use of technology has led to the belief that knowledge can be measured, further obfuscating what it is and its source as the context specific learning by employees. This chapter argues that changes in the perspective of organisations in trying to quantify knowledge and its transfer have led to a divergence in their theories-of-action, in that their practices do not match what they espouse. It appears that the measuring of knowledge has gained ascendancy over its usage, sharing and creation.

Organisational learning, as the discipline supporting the efforts of organisations to increase their stock of knowledge, has already been shown to focus on prescriptive and descriptive accounts of ‘what it takes’ for organisations to learn, although a theoretical

¹³⁴ See: Agócs & Burr (1996), Jehn *et al.* (1999), Hicks-Clarke & Iles (2000), Nkomo & Stewart (2006), Harrison & Klein (2007), Holvino & Kamp (2009) and Harrison & Humphrey (2010).

basis of learning is noticeable by its absence (Chapter 4). When the focus turns to knowledge as the product of learning, organisations are faced with new dilemmas. Do they have the required absorptive capacity to acquire new knowledge and how can they overcome 'sticky' knowledge? These abstractions of knowledge equally lack a theoretical base. In the case of the perspective offered by Cohen and Levinthal (1990), their original conceptualisation of absorptive capacity as building the cognitive abilities of individuals to assimilate new knowledge has been overwhelmed by acceptance that unsuccessful knowledge transfers are due to an organisation's failure to develop this attribute. Further exploration of the cognitive aspects of absorptive capacity remains undeveloped. While Szulanski's (1995; 1996) characteristics of stickiness draw attention to the type of knowledge to be transferred, source and recipient disposition, and the context of the transfer, they are not associated with any theory of learning. Absorptive capacity and stickiness, when considered from a connectionist theory of learning, have a lot to offer in generating understanding of knowledge and its transfer in organisational contexts.

An alternative conception of knowledge found in the work of De Long and Fahey (2000) is seen as a more productive starting point for organisations attempting to develop a learning culture. Instead of traditional knowledge types (e.g. tacit/explicit), it directs attention to the forms of knowledge in organisation (i.e. human, social and structured) and refocuses attention on the need to have a culture that balances these forms and aligns its practices with them. More generally, a community of practice approach to knowledge is advocated that acknowledges the sovereignty of the individual and their community as agents who learn in a context framed by the organisation's culture. In particular, it sees connectionist theory of learning and distributed cognition as essential in understanding knowledge that by its nature is inclusive of cultural others.

Holden's (2002) work on culture as knowledge has being central to the perspective taken by this thesis. However, this thesis adopts a different approach to the inclusion of cultural others as more than just language based translation activities. A fundamental

difference is the application of connectionist learning theory and distributed cognition to reframe the activities of individuals and communities. Cultural others as outsiders are seen as seeking entry to a new community and it is only through acceptance by the community that any transfer of knowledge can take place. In the opinion of van den Hooff and Huysman (2009, p. 1) “ . . . the sharing of knowledge cannot be forced, but results from a shared intrinsic motivation to share, gained by the donor being socially embedded”. This author concurs and sees the fundamental flaw in current models of transfer as the separation of an individual’s cognition from their practice that leaves knowledge as nothing more than simply what is in the head, rather than what can be more accurately be described as ‘knowing in context’ (Lakowski, 2004).

6.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has given an account of the organisational environment from the perspective of an organisation’s culture as a form of ‘learning in context’ by employees. It has illustrated how discontinuities between what an organisation says (espoused-theory) and what it does (theory-in-use) can influence the sense-making processes of employees on issues such as diversity and the value of knowledge and learning. Furthermore, it has exposed the potential for an organisation to inadvertently limit its potential for learning.

Where this chapter has focused on organisational culture as central to defining the environment of employees, the following chapter expands this discussion to the workgroup context. Described as a community whose interpretation of the organisational culture develops as ‘situated culture’, Chapter 7 continues to draw on the connectionist theory of learning and distributed cognition (Chapter 5) to unfold how this culture plays out in the workgroup context. Specifically, it highlights the need for cultural others to be actively ‘connected’ to their new community if organisations are to profit from their knowledge.

CHAPTER 7: THE WORKGROUP CONTEXT

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 5, connectionist theory as it applies to learning was presented as a more powerful approach to understanding the construction of knowledge and, in particular, culture as a form of knowledge. This form of cultural knowledge, as differentiated ways of seeing and doing, is viewed in this thesis as a source of competitive advantage to the receiving organisation. The purpose of building this perspective was to provide a more comprehensive account of how humans learn that was also extended to include the concept of distributed cognition in further refining knowledge as more than what is held in the head.

Further to this, the discussion in Chapter 6 applied the connectionist perspective to organisational culture as another form of cultural knowledge constructed as employees learn and make meaning of their experiences in the organisational context. Specifically it targeted diversity management and the learning and knowledge strategies subscribed to by organisations as those most pertinent to the incorporation of cultural others. As the core of organisations, this culture was demonstrated to be subject to uncertainties, inconsistencies and contradictions as divergence in an organisation's theories-of-action, therefore reducing the possibility of a homogenous culture ever existing across the organisation. This insight into the overarching culture of organisations provides a foundation for understanding the complexity faced by cultural others when they join a 'foreign' organisation. Drawing on the discussions in these two chapters, this chapter now moves the focus to the workgroup context as 'connection to practice'.

7.2 CONNECTION TO PRACTICE

A workgroup can be defined as a set of interdependent individuals in a specific context who, over time, develop ways of seeing and doing their shared tasks. In Chapter 5 the notion of an organisational workgroup as a community of practice was introduced (see

Huysman, 2002). This conceptualisation of a workgroup as a community specifically lends itself to seeing group members as engaged in learning through their day-to-day activities while also accounting for the contextual embeddedness of these activities (see Inkpen & Dinur, 1998). As a result “[k]nowledge resides in social relations, and knowing is part of becoming an insider in a community of practice” (Gherardi, 2001, p. 133). Billett (2007, p. 55) describes the philosophy underpinning communities of practice as advancing “ . . . theories of human learning, and understanding relations between individual and social”. However, in this thesis it diverges from the view popularised by Lave and Wenger (Lave, 1991; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) as it does not see the ‘product’ of the community as an apprentice mastering a single trade or profession, but as goals, meanings and practices developed and shared by the community.

Community members contribute their own expertise and build relationships that allow them to cooperate and collaborate to achieve goals that they could not accomplish on their own. As such, each community evolves a frame of reference to guide these activities that inherently have discrete attributes that distinguish their community from others in the organisation. The longer a group stays together, or core individuals remain, the more ingrained many of these attributes become. This thesis identifies three key roles of members of a community that are seen as capturing the essential attributes and which can present as potential barriers to the inclusion of cultural others and their knowledge. These three roles are carriers of culture, practitioners and managers of knowledge. The following sections unfold the workgroup context that cultural others are seeking entry to.

7.2.1 CARRIERS OF CULTURE

The development of a community begins with its interpretation of what is required to achieve the goals of the organisation, and specifically the role of members in contributing to them. In making meaning of what are desirable values, attitudes and behaviours, members evolve group norms as the correct way to think, feel and act in the workplace that Weisinger and Trauth (2002) describe as ‘situated culture’. As the

creation of an employee's frame of reference, the organisation's culture is seen as instrumental in this process.

Chapter 6 offered a conception of organisational culture as learning by employees of the organisation's vision described in terms of the values, beliefs, and behaviours it wants them to share. As was demonstrated, the significance of this learning is that an organisation can espouse its vision but, if it is to be achieved, its actions as the way in which the vision is implemented must be consistent with it. When this is not the case, the outcome was described in terms of Argyris and Schön's (1996) divergence in theories-of-action. Specifically, any divergence is reflected at the level of employees when they experience the organisation's vision differently to the 'official ideology' (Irrmann, 2002). As a result, within the context of their roles and responsibilities this influences their frame of reference as situated culture and is therefore one source of the heterogeneity observed in organisational cultures¹³⁵. This is not to say that some aspects of an organisation's culture are not shared across the organisation (e.g. equity) but it is more productive to view any organisation's culture as a complex mix of nested and, at times, overlapping groupings as described by Sackmann (1997). Where heterogeneity in organisational culture has been noted, a significant proportion point to cognitive and social factors as instrumental in the sense-making of organisational culture by individuals, surfacing the idea of community members as carriers of culture (e.g. Martin, 1992; Hatch, 1993; Trefry, 2006; Scott, 2008). Kondra and Hurst (2009, pp. 44-45) express it in this way.

Culture as understood within a nested context develops as shared meaning created through interaction and/or resistance, evolve, become taken-for-granted, stabilize and seek to govern behaviour. Cultural carriers are routine, structural and cognitive in nature, facilitating the transmission of culture explicitly and tacitly through active conversation, behaviour, structure and physical artefacts.

¹³⁵ For example, Riley (1983), Jermier *et al.* (1991), Martin (1992), Sackmann (1992), Bloor & Dawson (1994), Alvesson (2002) and Trefry (2006).

Although the word ‘shared’ would seem to suggest consensus it can also be construed as simple acquiesce in adapting to ‘the way of world’ within the community. This is supported in connectionist theory which provides for the possibility of individuals holding competing or contradictory schemas on the basis that they are capable of differentiating their application to a situation based on context. However, the net effect is that, as a community, the group has defined the organisation’s culture in terms of the reality of its specific context, where each member socialises and engages in the activities of the community bounded by that reality (Levine & Moreland, 1991; Weisinger & Trauth, 2002; Billett *et al.*, 2005). Adkins and Caldwell (2004, p. 977) suggest that, although it is difficult to discern the overlap and salience of values between the organisation’s culture and its subcultures “ . . . managers may potentially increase the satisfaction of employees by systematically attempting to improve the fit between the individual and the culture of the group”.

Schein (2004) describes group culture as emerging through a four stage evolutionary process of *Formation* (‘The leaders knows what we should do’), *Building* (‘We are a great group; we all like each other’), *Work* (‘We can perform effectively because we know and accept each other’) and *Maturity* (‘We know who we are, what we want, and how to get it. We have been successful, so we might be right’). Most importantly he describes the last stage (*Maturity*) in terms of the socio-emotional need of the group to ensure its survival and comfort by preserving its culture and taking seriously any threats that may upset this *status quo*. In expressing organisational culture as a group level experience that grows from member’s day-to-day dealings as shared history, Schein (1984) highlights cognitive processing as the unconscious learning that takes place due to repeated, successful approaches in achieving the tasks and goals of the organisation. This view is shared by Gruenfeld and Fan (1999) who regard it as a form of tacit knowledge that goes unnoticed by those who have it. These high level cognitive views of culture acquisition are consistent with the deeper understanding provided by Strauss and Quinn (1997) whose connectionist approach sees internalisation of patterns as made stronger or given more ‘weight’ by consistency in features, in contrast to random variations that have weaker ‘weight’ and thus a less enduring cognitive impact.

Schein's (2004) evolutionary formation of group culture and its foundation of 'basic assumptions',¹³⁶ also has support in Strauss and Quinn (1997) who describe groups as 'self-conscious subcultures' where the 'sharedness' of schemata arises out of people experiencing similar circumstances thereby acquiring similar mental structures and associated meanings. As such, a cognitive perspective of organisational culture at the group level can be seen as schemata connecting context with events, actions and outcomes, promoting patterns of learned responses to similar circumstances within the workplace context. There is support for this epistemological/ontological distinction between an organisation's culture and that of its groups. Trefry (2006, p. 566) virtually mirrors Schein's language of theories-of-action with 'espoused culture' as the overarching culture, and 'culture in use' as the sense-making of the individual that creates "... mental models about how things work – a constellation of assumptions and beliefs about various factors in a situation". Likewise, Varra (1999) uses 'real culture' in reference to the organisation and 'constructed culture' as individual interpretation, while Bloor and Dawson (1994) employ a cognitive description as schemata of 'strategic compliance' and 'internalised adoption'. In addition, and complementary to the group as reaching Schein's (2004) cultural maturity, a community forms a 'social identity' as the glue that binds them together (Van Vugt & Hart, 2004). The perspective offered by social identity theory is an important consideration as it explains how individuals come to affiliate themselves with particular groups and the meanings that underlie those affiliations.

Social identity theory is an approach used to describe and explain the relationship between the individual and the social categories to which they may belong (e.g. nation, political, workgroup). Brought to prominence by Tajfel (1981, p. 258), social identity is described as the individual's "... knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of his membership". From

¹³⁶ Schein's (1984, p. 3) definition of organisational culture is "the pattern of basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered, or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, and that have worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems".

a connectionist perspective, it is the meanings individuals attach to their membership of a group. Brewer (1991, p. 476) describes social identity in terms of concentric circles that extend outward from the individual, representing different levels of inclusiveness and the contextual nature of identity, and where “ . . . the next circle outward provides a frame of reference for differentiation and social comparison”. In organisational contexts, Ashforth and Johnson (2001) expand on this view. For them, the organisation is the highest level that individual’s identify with and depending on an organisations’ structure, identities become more exclusive as you descend through the levels of the hierarchy such as division, department, workgroup and job. Furthermore, Ashforth and Johnson (2001) use the notion of ‘cross-cutting identities’ to illustrate that identity can extend across the hierarchy of the organisation as may occur through formal arrangements such as committees that span divisions or informal associations such as ‘friendship cliques’ across workgroups. Cross-cutting identities may also extend beyond the boundary of the organisation as would be the case with professionals who identify with external associations, governing bodies or other groups allied to their profession. Therefore, not only is identity nested within organisations, it also overlaps with external contexts and is multifaceted (see Child & Rodrigues, 2005; Tharenou, 2010). From the connectionist perspective, the schemata associated with social identities will be associated with context and triggered by that context.

Although social identity is a collective term for membership of any group, for the purposes of the discussions that follow, ‘social identity’ is reserved for the sharing in the culture of the community where members are carriers of culture. Later ‘professional identity’ will be used to signify membership that endows status as a practising professional.

7.2.1.1 Social Identity

The characteristics of a social identity differentiate one organisational group from another and more particularly, identify members as belonging (insiders), or not belonging (outsiders), to a particular group. The more unique member’s perceive their group to be, the stronger their identification with it (Levine & Moreland, 1991;

Tharenou, 2010). Indeed, Ashforth and Johnson (2001) hold that in general people are more committed to their workgroups than they are the larger organisation.

At the individual level, the characteristics of social identity are ‘stereotypes’ or cognitive representations (schemata) used to distinguish between insiders and outsiders, and are “ . . . stored in memory, but are constructed, maintained, and modified by features of the immediate or more enduring social interactive context” (Hogg & Terry, 2001, p. 5). This links with the assertion by Strauss and Quinn (1997) that schemata are durable and as such stereotypes become self reinforcing through in-group members behaving in ways consistent with these stereotypes. Hogg and Terry (2000, pp. 123) reconceptualise these stereotypical characteristics as prototypes or “ . . . fuzzy sets that capture the context-dependent features of group membership, . . . including beliefs, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors . . . [maximising] similarities within and differences between groups”¹³⁷. This suggests that social identity by its nature comes to include a community’s situated culture and therefore is consistent with the image of members as carriers of culture demonstrating ‘the way *we see* things around here’. Furthermore, this implies that those new to a group, such as cultural others, need to be acculturated into its norms and behaviours if they are to become members of the ‘in-group’ (Bloor & Dawson, 1994). Existing members of an in-group participate in this acculturation both directly (e.g. socialisation) and indirectly (e.g. newcomer observation of the in-group), but as explained by Argyris and Schön’s (1996) theory-of-action, these may result in mixed impressions about what the group is actually ‘doing’.

The theories-of-action perspective illustrates the dichotomy between espoused-theory as what is said to justify actions, and theory-in-use as the actions that are performed. Of the two, Argyris and Schön (1996, p. 15) see theory-in-use as the core to the continuity of identity as:

¹³⁷ Although in theory, this differentiation may also extend to other attributes such as culture and gender diversity, age, language and other factors associated with societal differences that distinguish one group from another.

[e]ach member of an organization constructs his own representation of the theory-in-use of the whole, but his picture is always incomplete. He strives continually to complete his picture by redescribing himself in relation to others in the organization.

While Argyris and Schön's observations were in relation to the wider organisation, if it can be accepted that organisational culture is an overarching framework interpreted by groups in a way suitable to their specific context, then theories-of-action are an equally relevant concept at the community level. Espoused-theory can be considered a closer approximation of the goals and tenets of the larger organisation resulting from individual sense-making of its culture and therefore used in explaining actions as in keeping with the 'bigger picture'. In this way it is not so much the organisational culture that is shared but the 'basic assumptions' about it as peculiar to the group. However, theory-in-use is the actions developed by the group to achieve its organisational goals, and as Argyris and Schön (1996) point out, often they are not in alignment with those espoused.

For newcomers to the community this creates a dilemma when what is said (e.g. during socialisation) and what is done (e.g. observation) are found to be conflicting or even contradictory. From a connectionist perspective this can be seen as a cultural discontinuity which Strauss and Quinn (1997) suggest results from motivational forces such as 'lip service' or 'routine' behaviours. Lip service as espoused-theory can be seen as social pressure to endorse the tenets of organisational culture but not a strong urge to act in accordance with them. Alternatively, as theory-in-use it is the enactment of routines that become unreflected upon, automatic responses (Strauss & Quinn, 1997). Further to this, Feldman defines (1989, p. 137) routines as:

complex sets of interlocking behaviors held in place through common agreement on the relevant roles and expectations. . . . [Where] any set of agreements about rules and roles is a sort of equilibrium satisfying the demands of many different parties.

Routines, as another facet of the community as 'the way *we do* things around here', are the manner in which the community has structured and defined its work. Another

element of organisational culture that should not be overlooked in relationship to social identity in the workplace is diversity management.

Diversity management holds the possibility of influencing the construction of the social identity of the community and therefore their assessment of who are insiders and outsiders. As Chapter 6 showed, the central focus of diversity management is the differences of others with its practice adopting prescriptive approaches to their treatment. This, as a mostly benign form of stereotyping, has implications for the social identity of community members. In communities who have established or at least experienced cultural heterogeneity, this may be less of an issue. However, when a community is largely homogeneous, diversity management has the capability of reinforcing and maintaining distance between members and cultural others as outsiders through promoting the perception that they may not fit the social identity of the community. In the broader literature there is often comment on the unintended consequence of diversity management as encouraging stereotypes (see: Von Bergen *et al.*, 2002; Chavez & Weisinger, 2008; Clausen, 2010; Harrison & Humphrey, 2010) but what is missing is any substantive qualitative research on diversity management practice in relation to its affects on the social identity of community members and their perception of cultural others. Although social identity and diversity management often form part of discussions in the literature they are most often oriented to conflict mitigation, in keeping with the dominant view of ‘culture-as-difference to be managed’ (e.g. Hicks-Clarke & Iles, 2000; Ensari & Miller, 2006; Luijters *et al.*, 2006). As Terry (2003, p. 26) states:

A social identity perspective is well placed to offer considerable insight into the management of diversity in the workplace, given that it explicates the processes through which group memberships . . . impact on people’s attitudes and behaviour both within and between groups in social categories.

Regardless of the lack of focus on the nexus between social identity and diversity management, as Chapter 6 demonstrated, the words and actions of organisations must be consistent if the required outcomes of diversity management are to be achieved.

In general, discontinuity in theories-of-action (Argyris & Schön, 1996) pose a significant hurdle for cultural others as newcomers. With schemata formed in different societal and organisational contexts, their efforts to make sense of the new environment are confounded by their lack of understanding of the situated culture that guides community members, retarding their ability to develop new or adapt existing schemata for the new context. In finding what Holden (2002) describes as the common knowledge that overcomes the lack of contextual understanding, creating a connection between the social identity of the community and the cultural other is an important stage in their development as an insider of the group, and in coming to an understanding of the situated culture that frames their day-to-day activities.

7.2.1.2 Social Identity as Finding Common Knowledge

Swann and colleagues (2008; 2009) have developed a model of identity as negotiation that generates understanding and imbues individuals with a sense of ‘connectedness’ to the group, serving “ . . . as the ‘thread’ that holds the fabric of social interaction together” (Swann *et al.*, 2000, p. 238). This can be seen as finding common knowledge through socialisation between the cultural other and their community. Swann *et al.* (2009, p. 85) describe the process by which outsiders and insiders interact, predicated on the belief that “[a]t the most general level, people pursue goals that satisfy their needs for coherence (a sense that the world fits with past experiences) and connectedness (positive relations with valued others)”. They develop their model from the perspective of both insiders and outsiders. In their view, outsiders initially use a strategy of non-verbal cues such as behaviour and artefacts (e.g. university degree displayed in the office), and explicit verbal statements in both formal and informal communications to instigate feedback of how their identity fits with the image held by insiders. The feedback results in cycle of ‘counter-counteroffer’ until an acceptable compromise has been reached. On the other hand, insiders are expected to present the outsider with a series of experiences from which they can learn the requirements of fitting in. At the level of the broader organisation, which seems to imply the function of (International) Human Resource Management, this is a process of setting expectations and goals often using formal training as a method of communication and

reinforcement¹³⁸. This can be likened to what Alvesson and Willmott (2002) call ‘identity regulation’ as the organisation’s intentional efforts to control the development of identity as social practices in the workplace (e.g. corporate education and training, induction). Importantly, Swann *et al.* (2009, p. 89) see the process of socialisation as equally crucial in gaining “ . . . ‘insider’ information about the culture of the organization” and supports the claim put forward by this thesis that not only is organisational culture learned, it may also be subject to contextual variation at the community level.

As a variation on the theme of social identity that promotes synergy between cultural others and co-workers, the work of Toh and DeNisi (2007) should be singled out. While their work is still to be tested in the field, it does indicate the beginnings of a dissatisfaction with the current Western bias in ‘culture-as-difference to be managed’ by reversing the view of interaction between parties. Toh and DeNisi (2007) provide a model to encapsulate the factors they believe facilitate the socialisation process between expatriates as outsiders and host country nationals as insiders. They posit expatriates as benefiting from host country nationals as socialising agents in ‘culture shock’ prevention, a perspective they see as an oversight in the literature which “ . . . has foreclosed a comprehensive view of the expatriate adjustment process by focusing mainly on the characteristics of the expatriate and the organization” (Toh & DeNisi, 2007, p. 294). Toh and DeNisi’s (2007) observation can be said to reflect the western bias in cross-cultural management that has particularly focused on Western expatriation to Eastern nations. Based on social identity theory and exploring the factors that could influence host country nationals in taking on such a role, they present a model that they hope will advance the role of host country nationals as part of the solution to expatriate failure (as identified in Chapter 2) rather than the purported cause of it. In theory, Toh

¹³⁸ For example, the (International) Human Resource Management function invariably includes tasks associated with providing an overview of the philosophy of the organisation (i.e. its culture), developing workplace agreements/contracts, identifying performance appraisal criteria, scheduling the new employee training required etc which to varying degrees becomes a part of the cultural others’ managers responsibility (see: Harzing & van Ruysseveldt, 2004; De Cieri, 2008; Dowling *et al.*, 2008; Mathis & Jackson, 2008; Sparrow, 2009).

and DeNisi's (2007) perspective is a refreshing change in reversing the roles, but it, too, has its limitations as it bases part of its approach on differences in societal values such as those identified by Hofstede (2001a). More positively, Toh and DeNisi (2007) claim that measuring the degree of ethnocentrism (i.e. where one's own group has primacy is central to how others are viewed) of host country nationals would indicate how adaptable they would be as socialising agents. At least this distinguishes between culture as immutable values and perspectives held by individuals, and individuals who can develop and apply context specific schemata.

Other factors perceived as being salient by Toh and DeNisi (2007) were the equality of status and pay between the host country national and the expatriate, the time span over which the relationship has to mature (e.g. the longer the expatriate assignment, the more effective the relationship will become), and the congruence in organisational culture across borders as supportive of employees. This last aspect of organisational culture is seen as the strength of the bond between the organisation in caring about the welfare of employees, and employees' feelings of an obligation to reciprocate through achieving organisational goals. Although Toh and DeNisi (2007) are focused on multinationals where they expect a degree of congruence, more generally the work could be said to encompass 'culture shock' in regard to an organisation's culture as substantially different from past experience.

A factor identified by Toh and DeNisi (2007) that may have some bearing on community members' acceptance of cultural others or cultural others' willingness to engage with the community, is the time the relationship has to mature. In the opening chapter, cultural others became a collective term for the 'International Mobility of the Highly Skilled' (Hugo, 2004) that included temporary business migrants whose tenure within an organisation may be limited. This factor is an important parameter for organisations to consider if their objective is the transfer of the skills and knowledge of cultural others to the organisation. It is also one that bears consideration for future research.

In the Australian context, the use of temporary business migrants has received a great deal of criticism as perpetuating an 'off the shelf' attitude by employers in using overseas trained professionals for financial expediency, thus relieving them of the need to train local employees (Birrell & Healy, 1997; also see Menon & Pfeffer, 2003, for management preferences in internal/external knowledge sources; Hugo, 2006). Furthermore, short term contracts may also be simply a case of resourcing with little expectation that any knowledge transfer will take place or, alternatively, the transfer is seen as explicit knowledge (e.g. implementation of new technology) over a finite period. Regardless, the shorter the duration the less likelihood that any substantial identity with a community, or consideration of its practices, will form part of the cultural others' considerations. There is also the possibility that community members will be less accommodating as their needs may be seen as ancillary to what is to be accomplished by the cultural other, heightening their resistance to engaging with them in a productive manner.

The creation of a social identity is an important first step and can begin at a very 'social' level. At the group level, opening of a dialogue between community members and cultural others begins the process of uncovering shared meanings as it "... involves becoming aware of the thinking, feelings, and formulated conclusions that underlie a group's culture or way of being with each other", building trust and respect as the relationships mature (Gerrard & Teirfs, 1995, p. 144). The community leader (e.g. supervisor, manager) needs to facilitate informal gatherings to introduce the cultural other to community members that will at least give all the opportunity to advance their relationship. Brief explanations of the roles and responsibilities of each member will also assist in creating the cultural others' schemata of 'who's who'. Another important aspect of this form of socialisation is the familiarisation with the artefacts of the community. As these will become part of the distributed cognitive network of the cultural other, initial linking of artefacts with their significance to the community and who can be consulted in regard to them, builds relationships that will develop an image

of the activities of the group¹³⁹. Simple things like knowing where community specific materials are held (e.g. 'this is where our reference library is stored'), when associated with usage (e.g. 'our reference library holds the details of all past and present projects') and the people who 'manage' it (e.g. 'the reference library is maintained by Alan, he can show you how to get what you need'), contributes to the cultural others' sense-making process through connecting 'things' with their significance and people.

The process of the socialisation of cultural others into workplace contexts as individuals is poorly researched. While more promising theoretical positions are emerging, such as those of Swann *et al.* (2009) and Toh and DeNisi (2007), the literature still reflects the concerns of diversity management as an overarching and prescriptive approach to cultural others. In general, what is needed is more intensive, qualitative research in culturally diverse organisational settings to explore alternative strategies for diversity management as individual interventions. Developments such as the negotiation of identity through interpersonal congruence offer an avenue from which may emerge practical methods for socialising cultural others in the workplace, thereby moving the focus from differences between cultures, to improving relationships with cultural others as individuals. Furthermore, this will support the need by cultural others to make sense of their new environment and come to an understanding of the frame of reference their group has developed for itself as relationship building with in-group members as carriers of culture.

While social identity confers status on a cultural other as an in-group member, a process that can take time, the attention shifts to the concerns of professional practice as the process advances. Professional identity first introduced in Chapter 5 and described in this chapter as specifically pertaining to identity as a practitioner, accords status as the manifestation (internal representation) and acknowledgment (external representation) of an individual.

¹³⁹ As will be discussed in the following section on professional identity, fine grained understanding of such artefacts will only develop as part of practice.

7.2.2 PRACTITIONERS

Practice connects ‘knowing’ to ‘doing’ (Gherardi, 2001). However, it cannot be assumed that the practice of any profession is mandated across societies, business sectors or organisations. As highlighted in Chapter 4, coercive isomorphism as societal, industry based or other vested interest parties is one factor that can influence institutions and affect professional fields to varying degrees (e.g. education, legal system). Furthermore, as Billet (2001) points out, while technical requirements may indicate a level of uniformity, practice itself may vary with context¹⁴⁰. Therefore practice can differ significantly over contexts. Cultural others, having established an identity consistent with their practice in one context, are now faced with validating their professional identity and practice in a new setting.

7.2.2.1 Professional Identity

Drawing on the work of Schein¹⁴¹, Ibarra (1999, pp. 764-765) describes professional identity as “. . . the relatively stable and enduring constellation of attributes, beliefs, values, motives, and experiences in terms of which people define themselves in a professional role”. Implicit in this definition are the contexts in which identity is formed and augmented, suggestive of its cognitive and socio-cultural origins. Just as individuals hold cultural schemata built from learning within a society, professional identity can also be understood in terms of Strauss and Quinn’s (1997) connectionist theory of learning. Within learning institutions, the knowledge and skills acquired in relation to a profession are articulated in its curriculum, framed by the values, beliefs and norms consistent with its practice. Schemata are built forming discrete, sometimes overlapping and occasionally conflicting, connections with existing schema that are the ‘internal representations’ of how an individual starts to ‘think’ about their occupation. These become the core of their professional identity as the meaning they attach to their

¹⁴⁰ Even the ubiquitous Master of Business Administration (MBA) adopted so widely in educational institutions across the world, will embody some form of variation in making practice consistent with local requirements.

¹⁴¹ Schein’s 1978 publication ‘Career Dynamics: Matching Individual and Organizational Needs’.

profession. Over time, new knowledge and experience as engagement in practice becomes a dynamic process of building professional identity (Wenger, 1998). This process as learning in context is consistent with the progression from novice to master (Wenger, 1998), clearly illustrated by Wiig's (1993) internalisation of knowledge by individuals (see Chapter 6). Moreover, a reflective practitioner, such as described by Schön (1991), would continually reappraise their practice and, consequently, their professional identity may also change. That said, professional identity does not evolve in a vacuum.

Wenger (1998, p. 151) argues that identity is also the product of socialisation “ . . . because it is produced as a lived experience of participation in specific communities”. Therefore, socialisation as the deployment of expertise reinforces professional identity, the legitimacy of practice and confers status amongst peers (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Billett, 2006). Through socialisation reputation is built as the perception by others of an individual's expertise as the ‘external representation’ of their professional identity. Although reputation can be transmitted in different ways (e.g. word of mouth, public presentations), in the context of the community or even the larger organisation, it emerges from first hand experience of an individual's practice and defines their status. The more established an individual's reputation becomes the greater their standing and influence on people and activities, particularly within their community (Bloor & Dawson, 1994). In this sense professional identity overlaps with the social identity of the group (Colic-Peisker, 2010; Ibarra & Petriglieri, 2010). Tagliaventi *et al.* (2010, p. 334) state:

Individuals naturally turn to their peers and cooperate to set work practices in order to get an acknowledgement of their good standing within the organization. Knowledge sharing strengthens individuals professional identity and its very nature, which is anchored in emerging ways of doing things, does not seem to conflict with a high centralization of strategic decision-making, thus allowing both a centralized formal structure and spontaneous knowledge flows to coexist.

Within a community, strata of professional standings (e.g. novice to master) are likely to exist as a ‘pecking order’ (Bloor & Dawson, 1994). The introduction of a cultural other as holding their own professional identity and representing a stock of expertise

represents a disruption, possibly significant, to the present state of the community and at some level raises the issue of their legitimacy in participating in the practices of that community. Essentially, the cultural other requires validation by the in-group as accepting of their status as a professional (Bloor & Dawson, 1994).

As described earlier in this chapter, the prototypes members of a community hold as described by Hogg (2000), define the attributes of ‘in-group’ membership. On the surface cultural others are not a fit with this profile and this extends to their external professional identity which may only be known with reference to second-hand sources (e.g. artefacts such as résumés). Cultural others may be admitted by in-group members as ‘apprentices’ to the community in re-establishing their professional identity consistent with its practice. However, prototypes as perceptions of what the cultural other represents may be a barrier to their acceptance as a professional. In-group members may view them negatively and feel threatened (e.g. less qualified, job tenure), envious (e.g. better pay/position), apprehensive/resentful (e.g. held responsible for their errors/nor subordinate to them), superior (e.g. more qualified), self satisfied (e.g. hold critical context specific knowledge); or they may simply dismiss the cultural other altogether¹⁴².

The majority of the literature on the acceptance of cultural others as professionals is found in studies of migrant populations and mostly focuses on barriers perceived by cultural others (e.g. Brewer *et al.*, 1999). Perspectives of in-group members are virtually non-existent (an exception is Joardar *et al.*, 2007) leaving little to draw on in the way of empirical evidence of the situations they encounter, and the reactions that are provoked in professional practice. The broader literature surrounding organisational ‘newcomers’ may be seen as addressing in-group issues with outsiders, although not

¹⁴² See: Levine & Moreland (1991), Feldman (1997), Billett (2001), Toh & DeNisi (2007), Kim & Gross (2009) and Podsiadlowski & Ward (2010).

explicitly cultural others¹⁴³. Despite this deficit in being able to balance perspectives, some inferences can be drawn from studies of cultural others.

Cultural others have not only left behind their social identification with one community for the prospect of gaining admittance to another, but as their expertise has been formed through different education, experience and practice they also face hurdles in establishing their professional standing. They have maintained their internal representation of professional identity as their embodied knowledge of the requirements of their profession and, to some degree, their external representation is still intact by virtue of being employed by an organisation based on expertise¹⁴⁴. However, at the community level their acceptance as a practitioner is not automatically guaranteed. The meanings cultural others attach to their professional identity may not be consistent with those of in-group members. This discord between professional identities is illustrated in the experiences of overseas qualified nurses, in what appears to be a very active area of investigation in this regard.

Omeri and Atkins (2002, p. 500) state that overseas qualified nurses in Australia require “ . . . adjustment to differences in nursing practices and education, interacting with health care workers and patients from a range of cultural backgrounds”, a point also made by Brunero *et al.* (2008), thereby highlighting the different basis of their professional identity. Omeri and Atkins’s (2002) research found that while many nurses were well qualified, and some in specialist areas, they often experienced ‘professional negation’ and were reduced to carrying out ‘low-level tasks’. A similar situation was noted by Hawthorne (2001, p. 227), who reported “ . . . a serious and discomforting level of Australian nurse peer rejection” as the view that the practice of overseas qualified nurses practice were mostly inferior. Investigating the Australian registration process for overseas qualified nurses, Deegan and Simkin (2010, p. 31) also identified

¹⁴³ For example, Arrow & Mcgrath (1993), Bauer & Green (1998), Gruenfeld & Fan (1999), Hornsey *et al.* (2007), Rink & Ellemers (2009) and Lee *et al.* (2010).

¹⁴⁴ While it could be assumed that at least one member of an in-group may have participated in the selection process of the cultural other there would still no first-hand knowledge of them.

lack of recognition of knowledge and skills by peers leading to “ . . . disempowerment, damaged perceptions of competence and stunted progress towards regaining a full professional identity”. While inevitably language difficulties were an issue, the workplace culture was seen as more problematic in failing to utilise the general and specialist skills of the nurses, compounded by a lack of support in clinical practice that lead to erosion of their professional identity and consequently:

various levels of frustration with being relegated to novice status in practice and the associated lack of autonomy. Their sense of disempowerment became stronger when they perceived their [local] registered nurse colleagues to be unknowing of, or unsympathetic to their situation (Deegan & Simkin, 2010, p. 34).

Despite the overwhelming need for overseas qualified nurses to maintain health systems both in Australia (see Hawthorne, 2001) and overseas (see Kingma, 2001), they appear to face significant barriers in becoming members of an in-group based on their professional identity. A significant point, highlighted by Hawthorne (2001), is that nurses who were perceived as culturally similar to those in the new context (e.g. United Kingdom/Australia) experienced far fewer difficulties in acceptance by peers. This suggests that professional identity shaped by similar societal and educational backgrounds reduces resistance to cultural others’ participation in the community of practice and hints at the possibility that some degree of socialisation has facilitated more ready acceptance of overseas qualifications. Alternatively, it may have exposed a form of normative isomorphism as selective recognition by colleagues of the professional credentials of cultural others.

Notably, professional identity is now becoming evident as a source of tension in problems associated with hybrid organisations spanning nations such as mergers and acquisitions, international joint ventures and strategic alliances (e.g. Cui *et al.*, 2002; Seo & Hill, 2005; Clark & Geppert, 2006; Stahl, 2008). This would seem to indicate that if groups with similar roles, responsibilities or functions are brought together, professional identity may very well be part of a negotiation period as each partner determines the standing of the other and how this will affect their status as members of a ‘new’ community of practice. These studies tend to be issue based and highlight the

difficulties (e.g. trust, language) rather than the development of approaches to overcoming them, or build common understandings of professional practice. In general, enquiry at the individual level is rare outside of the health services and education sectors (e.g. Callan *et al.*, 2007; Cattley, 2007), and even there it continues to provide a lack of balance in the perspectives offered (e.g. newcomer/in-group member), although there seems to be signs of a renaissance in the area that may in the future provide more insight into the negotiation of professional identity (see: Hekman *et al.*, 2009; Ibarra & Petriglieri, 2010; Kelly & Hickey, 2010; Sandiford & Seymour, 2010). One piece of recent research, drawn from the literature surrounding globally distributed teams, does appear to highlight a facet of professional identity as contextual. Mattarelli and Tagliaventi (2010, p. 438) found that among a team of globally distributed information technology personnel, professional identities were homogeneous within each local subgroup but were differentiated across the subgroups, concluding that although the “ . . . functional and professional background of the members at the two locations is similar . . . what actually differs is the definition of self as a professional (i.e. their professional identity), and the perception of differences between one’s own and other team members’ professional values and beliefs”. This implies not only a role for socialisation in creating professional identity, but also group culture as social identity. Where professional identity is reflected in the views cultural others and in-group members hold, the validation of what it represents can only be demonstrated by practice.

The social identity of a community is embedded in its context and its culture emerges as shared interpretation of organisational culture. The professional identities of members are based on recognition of the knowledge and skills of each as applicable to their role and occupation in the context of the community. As a community these identities coalesce and form a basis for ‘practice’ as learning to cooperate and collaborate in achieving their organisationally mandated goals, while practices themselves evolve as ways of seeing and doing their context specific tasks. From a connectionist perspective these are the shared schemata among a community of individuals who use their mental models to interpret what the organisation does that, over time, become part of the

common frame of reference guiding practice (Trefry, 2006). This view is supported in the work of Hutchins (1995a, p. 317) who argues that:

work is organized in accordance with plans created by designers who reflect on the work setting and manipulate representations of work processes in order to determine new and efficient organisational structures. When 'outside' designers are not involved, the reorganization of work is . . . local adaptations to the emerging conditions of the work itself.

Indeed, organisations (or more particularly, the senior management group) can be seen as 'outside' designers in relation to the workgroup context, evidence of which can be found in the literature on organisational design and change, in particular regarding restructuring or reengineering initiatives, pockets of which also incorporate properties of sense making and identity (e.g. Jetten *et al.*, 2002; Balogun & Johnson, 2004; Stensaker *et al.*, 2008). It is therefore feasible that, like organisational culture and a community's social identity, groups make meaning of the organisation's design for them in evolving workable routines and approaches to problem-solving situations. In essence, as practitioners, members of the community have defined their practice in terms of their roles, responsibilities, duties and goals. In Lave and Wenger's (1991) conceptualisation of a community of practice this constitutes 'situated learning' as making meaning of the contextual activities of the group. Cultural others, on the other hand, are faced with making meaning of their practice as different ways of seeing and doing in a new context, raising the notion of their 'legitimate peripheral participation' originally used to describe the transition from apprentice to master in the context of a community of practice (see: Lave, 1991; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

In this thesis, the cultural other is seen as seeking admittance to a community as peer, but initially needs to serve an 'apprenticeship' as situated learning that develops understanding of the application of their skills and knowledge in connecting to practice as their new community has defined it. Only through practice can they gain the right to full participation as recognition of expertise consistent with and complementary to that community. In that light, Lave and Wenger (1991, pp. 29, 36, 37) conceptualised legitimate peripheral participation as:

a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artifacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. . . . [It] is a complex notion, implicated in social structure involving relations of power. As a place in which one moves toward more intensive participation, peripherality is an empowering position. As a place in which one is kept from participating more fully . . . it is a disempowering position. [P]eripherality, when it is enabled, suggests an opening, a way of gaining access to sources for understanding through growing involvement.

Lave and Wenger stress that the use of ‘peripheral’ does not confer a central position of any other member of the community, but relates to degrees of acceptance in attaining a level of expertise toward ‘full’ participation. From Wiig’s (1993) perspective this is the growth in knowledge from the public, through shared, to the private that marks the passage from novice to expert. The notion of legitimate peripheral participation is developed more fully in a later section. The central idea is one of participation in practice, where practice is learning in context as authentic experience of the activities of the community. Without it, cultural others as newcomers will have none of this fine-grained understanding and cannot fully appreciate the roles members’ play, the relevance of artefacts, or the influencing factors that combine to form practice. As a result, their legitimate peripheral participation can be conceived of as ‘limited peripheral participation’ or more specifically, as the edge of effectiveness.

As another form of Holden’s (2002) development of common knowledge, connecting the professional identity and practice of cultural others with the practice of the new community is an important stage in the integration process. Specifically, it is important to the notion of engaging the knowledge of cultural others as a form of competitive advantage. Status as a practitioner is not conferred on cultural others as solely acceptance into the social and professional world of the community. Nor is it gained simply through practice as legitimate peripheral participation. Although these are significant in moving toward full participation, accessing the knowledge of cultural others is contingent upon how in-group members approach their role as managers of knowledge.

7.2.2.2 *Practice as Finding Common Knowledge*

Professional identity, as recognition of the knowledge and skills of cultural others acquired through education and experience, can only be built through participation in the practices of the community. Cultural others may have domain specific knowledge (e.g. medicine, engineering) that is common across contexts and therefore more easily integrated and applied in a new context; however they are lacking ‘common knowledge’ as the ways in which a different organisation and its communities construct, value and utilise it (Billett, 1996). This lack of common knowledge is further compounded in the case of cultural others by unfamiliar situations, tasks, processes, procedures and work culture which can be said to include the tangible items (e.g. systems, documents, other workplace artefacts) that go unacknowledged in contemporary views of knowledge transfer (Kirsh, 2001).

The term ‘professional identity’ therefore conveys a sense of belonging to the community as a participant grounded in the ‘common knowledge’ of “. . . conventions and rules by which individuals coordinate their behaviour and decision making. . . . [and which] sets out the process by which learning is developed socially through the formation of values and convergent expectations” (Kogut & Zander, 1996, p. 506). Linking the cultural other to the common knowledge of the community situates their professional identity and practice through connecting and developing schemata that are context specific.

The initial step of social identity, described above as opening a dialogue between cultural others and the community, creates ideas as decontextualised learning about members and their roles, and the relevance of certain artefacts and their connection to the community and its people. This learning is important, and its real value is found when it is connected to practice. As Handley *et al.* (2006, p. 643) state, participation is “. . . central to situated learning since it is *through* participation that identity and practices develop”. Situated learning, as suitably described from the perspective of a cultural other, is eloquently summarised by Hanks (forward in Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 14, original emphasis):

The individual learner is not gaining a discrete body of abstract knowledge which (s)he will then transport and reapply in later contexts. Instead, (s)he acquires the skill to perform by actually engaging in the process, under the attenuated conditions of *legitimate peripheral participation*.

Seen through the lens of legitimate peripheral participation introduced earlier through the work of Lave and Wenger (1991), cultural others are outsiders or find themselves on periphery of the community. They need to participate in the socio-cultural practices of the community, build relationships, engage in activities, collaborate and share knowledge (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In order to begin this transition, cultural others need access to old-timers and other members of the community to learn ‘the way *we do* things around here’, as well as resources (e.g. knowledge bases and other artefacts) and opportunities for participation rather than simply observation. Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 53) assert that learning in this manner constructs identity “. . . that is an evolving form of membership”. Later described by Wenger (1998) as the process of ‘becoming’, it is the negotiation of social and professional identities as transformation and change through participation in a community, which not only builds expertise but is learning that uncovers who we are and what we are capable of (Wenger, 1998; Jørgensen & Keller, 2008). Therefore, both social identity and professional identity are inextricably linked to participation in practice.

It would appear from the tone of the above paragraph that cultural others are seen as needing to ‘conform’ to the practices of their new community. On the contrary, what is being suggested is that before the expertise of cultural others can be of any value to the community or the larger organisation, they need to understand the new context and its practices, for as Brown and Duguid (2001, p. 207) stated, knowledge “. . . sticks where practice is not shared”. It is only through connecting with the current practices that the utility of the differentiated knowledge of cultural others can be brought to bear in the new context. Their acculturation is seen more as a balance between acquiring understanding of the community’s viewpoint and language (Ghosh, 2004) and gaining acceptance and recognition as a practitioner in the community (Brown & Duguid, 2001) as adaptation to a new context (Argote & Ingram, 2000). As van der Heijden (2002, p.

56) argues “[e]xpertise can only exist by virtue of being respected by knowledgeable people in the organization”.

From the periphery of a community cultural others form assumptions about practice, acquiring mental structures “ . . . developed through explicit teaching and implicit observation of others talk, actions and material products” (Strauss & Quinn, 1997, p. 16), and as highlighted earlier these may yield contradictory or conflicting interpretations (e.g. dichotomy in theories-of-action). Without actual engagement in the ‘doing’ as first hand experiencing of activities, practice is only a subjective interpretation of the interaction of members as their social and professional identities in action. As such, what is said or what is observed is de-contextualised information rather than knowledge and understanding of the activities and the mediating forces that guide them (Billett, 2001). Without practice, sense-making and reconciliation of the conflicts and contradictions are virtually impossible. For the cultural other the first hurdle is penetrating the defenses of the community and its ‘old-timers’ as ‘gatekeepers’ who determine who can be admitted to the community and what role they will play (Levine & Moreland, 1991).

Community members who are old-timers are considered full participants as their contributions and actions have, and continue to play, a significant role in the maintenance and further development of the community. Levine and Moreland (1991) state that this confers status and a considerable degree of power upon them as knowledgeable of the community and its practices and therefore they hold sway over the socialisation of newcomers, suggesting their role as gatekeepers. Billett (2001, p. 87) adds that “ . . . if learners are denied engagement in activities – particularly those of a non-routine nature – learning outcomes may be limited”.

Practice as ‘doing’ requires authentic learning experiences that develop deeper understanding of the distributed cognitive network of the community in performing its joint activities (Billett, 2001). As discussed in Chapter 5, from the perspective of distributed cognition, the boundary between members’ minds and their community is

dissolved as their actions span what they do in coordination with tools and other individuals. As Norman (1993, p. 4) argues:

Human knowledge and interaction cannot be divorced from the world. . . . What really matters is the situation and the parts that people play. One cannot look at just the situation, or just the environment, or just the person . . . : After all, it is the mutual accommodation of people and the environment that matters, so to focus upon one aspect in isolation is to destroy the interaction, to eliminate the role of the situation upon cognition and action.

Also in Chapter 5, Activity Theory was used to illustrate the embedded nature of practice, which avoids isolating the individual from the context and vice versa (Igira, 2008). As a way of ‘viewing’ distributed cognition, it illustrates how humans apply their cognitive abilities in context specific situations and respond to (mostly) subtle cues that in turn inform their actions as decision making. In particular it highlighted how an individual or group activity becomes a confluence of context and its associated rules, roles (e.g. division of labour) and mediating artefacts (e.g. protocols/procedures, tools) geared towards achieving an outcome. It is also possible to see how identities engage with the activity. Social identity may strengthen connection to ones own community, however, as a practitioner, professional identity may require different divisions of labour, artefacts and rules (e.g. in relation to a members status/expertise) and involve different communities of practice (e.g. a cross-cutting identity with a professional body) and their associated conventions. All these facets of an activity become taken-for-granted as they gradually become ingrained in the practice of community members. The cultural other has no appreciation, or fine-grained understanding, of the roles or functions of the elements of the community’s various activities.

Mediating artefacts are a particularly significant inclusion in the activities of communities as they represent ‘things’, physical or symbolic, “. . . that are brought into coordination in the performance of a task” (Hutchins, 2000, p. 290). Described by some as instruments of cognitive offloading (Salomon, 1993b; Hollan *et al.*, 2000; Lakowski, 2005), they are abstract representations of existing states that symbolise knowledge in practice (Engeström & Blackler, 2005). Bechky (2008), in addition to seeing artefacts as embodying knowledge, describes them as central to influencing the construction of

identity and the conferral of status, that has support in research linking artefacts as objects or personal possessions to the legitimatisation of social and professional identities (e.g. Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997; Elsbach, 2003, 2004, 2006; Rafaeli & Pratt, 2006). Artefacts are also exceptionally useful in illustrating cognitive distribution in relation to practice. Hutchins (2000) uses an example of written procedures where the steps are clearly described, and to which the user attributes meanings, provided they have the conceptual knowledge foundations (i.e. steps in creating a chemical compound would only make sense to an individual versed in chemistry). In the normal course of events these are tied to 'doing' the actions required at each step through structured interaction as learning that " . . . encodes a relationship between the person and the environment" (Hutchins, 2000). Individuals, continually and unconsciously, engage in this type of learning throughout their lives, although, as Macpherson and Clarke (2009, p. 553) point out,

[d]ocumented procedures provide a useful point of reference, but they cannot capture the complex unfolding nature of work and the tacit practices employees develop over time as they solve practical problems in their day-to-day employment.

The point is that the existence of artefacts and their importance and relevance in the community context may have a special meaning to members that can only be understood through engagement in practice.

When situated learning as legitimate peripheral participation is viewed through the lens of connectionist learning theory and distributed cognition, the need to engage in practice comes sharply into focus. Without participation in the 'doing', practice is not fully achieved and, likewise, the formation of professional identity will remain incomplete. According to Gao & Riley (2010, p. 330):

not only does [practice] embody professional knowledge, but it also has the ability to activate the identity that makes it salient to the idea of professional identity. . . . the effectiveness of practice, taking action that works, is reinforcement at the individual level not just of ability, but of a body of professional knowledge.

Connecting a cultural other to the practice of the community is not simply a matter of 'learning on the job'. Left to their own devices, the progress of cultural others may be slowed as they attempt to make sense of the differences between their old and new contexts. Community members as mentors or coaches of cultural others can facilitate this sense-making process by acting as guides and resources that can help clarify meaning (e.g. Hay, 2000; Crocitto *et al.*, 2005; Hamilton, 2008). Where the cultural other is one of many practitioners it may be appropriate to use a 'buddy system' in assigning two practitioners to the one task. This option is risky as it depends on the maturity of their relationship and the dispositions of the individuals as highlighted by Szulanski (1995; 1996) in regard to the stickiness of knowledge. While there is plentiful literature on the transfer of practices to contexts such as those from educational institutions to workplaces (e.g. Candy & Crebert, 1991; Lynch *et al.*, 2006; Konkola *et al.*, 2007), there is little in the way of literature on this process across contexts (see: Barnett & Ceci, 2002). With the 'International Mobility of the Highly Skilled' (Hugo, 2004), that includes temporary business migrants whose tenure may be limited, it could have been assumed that part of the research community would have moved in that direction in supporting organisations' need to expedite the process in making the cultural others' knowledge effective as quickly as possible. This assumption has no basis. However, there is an opportunity now to advance this 'new' agenda through a connectionist perspective of situated learning as 'learning in context' that accounts for the contextual, practice and social differences that cultural others may experience.

When cultural others have successfully negotiated their social and professional identities, and developed practice consistent with the needs and wants of the community, they are in a position to offer their knowledge as differentiated ways of seeing and doing to the community as alternative approaches to the activities of that community.

7.2.3 *MANAGERS OF KNOWLEDGE*

In embracing the concept of organisational learning, and in developing strategies to manage knowledge, organisations have used an array of methods to 'make knowledge

work for them' in building competitive advantage. They restructure based on 'best practice' to support the flow of knowledge across organisational units, implement programs (e.g. Total Quality and Six Sigma) to reengineer processes and improve measurable performance, build knowledge repositories to aid in the capture and retrieval of information and attempt to 'cultivate' communities of practice and shepherd their evolution to facilitate their idea of knowledge sharing and creation. Within many organisations 'knowledge officers'¹⁴⁵ (Holden, 2002), as high level facilitators, are mandated to manage, expedite and promote knowledge development and diffusion throughout the enterprise where, in reality, the real managers of knowledge are the individual employees.

Community members as managers of knowledge can choose to share or keep private their own stock of knowledge. Thomas-Hunt *et al.* (2003) suggest that if they are perceived as experts by the group they will assume responsibility for managing its information. More generally, old-timers as the most senior members of the in-group are key, as they have been with the organisation long enough to have mastered their role, determined what is expected of them, formed a network of colleagues, developed context specific knowledge and attained professional standing as a practitioner. Their position within the community is one of full participation and, commensurate with that status, goes a degree of power that renders them able to regulate the type and flow of information that newcomers or other outsiders can be made privy to, reminiscent of the traditional master/novice relationship¹⁴⁶. This positions them as having a role as 'gatekeepers' in determining who will share in the knowledge of the community and when. It is essential therefore to understand what may motivate this behaviour.

¹⁴⁵ Various titles are used including Chief Knowledge Officer and Knowledge Manager and occasionally Chief Information Officer thus combining knowledge with the technology that can pull or push information to employees.

¹⁴⁶ Under the Guild system, masters as acknowledged experts, imparted knowledge to apprentices who were 'bonded' to them and only initiated them into the 'secrets' of the profession once a relationship of trust was established and masters were confident that their secrets would not be divulged to 'outsiders'. In England this approach to the transfer of knowledge was strengthened by the Statute of Artificers in 1563 which " . . . created a national system of technical training, with controlled occupational entry, standards of workmanship and trade secrets, as well as influencing adult wage rates and profits for qualified, skilled workers" (Lane, 1996, p. 2).

Initially a newcomer may be seen in an unfavourable light by old-timers if they do not fit the prototype of in-group membership as discussed earlier (e.g. Hogg & Terry, 2000; also Child & Rodrigues, 2005). However, old-timers perceptions of the newcomer may also be influenced by experiences with previous newcomers to the community that can effect their decision to share or withhold knowledge. Levine and Moreland (1991) point to several factors that can influence old-timers in this regard. According to Levine and Moreland (1991), if previous newcomers have been seen as eager to learn and receptive to the knowledge held by old-timers, those that follow are more likely to be seen in a positive light. Conversely, negative experiences (e.g. rejection of knowledge) will make old-timers less accommodating in the future. An anecdotal account of this is found in a discussion by Elkjaer and Huysman (2008).

An organisation, in changing from a public to a private company, restructured its information technology division and created a new computer systems design group. The group was initially staffed by 'old-timers' transferred from elsewhere in the division. Over time, the demand for the services of the group increased and several new highly skilled 'outsiders' were recruited. For a considerable period the environment could only be described as poorly managed, turbulent and adversarial. It was marked by the two sub-groups, old-timers and newcomers, rejecting each others' practice, perspectives and conventions. Eventually, a new hybrid sub-group emerged where newcomers " . . . learned from the old-timers how to act according to the group and organizational culture. Likewise a group of old-timers felt more committed to the new way of designing systems and learned this know-how from working together with newcomers" (Elkjaer & Huysman, 2008, p. 174). Described by Elkjaer and Huysman (2008 p. 175) as mutual learning, they believe that the tensions between the groups were at the heart of learning concluding that " . . . tensions are occasions for organizational learning". This was not a strategy designed by the organisation but a case of happenstance. Although an implicit factor, this account of the clash between newcomers and old-timers illustrates the role socialisation can play in creating common ground from which learning and new knowledge can spring. There are numerous descriptive accounts of the factors influencing the relationship between newcomers and

old-timers and just as many prescriptive texts on how to broker a relationship¹⁴⁷. However, no literature of cultural others as individual newcomers in organisational contexts has been identified.

For cultural others, moving toward full participation in a community requires access to in-group members and their stock of knowledge to understand ‘the way *we do* things around here’, as well as resources (e.g. knowledge bases) and opportunities for participation as learning in context. As Gruenfeld and Fan (1999, p. 259) observe:

newcomers experience surprise and engage in sense-making on entering a new group. Cognitive contrast, in which newcomers notice differences between their new and old groups, should increase cognitive differentiation, which refers to recognition of alternative perspectives and stimulus dimensions. Sense-making, in which newcomers attempt to find meaning in the differences they observe, could correspond to cognitive integration, which refers to consideration of tradeoffs among alternatives.

This sense-making process can be seen as application of Choo’s ‘knowing cycle’ (see Chapter 6) at the individual level. The withholding of knowledge by old-timers, particularly context specific knowledge, can retard this process leading to confusion and ineffective application of the skills and knowledge of cultural others. From a connectionist perspective they are unable to build, modify or connect schemata as new learning in context. As managers of knowledge, old-timers are also in a position to reject the knowledge of cultural others as not fitting with the practices of the community thereby denying the possibility of the transfer of new or differentiated knowledge to the receiving organisation as a competitive advantage.

In Chapter 6, the core of learning and knowledge strategies in organisations was said to be their culture as the vision the organisation has of itself as a learning system. Blackler’s (1995) typology of knowledge organisations (see Chapter 4) illustrated how

¹⁴⁷ Interestingly, Menon and Blout (2003) conceptualises many of the factors discussed for acceptance/rejection of outsiders in terms of six schemata (colleague, advisor, rival, intruder, deviant and enemy) used by insiders to assess social dis/similarity (group identification) and the salience of characteristics (threat appraisal). Also see: Arrow & Mcgrath (1993), Feldman (1994), Bauer & Green (1998), Gruenfeld & Fan (1999), Hornsey *et al.* (2007), Rink & Ellemers (2009) and Lee *et al.* (2010).

they can be dominated by a certain type of knowledge and therefore their learning and knowledge strategies are often more orientated in that direction. For example, the 'knowledge routinised' organisation as a bureaucracy is more likely to favour formal learning and explicit knowledge that can be captured in systems, formalised in processes and procedures, and enforced through command and control mechanisms. A 'communications-intensive' organisation in contrast may see its competitive advantage in informal learning as the exchange of tacit knowledge and therefore structure itself and its systems toward that end. It can be imagined that cultural others in moving from one type of knowledge organisation to another may encounter varying degrees of difficulty in such a change of context. One study by Michel (2007) illustrates how this could transpire. This study also stands out as taking a different approach by linking newcomers to the concept of distributed cognition as a means of socialising them and linking their knowledge to the workplace context.

Two successful investment banks were studied in relation to how they managed the cognitive uncertainty of newcomers. For Michel (2007) this uncertainty is not so much the organisational environment or the requirements of the role, but the relevance of the newcomers' knowledge in a new context offering different problem-solving situations. Conceptualised as a knowledge building exercise, one bank sought to reduce uncertainty through focused training and explicit guidelines that facilitated pattern recognition in the roles and responsibilities of the new banker, allowing them to classify situations in familiar terms based on their expertise and past experience. In promoting individual expertise they were in fact contributing to the 'stickiness' of knowledge. The second bank chose to do the reverse. They amplified uncertainty by not having specific roles, responsibilities and minimal guidelines so that assumptions about a given situation would not come to frame their bankers' mindset as learned responses, which they saw as leading to over-confidence and complacency. Instead they used a 'fungible' approach where bankers are viewed as interchangeable regardless of experience and where each situation has to be assessed on its own merits and responded to accordingly. In essence, they were building the absorptive capacity of their bankers by exposing them to new experiences. From distributed cognition perspective, the bank seeking to

reduce uncertainty has prescribed many of the components of bankers' activities, while the one amplifying uncertainty has allowed its bankers to identify and utilise whatever resources of the organisation are needed for their activities.

Michel's (2007) study is a fascinating approach to learning in context and the building of knowledge. It highlights how two diametrically opposed approaches to the integration of knowledge in the one business sector are not only supported by the respective organisations (their theories-of-action are congruent), but they appear to be equally as effective in contributing to the organisations' success. What can be deduced from this research is that a cultural other would suffer significant 'culture shock' of a different kind in moving from one bank to the other. However, a more common problem faced by newcomers is the divergence in theories-of-action at the level of the community.

In the discussion in Chapter 6, strategies for learning, sharing and managing knowledge were described as often at odds with an organisation's vision through prescriptive approaches to types of learning that should be promoted, and the knowledge that should be valued. Of more concern was the perception on the part of organisations that in some way knowledge and learning can be measured through employee participation in initiatives instigated in their name. The consequence of such a philosophy, where knowledge and learning are variables in accounting practice, has narrowed the possibilities of learning and knowledge at the group level, especially in relation to cultural others, whose knowledge as different ways of seeing and doing may be discounted. As Riege (2005, p. 18) describes it:

knowledge sharing goals and strategies are all too often merely mentioned in a business strategy; maybe because the effectiveness of sharing practices is difficult to measure and sharing barriers are not sufficiently identified.

It was observed in the previous section on community members as carriers of culture, that there is an expectation that insiders (in the form of Human Resource Managers) are initially instrumental in setting the expectations and goals of newcomers using formal

methods (e.g. induction programs, workplace agreements/contracts, performance appraisal criteria) that communicate and reinforce the organisation's vision. However, as members of a community draw their theories-of-action from their experience of the organisation's culture as learning the distinction between what the organisation says and what the organisation does, their community culture will reflect their shared understanding of what learning and knowledge is valued by the organisation that becomes part of their frame of reference in managing knowledge as an organisational resource. In an interesting exposé of training practices in City of London investment banks, Chivers (2011, p. 170) view was that they:

do not seem to be at the forefront of organisations striving to become learning organisations, despite their highly competitive environment and the substantial resources available to support strategic learning environments. There is a clear incongruity between the generally positive views expressed about the need for a highly educated and trained workforce, and the extent to which learning is prioritised in terms of strategy, and even in terms of day-to-day practice of staff at all levels.

Furthermore, he identifies the banks' culture and their support of learning as incongruent. Despite the 'substantial resources' that included experienced and committed trainers, a comprehensive range of generic and specialised courses and excellent training facilities, Chivers (2011, p. 172) found:

a deep seated culture of antagonism towards spending time on learning at work, and a bonus payment system which encourages traders to spend every minute of every working day in front of a battery of computer screens, [that] will have to change radically if investment banks are to have any hope of becoming learning organisations.

As a result, the target of training (investment bankers) engaged in informal methods of knowledge acquisition as learning by doing, mentoring and coaching which they found as more beneficial and rewarding (Chivers, 2011).

Community members may also feel that the knowledge of cultural others is a rejection of their practice and may deflect any attempt by them to use their ideas. As 'not invented here' or 'nothing new here', Katz and Allen (1980; 1984, p. 15) see this as a situation where members:

see only the virtue and superiority of their own ideas and technical activities while dismissing the potential contributions and benefits of new technologies and competitive ideas and accomplishments as inferior and weak.

These ‘syndromes’ may also indicate community members’ view of cultural others as lacking an understanding and appreciation of their practice as knowledge of context. Furthermore, they may also believe that any attempt on their part to adopt or utilise the ‘new’ knowledge of cultural others will have negative repercussions at a higher level of the organisation. In other words, their interpretation of the organisation’s culture and practices as they relate to learning and knowledge may lead them to believe that transferring this new knowledge to their practice is not sanctioned. This would be a particularly salient view in organisations that are seen as prizing formal education and training (e.g. knowledge-routinised organisation) over informal learning in the workplace (e.g. ‘communications-intensive’ organisation). Even when informal learning as the transfer of knowledge is sanctioned, it is fraught with difficulties.

It should be noted that cultural others are also managers of knowledge in their own right. They are able to choose to share or keep private their unique knowledge, although in seeking entry to a new community they more often try to demonstrate their expertise. Cultural others may also experience ‘culture shock’ within the organisation as illustrated with the difference in the banking environments researched by Michel (2007). As part of the ‘International Mobility of the Highly Skilled’ (Hugo, 2004) they may have had positive/negative experiences in other workplaces that have left them wary through rejection/marginalisation of practice (e.g. as in the case of Nurses in Australia Hawthorne, 2001; Omeri & Atkins, 2002; Deegan & Simkin, 2010), exclusion from the social world of the community, or simple ambivalence in engaging them in the day-to-day activities of the community.

As detailed in Chapter 6, countless articles have reinforced the view that the transfer of knowledge is constantly impeded by the ‘stickiness’ of the knowledge to be transferred, the lack of ‘absorptive capacity’ on the part of the learner and a multitude of interpersonal factors that affect the disposition of the parties involved in the transfer

process. In addition, the movement of knowledge across cultural boundaries is seen as most problematic because culture itself has been shown to be an obstacle. As such, cultural others as artefacts of a society that hold different perspectives, values and beliefs (Chapter 3) are rendered less capable to understanding the needs of the organisation without assimilation into its culture. As stated by Parent *et al.* (2007, p. 84):

In light of the complexity involved in knowledge transfer within and between specific contexts, what is needed is an approach to understanding the relationships between various contexts by integrating different perspectives.

While they were referring to their model as offering a more effective conceptualisation of knowledge transfer across contexts, this thesis has attempted to construct an image of the obstacles to be overcome within contexts before new knowledge can be made available to the organisation.

7.3 FROM TRANSFER TO INFUSION

Connection to practice is seen as process of linking cultural others with their new community. In building relationships and understanding of the new context through engagement in practice, cultural others can make the cognitive connections required not only to deploy their knowledge more effectively, but also to offer different perspectives in terms the community will identify with making their viewpoint less likely to be rejected out-of-hand. As Wenger (2000, p. 236) states, “[b]rokering knowledge is delicate. It requires enough legitimacy to be listened to and enough distance to bring something really new”.

For community members connection to practice seeks to promote a cooperative and collaborative relationship which builds a more balanced view of cultural others as having different ways of seeing and doing, and facilitates an openness to learning from their differentiated knowledge and skills. In order for this approach to be effective, a shift in the thinking is required that emphasises ‘informal learning in context’ at the

individual level over holistic approaches to informal learning as ‘knowledge transfer’ to an organisation.

There is an assumption implicit in most literature that organisations are willing to entertain ‘informal’ learning. As many articles highlight, informal learning as a source of new knowledge and innovation is of considerable interest in organisational contexts, particularly as the notion of a community of practice¹⁴⁸. Research also supports its validity as a method of creating and sharing knowledge in workplace contexts¹⁴⁹. Although, in describing it as vicarious learning in social networks, Argote *et al.* (2003) lament the lack of empirical research of its value and nature, a situation that connection to practice seeks to address in relation to cultural others. However, organisations often fail to exploit this form of learning to its full potential.

As discussed in Chapters 6, organisations are focused on ‘types’ of knowledge, overwhelmingly the tacit/explicit division. In addition, as illustrated by the work of Blackler (1995), some organisations gravitate toward one form of knowledge more than another (also see Chapter 4). Factors such as how an organisation is structured, the industry, and the type of professions and occupations involved tend to shape organisations’ views, expectations and practices in relation to knowledge. Furthermore, the perceived ability to measure knowledge (e.g. Global Access Partners, 2005; Shannak, 2009) has led to informal learning being undervalued by organisations in preference to more formal options that can be measured (Enos *et al.*, 2003; Skule, 2004; Hamilton, 2008; Chivers, 2011). However, as Kock and Ellstrom (2011) suggest, a reliance on only formal training methods for employee development is limiting and future learning strategies should recognise the importance of integrating informal learning. Although ‘knowledge transfer’ is a highly active area of research, it tends to concentrate on organisational types such as international joint ventures, strategic

¹⁴⁸ See: Huysman (2002), Skule (2004), Mannix & Neale (2005), Hamilton (2008); Pannoni & Ricketts (2010), Mann (2011), Martinkenaite (2011) and Retna & Ng (2011).

¹⁴⁹ For example, Enos *et al.* (2003), Janowicz-Panjaitan & Noorderhaven (2008), Chen (2009), Luring (2009), Lawson *et al.* (2009), Tagliaventi *et al.* (2010) and Chivers, (2011).

alliances, mergers and acquisitions, and other cross-national organisational arrangements (see Liu & Vince, 1999; Tsang, 2002; Simonin, 2004; Stahl, 2008; Evangelista & Hau, 2009; Sarala & Vaara, 2009), but lacks the focus on individual perspective as learning by and with other individuals (see review by Fenwick, 2008; an exception is Sié & Yakhlef, 2009).

In adopting a perspective of ‘informal learning in context’, connection to practice seeks to emphasise the contribution of individuals. More specifically, on the assumption that, over time, the social and professional identities of community members and cultural others will converge through collaborative practice and the sharing of different perspectives, the expectation is that new knowledge will emerge at the level of the community¹⁵⁰. As ‘knowledge infusion’ this is of competitive advantage to an organisation. The term ‘knowledge infusion’ is used to accentuate the ‘value-add’ arising from diverse individuals collaborating and combining their knowledge, perspectives and insights to create new ways of seeing and doing, and distinguishes it from ‘knowledge transfer’ as the movement of a discrete body of knowledge from a source to a destination.

As knowledge infusion, there is a serious need for research that explores how diverse individuals collaborate and learn. Only in this way will organisations be able to reflect on their current approaches to knowledge and learning and evaluate their suitability to gaining competitive advantage through the knowledge of cultural others. With this in mind, and combined with the need for research focused on the organisational contextual of individuals and their communities, the following section offers two promising avenues for research.

¹⁵⁰ Research by Kane (2010, p 656) has linked identity to the process of knowledge transfer, albeit across the units of a single organisation, and found that “[w]hen more elaborate and contextualized understandings are required, recipient groups can learn more from a transferee with whom they share an identity than from a transferee with whom they do not share such an identity”. She concludes that the identification of this relationship “. . . makes significant contributions toward a deeper understanding of knowledge transfer and the links among theories of social identity, organizational learning, knowledge management, and group learning” (Kane, 2010, p. 656).

7.4 FUTURE RESEARCH TRAJECTORIES

This section offers two research perspectives with unique qualities that are consistent with the nature of inquiry proposed in both Chapter 6 and this chapter. They can be seen as providing a springboard for future research if adapted to more fully explore the experiences of cultural others and their communities.

The first perspective discussed is PDOM model of Härtel, Fujimoto and associates¹⁵¹ and is followed by the concept of interpersonal congruence developed by Swann, Polzer and colleagues¹⁵². Significantly, the authors have distinguished their contributions by placing the diversity of individuals as central to their considerations.

7.4.1 THE PDOM MODEL

Härtel, Fujimoto and associates¹⁵⁰ have developed the Perceived Dissimilarity-Openness Moderator (PDOM) model that identifies types of diversity (e.g. skills and knowledge), the levels at which diversity is perceived (i.e. organisation, group, individual) and the processes and effects that perception of diversity can generate.

The key concept of ‘dissimilarity-openness’ refers to the degree to which organisations, groups and individuals are prepared to embrace the differences of other individuals. The more amenable each is, the more ‘diversity open’ they are to consideration of alternative ideas, perspectives and approach that may fall outside the customary ways of thinking (Härtel, 2004). Although developed for diversity in general (i.e. PDOM social categories), cultural others are explicitly included in this model, added to which, many other issues identified in this and the preceding chapter also form part of the PMOD model (e.g. group tenure, experience). The PMOD model is shown in Figure 7 on the following page.

¹⁵¹ Härtel & Fujimoto (1999), Fujimoto *et al.* (2000), Fujimoto *et al.* (2004) and Härtel (2004).

¹⁵² Chatman *et al.* (1998), Swann *et al.* (2000), Polzer *et al.* (2002), Swann *et al.* (2003), Swann *et al.* (2004), London *et al.* (2005), Polzer & Caruso (2008), Swann & Bosson (2008) and Swann *et al.* (2009).

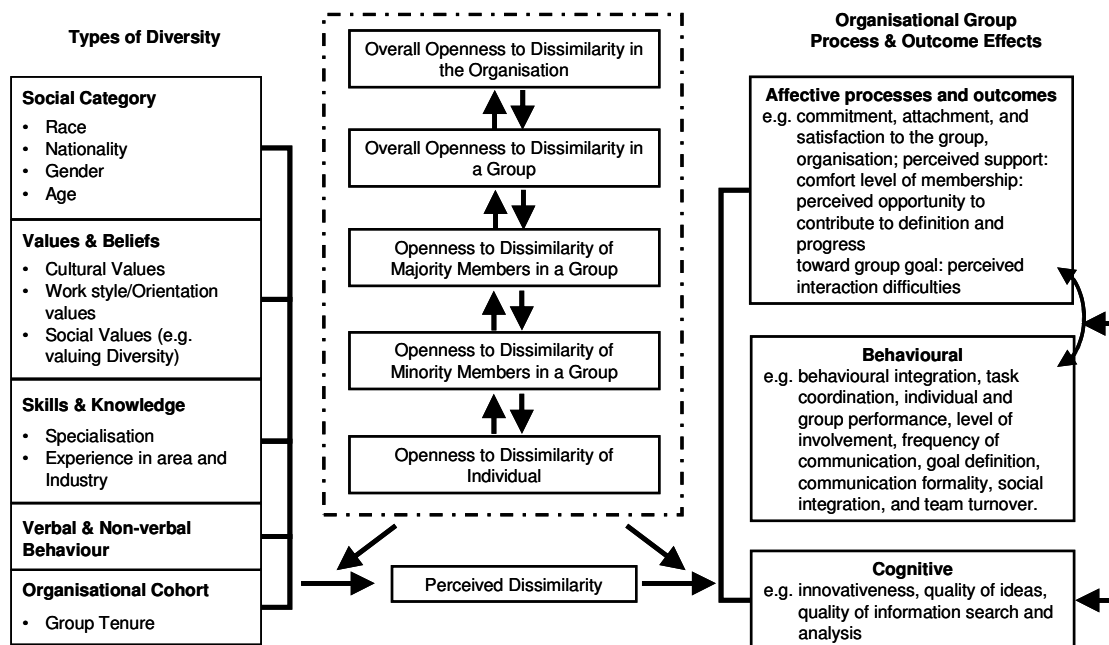


Figure 7: Perceived Dissimilarity-Openness Moderator Model¹⁵³

(Source: Fujimoto *et al.*, 2004, p. 16)

The PDOM model explicitly acknowledges the nesting of culture in recognising that diversity should be explored at the level of organisation, community and individual to gauge diversity openness that would expose any divergence in theories-of-action (Argyris & Schön, 1996). Research at these levels has the ability to penetrate the facade of claims that organisational culture mediates differences across employees as well as test if ‘diversity management’ is rhetoric or reality as demonstrated with Leveson *et al.*’s. (2009) study (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, PDOM is also capable of uncovering the social identity of a group through exploring, amongst other items, its cohesiveness (e.g. “members of your department are quick to defend each other from criticism by outsiders”, Fujimoto *et al.*, 2000, p. 53), what it means to be accepted or rejected by the community (e.g. “feeling that you may not be liked and accepted by the people you work with”, Fujimoto *et al.*, 2000, p. 52), and the effects of social isolation (e.g. “not knowing just what the people you work with expect of you”, Fujimoto *et al.*, 2000, p.

¹⁵³ The terms ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ shown in the model refer to the number of persons in any of the diversity type categories (Fujimoto *et al.*, 2000).

53). The PDOM model also makes a contribution to understanding professional identity.

Fujimoto *et al.* (2000) believe that without openness to diversity the dissimilarity of others' professional knowledge, experience and background may create a sense of unease among colleagues. In this chapter, these factors were evident in the research into the experiences of migrant nurses in Australia and newcomer studies that identified factors such as threat, envy, apprehension and resentment at what dissimilar others can represent. As Hawthorne (2001) observed of the foreign nursing situation in Australia, nurses who were perceived as similar to their new colleagues (e.g. United Kingdom nurses) experienced greater acceptance as peers. Fujimoto *et al.* (2000, p. 49) state that “. . . dissimilar members may feel uneasy working with coworkers who developed different profiles through different working environments”. The term ‘profiles’ suggests the internal representations practitioners hold of themselves and the external representation of how others see them as the two faces of professional identity. This interpretation appears to be supported by the question item ‘you feel more comfortable interacting with members whose working background is similar to yours’ (Fujimoto *et al.*, 2000, p. 54) as a comparison between self perception and the perceived similarity of others. Fujimoto *et al.* (2000, p. 49) also make a link to practice in establishing professional identity as the withholding of knowledge important to the performance of a role (e.g. “the fact that you can not get information needed to carry out your job” Fujimoto *et al.*, 2000, p. 53). This line of inquiry ties to the discussion of ‘gatekeepers’ earlier in this chapter, where members of a community create barriers to hold newcomers at the furthest margins of the community.

Many of the processes and effects the PMOD model identifies are also germane to the level of inquiry advocated in the present context. Perceived support (e.g. organisational and group), opportunity to contribute, level and frequency of interaction, and communication formality all gauge the diversity climate. Importantly, the model recognises the *cognitive* effect of openness to diversity as contributing to the outcomes of the organisation. What it lacks at this time is clarity around the cognitive functions

as inputs to diversity openness, such as those offered by connectionism and distributed cognition.

This brief discussion of the PDOM model has only focused on selected items associated with social and professional identity for the purposes of highlighting its salience to the issues raised in this thesis. It is a far more complex and penetrating exploration of the dynamics at work in organisations than presented here. In particular, consideration of context, organisational culture and diversity management accentuates the perceived validity of the PDOM model as a basis from which to advance research into cultural others and communities. Although currently a model used for quantitative research based on a survey instrument, incorporation into a mixed methods approach (e.g. pilot study with follow up interviews) would begin the process of indentifying how research should proceed. The PDOM model has already shown adaptability as field application has investigated various organisational contexts including cross-cultural business interactions (Fisher *et al.*, 2000), service industry interactions (Barker & Härtel, 1999) mature workgroups (Fujimoto *et al.*, 2000; Ayoko & Härtel, 2002), newly formed groups (Fujimoto *et al.*, 2004), and organisational systems and practices (Fujimoto *et al.*, 2003; Härtel, 2004). These studies have demonstrated the model's versatility and the possibility of its deployment in research regarding the experiences of cultural others and their communities so lacking in the cross-cultural management literature.

There are also possibilities in the work of Swann and colleagues (2008; 2009). Their 'identity negotiation' process discussed in this chapter has been extended to be more mindful of the cultural diversity in contemporary workplaces.

7.4.2 INTERPERSONAL CONGRUENCE

Swann *et al.* (2008; 2009) offered a model that described the negotiation of identity as creating a sense of connectedness to a social group. This work has now taken on more significance as their interest has turned to the intersection of the negotiation of identity

with diversity in the workforce, leading them to attach significance to the concept of interpersonal congruence as an outcome of socialisation¹⁵⁴. Polzer *et al.* (2002) state:

The processes through which people come to know one another, such as learning about others' differences and sharing one's own self-relevant thoughts and feelings, should enhance group effectiveness because they increase interpersonal congruence, defined as the degree to which group members see others in the group as others see themselves. The interpersonal congruence in the group should moderate the effect of diversity on workgroup functioning by allowing group members to attenuate the negative effects of diversity without requiring them to relinquish their divergent characteristics and identities.

The central idea of interpersonal congruence is that in new contexts individuals actively seek to influence others' appraisal of them through demonstrating and communicating who they are (e.g. competent, trustworthy, creative), and therefore striking a cord in others. This view is consistent with the more general observations of Thomas-Hunt *et al.* (2003) where 'social isolates' attempt to strengthen other members' perceptions of them and their usefulness as contributors to the group.

Swann *et al.*'s. (2009) model defines principles of clarity, cooperation, continuity and compatibility as the keys to the process of congruence. These principles are seen as stemming mostly from how the organisation defines its culture (clarity), structures its operations (cooperation) and communicates expectations of employee behaviour (continuity). Only compatibility is seen as individual agency through the need to ensure that identities are congruent with context (e.g. work/personal, formal/informal) and do not conflict to the degree that they promote confusion or diminish the trust of co-workers (Swann *et al.*, 2009). Swann *et al.* (2009) see the organisation and its culture as facilitating the transition of cultural others from one context to another. However, in tying their perspective to the power of an organisation's culture they have failed to recognise the situated culture of communities as the homogeneity inherent in organisational contexts. Devolved to this level, interpersonal congruence has the potential to explore 'clarity' as the expectations the community holds of members, and

¹⁵⁴ Chatman *et al.* (1998), Swann *et al.* (2000), Swann *et al.* (2003), Swann *et al.* (2004), London *et al.* (2005), Polzer & Caruso (2008), Swann & Bosson (2008) and Swann *et al.* (2009).

how they have defined their social identity within the organisational context; 'cooperation' as the way in which the community has structured its roles and practices to achieve the goals of the organisation, and the place of professional identity within that context; and 'continuity' as the expectations of the community in regard to the consistency of behaviour between and across members. Therefore, 'compatibility' can be seen as balance and consistency between those individuals allied with social identity (i.e. specific to the community), and peers associated with professional identity. Within multi-disciplinary teams this is important. As identities are linked to roles, responsibilities and context, affiliation with one (i.e. more allegiance to one's profession over community or vice versa) may create tension or even alienate those associated with the other. As such, the compatibility process could be seen in terms of building a cross-cutting identity, as earlier described by Ashforth and Johnson (2001, see chapter 7), as maintaining favourable relationships across contexts.

The concept of interpersonal congruence, taken as a process of socialisation in the workplace, is a promising development in the integration of cultural others into the workplace. Although the principles of the congruence process have not yet been applied at the workgroup level as investigating the effects of situated culture, as a relatively new theoretical development it has the potential to facilitate greater understanding of the dynamics at that level that will give new meaning to culture (clarity), structure (cooperation), behaviour (continuity) and relationships (compatibility). When viewed through a connectionist theory of learning and distributed cognition, these principles are seen as making meaning of context of the community and its needs.

Individually the PDOM model and interpersonal congruence provide important clues from which can emerge more effective ways of 'managing' diversity in the workforce for positive outcomes. In essence, this style of research would contribute to a more robust framework that moves cross-cultural management from culture-as-difference to culture-as-knowledge in search of contextual application.

7.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has explored the workgroup context from the perspective of a community of practice in seeking to illustrate the environmental complexity at this level of the organisation. The community perspective is seen as crucial to understanding the situation faced by cultural others and in highlighting the need for understanding of the community as more than a group of individuals through recognising the importance of context.

Communities were conceived of as having a situated culture as common knowledge of ‘the way *we see* things around here’. Community members were seen as ‘insiders’ who have negotiated a social identity and against which ‘outsiders’ were measured. In addition, members were described as having built professional identities through engagement in practice that has bestowed status as a practitioner and entails common knowledge of ‘the way *we do* things around here’. These facets of the community and its members were seen as a potential barrier to the inclusion of cultural others.

Connection to practice was offered as a framework for facilitating cultural others’ inclusion in the community through socialisation and engagement in practice. As a sense-making cycle, it allows cultural others to build an identity consistent with the community and validate practice in the eyes of the community in learning and understanding the community’s common knowledge.

This chapter also drew attention to the paucity of empirical research exploring the perceptions and experiences of cultural others and their community colleagues that would otherwise illuminate what factors facilitate/impede acceptance. Furthermore, ideas of knowledge transfer, and the research that supports it, was seen as lacking consideration of the human component, the importance of context and the benefit of informal learning. A new research perspective of ‘knowledge infusion’ was offered to bring the focus back to those who do the ‘informal learning in context’ on behalf of the organisation in creating new knowledge.

CHAPTER 8: CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT REVISITED

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis has argued that cultural others are a valuable source of differentiated knowledge that has been marginalised through the domination of perspectives that present cultural difference as a negative influence to be ‘managed away’. The view of ‘culture-as-difference’ is seen as contrary to organisations’ quest for knowledge as a source of competitive advantage and their aims in becoming organisations that learn.

This chapter summarises the argument made in this thesis and the research directions that will better situate organisations in finding competitive advantage in the knowledge of cultural others. It reinforces the need for a connection to practice framework from which can emerge ‘new common knowledge’.

8.2 CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT AND CULTURE

The primary source of ‘culture-as-difference’ in organisational settings is seen as emanating from the field of cross-cultural management, as especially argued by Holden (2002). Chapter 2 surveyed the literature and identified four distinct agendas: (1) cultural interaction, (2) comparative research, (3) organisational culture, and (4) culture as learning in context. Of these, comparative research is seen as implicitly or explicitly underpinning the view of culture-as-difference that is inherent in the other three agendas.

Cross-cultural comparative research (Chapter 3) has provided convenient scales that explain why cultural others are so different from ‘us’. Subsequently, other writers have formulated prescriptive practices and management philosophies to meet the challenges cultural others are presumed to present to organisations. The three agendas of cultural interaction, organisational culture and culture as learning in context are briefly reviewed in the following section to highlight their shared foundation in comparative research that has perpetuated the view of culture-as-difference.

8.2.1 *THREE AGENDAS, ONE FOUNDATION, ONE VIEW*

In Chapter 2, cultural interaction was shown to be divided between concerns for the needs of ‘expatriate’ employees posted to ‘foreign’ locales, and increased diversity in the workplace as an ‘umbrella’ concept shared by culture, gender and other sources of difference (Kersten, 2000; Özbilgin, 2008). In both cases, the need to manage cultural differences is paramount in circumventing ‘culture clash’. The basis for this view is drawn directly from comparative research (e.g. Hofstede, 2001a), or on research that is based on it, where cultural others seen as a product of their society. Cultural others as individuals do not appear to be an important focus for researchers or organisations, presumably because knowledge of them can be derived from literature on their societal heritage. An alternative approach to managing diversity is an organisation’s culture.

In Chapter 4, organisational culture, as another form of ‘culture’, was shown to draw on theories of organisations combined with anthropological views of culture. It is essentially an attempt to substitute one set of values, beliefs and norms with another in mediating difference across employees, although evidence of sub-cultures as the reality of organisational life have challenged this notion. Furthermore, difficulties across hybrid organisations (e.g. international joint ventures) and multinationals are often described as having their foundation in the larger cultural context. As a product of their society, organisations are seen as susceptible to their own ‘culture clash’ when dealing with organisations based in other countries. This view also has its roots in comparative research (e.g. Hofstede, 2001a).

As the focus of this thesis are cultural others and their knowledge, a common pillar of organisational culture was shown to be the development of a learning culture allowing organisations to capitalise on their knowledge assets. The literature indicates that the knowledge of cultural others has potential value for organisations, but fails to explore how this can be facilitated. Furthermore, what is meant by ‘learning’ and ‘knowledge’ is not clearly defined and the processes they entail are not investigated. In fact the literature tends to rely on prescriptive and descriptive accounts of (un)successful learning practice, and a reliance on other disciplines to ‘fill in the blanks’ (e.g.

organisational culture, learning theory). The idea of an organisation finding competitive advantage through its workforce, particularly cultural others, could not be described as having been dealt with adequately.

In Chapter 5, the cross-cultural management agenda of culture as ‘learning in context’ was also seen as failing to explain how individuals become ‘cultural’, how they learn or how knowledge is formed. In not developing a theoretical position this agenda does not advance the needs of organisations in understanding, or connecting with, the knowledge of cultural others from which they may benefit. Equally, it is not well served by suggestions that how individuals ‘think’ is restricted by their cultural learning as offered by current conceptions of culture drawn from comparative research (e.g. Hofstede, 2001a).

Each of these agendas has made a contribution to an understanding of culture, but in a very superficial way. In drawing on comparative management as the baseline of how cultural differences manifest they have each ignored the fundamental property that makes an individual cultural; their ability to build knowledge that is situationally and contextually bound.

8.2.2 *THE REPERCUSSIONS OF COMPARATIVE MANAGEMENT*

What do we specifically know about the current state of comparative research in cross-cultural management? There are five key points that should be considered:

1. Research appears driven by the need to identify the ultimate, universal measures of what makes cultures different.
2. The predominant view of culture is that of a static collection of values, beliefs and norms held by a society that homogenise a nation and frame the learning of its members.
3. Research based on Hofstede’s (2001a) dimensions of culture continue to dominate views of culture, marginalising alternative perspectives.

4. The findings of the studies presented in Chapter 3 are a continuing source of debate and controversy among the respective researchers and their adherents.
5. Surveys are seen as the most appropriate method to measure culture.

These five points have been described and discussed extensively in Chapter 3, and have arisen many times in the course of this thesis. However, in light of the connectionist perspective of culture offered by this thesis, what does comparative research offer?

This deterministic view of culture was drawn from early cultural anthropology, but that discipline has expanded its views where cross-cultural management has not. The search for cultural dimensions has led to scales of 'cultural distance' between nations that, at best, only describe a 'moment in time' of any culture. As Shenkar *et al.* (2008, p. 908) state, cultural distance ". . . implies steady state, which avoids looking at change, evolution, and learning". This raises questions about what cultural dimensions reflect about contemporary societies.

In the face of globalisation, technological innovation, new economic regions and migration, is it possible that societies have remained unchanged? More importantly, can it be accepted that individuals are immune to the influence of greater access to information (e.g. internet), increased overseas experience (e.g. affordable travel) and the many contributions of cultural others to various societies¹⁵⁵? Do interactions with different people, communities, organisations and professions leave individuals untouched by their experiences? As the connectionist theory of learning has so ably demonstrated, culture does not act as a filter to learning. Individuals, as cognitive agents, have the capability to learn from all situations and across contexts. They build new knowledge, modify old, and make connections across their extensive and powerful neural nets, increasing their stock of knowledge and its usefulness. Humans are infinitely more adaptable than is acknowledged in the current cross-cultural management conception of culture.

¹⁵⁵ In Australia, the contribution of migrants has become part of Australian culture through food, wine, sport, cultural festivals and increased diversity in educational institutions. Subtle though they may be, few 'Australians' are untouched by these experiences.

In accepting the view of culture-as-difference to be managed, organisations are distancing themselves from the very source of their competitive advantage, the differentiated learning of their employees. This is the legacy of cross-cultural management specifically and comparative research in general.

8.2.3 *THE LEGACY OF CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT*

The focus on culture as ‘what is learned’ that is predictive of the behaviour of people and organisations appears to have reached a state foreseen by Adler *et al.* (1986, p. 299) where “[t]he idea of culture as mind-state raises the problem of reductionism and an explanatory cul-de-sac”. In describing cross-cultural management and its research, contemporary literature is now attracting criticisms for being ‘club like’ (Tung & Verbeke, 2010), trapped in a ‘methodological and theoretical straightjacket’ (Shenkar *et al.*, 2008, p. 917), suffering ‘paradigm hermeticism’ (Lowe, 2001), and driven by a post-colonial view of the world¹⁵⁶.

The search for the ultimate universal dimensions of culture has become the overriding *raison d'être* of comparative management that overwhelm alternative approaches and perspectives in the broader cross-cultural management literature. Many are now calling for a reduction, or even moratorium, on studies that continually tread the same path in searching for the essence of culture in quantitative surveys that reduce culture to a statistical probability and an immutable mind state of the individual¹⁵⁷. The irony of this approach is that it removes the two elements that could provide better understanding of culture — the individual and the context. This observation also extends to the notion of organisational culture.

Culture as defined in cross-cultural comparative research has become a root metaphor for organisations and their culture. Just as societal culture is seen as a homogeneous

¹⁵⁶ Lau (2002), Kwek (2003), Fougère & Moulettes (2006), Jack & Westwood (2006), Moulettes (2007), Özkazanç-Pan (2008), Prasad *et al.* (2008) and Brannen & Doz (2010).

¹⁵⁷ For example, Lowe (2002), Sackmann & Phillips (2004), Tsui (2004), Leung *et al.* (2005), Earley (2006), Yeganeh & Su (2006), Peterson (2007), Tsui *et al.* (2007), Jack *et al.* (2008), Shenkar *et al.* (2008), Bjerregaard *et al.* (2009), Fischer (2009), McSweeney (2009) and Taras & Steel (2009).

nation, organisational culture is deemed to unite employees and minimise their differences through sharing in the organisation's mission, goals and values. The mythology surrounding organisational culture as a unifying ethos has been demonstrated to be plainly out of touch with the reality in organisational contexts¹⁵⁸. Furthermore, organisations extolling the virtues of cultural diversity and organisational learning, two essential pillars of organisational culture, appear oblivious to the potential for their strategies to be misinterpreted or have unintended consequences in the workplace, a state arrived at through overlooking the importance of the individual and the context.

In general, cross-cultural management has lost sight of the objects of its theoretical and research considerations — individuals in organisational contexts. The situation is exacerbated by the lack of interdisciplinary synergy. Boundaries are drawn around concepts of culture, organisational culture, learning/knowledge and diversity, such that they appear as if they were discreet elements and only nominally related. However, a closer look reveals that they have a common and significant boundary, the individual. Cross-cultural research is increasingly distancing itself from the needs of organisations. This is now a commonly acknowledged failure of the discipline as being out of step with the current and future work of organisations¹⁵⁹.

There is little to suggest the widely held view of cross-cultural management as crucial to organisations is supportable, or even practical, in the case of cultural others. More simply, organisations, or more specifically people in organisations, interact with cultural others as individuals but are expected to derive understanding of them from literature that portrays them as societal artefacts. Essentially, the focus is on *what* cultural others

¹⁵⁸ For example, DiMaggio & Powell (1983), Fiol (1991), Harris (1994), Gibson & Zellmer-Bruhn (2001), Pothukuchi *et al.* (2002), Jehn & Bezrukova (2004), Johns (2006), Raid (2007), Igra (2008), Bhaskaran & Gligorovska (2009), Gerhart (2009), Kondra & Hurst (2009) and Dixon & Dougherty (2010).

¹⁵⁹ Jun (1996), Palmer (2003), Caulkins (2004), Foldy (2004), Härtel (2004), Jayne & Dipboye (2004), Sackmann & Phillips (2004), Leung *et al.* (2005), Trefry (2006), Chavez & Weisinger (2008), Özkazanç-Pan (2008), Shenkar *et al.* (2008), Brannen & Doz (2010), Fang (2010), Pauleen *et al.* (2010) and Tung & Verbeke (2010).

have learned rather than *how* all individuals learn, thus undermining many levels of the understanding of culture, whether societal or organisational. This thesis has attempted to adjust the focus from ‘culture-as-difference’ to ‘culture-as-knowledge’ through a connectionist approach.

8.2.4 *MOVING CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT FORWARD*

In Chapter 5, a connectionist theory of learning as “. . . a new way of thinking about knowledge and the mind” (Bereiter, 2000, p. 233) was offered to explain how individuals come to share in the ‘knowing’ and ‘doing’ required of their activities. Schemata, as representative of the neuronal activities of the brain, are built, extended, interconnected and removed from the neural network in response to learning and experience. Knowledge therefore is distributed across this neural network and is drawn on in responding to stimuli from the environment. Rather than being a ‘black box’ that holds discrete pieces of knowledge, the brain is a dynamic and powerful processor that can make connections between ‘what is known’ with new learning and experiences that modify existing or build new schemata.

Strauss and Quinn’s (1997) connectionist view was used to explain ‘culture’ as a form of knowledge learned by individuals who share a common context. Values, beliefs and behaviours, so central to research in cross-cultural management, are patterns formed and reinforced by exposure to a specific environment, more accurately described as ‘learning in context’. The patterns formed are distinct interpretations as no two individuals share exactly the same experiences, process stimuli in exactly the same way, or derive exactly the same meanings. In other words, cultural others are unique individuals not replicated cultural beings. Furthermore, distributed cognition as offered by Hutchins (1995a), illustrates that cognition extends beyond what is in the head, in part through common language. Individuals are inextricably linked to the socio-cultural environment where they interact with people and artefacts in coordinating their activities. Therefore, knowledge is linked both internally and externally to context. From this perspective, all knowledge is cultural by virtue of the context where learning takes place.

A connectionist approach, coupled with distributed cognition, is seen as striking at the heart of 'culture-as-difference' by emphasising the one essential similarity across all humans: we all learn in the same way but the meanings and understandings we derive from our learning and experiences, as contextually and situationally bound, lead to differentiated knowledge. This is the *essence* of culture. As summarised by Lakomski (2000, p. 203):

what is known as 'connectionsism', or the neural net account of brain functioning, has generated fundamentally challenging insights into our standard, sentential theories of teaching and learning, which presume the primacy of symbol manipulation such as the use of language; of how to think about the human mind; the nature of knowledge and human practice; of intelligence and rationality; in short: of what it means to be human.

Connectionism also challenges the long held belief in cross-cultural management that culture-as-difference needs to be 'managed away'. This approach is seen as leading organisations to distance themselves from the very thing they seek as a unique competitive advantage, the knowledge and skills of their employees, and specifically, the knowledge of cultural others.

In the belief that understanding 'culture' is key to understanding cultural others in organisational contexts, the connectionist perspective of learning was applied to the organisational environment (Chapter 6) and workgroup context, conceptualised as a community of practice (Chapter 7). The organisational environment was shown to be filled with potential sources of misinterpretation when the organisation's espoused culture in areas such as diversity and learning fail to match what employees experience in their worklife. At the community level, learning was seen as developing 'common knowledge'. This can be seen as the shared understandings members of the community have arrived at as the way they 'see' and 'do' things around here. Cultural others were seen as lacking this common knowledge making their acceptance by the community, and effective application of their skills and knowledge within the community, more difficult. What evolved was the concept of connection to practice as linking cultural others to their community by connecting them with its common knowledge through socialisation and engagement in practice.

The remainder of this chapter offers a new conception of cross-cultural management supporting the connection to practice perspective that dissolves the need for managing culture-as-difference.

8.3 A NEW CONCEPTION OF CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT

The new conception of cross-cultural management focuses on the integration and development of cultural others as individuals through engagement in the practice of their new community. Defined as ‘connection to practice’ and grounded in the connectionist theory of learning, it is based on the cultural other ‘learning in context’ to gain deeper understanding of the community and its ‘common knowledge’.

The following discussion summarises the two key aspects of socialisation and engagement in practice from the connection to practice framework. It also draws attention to the relevance of the future research directions advocated in Chapter 7 as providing a more fruitful approach in exploring organisational contexts and gaining understanding of the dynamics of the communities within them. It is believed that this form of research will assist organisations in identifying more appropriate methods for ‘managing’ cultural others and offer them the opportunity to build their organisational learning in finding ‘new common knowledge’ through productive interaction with cultural others.

8.3.1 *SOCIALISATION*

An organisation’s culture defines its values, beliefs and norms, as well as expectations associated with cultural diversity, and knowledge and learning orientations. In Chapter 6, a conception of organisational culture was offered as learning engaged in by employees as they make meaning of their environment. Schein’s (2004) basic assumptions of organisational culture and Argyris and Schön’s (1996) theories-of-action were drawn together in Choo’s (1998) knowing cycle to illustrate the sense-making process and its outcomes from the perspective of the larger organisational environment. In Chapter 7, the ‘real’ organisational culture was seen as emerging in the ‘situated

culture' of a community as its members learn and experience the difference between what the organisation says (espoused-theory) and its actions (theory-in-use). Cultural others as outsiders of the community may find this dichotomy difficult to reconcile without deeper understanding of the community. As another form of cultural knowledge, uncovering the 'situated culture' of the community is a key need for cultural others in gaining admittance to the community.

In Chapter 7 social identity was identified as a form of common knowledge held by the community of what membership means. The formation of social identity was seen as the result of community maturation (Schein, 2004) where members associate certain attributes with being an insider, which they see as distinguishing them from other communities and outsiders. As a prototype associated with context dependent features, social identity represents schemata of 'what it takes' to be a member of the community. This is the lens through which outsiders are surveyed. In addition, how communities perceive cultural others was seen as in part drawing on what diversity management within an organisation extols.

The culture of an organisation frames its approach to diversity and, as discussed in the previous chapter, members' experiences of the management of diversity shape their perceptions and expectations of cultural others and influence the community's situated culture. Further to this, community members' experience of previous cultural others (e.g. good/bad/no experience) and the homogeneity/heterogeneity of the group may affect their response to newcomers, and strengthen or weaken their inclination to interact with them. As carriers of culture who share a social identity, community members can have a substantial influence over the acceptance and effectiveness of cultural others.

The significance of social identity should not be underestimated. Good working relationships between cultural others and community members are essential not only to harmony within the community, but to the sharing of common knowledge vested in the community. Socialisation within a community is therefore an important first step for

cultural others in gaining membership. In Chapter 7 basic steps were suggested as a means of beginning the process of socialisation. Informal gatherings to introduce cultural others and open a dialogue between them and other community members, explanations of 'who's who' and familiarisation with the artefacts of the community help develop an image of the activities of the group and start the building of contextual schemata. But they are simply interim measures in the absence of more focused research.

The socialisation of cultural others into a community is an important area of research that has remained underexplored. On the assumption that it is not the existence of cultural diversity that is the problem but how cultural diversity is perceived, qualitative research that investigates the perspectives and experiences of cultural others and their community would advance understanding of the significance of social identity to 'fitting in', and the influence of situated culture as the common knowledge explaining 'the way we see things around here'. This research could also help identify any processes communities use that do, or do not, contribute to the acceptance of cultural others that may assist organisational efforts in the future. As a new stream of research it would also offer organisations valuable insight into the dynamics of their workgroups and leave them better informed about the 'social needs' of cultural others and community members.

As Chapter 7 indicated, another aspect of connection to practice is the validation of professional identity. Where social identity builds knowledge of the community and its context, professional identity is connected to acceptance of cultural others as legitimate practitioners in the activities of the community.

8.3.2 *ENGAGEMENT IN PRACTICE*

Professional identity can only be built through engagement in the authentic practices of the community which requires access to insiders and their knowledge. As learning in context, this is another form of socialisation that confers status as a valid practitioner of the community through legitimate peripheral participation which, over time, can allow

cultural others to move toward full participation and more effective use of their knowledge and skills. This form of socialisation is more than learning on the job as it requires the willing participation of community members. It is a process of linking and sharing professional knowledge over contextual boundaries as finding common knowledge. Current research does not explore the specifics of this process at the individual level. Concepts such as absorptive capacity (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990) and the stickiness of knowledge (Szulanski, 2003), seen as causes of the ineffective transfer of knowledge across boundaries, are aggregates that obfuscate the real processes at work as the meeting of minds, and the distributed cognitive network as the ways in which people engage in practice within context.

Unlike the concept of 'knowledge transfer' which aims to move knowledge from a source to a destination, connection to practice seeks to build knowledge and understanding of context to facilitate the effective application of cultural others' knowledge and skills in the workplace and, as will be discussed in a following section, establish a synergy from which 'new common knowledge' may emerge. This is an important distinction in framing research. There is already copious literature on knowledge transfer that identifies factors that inhibit or facilitate the process (e.g. trust, absorptive capacity, knowledge stickiness). However, the voices of those engaged in the process are strangely underrepresented. Although there is an expectation that the knowledge of cultural others will 'transfer' to an organisation, little is known or understood about what occurs at the level of individuals. On the assumption that the knowledge desired by organisations is more than the explicit kind (e.g. easily documented), the focus of research should be on 'knowledge infusion' as individuals' 'informal learning in context' facilitated by engagement in practice, as this becomes the 'new common knowledge' of the community.

Although this thesis has made a distinction between professional identity and social identity they share the same underlying processes of relationship building. What this distinction makes clear however, is that there is a need for both socialisation and practice to fully engage the knowledge of cultural others in the community context.

Therefore, research must explore both aspects of the connection to practice perspective. There are models available that may be a useful starting point in developing research approaches to exploring communities and cultural others in organisational contexts if it can be accepted that investigation at these levels is the future of cross-cultural management.

8.3.3 *CHANGING THE OBJECTS OF RESEARCH*

If the true aim of cross-cultural management is to assist organisations to manage diversity for competitive advantage then research that explores at the level of communities and their cultural others should be a priority.

In Chapter 7, the ‘Perceived Dissimilarity-Openness Moderator’ (PDOM) Model¹⁶⁰ and the concept of ‘interpersonal congruence’¹⁶¹ were introduced as offering a starting point from which research into individuals in the context of their working and learning environment could be explored. The work of these authors’ parallels important aspects of the connection to practice framework developed in the thesis.

Firstly, both approaches recognise cultural diversity as an increasingly significant segment of the employee base and one that is capable of making a contribution to the organisation if fostered in a productive manner. Specifically, interactions with cultural others are seen as promoting the ‘integration and learning’ (Thomas & Ely, 1996; Ely & Thomas, 2001) vision discussed in Chapter 2 which is consistent with the promotion of organisational learning through cultural others as described here. Secondly, the PDOM Model and interpersonal congruence include identity as an important aspect of creating a harmonious and productive working environment. This resonates with this thesis as the need to develop a social identity through socialisation within a community as well as a professional identity through participation in practice. Finally, both highlight the role

¹⁶⁰ Härtel & Fujimoto (1999), Fujimoto *et al.* (2000), Fujimoto *et al.* (2004) and Härtel (2004).

¹⁶¹ Chatman *et al.* (1998), Swann *et al.* (2000), Polzer *et al.* (2002), Swann *et al.* (2003), Swann *et al.* (2004), London *et al.* (2005), Polzer & Caruso (2008), Swann & Bosson (2008) and Swann *et al.* (2009).

of organisational culture in moulding context. In particular, the PMOD model seeks to explore how 'diversity open' an organisation is and devolves this down to the group and individual levels. Investigations of this type hold the possibility of identifying specific barriers cultural others face on entering a new organisation and group.

Currently the PMOD model and interpersonal congruence are bound to quantitative approaches but they have the potential to be developed into instruments for qualitative research that will generate greater understanding of the complexities targeted by the connection to practice framework. It is research of this nature that is key to unlocking the competitive advantage of cultural others as contributors to their community and the organisation at large in finding 'new common knowledge'.

8.4 CONNECTION TO PRACTICE AS FINDING NEW COMMON KNOWLEDGE

The conceptualisation of a workgroup as a community of practice highlights the collective endeavour of learning and skilful application of expertise in context. It also distinguishes between 'identity regulation' as the organisation's influence and 'identity work' as employees' efforts to form, repair, maintain, strengthen and revise identities as their sense of self through the interpretation of their current work (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). Social and professional identities keep the focus on the sub-cultural variations and differentiated practices of a community as being a unit of an organisation rather than a replication of it.

The concept of connection to practice seeks to address issues of social identity and professional identity for cultural others as negotiation of their status as insiders and practitioners of the community, toward developing their role as contributors of knowledge through collaboration with other community members. In applying a connectionist and distributed cognition perspective to their situation it draws attention to the need to connect the knowledge distributed over their neural nets to the new context. In the first instance this requires understanding of the communities' 'common knowledge'.

For the cultural other, acquiring common knowledge is learning of, and in, context, as the relationships between the activities of the community, and its social, material and cognitive (as ‘knowing in practice’) resources. Rather than a serial progression, connection to practice is conceptualised as the process of sense-making, a cycle of meaning creation, as cultural others move from a position of legitimate peripheral participation to full membership in the community through engagement in practice. This is seen as crucial in accessing their ‘other’ knowledge from which the organisation may gain competitive advantage. As ‘common knowers’, community members are seen as actively engaged in the cultural others’ meaning creation process; more broadly, as resources, and more specifically, as mentors and coaches who participate in the transformation process from outsider to insider. As each member holds a unique perspective of the community and its practices, the broader the participation of these ‘insiders’, the more salience will be lent to the common knowledge held within the group. Individual perspectives are bound to hold nuances or differentiated perspectives according to the connections insiders have made in their own learning and experiences as distributed across their neural nets. What is important for the cultural other is engaging in a broad spectrum of interaction that will facilitate new meanings across both cultural others and community members.

New knowledge occurs at the boundaries of old, therefore it can emerge from collaboration between cultural others and community members through dialogue within practice that expands current thinking. As Gerrard and Teirfs (1995, p. 144) describe dialogue of this nature, we:

“suspend” our attachments to a particular point of view (opinion) so that deeper levels of listening, synthesis and meaning can evolve within a group. The result is an entirely different atmosphere. Instead of everyone trying to figure out who is right and who is wrong, the group is involved in trying to see a deeper meaning behind the various opinions expressed. Individual differences are acknowledged and respected. What emerges is a larger, expanded perspective for all.

Community leaders (e.g. supervisors, managers) are best placed to facilitate this process of knowledge infusion as informal learning through methods, such as simulations as proof of concept, project reviews as ‘what could we have done better?’ and ‘blue sky

thinking' as brainstorming that is not constrained by current practice or preconceived ideas. The selection of methods depends on the type and potential impact of the knowledge to be transferred as well as the context (e.g. see Dixon, 2000). Whatever the method chosen, the important issues are that it should encourage open and frank discussion of ideas, engage participation of all affected and interested members of the community, and the informal nature of these 'events' should be sacred in that they do not become an 'action item', report or take on any other 'official' form. The aspect of informality, especially in the early stages, is very important and should be made clear to participants as it engenders a spirit of freedom to express opinions (Dixon, 2000). Only when the ideas from such events are refined to a point where official sanction is required need they be formalised.

The 'two-edged sword' of this approach is that, in many organisations, taking 'time out' for such events is seen as 'down time' that the company can not recoup, and links back to accounting standards. This is generally where the espoused-theory of 'valuing' learning and knowledge enshrined in the organisation's culture becomes the theory-in-use of 'as long as it doesn't change the *status quo* and can be documented'. It is therefore important that organisations reflect on how their current practice may limit the scope for learning based on their conceptions of learning and knowledge, and how this is reflected in their policies and procedures.

Implementation of specific changes may well be in the purview of a community leader if they are not potentially damaging to the organisation's operations, the processes for which are generally mandated in its policies and procedures for 'change management'. It should also be acknowledged that in some organisational contexts (e.g. heavily regulated industries such as pharmaceuticals) it is not possible to implement new practice of any kind without authority. Depending on the new practice, exhaustive testing may be required before it can move from an 'in theory' practice to an authorised practice. However, this does not lessen the need for organisations to review current practice. If they support the idea of cultural others as a knowledge resource, and have an expectation that their knowledge will flow to the organisation, then they need to

remain open to the possibilities of ‘different knowledge’ and ensure they are creating an environment in which it has the opportunity to be considered as an alternative way of ‘seeing’ or ‘doing’. Furthermore, in this thesis, the view of knowledge as an organisational asset was advanced through the perspective of Argyris and Schön (1996) who see organisations as both representing and holding knowledge¹⁶². What is significant about their view, one which became more salient as the thesis unfolded, is the potential for a dichotomy in ‘theories-of-action’. Organisations need to be cognisant of the fact that what they espouse as the value of knowledge is consistent with their theory-in-use as what practice actually supports.

In Chapter 1, (International) Human Resources Management personnel were described as too far removed from the coal face of interactions to be of much help in facilitating the flow of knowledge at the community level. This is a role for the community leader who is key in facilitating and coordinating any strategy that arises from the connection to practice framework. Their knowledge and skills in maintaining the environment of the community are instrumental in its cohesion and, therefore, they have a vested interest in maintaining its efficiency and effectiveness. Furthermore, Bauer and Green (1998, p. 82) suggest that:

socialization research can ill afford to ignore the role of the supervising manager during the adjustment process. Manager behavior is important to understanding how newcomers become accommodated to their new organizations. Both newcomer and manager behaviors need to be included in studies of proactive socialization behaviors to truly assess their relative impact.

Community leaders will require assistance from (International) Human Resources Management as mentors/coaches in implementing any strategy, but the responsibility for ‘rolling it out’ lies with them. This presents a new challenge for organisations in general and (International) Human Resources Management in particular.

¹⁶² Holding as knowledge retained inside people’s heads, documents and physical objects that have a specific meaning, and representing as practices and procedures based on specific values and beliefs.

8.5 A NEW ROLE FOR HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

At the corporate level, (International) Human Resource Management policies need to foster openness to diversity. However, as was elaborated on earlier chapters, current approaches are focusing on minimising differences and their effect rather than capitalising on them. As advocated earlier (see Chapter 6), diversity management needs to broaden its current conception of what cultural diversity offers and assess how current practices are playing out in the communities of organisations. Chapter 7 offered the PDOM model¹⁶³ as an option for investigating this area. More specific to (International) Human Resource Management personnel, is the need to facilitate the direct involvement of community leaders in the management of cultural others.

Community leaders, as those directly responsible for cultural others in the workplace, are better placed to orchestrate the connection to practice framework. However, it is not just a matter of transferring responsibility to them (Kulik & Bainbridge, 2006). A more measured approach is one where the (International) Human Resource Management function asks on behalf of the organisation how community leaders, community members, and cultural others could collaborate better and contribute more fully to organisational learning viewed through the lens of connectionist theory and distributed cognition. As a shift in the way in which organisations ‘think’ about learning and knowledge, (International) Human Resource Management need to take a strategic approach.

In the first instance, this requires reflection on current systems and practices, and how flexible (or not) they are in promoting and supporting collaboration between dissimilar others (Härtel, 2004), and particularly as engaging in informal learning. Determining whether an organisation, its stakeholders and supporting infrastructure is capable of, and/or amenable to, embracing knowledge as different ways of seeing and doing is therefore key in moving toward an organisation that learns through cultural others.

¹⁶³ (Härtel & Fujimoto, 1999; Fujimoto *et al.*, 2000; Fujimoto *et al.*, 2004; Härtel, 2004).

Through establishing a baseline of the current environment, more effective methods for promoting synergy between employees can be sought as context specific approaches to the integration of cultural others and their knowledge into the organisation. Only in answering the question of how the organisation can foster learning of this nature can community leaders be prepared for their role as facilitators of an inclusive approach to cultural others supported by (International) Human Resource Management personnel as mentors or coaches. It is imperative that this, as a strategy for moving forward, is ultimately presented as a business case to garner the support of senior management and obtain the financial investment such an endeavour would require.

An effective business case should generate support, participation and commitment at all levels of the organisation if the tenets of connection to practice are to move from idea to reality in the organisational context. The business case should identify the idea and the opportunity, provide a contextual understanding of what is being recommended and its implications, identify the potential benefits to the organisations, and describe who will be affected and how. There is a major stumbling block however. As this thesis has demonstrated, research that could normally be called on to support such a business case is not yet available.

8.6 CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that cultural others are potentially a more valuable source of differentiated knowledge than organisations have recognised. Drawing on the work of Holden (2002) as inspiration, this thesis has put forward a framework of connection to practice as a more balanced approach to cultural others than is currently evident in the ‘culture-as-difference’ perspective. This framework offers a new conception of cross-cultural management as ‘culture-as-knowledge’.

Connection to practice is a framework underpinned by a powerful and comprehensive theoretical view of learning and knowledge drawn from connectionist theory and distributed cognition. In exploring how individuals learn and how knowledge is formed, the importance of context comes sharply into focus and delivers a more

comprehensive account of how individuals come to share in the knowing and the doing required of their organisational roles. Connection to practice offers new insight into how employees make meaning of an organisation's culture and its approach to learning and diversity in the workplace. Specifically, it identifies how these shared meanings and practices can be a potential barrier to the full participation of cultural others as a lack of contextual knowledge and understanding. Connection to practice advocates an approach to facilitate shared understandings between communities and cultural others from which new knowledge can emerge. However, to fulfil the promise of connection to practice, research to progress understanding of what occurs at the level of communities is required.

At present, research into the experiences and sense-making processes at the level of communities and their members that includes cultural others is not represented in cross-cultural management. This thesis has offered research that can advance understanding of the dynamics of the situation by investigating the reality of the community context in which cultural others are situated. As Wrzesniewski *et al.* (2003, p. 95) rightly observe, with so little attention paid to:

the processes through which job attitudes and meanings are created in real time at work . . . there are opportunities for exploring and understanding what lies in the black box between inputs and outcomes related to work meaning. Although it is difficult to specify the steps that employees travel through to come to an understanding of their work and how they think, feel, and behave in it, it is a worthy goal.

Only through mixed method approaches that purposefully and more fully explore learning in context, and which includes the voices of individuals, will better theory and practice emerge to inform organisational strategies that reflect a less pessimistic view of cultural others in the workplace.

It is acknowledged that there are limitations to the new conceptualisation of cross-cultural management proposed here. The author is cognisant of her own professional and personal experience as predominantly western in orientation with literature constrained by foreign language skills. However, the thesis has sought to incorporate

alternative perspectives where possible as in some measure including the voices and perspectives of 'cultural others' as researchers and practitioners. As such, connection to practice requires validation as an appropriate framework against a more diverse audience who can bring a richness to the perspective of integrating cultural others in organisational contexts.

Culture does not define the person; it contributes to who they are. Cultural others are not artefacts of a society; they simply have specialist knowledge of a specific context. The rites, rituals, values, and beliefs of other cultures are rightfully deserving of respect, but cultural others have more to offer than a close encounter with another culture. As individuals, they give us the chance to see things in a different light, to engage in thinking outside our normal mindset, and offer us the opportunity to learn from them through collaboration in practice. As a community of practice that is 'diversity open', the organisation is therefore offered the prospect of learning for competitive advantage through cultural others and, depending on context, in one way or another, we are all cultural others.

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