Relating

Paradigm interplay for cross-cultural

to the

management research

Other

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Foreword

This doctoral dissertation was written by Laurence Romani while she was a Ph.D. candidate at the Institute of International Business (IIB) at the Stockholm School of Economics. The research was funded partly by Vinnova, The Ann Margret and Bengt Fabian Svartz grant, and by The Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet). Their support is gratefully acknowledged.

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Introduction

Is there a way in which cross-cultural management scholars can actively respect and engage with another paradigm while contributing at the same time to their own stream of research?

Cross-cultural management is a relatively young current of research that touches on international business and management, organisation studies and psychology. In this heterogeneous stream of research, repeated calls are made for building on this diversity with multidisciplinary research. But at the same time, researchers need theoretical frameworks that fit their research concerns; thus, there are limits on the degree of heterogeneity that they can accommodate. To complicate matters, the diversity in cross-cultural management research appears to be linked not only to differences in discipline, but to differences in research paradigm as well. This diversity is thus also related to fundamental views on science and the way to do research. Building on this diversity would mean conducting multi-paradigm research. But multi-paradigm research is not easy, and its contributions to research in other areas are debated.

This situation bears a curious resemblance to cross-cultural management. People with various ways of thinking (various cultural backgrounds) have a common purpose (to carry out a project) and are obliged to accommodate their different views. Finding the creative synergy for successful project management, while respecting the views and preferences of both parties, is the crucial challenge of cross-cultural management. Researchers in cross-cultural management are thus in their own sphere of expertise. They present very different views (different paradigms) and aim to foster creative synergies between these differences to contribute to the advancement of cross-

cultural management research. The present study investigates how researchers can address the paradigmatic diversity within cross-cultural management research and provide significant contributions to this stream of study.

Cross-cultural management research is defined here as the current of research that compares the influence of culture on management in different countries. It includes a variety of studies, ranging from the comparison of national cultures on cultural dimensions (e.g., Hofstede, 1980) to the investigation of interaction between employees of dissimilar organisational and national backgrounds, for example in a joint venture (e.g., Brannen & Salk, 2000). For decades reviewers have noted the diversity of this stream of research in regard to approach, research concerns and foci, as well as in operationalisation of culture - but also its limitations - (e.g., from Adler, 1983, Boyacigiller & Adler, 1991; to Tsui, Nifadkar & Yi Ou, 2007; Gelfand, Erez & Aycan, 2007). Arguments in favour of studies combining levels of analysis, methods, and even paradigmatic approaches have been repeatedly advanced (e.g., Earley, 2006; d'Iribarne, 1997; Tayeb, 2001), and cross-cultural management studies combining diverse approaches and methodologies are gaining legitimacy (see e.g., Earley & Singh, 2000; House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta, 2004). Interestingly, though, few of them use different paradigms in the same study.

What is meant by a "paradigm"?

Paradigms are defined as constellations of beliefs, models, values and techniques shared by the members of a given scientific community (Kuhn, 1970). Burrell and Morgan (1979) presented four paradigms in social theory which influenced both the vocabulary and the perceptions of subsequent researchers in the field of organisation studies and management. This dissertation first follows their conceptualisation of paradigms, presented below, but then goes beyond it.

Burrell and Morgan's use of the term "paradigm" is restricted. For them, paradigms are "defined by very basic meta-theoretical assumptions which underwrite the frame of reference, mode of theorising and *modus operandi* of the social theorists who operate within them" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979:23). Thus, paradigms comprise many theories and a variety of thoughts, all of which have taken for granted ontological assumptions regarding social reality and the purpose of social science.

Burrell and Morgan represent the paradigms with an ontological grid reproduced in figure I.1. "Objective" and "Subjective" refer to researchers' ontological positions in regard to the nature of the social world, or how researchers think about the "reality" that they are to investigate. An "Objective" position is associated with a "realist" type of ontology in which reality is assumed to be independent of researchers and composed of empirical entities. It goes together with "positivist" epistemology (e.g., search for causal relationships) and "nomothetic" types of studies (e.g., large-scale empirical studies). A "Subjective" position is associated with a "nominalist" ontology that emphasises the names given by researchers to structures in the social world. Researchers do not assume empirical pre-existence of these structures, but bring them into existence by talking about them. This position is linked to "interpretive" epistemology (e.g., the search for links between meanings) and "idiographic" types of studies (e.g., ethnography).

Figure I.1: Burrell and Morgan's four paradigms
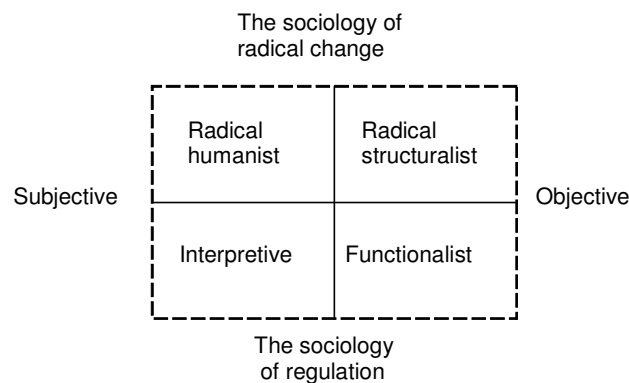
From Burrell and Morgan (1979:22)

The second organising dimension of the paradigm grid is how social researchers view the society (or organisation) that they are studying. One pole is concerned with "regulations" and the study of stability, functional co-ordination, integration, regularities etc. In sum, it centres on the study of forms of social order. Its opposite pole is "radical change," which stands for an emphasis on changes and fluctuations, conflicts and coercion. In other words, its focus is directed away from equilibrium and toward modification. The paradigm grid consists of four quadrants representing four principal

approaches. While interpretive and functionalist approaches are probably familiar in mainstream management studies, the other two may be less so. An illustration of a radical humanist type of approach cited by Burrell and Morgan is French existentialism, and a radical structuralist approach is illustrated by certain Marxist theories, for example.

This brief presentation of Burrell and Morgan's grid is important for understanding how the concept of paradigm shapes the discussion on diversity of approaches in the development of knowledge. For example, in the debate about which paradigms to consider, labels may vary, but the number of paradigms remains largely the same. The argument of their incommensurability (that a researcher cannot belong to more than one paradigm, and that paradigms cannot be merged) is debated, but the meta-theoretical nature of paradigms tends not to be. In sum, creation and development of knowledge are seen as taking place within theories that belong to a single paradigm.

Cross-cultural management and research paradigms

Studies in cross-cultural management are sometimes criticized as belonging primarily to only one paradigm, called "functionalist" by Burrell and Morgan, or, perhaps more generally, "positivist". Redding (1994), for example, explains why comparative management needs the contributions of interpretive studies: they enable researchers to address themes complementary to those of values and their influence on behaviour, as well as to develop middle-range theories. His plea for a new paradigm (in fact, for a paradigm shift) is based on his view that the positivist paradigm cannot deal with the intricacy of nuances and complexity required for understanding cross-cultural management. Likewise, other researchers use various types of arguments to demonstrate that the positivist paradigm is of limited usefulness, or even inappropriate, for the study of cross-cultural management. Of course, none of them belongs to the positivist paradigm, and frequently their arguments are based on what they see (in their own paradigm) as important. When scholars in the positivist paradigm feel prompted to react, frequently they use their own frame of reference to argue the legitimacy and relevance of their approach. The result is a kind of dialogue of the deaf.

The hegemonic position of the positivist paradigm is easily perceived and condemned (e.g., Lowe, 2001). But why should one paradigm fall in favour of another? Each paradigm applies its own particular premises, assumptions and epistemologies when studying management. Each paradigm is inter-

ested in its own types of questions. For example, when the relationship between cultural values and behaviour is investigated in the positivist paradigm, a focus on idiosyncratic meanings (interpretive paradigm) is not immediately useful in the quest for (comparative) value dimensions. In sum, it is irrelevant to blame one paradigm for not being another; each scientific paradigm is intrinsically legitimate. It may be more pertinent to address the hegemonic position of one paradigm over all others.

One paradigm may predominate over others for a variety of reasons, important to know but not requiring consideration in this introduction. The fact, however, that one paradigm is in a position to impose its views and approach is problematic in a stream of research dealing with cultural diversity, especially if this paradigmatic view is a Western one. Tayeb (2001), for example, argues that the notion of a national culture does not make sense in numerous non-Western countries that include various ethnic and cultural communities. Fang (2003) underscores that the bipolar and dichotomous opposition present in many cultural dimensions may be inappropriate for Asia. He explains how the dimension of Confucian Dynamism, or Hofstede's (2001) Long Term versus Short Term Orientation, should not be understood as poles of opposition. Similarly, Lowe (2001) holds that the positivist studies in cross-cultural management present their ontology and epistemology, though fundamentally based on a binary logic, as a universal truth. They tend to impose conceptualisations over consciousness, structural knowledge over processes and delimitations over integration and synthesis (Lowe, 2002), thus providing a clearly Western intellectual framework for the understanding of culture.

The dominant position of the positivist paradigm, and its Western views on science, leads us to suspect parochialism in cross-cultural management research. Why is the use of only one paradigm in a study not seen as a flaw? Multiple explanations can be offered for the current paradigmatic parochialism, starting with the lack of paradigm awareness of many researchers and ending with the intellectual and practical problems of conducting a multi-paradigm study (Lewis & Kelemen, 2002). It is difficult enough to contribute significantly to one paradigm, not to mention two or more. In addition, paradigms have different types of questions and concerns, and in a way, they are self-sufficient.

However, being aware of the partiality of one's approach, yet deliberately choosing to ignore alternative views, is a form of withdrawal from the world. Considering that there are various paradigms, that each paradigm is in its

own right, with its own truth, is a form of relativism that contributes to respect for differences. But when there is no interaction with other paradigms, this tolerance becomes indifference. How can researchers in cross-cultural management accept indifference to the Other, in the sense of the one who is fundamentally different, for example, culturally different? Can a non-interaction and a non-relationship with what is culturally (paradigmatically) different be the intellectual "modus operandi" of cultural scholars? In practice, as we know, it can and it is. In view of the expertise of cross-cultural management researchers, it appears "politically correct" and consistent with this stream of research to choose a modus operandi that acknowledges, respects, and interacts with the Other. In addition, some argue that building on the diversity of the cross-cultural management current of research is worth considering because it can contribute to this stream.

Pleas for multi-paradigm research

The dominant position of the positivist paradigm in cross-cultural management studies is not problematic in itself, but it may become so if other paradigms are dismissed as illegitimate. Fortunately this is not the case. In fact, appeals for greater consideration of alternative positions are as old as the research stream itself and appear frequently in recommendations for further study. Review articles on cross-cultural management have long pointed to improvements viewed as necessary within the main stream of studies (e.g., from Adler and Bartholomew, 1992 to Boyacigiller, Kleinberg, Phillips and Sackmann, 2004). Again and again, the most frequently mentioned limitations pertain to the chosen conceptualisation of culture (e.g., Tayeb, 2001; Yeganeh & Su, 2006), its operationalisation (e.g., Scandura & Williams, 2000; Schaffer & Riordan, 2003) and the need for middle-range theories (e.g., Redding, 1994; Earley & Singh, 2000). While some contend that improvement can already be reached through multiple levels of analysis within the same paradigm (Earley, 2006), others hold that methodological and theoretical improvement necessitates more than one paradigm, and the interpretive paradigm is frequently suggested.

Briefly put, the interpretive paradigm is often seen in cross-cultural management research as characterised by particular/local cultural knowledge, frequently associated with emic approaches. An emic approach is defined here as one that entails examining a phenomenon or a construct from a local perspective, from within a culture, for example, and understanding it from

the viewpoint of the members of that culture. This approach contrasts with the etic one, which develops an understanding of a construct by comparing it across cultures, for example. An etic approach is more frequently found in large scale cross-cultural management studies. In their review of "best methodological practices," Schaffer and Riordan (2003) show how empirical investigations of culture benefit from the combination of emic and etic types of studies. Harris (2000) uses native categories (emic) in developing a measurement tool in order to strengthen its relevance. Yan and Sorenson (2004) demonstrate how motivation theories developed in the West become more powerful in China when local elements of Confucianism are taken into consideration. Li and Tsui (2002) show that country studies with a high degree of contextualisation are more frequently cited in the studies that they reviewed, and Tsui et al., (2007) mention the advantage of combining local knowledge of a country in the application of theories frequently developed in the West. Likewise, Jackson and Aycan (2006) explain that it is necessary to complement supposedly universal theories by testing their limits and studying their applicability with local illustrations, idiographic studies and emic knowledge (see also Peterson & Pike, 2002).

This frequent plea, in cross-cultural management research, for combining etic and emic approaches is motivated primarily by the will to test, complement and eventually improve knowledge. Szabo (2007) provides an illustration of testing the limits of existing theories by comparing the research outcomes of different kinds of studies. She first considers participative management from the perspective of the etic cross-cultural management literature. Then she performs an empirical qualitative study investigating practices with an emic approach. Her use of two perspectives brings to light some limitations of etic studies, leading her to propose further developments of theory. In sum, adopting two approaches in the same study helps researchers to gain "binocular vision" (Morgan, 1986), and to better assess the phenomenon under study and the way in which the study can be performed.

Positioning of the study

In light of the foregoing, the use of multi-paradigm studies can be contemplated as a way to enhance the development of knowledge within a single paradigm. That position is adopted in this dissertation. The present choice, which presents the possibility of improvements in the positivist paradigm, is strategic in the sense that it seems to offer the most advantageous features.

First, by virtue of its hegemonic position, this paradigm has greater visibility than the others. Showing how multi-paradigm studies can be performed and what kind of outcomes they bring in this paradigm improves the odds of being seen in other paradigms. It addition, this study can serve as an example of multi-paradigm research for the positivist cross-cultural management audience, which is less familiar with it, as multi-paradigm research is less firmly established there than in some other paradigms and streams of research (e.g., organisation studies). Additionally, addressing the positivist paradigm enables one to capitalise on a number of studies that are widely used in other fields. Working with the dominant positivist paradigm in cross-cultural management studies thus presents the advantage of building on a broader range of accumulated knowledge.

In this dissertation a choice is thus made in favour of a multi-paradigm investigation with a focus on the positivist paradigm. This position may appear to be a contradiction. How can multi-paradigm studies be promoted with a focus on a single paradigm? And what about extracting oneself from all paradigms, and work from a non-paradigmatic or meta-paradigmatic position? Doing so might be possible, though difficult. How would we talk about it? With a radical humanist, structuralist, interpretive and functionalist language? A text cannot be written from a meta-paradigmatic position. In fact, this type of research is frequently criticised for not being explicit about which standpoint is adopted in multi-paradigm studies (see Parker & McHugh, 1991 in answer to Hassard, 1991; or Chia 1996). For these reasons, I have sought to position myself in the positivist paradigm when drafting most of this dissertation.

In addition, I believe that advocacy of multi-paradigm study can be better understood by researchers if one addresses them in their language. This dissertation had reported different developments, discussions and references if it had been written for interpretive researchers, for example. It is easier to construct an argument for a single audience when one knows which points are more relevant to it than to another audience. However, the position taken in this dissertation is intended not to exclude a readership other than the positivist one, but to facilitate the design of a stronger argument.

Moreover, contributions from the interplay of different paradigms can be made much more concrete and focused by centring on one stream of research in one paradigm. The combination of two paradigmatic approaches offers a number of contributions. This dissertation concentrates on three that are relevant to the research questions and the research agenda of many positivist

cross-cultural management scholars. For this reason, the present research question is refined as follows: how can positivist cross-cultural management scholars conduct multi-paradigm studies that contribute to their own stream of research while at the same time engaging with, and respecting, other paradigms?

Aims of the study

The overall objective of the study is to respond to the call for considering the diversity of approaches in cross-cultural management research and thereby help to advance this current of research. More specifically, the aims of the dissertation are twofold. The first aim is to present a way in which researchers can actively engage and respect the other who is paradigmatically different. Not all multi-paradigmatic research strategies engage with or respect the other paradigm on equal terms. In my view, interplay can foster creative tension between paradigms' differences and similarities, thereby showing them greater respect than would a bridging strategy, for instance. This dissertation will explain the choice of interplay for active and respectful interaction with another paradigm.

Second, this study is intended to demonstrate that entering in interaction with other paradigms is not only "politically correct" for cross-cultural management scholars in view of their expertise. It also offers the satisfaction of making relevant contributions that will be useful to researchers who engage in interplay. Contributions from multi-paradigm research to other streams of research have been debated (see e.g., Lewis & Kelemen, 2002). The second aim of the present study is to show that multi-paradigm research, through the strategy of interplay, can contribute significantly to other currents of research - in this case, positivist cross-cultural management studies.

Organisation of the study

Chapter 1 is intended to raise paradigm awareness with a review of the diversity of studies on the relationship between culture and management. It appears that differences between studies are due not only to their belonging to different disciplines. When the diversity of positions in the stream of cross-cultural management research is considered, the distinctions between positions are of a paradigmatic nature, too. The various approaches are organised in a paradigmatic mapping, and the connections and lack of connec-

tions between the paradigms are discussed. Thus, the identification of diverse paradigms in the cross-cultural management stream of research requires consideration of multi-paradigm study if one wishes to take proper account of the diversity of views.

Chapter 2 presents a multi-paradigm methodology called interplay for accommodating various views. The choice of "interplay" is made in light of the equal status that it accords to paradigms, and of the respect shown to their integrity. Paradigm interplay operates on the tensions and similarities between paradigms. The choice of only two paradigms (positivist and interpretive) is based on their similarities around one pole of the paradigm mapping, and by their reflection of the etic and emic approaches advocated in cross-cultural management research. Since two paradigms are used, this research is an instance of a bi-paradigm interplay between positivist and interpretive cross-cultural management studies. The research question thus refines as the following: how can positivist cross-cultural management researchers contribute to their stream of research through bi-paradigm interplay? The chapter also introduces the empirical work that shows the feasibility of bi-paradigm study. The investigation is a qualitative one that permits a positivist and an interpretive analysis of the verbatim of medical researchers, mainly Swedish and Japanese, who work in collaboration.

The analysis of the empirical material is twofold in order to display and properly acknowledge existing paradigmatic similarities and differences on which interplays can build. Chapter 3 presents a positivist analysis of the interviews using cultural dimension frameworks, which are one of the main tools employed in positivist cross-cultural management literature. The chapter first provides theoretical support for the use of cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis; it then verifies the relevance of these constructs at that level. It does so by examining three principal discrepancies ("working hours", "the relationship of individuals to the group", and "superior-subordinate relationships") between organisational behaviours encountered by interviewees in their interaction with Swedish or Japanese medical researchers.

Chapter 4 develops an interpretive cross-cultural management analysis on the theme of superior-subordinate relationships. It shows the possibility of comparing the influence of national cultures on organisational behaviour with the analysis of shared organisations of meanings made by the interviewees. The Swedish interviewees use systems of meanings that reflect perceptions of hierarchy and interpersonal interactions with references to

democracy and modernity. In contrast, Japanese researchers make sense of superior-subordinate relationships by referring to both a hierarchical and a collective social organisation. This finding is reminiscent of other systems of meanings present in Japanese society. The chapter compares the Swedish and Japanese systems of meanings involved when hierarchical relationships are described, and it discusses implications for cross-cultural management research.

The distinct analyses illustrate two separate paradigmatic worlds that are independent of each other even though their studies may belong to the same cross-cultural management stream. The bi-paradigm study could end there with a comparison of the two types of knowledge gained. This would bring to light the blind spots of the respective analyses and would further the development of research. In fact, many studies using different approaches stop at this point. However, this dissertation not only relates to acknowledgement and respect of differences and to learning from them. It is also about dynamic interaction between them in respect to their diversity. Interplay is the expression of this interaction.

In Chapter 5 the positivist and the interpretive studies are contrasted and then placed in interplay. The purpose of contrasting them first is to shed a new light on each analysis and to reveal its blind spots. Positivist and interpretive studies of cross-cultural management can thereby improve their approach and develop further. Implications for positivist cross-cultural management studies are presented. Only then are the analyses placed in interplay. Enriched by the differences and similarities between the analyses, the interplays indicate possible research paths that could promote and sustain dynamic interaction between paradigms while respecting their integrity. Three interplays illustrate the diversity of form that this dynamic interaction can take.

Interplay 1 suggests a theoretical framework; Interplay 2 proposes a research agenda and Interplay 3 offers a conceptualisation. The first interplay shows that when the similarly strong ontologies of the positivist and interpretive analyses are put under tension by their distinct analytical frameworks (predefined versus emergent), they lead to consideration of theoretical frameworks that include both universal and specific components. Contributions to positivist cross-cultural management studies are discussed, with a re-examination of research in cross-cultural leadership in light of a theoretical framework focused on authority.

Interplay 2 builds on the similar focus of the interpretive and positivist studies on regulations (see Burrell & Morgan's grid) and their separate models of analysis (causal and categorical versus associative). It suggests a research agenda focused on the study of norms that enables creative tensions to develop between the concerns of the interpretive and positivist paradigms and the attention that they devote to meanings or values. Implications are presented for positivist cross-cultural management research on the influence of culture on international alliances.

Interplay 3 proceeds from the similarity of the studies in the two paradigms in their static representations of culture and their distinct analytical processes (convergent versus divergent). It suggests modification of the views on and use of the cultural dimensions and discusses implications for the understanding of national cultures as heterogeneous though presenting similarities, and for cultural change and continuity. The three interplays are intentionally developed beyond their application to the empirical material of this dissertation. They provide general contributions to cross-cultural management research by serving as a venue of dynamic interaction between paradigms.

Limitations of the study

A first limitation of this study is its focus on theory and conceptualisation. Although methodological enhancements (in the sense of developing techniques, e.g., measurements) are achieved with multi-paradigm studies (see e.g., Harris, 2000), this research does not present any. Cross-cultural methodology is a rich stream of investigation (see Schaffer & Riordan, 2003) extending over many disciplines and requiring in-depth knowledge of both nomothetic and idiographic studies if it is to be treated adequately. My limitations in advanced statistical methods for cross-country comparisons restricted the focus of this study. It can also be argued that depending on the theoretical orientation of researchers, methodological needs will vary. Therefore, it may be necessary to start with examination of concepts and theories used by conducting multi-paradigm studies.

Another feature of this study is that it deals only with two paradigms, an apparent limitation inasmuch as others (e.g., Lewis & Grimes, 1999) put four paradigms into interplay. But two paradigms are enough for paradigm interplay to occur, to show how interplay actively respects and engages with

the paradigmatically different, and to demonstrate that these interactions yield relevant contributions.

The adoption of the positivist standpoint in presenting this research (especially the contributions to positivist cross-cultural management studies in chapter 5) can be regarded as both a strength and a limitation. It is an advantage to articulate a multi-paradigm study primarily in one language, and to show the implications for one paradigm. Ambiguity is reduced, relevance is demonstrated and contributions are more clearly presented. To some extent, however, it is a limitation to express a multi-paradigm study from the perspective of only one paradigm, giving it precedence over the others and thus undermining their legitimacy. In this case, contributions to positivist cross-cultural management studies are emphasised, thus excluding contributions to the other paradigms as if these were not relevant.

Since the supremacy of the positivist paradigm is already established in cross-cultural management research, this study would seem to reinforce that position. Some would argue that the present study instead ought to oppose this position of power in order to promote silenced or oppressed views. I believe that in fact it does so, if only modestly. It offers positivist cross-cultural management scholars new paths of investigation where paradigms can contribute jointly, while maintaining their integrity, to cultivating creative tensions in order to further the development of knowledge. If this thesis is convincing to researchers in the positivist paradigm, they may devote more effort and resources in the future to research in other paradigms and seek greater interaction with them. This would be a step toward reducing paradigmatic parochialism and perhaps toward less hegemony as well.

Another limitation lies in the use of a shared method of data collection for the study. It is a practical advantage to perform only one empirical research project. This advantage is, in my view, an important one. Often a multi-paradigm study is seen as demanding mastery of very different techniques even though the study can be performed on the same material (see e.g., Lewis & Grimes, 1999; Schultz, 1995; Alvesson, 1996). The limitation arises from the tendency in cross-cultural management studies to associate the positivist and interpretive paradigms, respectively, with different types of data collection. Nomothetic studies are the hallmarks of positivist cross-cultural management research, whereas methods inspired by ethnography are those of the interpretive paradigm. Moreover, interpretive works tend to study culture at the organisational level of analysis, rather than the national level as in cross-cultural management. The search for similarities on which to

base the interplay narrowed even further the choice of research communities to consider for it. As a consequence, the selected method of data collection is one frequently used in interpretive cross-cultural management studies, but not in positivist ones. On the other hand, qualitative methods are not incompatible with positivist research (see Marschan-Piekkari & Welch's 2004 discussion on qualitative research methods for international business). Additionally, the positivist analysis based on the qualitative investigation offers a new argument in favour of cultural dimensions. The theoretical support provided by chapter 3 for the use of cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis may be welcomed by many researchers and practitioners alike, who investigate or experience cultural differences not at the national level, but at the level of personal interaction.

Expected contributions

This thesis is intended primarily as a methodological contribution (in the sense of a research method to address scholars' scientific concerns, not in the sense of a methodology) to the stream of cross-cultural management research with paradigm interplay. The choice of focus on cross-cultural management, rather than comparative management or organisational culture studies, is motivated by the repeated call for a combination of multiple approaches (e.g., etic and emic) in cross-cultural management review articles. A multi-paradigm study that explicitly deals with paradigm differences is a newer kind of contribution to the stream of cross-cultural management, rather than to organisation studies, for instance.

The purpose of the dissertation is first to raise paradigm awareness in this current of research and to show that the diversity in cross-cultural management research is not only of a disciplinary nature, but also - and perhaps more importantly – is linked to differences in research paradigms. In addition, this study has the endeavour to explicitly address ideological, ontological and epistemological differences between the paradigms and to deal with them. This ambition stands in contrast to some cross-cultural management studies, such as those that simply bring together etic and emic approaches without treating the ontological and epistemological challenges linked to their combination.

The central accomplishment of this thesis is expected to be the bi-paradigm interplay and the demonstration of its contribution to cross-cultural management research. Interplay can contribute to positivist cross-

cultural management research in two ways. First, it presents an example of the feasibility of bi-paradigm research, showing how it is possible for a cross-cultural researcher to interact with "the Other" in a way respectful of the differences between them. Second, the study demonstrates that such interactions can contribute to the cross-cultural management current of research. It presents in detail three diverse contributions of paradigm interplay: a theoretical framework for cross-cultural leadership, a research agenda for studying the influence of culture on international ventures, and finally a conceptualisation in the form of "logics" for the theory of culture. In brief, the central contribution expected from this dissertation is to show that the strategy of interplay enables researchers to interact respectfully with another paradigm, in a way that advances cross-cultural management research.

In sum, the aim of this dissertation is to use paradigm interplay and its resulting contributions to enhance cross-cultural management research in response to repeated calls for giving greater consideration to the diversity of that stream of research.

The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on the relative paradigmatic position of positivist studies in order to raise paradigm awareness. This chapter aims to identify the other possible scientific standpoints taken by researchers in the stream of cross-cultural management, as a first step toward dynamic interaction with them. The chapter deliberately places the cross-cultural management literature in the broader field of research on the relationship between culture and management. It reviews the main conceptualisations of culture referred to in this field, progressively unveiling a diversity of approaches. This focus on conceptualisations of culture underlines distinct fundamental ideas and research concerns, and thereby does justice to the complementary and equally valid views they adopt. Reviewing major developments in the understanding of culture enables us to understand the current points of focus (e.g., individuals or institutions) or current differences (e.g., etic and emic approaches) that distinguish today's studies. This chapter also helps us to recognise and understand alternatives to the positivist view. Furthermore, it underscores that cross-cultural management research is conducted in different paradigms, thereby pleading for multi-paradigm studies rather than multi-disciplinary studies.

1

Culture and management

The relationship between culture and management is studied in comparative management, international management, organisational culture and cross-cultural management research (among others). While it is easy to see that positivist studies are dominant in cross-cultural management research (Redding, 1994), it can be difficult to comprehend the range of alternative views. However, if we consider the broader field of culture and management, it becomes easier to see diversity and alternatives to the positivist studies. Adopting a broader view than that of cross-cultural management research is done in this chapter by considering all main types of studies that investigate "culture" and management together. These studies have in common the need to define culture, and they tend to do so by reference (even very distant) to anthropology, sociology or psychology. The organising principle of this chapter

is therefore a review of the study of culture in the schools of thought (in anthropology, psychology and sociology) that are referred to by researchers on culture and management. The review presents each school of thought and then explains its connection to recent management literature dealing with culture. The result is an outline of many views on how to study the relationship between culture and management. These views are then organised using a modification of Deetz' (1996) (paradigmatic) grid. Eventually, alternatives to the positivist views in cross-cultural management research become explicit. The chapter concludes this paradigmatic mapping with a discussion on the connections, and more particularly the lack of connections, between the diverse streams of study in cross-cultural management. This discussion underlines the necessity to explicitly address ontological and epistemological attributes of multi-paradigm studies, thus leading to chapter 2.

The field of culture and management

First, a word on terminology: the term "culture and management" refers here to research concerned with the relationship between culture and behaviour (organisational, and individual behaviour in organisations). It encompasses studies belonging to various areas of research such as comparative management (comparison of organisations and organisational behaviour across nations), international management (e.g., studies addressing cross-cultural and intercultural situations, for example, when members of distinct national cultures meet), studies on organisational culture (both international and local organisations) and cross-cultural psychology applying research to organisational behaviour. The focus is on culture, either as the explanatory variable or as the dependent variable. In other words, the focus is on the impact of culture on behaviour, or it is on culture itself (e.g., in organisational culture studies) and how it is observable or understood through behaviour and meaning.

In sum, using the label of culture and management means referring to the studies adopting what Child (2000) calls a "high context" approach. This approach is opposed to the "low context" one that minimises the impact of national distinctiveness and focuses on economic or technological influences on organisations across nations. High context studies share the "presumption" that management and organisations have distinctive characteristics influenced directly or indirectly by culture. The field of culture and management includes studies that consider culture at the national, organisational and sub-

organisational level, though not cultural studies. Cultural studies are certainly concerned with culture, but less so with management and essentially do not focus on organisational or business settings. They favour, for example, the study of popular culture, media and communication.

Adopting the terminology of Culture and Management is already shedding new light on a vast number of studies that do not tend to regard each other as belonging to the same field. They all deal with culture and management, but in such distinct ways that one does not easily see the ensemble that they form. Existing theoretical reviews typically focus on one aspect of culture and management, such as culture and international business (Leung, Bhagat, Buchan, Erez & Gibson, 2005; Tsui et al., 2007) or comparative management (Redding, 1994; Child, 2000). This focus is partly explained by the readership of the journal where the reviews are published, and partly by the classifying categories used by the authors, such as classifications on themes of investigation, like leadership or motivation (Redding 1994; Kirkman, Lowe & Gibson, 2006). They organise the studies depending on how these address culture, either as a main effect or as a moderator (Kirkman, Lowe & Gibson, 2006; Leung et al., 2005), or on whether culture is seen as a variable or a root metaphor (Alvesson, 2002a). Søderberg and Holden (2002), too, separate the studies according to views of culture (a barrier or a resource, essentialist or relational). Others classify by the methodology used in the investigation (Earley & Singh, 1995) or debates (Adler, Doktor & Redding, 1986).

Often, reviews employ several kinds of classification, providing a detailed if not complicated picture. Using levels of analysis or nature of the variable as criteria makes it difficult to encompass in the same review positivist studies testing the impact of culture on multicultural group performance and narrative analysis of organisational culture discourses. Boyacigiller, Kleinberg, Phillips and Sackmann (2004), as well as Sackmann and Phillips (2004), examine contextual influences on the development of the studies on culture and management. By shifting their organising principle outside the studies, they provide the broadest review, although still not complete since critical and post-colonial studies are not mentioned. Their review presents three streams of research: cross-national comparison, intercultural interaction and multiple cultures. They make explicit the theoretical drivers, assumptions and frameworks of each stream and thereby highlight similarities between studies. For example, they show that some studies of organisational culture and cross-cultural management share similar analytical frameworks and interests in the investigation of international joint ventures. Frequently,

however, studies in cross-cultural management and organisational culture are not reviewed together. Consequently, similarities between large groups of studies in the field of culture and management are overlooked.

An additional aspect that enables us to talk about the field of culture and management is the reciprocal use of references and quotations between streams. For example, critical studies of culture and management refer to work done in comparative management and organisational culture. Organisational culture studies also acknowledge positivist and post-modern research. As in other fields, however, one stream is dominant (in regard to number of publications, visibility etc.) and may show limited awareness of the other streams. In culture and management, positivist cross-cultural management studies have this prevailing position. However, the fact that studies refer to and discuss with each other (in more or less reverent terms) indicates that they are engaged in the same debate, where culture is at the centre.

The concept of culture

On the basis of recent reviews in organisational culture studies (Alvesson, 2002a), comparative management (Redding, 1994; Child, 2000), cross-cultural management (Søderberg and Holden, 2002; Leung et al., 2005; Kirkman et al., 2006; Tsui et al., 2007), international management (Boyacigiller et al., 2004; Sackmann & Phillips, 2004) and cross-cultural psychology of organisational behaviour (Gelfand et al., 2007), I identified contributions to the field of culture and management and examined their conceptualisation of culture. Other studies referred to in these contributions were also considered, and the number of studies reviewed in this chapter grew accordingly. This simple point of entry (conceptualisations of culture used in the field) makes it possible to reduce the complexity of the review to the presentation of several influential schools of thought. It gradually emerges from the review that the schools of thought organise their investigation of culture along three major dimensions.

The first is a focus on culture as either particular/specific (understandable only within one culture) or universal (containing knowledge understandable across cultures). This dimension is best illustrated in the discussion between "Kultur" and "culture," but is presented in all schools of thought that adopt either one or the other view on culture. The second major dimension common to the various schools of thought is a focus on either structures or individuals. A focus on structures is well illustrated by functionalist studies emphasizing societal-level phenomena or analysis. In contrast, other schools

of thought tend to centre on individuals, investigating personality and culture, for example. The last distinguishing dimension relates to the way the concept of culture is approached. On the one hand, culture tends to be seen as either a given variable or a nonproblematic social construction. On the other hand, the concept of culture is contested, viewed for example as an oppressing device.

The following section presents the principal conceptualisations of culture in anthropology, psychology and sociology that are used in the field of culture and management. Although a chronological order is followed, it is not argued that the most recent schools of thought are the most relevant ones. Instead, there is a detailed presentation of each school, developing its inherent logic, in order to present the schools as diverse and equally valid approaches that inspire distinct contributions to culture and management. The presentation in chronological order is helpful in understanding the schools of thought in contrast to each other, and in permitting a better grasp of their singularity.

The distinction between "Kultur" and "culture"

Probably the most striking distinction between studies of culture and management is whether culture is viewed according to the concept of "Kultur" or the Enlightenment perception of "culture". For centuries, a well-accepted explanation of the differences encountered between human populations was that they were at distinct stages of evolution (see Herodotus' four stages of evolution). Enlightenment philosophers also claimed that there is a common human psyche, and interpreted human diversity as a hindrance posed by environmental or societal conditions against "the free unfolding of human reason" (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997:9).

The Universalist approach of the Enlightenment stands in contrast to the belief in the uniqueness of peoples and their specific "Kultur". Herder's "Volkgeist" proposes that history is the result of interaction between culturally contrasting entities, each of them being a distinct community, a people. The German people are then perceived as one of the expressions of humankind. Dumont (1991) explains that in the nineteenth century, in the German-speaking area of Europe, the values of "Gemeinschaft" (community) and "Volk" (people and/or nation) are associated in a way that "makes a German feel German first of all and a human only through being German" (Gingrich, 1998:568). Herder's particularistic position considers for instance, that the language spoken by cultural groups is a factor in their development. This

idea is resumed and extended by Von Humboldt (1830), who holds that "people who share a language develop a similar subjectivity ("Weltan-schauung"); it foreshadowes in essence what later became known as the Sapir-Worf hypothesis" (Jahoda and Krewer, 1997:13). The concept of "Volk-geist" encompasses the idea of a symbolic system specific to a certain group. In contrast to the Enlightenment notion of culture (the humankind culture), "Volkgeist" can take the plural form.

This distinction between culture and "Kultur" (or "Volkgeist") is central to understanding the different conceptualisations of culture because it reflects a fundamental ontological opposition. On the one hand, culture is seen as local, emergent, specific or even unique to a certain environment; on the other hand, culture is approached as something universal to the humankind and showing similarities across human groups. This fundamental ontological opposition, which lies at the core of the etic/emic debate (see discussion below), is a first dichotomy useful for understanding both the distinct conceptualisations of culture throughout history and today's management literature.

Early North American anthropology and psychological anthropology

Frans Boas (e.g., 1911, 1940) is representative of anthropologists that adopt a specific ("Kultur") approach to culture. In the 19th century, researchers or voyagers would frequently visit a population, conduct interviews (some-times more like interrogations than what we regard today as interviews) and take note of cultural traits. In a second phase, they would compare their notes with those on other populations, in order to establish either cultural diffusion (diffusionist approach) or to determine the stage of development of these populations (evolutionist approach). In Boas' view, the most suitable way to acquire an understanding of a culture is to reconstruct the unique path it has followed, considering cultural manifestations and analysing them in connection with their entire cultural setting.

The list of anthropologists trained by Boas includes influential researchers who developed diverse branches of anthropology in the United States. For example: in general anthropology and ethnography, Kroeber; in psychologi-cal anthropology, Mead and Benedict; and in anthropological linguistics, Sapir. Boas' "specific" understanding of culture as predominantly a mental phenomenon paves the way to psychological anthropology and the under-standing of culture in American anthropology as "something carried around in people's heads" (Erickson, 1998:76). This analytical concern for individuals (as opposed to social structures) and their relationship to culture provides a

second helpful dichotomy for classifying and understanding conceptualisations of culture.

Psychological anthropology (see e.g., Benedict, 1934; Mead, 1928) influenced the investigation of the relationship between culture and individuals with its focus on personality. Today, this concern is addressed with the concept of "modal personality" (DuBois, 1961), that implies a relative frequency of certain personality types per country. The modal personality is investigated mostly in cross-cultural psychology (see Church, 1998 for a review), itself a source of inspiration for cross-cultural studies in culture and management (see references to *The Journal of Cross-Cultural Research*). For example, Hofstede (2004) studies the relationship between personality and culture, with the expected implications for management.

Contributions to cross-cultural management research largely adopt a more psychological than sociological approach to the analysis of social behaviour (see Smith & Bond, 1998). They use references to conceptualisations of culture developed not only in cross-cultural psychology, but also in social psychology concerned with cross-national investigations. Both these areas of psychology tend to define culture in positivist/functionalist terms as a super-organic entity (in line with Kroeber) and as an independent variable influencing human cognition or behaviour. Similarly to the Parsons' approach, culture is differentiated from society and displays cultural universals (see Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen, 1992).

Values, and consequently the study of values across countries, are a fundamental part of cross-cultural comparisons. The Rokeach Value Survey is the point of departure for Schwartz' seven value-types. He re-analyses the Rokeach Value Survey - 18 values - (Rokeach, 1973) and its replication in nine countries (see Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987). Using a different theoretical and methodological approach than in previous analyses, he distinguishes the same seven types of values in each country (Smith & Schwartz, 1997).

Another important contribution to cross-cultural management research is the Chinese Culture Connection study (see Bond, 1988) which leads Hofstede (1991) to add a fifth dimension to his work. The work of Triandis (e.g., 1995) on Individualism and Collectivism is yet another example of the influence of cross-cultural psychology on cross-cultural management research. This dimension has been investigated regarding its direct or moderating impact on, for example, motivation, job attitudes and group processes (see reviews by Earley & Gibson, 1998; Gelfand, Bhawuk, Nishii & Bechtold, 2004). Cross-cultural psychology and cross-cultural social psychology contribute to the

field not only through the theoretical development of cultural dimensions but also through a substantial amount of research concerned with industrial/organisational psychology across countries and the themes of intergroup relations or organisational behaviour (including motivation, reward allocation, hierarchy and leadership). In social psychology, too, the study of cross-cultural interactions has contributed to cross-cultural management research, for example through the investigation of collaboration in international joint ventures (see e.g., Salk, 1997).

Positivist studies thus occupy a prevailing position in cross-cultural management (in terms of number of publications, positioning in the dominant positivist paradigm in organisation theory and management). Similarly, cross-cultural psychology and social psychology, which inspire the conceptualisation of culture in these studies, hold a hegemonic position among the studies on culture. They tend to impose a universal (etic) view on culture as primarily a cognitive phenomenon.

Functionalism and structural functionalism

In contrast to the North American developments, Malinowski establishes different standards in anthropology. He insists that anthropologists should focus on observable processes, on the facts and institutions (economic, political, and commercial) of the society in the period when anthropologists encounter them. He reinforces (e.g., 1922, 1944) the perception of culture as an integrated whole where the elements are interdependent and fulfil human needs (biological, psychological and social). In studying culture, Malinowski advocates the study of cultural phenomena (e.g., institutions) focusing on the outcomes of their combination. Malinowski's contribution to the understanding of culture links institutions with individuals in their function of fulfilling needs.

The functionalist approach to culture is recognisable in research on cross-national management such as the works of Hofstede (1980/2001) or the GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness) study (House et al., 2004). Culture is seen as providing answers to the basic needs that human beings have to fulfil. This role is the foundation of cultural dimensions: the distinct ways in which culture can respond to these needs are variations of the cultural dimension. For instance, human societies are compelled to deal with their environment (Trompenaars 1993; Schwartz, 1994); the different ways in which they can do this are claimed to be variations (e.g., harmony, mastery or subjugation) on the cultural dimension "Re-

lation to broad environment" (see Maznevski, DiStefano, Gomez, Noorder-haven & Wu, 2002). In organisation studies, Smircich (1983a) emphasises the parallel between the functionalist concept of culture as an instrument serving needs, and the understanding of organisations as social instruments for task accomplishment.

The functionalist approach to the study of culture is complemented by Radcliffe-Brown. In his study of social structures (e.g., 1952), he aims at finding generalisations about the common features of all human societies. The generalisations are the laws of social anthropology, the discipline that he wishes to establish in line with the Durkheimian tradition. He considers the basic need of all societies to be "coaptation," or the mutual adjustment of the diverse interests of its members. The mutual adjustments are achieved through a standardisation of behaviour exercised by culture. Radcliffe-Brown's structural functionalist concept of culture is an adaptive regulatory mechanism. His view is largely adopted in the conception of organisations as adaptive organisms existing by a process of exchange with their environment. This line of research includes, for example, the literature on organisational culture and performance (Peter & Waterman, 1982; Denison, 1990; Kotter & Heskett, 1992; Wilderom, Glunk & Maslowski, 2000), where adaptability is a strong theme. Schein (1985/1992, 1991) sees culture as functional knowledge for meeting the need of companies for external adaptation and internal integration. Researchers are interested in the structural aspects of the organisation and in work-related values, normative beliefs and leadership. For example, Marcoulides and Heck (1993) propose an approach to culture as consisting of three interrelated systems (socio-cultural, organisational values and individual beliefs).

Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown were influential European anthropologists who favoured a functionalist analysis of culture, which is seen as a universal aspect of human societies. Focusing on systemic rather than historical or psychological analyses, they approach culture primarily as a social and material phenomenon rather than a mental one. Radcliffe-Brown's legacy gives European anthropology a social orientation, with a tendency to study culture as a social phenomenon with a focus on social structures, thus strengthening the symbiosis between anthropology and sociology.

West of the Atlantic, however, anthropologists tend to adopt an ideational view on culture, which is approached as "something people carry around in their heads". After the Second World War, Kluckhohn and Kroeber (both influential anthropologists in North America) argue in favour of a "mentalis-

tic" conception of culture (Kuper, 1999). In their opinion, values are the core elements of culture and should be the focus of cultural investigations. Their argument adopts Parsons' (e.g., 1951) view that distinguishes the social system (with a predilection for sociology), from the personal system (predilection for psychology) and the cultural system (predilection for anthropology) in Kluckhohn (1951) and Kroeber and Parsons (1958).

Subsequent studies have investigated the importance of value orientations for the comparison of culture. For example, the work of F. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) provides a theoretical foundation used by Trompenaars (1993) and Maznevski et al., (2002) in their search for universal dimensions for comparing cultures. K. Kluckhohn adopts a functionalist argument (culture provides answers to basic human needs) in his search for human universals. These shared basic issues offer a framework for the comparison of national cultures that is extensively used in cross-national studies (e.g., Hofstede, 1980/2001:10; Schwartz, 1994:94) as an argument for the relevance of comparing cultures. Likewise, the legitimacy of searching for social axioms (beliefs endorsed and used by people to guide their behaviour in different situations) is also based on Kluckhohn's functionalist argument (see Leung, Bond, Carrasquel et al., 2002:288).

Cultural anthropology

An emphasis on values was followed by a focus on symbols and meanings with the interpretive approach, which is associated with rediscovery of the work of Weber (see e.g., Kivisto & Swatos, 1990 for a review of Weber's influence on North American Sociology). Weber's work is a plea for a distinct approach to social sciences, where "verstehen" (understanding) is central, contrasting with the positivist approach where the aim is "begreifen" (grasping). The meanings of actors are essential to understanding their actions and to the methodological concept of the ideal type. In other words, the researcher's attention is focused on local, specific and perhaps unique meanings. The emphasis given to meanings, and the symbols that support meanings, reaches a dominant position with Turner (1967) and Geertz (1973).

While Turner (1967) studies how symbols, from rituals that produce social cohesion, can be seen as instruments of the social order; Geertz develops a semantic conceptualisation of culture. His frequently quoted definition (Geertz, 1973) presents culture as webs of significance spun by individuals. He asserts that the analysis of these webs is not an experimental but an interpretive science in search of meanings. Interpretive anthropologists abandon

claims of explanation and comparison in order to focus on the frameworks of interpretations used by individuals of distinct groups. The focus of interpretive researchers is local and specific, with frequent emphasis on the level of the individual rather than that of large social structures like institutions.

Geertz' influence in culture and management is particularly noticeable in studies of organisational culture that explicitly refer to his 1973 publication (often the first chapter), for their definition of culture and their focus on interpretation. Frequently, shared interpretations are seen as the expression of a common (sub)culture in the organisation (e.g., Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992; Ybema, 1997). Additional interpretive views, inspired by other anthropologists such as Goodenough, are also adopted in the study of employees' cognition or collective mental framework (e.g., Sims & Gioia, 1986; Shrivastava and Schneider, 1984) or symbols and meanings (e.g., Pondy, Frost, Morgan & Dandridge, 1983; Gagliardi, 1990; Czarniawska, 1986) and tend to regard cultural groupings as the ones sharing the same interpretations. The focus given to structures of meaning is also used in comparative studies of management across countries in the works of d'Iribarne (1989) and d'Iribarne, Henry, Segal, Chevrier, and Globokar (1998). Considering national ("political") culture as a meaning-giving context, they investigate how culture influences the frames of reference used by actors in organisations in different countries. Investigating intercultural relations, too, the works of Brannen and Salk (2000) as well as Kleinberg (1994) adopt an interpretive approach.

Social anthropology

In Europe, social anthropology continues to integrate the ideas and works of sociologists and linguists with Lévi-Strauss (e.g., 1958). Lévi-Strauss' point of departure is the assertion that human beings have a common psyche. He aspires to map the invariant cultural forms present in all cultures, the fundamental universal cultural principles. The assumption that there are a limited number of cultural forms (because of the limitation of the human psyche) legitimises his search for "universal" cultural principles. Linguistics (principally the works of de Saussure, 1916) have similarly influenced Lévi-Strauss' conceptualisation of culture. He sees culture as a set of symbolic systems, in which linguistics, kinship, economics, art, science and religion occupy a fundamental place. As in language, binary oppositions are constituent parts of the organisation of the various systems. Lévi-Strauss elaborates further the understanding of culture as an organised set of interdependent elements: interdependent structures like the interdependent social systems of Radcliffe-

Brown. Lévi-Strauss insists that the organisation of these elements is equally important, perhaps even more so, than their content. The way in which they respond to each other or stand in opposition is central to the organisation of meanings. It is therefore essential to study a society using the classifications of the people under study. Lévi-Strauss' influence on culture and management, and generally on organisation theory, is said to be limited (Smircich, 1983a). However, his contribution to post-modern thought, for example in his focus on language and indigenous classification, is crucial (see below).

Both cultural and social anthropologies turned to cognitive aspects, whereas social anthropology focused on meanings in relation to their socio-cultural context, in order to understand the "indigenous" categories of classification. "Behaviour could no longer be "observed"; rather, it had to be understood and experienced from within, and interpreted" (Chapman, 1997:5). This thinking triggered the disaffection of social anthropologists from behaviourist studies. In cross-cultural comparisons, a theme as important as cross-cultural equivalence in measurement appears to be an illusion to social anthropologists, who consider that the contextual background of the measured phenomenon is distinct from one country to another. Therefore, to social anthropologists what is actually measured may not be the same or have the same meaning. This argument is recurrently used against nomothetic studies like the work of Hofstede (see e.g., Chapman, 1997; d'Iribarne, 1997; McSweeney, 2002a, Fang, 2003).

Culture and communication

The fruitful exchanges between linguists and anthropologists contribute to the studies of Sapir (1958) on the interconnection between language and culture, and prolong the approach of culture as a communication system. Hall (e.g., 1959, 1966 and Hall & Hall, 1990) studies verbal as well as non-verbal communication and becomes an important reference in culture and management studies using approaches taken from intercultural communication, for example in cross-cultural or intercultural literature (the approach is also used for the development of cultural dimensions in Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997). In the 1950s, the school of Palo Alto with Bateson (e.g., 1956) applies a systemic approach to communication in studying processes of interaction among individuals. The production of meanings through interaction is analysed in connection with the context in which it takes place. Communication anthropology shows that in distinct contexts individual

behaviour can vary. Such differences illustrate the plurality and variability of a culture since it encompasses disparate contexts.

The analysis centres on interactions at the individual or group level. Groups are perceived as having their own culture and thus their own value systems, representation and behaviour systems that enable them to function in their social environment (Cuche, 1996:50). The interactionist school, in which meanings are primordial, confines the level of analysis of culture to the interpersonal level, and culture is perceived as a system of interactions. In the field of culture and management, this relational and (intercultural) approach to communication is used in the investigation of intercultural relations (see e.g., Søderberg & Holden, 2002; Fougère, 2004).

Culture and the sociologists

Sociological works, too, are used in the conceptualisation of culture in culture and management. Simply put, (Western) sociology approaches culture through two principal traditions. In Durkheim's view, culture is engraved into society and its structures. As culture is seen as pervasive, it does not receive particular attention. In the Weberian tradition, on the other hand, culture is studied through investigation of the forces influencing individuals (methodological individualism). For instance, Weber's work on the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904) provides an analysis of socio-economic transformations. Two principal factors are considered to drive the transformations: material and ideational forces. The material forces are the changes in technological and economical factors with the modernisation of the 17th century economy and trade, while the ideational forces are seen as the religious beliefs, such as those which hold ascetic behaviour to be desirable. The ideational forces, or "substantive rationality," are close to what is generally meant by culture in most management studies. Consequently, although material forces might be similar from one country to another, the local ideational forces are likely to differ, and their influence on actors leads to different societal situations.

Child (2000:40f.) underscores the relationship between Weber's view and institutional theory. He explains that management and business have different institutional foundations in different societies. These institutions (e.g., state, legal system, etc.) and the role they play shape different "national business systems" (Whitley, 1992a&b). Local systems of ideas (political, religious etc.) influence the shape of institutions, which themselves influence organisations and organisational behaviour. In the field of culture and man-

agement, this view is adopted by some comparative management studies inspired by a socio-economic approach (see Redding, 2005).

Post-modern streams and the study of culture

Through French structuralism, a focus on language continues with the post-modern approach. Language is now at the centre of philosophical considerations on discourse, texts, power and science (in the classical positivist-modern form). The activity of writing about culture is examined. For example, Geertz (1988) underscores that monographs (texts and production of texts) are not neutral reports. They are constructed primarily for particular purposes, and they reveal the problematic relations between the ethnographer, the reader and the subject matter. Language and literary analysis also become the centre of anthropological research (see Clifford & Marcus, 1986 and recently Mutman, 2006).

This "linguistic turn" has been given consideration as well in organisation studies (Alvesson, 2002b), with a focus on language itself, the study of metaphors being an example (see Morgan, 1980 or Alvesson, 1994 for the concept of culture in organisation studies) or the production of texts (Van Maanen, 1988; Linstead, 1994). In addition, organisational discourse analysis can be seen as a result of a "linguistic turn" (e.g., Grant, Hardy, Oswick & Putnam, 2004), although it tends to study the language in use in a nonproblematic sense (as if researchers had control over language and its use) (Alvesson, 2002b:63f.). Moreover, post-modern thinking influences the study of organisational culture in its rejection of broad theories, meta-narratives, and its search for poly-vocality. In organisation studies, the multiplicity of cultures across and within organisations is investigated in regard to functions, tenure and hierarchy, gender, etc. (see review in Boyacigiller et al., 2004:130ff.). The complexity of cultural grouping (Sackmann, 1997) is illustrated by the multiplicity of individual belonging within an organisation, and explains in part the shift of focus to studies on organisational identity. The plurality of organisational culture is investigated with multiple perspectives (e.g., Martin, 2002; Raz & Fadlon, 2006). These studies are often combined with a critical approach. Researchers question their writing about culture, whose interest they serve, while also examining the premises, strengths and weaknesses of their approaches and methods (e.g., Martin, 2002; Alvesson, 2002a).

In anthropology, a focus on power relationships and cultural hegemony animates both debates and research (Harris 1999, D'Andrade, 2000). The very notion of culture is challenged by post-colonial studies denouncing its im-

plied classification and exclusion of others (Said, 1978; Fabian, 2006) and condemning the philosophical and cultural (Western) ideas that it encompasses. However, the concept remains (see e.g., Brumann, 1999; Boggs, 2004) in the discipline.

According to Erickson (1998:142), the study of the culture of societies benefits in particular from the reflections of Foucault and Bourdieu. Foucault (1982) offers an historical interpretation of the elaboration of social forms through the discourse of power. He argues that the knowledge and truth commonly accepted in a society reflect the stakes of political or social actors. Foucault analyses the discourses of power at the individual level and also in regard to the social mechanisms of control (e.g., asylums, museums). Bourdieu (1977) views culture in the actions of individuals: in their practices they reproduce and/or change various elements of social relations. This view echoes that of Giddens (e.g., 1984) and is sometimes adopted in the understanding of culture, for example, in intercultural relations in international joint ventures (e.g., Weisinger & Salipante, 2000). Sharpe (2005), too, offers new insights into the transfer of knowledge between international corporations, insisting on the relationship between processes and structures. However, if Bourdieu's influence is limited in the field of culture and management, it is strong in cultural studies and synergies between these studies and the field of culture and management are sometimes advocated (González, 2006).

The concept of culture is also deconstructed. The notion of cultural continuity, claimed as the hallmark of a people or an ethnic group, is questioned and argued to be linked to politics or ideology (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Foster, 1991; Smith, 1999). In addition, there is a shift in focus from the study of culture in organisations to the treatment, for example, of power issues or gender perspectives in organisational culture studies (e.g., Aaltio-Marjosola & Mills, 2002).

A critical glance is also cast at international management research (e.g., Faria & Guedes, 2005; Carr, 2006). Some critical studies denounce for example, in main stream comparative management training literature, the prescriptive solutions and techniques based on an essentialist approach to culture (Dahlén, 1997; Wong, 2005). Post-colonial analyses underline that discourses used in international business are essentialising and exoticising the foreign, in other words, the non Western. Some mainstream studies impose Western norms through its implicit reference (Westwood, 2006; Fougère & Moulettes, 2006; Kwek, 2003).

Organising the contributions to cross-cultural management research

The preceding review of various ways to understand culture in anthropology, psychology or sociology is of course not exhaustive. It is limited to the conceptualisations of culture found in the literature on culture and management. These conceptualisations appear diverse, although recurrent themes in opposition can organise them. The first important opposition is between "Kultur" and culture, in other words, between specific (in the sense of particular) or universal knowledge. This opposition can be used to differentiate between studies in line with a "specific approach" (from "Volkgeist", Boas, Geertz to indigenous psychology) and those focusing on universal forms (e.g., Kroeber, Kluckhohn).

The second opposition contrasts an analytical focus on individuals (e.g., Mead, Hall) with an analytical focus on social structures (e.g., Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown). The third is between a focus on culture (in the sense of the set of values, beliefs etc. shared by a population), and a focus on how the concept of culture is created and used to establish a certain social order (e.g., Said).

These three oppositions can help to highlight contrasts between studies and can serve as a starting point for organising our presentation of the variety of contributions to the field of culture and management. This enables us to shed a new light on the existing diversity of studies and thereby present several alternatives to the positions of positivist studies in cross-cultural management research. These oppositions also help us to detail the diversity of contributions to the stream of cross-cultural management research.

Three contrasting dimensions

The first contrasting dimension deals with the concept of culture and whether it is studied primarily as specifically situated or as universal. Culture can be seen as local with intrinsic meanings that are understandable from an insider position. This approach echoes the idea of "Kultur". In contrast, culture can be regarded as common to all human beings, with characteristics that are identifiable in all human groups (universals). The latter approach reflects the enlightenment idea of "culture". The same distinction is found in the different schools of thought that tend to choose between a situated approach and a universal one. This opposition echoes the one between emic and etic.

Originally used in linguistics, the concepts emic/etic gradually reached anthropological and organisation studies. In each discipline it took on a slightly different meaning (see Headland, Pike & Harris, 1990 and Peterson and Pike, 2002 for a discussion). Emic and etic are used here as a distinction primarily in the perceived nature of (scientific) knowledge and consequently epistemology. From an emic position, meaning exists within the context of its experience. The emic approach is seen as situated and focused on the particular meanings given by a specific group of individuals, thus also implying that there is an implicit aspect to it. From an etic position, there is an external significance that is consistent and meaningful across various contexts. The etic approach is viewed as general, and it focuses on previously developed constructs or concepts that are then investigated, for example, in a number of different countries. This approach contrasts two distinct forms of knowledge that are both considered scientific by their proponents in anthropology or organisation studies. Emic studies reflect an interpretive approach to science that emphasises the interpretations of individuals and researchers. Etic studies, by contrast, can be associated with a positivist approach to science aimed at developing generalizable knowledge and concerned with the objectivity of this knowledge.

Deetz (1996) proposes the contrasting dimension "Local/Emergent-Elite/A priori to organise discourses in organisation studies. This dimension reflects the first one that appears from the preceding review (specific/general), as well as dichotomies between the paradigms in Burrell and Morgan's grid. While Burrell and Morgan stress contrasting ontological positions ("objective" or "subjective"), Deetz (1996:195) concentrates on the "origin of concepts and problem statements as part of the constitutive process in research". On the Local/Emergent pole, research is seen as a situated enterprise, with emergent forms of knowledge, whereas on the Elite/A priori pole, research is regarded as the freeing of knowledge from temporal and local conditions of production. This first dimension therefore reflects some of the contrasts between the interpretive and positivist paradigms (see discussion in chapter 2). It is labelled here "Emergent/A-priori". Although the label gives emphasis to frameworks for knowledge, their nature (particular or universal) is also an important part of this dimension.

The second contrasting dimension opposes an analytical concern with structures to an analytical concern with individuals. Focusing on analytical concern is differentiated from a focus on the level of analysis. For example, studies such as d'Iribarne (1989) conduct their investigations at the individ-

ual level of analysis. Employees of different organisations are interviewed, and the meanings they use to make sense of their work and their interactions are studied. However, the analytical concern is to identify societal/national frameworks used by employees to make sense of their daily interactions at work. On one side of the dimension, researchers have an analytical concern with structures when they address culture. They focus, for example, on institutions and how these have been influenced by culture. On the other side, the researchers' analytical concern is with individuals or the action of individuals in relation to culture. Focusing on individuals, they study, for instance, the relationship between individual leadership preference and national culture. Studies with an analytical concern for organisations can be placed in an intermediate position on that dimension. This contrasting dimension is labelled "Structures/Individuals".

Figure 1.1: Contrasting dimensions for organising studies on culture and management

Axis x: Emergent/A-priori
Axis y: Consensus/ Dissensus
Axis z: Structures/Individuals
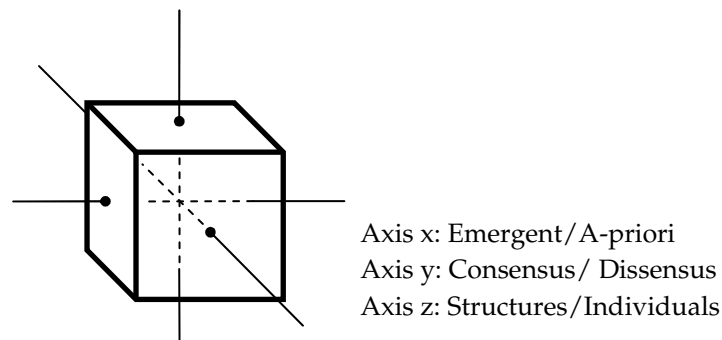
The third contrasting dimension is an opposition between (classic) studies of culture (culture as structures, values, beliefs systems etc.), and how culture is created and used to construct a certain social order with underlying power struggles and oppression. This contrasting dimension resembles the one called "Consensus/Dissensus" used by Deetz (1996), who notes the similarity of his dimension to the "Change/Regulation" dimension used by Burrell and Morgan (see the discussion in Deetz, 1996:197f.). Researchers on the "Consensus" side favour reports of how culture is, focusing on regularities. For example, in studying a company's social organisation (and the picture they give may be multifaceted, including various subcultures), they will focus on identifiable similarities within groups and distinctions across groups, but they will not challenge existing discourses or categories established by their informants. Their research agenda is not to unveil the domination exer-

cised by certain groups that results in observable regularities and established perceptions. On the other hand, "Dissensus" researchers tend to regard discourses on culture as the temporary outcomes of often-conflicting stakes that require study. Attention is given to processes of domination and power struggles. Therefore, this dimension, "Consensus/Dissensus" also echoes the distinctions drawn between paradigms by Burrell and Morgan (1979), positioning on one side the "radical" paradigms in contrast to the interpretive and functionalist ones (see figure I.1 page 3).

The advantage of using contrasting dimensions to organise an overview of the field of culture and management is that meaningful differences and similarities between studies are highlighted. These dimensions make it feasible to draw a map of the field that shows, beyond disciplines and streams of research, the similarities and discrepancies between studies on a conceptual basis. In addition, these dimensions help make sense of the existing dynamics (or lack thereof) between studies. Combining the three dimensions as in figure 1.1, we obtain two complementary representations of the field.

Making critical and post-modern cross-cultural management studies visible

The first representation uses the dimensions "Emergent/A-priori" (axis x) and "Consensus/Dissensus" (axis y) and can display the contributions of post-modern and critical studies to the field of culture and management, contributions that are often overlooked in international management literature (see e.g., reviews such as Redding, 1994; Leung et al., 2005 or Tsui et al., 2007 that do not refer to critical and post-modern works). This combination "Emergent/A-priori" (axis x) and "Consensus/Dissensus" (axis y) presents similarities with the ones used by Burrell and Morgan (1979) and Deetz (1996) in the organisation of scientific paradigms or discourses. Considered together, they draw four areas on the plane (see figure 1.2).

In the first area (1), bounded by the axes with the extremes "A-priori" and "Consensus", it is possible to position studies that refer to the functionalist and structural functionalist approaches of culture in anthropology. They aim to identify regularities across cultures (e.g., cultural dimensions) or patterned types of behaviours (e.g., organisational design in relation to cultural dimensions). In other words, they focus on regularities despite cultural differences and they adopt a positivist scientific process in which knowledge is considered primarily as informative of how things are. Deetz (1996:201f) designates a profile of this type of study as "Normative, Modern and Progressive". "Normative" emphasises the central importance of codification and the

search for regularities. He argues that the concern for operationalisation, "objectivity" and law-like regulations are at the core of scientific practices, often "involving the most recent advances in operationalisation, hypothesization" and statistics. In the field of culture and management, the studies positioned in this area belong to cross-cultural management and comparative management, but also organisational culture studies. The search for patterns warrants the investigation of differences across countries (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1994; Maznevski et al., 2002; Leung et al., 2002). Comparative management studies adopt cluster classifications based, for example, on employees' attitudes toward work (Ronen & Shenkar, 1985). Organisations are seen as "having" a culture (Smircich, 1983a) that is manageable (e.g., Schein, 1985; Peter & Waterman, 1982). This area is where the most widely known studies of cross-cultural management research are found, and sometimes cross-cultural management research is seen as belonging only to this paradigm, often referred to as the "positivist" paradigm.

Area 2, bordered by "A-priori" and "Dissensus," differs from the previous one in regard to the view on knowledge. Science is perceived as embedding values and norms and scientific knowledge as the outcome of a partial (in the sense of value-loaded) investigation process. Critique, understood here as a reflexive process of gaining awareness, is used to disclose the values and other possible inclinations embedded in the scientific process. Deetz (1996) labels studies of this second type as "Critical studies, Late modern, Reformist". Critical studies demonstrate forms of domination or asymmetry, "showing how social constructions of reality can favour certain interests". The research is intended to produce dissensus and to provide forums and models of discussion to aid in the building of more open consensus (Deetz, 1996:202). In the field of culture and management, critical researchers focus on the various representations of the concept of culture. For example, they examine the discourses on organisational culture (e.g., Alvesson, 2002a; Parker, 2000) and denounce the underlying assumptions and resulting consequences (e.g., Willmott, 1993b; Kunda, 1992). In international management, they address the discourse about the other and its difference with the implications for cross-cultural management or human resource management (e.g., Dahlén, 1997; Westwood, 2006; Zanoni & Janssens, 2004; Angwin & Vaara, 2005). Here post-colonial studies as represented by Said (1978) are a source of inspiration.

In area 3, bounded by the axes toward "Dissensus" and "Emergent", it is possible to position the studies that adopt a reflexive approach to culture, as

well as a focus on local and specific understandings. Often labelled post-modern, this type of study refers to authors such as anthropologists Clifford and Marcus (1986) or Foucault (1982). Deetz (1996) chooses to label them "Dialogic, Postmodern, Deconstructionist" to emphasise the constructed nature of people and reality. For these studies, language is central, impelling a

Figure 1.2: Sample contributions (1980s-2000s) and inspirational references (in bold), organised along the dimensions of "Emergent/A-priori" and "Consensus/Dissensus"
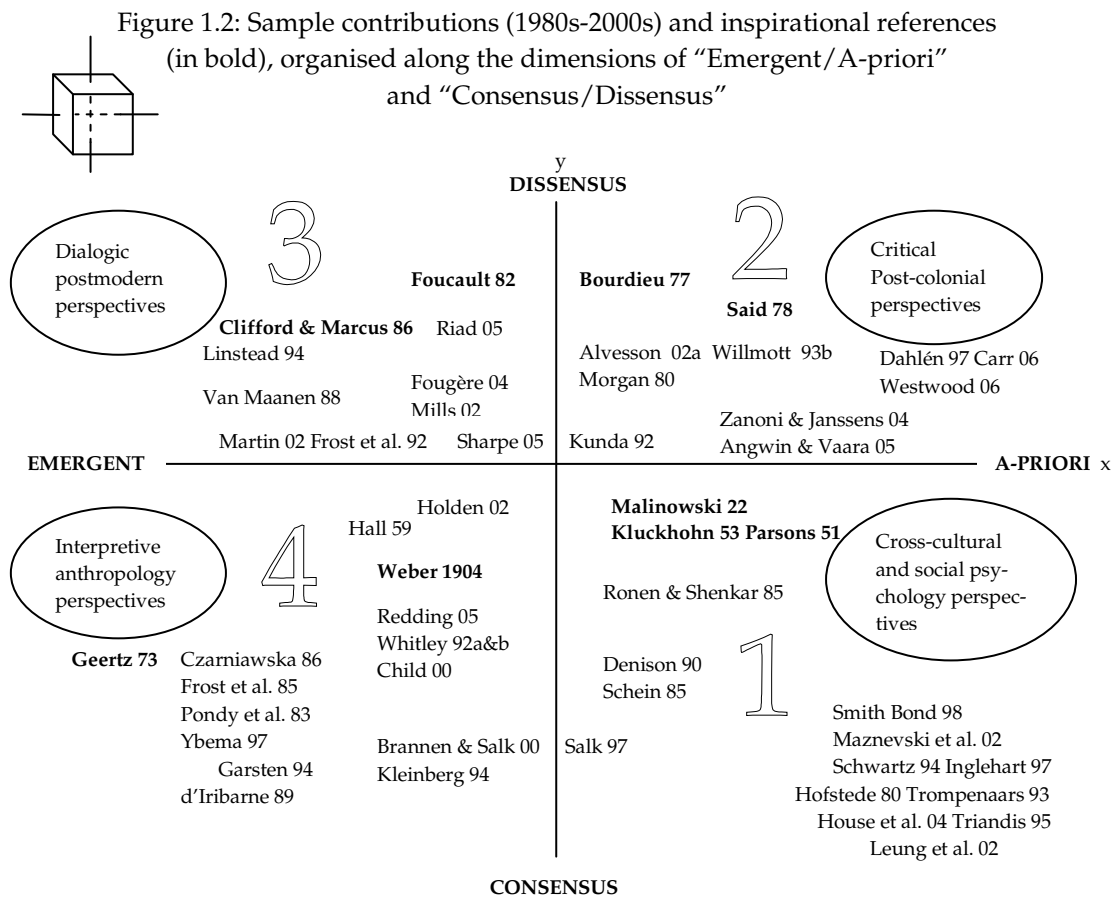
focus on the relationship between knowledge and power, claims of expertise in systems of domination, grand narratives and fluidity of the nature of the world. This feature is also central in the research process which focuses on narrative, fictions and rhetoric (Deetz, 1996:203). In the field of culture and management, these studies adopt a local approach to culture, which is seen as specific to the context of the study. These studies investigate for example, the plurality of discourses in organisational culture, and organisational ambiguity, or they adopt multiple perspectives of study (e.g., Frost, Moore, Louis, Lundberg & Martin, 1992; Martin, 2002). They employ, for example,

feminist approaches (e.g., Aaltio-Marjosola & Mills, 2002; Mills, 2002) or a Foucauldian view on knowledge in relationship to power (e.g., Riad 2005) to study organisational culture. Fougère (2004) presents an example of a dialogic approach in the study of intercultural relations.

Area 4, bordered by the axes toward "Emergent" and "Consensus," includes studies that adopt a local approach to culture, with a concern for the description of the social organisation (regularities). Frequently referred to as interpretive, these studies take into account the specific local meanings that individuals use to make sense of their interactions. Understanding phenomena (rather than establishing laws) is the focus of the investigation. Researchers present culture as it appears to be, which does not exclude complexity and contradictions. Ethnographic works, hermeneutical or phenomenological approaches are favoured in investigations. In the field of culture and management, most intercultural interaction studies are in this area (see review in Sackmann & Phillips, 2004), as are organisational culture studies adopting an interpretive approach inspired by Geertz (1973). This is also where comparative management studies inspired by an interpretive approach (e.g., Redding, 1990) can be positioned.

Making interpretive cross-cultural management research visible

Considering now the plane marked by the crossing of axes x and z ("Emergent/A-priori and "Structures/Individuals") introduces depth in the mapping. The projection on this plane of the four types of studies (positivist, critical, post-modern and interpretive) is possible but provides a crowded picture. Figure 1.3 presents only the projection of the interpretive and positivist studies, thus focusing on the "consensus" approach. This focus is appropriate in view of their substantial (longer) presence in the field of culture and management. Moreover, this permits presenting in more detail the cross-cultural management studies that are the focus of this dissertation. Figure 1.3 divides the plane into four areas.

Area 1, bounded by the axes toward "Structures" and "A-priori," includes studies often concerned with regularities that recur across countries, from a societal level to an organisational one. In comparative management, these studies deal, for example, with organisations' behaviour and entry modes in new markets (e.g., Kogut & Singh, 1988; Barkema & Vermeulen, 1998; Harzing, 2002), with the development of cultural dimensions (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Trompenaars, 1993; Bond, 1988) and the development of clusters (e.g., Ronen & Shenkar, 1985). They adopt a functionalist and positivist approach

to the study of culture, with a focus on structural regularities across countries.

Figure 1.3: Sample contributions (1980s-2000s) organised along the dimensions of "Emergent/A-priori" and "Structures/Individuals"
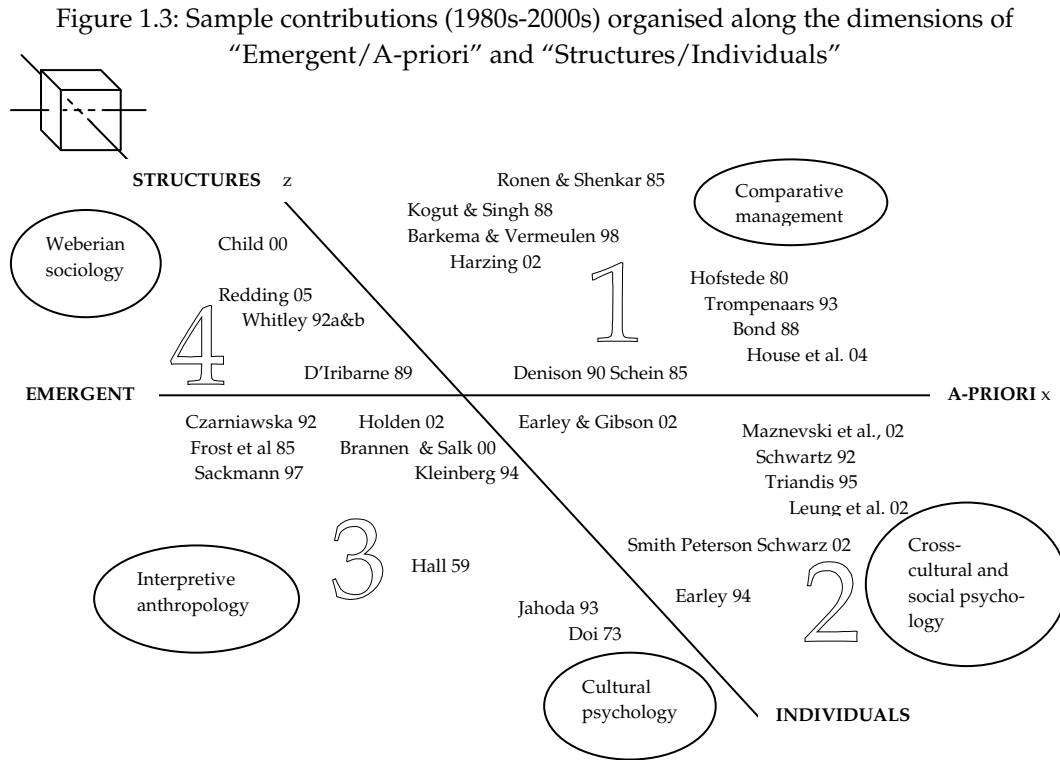
In area 2, between the axes indicating "A-priori" and "Individuals," studies with a primary concern for individuals and how culture influences their behaviour or preferences are positioned. This concern is investigated through themes such as motivation, human resource management, decision-making, attitudes, leadership, multicultural teams etc. (e.g., House et al., 2004; Earley & Gibson, 2002, Smith, Peterson, Schwartz et al., 2002). The impact of culture on individual behaviour is frequently measured with the help of cultural dimensions. For example, Kirkman et al., (2006) emphasise that a vast majority of studies using Hofstede's framework do so with an analytical concern for individuals. The focus on individuals explains the number of contributions inspired by cross-cultural psychology and social psychology (see Leung et al., 2005; Gelfand et al., 2007).

Area 3, extending between "Individuals" and "Emergent," includes studies with an interpretive research concern. Many of them have an analytical focus on groups or organisations. Although groups and organisations form a kind of structure, studies in area 3 do not deal with societal structures of cul-

ture like studies in area 4 (see below). There are few studies with an analytical concern about individuals. Two groups form around the investigation of culture per se (organisational culture, sub-organisational cultures; see e.g., Frost et al., 1985) or its impact on teams or organizations (e.g., Brannen & Salk, 2000; Kleinberg, 1994). Both groups can be linked to interpretive anthropology, with Geertz (1973) as a central reference.

A third group, also investigating the moderating impact of culture on organisations is distinguished from the other interpretive studies by its analytical concern for societal structures. It is situated in area 4, between the axes toward "Emergent" and "Structures". This group's analytical concern concentrates on societal structures and their impact on organisational behaviour (see Redding, 2005). There is an explicit reference to Weberian sociology (see Child, 2000). This area also includes studies that investigate the impact of societal phenomena on individual behaviour in organisations (see e.g., d'Iribarne 1989).

Contributions from these representations of the culture and management field

The three contrasting dimensions cast new light on studies in the field of culture and management, increasing our awareness of the diversity of positions in the field as well as in cross-cultural management research. These dimensions have the advantage of resembling other contrasting dimensions already used to map research or fields of study (Burrel & Morgan, 1979; Deetz, 1996 but also e.g., Schulze & Stabell, 2004; Keegan & Boselie, 2006). This familiarity is an aid in recognising the overall picture formed by the contrasting dimensions of Emergent/A-priori and Consensus/Dissensus. However, classifying the studies in the culture and management field in regard to the three dimensions presented above differs from claiming that they constitute unified and closed paradigms according to Burrell and Morgan's definition of that term.

Certain authors indeed contribute to culture and management research with different types of studies (e.g., Morgan, Martin, or Geertz). This underlines the flexibility of these contrasting dimensions compared to the Burrell and Morgan (1979) grid that confines authors within a single paradigm, as they advocate paradigm incommensurability on ontological grounds. The contrasting dimensions reflect distinct and long-established scientific paradigms such as the positivist and interpretive ones, but not necessarily strong exclusive ontological positions. By focusing on problem definition and epis-

temology (following Deetz' 1996) rather than ontology (as in Burrell and Morgan's 1979 grid) in examining what distinguishes different studies, we can avoid an irrevocable compartmentalisation of researchers and better explain why some can contribute to distinct paradigms. This discussion, as well as the reason for the present study's choice of paradigm definition, is developed in chapter 2.

The principal advantage of using the three contrasting dimensions labelled "Emergent/ A-priori", "Consensus/ Dissensus" and "Structures/ Individuals" is that they are tailored to the studies in the field of culture and management. They are useful first for revealing alternatives to the position of positivist studies. Using contrasting dimensions as in figure 1.2 allows the presentation of a broad overview of the field, including post-modern and critical studies that tend to be forgotten in mainstream reviews. One exception is Lowe, Moore and Carr (2007), who claim to present paradigms in the field of "culture and organisation", but do not address the epistemological positions of researchers. To the extent that they include critical and post-modern works in their grid (in fact a triangle), they concentrate on three ways in which a phenomenon is understood, but obliterate the distinctions between positivist and interpretive views on the nature of scientific knowledge (between "verstehen" and "begreifen"). Therefore, although their mapping includes a wide range of studies, it seems to me that they do not deal with the concept of "paradigm" as it is used in this thesis (see chapter 2).

Frequently, in reviews of cross-cultural management research, the absence of explicit acknowledgement of critical or post-modern studies present interpretive and positivist studies as involved in a dual power struggle. Consequently, some interpretive researchers' concluding statements favour a shift of research "paradigm" (Redding, 1994; Søderberg & Holden, 2002); others propose more integration and development of middle range theories (e.g., Leung et al., 2005; Earley and Singh, 2000). The representation of four research paradigms in figure 1.2 underscores that the issue is not solely one of choosing between two views, nor is it only about "shifting" positions or integrating them; the positions are too numerous and too diverse. Adopting an overview of culture and management, as suggested in figure 1.2, makes it possible to go beyond a dual opposition and to insist on the legitimacy of the various research positions present in the field.

Figure 1.3, a projection on a plane of the studies adopting a "consensus" approach, shows that interpretive studies deal not only with organisational culture, but also with national cultures, and that comparative management

research is present in approaches inspired by Weberian sociology. In addition, some cross-cultural management studies adopt a focus on systems of meanings (e.g. d'Iribarne, 1989) and thus not only a positivist approach to culture. In other words, figure 1.3 highlights the presence of interpretive studies in cross-cultural management research, when many consider this stream of research as foremost a positivist one.

In addition to raising our awareness of the various positions that researchers adopt in the field and in cross-cultural management research, the dimensions can help us to discern possible points of contact between the studies. For example, in figure 1.2, the contrasting dimension "Emergent/A-priori" reflects an opposition frequently found between interpretive and positivist studies. The first kind of studies centres on understanding. The second centres on development of models, for example, for prediction. These two approaches may seem to be irreconcilable. However, in regard to the other areas (those around the pole of "Dissensus"), they share the same concern for the study of culture as a social regularity, in the form of either shared values, or a system of meanings ("Regulatory" concern in Burrell and Morgan's terms, "Consensus" concern in Deetz' terms). Thereby, antagonistic views seem in fact to have a point of similarity that can be used in certain multi-paradigm studies, such as "interplay".

Additionally, the three contrasting dimensions highlight that a divide between various views relates less to disciplines than to epistemological standpoints. Figures 1.2 and 1.3 appear to reflect in their classification of studies the distinctions between disciplines or research traditions. For example, in figure 1.3, studies inspired by economics or sociology tend to prefer a structural focus, whilst studies inspired by anthropology emphasise groups and organisational culture, and the studies inspired by psychology tend to concentrate on analytical concerns related to individuals. However, the various areas in figures 1.2 and 1.3 are not the mirror of separate disciplines. The preceding review of the conceptualisation of culture in anthropology illustrates that fundamentally distinct schools of thought are present within the same discipline.

For example, anthropology inspires both interpretive and positivist studies. The work of anthropologist K. Kluckhohn is a recurrent reference used to legitimise the existence of cultural dimensions in positivist comparative management research and in cross-cultural psychology. The general absence of references to cultural psychology in the culture and management field is another illustration of fundamental divisions within disciplines. Cultural

psychology is inspired by the philosophical standpoints expressed in the "Volkgeist" in Herder, and Lazarus and Steinthal in their *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie* (see Jahoda & Krewer, 1997). This approach, in line with "Kultur," is sympathetic to the studies conducted in indigenous psychology. Both cultural psychology (e.g., Jahoda, 1993) and indigenous psychology (e.g., Doi, 1973) may share with cross-cultural psychology a disciplinary position (in psychology) and an analytical concern for individuals, but their construct definition and their problem formulation are "specific". Therefore, the plea of Jackson and Aycan (2006) for more indigenous standpoints in cross-cultural management research is likely to go unheeded unless researchers choose to turn to fundamentally distinct research processes.

In sum, the representations of the field of culture and management with figures 1.2 and 1.3 help us to gain an overview of various possible positions for contributions to cross-cultural management research. In addition, the graphic representations illustrate two types of oppositions not easily resolved between the studies. Although the differences in regard to analytical concern can be reconciled in multi-disciplinary research, it seems that the divide between studies with a "Consensus" orientation and those near the "Dissensus" pole is sharp enough to exclude the latter from the reviews of the former in cross-cultural management research. Another divide is the contrasting dimension of "Emergent/A-priori" since few studies combine these two approaches. Sometimes, though, distinct epistemological positions cohabit in a research project, but result in separate publications. For example, Brannen and Salk (2000) adopt an interpretive standpoint, whilst Salk and Brannen (2000) adhere to a positivist one.

Beyond multi-disciplinary studies

This chapter is intended to raise paradigm awareness for researchers in cross-cultural management. From available reviews, it appeared that when cross-cultural management researchers are aware of another paradigm, frequently it is the interpretive one. A focus wider than cross-cultural management studies is deliberately adopted in this chapter in order to show the diversity of positions taken in the field of culture and management. Four principal paradigmatic positions are made explicit in figure 1.2, and the opposition between interpretive and positivist studies appears in a new light. They share indeed a concern for the study of social regulations (the "Consensus" pole in figure 1.2). However, figure 1.3 reveals an epistemological divide between the studies along the dimension of "Emergent/A-priori". In

other words, positivist and interpretive approaches to the study of culture may share a "Consensus" approach to investigation, but they are separated by their position on what constitutes scientific knowledge and how it can be obtained.

This epistemological divide is found in disciplines, too. As a result, multidisciplinary research does not necessarily combine very different approaches to science in their study of the relationship between culture and management. Indeed, multidisciplinary studies can be conducted between the same epistemological positions in each discipline. For example, Leung et al., (2005) present a review of positivist studies in international business. They note the recent progress made in psychology for the understanding of, for example, culture as dynamic (with Erez & Gati, 2004). Other examples are studies combining diverse theoretical perspectives or disciplines, such as Earley and Singh (2000) in the form of "hybrid studies". In both cases, however, the multi-disciplinary approach remains in line with the same epistemological position. Few studies actively combine two contrasting views on scientific knowledge.

In international management, the study by Buckley and Chapman (1997) is an example of a call for more combination of distinct epistemological approaches, by promoting the use of "native categories". Their argument is examined by Harris (2000), who demonstrates the possibility of combining distinct research processes in a "bridging strategy" (Schultz & Hatch, 1996). He acknowledges advantages and limitations of both the interpretive and positivist research approaches and strives to construct "a range of appropriate compromises" to serve as bridges on which he develops his investigation. Harris' (2000) contribution is one of the very few studies, outside of organisation studies, that specifically address multiple paradigms in culture and management. The difficulty of combining distinct epistemological positions in one study renders this kind of investigation unappealing to many. Therefore, the following chapter explains the challenges linked to the enterprise of dealing with epistemological diversity in a single study, and suggests a strategy to address them.

In sum, the objective of this first chapter is to raise paradigm awareness in the current of research on cross-cultural management. Often indeed, the diversity of this stream is thought in terms of discipline rather than paradigm. With a review of the various schools of thought that influence the views of culture adopted in the field of culture and management, the chapter high-

lights that distinctions between studies also reflect distinctions between paradigms. The three contrasting dimensions that can organise the schools of thought presented in the review resemble indeed contrasting dimensions used to map paradigmatic positions by Burrell and Morgan (1979) or Deetz (1996). In addition, these contrasting dimensions traverse disciplines, and thereby underline that a divide between various views relates less to disciplines than to epistemological standpoints. In other words, relating to different views in cross-cultural management research and building on the diversity of the stream is not only a matter of multi-disciplinary (or hybrid) studies but also and maybe primarily a matter of multi-paradigm studies. However, few researchers in cross-cultural management engage on that path. When they do, for example with a study adopting emic and etic approaches, they rarely explicitly address the challenges of combining very different views on knowledge and on science. Chapter 2 will address them explicitly.

This chapter presents the methodology adopted in the thesis. It first introduces multi-paradigm studies in light of the paradigm debate and discusses the paradigm concept and its associated notion of incommensurability. In response to criticism of multi-paradigm studies, the chapter presents a framework for multi-paradigm investigation, stating the ideological, ontological and epistemological positions taken. The strategy "Interplay" is chosen for this study since it builds on both similarities and differences between paradigms, respecting what makes them distinct and what they may share. Then the chapter explains the decision to use a bi-paradigm interplay between positivist and interpretive studies in cross-cultural management research. Thereafter, similarities and differences on which the interplay will build are presented. The empirical feasibility of the study is addressed in a third section, using the example of a qualitative study with 31 medical researchers involved in Swedish-Japanese collaboration.

2

Methodology

What is a multi-paradigm study? "Multi-paradigm study"is a generic term that regroups diverse kinds of investigations that differ both in methodology used, and in number of paradigms considered. All are based on the premise that it is possible (for one researcher or a team of researchers) to conduct research in two or more paradigms, and that the combination can provide relevant contributions. However, this position is attacked on the basis of several arguments presented in the first section of the chapter. Then criticisms of multi-paradigm research are answered before the interplay used in this study is presented in more detail. The chapter continues with an illustration of the empirical feasibility of the interplay, showing how the "Go Japan" project, conducted in collaboration with Maria Wästfelt of Karolinska

Institutet offered convenient empirical support for the present bi-paradigm study.

The debated paradigms and multi-paradigm studies[1]

In the relatively new research stream of cross-cultural management research, contributions have originated and developed in different paradigms from the outset. This was not the case in organisation studies. In the early 1970s, the latent positivist/functionalist consensus was shaken with the emphasis by Silverman (1971) and Weick (1969) on interpretive approaches as alternatives. Since then, "the paradigm debate" has animated discussions. In cross-cultural management studies, this debate is rarely addressed, and opportunities for inter-paradigm communication are missed. The paradigm debate, as summarised by Scherer (1998, 1999), Fabian (2000), and Hassard and Kelemen (2002), lays out many possible positions.

One position holds that paradigms are incommensurable. Different paradigms represent incommensurable approaches, they argue, since researchers address their subject with "explicit or implicit assumptions about the nature of the social world and the way in which it may be investigated." This implies divergence in ontology, epistemology, methodology, and assumptions about human nature (Burrell & Morgan, 1979:1-4). Labelled "isolationist" (e.g., Scherer, 1998) or "protectionist" (Hassard & Kelemen, 2002), this position rejects the possibility of communication between paradigms. Isolationism advocates the development and application of separate paradigms, avoiding any kind of reconciliation or integration that could result in the dominance of one paradigm. Incommensurability can thus be seen as an emancipatory value, protecting paradigms from each other (Jackson & Carter, 1991).

A second position, called "integration" (or "back-to-basics" in Scherer, 1998, 1999) is advocated by Pfeffer (1993) and Donaldson (1998), for example. It is a meta-paradigmatic approach in favour of an ontological and epistemological consensus for the advancement of knowledge in organisational science. Pfeffer (1993) defends a conception of paradigms as providing a

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[1] The theoretical section of this chapter builds partly on the first part of the paper, "Moving forward with multiple paradigms," written together with Henriett Primecz and Katalin Topçu from the Corvinus University of Budapest. This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Management in 2007 and was nominated for the best student paper award by the Research Method division.

common framework for accumulation and development of knowledge. This argument encourages integration in an overall framework, but faces the difficult challenge of avoiding the dominance of one paradigm.

An additional position is "multi-paradigm," or "pluralism" (e.g., Roth, 1987). This approach advocates degrees of commensurability and communication between paradigms and sees them as frameworks for production of knowledge. The multi-paradigm position urges the use of multiple references, acknowledging the variety of available ontological and epistemological positions (Lewis & Kelemen, 2002; Hassard & Kelemen, 2002).

An alternative is the position adopted by the so-called "non-consumers" (Hassard & Kelemen, 2002). The authors regroup in this category researchers that either are not aware of the paradigm debate, refuse to engage in it, or do not find the level of abstraction useful for their research. They may be attached to one paradigm subconsciously or apply arguments of different paradigms without reflecting on their paradigm association.

Scherer (1998:154) adds yet another position, the relativistic perspective of Feyerabend's (1975) "anything goes": "This perspective considers any activities which 'work' within particular problem domains as appropriate." Criteria of scientific relevance lose out to pragmatic considerations.

In sum, the paradigm debate separates along two major lines. The first discusses the plurality of paradigmatic references, promoting either isolation, integration, or multiple references. The second trend goes beyond paradigms as a framework for knowledge creation, either because its adherents do not wish to stay within one paradigm (non-consumers and relativists) or because, using reflexivity, they attempt to go beyond it. In the field of culture and management, many contributions adopt a view consistent with the first trend. However, their actual understanding of the paradigm concept varies, especially in regard to its incommensurability.

Paradigms and incommensurability

Kuhn's (e.g., 1962, 1970 and 1996) works are generally seen as contributing to an animated discussion on scientific paradigms in social science research. His views on paradigms and especially paradigm incommensurability have initiated heated debates between the diverse positions briefly presented above. However, Kuhn's use of the term paradigm is seen as ambiguous (see Masterman, 1970), and his position on the incommensurability of paradigms changes from early to later works.

Kuhn explains his views on paradigms in a postscript to the second edition of the *Structure of scientific revolutions*. He presents two principal views on the term (Kuhn, 1970/1996:174-190). The first sees a paradigm as the "disciplinary matrix" of a community of researchers. Simply put, this notion of a paradigm can be compared to the worldview of a scientific community. A worldview is a deeply rooted and agreed way of seeing the world -with the resulting epistemology- as well as the community of researchers that follows and defends this worldview. The worldview, or disciplinary matrix, is based on four main components: symbolic generalisations, metaphysical parts of the paradigm, values and exemplars. Symbolic generalisations are the readily formalisable components of the disciplinary matrix, such as agreed definitions, formulas and laws that researchers use in their scientific practice. Metaphysical parts are beliefs in a particular model, like the belief that atoms exist. Shared values are also a component of the disciplinary matrix. For instance, shared values about predictions are that they should be accurate, preferably quantitative, with an agreed margin of acceptable error, etc. Exemplars are problem-solution tools that scientists learn and then use to resolve new problems. Examples of problem-solution tools are the inclined plane or the conical pendulum that scientists can employ to resolve new problems by showing that they are a variation of one of the exemplars they know.

The second main use of the term paradigm by Kuhn is as an "exemplar". Paradigm is used in this sense to designate an established exemplar that is employed by scientists to solve problems.

The work of Burrell and Morgan (1979) on sociological paradigms, presented in the introduction of this dissertation, helped to establish the understanding of paradigms as worldviews in organisation studies. The reactions to their work, and to their definition and view on the nature of paradigms, were emphatic and diverse. For example, their work was discussed in light of Kuhn's various uses of the term paradigm, their choice of contrasting dimensions was questioned, and they were denounced for simplifying the complex reality into a "functionalist" 2x2 matrix. Most vividly debated was Burrell and Morgan's argument about the incommensurability of paradigms (Burrell, 1996), which is still a central issue in the paradigm debate in regard to the possibility of performing multiple paradigm studies.

Paradigms are claimed by Burrell and Morgan (1979:25) to be incommensurable. They argue that paradigms are "mutually exclusive" and offer "alternative views" that one may adopt at different points in time, but not

simultaneously, "since in accepting the [meta-theoretical] assumptions of one, we defy the assumptions of all the others". Their claim of paradigm incommensurability serves two purposes. First, the authors note that organisational science is plural. There are different and equally legitimate views about both the nature of society and the nature of science. In brief, plurality exists, and plurality in a field of research is not the sign of its immaturity (as argued by some researchers). Second, the incommensurability of paradigms can also serve as protection against imperialist claims, from another paradigm, held by their proponents to be the only valid and legitimate one for conducting science. Thereby, incommensurability also prevents the synthesis that is sought by the proponents of the "integrationist" position. However, incommensurability hampers the endeavours of the "pluralists" and the proponents of multi-paradigm studies. In brief, the notion of paradigm incommensurability is central to the paradigm discussions that emerged in organisation studies (see the 1998 special issue of *Organization* devoted to pluralism and incommensurability) since it either supports or works against the stakes of three main positions in that debate.

Kuhn's views on paradigm incommensurability are often used as a reference by the proponents of the various positions, though in different ways since Kuhn's views changed from his early to later works. Kuhn's views in 1962 on paradigm incommensurability first revolve around semantic, methodological and observational differences. He argues that there is no experience or standard external to these elements that could serve as a reference. Consequently, different positions are incommensurable as they have nothing in common, in the sense that there is no neutral ground on which they can relate to each other and be assessed. Meaningful communication between the proponents of the different paradigms is therefore impossible. Kuhn's uses the example of terminologies such as "mass" and "molecule," which convey different meanings for Newton or Einstein, for physicians or for chemists. Incommensurability is expressed as a relationship between elements (the paradigms), as well as the (im)possibility of communication between them. Later, Kuhn expresses incommensurability in focusing more strongly on the theme of communication, and discusses translation failure (see Sankey, 1993 and Kuhn, 1996).

In the paradigm debate, proponents of the different positions adopt various views on paradigm incommensurability. While some see the paradigms as hermetically sealed, preventing communication between them, others believe that failures to translate do not necessarily mean that translation is im-

possible. Weaver and Gioia (1994:568f.) examine the sources of the incommensurability argument used in management science. They emphasise that it reflects both "cognitive goals we invoke for our scientific inquiries" and the stakes of the different research paradigms at the time of the elaboration of the argument. They support Kuhn's 1990 position, which points to possible understanding between paradigms. The prerequisite "is not translation but language learning" (Kuhn, 1990:300, cited in Weaver & Gioia, 1994:573). Incommensurability can be seen primarily as the impossibility of a common language between paradigms, but not as the impossibility for them to understand each other. Language can be learnt, though perhaps with difficulty, and efforts made by researchers to learn another language can help them to reach an understanding of the other paradigm (see also Czarniawska, 1998).

Other researchers view paradigm incommensurability first and foremost in terms of a relationship (rather than communication). For example, Scherer (1998) suggests that this relationship should no longer be considered in terms of the impossibility of comparing paradigms (since there is no neutral ground for that purpose). Instead he suggests concentration on developing new rules and finding new grounds for paradigm interaction (and subsequent integration?). In sum, the incommensurability of paradigms is discussed in view of the different interests at stake. The isolationists use incommensurability to advance their protective and emancipatory agenda, the integrationists to further the construction of a new paradigm, and the multi-paradigm researchers in support of an alleged endeavour to enhance our understanding. But how can the use of different paradigms improve our understanding of a phenomenon? Advocates of multi-paradigm studies argue that there are several ways to do so.

Multi-paradigm studies

Lewis' classification of multi-paradigm studies separates them into three groups (see also Lewis & Grimes, 1999; Lewis & Kelemen, 2002; Schultz & Hatch, 1996). The first group, "multi-paradigm review," displays the various paradigms. It helps researchers to reflect on their paradigmatic positioning, focusing their attention on the implications and limitations of their choice. Examples of such reviews are Smircich (1983a), Alvesson (1987), and Morgan (1986). Multi-paradigm reviews include "paradigm bracketing," which presents the paradigm independently, and possibly also "paradigm bridging". Paradigm bridging highlights transition zones (theoretical views that span paradigms) between neighbouring paradigms. It considers communication

between paradigms to be possible and searches for paradigm similarities (see Gioia & Pitre, 1990).

The second group, "multi-paradigm research," applies distinct paradigmatic approaches, either in "parallel" or "sequentially". Parallel studies apply paradigms on equal terms and show the multiple facets of a phenomenon through various "lenses" (e.g., Martin, 1992; Graham-Hill, 1996). For example, Hassard (1991) investigates work behaviour from the perspective of four paradigms, "bracketing" the assumptions of the other paradigms while applying the chosen one. In sequential studies, researchers show the complementary nature of paradigms by progressively revealing new levels of understanding of the studied phenomenon. Investigations in one paradigm serve as inputs to the subsequent study in the next paradigm. Examples of sequential studies are Gioia, Donnellon, and Sims (1989), Sutton and Rafaeli (1988), Lee (1991).

Lewis categorizes a third set, termed "meta-paradigm theory building." These studies seek a meta-paradigmatic level of theory or understanding by juxtaposing distinct approaches. The implications touch upon epistemology or research concerns and contribute to theory ("meta-theorizing"). Alternatively, studies focus on one theme and take part in the development of knowledge through paradigm interplay. Paradigm interplay deals with ontological, epistemological, and methodological (in terms of research method) discrepancies between paradigms. It addresses both the distinctions and the connections among the paradigms and moves back and forth between them. The resulting tensions help researchers to arrive at a distinct comprehension, a potentially higher level of abstraction that can lead to development of new theory for the respective paradigms.

Multi-paradigm research and its critics

Multi-paradigm research raises questions and is subjected to various criticisms. The most important one uses the incommensurability thesis to argue the impossibility of combining distinct paradigms.

Referring to the seminal works of Kuhn (1962, 1970) and Burrell and Morgan (1979), detractors of multi-paradigm research often adopt the incommensurability thesis in a general sense and perceive paradigms as "four mutually exclusive ways of seeing the world" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979:398). This would mean, they contend, that it is impossible to abandon a paradigm or adopt a new one, or to believe in contradicting views simultaneously. Examples of scientists who performed a paradigm shift are discussed in both

Kuhn's and Burrell and Morgan's works. These scholars insist, however, that belonging to different paradigms occured successively. Multi-paradigm studies contradict this statement by claiming that it is possible for researchers to separate the paradigm analyses and act "as if" one were a member of a paradigmatic community. This does not require researchers to believe in contradictory views simultaneously, but only that they are capable of understanding and using them. For example, Lewis and Grimes (1999:687) acknowledge the difficulty and the challenges associated with this type of research, noting that multi-paradigm researchers must be capable of paradoxical thinking and closely monitor their investigation in the alternative paradigm(s).

This discussion revolves around the central point of the issue of paradigm incommensurability. Even if researchers proceed "as if" and monitor their investigation closely, is it possible to effectively adopt divergent ontologies and epistemologies? The arguments about the impossibility of thinking in a different paradigm fall easily, on the basis of experience (researchers who changed paradigms) and on the basis of the socialisation that a scientific community performs on its members. It may not be possible to think simultaneously in two different paradigms, but it is certainly not impossible to learn about another paradigm and strive to understand its meta-theoretical assumptions. Kuhn's description of the four components of a paradigm reveals the socialisation mechanisms that are in play. For instance, the "symbolic generalisations" or the "exemplars" serve to teach the novice to recognise the same things when confronted by the same stimuli and to build on similar laws and tools. Since paradigms are learnt, researchers can learn different paradigms. This point is clear in Kuhn's views of paradigms, and he insists that understanding another paradigm is "what the historian of science regularly does" (or should do) when dealing with out-of-date scientific theories (Kuhn, 1996:2002). Although researchers can learn and understand another paradigm, its set of exemplars, values and beliefs, they may never feel closer to more than one paradigm. Being capable of understanding another paradigm does not mean being convinced by it and adopting it from that day on.

Multi-paradigm thinking is thus not so problematic in a sequential and separated manner. The central problem of multi-paradigm studies, however, is the practical possibility of performing a multi-paradigm analysis that considers the differences between paradigms in tension (e.g., interplay) rather than applying them sequentially. What then are the criteria by which re-

search (e.g., interplay) should be assessed (Scherer & Steinmann, 1999)? Multi-paradigm researchers have been accused of performing "ontological gerrymandering" (Woolgar, 1988). They present a "higher vantage point from which commentaries about the field of study can be legitimately defended without being caught up in a reflexive tangle" (Chia, 1996:42). Adopting a "meta-paradigmatic" position can therefore be viewed as a rhetorical device to hide the role of researchers in the elaboration of the reality that they are attempting to investigate. It is therefore important to explicitly address a framework for multi-paradigm research. Such a framework serves as a reference which facilitates assessing the outcome of a multi-paradigm investigation. A framework for the paradigm interplay of this dissertation is presented below.

Some have attacked multi-paradigm research along a different line of thought. For example, Scherer and Steinmann (1999:523) argue that any paradigm perspective is imperfect; therefore, the end result of applying a multi-paradigm approach would not be a "more comprehensive and better explanation. When each of [the positions] has deficiencies, a combination would be even worse." The multi-paradigm approach, however, does not consider that paradigms have deficiencies, but propounds that they present legitimate, coherent and distinct positions of study that can be juxtaposed. Multiple paradigms offer diverse and complementary views, research methods (in the sense of research goals and concerns) and analyses. They stand in clear contrast to an ideology of concentrating scientific investigations around one source of legitimacy, one method, one paradigm - a view that has traditionally been held to be the one of a modern approach to scientific inquiry. Multi-paradigm interplay builds on values and an ideology of plurality, which also need to be made explicit, and the subsequent section on a framework for multi-paradigm studies addresses this concern.

A framework for multi-paradigm studies

In multi-paradigm research, studies are conducted in different paradigms, either separately or simultaneously, with the view that multiple positions help to enhance the understanding and study of phenomena. They combine scope and heterogeneity (Alvesson, 1996:17). Lewis and Kelemen (2002) argue that multi-paradigm studies multiply the references used, in contrast to a modern approach to paradigms, emphasising a single research frame, the accumulation of knowledge and the use of particular methodologies. In contrast to a post-modern approach featuring fluctuations, fragmentation and

uncertainty, multi-paradigm studies concentrate on complementarities or similarities between the distinct views that can crystallise into a paradox. This balance between scope and heterogeneity is called an "accommodating" ideology. "Multi-paradigm inquiry strives to respect opposing approaches and juxtaposes the partial understandings they inspire" (Lewis & Kelemen, 2002:258).

Another characteristic of a frame for multi-paradigm investigation is the adoption of several ontologies. The different ontologies, for example that phenomena are independent entities and at the same time socially constructed or perceived, would seem at first to be incompatible. However, the distinction between ontologies might be due more to an imposed (philosophical) dichotomy than to a real incompatibility. In sociology, for example, the power of individuals to influence the reproduction of pre-existing social structures is based on the conception that reality already exists and is in the making at the same time (see e.g., Bourdieu, 1977). In organisation studies as well, the structure/agency debate can adopt a multiple ontology (see the case for "dualism" in Reed, 1997). Lewis and Kelemen choose the term "stratified" ontology (from Reed, 1997). However, this term can be seen as implicitly referring to distinct levels, like different degrees on a same scale or different levels of analysis of the same phenomenon. The diversity of ontological positions, I believe, can simply be called multiple. Lewis and Kelemen (2002) distinguish this framework for multi-paradigm studies from a modern ontology where entities, patterns and processes are considered and transcribed into static representations. In contrast, post-modern ontology conceives reality much more as undetermined and fluctuating.

Third, the epistemology of multi-paradigm research also needs to be addressed. Pluralist epistemologies (or pluralism, see Roth, 1987) come from adopting multiple paradigms and conducting multiple investigations. The research agenda of multi-paradigm inquiry is to increase our awareness of the multiple facets of phenomena. For example, considering multiple interpretations may help to identify the limitations of one approach or a particular theory (see e.g. Alvesson, 1996). At the same time, it can also increase researchers' reflexivity, in other words, lead researchers to reflect upon their investigation process and their epistemological choices (see for example Martin, 1992; Hassard, 1991 and Schultz, 1995). In contrast to modern approaches to the elaboration of scientific knowledge, the multi-paradigm epistemology does not endeavour to construct cohesive representations and theories but nevertheless seeks to advance our understanding of a phenomenon by pin-

pointing blind spots in our existing conceptualisations (Alvesson, 1996; Lewis & Kelemen, 2002).

My views on paradigms

My views on paradigms are consistent with the conception of a paradigm as a worldview. Kuhn's 1970 discussion about paradigm as a worldview explicitly treats four main components (symbolic generalisations, exemplars, metaphysical parts of the paradigm, and values). I consider this understanding of paradigms to be richer than the view on them as exemplars, since it explicitly includes both the exemplar dimension (symbolic generalisation, exemplars) and the social one (beliefs and values). This approach to paradigms and science is also more sociological than the use of a paradigm as an "exemplar". However, considering paradigms as an "exemplar" is arguably the core of the worldview of a scientific community and therefore focuses on its specificity. This implies that paradigms will be much more hermetic to each other since the models can be incompatible. I believe, though, that exemplars also contain values and beliefs, and I prefer to address them explicitly with a conception of paradigms as a worldview. The inspiration that I found in multi-paradigm studies came both from works that tend to view a paradigm as an exemplar (e.g., Alvesson, 1996) and from those that tend to treat it as a worldview (e.g., Schultz & Hatch, 1996), even if adherents of the former might consider the latter to be "a watered-down version" of a paradigm. Personally, I believe that regarding paradigms only as exemplars may lead to a restricted view on scientific research and exclude a wide range of studies that are not aligned with an established exemplar.

My view on the relationship between paradigms is a less competitive and belligerent than the one advanced by some researchers (e.g. Kuhn, 1962 or Scherer, 1998). This view is influenced by a sensitisation to the concept of paradigm in a "postparadigm war" period. The paradigm debate has settled down, and it seems to me that in cross-cultural management research, paradigm diversity is generally acknowledged (at least between the positivist and interpretive ones). For example, interpretive studies do no longer have to fight to be considered scientific. But the end of the paradigm war did not lead those who previously were adversaries to interact now. Multi-paradigm studies can promote collaboration between studies belonging to different paradigms, and this interaction is precisely asked for in the current of research of cross-cultural management. The ideology of strength in diversity

and collaboration rather than confrontation also influences my view on paradigms and my inclination toward multi-paradigm research.

My understanding of paradigms as worldviews, based on four principal components, is compatible with a representation of paradigms along two main dimensions. Burrell and Morgan (1979) propose mapping paradigms according to their assumptions about the nature of society and the nature of science. They choose to express these contrasting dimensions as ontological positions (Subjective/Objective) and as an orientation toward either regulation or change. I did not find the objective/subjective dimension helpful for mapping studies in culture and management, and agree with Deetz' (1996) arguments against it. I prefer the contrasting dimension "Emergent/A-priori" (see chapter 1), which emphasises instead the nature of the analytical frameworks and the analytical models and processes. To that extent, I find that dimension more helpful (than the Subjective/Objective one) because it contrasts the paradigms according to their symbolic generalisation and exemplars. The other contrasting dimension used by Deetz (1996) refers to the orientation of researchers toward the dominant social discourse (e.g., in the organisation which is studied). In the preceding mapping of studies in the field of culture and management (see figure 1.2, page 37), that dimension is interpreted as focusing either on regularities or on change (in the sense of claiming a space for lost voices or reforming the social order, see Deetz, 1996:199). This dimension reflects some of the archetypical values associated with paradigms. For example, along that dimension, studies in the interpretive and positivist paradigms appear to share some beliefs and values such as a focus on regulations, restricted epistemologies, consistency, etc.

The distinction that I draw between paradigm and "perspective" as used by Martin (1992) rests principally on the association of symbolic generalisations and exemplars with paradigms. In her 1992 work, she supports her choice of the term "perspective" rather than "paradigm" on the basis of three arguments. First, her perspectives are not linked to an established scientific community; therefore, it is difficult to present them as paradigms in (any of) the senses indicated by Kuhn (1962). Second, her perspectives are not linked to particular methodological, epistemological and theoretical attributes, which are argued by Burrell and Morgan to represent paradigms. Third, she does not see her three perspectives as establishing shared convictions for the establishment of "normal scientific inquiry" (according to Kuhn, 1962). In light of my positions on paradigms as worldviews or "disciplinary matrices," her perspectives reflect different scientific positions (like the post-modern,

critical and "modern" ones according to Lewis & Kelemen, 2002). However, she does not want to argue for specific methodologies and epistemologies for each paradigm, and she sometimes includes in the same perspective authors who tend to be seen in different paradigms. In my opinion, the paradigms are linked to particular methodologies and epistemologies that I regard as symbolic generalisations and exemplars. To that extent, my view on paradigms is more restricted than perspectives capable of including different epistemological and ontological positions. The work of Martin (1992), however, is often considered a multi-paradigm study (e.g., by reviewers such as Lewis & Grimes, 1999).

My views on incommensurability

My view on incommensurability differs from the one expressed by Burrell and Morgan (1979). In my opinion, paradigms are different worldviews, though not hermetically sealed off from each other. The mapping of paradigms along two contrasting dimensions already shows each paradigm as having one dimension in common with one of the other paradigms. For example, both the interpretive and positivist paradigms are oriented toward a "Consensus" pole. A view on paradigms as exemplars sees paradigms as much more separated.

Incommensurability can be considered in regard either to the relationship that the paradigms have with each other (e.g., Scherer, 1998 and Scherer & Steinmann, 1999) or to the possibility of communication between them (e.g., postscript in Kuhn, 1970). Incommensurability can be viewed as the impossibility of finding a position outside of the paradigm grid where the paradigms could relate to each other on neutral ground. I agree with this view, but I also believe that it treats paradigms primarily as exemplars. If instead we consider paradigms as worldviews, then paradigms do not need a position outside of the grid to refer to each other. They already share a meta-theoretical position along one of the contrasting dimensions. However, this means that paradigms can only refer or compare to each other two by two.

Incommensurability can be defined as the impossibility of communication between paradigms. Indeed, I believe, in accordance with Kuhn's (1970/1996:201) postscript, that researchers in two different paradigms cannot "resort to a neutral language which both use in the same way and which is adequate to the statement of both their theories or even of both those theories' empirical consequences". To that extent, I also believe that there can be no neutral expression of the symbolic generalisations and exemplars with

which researchers have been intellectually socialised and which are the tools they use to approach (experience) and to understand (in the sense of reasoning) the world. However, in my opinion, the lack of a common language does not mean that communication and learning from each other are impossible. It means that some different languages must be learned.

Some challenges associated with multi-paradigm studies

The discussion on the framework for multi-paradigm inquiry already mentions some of the challenges associated with this form of investigation. The difficulty of conducting multiple investigations (in multiple paradigms) is potentially considerable for a single researcher. There is probably a limited number of paradigms that one researcher can grasp, as well as a limited number of methodologies than one individual can master.

An additional difficulty is involved in bringing together studies conducted in distinct paradigms and in benefiting from juxtaposing them. When studies are very different because of distinct methods of data collection (see e.g., Hassard, 1991), the outcome of their juxtaposition is not explicit. As they tend to give distinct pictures of a phenomenon, it is not easy to learn from them when they are juxtaposed, as they provide separate and fragmented images. However, when studies tend to concentrate on one "material," with one primary methodological approach (e.g., qualitative investigation), the juxtaposition leads to new insights into a phenomenon (see Martin, 1992; Schultz, 1995; Alvesson, 1996). It also contributes to increase the researcher's reflexivity. In addition, readers exposed to several interpretations of the same phenomenon are more readily aware of the role played by the author in the narration.

Another challenge of multi-paradigm studies is in learning and gaining an understanding of other paradigms, particularly as efforts to do so are not necessarily praised by one's own academic community. A new language must be learned, and I believe that this is achievable through both acquiring a knowledge of the language and practicing it. This can be problematic.

Writing a multi-paradigm study is problematic, too. The researcher needs to adopt distinct languages in different parts of the study (if paradigmatic analyses are conducted separately), but what language is to be used when distinct paradigms are brought together, as with interplay? My previous attempts to describe interplays in a plural language proved ambiguous for readers in separate paradigms. This ambiguity and vagueness led to the present choice of focusing on one language for the section on the implications

and contributions of the interplays. In other words, interplay is a multi-paradigm strategy that is easier to talk about when one chooses only one audience at a time.

The framework for multi-paradigm study underlines another necessity, to avoid conducting the multi-paradigm study in a single paradigm. This might sound trivial, but the challenge is real, especially when researchers are conducting multi-paradigm studies on their own, with paradigms to which they do not belong. The danger is that they might implicitly conduct the multi-paradigm study from the position of their own paradigm. A close monitoring of the analyses is necessary, and I found precious help for the monitoring of the positivist analysis of chapter 4 and the interplays in my research environment.

In sum, multi-paradigm studies appear in light of the paradigm debate as one possible position to adopt. This position reflects an understanding of the concept of a paradigm, as well as the assumption of paradigm commensurability, on which it relies in order to claim that multi-paradigm investigations can be performed. Critics of multi-paradigm studies refer primarily to the alleged impossibility for researchers to be in two paradigms simultaneously when performing the analyses. Second, they question the hidden framework which is used to perform a multi-paradigm study. My conception of paradigms as worldviews or "disciplinary matrices," and my position on incommensurability as primarily the impossibility of finding a common meaningful language, support my claim that multi-paradigm studies are possible. My answer to critics is, first, the presentation of a framework for multi-paradigm studies. This framework makes explicit ideological, ontological and epistemological positions that are adopted in a multi-paradigm study. Second, my views on paradigms are such that I do not regard them as incommensurable since they have an aspect in common with other paradigms (views on the nature of science or the nature of society). With a focus on this shared aspect, it is possible for researchers to consider the distinct paradigms simultaneously. This can be accomplished, in my view, through interplay.

Paradigm interplay

Among the possible multi-paradigm "strategies" (Schultz & Hatch, 1996), interplay seems to be the one where there is the strongest endeavour to ac-

tively use both the distinctions and the similarities between paradigms. It therefore seems to show the most respect for the integrity of each paradigm in bringing them together simultaneously, not in an integrated form, but in interaction.

What is meant by paradigm interplay?

Paradigm interplay can be associated with the example given by Schultz and Hatch (1996) in the domain of studies on organisational culture. They considered the interplay of the "functionalist" (in our terms "positivist") and interpretive paradigms. Here I adopt their definition of interplay as a meta-paradigmatic "strategy" that maintains distinctions between research paradigms while acknowledging the connections between them. Interplay shares with the bridging strategy the premise of permeable boundaries between paradigms, in contrast to both the sequential and parallel strategies. It differs from the bridging strategy in that the researcher is not in a grey area, in-between paradigms, focusing only on similarities or aiming at finding "compromises" (Harris, 2000). The bridging strategy tends to emphasise what paradigms have in common and to downplay their distinctions, thereby somewhat neglecting the integrity of paradigms by not stressing their particular differences. The strategy interplay also differs from the sequential and parallel strategies in regard to the interconnections that it creates by moving back and forth between paradigms rather than considering them sequentially or in parallel (Schultz & Hatch, 1996:535). Paradigm interplay, by acknowledging distinctions and similarities, makes it possible to have a both–and perspective (Ybema, 1996, 1997). It presents the advantage of not being caught between paradigms (possibly on issues that are not central to the research paradigms - which is a danger with the bridging strategy) and of making paradigms interact (in the sense of interplay).

In light of the preceding framework for multi-paradigm studies, the interplay should adopt an accommodating ideology, a multiple ontology and plural epistemologies. Interplay is classified as meta-paradigm theory building by Lewis and Grimes (1999). They argue that meta-paradigm theory building reaches a distinct level of understanding by contrasting and linking different paradigm representations. This is in contrast to multi-paradigm reviews that aim to increase paradigm awareness. It is also in contrast to multi-paradigm research that is intended to provide a multiplicity of positions.

The term meta-paradigm theory building appears to be a contradiction in terms. How can a theory go beyond a paradigm, possibly beyond two? Lewis

and Grimes (1999) espouse the views of Gioia and Pitre (1990) that by adopting multi-paradigm approach researchers may be able to go beyond their bounded rationality and at the same time, on a higher level of abstraction, embrace opposing views. They insist that the accommodation of several positions does not mean unification. Lewis and Grimes (1999) as well as Lewis and Kelemen (2002) review meta-paradigm theory building studies that illustrate how the contrast created by the consideration of several paradigms led to the introduction of new dimensions in the understanding of the phenomenon under study. They do not develop a meta-paradigm theory in the sense of a theory valid in all paradigms; rather, they add a reference point that was not taken previously. Potentially, this reference point enables to go beyond possible paradoxes arising from the comparison of analyses performed in separate paradigms.

Schultz and Hatch (1996), for example, advance new understandings of culture in organisations as both general and contextual, both clear and ambiguous, and both stable and unstable. Their interplays underline the duality of culture in organisations and clearly support a "both-and" approach to organisational culture studies. A similar conclusion is drawn by Ybema (1996, 1997) who mentions, among other themes, the apparent paradox of the unified but also fragmented organisational culture of an amusement park. He resolves the paradox by accommodating the views in a "both-and" perspective, showing that unity and diversity are not independent constructs in opposition, but constructs in interdependence. He notes that stories told by the "old-timers" could contribute to both integration and fragmentation. Their narration enables both differentiation (between old and new employees) and unification (listeners and tellers are all proud employees of the amusement park). Studying the interconnection between the two constructs revealed the role of the external stakes involved. Depending on the ideas, interests or identities at stake, and the setting in which the interactions take place, boundaries between groups vanished or materialised (Ybema, 1996:43). In sum, Ybema's view on accommodation between convergent and divergent analytical processes (traditionally belonging to separate paradigms) enables him to see organisational stakes as an active component of the shaping of organisational culture. Theory is developed with the introduction of the importance of stakes for understanding the development of organisational culture.

In this study, interplay is viewed as a strategy that helps to raise paradigm awareness, cultivate multiple positions and seek accommodating views on

contrasting dimensions of different paradigms. In addition to raising paradigm awareness, interplay encourages reflection on the paradigms in use. It is seen here as a strategy capable of disclosing blind spots in the ontology and epistemology of paradigms (and theories in use) and possibly helping us to address them. This is why the paradigm interplays in chapter 5 first place analyses in light of each other to shed light on their respective blind spots, before placing the analyses in interaction with interplay.

I do not see interplay as beyond paradigms in the sense of "above them". In the present context, a meta-paradigmatic position is one that transcends a single paradigm by being in another paradigm simultaneously. In other words, I do not envision a bi-paradigm interplay as being extracted from both paradigms, but rather, as being somehow embedded in both simultaneously. Specifically, when conducting the interplays, I asked three questions: Could this concept (or research agenda) work in both paradigms? Does this concept allow both paradigms to express their similarities and their distinctive features? Does it result in new contributions?

Interplay goes beyond juxtaposition of paradigms by cultivating possible views that would promote accommodation between them. These accommodating views are not thought of as "bridges" since they promote tensions as well as similarities between paradigms. In my opinion, the bridging strategy does not respect the paradigms in their integrity and entirety as it downplays their differences. In the present context, accommodation does not mean conciliation, either, in the sense of bringing peace. Interplays are not used in this dissertation as strategies to resolve conflicts, for I do not perceive the paradigms to be at war. Interplays are used here as strategies for interaction in terms respectful of differences.

Interplays are not attempts to integrate paradigms, either. Accommodation is intended to find views that make it possible to benefit from the diversity of the paradigms by addressing new concepts or new research agendas. Integration would erase differences and thus fail to respect the integrity of the paradigms.

Nor does interplay create a new paradigm for conducting research. The term "paradigm" in this dissertation signifies "worldview". In my opinion, interplay should not create another paradigm, for new paradigm would not build on the similarities and differences of the previous paradigms. Creating a third paradigm would be tantamount to a paradigm shift; by contrast, interplay is not used here as a strategy for shifting or changing worldviews, but respects them in their existing position. Interplay is seen and used in this

study primarily as a strategy for the identification of research paths that allow various paradigmatic positions to cohabit and to contribute to the development of knowledge through their differences.

The selection of paradigms

The choice in favour of interplay as a strategy leads to the question of which paradigms to place in interaction. Chapter 1 presents distinct types of studies in the field of culture and management. It shows the importance of two contrasting dimensions (Emergent/A-priori and Consensus/Dissensus) in the classification of studies performed in four principal paradigms. Paradigm interplay can be conducted by considering all four paradigms, according to Lewis and Grimes (1999). However, interplay is viewed here in accordance with Schultz and Hatch (1996), who search for similarities as well as differences between paradigms. In the overall paradigm grid in chapter 1 (figure 1.2, page 37), similarities between the paradigms can be viewed in the orientations they share with another paradigm. The positivist paradigm is next to the interpretive one, since both are oriented toward "Consensus", and to the critical/post-colonial one also oriented toward predefined problem definition or concepts ("A-priori").

Interplay can be conducted with all three paradigms since they also include studies in cross-cultural management. In view of the still limited range of critical cross-cultural management research, and the larger one in interpretive cross-cultural management studies, the choice was made for interplay between the positivist and interpretive paradigms (see figure 2.1). This choice is consistent with existing efforts by researchers to interact and existing pleas to do so. To a much greater extent than the positivist and the critical/post-colonial research communities, interpretive and positivist research communities are aware of each other and are already trying to find synergies. Considering interplay between the positivist and interpretive research communities is intended to reinforce these synergies. A second major reason for this choice of paradigms is my active knowledge of both of them, since I was first trained till my Master's degree in the interpretive paradigm and then as a Ph.D. student in the positivist paradigm.

A large proportion of interpretive studies in the field of culture and management deal with organisational culture (see figure 1.3, areas 3 and 4, page 39). However, some are also oriented toward national culture. Such studies sometimes examine the influence of national culture on organisational behaviour when employees from distinct countries meet in a joint venture or

acquisition (e.g., Chevrier, 1998). Some studies investigate culture through its implications on organisational behaviour in distinct organisations (e.g., d'Iribarne, 1989). Other studies consider societal culture indirectly, culture being seen as underpinning institutions (e.g., Redding 2005). Their shared concern for the influence of culture on behaviour (culture being addressed at the societal/national level) as well as the consideration of two or more societies/national samples, include these studies in cross-cultural management research. Thus, there are also cross-cultural management studies in the interpretive paradigm, despite their minority position (in the paradigm).

Figure 2.1: Interpretive and positivist paradigms chosen for the interplay
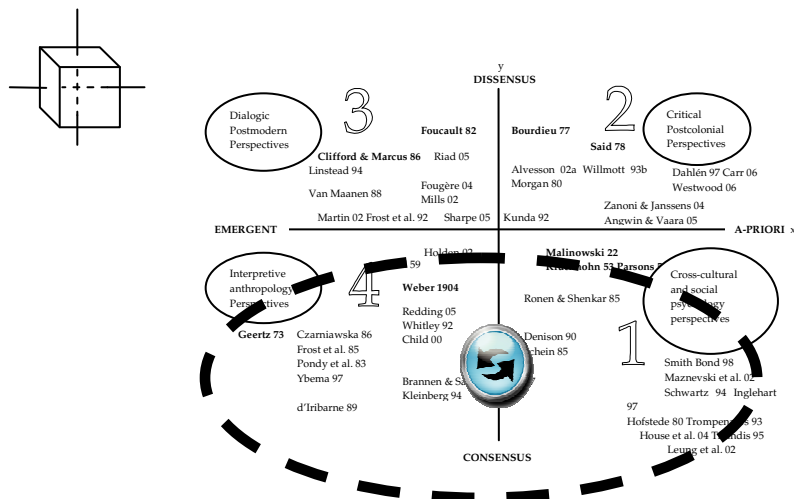
The presence of cross-cultural management studies in both the positivist and the interpretive paradigms creates an interesting situation. According to Kuhn (1996:162), very rarely do different scientific communities (one in the interpretive and the other in the positivist paradigm) investigate the same problem. Cross-cultural management, therefore, is studied in different paradigms, presenting an opportunity to foster discussion and reflexivity as a first step toward paradigm interplay.

Elements of the paradigms involved in the interplays

The four principal components of the paradigm as a worldview (symbolic generalisations, exemplars, metaphysical parts of the paradigm, and values) are the cornerstones of a foundation on which multi-paradigm research can build, and will build in the subsequent interplays.

In the social sciences, symbolic generalisations do not necessarily adopt the form of theorems, definitions and laws, but can be seen as analytical frameworks and processes. Within each paradigm, the analytical frameworks will vary (depending on the theory adopted), but their perceived nature and purpose is generally regarded similarly by the main/typical (in the sense of "ideal type") representatives of the paradigm. For example, in descriptions (e.g., Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Gioia & Pitre, 1990; Schultz & Hatch, 1996) of the functionalist (positivist) paradigm, analytical frameworks are often theoretically predefined. Their purpose is to explain regularities or law-like phenomena and make it possible to predict them. The analytical process is convergent, as it is aimed at reducing the complex reality observed to condensed dimensions. For example, a factor analysis condenses a diversity of information into a couple of factors. I see symbolic generalisations as the available theoretical frameworks and the dominant analytical process in a social science paradigm.

Exemplars can be regarded as the work of a scientist that is inspirational for a paradigm. For example, in the interpretive paradigm in the field of culture and management, the work of Geertz (1973) can be regarded as an exemplar for the mode of analysis used by researchers. The positivist paradigm concentrates on a causal mode (identification of causal relationships). By contrast, Geertz (1973) claims that the analyses should focus on the search for meanings rather than regularities and laws. This search uses an associative model of analysis (see Schultz & Hatch, 1996), where researchers pay attention to metaphors and images used by the interviewees, and to social events or social structures. In other words, researchers associate different elements in order to reach a new understanding. Their analysis is their ability to see (associate) that distinct aspects (e.g., language, behaviour, social structures) can be the expression of a same meaning. For example, d'Iribarne (1994) discusses how, in France, hierarchical relationships can be viewed in light of a principle of honour, linked to the notion of nobility and status. His association between hierarchical relationships and the relationship between social groups in (present and past) French society makes possible a better understanding of the observed behaviours that are then perceived in light of the meaning of nobility.

Metaphysical parts of a paradigm are beliefs in particular models or permissible analogies. For example, in the positivist paradigm, analogies of an organisation to a machine or a body are allowed. An organisation can be re-

garded as having functions, boundaries or goals. By contrast, post-modern positions may not accept considering an organisation as a finite entity.

Values are also a part of the worldview adopted by researchers. For example, when researchers are aiming to design a model and to make predictions, values of reliability, predictability and possible replication are important, though perhaps they are less so in a paradigm where researchers are concerned with understanding actors' views and meanings. In contrast, they are likely to appreciate such values as fidelity to the "informant" and emergence (as opposed to pre-definition). Like the metaphysical part of the paradigm, values will also vary, but some can be said to be ideal-typical for each paradigm. These can be considered the "core" values of the paradigm and can be useful in contrasting paradigmatic positions.

Contrasts between paradigms

Paradigm interplay builds on the tension created by the similarities and contrasts between paradigms. The present bi-paradigm interplay deals with contrasts and connections between the positivist and interpretive paradigms. The contrasts between them have already been elaborated in the management literature. Such elaborations range from general meta-paradigmatic reviews to reviews of organisation studies within one paradigm and explaining in detail the implicit assumptions and the epistemology of this paradigm (see e.g., Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Gioia & Pitre, 1990; Donaldson, 2003; Hatch & Yanow, 2003). The major ontological and epistemological distinctions between the paradigms are summarised in Table 2.1, adapted from Schultz and Hatch (1996:537) and Gioia and Pitre (1990:591) to the case of cross-cultural management research. The table tends to focus on the paradigmatic component "symbolic generalisations" and underlines the distinction between analytical frameworks, models of analysis and analytical processes.

In the positivist paradigm, the purpose of the analytical framework is to achieve predictive models. Cultural frameworks are considered useful tools for predicting attitudes or behaviours of organisations (e.g., Hofstede, 1991; Pothukuchi, Damanpour, Choi, Chen, & Park, 2002) and individuals (e.g., Gibson, 1999; Gomez, Kirkman, & Shapiro, 2000; Thomas & Au, 2002). Culture is seen as a variable in the explanation and prediction of behaviour. Predefined frameworks are used for the analysis, an example being the cultural dimension frameworks (e.g., Hofstede, 1980). Critics of the positivist model of analysis see the study of relationships, causation, and generalization as deterministic (see e.g., McSweeney, 2002a and Williamson, 2002). In the posi-

tivist studies of culture, the elements that distinguish belonging to one culture rather than another are predominantly demographic variables used as predefined demarcations (e.g., in nomothetic studies such as Schwartz, 1992; Trompenaars, 1993; or Hofstede, 1980). In addition, this paradigm tends to favour convergent analytical processes (Schultz & Hatch, 1996:538-9) that are intended to provide a condensed and clear representation in the form of models. For both these reasons, there is a preference for certain levels of cultural analysis (often national culture) for the study of behaviour. In sum, positivist studies tend to adopt predefined analytical frameworks, categorical and causal models of analysis and convergent analytical processes.

Table 2.1: Distinctions between the positivist and interpretive paradigms in cross-cultural management research

Aspects	Interpretive paradigm	Positivist paradigm
Purpose and nature of the analytical frameworks	- Describe e.g., cultural meanings - Explain in order to understand, e.g., the socio-cultural origin of the meanings, the context used by actors to make sense - "Verstehen" approach - Emergent and particular: each context provides unique meanings	- Search for regularities, law-like phenomena, e.g., between cultural dimensions or values and attitude and behaviour - Elaboration of test(s) in order to predict and control - Predefined cultural frameworks (often theoretically developed) - Universal aspect: cultural dimensions are the answers to universal human needs. All national samples score on all dimensions
Theoretical concerns and models of analysis	- Social construction of reality: culture is a social construction, it exists through subjects - Interpretation - Associative model of analysis: the meanings identified are studied in light of other research	- Reveal relationships (e.g., between a cultural dimension and leadership preferences) - Show causation between e.g., culture and behaviour - Generalise the findings - Categorical model of analysis
Analytical process	- Divergent process: expands and enriches cultural analysis. Provides a rich and often complex description of social reality	- Convergent process: condenses and brings elements of cultural analysis together. Aims at simplification for understanding

Based on Schultz & Hatch (1996) and Gioia & Pitre (1990) and adapted to cross-cultural management research.

In the interpretive paradigm, the purpose is to describe and explain in order to understand the cultural cognitive maps of the parties in interaction (see e.g., d'Iribarne et al., 1998). Analytical frameworks are emergent. For example, Brannen and Salk (2000) explain how new meanings, distinct from national cultural attributes, are developed through the interaction of Japanese and Germans in a joint venture. Culture can be seen as a "root metaphor"

(Smirchich, 1983a), this means constitutive of differences. Cultural studies (e.g., Smircich & Calás, 1987; Van Maanen, 1988) or intercultural interaction studies (e.g., Globokar, 1997; Chevrier, 1998) use an associative model of analysis. They can, for example, display how actors shape their work environment with associations of meaning leading to transformative actions (Saka, 2004). D'Iribarne (2002) illustrates how local (national, religious, and societal) cultural meanings are mobilized to create new organisational cultures, radically different from national forms of organisational culture. Some critics of interpretive studies point to the lack of a clear presentation of both culture and its relationship to action. Many interpretive studies of the influence of culture on management tend to consider shared meanings as the indicator of a shared culture (e.g., Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992; Ybema, 1997). They adopt a divergent analytical process, aiming at a rich (others might say overly complex) description of culture and its relationship to behaviour. Meanings reveal emergent analytical frameworks and favour sub-national and sometimes sub-organisational levels of cultural analysis. Interpretive cross-cultural management studies tend to address culture at a national level of analysis as well. In sum, interpretive studies tend to adopt emergent analytical frameworks, associative models of analysis and divergent analytical processes.

Connections between paradigms

While the distinctions between the paradigms are addressed in view of their different symbolic generalisations, their similarities appear in light of some of their metaphysical parts and values (two other components of the paradigms). Connections between the paradigms appear when the positivist and the interpretive paradigms are considered from a post-modern philosophical perspective. Schultz and Hatch (1996) develop three similarities between the positivist and interpretive paradigms. The first is a shared use of "grand narratives", that presuppose the existence of a sense, or patterns to be found. This similarity between the paradigms arises from their common striving to identify the deeper levels or deeper meanings of culture. Both paradigms prescribe a scientific way of knowing ("restricted" epistemologies), which must be appropriate for the object of study while "fitting the conventions espoused" by their research community (Lewis & Kelemen, 2002:255). Epistemology is thus restricted to orthodox (in the sense of the "correct") objectives and methods. This stands in contrast to the post-modern paradigm. The premise that investigations are to discover underlying patterns through their

superficial expression (either in behaviour or symbols) rests on the belief in an essence of culture. Therefore, "discovering the pattern of basic assumptions or worldview makes it possible to decipher the content of values and artifacts (functionalism) [positivist studies] or to understand which cultural meanings are ascribed to cultural expressions (interpretivism)" (Schultz & Hatch, 1996:541). Along the same lines, Lewis and Kelemen (2002) emphasise the search for the essence of culture, and the uncovering of patterns in what they call a "strong ontology" that the interpretive and the positivist paradigms share. "Strong ontologies, [seek] to represent the essence of entities – e.g., structures, meanings, and myths – within discrete 'states of being'" (Chia, 1995). This is not to say that modernists do not examine processes (…) however such processes as structuring, sense-making and mystifying are viewed as patterned interactions and thereby are rendered abstract and static" (Lewis & Kelemen, 2002:255).

This is a second connection that Schultz and Hatch find between the paradigms: the static representations that the paradigms make of their object of study. Schultz and Hatch (1996:542) argue that although both paradigms have either an historical or a process-oriented view on culture, "both paradigms represent (…) culture by static formulations such as patterns, maps, programs, metaphors and themes", in contrast to the post-modern claim to focus on flux and discontinuity.

In addition, both paradigms operate a discursive closure on the concept of culture; they do not question its existence as organised around either values or interconnected meanings. The power stakes involved in the use of the concept of culture or the consequences (in terms of e.g., imperialistic attitude, discrimination of the "other," etc.) are not studied, either. In their conceptualisation of culture, both paradigms focus on similarities within a group versus a necessarily distinct other group. A central aspect of the identification of culture is the notion of sharing (sharing values, meanings or systems of meanings). Both paradigms avoid an intrinsic pluralist approach in their conceptualisation of culture. They address culture with a concern for regulation rather than social change (see Burrell & Morgan, 1979:16f.), in other words, they aim at providing a consensual view on the phenomenon studied (see Deetz, 1996). In the interpretive and the positivist paradigms, researchers strive to identify shared patterns, either of values or of meanings. For example, Schwartz' work on value structures distinguishes six major patterns of values shared across 63 countries (e.g., Schwartz, 1999). Likewise, shared meanings are frequently considered as culture in organisation studies. Inter-

pretive cross-cultural management studies also investigate what people "share," but the focus is not on the meanings themselves, but on the patterns of their organisation.

Table 2.2: Connections between the positivist and interpretive paradigms in cross-cultural management research

Aspects	Interpretive paradigm	Positivist paradigm
Strong ontology, culture as essence, and discursive closure	- Considers that culture exists and is identifiable through the study of symbols with restricted epistemology - Considers culture as an established concept in anthropology - Uses anthropological references, especially the work of Geertz (1973)	- Regards culture as an independent variable that can be studied through organisational behaviour with restricted epistemology - Considers culture as an established concept in anthropology - Uses anthropological references, mainly rooted in cultural anthropology from the 1930s to 1960s. Principally Kluckhohn's and Parsons' approaches
Focus on similarities, internal coherence	- Shared associations of meanings usually indicate a shared culture - Culture is seen as a dynamic but also somehow stable social phenomenon over periods of time	- Shared values indicate a shared culture - Internal consistency as a validity criterion for cultural dimensions - Cultural dimensions are presented as coherent sets of related values/perceptions/preferences
Static representations. Focus on patterns, structures	- Presentation of systems of meanings - Presentation of similarities, associations between meanings, cognitive maps	- Presentation of value structures - Presentation of causal relationship or correlations between culture and behaviour
Objectification of the organisation of social reality. Technicist approach	- Understanding the distinct cultural meanings and the various meaning associations is useful for management - Cross-cultural training or raising employees' cultural awareness can enhance corporate reality	- Knowledge of diverging cultural values, of the relationship between cultural dimensions and e.g., behaviour is useful for management. - Cross-cultural training can enhance corporate reality

Critical management studies (see e.g., Alvesson & Willmott, 2003) reveal additional connections between paradigms. For example, both the positivist and interpretive paradigms adopt a technicist view (Alvesson & Willmott, 1996) and objectify the management of cultural differences. In other words, they share the belief that enhancing knowledge (on e.g. divergent meanings or values enacted or mobilized by employees in their work environment) can improve corporate reality (see e.g., Schweiger & Goulet, 2005). This is said to be possible through management techniques like cross-cultural training. The similarities between the paradigms are exemplified for cross-cultural management studies in table 2.2. In sum, similarities are in the adoption of strong

ontologies, a focus on similarities, static representations and a technicist approach to management.

The interplays proposed in this dissertation are based on the definition by Schultz and Hatch (1996). Like Schultz and Hatch's interplays, the ones that will be addressed here consider only two paradigms (interpretive and positivist) and involve the tensions and similarities between them. The tensions relate to the different symbolic generalisations (nature of analytical frameworks, models of analysis and analytical processes). The similarities can be seen in some of the metaphysical positions adopted by both the "modern" (in Lewis & Kelemen's (2002) terms) interpretive and positivist paradigms (strong ontologies, focus on similarities, static representations and a technicist approach). Therefore, interplay can be conducted on similarities between the positivist and interpretive paradigms (see table 2.2), using the tensions between the distinct analytical frameworks, theoretical concerns and analytical models (see table 2.1).

Figure 2.2: Some contrasts and similarities between the paradigms
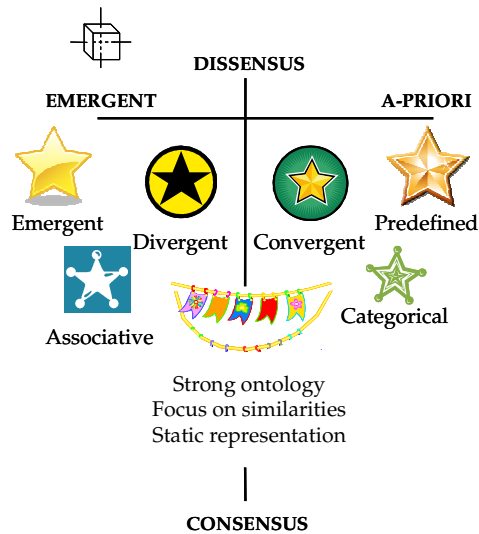
Figure 2.2 graphically depicts some of the contrasts and similarities between the interpretive and positivist paradigms. In practice, the interplays can be achieved by first conducting separate analyses on a material, and then placing the analyses in interaction. This is the strategy adopted in this dissertation. The practical feasibility of conducting two distinct types of analyses on the same material is presented below.

Empirical feasibility of the interplay

The empirical feasibility of a bi-paradigm interplay between the interpretive and the positivist paradigms is investigated with a qualitative study of research collaboration between medical researchers from Japan and Karolinska Institutet, a Swedish medical university in Stockholm. There is a deliberate choice of a common qualitative method of investigation, with semi-structured interviews, since qualitative investigations are appropriate for both a positivist and an interpretive analysis (see e.g., Denzin & Lincoln, 2005 and Neuendorf, 2002). Likewise, the critical incident technique is considered for its suitability for both types of analysis (see Chell, 1998). The common method of investigation is first presented; then the major differences between the analyses are shown. A more detailed methodological content is presented in chapter 3 for the positivist analysis and in chapter 4 for the interpretive analysis.

The Go Japan project

The empirical material used in this investigation consists of interviews conducted within the framework of a project developed together with Maria Wästfelt from Karolinska Institutet, Strategy and Development Office. Karolinska Institutet, located in Stockholm, is one of the largest medical universities in Europe. It promotes research ranging from basic science to public health science. Karolinska Institutet (KI) collaborates nationally and internationally with health care and medical institutes, industry and other universities. However, relatively few of them are in Japan even though Japanese research, both in academia and in industry, holds a position of world leadership in certain domains. The several existing cases of collaboration between KI and Japanese universities, or companies, often involve few scientists and are limited in scope. Karolinska Institutet undertook an effort to promote larger and additional collaborative projects with Japanese institutions in such areas as nano-biology, systems biology, cell biology, immunology, neurobiology and developmental biology. Maria Wästfelt was in charge of this effort to promote more collaboration with Japan when I met her in the spring of 2004. Her experience in this endeavour had helped her gain knowledge of a range of factors that favour - but also some that disfavour - collaborative projects.

Maria found three principal reasons for the lack of collaboration between KI and Japanese researchers. First, because of relatively few (compared to

other countries) and limited collaborative projects between KI and Japanese universities or companies, there were few stays by KI researchers in Japan and few possible additional projects. Second, she perceived reluctance on the part of KI scientists to visit Japan, which is regarded as distant and foreign compared to a popular destination like the USA. Finally, difficulty in cross-cultural communication between KI and pharmaceutical companies, for example, sometimes resulted in missed opportunities.

Table 2.3: Distinctions between interpretive and positivist concerns in investigation, and solutions adopted in the Go Japan project

Interpretive paradigm	Positivist paradigm	Go Japan Project
Selecting a topic: What are the issues? What are the research questions?	*Selecting a topic*: What are the issues? What are the research questions?	Topic: Japanese-KI research collaboration Issues: few cases of collaboration Primary research question: Why is there not more collaboration? Secondary research question: Is culture a hindrance to Japan-KI collaboration?
	Reviewing literature: What do we know? Find a gap: What is missing?	Limited review of the management literature on cultural differences between Japanese and Swedish research environments
	Putting a framework together: What are the relevant theories and variables?	Selection of the cultural dimension frameworks of Hofstede (2001) and Trompenaars (1993) Special attention paid to some dimensions such as: Power Distance, Masculinity, Particularism-Universalism, Harmony and Mastery
	Formulating hypotheses	Hypotheses linked to the secondary research question: Are perceived cultural differences a factor (with positive or negative effect) in research collaboration?
Designing research: What are data? Where to find data? How to record data?	*Designing research*: What are data? Where to find data? How to measure data?	Qualitative investigation with semi-structured interviews Data: text of the interviews and secondary information Interviews with KI researchers and "experts" Transcription of the interviews and elaboration of categories
Data collection: Identifying specific cases Questioning informants according to what is relevant to them in context	*Data collection*: Probing representative samples of subjects according to the hypotheses formulated	Representative sample of interviewees in regard to research collaboration at KI Maximum differentiation as a sampling strategy No specific reference to cultural differences in the interviews

On the basis of table 2 "Paradigm Comparison of Steps Toward Theory Building" in Gioia and Pitre (1990:593).

Together, we started the Go Japan project with the aim of studying collaboration between KI and Japanese researchers, and assessing favourable as well

as impeding factors. The focus of the project was therefore on cases of research collaboration, their origin, development, termination (if so) and the personal interaction between the collaborating scientists. The question "How did your collaboration with Japanese/KI researchers start?" launched the interviews. The project began in the spring of 2004 and hitherto consists of a pilot study (spring and summer 2004 – nine interviews), a principal study (spring 2006) and complementary interviews (spring 2007).

In the design of the investigation, I tried early on to respect the different concerns that are linked to interpretive and positivist research. These concerns are briefly presented in table 2.3 and more in detail in the following sections.

Selection of interviewees

Interviewees were selected from a combination of sources. First, we used Maria's insider knowledge about ongoing collaboration projects between KI and Japan. Then, we used information about the allocated grants or research funding from STINT (the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher education) and JSPS (the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science) to KI researchers or visiting researchers from Japan. Other sources included recent publications by KI researchers with co-authors affiliated to a Japanese university or research institute, and a list of Japanese visiting researchers that one of them had compiled during his stay at KI.

This combination of sources, and the ambition to achieve maximum differentiation as a sampling strategy (see Agar, 1996) led us to contact 49 scientists connected to KI and eventually to perform 31 interviews for the core of the investigation. Candidates for interviews were first contacted by email by Maria, who presented the Go Japan project. The follow-up (by phone or email) was done by Maria or me. Previous to the interview (and often previous to the contact email), available information on the KI scientists was consulted (type of research, stays in Japan, types of on-going collaboration) to refine our target, reduce sample bias and prepare for the interview.

The 16 KI interviewees were diverse in regard to nationality (12 Swedish, four non-Swedish), gender (though only two females), positions (three Ph.D. students, four junior faculty, three more senior faculty and six professors), type of research (four clinical researchers, 12 experimental) and whether or not they had stayed in Japan (10 were visiting researchers there). The diversity of the sample reflects the existing diversity of KI researchers in collaboration with Japan (see table 2.4 for the demographics of the KI interviewees).

Among the 15 Japanese interviewees, there is diversity in respect to gender (two females), positions (two Ph.D. students, four Post Docs, seven guest researchers and two more senior researchers), and type of research (four clinical researchers, 11 experimental). This variety also reflects the population of visiting Japanese researchers at KI (see table 2.5 for the demographics of the Japanese interviewees).

Table 2.4: Demographics of the interviewed KI researchers

Inter-view [#]	Position	Research area	Stays in Japan	Position in Japan
1	Project leader	Experimental Neonatalogy	1996 (3 months) 1998 (3 months)	Ph.D. student Post Doc
2	Post Doc	Molecular biology 1	1999 (10 days) 2000-2001 (18 months) 2002 (10 days), 2003 (3 weeks)	Post Doc Guest researcher
3	Project leader	Neurochemistry 1	-	-
4	Ph.D. student	Neurochemistry 2	2003 (3 months)	Ph.D. student
5	Professor	Psychiatry 1	2003-4 (6 months)	Guest professor
6	Professor	Pharmacology 1	1987-90 (few months) 1997-8 (6 months) Since 1998 several times a year, several weeks	Post Doc Guest researcher Adjunct Professor
7	Professor	Experimental geriatrics	Several times, few days (meetings)	-
8	Ph.D. student	Virology 1	2002 (1 month), 2004 (1 month)	Ph.D. student
9	Ph.D. student	Virology 2	2004 (10 days)	Ph.D. student
10	Research director	Medical management	Several meetings (10 days) 2003 (3 months)	Guest professor
12	Assist professor	Cancer research	13 stays since 1981 (3 months) then shorter stays (few weeks)	Guest researcher
13	Professor	Infectious diseases	2001 and 2003 (10 days)	-
15	Post Doc	Pharmacology 1	2005-06, 4 times several months	Ph.D. student Post Doc
19	Professor	Psychiatry 2	since 1997, 8 short visits (10 days)	-
20	Professor	Molecular structures	-	-
21	Associate Prof.	Pharmacology 2	2 visits a year since 2003	-

The gender and national background of the researchers is omitted from the table in order to guarantee their anonymity.

In addition, and following the methodological suggestions of positivist researchers using the critical incident technique for the study of intercultural

interaction (see e.g., Thomas, 1996; Fink, Kölling, Meierewert & Neyer, 2004), four so-called "experts" were interviewed for their interpretations of the most common types of critical incidents and for discussion in view of the pilot study and main study analyses. The experts are involved both privately and professionally with the Swedish and the Japanese society. Three are researchers - in economics, medicine, and management, respectively. A fourth expert occupies a diplomatic position in Japan and is involved in promoting collaboration between the two countries (see table 2.6 for the demographics of the experts).

Investigation

The interviews were conducted in English with Japanese researchers and in Swedish or English with KI researchers according to their preference. In total, 35 interviews were held, 16 with KI scientists (14 taped and transcribed), 15 with Japanese researchers (11 taped and transcribed integrally) and four with experts. When an interviewee did not wish to record the interview (or when doing so was impossible as a practical matter), the interview notes were transcribed immediately after the interview. Otherwise, most of the time the interviews were transcribed within three days following the interviews. Maria Wästfelt transcribed four interviews [2, 4, 5 and 7][2], two of them in their entirety. One interview was integrally transcribed by Maria and Laurence conjointly [8].

After the transcription of an interview, we compared notes on the content of the interview (notes in the text for the six first interviews); we discussed it in our subsequent meeting, and we sought to obtain complementary information in some cases (for example, by visiting the website of some of the laboratories, medical universities or researchers mentioned, ordering a book referred to, etc.). This exchange between Maria and me, on the content of the interviews, was most intense and systematic during the pilot study. All in all, 11 interviews were held in Swedish (with 10 Swedes and one non-Swede), the others in English. The interviewees (scientists and expert figures) were originally from Sweden (14), Japan (17) and four other countries.

The interview guide for KI researchers was developed in the spring of 2004 and modified after the first six interviews to include additional questions (for example, source of financing for the collaboration, reaction to the rules imposed by the financing institutions). The interview guide was devel-

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[2] The interviews are referred to by their number in brackets

oped in accordance with the aim of the Go Japan project, which was first to study the research collaboration and second, to assess whether cultural differences were considered to have an effect. The questions addressed the development and functioning of the collaboration. Probes were made to

Table 2.5: demographics of the interviewed Japanese researchers

Interview [#]	Position at KI	Research area	In Sweden for
11	Post Doc	Molecular biology 2	2 years
14	Guest researcher	Experimental geriatrics	1 year
16	Post Doc	Molecular biology 3	6 months
17	Guest researcher	Molecular biology 4	18 months
18	Ph.D. student	Behaviour genetics	2002-3 (6 months) Ph.D. student at KI for 3 years
22	Guest researcher	Pharmacology 2	20 months
23	Associate Professor	Infectious diseases	1994-2004 (3 months every year) at KI for 2 years
27	Guest researcher	Surgery	17 months
28	Guest researcher	Pharmaco genetics	10 months
29	Guest researcher	Pharmacology 3	11 months
30	Post Doc	Neuro sciences	2002 (1 month) 18 months
31	Post Doc	Molecular neuro biology	7 months
32	Ph.D. student	Neurosurgery	19 months
33	Guest researcher	Psychiatry 2- Neuro transmission	10 months
34	Research fellow	Psychiatry 2- Clinical psychiatry	2 years

The gender of the researchers is omitted from the table in order to guarantee anonymity.

determine possible societal/cultural differences between environments, as expected from a review of both popular and academic literature (e.g., Shelley, 1993/2000; Hofstede, 2001; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 1993), and according to the recommendations of our mentor for the pilot study, Hiroshi Ono, researcher at the European Institute of Japanese Studies at the Stockholm School of Economics. On purpose, during the pilot study, no extensive research was undertaken on Japan, Japanese society or the experience of Swedes in Japan. This was in order to remain aware of the principal sources and preconceptions that would influence the coding of the incidents and themes by categories. After the analysis performed for the pilot study, I

started reading up on Japan, with special emphasis on the literature to which the interviewees had referred (e.g., Twigger, 1997; Ferguson, 1998); I saw the film *Lost in translation* (also referred to by an interviewee) and in general reviewed all sources of information that I could find on Japan.

There was a deliberate focus in the interviews on personal interaction between the scientists involved in the collaborative projects. The interviewees were asked about their personal experience, and many times probes were used to collect concrete examples. This procedure was aimed at reducing the tendency toward reification of perceived cultural differences. Most of the interviews of medical researchers were conducted together with Maria Wäst-felt. The presence of Maria helped us to gather other types of information than would have been obtained with only one external researcher. Moreover, Maria and I have different ways of looking at the interviews. She tends toward a positivist approach that regards "the conversation as a pipeline for transmitting knowledge" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997:113 cited in Alvesson, 2003:15). I, on the other hand, tend to adopt a "romantic" approach that sees the ideal interview as "genuine" human interaction, a "real" conversation with "give and take" and "emphatic understanding" (Alvesson, 2003:16).

Table 2.6: Demographics of the experts

Interview [#]	Area	Background	Knowledge of the CCM literature
24	International relations	Swedish, work in Japan to promote Swedish-Japanese collaborations since 1998	-
25	Work therapy	Grew up in Sweden and Japan, works in Japan and Sweden	Yes. Conducts cross-cultural research
26	International Business	Swedish, grew up and worked in Japan, worked in Sweden at the time of the interview	Yes
35	Economics	Japanese, did research in Sweden 1997-2007	-

Maria used different types of probes (than I did), and they proved insightful. Trained in qualitative methods, primarily in ethnography and sociology, with interview techniques based on restrained intervention (see e.g., Kaufmann, 1996), I am limited to a few types of interventions (keep up the momentum, show understanding, ask for clarification, refocus). Moreover, my focus on concrete examples excludes speculative probes. Maria showed me several times the benefit of both taking the words of the interviewee literally and using speculative probes (see example in table 2.7). Additionally, I adapted my probes and style according to the interviewees, especially in the interviews with Japanese researchers (see below).

The focus of the interviews on interpersonal interaction and on describing behaviour was reinforced by a question on critical incidents. The appropriateness of the critical incident technique (developed by Flanagan, 1954) for the study of intercultural interaction is shown, for example, by positivist works using the *Kulturstandard* method (see Thomas, 1996; Fink & Meierewert, 2001; Thomas, Kinast, & Schroll-Machl, 2003a&b; and Schroll-Machl 2003). This method is an adaptation of the critical incident technique for the study of a national culture through bicultural interaction. Although the focus of this method is very different from the one of the Go Japan project, the available discussions on methodological aspects were useful and helped us in the design of the study. The KI and Japanese interviewees were asked, "Have you ever been in a situation where your partner(s) have acted/reacted in an unexpected way? If yes, could you describe the situation and what happened?" During the collection of critical incidents, the interviewees were asked how they had reacted to the situation (coping strategies).

Table 2.7: Examples of benefits from conducting the interviews with Maria Wästfelt

Example of using the interviewees' words literally, which led the interviewees to make their point explicit	Example of a speculative probe that led to the description of a concrete example
A professor was talking about the "shyness" of the Japanese guest researchers in his laboratory in general terms. He continued, explaining that: *There is a beautiful saying in the Japanese culture, "understand my needs before I need to express them". That's nice. So…* [Maria] Is it wrong to say one's need? *It is that they will not take initiative, as guests, to say "no, I don't want to do this".*	*You could not ask a boss something he did not know in advance… yes… [laugh] that's the way it was. A boss should know everything, should answer all questions. So, if you showed something he had never seen before, it was not good. (…)* [Maria] So, what would happen if you still showed … *That was in Japan, a boss, he became really nervous because he could not answer. It happened to me, I know. I described something, several different things for the first time. That I saw. And I remember that I asked a Japanese … the one who was the boss. He did not like it, he had never seen it before. But I wrote an article with him, it was published, it was the first publication to be found about that disease. And he was co-author, but in fact, he never liked that I showed it.*

The critical incident technique is used in various fields of research such as medicine (e.g., Bradley, 1992; Perry, 1997), management (e.g., Herriot, Manning, & Kidd, 1997), marketing (e.g., Bitner, Nyquist, & Booms, 1985), psychology (e.g., Ho, Ang, Loh, & Ng, 1998; Tjosvold, 2002; Derbaix & Vanhamme, 2003), and organisation studies (e.g., Chell, 2004). The critical incident technique was developed in the positivist paradigm but is also useable in the interpretive one (see Chell, 1998). For example, Weick (1995:100-105) refers to critical incidents as "cognitive interruptions" that constitute

occasions for sense-making. In sum, critical incidents reveal a cognitive difference between the persons involved in the incident. This cognitive difference is made explicit by distinct behaviours or expectations of behaviour/actions that create the incident. The analysis of the critical incidents seeks to answer the question whether this cognitive difference is linked to cultural/societal differences.

Analyses

Two analyses were performed on the interviews (for differences between the analyses, see chapters 3, 4 and the discussion in chapter 5, as well as tables 5.1 to 5.3). The positivist analysis of the interviews was made using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000; Charmaz, 2005; Teerikangas, 2006). This systematic analysis was conducted first on the nine interviews of the pilot study, then on the entire corpus of interviews at the end of the main study (24 interviews) and finally on the entire corpus of interviews with Japanese researchers (15 interviews). The constant comparative method is used as a systematic approach to the treatment of data collected in the interviews. The focus of the analysis is on "incidents" or "events" (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967 or Strauss, 1987) faced by the informants. The constant comparative method was performed on each sample of interviews (KI and Japanese) with the interviews taken voluntarily in a nonchronological order to view them in a new light (especially the nine interviews of the pilot study). From this systematic analysis, over 40 primary thematic categories related to the Swedish and Japanese environments were obtained (see example of coding in table 2.8).

Table 2.8: Example of coding, and multiple coding of the same quotation

Coding categories	Quotation
Working time	*I started my working day at about 8-8:30. Then it was just me and the professor.*
Presence laboratory	
Freedom? in communication with boss	*Then we could talk about everything before the others came and then the professor changed into the "big boss".*
Impact of the group on boss' role	
Type of relationship superior-subordinate	

A subsequent focus on the categories addressing discrepancies between the research environments led to concentration of the analysis on seven major types of larger categories that included variations on a certain theme (see table 2.9). Then the analysis of the reported critical incidents (see example in

table 2.10) showed recurrent incidents that were then compared to the major themes identified in the interviews.

The analysis of the sample of interviews with Japanese researchers proceeded like the analysis of the KI interviews, with about 30 primary thematic categories related to the environments and then the consideration of six major categories. The analysis of the critical incidents reported by the interviewees also showed similarity of themes in the most frequent incidents and the principal themes of the interviews. The positivist analysis of the KI and Japanese samples of interviews is presented in more detail in chapter 3.

An interpretive analysis was then performed on the corpus of the KI interviews and the interviews of Japanese researchers, again in a random order within each sample. This second analysis was purposely limited to one theme for both practical and theoretical reasons.

Table 2.9: Example of quotations included in the major category "Superior-subordinate relationships"

Category	Quotation	type
Superior-Subordinate relationships	*I have seen it, absolutely. When a boss says "why didn't you do this? I told you last night to do it, this is morning and you have not done it!"*	Directive?
Superior-Subordinate relationships	*The professor could reprimand the Post Docs or the Ph.D. students. Then they did not talk back. That was part of the ritual. When the prof was gone, everybody could talk and get it off their chest. The prof could get really angry, so much that he was shaking.*	Formal/ritual? Emotional, High Power Distance?
Superior-Subordinate relationships	*My contact with the Associate Professor was very good. He could easily communicate in English. We had fun together. He thought it was fun. He was also unjapanese. (…) He was as a Prof, jovial and open, gave a clap on the shoulder. He talked about his private and emotional life. I was invited for dinner at this house together with a Japanese Ph.D. student.*	Jovial, good relationship? Informal? Low Power Distance?

For practical reasons it was necessary to perform the analysis in one chapter and to reach adequate depth in this analysis. Seven major types of categories emerged in the analysis of the interviews of KI and Japanese researchers, and together provided too much verbatim to consider thoroughly. The major category of "superior-subordinate relationships" is the one covering the greatest number (7) of critical incidents reported by KI scientists, and they addressed and developed this theme in 13 interviews (out of 16). Japanese researchers reported more incidents linked to different working hours, but they also frequently mentioned superior-subordinate relationships in their interviews (11 interviews out of 15). In addition, they provided more detailed accounts of the differences between the leadership style that they were used

to in Japan and Sweden than of the different working hours. In sum, since this theme was strongly represented and well developed in both samples of interviews, it was convenient to use it.

The first theoretical reason for focusing the interpretive analysis on superior-subordinate relationships is linked to the complexity of this theme. The positivist coding of the verbatim on the superior-subordinate relationships showed that more frequently than the others, these quotations referred to many themes simultaneously. In addition, a first impression from a non-systematic interpretive analysis of the interviews was that some of the themes linked to hierarchy (with both KI and Japanese interviewees) were unusual to me (e.g., dependence, role, modernity, kindness, old system, private life etc.). These themes were less immediate to make sense of than those linked, for example, to working hours (work hard, presence, efficiency, holidays, private time etc.).

Table 2.10: Example of coding of critical incident

Type	Quotation	Coping strategy
Superior-subordinate relationship	*Now,* [the head of the department] *wasn't making any meetings with any of* [the Ph.D. students], *arranging for me to talk with any of them. So I said "Ok, I'd like to present to you, as a group, what I do, at least some of my research projects so that you can ask me at any time questions and for help in particular areas and for various papers and research articles on the research topic that could be useful for your research". So in a sense, I was trying to make myself available and for them to be able to come to me, to help them. And this was probably around the third or fourth day there. Next day,* [the head of the department] *comes into my room, <u>very</u> angry; I have never seen a Japanese person so visibly angry, "come into my room please to talk". And he sat me down, controlling his fury, he said: "You mustn't speak to my doctoral, to my researchers". Err... "it was very wrong of you to offer this seminar and especially not to check it, especially not to tell me." I didn't know, I just sensed it, I just did it! And "you must not interfere with my researchers", these were the words. "Is that understood?" "Anything, if you want to talk to them, you have to ask me first".*	*Well, I apologised <u>profusely</u>, I said "I am awfully sorry, I did not know the rules, this is, this is how we do it where I come from." (…) I spend the next week or so in bookshops, picking up books on culture. There are lots of easy introductions, very easy and good to read.*

The second theoretical argument is linked to the advantage, for interplay, of having both the positivist and interpretive analyses deal with a similar theme. Power Distance is a cultural dimension linked to the superior-subordinate relationship. Since themes related to Power Distance clearly appeared in the positivist analysis, the choice to focus on superior-subordinate relationships became obvious. This would make it possible to contrast the two types of analysis on the same material and to some extent on a similar theme as well.

Therefore, in the interpretive analysis, the verbatim referring to superior-subordinate relationships and adjacent themes was more closely examined and finally selected. The verbatim was not broken down into small categories but frequently left as a paragraph. The interpretive analysis is presented in detail in chapter 4.

Strengths and limitations

The empirical study used in this bi-paradigm interplay is not primarily developed for the investigation of intercultural relationships. From the pilot study on research collaboration between KI and Japanese scientists, themes that could be interpreted as cultural differences were so strong that I chose (after interview [4]) to use the Go Japan project to illustrate the feasibility of a bi-paradigm study in cross-cultural management research for my dissertation.

Using the Go Japan project

The Go Japan project could provide concrete illustrations showing how to perform interplay and the type of outcome that could emerge. Thus, the empirical material used in this dissertation is primarily to illustrate differences between positivist and interpretive analyses, and to perform the interplays. The advantage of using the Go Japan project is linked to its emphasis on research collaboration rather than cultural differences between Sweden and Japan. The focus of the interview was legitimate in the view of the researchers. This legitimacy was supported by the authority of Maria Wästfelt, who worked for the Karolinska Institutet Strategy and Development Office. From the scientists contacted we received a very high proportion of favourable replies to our request for an interview. The description of the research collaboration provided concrete examples of differences between the KI and Japanese research environments without overemphasising cultural differences and the danger of reification associated with them.

The fact, however, that the interviews were oriented primarily toward research collaboration could be seen as a limitation linked to the narration of critical incidents. Researchers using the critical incident technique for the study of intercultural interaction have debated the necessity of informing interviewees in advance about the aim of collecting critical incidents (see e.g., Fink et al., 2004; Topçu, 2005). Advance notice may be an advantage since some interviewees may need time to mobilise their memory (Fink et al.,

2004:7). In the main study, the contact email sent to the interviewees mentioned that we were also interested in hearing what they consider to be cultural differences between Japan and Sweden. However, no question using the terms "cultural differences" was asked during the interview. The focus of the questions was on the perceived distinctions between their home and visited work environments. In this way we indicated prior to the interview that we were interested in the topic of cultural differences, thus helping interviewees to mobilise their memories, and trying at the same time to reduce the tendency to reify cultural differences by avoiding questions explicitly asking about them.

Profile of the interviewees

The profile of the interviewees, in terms of their experience of the other environment, is also discussed by researchers using the critical incident technique for the study of intercultural interaction. Topçu, Romani and Primecz (2007) find that there seems to be no agreement on the exact profile that interviewees should have. Some interviewees are living in a foreign country when they are interviewed (e.g., Schroll-Machl 2001; Szalay 2002); some are not (e.g., Thomas, 1988; Brück, 2000). Some are working intensively with representatives of another country, but have never been there (Szalay 2002, Schroll-Machl 2001). In the Go Japan project, the profile of the interviewees is mixed, as shown in tables 2.4 and 2.5, since we tried to meet scientists that represented the diversity of forms of collaboration at KI. All Japanese interviewees were living in Sweden at the time of the interview, but none of the KI researchers was living in Japan. Only 10 KI researchers had lived in Japan. The others had been to Japan, but only for short stays. This diversity of experience, combined with length of stay, is argued to have an impact on the collection of critical incidents. Thomas (1996) claims that the first six months of a stay are richer in critical incidents, and more incidents are gathered through interviews if they take place during that time.

In the Go Japan project, the profile of the interviewees strongly differed in regard to length of stay. The KI interviewees tended to be in Japan for short stays (visits), whilst the Japanese interviewees were living in Sweden. Among the KI scientists, five had never worked in Japan in connection with the research collaboration (but only been there for conferences or meetings); four had spent at least six months (the longest stay was 18 months) there, and the other had spent between ten days and three months. In addition, six of the interviewees had been back from Japan for less than six months when

we met (one interviewee had returned in the previous month). Some of the interviewees had been back from Japan for about a year or slightly longer (one interviewee had last been in Japan about three years prior to the interview). In contrast, four of the Japanese interviewees had been at KI for two years or longer, six between one year and two, and five less than one year. The Japanese interviewees with the shortest stays had been at KI for about six months. Another contrast between the KI and Japanese samples of interviews is in respect to the previous international experience of the researchers. All KI interviewees had prior international experience (living abroad) when they went to Japan, while only five Japanese interviewees had such experience before coming to Sweden.

In combination, these differences between the samples are likely to affect the narration of critical incidents. For example, interviewees with no prior international experience are probably more likely to experience and talk about critical incidents, as would be those in Sweden for only six months, in comparison to the scientists who had lived there for two years. Researchers who had lived for a long time in Japan and those who went to Japan only for visits would seem likely to have experienced distinct types of critical incidents etc. However, no such distinction appeared in the interviews. The types of critical incidents were rather similar, and the narration of incidents did not seem to be linked to the length of stay. Interviewees who had been in Japan for three months could sometimes report more and sometimes fewer critical incidents than those who had lived there for a year. The average number of critical incidents differed between the two samples. In the KI sample, 21 incidents were mentioned by 16 researchers (average 1.3), whilst 29 incidents were related by 15 Japanese scientists (average 1.9). However, if we consider only the incidents reported by KI scientists who were visiting researchers in Japan (i.e. who lived in Japan), 19 incidents were cited by 10 interviewees, and the average is similar.

We tried to address the heterogeneity of the samples, as well as the fact that some interviewees related very few critical incidents, that some had more recent memories, and finally that some spoke their mother tongue and others did not. We did so by enlarging the focus of our interviews to include the work environment. In contrast to other studies, the interviews we performed were centred not only on the collection of critical incidents. The verbatim showed that there were substantial differences in regard to work environments and collaboration. The analysis of the interviews is on both the critical incidents and themes related to them. The choice of focusing on criti-

cal incidents as well as the themes present in the interviews was made in view of the limitations linked to the heterogeneity of the samples.

Talking about critical incidents could be seen as problematic by some interviewees, who felt as if they were criticising. We tried to convey the impression to our interviewees that we did not seek to criticise either Japanese or Swedes, but rather to understand differences in work environments. The status of Maria Wästfelt as a representative of KI and Sweden may also have discouraged Japanese interviewees from speaking openly about the Swedish or KI environment. In addition to the emphasis placed on understanding distinctions rather than judging them, Maria frequently expressed empathy with the interviewees when they were describing what they said was a negative aspect of the Swedish or KI environment (e.g., bureaucracy). In fact, I conducted the first round of interviews with Japanese researchers on my own; Maria was present in a total of only eight interviews with Japanese scientists. It did not seem as if her presence discouraged interviewees of telling us about their observations.

Language

Another limitation of the study is the language used by the interviewees. KI interviewees chose to speak either English or Swedish in the interview; some were native speakers of English or had lived in an English-speaking country like the USA for many (over ten) years when we met them. On the other hand, the Japanese interviewees had no choice but to use English during the interview, even though I encouraged them to use Japanese terms if they could not find an appropriate translation in English. In such cases, Jesper Edman, a colleague fluent in spoken and written Japanese, and who spent most of his life in Japan, translated and explained the term they had used or the sentence they had written on my interview notes. Some of the Japanese interviewees came to the interview with an electronic dictionary (only one used it). One interviewee had difficulties expressing herself in English. Depending on the interviewee's ease in speaking English, we tried to set an appropriate level of ambition for the interview. We always used the same interview guide, but we might concentrate, for example, on a single incident and ask additional questions for clarification. But the use of English, when English was a foreign language for both the interviewer(s) and the interviewee, ultimately contributed to a more explicit presentation of some of the ideas and arguments. The level of ambition for the interview had been low-

ered, but the message that the interviewee communicated was repeated several times in different ways.

The use of a foreign language by the interviewees may be a limitation more perceptible for the interpretive analysis that is intended to reveal systems of meanings in use. This limitation was addressed in the interviews (lower level of ambition, distinct types of probes etc.) as well as in the analysis. I chose a conservative analysis technique (ARO), which builds the system of meanings progressively and on the basis of multiple examples of the same meaning associations (see chapter 4). In connection to language, the number of interviews may also be a limitation, especially in the case of the Japanese researchers. By the 13th interview, the interviews with the KI scientists had reached a saturation point in the two themes of research collaboration and intercultural relations (a previous saturation level was found in the pilot study at around six interviews). Saturation was reached in the 14th interview with the Japanese researchers on the themes linked to research collaboration, but barely on the intercultural relationship aspect. The difficulty of finding Japanese candidates for interviews, together with the necessity of concluding the third round of interviews, meant that no further interviews were conducted with Japanese researchers. This was unfortunate, as we would have preferred to hold a couple of more interviews to verify that saturation had clearly been reached. The fact that the KI researchers tended to use Swedish, or were fluent in English, may have made a difference in reaching saturation earlier with these interviewees. With the Japanese researchers, the use of English, as well as the slower pace of the interview and the fact that only eleven interviews were fully transcribed (14 with KI researchers), might explain why saturation was barely reached despite a similar number of interviews.

A collaborative project

One distinguishing feature of the Go Japan project is that it is a collaborative research project (see e.g., Adler, Shani & Styhre, 2004) between an insider within the KI organisation and an outsider. My position as an outsider was clearly apparent to the KI interviewees. In contrast, I needed to state more strongly in the preamble to the interviews with Japanese scientists that I was not a medical researcher. The interviewees' reaction to the team that Maria and I formed was positive. The collaborative nature of the project presents special advantages and limitations. We were made aware of them by various means (course, conferences, coaching in our project), and we tried to address

them (for a thorough discussion of the limitations of the research collaboration Go Japan, see Romani, 2006). In regard to the use of the Go Japan project for the current research, some aspects were particularly important to address. They are linked to the dual role of Maria as a researcher and as a member of the organisation that she was studying. As a member of the Karolinska Strategy and Development Office, Maria was responsible for the promotion of research collaboration between Japan and KI. Her previous acquaintance with some researchers and her insider knowledge of the situation was both helpful and a possible source of bias.

We addressed this limitation by emphasizing research design (pilot study, then a first analysis, and then continuing with the main study) and by aiming for a given degree of diversity among interviewees (all hierarchical levels, different disciplines, empirical and clinical research, gender diversity, distinct types of collaboration – co-located and virtual). In addition, we combined various sources for the selection of interviewees, and I also added new interview candidates. In this way we tried to control for possible bias (e.g., meeting the senior researchers and not the Ph.D. students) for both Maria and interview candidates (who would have had the advantage of meeting her). The bias that the presence of Maria (as an insider) could have had on the interviews is probably related mostly to the narration of research collaboration (its history, persons in position of power, instances of collaboration terminated because of disputes or lack of commitment etc.). This is unlikely to have any major consequences for the present use of the interviews. The analyses are based on the verbatim describing the research environments in the daily routines and practices of interviewees, and they centre on these descriptions. In a network analysis or a stakeholder analysis of the collaboration, the insider position of Maria would need to be specifically addressed.

Summarising notes on the methodology of this bi-paradigm interplay

This chapter treats three major themes: multi-paradigm studies, paradigm interplay and the empirical feasibility of a common method for two paradigmatic analyses. First, it presents the paradigm debate and the position of multi-paradigm studies. This makes it possible to clarify what is meant by paradigm and by incommensurability, two key elements in the debate. Opting for a multi-paradigm study means that the framework in which it is conducted represents an accommodating ideology, a multiple ontology and a pluralist epistemology. I also explained my views on the concepts of para-

digm and incommensurability. I regard paradigms first and foremost as a disciplinary matrix (a scientific community's worldview) and incommensurability primarily as the impossibility of a shared meaningful language between communities. I state my position in favour of language learning, and of multi-paradigm studies to reach a further understanding than our present one.

Second, the chosen type of multi-paradigm study is bi-paradigm interplay between the interpretive and positivist paradigms. The presence of interpretive studies in cross-cultural management is enough to provide a unique opportunity for crossing between paradigms. Interplay is understood in accordance with the view of Schultz and Hatch (1996). We are thus led to focus on the contrasts together with the similarities between the two paradigms. These elements are the ones on which the interplays are based. In other words, the interplays are seen primarily as building on the different symbolic generalisations and some of the shared values and metaphysical beliefs of the interpretive and positivist research. This means that the interplays do not use exemplars but rather models of analysis, frameworks of a different nature and analytical processes to create tensions between the paradigms.

Third, the empirical feasibility of the bi-paradigm interplay is presented. I chose to adopt a common method of investigation in the form of a qualitative study. Since the contrasts that I use between the paradigms are linked primarily to their different symbolic generalisations, a shared method of investigation enables us to underline even more clearly their contrasts in the perceived nature of analytical frameworks, models of analysis and analytical processes. Indeed, the same interviews are used in each of the analyses, but the analyses differ, both in the way they are conducted and in the type of outcome they generate (see chapters 3 and 4). The Go Japan project, conducted together with Maria Wästfelt from Karolinska Institutet provides the structure for interviews. The limitations linked to the use of this project for the present bi-paradigm study were manageable. In sum, it was appropriate to use this qualitative investigation for the purposes of the separate analyses: to highlight the symbolic generalisations, exemplars, values and metaphysical beliefs that can operate in each paradigm, and to show the different types of analytical outcome that result from the analyses. This is a preliminary step for the interplays: chapters 3 and 4 present the analyses in their differences and similarities, before they are placed in tension in chapter 5.

This chapter conducts a positivist analysis of the interviews, with a focus on the cultural dimensions already developed in the cross-cultural management literature (predefined analytical frameworks). The chapter differs from traditional positivist studies in cross-cultural management through its qualitative investigation. It first needs to establish the conceptual possibility of using cultural dimensions at the individual level of analysis. It does so by examining the theoretical foundations of the cultural dimensions, and argues that the same foundations are also applicable at the group and thus at the individual level. Second, the chapter aims to verify the relevance of using cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis with an empirical study. The analysis of 31 interviews with researchers involved in cross-cultural interaction investigates the usefulness of the cultural-dimension constructs to explain perceived behavioural differences at the individual level. The (categorical) model of analysis shows a relationship between cultural dimensions and reported behaviour, and the analytical process is convergent, reducing the complexity of the verbatim of 31 interviews to three major themes and dimensions. The chapter discusses contributions from the use of the cultural dimensions construct for the individual level of analysis.

3

Positivist analysis

In a recent review of methodologies adopted by cross-cultural studies in international management and organisational research, Schaffer and Riordan (2003) report that 94% of the 210 studies covered adopt an etic approach. In addition, 41% of the studies reviewed use Hofstede's cultural value dimensions. Hofstede's (1980) seminal work helped to gain acceptance for the notion of cultural dimensions in the positivist study of culture in management sciences as well as in cross-cultural psychology (Gelfand, Erez & Aycan, 2007). Cultural frameworks show cultural dimensions and their relationship to organisational behaviour. The relationship is thought to be of a causal nature, and currently, its study is based to a considerable extent on Hofstede's framework, but also on additional ones that have developed since 1980 (e.g., Schwartz, 1994; Triandis, 1995; House et al., 2004). Recent reviews of cross-

national studies point to the increasing knowledge on the influence of culture on individual, group and organisational behaviour (see Kirkman et al., 2006; Tsui et al., 2007; Gelfand, Erez & Aycan, 2007). In sum, the cultural frameworks and their constituent cultural dimensions are an essential theoretical element of the strong common basis for the development of knowledge in positivist cross-cultural management literature.

Whether empirically or theoretically derived, most frameworks are developed for a national level of analysis, and should not be used for analysis on the individual level (as repeatedly argued by Hofstede). Nevertheless, they are. A review of empirical research in Kirkman et al., (2006), incorporating Hofstede's cultural values framework in business and psychology journals between 1980 and 2002, shows that about 48% of the studies reviewed used the cultural framework at the individual level, and about 45% did at the country level of analysis. Tsui et al., (2007) note that 80% of the 93 cross-cultural studies that they reviewed had adopted an individual level of analysis. Some of the studies use cultural dimensions developed for the individual level of analysis, such as the dimensions of Individualism or Collectivism in Earley (1994) or Triandis, Chan et al., (1995). However, most of the dimensions investigated at the individual level are taken from a framework that was developed for the national level of analysis (see Tsui et al., 2007:431-33).

How incompatible are national cultural dimensions with the individual level of analysis? In practice, many studies find it useful to refer to constructs like Power Distance to explain individual behaviour. Technically, however, this is problematic. Schwartz (1994) explains that Hofstede's Power Distance dimension, for example, emerged only at the cultural level of analysis. At the individual level (individual answers within nations are aggregated), there is hardly any correlation between items comprising the Power Distance dimension. The same is true of the Individualism Collectivism dimension. However, other authors have shown that Individualism Collectivism makes sense at the individual level of analysis (e.g., Earley, 1994). Furthermore, in a study at the individual level of analysis in 20 countries, Schwartz (1992) shows that individual value structures are consistent across countries. Yet simultaneously, they present strong similarities with value structures that are developed for the national level of analysis with the use of samples' means (Schwartz, 1994). Value structures show that some values tend to covariate in opposition to other values. The similarity of value structures across individuals, and also, across countries, indicates that national cultures and individual values show similarities in their organisation. The social organisation

of a country can be said to place some emphasis on certain values through its institutions. Although a country's culture is a group phenomenon, it is likely to influences individuals to some extent. Therefore the question arises as to whether the frameworks of national cultural dimensions can be used at the individual level of analysis.

The possibility of using cultural dimensions at the individual level of analysis would represent two major advantages. The first is linked to the difficulty of performing large-scale studies in many countries; such studies are needed if researchers want to obtain a valid sample for investigating the relationship between culture and a given organisational behaviour. To some extent, the cultural dimensions limit the investigation of the influence of culture on behaviour at a national level of analysis. Cultural dimensions valid at the individual level of analysis open the way for new levels of investigation, which are already sought in the research community of cross-cultural management (see e.g., Earley, 2006). Other researchers stress that using cultural dimensions at the individual level of analysis could add the benefit of qualitative studies (e.g., Osland & Bird, 2000; Yeganeh & Su, 2006).

The second advantage is that in practice our experience of cultural difference is at the individual level. For a better understanding of intercultural interactions in organisations, it is necessary to have cultural dimensions for the individual level of analysis. Maznevski et al., (2002) have developed the cultural orientation framework in order to investigate culturally held assumptions about how to interact socially and relate to the environment. Their framework is designed precisely for the individual level of analysis. The conceptual similarities that it shares with other frameworks developed for the national level of analysis is the starting point of the argument in this chapter. Since similar theoretical grounds provide a basis for both individual- and country-level dimensions of culture, it may be possible to use their constructs at the individual level, too.

This chapter investigates the relevance of using the constructs of the cultural dimension frameworks (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; House et al., 2004 etc.) for individual-level analyses. First, the theoretical foundations of the cultural dimensions are examined. It appears that the theoretical arguments in favour of the cultural dimensions can be applied at the group level and ultimately at the individual level as well. Then the chapter empirically verifies that cultural dimensions are useful for understanding behavioural discrepancies observed at the individual level of analysis in two culturally distinct environments. Thereby, the use of the constructs of the cultural dimensions

at the individual level of analysis is theoretically and empirically defended. The chapter concludes with a discussion on which dimensions to consider, or which framework, and the implications for future research.

Cultural dimensions and the study of behaviour

Cultural dimensions are based on the premise that there are universal issues facing all human societies (using Kluckhohn's 1953 argument resumed by F. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961) and that these issues need to be addressed for human society to survive. Such issues include the need to organise interactions among the members of a group and the need to cope with the environment. The way in which these issues are resolved by the population is limited to a couple of alternatives, each of which reflects a preference for certain values. For example, the need to cope with the environment can be met by trying either to master or to adapt to it. Each alternative reflects a distinct preference, hence, a distinct set of values. The emphasis placed on values is in line with the Parsonian heritage of a focus on values in the study of culture: values are a cultural explicative element. This argument is repeated by anthropologists that have played an influential role in the theoretical development of cross-cultural studies. For example, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:173) explain that "in fact values provide the only basis for the fully intelligible comprehension of culture, because the actual organisation of all cultures is primarily in terms of their values". They add that human life is a social life, and consequently a moral life since "co-operation to obtain subsistence and for other ends requires a certain minimum of (…) mutually accepted values" (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952:176). Thereby, the focus on values receives dual support: as an intelligible element of culture and as a binding and representative element of the members' behaviour in this culture.

The reference to values to explain behaviour, and a focus on fundamental problems that human groups have to solve in order to survive, is a theoretical base used by Hofstede (1980), Trompenaars (1993), Schwartz (1994), Maznevski et al., (2002) or House et al., (2004) in their cross-cultural studies of organisational behaviour. They refer either to Kluckhohn's (1953) argument on human universals or to its adaptation by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). The very same rationale is also adopted by Schein (e.g., 1985) for studying organisational culture. Indeed, just as human groups have to deal

with issues of coordination and with their environment, organisations must be successful in their "internal integration" and "external adaptation".

Internal integration refers to the need of an organisation to co-ordinate its members, its departments and units into a functioning whole. Its external adaptation concerns the fit with elements of the environment like market conditions and competitors. The answers provided by the national culture (society) are likely to influence the range of perceived possibilities that a group (an organisation, a team, a group of colleagues) will adopt, to address the problem of internal integration (organisation of human interaction) and external adaptation (dealing with the environment). The national culture does not dictate the choice, but is likely to influence it, by providing a framework of intelligible choice to both the members of the group and the environment in which the group is working. Since organisations and groups in organisations face the same needs of internal integration and external adaptation, the existing alternative answers to these needs are likely to be the same as the variations of the cultural dimensions. However, this does not mean, for example, that organisational cultures will always follow the trend set by national culture, but rather that the range of available choice is similar. In other words, the cultural dimensions and their variations are conceptually valid at a different level of analysis, such as the organisational one, or just as likely, the group level. In fact, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) framework was developed to study small communities, not national cultures. In sum, the few alternatives found as answers to fundamental needs of human groups are likely to be the same at a societal level and at a group level. And, according to the consideration of culture in light of values, these variations can explain behaviour by the values that they embody.

The relationship between variations of the cultural dimensions and individual level behaviour is established on the principle that individuals' organisational behaviour is not simply an aggregation of free, independent and random behaviour. An organisational setting is an organised environment coordinating individual contributions in reaching goals, performing tasks, and fulfilling functions. In brief, individual behaviour is a response to group needs of dealing with internal integration and external adaptation. Therefore, the study of behaviour at the individual level will reflect the answers that the organisation has adopted for fulfilling its needs of internal integration and external adaptation. These needs are conceptually similar to the ones identified as fundamental issues that confront human groups (the basis of cultural dimensions). Consequently, the study of individual-level behaviour can con-

ceptually use the variations of the cultural dimensions. Reciprocally, the study of cultural differences between work environments should also be possible at the individual level of analysis, since the co-ordination of behaviour (internal integration) and the relationship to the environment (external adaptation) reflect cultural choices (in the sense loaded with values, and having both an explicative and a gathering effect). The nature of the cultural differences (national, organisational, ethnical etc.) is determined by empirical studies.

Arguing in favour of the possible use of cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis does not mean that individual behaviour should be analysed using their frameworks, and even less so using the national scores of the countries. Moreover, the frameworks are not suited for studying interactions between individuals of different cultures (see the argument by Adler and Graham, 1989). Using the dimensions of cultural frameworks for the analysis of individual behaviour is not appropriate since individuals are not facing and dealing on their own with the fundamental issues that the group must confront in order to survive (which is the basis for the cultural dimensions). The possible use, at the individual level of analysis, of cultural-dimension constructs does not mean that the differences identified will perfectly match the differences in the national scores of the countries. First, national scores do not necessarily reflect an actual national cultural homogeneity (Au, 1999; Lenartowicz & Roth, 2001). In addition, although culture is pervasive, the cultural solutions for various needs do not have to be the same at all levels (national, organisational, group). It is likely, though, that the cultural differences at the individual level of analysis (in an organisation) will reflect those at the national level. This probability has already been suggested in the findings of House et al., (2004), for example. However, organisations also develop particular needs and working conditions, and organisational variables are likely to moderate the influence of the national culture (see e.g., research advocating multi-level studies of the influence of culture on organisational behaviour, such as Huang & van de Vliert, 2003).

The present argument underlines above all the conceptual possibility (in the sense of conceptually defensible) of using cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis in the study of differences in organisational behaviour. The second section of this chapter investigates whether cultural dimensions are useful tools at the individual level of analysis for understanding differences between work environments (in two different countries). In

other words, using cultural dimensions at the individual level of analysis might be conceptually defensible, but it might not be very useful. The subsequent empirical study (at the individual level of analysis) explores reported differences in the organisational behaviour of medical scientists involved in research collaboration with Swedish or Japanese researchers, and considers them in light of cultural-dimension constructs.

Empirical study

The empirical study consists of semi-structured interviews of medical researchers involved in research collaboration with either Japanese or Swedish scientists. The interviews were performed within the framework of a collaborative project at Karolinska Institutet (KI), a medical university in Stockholm. The theme of the interviews was the history of the research collaboration and the description of daily interactions of the researchers with their Japanese or KI partners. A total of 16 interviews were held with KI researchers involved in collaboration with Japanese scientists. The KI researchers are mostly Swedes (four non-Swedes). In addition, 15 interviews were conducted with

Table 3.1 Most frequent critical incidents and topics mentioned by the KI interviewees

Types of critical incident	Number of reported incidents	rank	Topics	Number of interviews referring to the topic	rank
Superior-subordinate relationships	7	1	Working hours	9/10* (90%)	1
Individual relationship to the group	4	2	Individual relationship to the group	9/10* (90%)	1
Communication-language	3	3	Superior-subordinate relationship	13 (81 %)	2
Working hours	3	3	Discrimination against foreigners	8/10*(80%)	3
			Communication language	12 (75%)	4
All types of incidents	21				

*only 10 interviewees were working in Japan

Japanese scientists visiting or working at KI. They came from diverse universities or companies in Japan. The interviewees' profile was selected with a sampling strategy aiming at reflecting the population of scientists involved in Japan-KI collaboration. The interviews with Japanese researchers were

held in English, and many of the interviews with KI researchers were in Swedish (at the discretion of the interviewee). The average length of the interview was 80 minutes. The interviews were taped, when the interviewee agreed, and then transcribed.

The analysis of the interviews proceeded to a series of codings using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The preliminary coding was performed on each entire corpus of the interviews with KI and Japanese researchers, on the themes addressed by the interviewees. In the KI sample of interviews, more than 40 preliminary categories (thematic) were then re-examined and reduced to seven major categories in a subsequent coding. The major themes addressed by the non-Swedish KI researchers were similar to the ones of the Swedish interviewees. Over 30 thematic categories from the Japanese interviewees were reduced to six major categories, which are the ones used in this analysis of the interviews.

In addition, preliminary coding categories were established for what the interviewees and interviewers described as critical incidents (no major differences between KI Swedes and non-Swedes on the types of critical incidents reported). Considering the most thoroughly articulated critical incidents (a part or the entirety of the context was described as well as the relationship between the persons in interaction) yielded a total of 50 critical incidents reported in the 31 interviews. The recurrent types of incidents (appearing in two interviews or more from the same sample) and the five most frequently mentioned topics regarding distinctions between the work environments, spontaneously mentioned by the interviewees, are presented in Table 3.1 for KI researchers and Table 3.2 for Japanese researchers. The overlap between the five most frequently mentioned topics and the four most frequently mentioned types of critical incidents is complete in the KI sample. In the sample of interviews with Japanese scientists, the overlap is between the three most frequently mentioned topics and types of incidents. Consequently, based on the rationale that critical incidents indicate distinct cultural cognitive frames for actions, and on the confirmation of these incidents by interviewees citing the same topics as distinguishing between the work environments, the focus of the analysis is on the four strongest themes in the entire sample of interviews: "Superior-subordinate relationships," "individual relationship to the group," "communication-language" and "working hours".

The focus of the analysis is the verbatim describing behaviour. This focus presents the advantage of avoiding excessive reification of cultural differ-

ences between the KI and Japanese groups of researchers. For example, the focus on behaviour (especially in regard to critical incidents) eliminated the theme of "discrimination against foreigners" in Japan, since no critical incidents were reported in connection with it. In addition, none of the KI interviewees could recall any personal experience of discrimination. In the sample of Japanese researchers, the topic of work-life balance arose in connection with Swedish working hours. When behaviour relating to this topic was described, it concerned the interviewees' adaptation to the working hours of their new environment and is therefore considered together with "working hours" in the analysis. The focus on the four major themes of "working hours," "superior-subordinate relationships," "individual relationship to the group" and "communication language" is due to their importance in the interviews. The analysis of the verbatim in each category was presented to the experts (see chapter 2), both at the end of the pilot study and after the main study. In total, four persons with an extensive knowledge of the Swedish and Japanese societies served as external advisors for the analysis.

Table 3.2 Most frequent critical incidents and topics mentioned by the Japanese interviewees

Types of critical incident	Number of reported incidents	rank	Topics	Number of interviews referring to the topic	rank
Individual relationship to the group	8	1	Working hours	11 (73%)	1
Working hours and vacations	6	2	Superior-subordinate relationships	11 (73%)	1
Superior-subordinate relationships	3	3	Individual relationship to the group	9 (60%)	2
Rapidity of the KI organisation	3	3	Work-Life balance	9 (60%)	2
Opening bank account	3	3	Communication language	7 (46%)	3
Communication-language	2	4			
Consumer- or service-oriented society	2	4			
All types of incidents	29				

The analysis highlights four major themes strongly present in the interviews and the critical incidents. Are these themes linked to cultural differences between KI and Japanese researchers, and if so, can the cultural-dimension constructs help explain these differences?

The theme of communication and language seems to hold a position separate from the others, since it is linked mainly to the infrequent use of English in the Japanese research environment and to the oral use of English in the KI work environment. In brief, the impression given by KI researchers visiting Japan, as well as visiting Japanese researchers at KI, is that in the field of medical research, scientists in Japan adopt Japanese as the dominant language of communication and experience difficulties in using English. By contrast, in the Swedish laboratories visited by Japanese researchers, local researchers seem to communicate easily in English. This difference seems to reflect a certain internationalisation of KI, unlike many of the Japanese research environments with which KI scientists collaborate. Indeed, in the sample of KI interviewees, four of the nine scientists who were visiting researchers in Japan (for longer than 10 days) were the first guest researchers and three were the only non-Asian (and non-Japanese-speaking) guest researchers. Thus, in our interviews, the research environments to which KI researchers travelled have a predominantly Asian and Japanese-speaking faculty. Even though the contact person for the research collaboration frequently had international experience, either at KI or at another Western university, the language of communication in the research environment visited was Japanese. Post Doc in a Japanese national research centre, one researcher [15] summarises many of the other interviewees' remarks:

> *So, invariably, the groups' leaders and people like that. Those are people you can easily communicate with* [in English]. *And with students, master student or so, it can be a lot more difficult.(…) But the language thing is bizarre as well because if you meet the right people* [those who speak well English], *then language is not an issue at all! But, if you don't, really it is a big issue. And I think having a few people in the lab or … that are able to speak* [English] *that makes such a difference.*

The other major themes - "working hours", "individual relationship to the group" and "superior-subordinate relationships" - reflect existing cultural dimension constructs.

Working hours

An important topic mentioned by KI scientists visiting in Japan as well as Japanese researchers in Sweden is working hours. Visitors from Sweden are surprised by the long working hours in Japan, whereas visitors from Japan

are surprised by the short working hours in Sweden. A Swedish Post Doc [2] at a major regional medical university in Japan explains:

> *Under the first three months, it was a constant discussion on the fact that I went home too early. My last bus went at 20:45. At that time, the professor wanted me to buy a car so that I could stay till 22-23:00 like all the others.*

The Japanese interviewees mentioned that working hours in Sweden are indeed surprisingly different. A Japanese researcher [28] at a neuroscience laboratory comments:

> *About working hours, it's a big difference [laugh]*[3]*, especially in the evening, most of Japanese researchers work until late [laugh], maybe like 9 O'clock or 10 O'clock.*

A theme frequently associated with long working hours is efficiency. For example, a KI researcher [15] who travels back and forth between KI and a Japanese research centre comments as follows about the long working hours in the Japanese laboratory:

> *You are expected to be there a lot, even if you are not necessarily working, you are there. Presence is a big thing (…) People were always very very busy. (…)But I think that sometimes things are not done in the most efficient way.*

Likewise, a Japanese guest researcher [33] relates:

> *I have the impression that people do not work so long here. But I mean, people here work concentrate, concentrate work and finish work quickly. In Japan, [laugh] relatively, we are not so much concentrated and we work longer.*

Another theme was mentioned by KI researchers in connection with long working hours: hierarchy. For example, a prospective Post Doc [9] after his visit to a laboratory of Osaka University told us:

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[3] In the transcription of all the <u>Japanese</u> interviews, *[laugh]* refers to a small laugh, as a punctual interjection that can be seen as phatic (linked to sociability rather than communicating content). *[<u>Laugh</u>]* refers to a moment when the interviewee laughs as an outburst.

> *I talked to other* [Post Docs] *in the lab and they said: he* [the professor] *comes at 7 in the morning. If you come before he will like you very much. And then he goes at, well, I don't know what they said, something like, it depends, between 6 and 8 O'clock, and nobody leaves before he goes.*

Another researcher [6], Post Doc at the time of his first stay in Japan, recalls:

> *The people always followed the habits of the chief in the lab. He* [the chief] *worked very hard himself: nobody would go home before he goes home.*

The relationship between working hours and the head of the department is made clearer by statements of Japanese researchers that they do not feel pressure to work hard from their KI boss. For example, a Japanese Post Doc [11] explains that working hours are very different in his laboratory than what he was used to and comments:

> *Swedish system is too equal.* What do you mean too equal? *Equal.. so.. at least for my superior here. He did not want to push or pressure researchers to work hard and get to be there. (…) I don't feel any pressure to work hard… here.*

In the same vein, another Japanese guest researcher [29] comments:

> [In my former laboratory] *Professor says: "Work hard! Work hard!"* (on a stern tone) *to us, but in Sweden, at least my boss here, don't say "work hard", "work hard"* (on the same stern tone) *(…)Err… mm … in fact no stress. But if I were him, I can't understand why he doesn't say "work hard" "work hard"* (same stern tone) *[laugh]* [laugh] *Professor, he needs to get more data and more articles to get many grants.*

It appears that the work environment of the researchers is a variable influencing working hours. The four Japanese interviewees who were not associated with a laboratory work environment did not mention a discrepancy between the Japanese and Swedish practices regarding working hours. Swedish interviewees expressed surprise at the long working hours, especially in connection with work in a laboratory environment. Those who did not mention long working hours were not associated with laboratory work, with one exception (who depicts himself as a workaholic). In sum, in all interviews with KI researchers and Japanese researchers, the laboratory work

environment is strongly connected with long working hours in Japan and shorter working hours at KI.

Individual relationship to the group

A second theme overlapping both critical incidents and most frequent topics addressed in the interviews was the relationship to the group. Repeatedly, interviewees who went to Japan described how well taken care of they were by their new colleagues, and how things had been organised for them. For example, a KI scientist [10] invited as a guest researcher at a regional university recalls:

> *They had a full schedule organised when I arrived, it was very, very detailed schedule, all of my spare time was scheduled and organised for meals, meeting people, kinds of ritual types of events with different people.*

A Ph.D. student [9] relates, after his stay in a laboratory of Osaka University:

> *In the lab it was like, it's very important to belong to the group, it's like family, more than colleagues. They eat together, lunch and dinner, that's different. They do spend time together.*

Another guest researcher [1] from KI summarises:

> *There is an ambience, which is absolutely wonderful in taking care of your colleagues.*

Visiting Japanese researchers, too, notice a distinct relationship between individuals and the group of colleagues to which they belong. In contrast to the reports of colleagues "taking care" of each other, a guest researcher [16] from Japan exclaims:

> [Here, in Sweden] *When people have birthday, it is the person who has her birthday who organises the party!! For the others!*

The distinct relationship to colleagues was often expressed in contrast to the situation to which Japanese researchers were accustomed. For example, a Japanese guest researcher [14], in a joint venture with KI, commented on the absence of scheduled group activities at the level of the department or the research team:

[here] *the person is left free*

Regarding work, a Japanese guest researcher [17] at a KI-related laboratory explains:

> *In Sweden, they work on their own, in Japan, each one work on depart-*
> *ment schedule. In Japan, the system is a kind of ant society, very social.*
> *Here, the system is reliant on people, the boss don't check all the time.*

A Japanese Associated Medical Researcher [34] explicitly refers to a more individualist organisation:

> *All of the researchers here, they have their own objective*

In our sample, there is a connection between KI scientists' relating that they were very well taken care of, even beyond their expectations (organised sightseeing with colleagues, invitation to the home of their superior etc.), and the fact that they were special guests. All four scientists who were the first guest researchers at a laboratory report being exceptionally well cared for. The three KI scientists who were the first non-Asian guest researchers mention a different relationship with colleagues from what they were used to (all meals taken together, invitation to parties, etc.). In fact, the two KI scientists who were visiting researchers in Japan, but in a more internationalised research environment (permanent faculty of non-Japanese and non-Asian researchers, extensive research collaboration with universities around the world, etc.), do not mention any special relationship with colleagues, although in one case activities were organised for the laboratory team (climbing evening, cherry blossom parties etc.). In our sample of interviews of KI researchers visiting in Japan, the special status of the visiting researchers as first-time guests seems to amplify an existing difference between the environments. This distinction touches upon the organisation of the individual by/in relation to the group and is supported by other reports of KI scientists in collaboration with Japanese researchers (but who only went to Japan for short visits, e.g., meetings). Visiting Japanese researchers contrast the distinct relationship between colleagues at KI to their former situation. They emphasise the "freedom" of individuals, their own working schedules and projects.

Superior-subordinate relationships
A third category of critical incidents and most-mentioned topics is connected with relationships between superiors and subordinates. KI researchers visit-

ing Japan noticed the formality of the interactions based on hierarchical differentiation and attribute it to the distinct nature of the relationship between superiors and subordinates. For example, a KI scientist [2], a Post Doc at a regional university in Japan, explains that during laboratory meetings:

> *We sat in order of rank: the boss at the front* [next to the white board], *the associate professors next to him, then the Post Docs, the Ph.D. students, Master students and undergraduates.*

A Ph.D. student [8] visiting in Japan, a KI scientist recalls:

> *We had the conference and it was an evening with entertainment, and I noticed that Ph.D. students and students were keen on pouring* [drinks] *for the ones who were doctors and professors, and things like that.*

Visiting Swedish researchers in Japan often mention that relationships between senior and junior researchers are closer to apprenticeship than what they are used to. For example, a KI professor [10] summarises his impression of the department that he was visiting:

> *It is the apprenticeship system. At least it was in this department. The way it operates, it is that the professor chooses and recruits doctoral researchers... to do his research. They have no choice of subject, they either agree or do not agree to do the subject. He organises the funding and everything related and they do what he says. That's actually that. So that's a kind of apprenticeship system and intensely hierarchical.*

Another KI professor [19] visiting at a national research centre in Japan remembers:

> [We] *were working on* [writing a paper] *and it happened that I said that "no, I think this must be like that, and in this table, how come that it is like that?" (…) He* [the Japanese professor he was working with] *called in two of his junior researchers, and what he does? He bawls them out: "Here! And here!" And then they leave the room, and then they come back after two hours and then they had done it … [laugh]. I asked him afterwards: "is it the way things are done here?" "yes,…yes…" he said.*

A further distinction between the research environments seems to be linked to leadership styles. For example, a Swedish professor [7] explains how his

Japanese partners would like to see his leadership style in the Swedish part of the joint venture:

> *They think that the boss should take on more* [in the decision process] *and should just say "yes" or "no", and "now"… and "we have to", "I have decided" and… I don't believe they want discussion, but that decisions that need to be made, the boss makes them.*

Some Japanese researchers mention the flat hierarchical system that they experience in the new research environment. For example, a Japanese Post Doc [31] in a KI laboratory explains:

> *In here, professor or Post Doc or Ph.D. student, its relationship almost flat, [laugh] in Japan* (says no with her head). (…) [here, if] *I have problem to do experiment, I,… mm…I can I can talk with professor or Post Doc … easily.*

Another Japanese guest researcher [11] comments:

> *Here it is more the <u>Swedish</u> style, even between the superior and me and everything we must discuss and have agreement he and me on the project.*

Interviewed Japanese researchers sometimes expanded on the leadership style of their superior. They indicate a participative leadership style. For example, a visiting researcher [16] explains that she can influence the development of the research work she does:

> *Here, you can suggest what you want to do, (…) it is based on my opinion, and could be changed by my opinion.*

Likewise, another visiting Japanese researcher [11] explains that he could easily be given responsibility for a project:

> *Here I can say I want to be first author and contact person, it's no problem but in Japan we cannot say that, it's very difficult to say.*

In the same vein, yet another Japanese visiting researcher [29] explains that, in contrast to his Japanese professor, who gave directions, his KI professor let him take the initiative in regard to methods and techniques of exploration.

Professor gave me the theme of something, the field, he wants to know about something, a phenomenon, to… mm … to evaluate the phenomenon my boss wanted to know, I consider a way of, the way to evaluate this phenomenon, and I will do some experiments, and I will report the results and discuss with him and with the colleagues, and finally I get the results.

The theme of friendliness and kindness is also mentioned by Japanese interviewees in connection with their KI experience of a hierarchical relationship. An affiliated researcher [34] from Japan explains:

[The professor] *is very kind, (…) He has very open-minded, and errr… if he thinks that this idea is cool, he always allows us to do that.*

Another Japanese guest researcher [27] comments:

Prof. Erik is more friendly, makes at home situation, atmosphere is more gently.

Likewise, a Japanese guest researcher [17] comments:

Swedish boss gentle compared to Japanese boss. He asks "how about your family, how about your work? (…) In Japan boss asks: "what about results? What about your work? (on a stern and authoritarian tone).

In the sample of interviews with KI researchers in a collaborative project with Japanese researchers, there is consistent reference to a formal and hierarchical organisation of the relationship between superiors and subordinates in Japan, although the degree of formality varies. It seems that in the more regional and less international research environments, the relationship is more hierarchical. In the few cases where the superior was depicted as an authoritarian figure by the Swedish interviewees, two concerned a regional university where the KI researcher was the only non-Asian faculty member. In addition, the three KI interviewees who describe a much less formal relationship between the head and the members of the laboratory were at a major university (e.g., Tokyo University) or a research centre that hosted many non-Asian researchers.

The consistent reports of different hierarchical relationships by Japanese researchers visiting KI also indicates a less formal relationship between Japanese researchers and the head of the research institute. In sum, both samples

of interviewees seem to suggest a more formal and hierarchical relationship between superiors and subordinates in the Japanese medical research environment.

Discussion

The discrepancies described between the (Swedish) KI environment and the Japanese environment show similarities with the findings of previous studies

Table 3.3: Sample of argued representative behaviour linked to Hofstede's (1980) cultural dimensions, and the ranking of Japan and Sweden

Dimension	Examples of argued representative behaviour for a high score	Examples of argued representative behaviour for a low score
Power Distance *Japan ranks higher than Sweden*	- Centralized decision structures; more concentration of authority - The ideal boss is a well-meaning autocrat or good father; sees self as benevolent decision maker. - Subordinates expect to be told (Hofstede, 2001:107-8)	- Decentralized decision structures; less concentration of authority - The ideal boss is a resourceful democrat; sees self as practical, orderly, and relying on support. - Subordinates expect to be consulted (Hofstede, 2001:107-8)
Masculinity *Japan ranks highest, Sweden lowest*	- Live in order to work - Stress on equity, mutual competition, and performance - Career ambitions are compulsory for men, optional for women (Hofstede, 2001:318)	- Work in order to live - Stress on equality, solidarity, and quality of work life - Career ambitions are optional for both men and women (Hofstede, 2001:318)
Uncertainty Avoidance *Japan ranks significantly higher*	- Strong loyalty to employer - Appeal of hierarchical control role - Top managers involved in operations - Power of superiors depends on control of uncertainties (Hofstede, 2001:160)	- Weak loyalty to employer - Appeal of transformational leader role - Top managers involved in strategy - Power of supervisors depends on position and relationships (Hofstede, 2001:160)
Long Term Orientation *Japan ranks higher than Sweden*	- Persistence, perseverance - Relationships ordered by status, and this order is observed - Leisure time not so important (Hofstede, 2001:366)	- Status not major issue in relationships - Leisure time important - Quick results expected (Hofstede, 2001:366)
Individualism *Sweden ranks higher than Japan*	- Employees supposed to act as "economic men" - Hiring and promotion decisions should be based on skills and rules only - Employer-employee relationship is a business deal in a "labor market" (Hofstede, 2001:244-5)	- Employees act in the interest of their in-group, not necessarily of themselves - Hiring and promotion decisions take employees' in-group into account - Employer-employee relationship is basically moral, like a family link (Hofstede, 2001:244-5)

on Japanese and Swedish organisational behaviour, work atmosphere, organisational design and leadership styles. Tables 3.3, 3.4 & 3.5 summarise the cultural dimensions of three of the most widely cited large-scale comparative

management studies containing data on Sweden and Japan (Hofstede, 1980/2001, House et al., 2004 and Schwartz from 1994). The tables provide illustrative behaviour of the cultural dimensions and the respective scores of Japan and Sweden. The representative behaviour indicated for each dimension sometimes reflect very closely the verbatim of the interviewees in the Go Japan project (see also chapter 4).

Large-scale research on discrepancies between Sweden and Japan

In accordance with Hofstede's study, the description of Japan by KI researchers fits the picture of an environment higher on Power Distance, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance and Long Term Orientation, and lower on Individualism (see table 3.3). Likewise, the description of the Swedish research environment by the Japanese scientists sketches the profile of a country lower on Power Distance, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance and Long Term orientation, but higher on Individualism. The study by House et al., (2004) indicates similar discrepancies between the two environments (see table 3.4) if we consider the scores on practices (behaviour). The GLOBE study measures a country's scores on cultural dimensions in regard to both values and practices, but since the interviews are centred on the description of practices, these are in focus here.

In the GLOBE study, Japan scores higher on Power Distance, Humane Orientation, Performance Orientation, Assertiveness and In-group Collectivism, and lower on Gender Egalitarianism and Uncertainty Avoidance. Three scores (on Future Orientation, Institutional Collectivism, and Uncertainty Avoidance) are somewhat different from the ones in Hofstede's study on equivalent dimensions. This difference is probably linked to the fact that the Hofstede (1980) and GLOBE studies have developed distinct measurement tools, and also that Hofstede's measurement of cultural dimensions sometimes mixes items related to values and practices. This is the case, for example, with Uncertainty Avoidance. Where the GLOBE project distinguishes between societal practices and societal values, the relative positions of the countries appear to vary. For example, in Hofstede's measurement, Sweden scores significantly lower than Japan. This is similar to the GLOBE findings for societal values, but not for practices. Eventual discrepancies between the Hofstede and House studies are not crucial here, since both studies sketch a picture of Japan and Sweden that resembles the one conveyed by the interviewees in regard to their three principal themes.

Table 3.4: Sample of argued representative behaviour for the societal practices (as is) of the cultural dimensions of the House et al., (2004) study, and the respective scores of Japan and Sweden

Dimension	Examples of argued representative behaviour of a high score	Examples of argued representative behaviour of a low score
Power Distance is the degree to which people expect and agree that power should be stratified and concentrated at higher levels of an organisation or government *Japan scores higher than Sweden*	- Different groups have different involvement, and democracy does not ensure equal opportunities - Society differentiated into classes on several criteria -Information is localised (House et al., 2004:536)	- All the groups enjoy equal involvement, and democracy ensures parity in opportunities and development for all - Society has large middle class - Information is shared (House et al., 2004:536)
Uncertainty Avoidance members strive to reduce uncertainty by relying on established social norms, rituals, bureaucratic practices *Sweden scores significantly higher than Japan*	- Show less tolerance for breaking rules - Be orderly, keeping meticulous records - Rely on formalised policies and procedures, establishing and following rules, verifying communication in writing (House et al., 2004:618)	- Show more tolerance for breaking rules - Rely on informal interactions and informal norms rather than formalised policies, procedures and rules (House et al., 2004:618)
Future Orientation relates to engagement in future-oriented behaviour *Japan and Sweden have similar scores*	- Individuals are more intrinsically motivated - Organisations with longer strategic orientation (House et al., 2004:302)	- Value instant gratification and place higher priorities on immediate rewards - See materialistic success and spiritual fulfilment as dualities, requiring trade-offs (House et al., 2004:302)
Gender Egalitarianism minimises gender-role differences while promoting gender equality *Sweden scores significantly higher than Japan*	- More women in position of authority (than in average country) - Afford women a greater role in community decision making (than in average country) - Less occupational sex segregation (than in average country) (House et al., 2004:359)	- Fewer women in position of authority (than in average country) - Afford women no or a smaller role in community decision making (than in average country) - More occupational sex segregation (than in average country) (House et al., 2004:359)
Humane Orientation encourages and rewards individuals for being fair, altruistic, generous, caring and kind to others *Japan scores significantly higher than Sweden*	- Mentoring and patronage support - Practices reflect individualised considerations (House et al., 2004:586) - Need for belonging and affiliation to motivate people - People are expected to promote paternalistic norms and patronage relationships (House et al., 2004:570)	- Supervisory support - Practices reflect standardized considerations (House et al., 2004:586) - Formal welfare institutions replace paternalistic norms and patronage relationships - Welfare state guarantees social and economic protection of individuals (House et al., 2004:570)
Assertiveness is the degree to which individuals are assertive, confrontational, and aggressive in their relationships with others *Japan scores significantly higher than Sweden*	- Stress equity, competition, and performance - Expect demanding and challenging targets - Value assertive, dominant and tough behaviour (House et al., 2004:405)	- Stress equality, solidarity, and quality of life - Have sympathy for the weak - Value who you are more than what you do (House et al., 2004:405)

Performance Orientation Encourages and rewards performance improvement and excellence *Japan scores higher than Sweden*	- Emphasise results more than people - Believe that anyone can succeed if she or he tries hard enough - Believe that schooling and education are critical for success - Value what you do more than who you are (House et al., 2004:245)	- Have high respect for quality of life -View assertiveness as socially unacceptable - Regard being motivated by money as inappropriate - Associate competition with defeat and punishment (House et al., 2004:245)
In-Group Collectivism is the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty and cohesiveness in their organisations or families *Japan scores significantly higher than Sweden* **Institutional Collectivism** Encourages and rewards collective distribution of resources and collective action *Japan and Sweden have similar scores*	- Members assume that they are highly interdependent with the organisation and believe it is important to make personal sacrifices to fulfil their organisational obligations - Employees tend to develop long-term relationships with employers from recruitment to retirement - Jobs are designed in groups to maximize social and technical aspects of the job (House et al., 2004:459)	- Members assume that they are independent of the organisation and believe it is important to bring their unique skills and abilities to the organisation - Employees develop short-term relationships, and change companies at their own discretion - Jobs are designed individually to maximize autonomy (House et al., 2004:459)

The study by Schwartz (1994) sketches a profile of Sweden and Japan as societies that differentiate on the values that they praise. Schwartz "structures of values" organise values in patterns of oppositions. Embeddedness (close to Collectivism) is opposed to Intellectual, and Affective Autonomy (close to Individualism). Egalitarianism is opposed to Hierarchy and Mastery to Harmony. In Sweden, very strong priority is given to values that comprise the value structure of Egalitarianism, while in Japan priority is given to the values in the value structure of Mastery (see Schwartz, 1999, 2004). In the Egalitarianism orientation, voluntary cooperation is emphasised, while in the Mastery orientation, the focus is placed on values close to achievement and competitiveness. Table 3.5 displays how the value structures are defined and gives examples of implications for organisational behaviour.

In a subsequent study, Sagiv and Schwartz (2000) show a relationship between countries scoring high on Mastery and Hierarchy, as well as work overload. This is consistent with the description of long working hours and sometimes work overload as well (given by Japanese scientists). In addition, they analyse the responses to three questions from Trompenaars' data base (see Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 2000), which includes Sweden and Japan. One of the questions addresses the respondent's views on how an organisation should set the level of its employees' income. While 32% of the

Japanese respondents agreed with the statement that employees should be paid on the basis of the work that they do (without consideration of the employee's family), 89% of Swedish respondents agreed.

Table 3.5: Schwartz' value structures and implications for organisational behaviour.

Dimensions (based on Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000)	Examples of implications for organisational behaviour
Egalitarianism: people are socialised to internalise a commitment to voluntary cooperation with others and to feel concern for everyone's welfare. *Sweden is strong on Egalitarianism*	- Organisations acknowledge the legitimacy of cooperative negotiation among members who flexibly enact their roles and try to affect organisational goals - leaders motivate by enabling participation in goal-setting (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000:420) - Positive relationship to the societal norm "entitlement" - Positive relationship to the work value "social" (Schwartz, 1999:41)
Mastery encourages active self-assertion in order to master, change, and exploit the natural and social environment to attain goals. *Japan is strong on Mastery*	- Organisations are likely to be competitive and strongly oriented toward achievement and success (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000:420) - Positive relationship to the work value "power". - Work centrality (Schwartz, 1999:41)
Harmony accepts the world as it is, trying to comprehend and fit in rather than change or exploit.	- Organisations are likely to be viewed holistically as systems to be integrated with the larger society, which should minimize competition - Leaders are likely to try to understand the social and environmental implications of organisational actions and to seek non-exploitive ways to work toward organisational goals (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000:420)
Affective Autonomy: individuals are seen as autonomous. Affective autonomy encourages individuals to pursue affectively positive experience for themselves.	- Organisations are open to change and diversity - Organisations treat their members as independent actors with their own interests, preferences, abilities, and allegiances. (Sagiv and Schwartz, 2000:419) - Positive relationship with the work value "intrinsic" (Schwartz, 1999:41)
Intellectual Autonomy: individuals are seen as autonomous. Intellectual autonomy encourages individuals to pursue their own ideas and intellectual directions independently.	- Organisations are open to change and diversity - Organisations treat their members as independent actors with their own interests, preferences, abilities, and allegiances. (Sagiv and Schwartz, 2000:419) - Positive relationship to the societal norm "entitlement" - Positive relationship with the work value "intrinsic" (Schwartz, 1999:41)
Hierarchy relies on hierarchical systems of ascribed roles to ensure responsible behaviour. It defines the unequal repartition of power, roles and resources as legitimate.	- Emphasis on chain of authority - Well-defined roles in a hierarchical structure - Demand of compliance in the service of goals set from the top (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000:420) - Positive relationship with the societal norm "obligation" - Positive relationship to the work value "power". (Schwartz, 1999:41)

This preference correlates across countries, with priority given to Embeddedness. In countries scoring high on Embeddedness, respondents tended to agree less often. In other words, the dislike shown by Japanese respondents for the proposed way of setting income levels reveals their preference as to the type of relationship between individuals and the group. In this case, the preference indicates Embeddedness, a dimension close to Collectivism (see Schwartz, 1994).

Another question tested whether respondents gave precedence to their organisation or to their peers. While 86% of the Japanese respondents prioritise their commitment to their organisation, this choice is made by 49% of the Swedish respondents. The respondents' scores indicate a preference for Mastery as well as Hierarchy in opposition to Egalitarianism. In other words, the Swedish respondents showed their preference for Egalitarianism in their interactions with other individuals and groups.

Research on Swedish and Japanese work environments

In addition to large-scale cross-cultural studies, comparative management studies have contributed to an image of Japan as an environment with high work intensity and strong loyalty to the organisation. Dore (1973; 1987) applies the metaphor of the community to large Japanese organisations and refers to welfare corporatism. Values such as loyalty, trust and commitment mark the description of the relationship between employers and employees. A study by Lincoln and Kalleberg (1990) of work attitudes in Japan and the USA shows how the Japanese corporation follows corporatist strategies of control which result in commitment and attachment between the company and the employees. Chen (1998) explains how enterprise unionism and seniority wages tend to reduce mobility among Japanese employees and are a part of the Japanese "lifetime employment system". Comparative management studies of Japan have frequently centred their investigation on organisational cultures (see e.g., Brannen & Kleinberg, 2000).

In contrast to Japan, the Swedish work environment is presented as favouring values of Individualism and Femininity (see e.g., Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede, Arrindell, Best et al., 1998 and table 3.3). Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (1993) use the term "social individualism" to refer to the combination of values and practices reflecting respect for individuals and their contributions to the group. Berglund and Löwstedt (1996) explain that a common view on individuals as members of the "folk" (people as a collective unit) influenced the development of human resource management in Swe-

den. In contrast to the liberal view on individuals as bound together in contractual relationships to form a society, the idea of "folk" is closer to the one of a "Gemeinschaft" (community). Individuals are seen as united in a natural and organic community where they contribute together to the collective. This view is sometimes referred to as "social" (Hampden-Turner & Tompenaars, 1993) or as "feminine" (Hofstede, from 1980). Autonomy and informality are also argued by Hedlund (1991) to be characteristic traits of the Swedish management style. In addition, Sweden is famous for the experiments with autonomous work groups conducted in the 1970s by car and truck manufacturers. Bjerke (1999) contends that values of autonomy and egalitarianism are socially commended and are materialised in organisational design and processes. Gannon and Associates (1994) consider that the concern for equality between individuals is at the origin of flatter hierarchies in organisations and of participative forms of decision-making. IKEA is an example of a Swedish company promoting decision making by consensus, favouring informality, little hierarchy, and empowerment (see e.g., Salzer, 1994; Grol & Schoch, 1998; Jackson, 2002). In sum, the first two major themes that appeared from the analysis of the interviews (long working hours and individual relationship to the group) reflect the profile of the Swedish and Japanese work environments as captured by large-scale comparative value surveys, as well as by comparative-management or management studies in Sweden and Japan.

The third theme (superior-subordinate relationships) is present in the outcomes of large-scale comparative studies (see tables 3.3-3.5) as well as cross-cultural leadership studies. The description by KI scientists of the leadership style of the Japanese researchers with whom they work is very similar to the conclusions of cross-cultural leadership research, as are the descriptions by Japanese researchers of the relationships that they witness and experience between KI superiors and subordinates. In Japan, the "ringi(seido)" management concept (see Silberman, 1973; Stanley, 1981) involves a hierarchical relationship where superiors' and subordinates' ideas are regarded conjointly rather than imposed by top management. At the same time, organisations tend to have multiple hierarchical levels with a formal relationship between superiors and subordinates. The "Ringi" is presented as a formal procedure of management by group consensus. "A 'ringisho' is a proposal that originates in one section, and is forwarded to all relevant sections of the same level, the section heads, the managers, the directors, and eventually, the president of the company. Upon receiving the 'ringisho', each will make comments on a sheet attached to the back of the proposal. The decision will

be made by top management based on the comments from all people in-
volved in the process" (Chen, 1998:186). However, the fact that many em-
ployees are involved and consulted before a decision is made does not
necessarily mean that everyone's voice counts equally. Thus, Chen also
stresses that ideas are often initiated by the hierarchy. "Many Japanese top
executives can also be very autocratic and the process, therefore, may be
viewed as a 'confirmation-authorization' process" (Chen, 1998:187).

In contrast to Japan, literature on consensus in Sweden links it to consulta-
tion with subordinates and the ability of the leader to reach a decision that
will be well accepted by the group (see e.g., Källström, 1995). The Swedish
management style is also associated with limited hierarchical differentiation
and low Power Distance, as well as strongly valuing equality. Zander (1997)
shows, for example, that coaching is seen as a preferred leadership style by
Swedish employees, whereas Japanese employees tend to prefer a more di-
rective one. Likewise, Smith, Peterson and Schwartz et al., (2002), in their
analysis of the source of guidance used by managers, note that while Japa-
nese employees tend to refer to their hierarchy to solve problems, Swedes do
not, but would rather turn to their colleagues/subordinates (see also Smith,
Andersen et al., 2003). In sum, the contents of the interviews provide a repre-
sentative picture that clearly reflects the findings of previous research, both
qualitative and quantitative, on the work environment, individual relations
to the group and superior-subordinate relationships.

Relevance of the cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis

Do cultural dimensions help make sense of the differences between work
environments? Cultural dimensions are constructs that show cultural organi-
sations of values. Finding clear expressions of cultural dimensions in the in-
terviews would legitimise the use of the cultural values that they represent to
explain the differences encountered. The verbatim describing the relation-
ship of individuals with the group, in Japan and in the KI environment, re-
fers directly to the cultural dimensions of Individualism and Collectivism.
The narration by KI scientists of how individuals are cared for by the group
in Japan is an explicit reference to the cultural dimension of Collectivism.
Depending on whether they were the first international guests or one of
many, the degree of caring differed. However, the descriptions converge in
indicating that activities were organised at the group level (sometimes on a
daily basis) for group members. The relationship to the group of colleagues is

depicted as intensive, both in terms of time (long working hours together) and in terms of activities (meals together and other activities outside work). An additional aspect of the group is the favourable working conditions provided for visiting researchers, and the reports by interviewees that they were very well taken care of. This aspect, too, appears consistent with the expression of the cultural dimension of Individualism Collectivism (see Gelfand et al., 2004 for detailed presentation of various expressions of Individualism and Collectivism in organisational behaviour). The Japanese researchers, too, mention a relationship with their KI colleagues different from the one to which they are accustomed. They indicate that the group of colleagues does not play a similar role in the organisation of the individual's activities. The themes that appear refer to the dimension of Individualism. Visiting Japanese researchers report an organisation of work centred more on individual agenda and goals than what they are used to. In sum, the cultural dimension of Individualism Collectivism provides elements that explain the differences in the relationship that individuals developed with the group of colleagues that they joined.

A second major theme in the interviews is the description of a relationship between subordinates and superiors different from what both KI researchers and Japanese researchers are used to. The KI researchers reveal two sub-themes in their narrative of the hierarchical relationship. The first sub-theme is centred on formality, respect and apprenticeship, the second on style of decision making. Their account of the formality, the deference of subordinates to superiors, and the tendency toward a system of apprenticeship, as well as a more directive style of decision making, are consistent with a characteristic behaviour of a high score on Power Distance (see Dickson, den Hartog & Mitchelson, 2003 and Carl, Gupta & Javidan, 2004). Japanese researchers visiting KI or KI-related research centres express several sub-themes in connection with the hierarchy that they encounter. The first is that the hierarchical pyramid is "flat" and that their superiors are more accessible. When Japanese researchers elaborate, it appears that they are in a participative environment at KI. The description given by visiting Japanese researchers indicates a tendency toward low Power Distance, with flat hierarchical structures and leadership that seems to permit individual initiative. This is congruent with representative behaviour of a low score on the cultural dimension of Power Distance (Hofstede, 2001; Carl et al., 2004). The Japanese description of the leadership style of the head of their KI department also includes the themes of "friendliness" or "kindness". This aspect can be

linked to the expression of the cultural dimension of Masculinity Femininity (in Hofstede, 1980) or the dimension of Assertiveness which is used in the GLOBE project to refine Hofstede's Masculinity dimension. In an environment low in Assertiveness, the quality of life and solidarity are emphasised. Such an environment also values people and warm relationships (see Den Hartog, 2004).

The third major theme mentioned in the interviews concerns differences in working hours. In the KI interviews, the theme of longer working hours in the Japanese research laboratory is linked both to expectations from the group and to an implicit expectation from the boss. In the Japanese interviews, the theme of differences in working hours is related to the group and especially to pressure by the boss on researchers to "work hard". Differences related to time are included among the cultural dimensions in the cross-cultural management literature. The distinctions in regard to time orientation (e.g., Past-Present-Future) are explored by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) and Trompenaars (1993). Hofstede's (2001) second edition of *Cultures consequences* includes the dimension of Long versus Short-Term Orientation. Hall introduced the notions of Polychronic and Monochronic times (Hall, 1966). However, none of these references to the perception of time or orientation to time seems explicitly to consider a relationship to a group or a superior.

In a research on US interns in Japanese organisations, Masumoto (2004) presents cross-national studies linking time and activity, and time and relationships. A distinction between active and idle time is made in both the Japanese and US societies. What constitutes each type of time differs, however (Masumoto, 2004:22). She indicates that compared to North American society, which tends to focus on what one "does" (combining both Individual and Doing orientations, see Maznevski et al., 2002), the Japanese environment may place less emphasis on individual achievement. By contrast, it favours the individual's contribution to the group and the process by which the contribution is made. In other words, this differentiation can shed light on the perceptions by KI researchers that "presence is a big thing" even if tasks are not "done in the most efficient way" (focus on achievement). In addition, it may explain the comment by a Japanese researcher that "we are not so concentrated and we work longer" (focus on process).

The second type of studies referred to by Masumoto (2004) consists of cross-cultural research linking time and relationships. She explains that Kume's (1986) work on the differences in perception of time between Japanese and US citizens shows the relative importance accorded in Japan to

spending time together, for example with colleagues. This time together is valued for helping to set "a social tempo or rhythm for the group". She explains that the sense of obligation ("giri") that some employees feel in Japan in regard to staying overtime can be linked to this "personal effort to contribute to the group effort and morale" (Masumoto, 2004:22). Time spent with colleagues is related to a contribution to the group, and also a form of socialisation. This time spent together for socialisation is explicitly linked to the hierarchical relationship in a study by Rao (1997) that underlines how superiors in Japan use extra time with their colleague (at work or outside work) to establish their influence. In sum, the cultural dimensions available for dealing with time are not the ones that help make immediate sense of the differences found between the KI and Japanese research environments. However, when these are combined with other dimensions (Individualism Collectivism and Doing Orientation, in e.g., Maznevski et al., 2002), the differences are explained.

Importance of contextual variables

The importance of contextual variables is outlined in the empirical study. Because of the small sample size, it is not possible to verify the indications that the type of research environment makes a difference in regard to the language in use, taking care of guest researchers, working hours and intensity of the hierarchical relationship. It appears from the interviews that the language barrier (mainly expressed as the difficulty for Swedes to find good English skills in the Japanese research environment) and the intensity of the hierarchical relationship are higher at regional universities and where the faculty is Asian (often also Japanese-speaking). In research centres of an international level, or prestigious universities (like Tokyo University), the language barrier appears lower, as does the intensity of the hierarchical relationship, and non-Asian faculty members are more common. In addition, international research centres with rotation of international faculty as guest researchers seem to place less emphasis on taking special care of their visitors. The difference in regard to working hours appears related only to laboratory environments. The interviewed researchers in psychology, psychiatry, behaviour genetics and surgery do not mention any discrepancy in working hours. In sum, the empirical study appears to point toward a different intensity of differences, depending on the internationalisation of the research environment and the work organisation (clinical or experimental). These variables could moderate the effect of cultural discrepancy between the KI

and Japanese research environments. The empirical study therefore seems to indicate that national differences in culture are moderated by organisational-level variables, in line with multi-level framework studies like Fischer, Ferreira et al., (2005).

Limitations of the study

The interviews relate of situations comparable to those depicted by previous research. However, they show a distinct picture than could have been expected from interaction between Swedish and Japanese researchers in view of the score discrepancies between Sweden and Japan on themes linked to Gender Egalitarianism. For example, in Hofstede (1980) analysis, Japan and Sweden are at exact opposite ends of the Masculinity index (Japan is highest, Sweden lowest; see table 3.3). The theme of Masculinity as a cultural difference between the two research environments was actually mentioned by interviewees, but only marginally. Furthermore, just one of the critical incidents was linked to it (and it was outside of work). One could argue that the interviewees were prepared for this difference, thus explaining the lack of critical incidents and the weakness of the reference to it. However, interviewees were prepared (by their recollection) to find large discrepancies in regard to hierarchy and language skills, and these appear clearly in the themes and critical incidents related by the interviews.

The lack of strong references by KI researchers to the themes of Masculinity and Femininity could be linked to the differences in the profile of the Swedish and Japanese samples. Roughly speaking, KI scientists spent a shorter time in Japan than the Japanese researchers in Sweden. If the sample of KI researchers with experience of working in Japan longer than one year had been larger, the outcome of the analysis might have indicated more references to themes of Masculinity (e.g., assertiveness, competition, gender egalitarianism). Among the five KI researchers who mentioned a theme linked to Masculinity, such as gender-role differentiation, three elaborated on their thoughts. All three had more than 18 months' experience of Japan, some much more. The two others had prior knowledge of Japan (e.g., spoke Japanese). The theme of Masculinity and Femininity appears more often in the Japanese interviews, not as gender-role differentiation, but as themes linked to Assertiveness and Humane Orientation. Japanese interviewees made little mention of differences between their previous and current work environment in relation to Gender Egalitarianism.

Another limitation of the study is that the KI interviewees were all associated with KI; in other words, one sample was taken from a single organisation which constituted a reference in all interviews. In fact, the relationship of the KI interviewees to KI ranged from employment to working in a joint-venture organisation where KI was one of the parent organisations. The interviewees were located on the KI campuses of Solna and Huddinge, and some interviewees worked at the hospital affiliated with KI. However, all KI interviewees are in the medical sector and most of them in academia. There could thus be a limitation in comparing behaviour argued to be representative of cultural dimensions in the corporate and academic worlds.

The fact that all interviews refer to KI (implicitly with the KI interviewees, explicitly with Japanese researchers) is another limitation. The disparities described between the KI and Japanese environments are those between one organisation and many other universities or companies in Japan. However, the descriptions given by the interviewees resemble outcomes of previous research and present what seems to be a representative picture of differences between Japan and Sweden.

Conclusion and implications for future research

The cultural dimensions used in the cross-cultural management literature have frequently been developed for the national level of analysis. Their utilisation should be performed at the level for which they are intended. However, studies that have used national cultural dimensions at the individual level of analysis have obtained coherent results, especially in regard to the most frequently investigated dimensions of Individualism and Collectivism (see Kirkman et al., 2006 or Tsui et al., 2007). Intrigued by these results and the similarities in theoretical foundations between dimensions developed for the cultural and individual level of analysis, I have devoted this chapter to examining cultural-dimension constructs.

The theoretical foundations of the cultural dimensions involve identifying issues that human groups must deal with in order to survive. It appeared that these issues of internal integration and external adaptation are likely to be present at the level of the organisation and the group. Since organisational behaviour is coordinated around functions and tasks within groups, one may argue that the solutions adopted by a group or an organisation to deal with these issues are reflected in the organisational behaviour of its members. It is thereby possible to observe them at the individual level of analysis. This may

explain the consistency found in the outcomes of studies using cultural dimensions at the individual level of analysis.

In order to verify the relevance of using the cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis, the empirical study analyzes 31 interviews with researchers involved in international research collaboration. The outcome of the analysis shows the relevance of using cultural-dimension constructs for the individual level of analysis. Three principal themes expressed in the interviews are appropriately explained through the cultural dimensions of Individualism Collectivism, Power Distance, Masculinity and the Doing Orientation. The theme of the individual relationship to the group is explained by the dimension of Individualism Collectivism, while the themes of superior-subordinate relationships and differences in working hours combine several cultural dimensions.

The combination of cultural dimensions to amplify the explanatory power of empirical observations is advocated by Kirkman et al., (2006) in their recommendations for future research. They contend that studies of a phenomenon through consideration of more than one cultural dimension simultaneously explain the encountered variance more fully than studies using only one dimension. Likewise, the empirical part of this chapter helps make better sense of the interviewees' verbatim when cultural dimensions are combined. For example, the cultural dimensions related to time could not alone explain the differences in working hours between the KI and Japanese laboratories. However, when combined with the orientation "Doing" of the dimension Natural mode of activity (see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961 or Maznevski et al., 2002), and Individualism Collectivism, the discrepancies become clearer. This is also the case for the dimensions of Power Distance and Masculinity in connection with superior-subordinate relationships.

The empirical study indicates that the dimensions can complement each other. It suggests that using several dimensions conjointly may improve our understanding of the influence of cultural dimensions on organisational behaviour. How many dimensions should then be considered? All cultural dimensions seem to play some kind of role, to judge by the results of the GLOBE project that show the relationship between the nine cultural dimensions and leadership. It is difficult, however, to consider all dimensions at once, especially in a quantitative study, unless the database is large.

A suggestion is to start by considering one framework, rather than combining cultural dimensions taken from different frameworks. In other words, a single set of dimensions, developed from the same theory and consistently

measured, could be used. Cultural-dimension frameworks are constructed on the basis of a certain number of problems that human groups must confront in order to survive. The number of dimensions developed in the framework usually covers the range of problems that need to be addressed. Schwartz' value structure framework is an example of the search for the range of dimensions to cover (see Schwartz, 1994 or Smith & Schwartz, 1997). Therefore, by considering one framework, with all its dimensions, it should be feasible to cover reasonably the range of possible cultural influence.

Although it should not matter whether the framework contains four or nine dimensions, it should be used in its entirety as a first step in the investigation of the relationships between organisational behaviour and culture. Through consideration of one framework (with the number of dimensions appropriate for the size of the database), it should be possible to underline the hypothesised relationship between a certain behaviour and a cultural dimension. A framework like the one developed by House et al., (2004) with nine dimensions, shows that the dimensions are more fine-grained. With only four dimensions (in Hofstede, 1980), the themes encompassed in the dimensions are probably complex. Hofstede's Collectivism, for example, is divided by the GLOBE project into In-Group Collectivism and Institutional Collectivism, and countries score differently on these two themes (see table 3.4). Hofstede's Masculinity dimension encompasses themes of the GLOBE dimensions of Gender Egalitarianism, Assertiveness, Performance Orientation and Humane Orientation (see Denmark and den Hartog, 2004). Frameworks with few dimensions present a practical advantage in investigation (smaller data bases needed), but with a trade-off of less accuracy in the dimensions. Ideally, studies could investigate organisational behaviour using frameworks with few dimensions at the start, then improving the analysis of the stronger correlations with refined dimensions.

The present empirical investigation of cultural dimensions at the individual level of analysis highlights the moderating role of the organisational-level variable. For example, the relatively greater internationalisation of the KI research environments, compared to the Japanese environments with which KI researchers collaborate, is seen as an explanation of the differences in English skills. In addition, differences in working hours are found only between the KI and Japanese laboratory work environments. Although the sample is limited and cannot fully support this claim, the type of university and the internationalisation of the research faculty also seem to affect the intensity of the differences found between KI and Japan. At smaller universities and in

research environments dominated by a Japanese or Japanese-speaking faculty, the hierarchical relationship between superiors and subordinates seems to be more pronounced. In addition, it appears that the collectivist orientation of the work group is stronger. These observations are only indicative. They cannot support the claim that organisational variables (size of university, degree of international orientation) moderate the influence of culture on organisational behaviour. Yet, they do suggest the relevance of conducting further research on organisational variables that may have this effect; such research has already been started with multi-level models (see e.g., Huang & van de Vliert, 2003; Fischer et al., 2005).

This chapter presents an interpretive analysis of the interviews with a concern for societal systems of meanings. It investigates verbatim linked to the descriptions of superior-subordinate relationships in Japan and Sweden. The chapter differs from many interpretive studies through its concern for cross-cultural management, rather than, for instance, organisational culture or identity. The focus of the analysis is on the identification, through the verbatim of Swedish KI researchers and Japanese visiting scientists, of socially established systems of meanings indicative of the societal culture of the interviewees. The systems of meanings (analytical frameworks) are emergent; they highlight relationships between several elements of the society (associative model of analysis). The systems of meanings are revealed with a divergent analytical process. When they talk about superior-subordinate relationships, the Swedish interviewees oppose a hierarchical, old-fashioned system to a modern democratic one. In contrast, the Japanese interviewees use an opposition between two forms of social organisation. The first is vertical and collective, with the superior in charge of a group in which researchers are embedded. The second is a social organisation of superior-subordinate relationships around a symbolic equality between individuals. The chapter discusses the implications for cross-cultural management research of showing different systems of meanings associated with superior-subordinate relationships.

4

Interpretive analysis

Preamble

In the field of culture and management as presented in chapter 1, interpretive analyses are most frequent in organisation studies, especially in the symbolic study of organisations. In contrast to the positivist/functionalist approach, in which organisations are considered to have a culture, contributions by Smircich (e.g., 1983a, 1983b), Pondy et al., (1983), Frost et al., (1985), for example, promoting works using the root metaphor of organisations as culture, led the way to a major trend in studies. The present analysis does not follow this stream of research, though, but is positioned in cross-cultural

management research. It is not intended to uncover the meanings associated with certain events, how they vary across organisational groups and the implications for existing theory (see e.g., Smircich and Morgan, 1982; Olie, 1994). Rather, the chapter adopts the concern of cross-cultural management research with comparing environments (implicitly or explicitly) and explaining differences. In addition, it emphasises culture in the analysis.

Various positions are reflected in the interpretive paradigm but four central features are underlined by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000:58-66). The first is the pattern of interpretation used by researchers. This pattern seeks hidden meanings (rather than causality), hidden in the sense that they are not immediately perceptible, and it reaches an understanding of the whole from the parts, which are themselves only understandable from the whole. This interpretive double bond between parts and whole is referred to as the hermeneutic circle.

The second feature is the reference to a "text" rather than to data or facts. This means that researchers see what they are studying as meaningful symbols. Actions or words are meaningful symbols in that they can take on a richer or different meaning in light of their context. Researchers therefore place their element of investigation in light of its context.

The third central feature is the dialogue that researchers have with the "text". They originally question the text on the basis of the pre-understanding that they develop and transform in this interaction. This implies that researchers must adopt a "humble" (respectful of the text and its meanings) "yet at the same time active attitude" (to enter the text and understand it). This dialogue can assume a specific genre (depending on the discipline of the researcher) and is also addressed to the reader. Therefore, "instead of a logic of validation" (as in the positivist paradigm with the use of replications), this is a "logic of argumentation".

The fourth feature noted by Alvesson and Sköldberg is sub-interpretation. "In the course of the process of interpretation we continually formulate sub-interpretations. When deciding between these, we work with certain background conceptions" and information. The most likely interpretation is decided on the basis of these.

This fourth chapter presents an interpretive analysis. The analysis adopts the four central features of hermeneutics presented above. In view of the vocabulary used so far, one can say that the purpose and nature of the analytical frameworks are to explain in order to understand, and that the frameworks are emergent. In contrast to the positivist paradigm, the

interpretive one tends to use an associative model of analysis and a divergent analytical process. The associative model of analysis employs other studies in order to "plunge more deeply into the same thing". It considers previous and distinct studies to obtain a better understanding of what is claimed. "But the movement is not from already proven theorems to newly proven ones, it is from an awkward fumbling for the most elementary understanding to a supported claim that one has achieved that and surpassed it. A study is an advance if it is more incisive –whatever that may mean - than those that preceded it; but less stands on their shoulders than, challenged and challenging, runs by their side" (Geertz, 1973:25). The divergent analytical process expands the analysis, turning our attention to the context of the elements studied, such as their relationship to other societal aspects.

This chapter provides an interpretive analysis of verbatim related to superior-subordinate relationships in the interviews held in the Go Japan Project. It studies the "structures of meanings" that emerge from two groups of interviews: Swedish KI researchers and Japanese researchers. Structures of meanings indicate a common organisation of meanings within each group, in other words, the shared cognitive associations used by the members of that group to make sense of their experience. The systems of meanings emerge from a dialogue with the "text" of the interviews. The principal question posed to the text is: how do interviewees make sense of their interactions with superiors/subordinates? The analysis of the text proceeds by developing sub-interpretations summarised in tables 4.1 to 4.10. In each sample of interviews, the sub-interpretations progressively merge into a system of opposition which I see as a structure of meanings. The possibility of identifying a shared structure of meanings in each sample of interviews is said to denote through the sample a shared "culture".

Culture is approached here in terms of a system of shared meanings that is constantly developed by a group. In return, the system shapes and sustains human actions and interactions in the group. The relationship between culture and behaviour is seen through meanings that influence actions; the meanings are identifiable by their language. "The unique set of meanings that a group develops portrays its ethos or distinctive character, which is sustained and elaborated through symbolic forms such as language, rituals, ideologies, and myths" (Pondy et al., 1983 cited in Smircich, 1983b:161). In sum, culture can be studied through the language used by individuals. This approach is taken in the present interpretive analysis. It reflects other works centred on the study of shared meanings in an occupational group (see e.g.,

Barley, 1991; Meyerson, 1991, see also Budhwar, 2000; Budhwar & Sparrow, 2002 in the positivist paradigm). However, it differs in that the emphasis of the present chapter is not on occupational culture, but on societal culture (i.e., the culture of the society in which the interviewees originate). Thereby, it follows in the footsteps of works like d'Iribarne (1989).

The orientation toward the societal culture is provided through an associative model of analysis. In light of other studies, the analysis examines whether the identified systems of meanings are reflected in other spheres of the Swedish and Japanese societies. In other words, the chapter investigates systems of meanings shared by interviewees and tries to make sense of them by considering other aspects of the society to which the interviewees belong. At the same time, we realise that the systems of meanings used by the interviewees help us to better understand their society (hermeneutical circle between parts and whole). Through consideration of the verbatim of the interviewees, and a search for the underlying organisation of the descriptions that they provide (hidden meanings), the chapter seeks to uncover some of the "socially established structures of meanings" constituted by culture (Geertz, 1973:12). These structures can then be compared in order to highlight differences between the ways in which people socially make sense of their interactions. In sum, this chapter highlights the features of interpretive analyses (emergent analytical framework, associative model of analysis and divergent analytical process), such as the features of positivist analyses were emphasised by chapter 3. In brief, the purpose of chapters 3 and 4 is less to investigate thoroughly cultural interactions in Japanese-Swedish collaboration than to stress the different symbolic generalisations of the interpretive and positivist types of analyses on which to conduct interplays in chapter 5.

Introduction

In the field of culture and management, relatively few interpretive works are concerned with the comparative study of societal systems of meanings. The investigation of meanings seems to have been the preferred ground of organisational culture studies, and very much less so the one of comparative management. Chapter 1 noted that two interpretive streams of research are concerned with the analytical level of national societies. The first is in line with Whitley business systems (see e.g., Whitley, 1992a&b; Redding, 2005) and provides rich descriptions of a societal environment that combines economical, sociological and historical perspectives. However, the descriptions

of business systems do not address culture as an independent variable and its influence on organisational behaviour as positivist cross-cultural management studies do. They adopt a more holistic view that leads to a different kind of analysis which includes economic, societal and historical perspectives. Positivist cross-cultural management studies investigate the relationship between culture and organisational behaviour with a primary focus on ideational aspects of culture. Their approach is closer to the second stream of interpretive work dealing with societal culture in cross-cultural management, exemplified by d'Iribarne (1989).

The work by d'Iribarne (e.g., 2002 and d'Iribarne, Henry, Segal, Chevrier, and Globokar, 1998) addresses systems of meanings or frames of interpretation ("cadres d'entendement") at the level of a national society. This research studies societal culture through organisational behaviour, and how it can be perceived in the frames of reference used by employees. Field studies conducted within a company seek to grasp what organisational members share despite their diversity (in position, occupation, age, gender, and opinions). They reveal common frames of interpretation, which are potentially cultural. A further stage proposes to demonstrate the societal cultural nature of the identified frames of interpretation. It compares results gained in other field studies and examines the traditional ways that companies are operated in that country, as well as local institutional forms (d'Iribarne, 2004). The contributions show which systems of meanings, or frames of interpretation, are recognisable in the society, and how they influence organisational behaviour. The systems of meanings convey a particular picture of the society, like an emic description. The multiplicity of studies in various countries made it possible to understand how fundamental themes (like the conception of freedom and the relationship between individuals and the group to which they belong) are viewed differently in different societies (see d'Iribarne, 2003 and 2006, and for a thorough discussion of his theoretical frame, see d'Iribarne, 2007).

There are two important limitations to adopting the analytical level of national culture. First, this level seems to imply a national homogeneity. Second, it appears difficult to study the development and the dynamics of meanings, and their structures, at a societal level. In regard to our concerns, the dynamics of culture are not an issue since the analysis adopts a "consensus" approach (as did the positivist analysis in chapter 3). In other words, the focus on what is perceived as shared by the interviewees diverts attention from the questions how they came to share it and how it has evolved. In

brief, the analysis at hand concentrates on the possibility of identifying common systems of meanings found in the various interviews. It does not explore how these systems of meanings have developed historically and reached their present configuration.

The second criticism of the stream of work initiated by d'Iribarne is its supposed claim that societies are homogeneous. However, the study of shared systems of meanings is quite distinct from the study of shared meanings (this distinction is developed in chapter 5). In sum, scholars following in the footsteps of d'Iribarne (1989) do not claim the homogeneity of any society but rather they claim the possibility of identifying certain similarities within any society (see d'Iribarne, 1989, 1994).

The present analysis investigates whether systems of meanings are identifiable in each sample of interviews and whether they reflect a comparable organisation of meanings in distinct aspects of Swedish or Japanese society. This analysis facilitates the development of an image of that society in regard to one theme; this theme then helps us to understand the society. Thereafter, it compares the distinctions between the systems of meanings used in the two groups of interviewees. For the practical and theoretical reasons developed in chapter 2, the verbatim of critical incidents and topics attached to the theme of "superior-subordinate relationships" is the principal material used in this chapter. This theme is the one to which the largest number of critical incidents and the most developed descriptions relate in both samples of interviews. In addition, it clearly appeared in the positivist analysis, and it is an advantage that the subsequent interplays have this theme in common.

Method

This time the analysis of the interviews in the Go Japan project relates only to the Swedish and Japanese interviewees, reducing the sample to 11 interviews of KI researchers and to 15 with Japanese scientists. The focus on the Swedish interviewees is legitimate in the search of a Swedish system of meanings. All Swedish scientists were connected in some way to the KI organisation, either as employees, members of a joint venture with KI or practitioners at the hospital affiliated with KI. They represent 11 disciplines and seven hierarchical levels. The Japanese interviewees come from various universities and companies in Japan. The interviewees' profile was selected with maximum differentiation as a sampling strategy (see Agar, 1996), but ultimately the

sample of interviewees was restricted by the profile of visiting scientists at KI (mostly junior faculty members: four Post Docs and seven guest researchers). The Japanese interviewees are also diverse in their disciplines and the type of organisation to which they belonged in Japan (nine disciplines, seven academic researchers, four practitioners, three researchers from a private organisation, one researcher from a national research centre).

The interviews with Japanese researchers were conducted in English, and many of the interviews with KI researchers were held in Swedish (at the discretion of the interviewee). The average length of each interview was 80 minutes. The interviews were taped when the interviewee agreed and then transcribed. The analysis utilises the texts of the interviews, trying not to atomise them into small categories, but to maintain the argumentative and descriptive unity of each theme. The analysis centres firstly on themes linked to superior-subordinate relationships (supervision, hierarchy etc.) and secondly on themes connected with the first ones (democracy, dependence, role, etc).

The limitations inherent in the interviews conducted in English with Japanese scientists are more perceptible in this interpretive analysis. The interviewees varied in their ability to express their thoughts in English, the verbatim is more restricted, and the flow of their narration is sometimes halting. How well, then, does the "text" of the interviews with Japanese researchers reflect their meaning structures? In order to manage this limitation, my interaction with the text has been cautious in the sense of "humble" and more limited than with the text of the Swedish interviewees. I chose an analytical method that some may consider conservative, progressing very slowly and explaining the various sub-interpretations. The method demands considerable support in the verbatim for the elaboration of the systems of meanings. Using this method also meant that even when I could perceive additional themes and elements that would certainly have advanced my analysis further, I chose not to consider them unless they were present in several interviews in the sample.

Inspired by the structuralist approach, the chosen method of analysis is intended to reveal shared semantic systems reflected in the verbatim of a group of interviewees. The method uses the relationship of opposition as a possible starting point for exposing the organisation of meanings around a theme. In addition, this analysis is partly inspired by the method described in Raymond (2001) called "analyse des relations par opposition" (ARO), as well as by semiotics in regard to the attention paid to elements that are stressed, and those that are not, in order to unveil the (hidden) meanings at-

tached to the text. Systems of meanings are therefore approached and presented here as forming an opposition. For the sake of consistency, I chose to use the same method for both samples of interviews.

The organisation of meanings by Swedish interviewees on the theme of superior-subordinate relationships

This section considers only the verbatim of the interviews with Swedish KI scientists. When the interviewees talk about the relationship between superiors and subordinates that they saw or experienced in Japan or with their Japanese colleagues, the sub-themes of formality, respect and directive leadership are very strong. A relationship between hierarchy and formality appears in personal interaction, in the forms of address, for example. Interviewees reported that colleagues do not use first names, but last names and titles ("Sensei") in addressing the professor. Hierarchy, formality and interactions are crystallised around small everyday rituals. A project leader [1] recalls:

> *It's a bit more hierarchical when you go to the department, it is extremely important that you say hello to the professors in the right order. It is really a much more structured hierarchy than it is here I would say, it is a bit more formalised.*

Referring to his written interaction with his Japanese partners, another researcher [9] comments:

> *With email, you get also very much more serious answers from Japanese researchers; it's like structured, maybe a little bit longer, formal.*

The interviewees associate in their comments the terms "structured" and "formal" when they refer to hierarchical interactions. The theme of respect is also recurrent in relation to both interactions and formality. For example, in the same interview [9], the researcher explains what he liked about a group of Japanese visiting professors:

> *I liked their way, because they were not very… how to say…you did not have to be very respectful to them, when they were in Sweden, they were adapted to the Swedish culture, it is not like in France or England or as in Japan, you have to show this respect to the professor so much. Even though I was aware of that, they did not act like that. They were very*

open-minded, natural, walking around with me in labs, having fun, jokes.

The absence of the expected deference to the professor was appreciated, and was complemented by the characterisation of professors as "open-minded" and relaxed. It seems here as if the notions of formality and structures are associated with "showing respect" in contrast to being relaxed, "having fun," and being "open-minded". Table 4.1 provides an initial outline, based on the verbatim, of the themes associated with hierarchy[4].

Table 4.1: Preliminary organisation of themes on superior-subordinate relationships

Hierarchical	Structured / Formality	*Show respect*
Less hierarchical	Open-minded, Relaxed	Don't have to show respect

For the interviewees, the themes of hierarchy, formality and respect are inter-related. A professor [13] explains that in Japan he sees a respect for formal titles and prestigious institutions. At the same time, he establishes a connection between titles and authority, authority and knowledge, and authority/knowledge and respect.

> *You also understand that research is important for like… status in Japan, (…) It lies in their respect for knowledge, respect for fine titles (fina titlar), professor and so on.* What makes you say that? *In their way of writing emails and, … just… the students that came here… I really became an authority. And I know that Genji* [a Japanese colleague], *he will always have a lot of respect for the one who was his previous mentor or so, the one who is his boss in Japan. (…) But, this respect, it is also what makes it so nice* [to Genji] *to have a* [relationship] *to Karolinska* [which he explains is seen as prestigious] *and for sure in a place like Japan.*

Formality and "titles" may be placed in association since formality was often illustrated by the use of "Sensei". Authority (the "mentor", the "boss," and himself as head of the department and professor) appears in connection with respect and title. In addition, authority and knowledge are placed in parallel.

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[4] In the tables, the rows show the themes in opposition, the adjacent boxes express a relationship of association, the implicit themes are in italics, and the column that is added or completed from the previous table is highlighted.

Table 4.2: Complementary picture of themes on superior-subordinate relationships

Hierarchical	Structured / Formality	Titles Authority	*Show respect*
Less hierarchical	Open minded, Relaxed	?	Don't have to show respect

A professor [6] explains the difference that he finds between the environment of his present research in Japan, a national research centre, and the Japanese university where he was a Post Doc:

> *This type of research* [centre] *is not so hierarchical. Young people can stick up their hands and speak freely in these meetings, many of the older universities, it would be unheard of that a young student presents his opinion, or her opinion, but rather takes orders from the boss. But this type of institute is rather open, more of the way we are used to in Sweden.*

In this quotation, the relationship between a hierarchical environment and subordinates "tak[ing] orders" is clearly placed in opposition to a "not so hierarchical" system where people "speak freely" and which is seen as "open". The theme of being open in relation to hierarchy is also developed by a professor [5] who was visiting Japan for six months. He comments on his contrasting style:

> *I had this Swedish little bit more relaxed way (avslappnade sättet), so it was appreciated that I was not like a professor who sits on his high horse and I did not try to keep myself withdrawn (hålla mig i avskildhet) but I was really open.*

An additional theme appears in relation to hierarchy: distance, which is put in opposition to being open. Being open is placed in association with the Swedish way of being relaxed and informal, as opposed to formal.

Table 4.3: Relationship expressed between hierarchy, taking orders and being withdrawn

Hierarchical Old Universities	Take orders	*Distant* Withdrawn
Not so hierarchical	Speak freely	Open The way we are used to in Sweden Relaxed

The interviews frequently refer to the Japanese environment as displaying a more strongly directive type of leadership than Sweden. Recalling time spent in Japan, a researcher [21] comments:

> *It was really structured, with hierarchy and…people did respect a lot what the boss said.*

This time, following the superior's instructions is associated with respect (in one interview also with fear), which complements the previous organisation of themes by confirming "respect" in regard to "following instructions". A professor [6] explains:

> *It is more of ... the boss has even more influence in Japan than in Sweden. Sweden is in that sense quite different. Here it is a more flat system; there is no hierarchy, often in the lab it also means that somebody is not work-ing very well or very hard. If I am the boss, sure, I can try to correct that but it is quite a lot of work from my side. A Japanese boss would probably not have to do that many remarks, things to speed up, or whatever you want to. Here you have to reach some consensus with whom that is, if I don't think he or she is doing her job perfectly…*

Table 4.4: Further organisation of themes on superior-subordinate relationships

Hierarchical Japan	Structured / Formality Withdrawn *Distant*	Titles Authority Influence	Respect	Take orders Do what the boss tells them to
Not so hierarchical Sweden Flatter system	Open Relaxed The way we are used to in Sweden	*Less influence* Have to reach a consensus	Don't have to show respect	Speak freely

The relationship between respect and the superior's directions is developed by a professor [19] in explaining what he means by hierarchy:

> *I mean hierarchy permeates (genomsyrar) how you work, the boss says that you will do this, and they do it. And it goes fast. In the West, there is a larger room for moderation, freedom, individuals who put their marks (sätter sin prägel på), I may do the job, but I do it in a slightly dif-ferent way, and I am also allowed to do it a slightly different way. In Ja-*

pan, the boss says so, you will do it this way, you will use this method, you will do this in that way, and this is also what happens.

While the emphasis is placed in Japan on what the boss says, no reference is made to instructions from superiors in "the West". In addition, this professor indicates a contrast between the outcomes of instructions. In Japan, the outcome is presented as a mechanical realisation of what was indicated. In "the West", it is said to be the legitimate expression of individual moderation.

Table 4.5: Further organisation of themes on superior-subordinate relationships

The boss gives detailed instructions	What the boss says happens	Loyalty to the boss's instructions
The boss doesn't give detailed instructions?	People do the job in a slightly different way	Moderation, freedom

Additional themes associated with a directive leadership style are opposed to democracy. For example, a professor [7] explains the expectations that he perceives from his Japanese partners:

Well, they want the director to decide, so to say. I think they expect me to be a chief, so to say, not like a kind of weak Swedish democrat.

Similarly, a Ph.D. student [4], recalling his experience of leadership in the laboratory that he visited, notes that the directive style which he witnessed was not, in his opinion, contrary to democracy, unlike an opposition made by others.

Leadership was clear, the organisation was tightened (uppstramad) and readable. There were clear schemas, good appreciation (uppskattning) and loyalty. (…) Loyalty, for example, they have regular meetings, people don't come late, they listen, come with constructive criticisms when they were asked to. The organisation was driven like in the medicine industry. But not at the cost of democracy.

An additional theme across the interviews in connection with hierarchy is the notion of an old system. For example, a project leader [1] explains:

In this lab, the professor [´s name] *was always on* [the publications], *it's a bit more formal and hierarchical. The system we used to have in*

> *Sweden before but now there are definitions for authorship and so on, credits for your doing.*

Likewise, a professor [6] says, in passing, while talking about the system in his Japanese research environment:

> *the old system very hierarchical where the boss decides everything*

For the Swedish KI scientists, the emergent organisation of meanings around hierarchy is shown in table 4.6 and figure 4.1. The themes of table 4.6 relate sometimes to behaviour, sometimes to constructs or values. Taken together, they constitute a system of meanings, which means a framework in which to think about and make sense of situations.

Table 4.6: Organisation of themes on superior-subordinate relationships

Hierarchical Japan	Structured/ Formality Withdrawn *Distance*	Titles Authority Influence	Respect Loyalty to instructions and formal authority Old system	Boss gives detailed instructions Take orders Do what the boss tells them to
Not hierarchical Sweden Flatter system	Open Relaxed The way we are used to in Sweden	*Less influence* Have to reach a consensus	Don't have to show respect Moderation/ freedom	Speak freely Moderation in the execution of tasks Weak Swedish democrat *No detailed instruction?*

An organisation of meanings reflected in Swedish society

How similar is the association of meanings found in the interviews with Swedish researchers to those of other Swedes? Is it limited to the KI environment or does it reflect systems of meanings generally present in Swedish society? Figure 4.1 presents the two rows of table 4.6 as two systems in opposition, and underlines the relationships between the themes. Those included in the dotted-line circles are directly connected with the description of superior-subordinate relationships. The relationships drawn as dotted lines are implicit in the interviews. The themes implicit in the verbatim are in italics.

Hierarchy, formality and authoritarianism
When KI scientists talk about hierarchy in Japan, they first associate it with formality and structure. In Japan, the terms of address (e.g., "Sensei") and the interactions (e.g., greetings) explicitly show the hierarchical structure in

which the encounters take place. In Sweden, titles felt into disuse with the "du-reform" in the late 1960s. It became common practice to address people no longer by their title, but by the personal pronoun "du" (a familiar form of address similar to "du" in German or "tu" in French) in all spheres of society, including professional circles. Prior to the reform, interlocutors needed a formal introduction before they could directly address each other. Arnstberg (2005) explains that the du-reform is linked to the widespread conception of Sweden as a modern, equalitarian and rational society in the 1960s. The political agenda of the Social Democratic elite promoted modernity and equality as qualities of Swedish democracy. The formal terms of address were seen as "social wrapping paper that rational people should be able to avoid". The use of "Ni" (the formal pronoun equivalent to "Sie" in German or "vous" in French) was considered an expression of "inequality, both upwards and downwards". Arnstberg mentions an anecdote by Alopaeus (Alopaeus, 1983), relating that she was corrected when using the form "ni" with a stranger. "Ni implied distance, she was informed". Arnstberg argues that the background of the reform also included the idea that the Swedes were jointly and equally involved in a societal project of democracy and modernity.

Figure 4.1: Systems of meanings on hierarchy, identified in the interviews with Swedish researchers
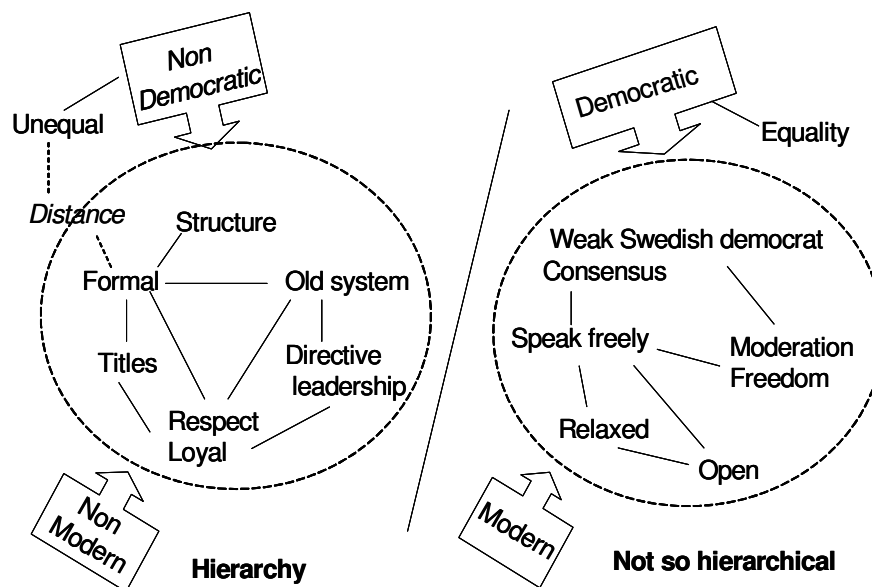
The notion of formality appears very clearly in the description of hierarchical interactions and the use of titles. Surprisingly, perhaps, only one interviewee

[5] made a connection between hierarchy, inequality and distance ("I was not like a professor who sits on his high horse and I did not try to keep myself withdrawn"). It can be argued that the references made by other interviewees to democracy point toward equality. Twice however, these references are placed in opposition to a directive leadership style. They refer to the possible modifications that subordinates can make, and to the freedom they have to speack freely. The theme of democracy is also associated with the need for the boss to obtain a consensus, in opposition to having influence by virtue of a formal title. Therefore, it appears from the interviews that the notion of democracy is linked to free speech, and to individual modification in the performance of tasks. Showing respect seems to be viewed by some interviewees as the lack of individual moderation and individual freedom for the subordinates (either voluntary or imposed). What appears mainly associated with a formal hierarchical system is a directive leadership style that results in subordination, in other words absence of individual moderation, rather than a strong reference to inequality.

Hierarchy is linked principally to formal structures and a directive leadership style. This connection appears not only in the interviews, but also in the description made by Swedish researchers of hierarchical systems. For example, Vargö interprets the formal hierarchy of Japanese organisations (illustrated by use of titles in the interpersonal forms of address) as an authoritarian system (Vargö, 1998:89). Abrahamsson's (2007) work is a plea for reconsideration of hierarchy as an organising system. He notes in his introduction that in Sweden, hierarchy "has been coupled to an authoritarian way to treat the subordinates". He illustrates the negative connotations of hierarchy through analysis of various documents from companies, government agencies and similar organizations. He also shows that the alternative form of a network is now regarded favourably (Abrahamsson, 2007:15-23). The author explains that hierarchy, which is semantically linked to aristocracy and elitism, is not viewed as desirable in Swedish society, where equality, through democracy, is seen as fundamental. He adds that hierarchy in itself has no inherent connotation of a formal and authoritarian mode of organisation. Abrahamsson's argument is important here because the author addresses, and argues against, the semantic associations linked to hierarchy by his readers. He thereby underscores that the associations with hierarchy made by KI scientists are not idiosyncratic to the KI organisation and that they reflect a general perception in Swedish society. Just as Swedish KI researchers see a contradiction between a directive leadership style and indi-

vidual freedom (via democracy), Abrahamsson also addresses this relationship. In addition, he indicates, like Arnstberg (2005), that it is related to modernity. Hierarchy is associated with a social system that used to stratify Swedish society. "Modern Swedish democracy" stands in contrast to this socially structured system, "the old system".

Consensus and moderation

Interviewees seem to place the Swedish way of being "open," "relaxed," reaching a "consensus," having employees able to modify the way they do their job, freedom and "speak freely" in opposition to hierarchy and a directive leadership style. In his study on shared meanings in relation to leadership, Åkerblom (1999:48) summarises his finding about a similar leadership ideal held by both top and middle managers in Sweden. If they differ in regard to the importance that they attach to organising, they share the same ideal of idea-oriented leadership. "Idea-oriented leadership means that leaders bring about involvement, commitment and motivation through skilfully communicating an inspiring future for the company or the organisation. The relationship to the supervised is build on confidence and trust (rather than coercion) and openness". His findings are in line with previous studies (see Källström, 1995 and Tollgerd-Andersson, 1989) that do not mention the value of equality as a central theme of the leadership ideal of Swedish managers.

Källström's (1995) study highlights as a feature of the Swedish leadership style the communication of a vision to achieve consensus. He explains that a vision serves as guidance and inspiration for both ideas and actions. The vision is communicated clearly in its essence, in its core, but not in its exact form, to let employees find their own interpretations. Successful communication of the vision will eventually lead to a consensus, the role of the leader being to mediate and convince (and as a last resort to constrain). As in the verbatim of Swedish KI scientists, the picture of a Swedish leadership style does not include strong and explicit references to equality, but rather to openness, consensus and the freedom of subordinates to moderate the execution of tasks.

Likewise, the examination of the Swedish contribution to the GLOBE project indicates that outstanding Swedish leaders are seen as visionary and team-oriented. "Although these notions portray an influential person, the preferred working mode is clearly team-work with collaboration and consultation rather than supervision and instruction," according to (Holmberg & Åkerblom, 2006:320). Here as well, supervision and instructions are placed in

opposition to a desirable (Swedish) leadership style. Comparable findings are reported by Jönsson (1995), Zander (1997) and Edström and Jönsson (1998). Although studies on leadership style do not exactly focus on hierarchy, in the interviews hierarchy is strongly linked to a non-desirable directive leadership style. Directive leadership style contrasts a "Swedish" leadership style as described by the interviewees and in line with the findings of previous studies. Considering the Swedish leadership style thus informed us of this shared organisation of meanings placed in opposition to a hierarchy-directive style of leadership.

The social value of equality

In the hierarchy-related system of meanings found in the interviews, the theme of equality/inequality is not central to the scheme depicting hierarchy. Rather, it appears indirectly via the theme of democracy. Similarly, in both Abrahamsson (2007) and Arnstberg (2005), the theme of equality is introduced through the theme of democracy. Could the theme of equality therefore be a strong one in the political – but not the corporate – organisation of meanings linked to (in opposition to) hierarchy? Though the theme of equality may not be strongly present in the available studies on Swedish leadership style, it is mentioned in regard to the Swedish political leadership style. Holmberg and Åkerblom (2001) analyzed the image of leadership (re)produced in the Swedish printed media. They, too, identify a leadership style in line with previous studies, but when they differentiate between the political and business content of the articles, they find a slight distinction between images of leadership between corporate and political worlds. Both leadership styles place strong emphasis on charisma, pragmatism and procedures, but the political leadership style includes the theme of egalitarianism (e.g., give fair and equal treatment to others, work for equality), while the business leadership style does not. In contrast, the business leadership style presents themes such as performance orientation and team-building.

The theme of equality is clearly present in the Swedish management style, perhaps not so strongly at the level of daily interpersonal relationships, but more so in regard to the distribution of power among various actors (e.g., employers, unions and the state). Collective decisions, negotiations and agreements between the principal actors of the labour market are seen as a central aspect of the political culture of the Swedish model (Berglund & Löwstedt, 1996). The theme of equality, or the value of equality, is perceived as a strong societal value in Sweden. The high proportion (compared to other

European countries) of female Members of Parliament is often used as an illustration of Sweden as an "egalitarian" society. Thus, the political sphere, not the management one, serves as the representative example. In addition, the theme of equality is addressed in various public debates in respect to gender equality or equality between Swedes and immigrants. The absence of many important references to equality in the interviews with Swedish researchers might indicate that equality is primarily a desirable societal value. In his essay, Arnstberg (2005) notes that while the terms of address changed in his work environment at the time of the du-reform, the hierarchical relationships remained the same.

In sum, the organisation of meanings that emerges from the analysis of the interviews, with a focus on the description of superior-subordinate relationships, can be said to place two systems in opposition. On the one hand, the interviewees refer to hierarchy as a strongly directive style that they associate with distance, formality and an old system. On the other hand, they see openness and individual moderation. This organisation of meanings indicates two distinct types of social organisation. The first one is formal and directive, the second is "relaxed," with a stronger reference to individual freedom. The organisation of meanings by the Swedish KI scientists around superior-subordinate relationships provides a picture resembling those presented by previous studies. This finding indicates that interviewees apparently expressed a shared Swedish perception (in respect to the work environment) rather than a perception idiosyncratic to the KI organisation. The non-central reference to the theme of equality (both in the picture emerging from the interviews and in previous studies) reminds us that societal values as strong as the one of equality in Sweden may not be so dominant in all spheres of society. Consequently, it is advisable to consider carefully all associations between societal values and management practices.

The organisation of meanings by the Japanese interviewees on the theme of superior-subordinate relationships

This section considers only the verbatim of Japanese scientists. A theme that appears repeatedly in the description of superior-subordinate relationships is linked to friendliness. Guest researcher [27] in a KI related research environment explains that the heads of his current and former (in Japan) research environment both make their researchers work hard:

But professor Erik [at KI] *is more friendly, makes at home situation, atmosphere is more gently (…)Usually in Japan, I think that professor will not invite guest researchers to his home. Or, … I think they don't have home parties. (…) For example, professor Erik, yes, he did home parties in summer vacations and before Christmas … yes, like that* [for] *the entire department (…)* And you have never been to your professor's home in Japan? *No* (on a shy tone), *no [laughs] … unfortunately!*

Another interviewee [33], talking about his KI boss, sees an opposition between hierarchy and friendliness:

My [KI] *boss character … errr… he is very friendly, so … (…) in Japan, I think I can speak frankly, but not so much friendly* [as] *here (…) At my previous university, at Hokkaido, some kind of hierarchy is very important. So, errr … it's almost impossible to talk to professor like friend.*

Underlying this association between hierarchy and friendliness, another scientist [34] tells me about his "kind" KI superior:

[in my Japanese research environment] *there is very strict hierarchy to do everything, so … so for example,* [here] *we can say everyth*(does not finish his word) *… mm we can discuss … comfortable here, for example, we don't need to say "professor Björn … or Professor Mr.", just Björn, or just Mr. We can call his name, his personal name.*

Table 4.7: Preliminary organisation of themes on superior-subordinate relationships

Hierarchy is important Strict hierarchy	Use of titles
Friendly superior	You can talk to superior like friend Use of first names

Subsequently, he [34] develops what he means by "say everything" and "comfortable":

Yes so, when I have got some ideas to carry out as my research work, it's always very very difficult to carry out that idea in Japan from the position of mine. (…) the boss can (inaudible: stop the?) *idea and allow us to carry out. In Japan, the boss has very large authority and very strong power to order, to order for something, to decide for everything. (…)* [Here] *he has power and he is very kind, (…) He has very open-minded,*

> *and errr… if he thinks that this idea is cool, he always allows us to do that.*

In his description, the hierarchical position of the interviewee is seen as a hurdle to the realisation of his ideas. The hierarchical position of the Japanese professor is associated with his power to order and decide, in contrast to the empowerment that the Swedish professor seems to confer. This opposition between "ordering" and allowing or appreciating initiative is underlined in other interviews. For example, a guest researcher [11] explains the difference between types of supervisors. He describes a "nice" and "good" supervisor in opposition to one that gives orders and in line with one who supports subordinates' initiatives:

> *Kind of, they (…) don't say "you must do that", "you must do that", "you must" ... like that. (…) If I want to do something, a <u>new</u> thing, he says, a good, I think a good superior says "okay, so, it is interesting, you must think more of things here, you must do* (inaudible) *project you can do that" like that … so not like "no, don't do that!"*

Likewise, a guest researcher [29] sees an opposition between "equality" and strict hierarchy, between ordering and taking initiatives:

> [Here] *Post Doc and technicians and associate professor is equal, not hierarchy (…)* Why do you say that? *In Japan, professor is a ... have a ... a lots of power and he orders, he orders to associate professors, research assistants, anything, he orders anything. (…)* [here] *professor has the power but I feel the equal to professor and Ph.D.… errr (…) it doesn't have strict hierarchy.* But what do you mean by strict hierarchy? *In case of Japan, for example research assistants have some students and she or he orders anything to the students. Yes. So, students doesn't consider anything, yes. The important for student to, to do, to do that research assistant orders. (…) Fortunately, when I was Ph.D. student,* [the] *research assistant he didn't order in detail. I could determine the research direction.*

Interviewee [11] summarises the relationship between the theme of equality as opposed to directive leadership (see also below):

> *Swedish system is too equal.* What do you mean with too equal? *Equal.. so.. at least for my superior here. He did not want to push or*

pressure researchers to work hard and get to be there. (…) I don't feel any pressure to work hard… here.

Table 4.8: Complementary themes on superior-subordinate relationships

The superiors order	Strict hierarchy	Use of titles
Don't order in detail Value initiatives from subordinates	Friendly superior Feel equal (symbolic equality)	You can talk to superior like a friend Use of first names

The themes of power, ordering and control are associated in several interviews. For example, a researcher [32] explains:

The clinical neuro-surgery department [I was in]*, the Japanese chair, which is called professor, has a lot of powers, and he will try to sort of organise lots of things, not only the stuff of the university, but also stuff related to hospital, trainees, residents (…) the professor (…) lots of power and he orders, he orders to associate professors, research assistants, anything, he orders anything. He has the power (…) the professor is on the top and he's trying to manage, he was very busy in trying to see how* [subordinates] *are doing.*

When describing the directive leadership style (ordering) of certain researchers in Japan, a scientist [29] indicates a relationship between research outcomes:

They like to make a systematic hierarchy, yeah (…) to make errr ... more articles.

Likewise, a visiting scientist [17] contrasts the figure of a "gentle" Swedish boss and his former superiors:

Swedish boss is patient with everything, he accepts everyone own working time. In Japan boss asks: "what about results? What about your work?" (on a stern and authoritarian tone)*. (…) In Sweden, they work on their own, in Japan, each one work on department schedule. In Japan, the system is a kind of ant society, very social. Here, the system is reliant on people, the boss don't check all the time. In Japan, people work four or six times more than here. (…) Here, it's hard to say "work!" "work more!"* (same stern and authoritarian tone)*. In Japan, very common words to say* [from a boss]*.*

Interviewee [29] completes:

> *But errr, in Japan, professor is expecting that we get mm…that we get*
> *many results. Yes. Professor says: "Work hard! Work hard!"* (on a stern
> tone) *to us, but in Sweden, at least my boss here, don't say "work hard",*
> *"work hard"* (on the same stern tone) *(…) Err… mm ... in fact no*
> *stress. But if I were him, I can't understand why he doesn't say "work*
> *hard" "work hard"* (same stern tone) *[laugh]* [laugh] *Professor, he*
> *needs to get more data and more articles to get many grants.*

Table 4.9: Further themes linked to the superior-subordinate relationships

The superiors order	Strict hierarchy Pressure to produce more articles	Use of titles
Don't order in detail Value initiatives from subordinates	Friendly superior No pressure to work hard in Sweden Feel equal (symbolic equality)	You can talk to superior like a friend Use of first names

The role played by the professor in relation to the group is also stressed by
other interviewees. One of them [22] notes the responsibility of the professor
in relation to the group:

> *The professor decides everything, and is responsible for everything. He*
> *has to get money for research.*

In a complementary comment, a researcher [14] explains elements of control
by supervisors and the actual interdependence of superior and subordinates:

> *In Japan you have the professor, few Post Docs and then Ph.D. students.*
> *Most of the results are coming from the experiments from the students,*
> *so there is a strong control of the professor on the results (…) and this*
> *has a direct link with the budget* [for further research]

The control that the professors exercise on their environment is also de-
scribed in relation to the research topics of the Ph.D. students. In the descrip-
tion of this control/responsibility, the theme of dependence enters in. For
example, a researcher [32] comments:

> [At KI] *everything is more independently.. mm …doing their job, I think*
> *… (…) I mean, in Japan kind of dependently means some kind of … do*
> *what the professor do. (…) In Japan, the grant itself always comes from*

the professor, so mm … using his money so that the student can study, so that means, [the student] *cannot say so much.*

Likewise, another interviewee [11] exemplifies the link between the themes of a superior and dependence:

Not a bad supervisor, but <u>too much</u> control a supervisor, we say it's a big mother big mother [<u>laugh</u>] [laugh]*. (…) She wants to care everything and … sometimes it's a bit too much pressure (…) you must show the sequencing, she comes visit everything, she wants to check on the control, it's very good, because even that is a hard work for her, because everything she must check, (…) but child want the …independent! [laugh].*

In some of the interviews, the theme of dependence/independence was also directly associated to a hierarchical system. Contrasting his observations of Swedish and Japanese students, a Japanese associate professor [23] explains:

[Here in Sweden] *students are very independent, like errr.. so.. mm … In Japan, like a professor and a student ... is a.. it is a kind of hierarchy system.*

The responsibility of superiors toward the group that they chair sheds new light on the theme of control. If superiors are in charge of a group which depends on them (rather than independent individuals working on their own agenda in the same research centre), the control that they exercise may be

Table 4.10: Organisation of themes linked to superior-subordinate relationships

Dependence	The superiors order Focus on control	Strict hierarchy Pressure to produce more articles	Use of titles
Independence	Don't order in detail Value initiatives from subordinates *Less focus on control?*	Friendly superior No pressure to work hard in Sweden Feel equal (symbolic equality)	You can talk to superior like a friend Use of first names

seen not as repressive (of individual freedom), but as coordinating. The coordination of the group (possibly by directive means) is what assures its perennial existence and enables its members to maintain their status. The superior-subordinate relationship regulates the position of individuals in a group. This is expressed by a Japanese guest researcher [27] who intended to

come as a visiting researcher to KI since 1999. Working as a practitioner, he explains that his professor would not let him leave his department at the hospital until the staff was large enough to compensate for one less surgeon.

> *So, every year, or every time I asked* [my professor] *(…) to come here, and at last yes, he allowed* [in 2005] *(…) It's because, how do I say, the staff, the persons in our department got enough, so I can go outside* [abroad]*! Just I had to wait, it's very funny manner, but I think this is most standard manner in Japan.*

Individual careers are therefore dependent on the group to which the researchers belong and on its management by the professor. Professors appear to assume the responsibility for integrating researchers into the group. For example, an associate professor [23], explaining his situation before he joined KI, reveals his isolation due to lack of a superior:

> *I was quite independent, or isolated scientist at that time.* You were not in connection with a university? *Not much, I did not have a kind of superior at that time.*

Likewise, a researcher [29] briefly describes his moves from different research centres (and universities), and when we asked whether there was a connection between the different places [A, B, C, D], he answered:

> *Yes, yes, all time it's the professor.* It's the same professor? *No, another professor. Err… at that time, mm ... my professor in the department* [A], *err … introduce to this department* [B], *yes, and then, when I moved to this* [C], *this department professor's was introduced to me in this pharmaceutical department, yes. By this professor* [in B]*. And then, this, when I moved to here* [D], *with this department professor* [C], *she and I moved to this university.*

The superior-subordinate relationships depicted in the interviews show that a professors has a special position in relation to the group, and to each individual in the group. A researcher [11] insisted on the importance of one of the differences between KI and his former Japanese research environments:

> *Here I can say I want to be first author and contact person, it's no problem but in Japan we cannot say that, it's very difficult to say.* So how do you get there? *It's the professor say, professor says: "Okay, you are the*

person now, it's okay". But very difficult to say "I want" (…) Err... this is a ... not habit in Japan ... I think … good persons don't say that to the boss. That kind of things, the supervisor or boss must feel [laugh]... the superior <u>must</u> feel. He must see someone work very hard and for his career, he must select the person.

The careers of individuals appear to be strongly linked to the person of their superior, and individual assertiveness is not regarded as a socially accepted means of showing one's desires. Nor are individual(ist) desires considered acceptable by the group. For example, a researcher [33] explains that it is emotionally inappropriate in the eyes of the group for one of their colleagues to go home earlier, and simultaneously, he refers to the professor:

We are very concerned [that someone leaves earlier than the others] *(…) but sometimes I had tickets for the theatre (…), I have to check the boss [laugh] if he is away or in some meetings or so [laugh] so I can go [laugh]* (he imitates someone who tries to see without being seen) *it is not easy to go earlier, (…) But here, if someone has something, he just leaves, (…) "see you tomorrow" or so [laugh] at least they are not concerned here about that type of thing.*

The themes of the emotional concern of a group and its relation to hierarchy are also shown in another guest researcher's description of his KI research environment and how "equal" it was; he [11] concludes:

Also everyone takes vacation, but they don't, <u>anyone</u> worry about it. No one is worried for when he comes and when he goes.

In other words, the theme of equality is linked to a non-concerned group, indicating that individuals have a relationship not only with their superior, but also with their group of colleagues.

An organisation of meanings reflected in Japanese society

How similar is the system of meanings sketched from the interviews with Japanese scientists visiting KI to those of other Japanese? Is it limited to the medical researchers or does it reflect systems of meanings generally present in Japanese society? Figure 4.2 places in opposition the two types of superior-subordinate relationships that appeared in the interviews.

Social relationships in hierarchical forms

Nakane, a social anthropologist interested in comparative approaches, organises her portrayal of Japan (Nakane, 1970) around a couple of central themes. One of them is the tendency for interactions to be arranged in hierarchical relationships, and the pervasiveness of this organising principle throughout various aspects of society such as the economy, politics, and private life. The academic sector is no exception; rather, it is an illustration. The Japanese hierarchical organisation that she describes presents important and particular characteristics that are illustrated in the X arrangement of figure 4.3.

In contrast to Y, the X configuration shows the importance of superiors. Since no connection is established between *b* and *c*, the relationship between *b* and *c* cannot be maintained without *a*. Likewise, the relationship between *d* and *e* is through *b,* and the relationship between *f* and *g* is established through *c*. In the X configuration, superiors thus occupy the pivotal position of connecting a group of individuals. Without supervisors there is no group. The unifying elements are the *a-b* and *a-c* relationships. If these relationships do not hold, the group risks falling apart.

Figure 4.2: Systems of meanings on hierarchy, identified in the interviews with Japanese researchers
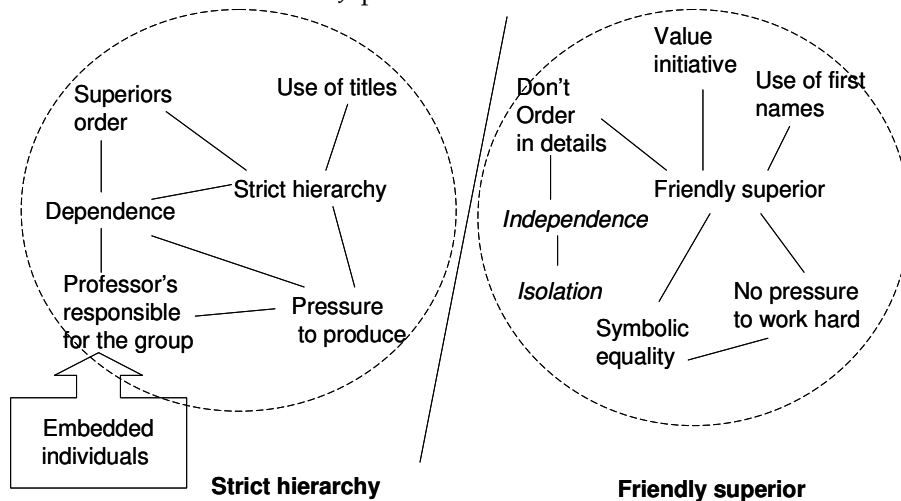
Another element of the X configuration is the dependence of superiors on their subordinates. Superiors are dependent on their connection with immediate subordinates to reach the others. The connection between *a* and *e* is only through *b*, while in the Y configuration, *a* can reach *e* via *c* and *f*. Nakane sees in this situation the necessity for *a* to control *b* (and *c*, respectively) to maintain the relationship with subordinates and the existence of the group.

In addition, *a* must control the power of *b* to recruit new subordinates and increase its influence in the configuration of the group. If *b* (or *c*) is not controlled, the power and influence that it thereby gains can also lead to break-up of the group.

Figure 4.3: Two possible organisations of hierarchical relationships
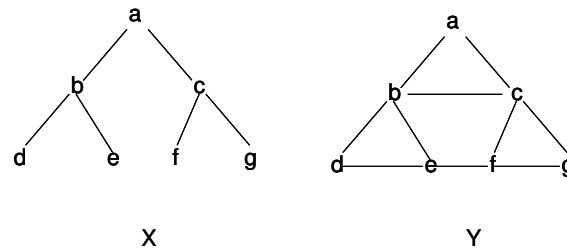
Nakane's explanations and illustrations of the characteristics of the hierarchical configuration of type X shed light on the structure of semantic associations that are sketched from the interviews. They help make sense of the interconnections between the themes of the superior, control, directiveness and dependence, and the relationship between superiors and the group.

Individuals, groups and heads of group

Doi (1973) is a seminal work on Japanese types of relationship and is also helpful in providing a better grasp of the themes articulated in the verbatim on superior-subordinate relationships, especially the relationship of individuals to a group managed by a superior. Doi presents the concept of "amae" as a key feature of interpersonal relationships and, by extension, of the social organisation of Japan. "Amae" translates the idea of individual dependence on, and the presumption of, another's benevolence. It is manifested in various (concentric) social circles that represent different types of social relationships. According to Doi, "amae" occupies a primary position in the organisation of interpersonal relationships in the individual inner circle, while other concepts (restrain, social obligation etc.) will also be in play in outer circles. In the world of strangers, the concept of "amae" is absent (see Davies & Ikeno, 2002:17-22). Doi's work explains the interconnection of certain emotions and concepts in the organisation of interpersonal relationships, especially the individual's position of dependence on a group or a superior.

The propensity of individuals to depend upon another's presumed indulgence is expressed in the references by interviewees to career moves. In a

study of Japanese companies and their overseas managers, Hamada (1992) presents themes similar to those mentioned by her interviewees. She indicates that the interviewees link the theme of unpredictability to their career because of their dependence on the relationship with their superior, and also because of the hierarchical relationship between their organisation and another in the "Keiretsu" (interrelated organisations). Lebra (1992:11), by contrast, suggests that Americans may see their career as "haphazard because it is supposed to be an individual matter beyond organisational planning". The interconnection of the themes of hierarchy (of the X type), of emotional embeddedness in a group, and the dependence of group members on their superior is clearly reflected in the outlined system of meanings of the Japanese interviewees.

Doi (1973) indicates that the strong distinction between inner and outer (in many groups: family, colleagues, comrades etc.) is also critical to understanding Japanese interpersonal relationships. The (expected) submission of individual desires to the sanction of the group can be linked to the importance of (belonging to) the in-group. In connection with an orientation toward hierarchy, this combination can be referred to as vertical collectivism (see Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk & Gelfand, 1995). Vertical collectivism expresses the variation of Collectivism where submission to both an in-group and a hierarchical authority come together. Considering the variation of vertical collectivism helps make sense of the interconnection of the themes of group and hierarchy/the professor in the verbatim.

This form of collectivism can also be linked to authoritarian expressions of leadership (see Kemmelmeier, Burnstein, Krumov et al., 2003). In the system of meanings of the "friendly superior," the absence of strong references to the group and the individual relationship to the group may indicate that this configuration refers to a very different relationship of individuals to the group and to the superior. A formal superior is associated with a strict hierarchy, control, and vertical collectivism. In contrast, the figure of the "friendly superior" includes themes such as symbolic equality, but also – implicitly – independence and isolation. These associations are unspoken references to a different social organisation. While the "strict hierarchy" indicates vertical collectivism, the "friendly superior" suggests a horizontal (symbolic equality) organisation of individuals, with no explicit reference to individual embeddedness (e.g., emotional) in a group. Interestingly, the reference to the "friendly superior" is directed at an individual, while its opposite is a reference to a system "(strict) hierarchy".

Commitment and dependence

The verbatim of the interviews with Japanese scientists, even with a focus on superior-subordinate relationships, requires an additional comment. The commitment of Japanese employees to the organisation is a hallmark of the literature on Japanese corporate realities (White & Nakamura, 2004; Brannen & Kleinberg, 2000; Sano, 1995 and reviews in Redding, Norman and Schlander, 1994). The Japanese firm is compared with a kind of community providing advantages to its members. The tie between the company and its employees is reinforced by the extensively investigated practice of long-term employment and a seniority-based system of pay and promotion (e.g., Dore, 1987; Lincoln & Kalleberg, 1990). In the interviews, however, the comments on the dependence of subordinates on their superior highlighted the lack of reference to their university/organisation. For example, a Ph.D. student [18] explains the inherent problems of finding a position in Japan, as well as in leaving Japan for post-doctoral study:

> *If you go abroad for Post Doc, you, you will still need to have strong connections with your previous superior or colleagues in Japan, otherwise you … you will have (…) difficulties when you want to go* [back] *to Japan.*

A Swedish researcher [2] also underlines the primacy of the tie to the superior rather than the university. She explains that the professor heading the department that she visited in Japan moved to another laboratory (at a more prestigious university) together with some members of his former laboratory:

> *After his retirement, the professor moved to another lab in Tsukuba (…)* [he] *had still his research group, but it was smaller now.*

The strong bonds that are commonly argued to exist between employees and their organisation did not emerge in the verbatim of the interviews with the Japanese scientists. What was apparent was the strong bond with their superior. Nakane's notion of frame can provide a tentative explanation. Frame is the translation of the Japanese "ba". "*Ba* means 'location', but the normal usage of the term connotes a special base on which something is placed according to a given purpose" (Nakane, 1970:1). Frame is circumstantial, like residing in a certain village, working for a certain company. This notion of frame is also an element that promotes the internal integration of the group. The fact that the group members belong de facto to the same frame – which

is in competition with other frames, such as a competing laboratory or company - is of help in finding a reference beyond the possible internal fractions and competition nourished by the X configuration of the hierarchical system. Is it possible that for the medical researchers, the most relevant frame is not that of the university, but that of the group managed by the professor?

If, as argued by Tabata (2000), the commitment of employees to the organisation is a function of the benefit that they receive from the organisation, medical researchers may gain little from the university but a lot from their superior. The pivotal position of the superior in the system (X type of hierarchical organisation), and the power of the superior in terms of career moves and access to positions, might contribute to such a state. The power of the professor seems linked to a prevailing organisation of the medical sector around networks ("ikyoku-koza" system), themselves positioned in hierarchical relationships. The absence of explicit reference to the themes of loyalty and active commitment, either to their superior or to the organisation as a whole, in the interviews with Japanese researchers contrasts with the literature comparing Japanese organisations to a kind of community. To what extent is the commitment of employees to their organisation proportional to their dependence on the organisation/their superior? Could the theme of (inter)dependence be a stronger analytical tool than the parallels often drawn between an organisation and the "ie" (household) and/or a kind of community (see e.g., Traweek, 1988)? Are the similarities between the "ie" and Japanese management practices the result of the transfer of the "institutional logic" of the family (Bhappu, 2000) to the corporate world, or do both follow a similar logic of organisation based on frames and attributes in a hierarchical organisation of social life, as Nakane (1970) argues?

Discussion

The identified systems of meanings do not exhaust the possible patterns of associations between the various themes, but they are the ones that could be represented from the verbatim. The organisation of meanings by the interviewees in each sample is consistent with previously reported semantic structures in the Swedish and Japanese societies. However, these semantic similarities do not imply homogeneity. Interviewees may share a similar organisation of meaning, but they will not necessarily hold similar opinions. In the verbatim, for example, when Swedish scientists describe a directive leadership style, they may present it as undesirable, while others may indicate

that they envy its efficiency or clarity (e.g., interviewees [6] or [4]). Likewise, when some interviewees see formality as an obstacle to relationships (e.g., interviewee [9]), others view it as a form of respect (e.g., interviewee [1]). However, both make the same allusion to the old Swedish social system when they refer to formality. Similarly, Japanese scientists disagreed on the value of a "strict hierarchy". Some told me that this system should be "taken down" and had absolutely no advantage whatsoever (interviewee [34]), whereas others thought that it could be "good" (interviewees [11]) since it limits individual mistakes (interviewee [32]). Nevertheless, all refer to individual dependence on the superior to explain their position. In brief, the underlying shared systems of meanings do not imply homogeneity of opinion among individuals. The semantic associations are consistent with previous studies concerned, for example, with forms of leadership in Sweden or Japan, which are shown to reflect societal systems of meanings. The investigation of societal culture (socially established structures of meanings) can therefore be undertaken successfully at the individual level with qualitative interviews for comparative purposes.

The focus on patterns of oppositions in the construction of systems of meanings underscores the differences between the ways in which Japanese and Swedish researchers organise their speech. For example, the terms of "nice" and "kind" used by Japanese interviewees to describe the "friendly superior" are opposed to "(strict) hierarchy" rather than to the "mean" superior (as we could have expected in a Swedish pattern of oppositions kind/mean). For instance, the description of the "big mother" type of superior (interviewee [11]) has a positive connotation ("it's very good"). Interviewee [29] explains that he tells his Master students to "work hard!" He says he requires them to be present for 12 hours at the laboratory every day, for their own good, so that they can develop "above [advanced] skills". Therefore, the opposition made by the interviewees between the "friendly superior" and the "(strict) hierarchy" is not one between a "nice" and a "mean/bad" superior, as it first may have seemed (from a Swedish point of view). The focus on the patterns of oppositions used by the interviewees is a means of progressively uncovering the semantic associations between terms, and progressively constructing the systems of meanings used in the description of superior-subordinate relationships, limiting projection by researchers of their own systems of opposition.

Focussing on patterns of oppositions rather than the terms themselves makes it possible to go beyond apparent similarities. Indeed, in the descrip-

tion of a directive style of leadership, in both the Swedish and Japanese interviews, the themes of distance, formality and use of titles are present. The kinds of situations and interactions that both samples of interviewees are describing appear very similar, too. However, the Swedish interviewees associate directive leadership with an obsolete social system. Formality and a directive leadership style are linked to a non-modern system and also to the idea of non-democratic type of interaction.

In contrast, the Japanese interviewees make strong references to the theme of dependence and clear references to the group. A directive leadership style is associated with pressure to work hard from the professor who is in charge of the group and responsible for the research outcomes of that group. Therefore, the semantic associations of the Japanese researchers to a directive leadership style are also associations to a group and to forms of responsibilities. References to a group together with the theme of hierarchy are not so strong in the Swedish verbatim, where they appear only in the accounts of long working hours (see chapter 3). However, when interviewees report that laboratory researchers are present as long as their professor is there, they seem to imply coercive pressure by the professor on individual freedom (individual agenda). In contrast, the Japanese scientists do not view the pressure exerted by the professor as hindering individual freedom. When they talk about absence of pressure to work, it is sometimes perceived as not motivating (interviewee [11]) or "no stress" (interviewee [29]) or "comfortable" (interviewee [34]). It seems that the lack of pressure to work is interpreted not as individual freedom, but as individual well-being. When Japanese researchers talk about pressure from their superior to work hard, they tend to link it to the professor's responsibility for the group.

In brief, Swedish interviewees do not have so strong a reference to the group (as Japanese researchers) when they talk about hierarchy. Their association of hierarchy and group is presented as a constraint on the individual, whereas the Japanese view it in terms of the professor's responsibility. By contrast, the Japanese interviewees express forms of constraint on the individual by the group (emotional embeddedness) and "ordering in detail" by the professor. Thus, the Swedish interviewees (when in Japan) seem to use their Swedish analytical grid of superior-subordinate relationships as primarily one of relationships between individuals. On the other hand, the Japanese interviewees refer clearly to the group to which they belong and which is managed by the professor. In other words, while the Swedish interviewees see superior-subordinate relationships as having two components

(superior-subordinates), the Japanese interviewees appear to add the component of the group (superior-group-subordinates). In addition, a directive leadership style is seen as authoritarian (anti-democratic) by Swedish interviewees, while it is associated with vertical responsibility by the Japanese interviewees. Swedish interviewees link the theme of constraint primarily to the person of the professor, whereas Japanese interviewees connect it to the group as well.

A second semantic distinction appears between the Swedish and Japanese descriptions of superior-subordinate relationships, in regard to the meaning of "not so hierarchical" or the "friendly superior". Certain descriptive terms are sometimes similar when Japanese and Swedish scientists refer to a more relaxed atmosphere, for example in their KI laboratory. When Swedish researchers make precise references to a social (political) form of organisation ("consensus," "Swedish democrat"), the Japanese also refer to a social form of organisation, but implicitly. In contrast, when they speak of the "strict hierarchy," their reference to a vertical and collectivist orientation is explicit. It may be argued that while the reference to modern Swedish democracy is explicitly present in the verbatim of the Swedish interviewees, the Japanese interviewees make reference to a vertical collectivist system. Both interviewees refer to a social form of organisation when speaking of superior-subordinate relationships, but the "default" forms to which they refer are very different.

Conclusion

This chapter provides an interpretive analysis, for a cross-cultural management audience, of one of the major themes of the interviews. It chooses the analytical focus of national/societal culture and sees culture as systems of meanings that have implications for individual behaviour. This chapter contrasts with other interpretive comparative analyses that approach culture as an ideational influence primarily on institutions (structures and systems) and secondarily on individual behaviour (see e.g., Redding, 2005). The analysis of the verbatim relating to superior-subordinate relationships resulted in an outline of two distinct systems of meanings for the Swedish and Japanese interviewees, respectively. These analyses find support in other studies of the Swedish and Japanese societies and styles of management. The comparison of the systems of meanings used by the interviewees shows the intricacy of sense-making. Swedish and Japanese scientists refer to a similar kind of ex-

perience since their descriptions of hierarchical interactions are corroborated by the other group. However, the two groups differ in the ways in which they make sense of what they are narrating. The Swedish researchers organise their thoughts in reference to their social (political) system (present and past), while the Japanese researchers refer to a vertical and collective form of organisation. Swedish interviewees associate directive leadership style with an outdated social system, and they link consensus and freedom to speak with modernity and democracy. In contrast, Japanese interviewees associate directive leadership style with the responsibility of one individual for a group, and its contrast, "the friendly superior," with individual well-being. Their reference to a social (and collective) form of organisation is clear in the verbatim on the directive superior, but less so in the verbatim on the "friendly superior".

This discrepancy between the systems of meanings used by the Swedish and Japanese researchers underscores both the possibility and the difficulty of developing questionnaires for comparisons across countries. There are similarities between the two opposing forms of leadership since both systems of meanings include a reference to a social form of organisation (modern democracy and vertical collectivism). But when the Japanese researchers talked about "relaxed," for example, they associated it with the lack of pressure by professors on their group of researchers. In the Swedish interviews, by contrast, the term "relaxed" refers to a style of interaction between individuals. It does not include a reference to the group, but rather to the professor's manner of interaction with subordinates. While the Swedish interviews associate "relax" with lack of distance and with informality, the Japanese interviewees appear to link it both to lack of pressure and responsibility of the professor for the group. In other words, in descriptions of a "relaxed" boss, the interviewees in one sample refer to accessibility, whereas those in the other probably think of non-responsibility of the professor for the group. This difficulty linked to different semantic associations of similar terms can be addressed with qualitative studies of organisational behaviour.

The present analysis reveals how interviewees tend to make sense of the terms that they use by revealing the structures of meanings in which the terms are embedded. Interpretive analyses can therefore help in documenting both the similarities and the distinctions between different environments. Emic studies need not be confined to the study of only one society. The analysis shows that it is also possible to study societies, and proceed to comparing them, through means other than cultural dimensions and large-

scale studies. The scale of the present project is smaller, but its contributions can enrich nomothetic studies by showing how meanings take shape both similarly and differently in diverse environments. It can thus complement comparative studies centred primarily on values.

This chapter describes bi-paradigm interplays inspired by the positivist and interpretive analyses in chapters 3 and 4. Three interplays are conducted, each in two steps. In the first, the juxtaposition of the analyses, showing what they have in common and what distinguishes them, sheds new light on each. Implications for further research in the positivist cross-cultural management stream are presented. The second step of the interplay is devoted to interaction between the analyses based on their similarities and the tension between their differences. In Interplay 1 a theoretical framework is considered; in Interplay 2, a research agenda. In Interplay 3 a conceptualisation for the understanding of culture is proposed. In the interplays the outcomes of the positivist and interpretive analyses in chapters 3 and 4 are briefly re-examined to indicate how our understanding of the empirical material can be improved. It is then shown how the outcome of each interplay can contribute to other streams of research in positivist cross-cultural management. In Interplay 1, literature on cross-cultural leadership is examined in light of the theoretical framework of authority. In Interplay 2, the study of the influence of culture on international alliances is reconsidered, with a focus on norms of interactions. In Interplay 3, theoretical standpoints on the homogeneity and stability of a national culture are re-examined with the conceptualisation of "logics".

5

Interplay

Conducting two different analyses on the same empirical material has implications for each analysis when they are performed by the same researcher. This topic is discussed in the first section of the present chapter, which also summarises the analyses of chapter 3 and 4 in terms of their principal paradigmatic analytical differences (i.e., symbolic generalisations). Thereafter, the analyses are juxtaposed to shed a new light on each other, to disclose blind spots, to generate new ideas for research or simply to show that some studies are already addressing the analytical limitations of their paradigm. In a second step, the analyses are put in interplay. The proposed interplays are based on the empirical study performed at KI, more as an illustration of how to conduct an interplay than out of a desire to resolve a paradox. Often in-

deed, multi-paradigm studies reveal a paradoxical situation arising from contrasting analyses. The studies resolve the paradox at a higher level of abstraction. However, they frequently stop there, with a relatively brief section on "implications for future research" that indicate ways in which the outcome of the interplay can be used for this purpose. To some extent, then, the studies are focussed on a single case. My ambition has been to place two analyses in interplay, briefly discuss what the interplay suggests for the analysis of the KI interviews, and then consider the possible contributions of this interplay for (positivist) cross-cultural management research.

Figure 5.1: Three types of interplay at three different analytical levels
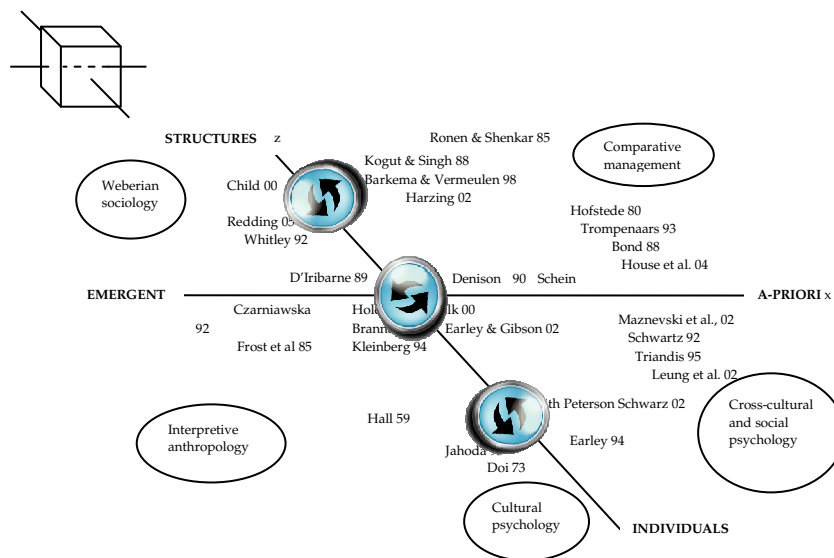
Interplays 1 and 2 are followed by reconsideration of a current of literature in cross-cultural management, while Interplay 3 is more specific to cross-cultural management theory, particularly its concept of cultural dimensions. Interplay 1 addresses cross-cultural leadership studies and reconsiders established knowledge on leadership in view of a theoretical framework of authority. Then it more specifically discusses a recent publication on cross-cultural leadership in the *Journal of International Business Studies* and shows how the theoretical framework of authority can help make better sense of the reported findings. Interplay 2 touches on the literature on international ventures and the investigation of the impact of culture on performance. It more specifically considers a recent publication in the *Journal of International Business Studies* that presents a synthesis of this literature and a theoretical framework. In view of the research agenda proposed by interplay 2, focusing on norms of interaction, suggestions are offered for complementing the

framework. Interplay 3 touches on a conceptualisation for the views on culture and subsequently on cultural dimensions. It addresses the representation of culture developed in Hofstede's seminal work, *Culture's Consequences.* Thereafter, the chapter discusses the implications of Interplay 3, suggesting the concept of "logics" for the understanding of cultural heterogeneity and change.

In brief, the interplays presented in this chapter are designed to go beyond the study of Swedish and Japanese medical researchers in interaction. The intention is to present a theoretical framework, a research agenda and a conceptualisation that can be used to create venues of dynamic interaction between interpretive and positivist studies in cross-cultural management. The interplays propose three different kinds of contributions. They also approach culture at different analytical levels (see figure 5.1). Interplay 1 presents an example of a theoretical framework intended for analysis at the individual level. Interplay 2 provides an example of a research agenda for the analytical level of organisations. The third interplay offers a conceptualisation designed for the national/societal analytical level.

The bi-paradigm study

Writing is a powerful device for creating order. The presentation of the various paradigms in the field of culture and management (chapter 1), precedes the methodological section of chapter 2 and seems naturally to pave the way to the positivist (chapter 3) and interpretive (chapter 4) analyses before proceeding to the interplays. In practice however, the way to the interplays was somewhat more tortuous.

Paradigm itinerary

First on the chosen itinerary is the positivist analysis, followed by the interpretive one. This order was designed to present the analysis of the data commencing with the one most familiar to positivist research in cross-cultural management. In practice however, the itinerary began with an interpretive analysis of a sample of the material, followed by a systematic analysis with a positivist methodology, and then by a systematic interpretive analysis based on a new coding of the interviews.

What impact did the previous analysis have on the subsequent ones? Multi-paradigm researchers have used their itineraries in the different paradigms to enhance their awareness of the phenomenon under study (see e.g.,

Hassard, 1991 and Lewis and Grimes, 1999). In my case, a brief incursion into the interpretive paradigm helped me to "bracket" (see Hasard, 1991) its views in order to perform the analysis in the positivist one. Indeed, my socialisation in the interpretive paradigm is the one I tend to use spontaneously. By first conducting an interpretive analysis on a sample of the interviews, I could then "suspend" this form of analysis and then concentrate on the positivist one. The positivist analysis, and especially the positivist coding of the interviews heightened my awareness of the possibility of breaking down the sentences of the interviewees into small elements, and of multiple coding of the same sentence, while I tended to retain them (even if they were complex) as a single semantic unity. This procedure certainly influenced the second, interpretive coding of the content of the interviews that probably obtain smaller categories of verbatim than if I had done this coding first. I also had a more fragmented picture of the interviews, in the sense that I had previously atomised the argumentative line of the interviewees into distinct categories.

Learning from the itinerary of the two paradigms was achieved mostly through writing the analyses successively. Lewis and Grimes (1999) or Martin (1992) first performed distinct analyses, next identified common themes and then described how each analysis had its own special position from which to address each theme. In this study, by contrast, chapter 3 was written immediately after the positivist analysis, and chapter 4 after the interpretive analysis. Writing the chapters right after the analyses made it easier to separate the distinct paradigms, and at the same time, to identify the strengths of the analyses more clearly.

Writing each analytical chapter revealed how different it is to understand a paradigmatic concern, method and type of analysis and to use it actively. Even though I have gained an understanding of positivist studies of cross-cultural management over the years as a Ph.D. student, and even though I can understand the research concerns, analytical frameworks and models of analysis, I have still found it difficult, on my own, to make active use of their language and analytical processes. The final draft of chapter 3 was completed after an initial version of chapter 4, and in this final draft the analysis was taken a step further in a convergent analytical process. In addition, part of the analysis in chapter 4 was rewritten after the final version of chapter 3. This particular order strengthened the analytical process used in the analysis.

My awareness of the nature of the paradigms was further raised by active use of them while drafting chapters 3 and 4. The active use of each paradigm

(and in my case not only for analysis but also for separately writing the analyses) is recommended by Brocklesby (1997) for multi-paradigm research. In his view, cognition is strongly tied to action, and he advocates paradigm learning through action. Thus, in contrast to other studies involving paradigm interplay, the accounts of the analyses were written following the separate analyses and before putting them in interplay.

The two analyses: similarities and differences

The main differences between a positivist and an interpretive analysis are presented with table 5.1. In this study, the two paradigmatic analyses are not used to gain a better understanding either of a problem (see the examples in Mingers & Gill, 1997 for resolution of organisational problems) or of the interaction between Swedish and Japanese medical researchers, since the focus of the dissertation is not on Swedish-Japanese interaction. Rather, chapters 3 and 4 are intended primarily to illustrate how analyses are performed in the positivist and interpretive paradigms, and the kind of contributions that they can provide. In other words, chapters 3 and 4 use empirical material to highlight how analyses are conducted differently in the positivist and interpretive paradigm. They show the similarities and the differences between the symbolic generalisations used in the paradigms and some of their similarities in values or metaphysical parts. In sum, chapters 3 and 4 are intended primarily to show the elements on which the interplays can be conducted.

Chapter 3 presents a positivist analysis with a strong ontology (in Lewis & Kelemen 2002 terms). Culture exists outside of individuals and presents universal aspects such as cultural dimensions. Cultural dimensions are predefined constructs that are consistent across countries. Their explanation of differences in organisational behaviour focuses on values. Briefly stated, cultural values differ from one country to another, and since values influence behaviour, organisational behaviour also varies across countries. The cultural-dimension construct is a tool used for the representation of culture and cultural differences.

Although most cultural dimensions have been conceptually developed for the national level of analysis, I argue in chapter 3 that they need not be confined to this level. Cultural dimensions are responses to important issues that human groups have to face, and an organisation or a sub-unit in an organisation constitutes an example of such a group. Conceptually, cultural dimensions can be applied to a group and used for the study of individual-level

Table 5.1: Principal distinctions between positivist and interpretive analyses

Positivist paradigm	Chapter 3	Interpretive paradigm	Chapter 4
Testing hypotheses: Evaluate the significance of the data according to initial problems and hypotheses	Hypothesis: Are cultural-dimension constructs valid for the individual level of analysis? Evaluation of the verbatim in view of existing cultural dimensions and previous research. Examination of potential fit	*Coding*: Provide a description at first and sometimes at second level of abstraction	Describes the various themes in the verbatim on superior-subordinate relationships
		Formulating conjectures: Identify relationships between concepts at first level or across levels of abstraction	Identifies the relationships of association and opposition between the themes
		Evaluating conjectures: Validate with informants through new data collection	Additional round of interviews and interview of "experts"
		Formulating theory: Identify the emerging concepts and relationships	Identifies relationship between supervisory figures and societal organisation (e.g., modern democracy, vertical collectivism)
		Reviewing literature: Identify what was already known	Reviews literature on Swedish and Japanese social forms of organisation and leadership styles
Theory building: Writing up results: Show how the theory is refined, supported, or disconfirmed. Show what it tells the scientific community and the practitioners	Results show that the verbatim fits previous research and existing cultural-dimension constructs. Implication for theory: cultural-dimension constructs based on "universal problems" are potentially valid at the individual level of analysis, too. Implications for further research	*Theory building*: Writing up a substantive theory: show how it all fits together	No theory building but discusses the implications of interpretive studies for cross-cultural management (research)

Based on table 2 "Paradigm Comparison of Steps Toward Theory Building" in Gioia and Pitre (1990:593).

behaviour. The qualitative study performed at KI could not test this statement, but only determine whether it is supported in the analysis of the interviews. Nor could the model of analysis adopted in chapter 3 lead to a generalisation of the findings. The model of analysis centres on the search for

relationships between reported behaviour and predefined cultural dimensions. It also touches upon the causal effects of cultural values (represented in the dimensions) on behaviour.

In addition, the model of analysis is categorical in the sense that it uses restricted constructs (categories) in the presentation of the verbatim (e.g., "working hours") and in the form of cultural dimensions employed to make sense of behaviour. The analysis of the interviews follows a convergent process that makes it possible to reduce the complexity of the rich description obtained through over 30 interviews to three major categories that are present in all the interviews (thus focus on similarities).

The study verifies the argued relationship between cultural-dimension constructs and individual-level behaviour. It thus provides additional support for the hypothesised causal relationship between cultural dimensions and organisational behaviour at the individual level of analysis. It concludes with the necessity to consider entire cultural frameworks in the analysis of organisational behaviour since several cultural dimensions can be linked to the same category of behaviour. The use of several cultural dimensions in the analysis can help in assessing the respective influence exercised by each dimension and more firmly establish causal relationships. In sum, chapter 3 makes it possible to show the representative symbolic generalisations of the positivist paradigm in cross-cultural management research. It presents and uses predefined frameworks, categorical models of analysis that help reveal a relationship between culture and behaviour, and a convergent analytical process. Similarities between the positivist analysis of chapter 3 and the interpretive analysis of chapter 4 are the use of strong ontologies, a focus on similarities and static representations. Table 5.2 and 5.3 summarise these differences and similarities.

Chapter 4, which presents the interpretive analysis of the interviews, also adopts a strong ontology. Culture is assumed to exist and to be manifested in symbols such as language. In the type of analysis performed in chapter 4, societal culture is assumed to exist and to be identifiable through the systems of meanings at use in individuals' discourses. Systems of meanings are not predefined constructs, but are identified in the interviews by paying attention to which terms are used and how they are used. The systems of meanings emerging from the analysis are a priori particular/specific.

The focus of the analysis on the description of the systems of meanings is to show the framework used by individuals to make sense of the world in which they act. In brief, the crucial element in grasping the relationship be-

tween culture and behaviour (action) is meaning. The focus is therefore on understanding individual interpretations that shape (and are shaped by) their societal cultural world, rather than studying the causal relationship between cultural dimensions (or values) and behaviour.

Table 5.2: Distinctions between positivist and interpretive analyses

Aspects	Positivist analysis	Interpretive analysis
Nature of the analytical frameworks	Cultural dimensions are predefined cultural frameworks that include universal aspects since they are based on questions that all human groups have to face in order to survive	Emergent and specific frameworks. The meaning systems of the Japanese and Swedish interviewees emerge through analysis of the verbatim and associations between themes. The semantic associations are a priori specific
Theoretical concerns and models of analysis	Relationships revealed between cultural dimension and organisational behaviour. Categorical model of analysis: the coding and the model of analysis have the purpose of constructing categories (see the three principal categories of "working time", "individual relationship to the group" and "superior-subordinate relationships" which are based on the coding)	Associative model of analysis: the meanings identified are studied in light of other research on Swedish and Japanese society and management styles. Associations are made between structures of opposition of themes (in the interviews) and oppositions found in other studies or texts (e.g., between modern democratic Sweden and hierarchy)
Analytical process	Convergent analytical process: condenses and brings together elements of cultural analysis (the cultural-dimension constructs and reported individual behaviour in Japanese and KI work environments).The aim is to simplify (see cultural-dimension constructs) to facilitate understanding (of differences in organisational behaviour)	Divergent analytical process: expands and enriches cultural analysis, from consideration of superior-subordinate relationships to a view on social organisation (e.g., modern democratic Sweden or vertical collectivism in a competitive environment)

Based on Schultz & Hatch (1996) and Gioia & Pitre (1990) and adapted to cross-cultural management studies.

One purpose of the analysis is to describe the distinct systems of meanings identifiable in the discourse of each group of interviewees, by focussing on the associations that recur throughout the text (focus on similarities). In the Swedish interviews, the verbatim of the superior-subordinate relationships can be organised around the opposition between a formal directive system and a relaxed one. The description of the formal system shows how interviewees link it to an outdated (in their opinion) form of social organisation. The Japanese interviewees use an opposition between a vertical collective form of social organisation (that they link to directive leadership) and a symbolically equal one between (isolated) individuals. The investigation of systems of meanings used by the interviewees serves to make understandable the context implicitly mobilised or referred to by individuals when they are

using certain terms (sometimes the same across the samples) and assessing behaviour. The representation of systems of meanings is static in the sense that it is like a snapshot, taken at a certain point in time. It is thus not concerned with the historical development of the system of meanings, or their dynamism, fluidity or fragmentation.

The relationship between an existing societal culture and individual behaviour is investigated through systems of meanings. This is done with an associative model of analysis that views the identified systems of meanings in light of previous research on each society. The similarities between the studies indicate that what was identified in the interviews reflects a societal phenomenon. Chapter 4 displays two distinct systems of meanings, in the Japanese and Swedish discourses, respectively, that are consistent with previous research on Swedish or Japanese management.

Table 5.3: Connections between positivist and interpretive analyses

Aspects	Positivist paradigm	Interpretive paradigm
"Strong ontology," thus use of restricted methodologies to reach culture	Regards culture as an independent variable presenting universal aspects such as cultural dimensions (constructs), that influence individual behaviour. Values are an important aspect of culture. Restricted methodology of systematic coding	Considers that culture is identifiable through the study of symbols (text of the interviews). Societal culture can be studied through the meaning structures that are used by the interviewees, with the use of a restricted methodology (ARO)
Focus on similarities	Emphasis on regularities found in the interviews and creation of three principal categories on the basis of these similarities	Emphasis on similarities found in the verbatim of each group of interviewees. The similarities indicate that the systems of meanings may be cultural
Static representations. Focus on patterns, structures	Representation of differences between the work environments with the constructs of cultural dimension. Cultural dimensions indicate a pattern of values, and certain value preferences in countries	Presentation of systems of meanings in the form of a structure. Presentation of similarities, associations between meanings, cognitive maps rather than construction or dynamism of meanings

The analytical process is divergent in the sense that it expands and enriches the analysis. From the study of verbatim linked to superior-subordinate relationships, an image of the Swedish and Japanese societies is progressively revealed. In addition, narrow themes like superior-subordinate relationships lead to consideration of the organisation of individuals in the society. In sum, chapter 4 also underlines representative symbolic generalisations in use in the interpretive paradigm in cross-cultural management research. In particular, it progressively reveals emerging frameworks, associative models of analysis and divergent analytical processes.

Chapter 3 and 4, by presenting a positivist and an interpretive analysis of the interviews explicitly reveal the analytical differences between the two paradigms as well as some points of similarity. These differences, placed in tension around the similarities (strong ontology, focus on similarities and static representations) activate the interplays.

Interplay 1

The first interplay concerns the nature and purpose of the analytical frameworks employed in the interpretive and positivist analyses, together with the use of strong ontologies (see figure 5.2). The interplay is conducted in two steps. First, the interpretive and positivist types of analyses are juxtaposed to shed light on their respective blind spots. The potential contributions to the positivist cross-cultural management stream of research are briefly discussed.

Figure 5.2: Elements of Interplay 1
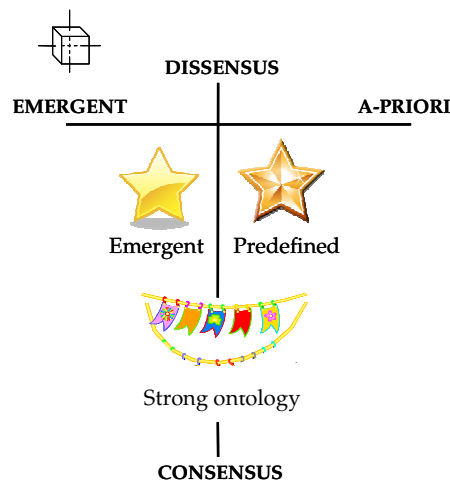
The second step of the interplay is the consideration of both types of analysis in interaction. It builds on the similarities between the two analyses in their use of strong ontologies, but the distinct natures of their analytical frameworks (either emergent or predefined) are held in tension. In the interplay, the possibility of applying emergent and predefined analytical frameworks conjointly is explored.

In view of the analyses in chapters 3 and 4, an illustration of such a possibility is provided with the theoretical framework of authority. Then the analyses, as well as the interviews, are reconsidered in order to show the contributions of this interplay. Thereafter, implications beyond the present study of interaction between Swedish and Japanese medical researchers are presented, with a focus on cross-cultural leadership studies.

Analyses in light of each other

The first aspect shared by the two analyses is a strong ontology in which culture is perceived as an essence and as a phenomenon impossible to grasp directly and therefore, requiring investigation with restricted methodologies. The positivist analysis and the interpretive one have different points of departure for gaining an understanding of culture, and for possible ways of investigating it. The positivist approach regards culture as a human universal and orients its investigation toward what people have in common across cultural groups. By contrast, the interpretive approach, while also viewing culture as a human characteristic, regards it first and foremost as a specific contribution to the human kind. It therefore tends to concentrate on what is unique to each cultural group (see Herder's Volkgeist in chapter 1 and the discussion on the differences between the views on culture and Kultur). The positivist approach of culture in cross-cultural management research focuses on a predefined construct of culture, and especially cultural dimensions, while the interpretive approach is aimed at emergent representations of culture. In light of each other, each analysis shows a blind spot. In the positivist analysis, local variations of the expression of the cultural dimensions might be overlooked; in the interpretive one, the shared features of different cultural expressions might be left unseen.

In view of the positivist analysis performed in chapter 3, the predefined categories used in the analysis are not reconsidered, but rather juxtaposed to explain the complexity of the situation. For example, the explanation of the type of relationship between superiors and subordinates in Japan can be furthered by both the cultural dimension of Power Distance and that of Masculinity Femininity. The two dimensions are not reconsidered as potentially forming the expression of another (third) one. The positivist analysis deals with complexity by adding more categories (in this case more cultural dimensions) to the analytical framework. On the other hand, the type of relationship between superiors and subordinates in the interpretive analysis was viewed as a manifestation of the Japanese forms of hierarchical organisation

and the particularly Japanese concept of "amae," but not in terms of a (universal) dimension like Power Distance. The generalizability of the relationship is not considered, although it could have been approached as a variation of a cultural dimension. In addition, the interpretive analysis deals with complexity by including several interpretation schemes, expanding the description of possible interpretations in different directions, but the picture thus developed may be too complex to be readily grasped.

In brief, juxtaposing the two types of ontologies and the resulting models of analysis, it appears that the positivist analysis does not reconsider its predefined categories, but adds new ones to provide a more complete explanation. The interpretive analysis, on the other hand, does not explore the possibility that the cultural expression that it studies is in fact one variation on a general theme. Consequently, there may be no effort to find this general theme shared by different interpretive studies.

Implications for positivist studies in cross-cultural management appear in light of the interpretive analysis that develops emergent frameworks. The apparent non-reconsideration of (predefined) cultural dimensions leads us to question whether a revision of the dimensions could be beneficial. There are numerous cultural dimensions used in cross-cultural management research, and the tendency is to refine them in order to untangle their various aspects. However, instead of refining the dimensions and multiplying them, it might be interesting to consider reducing their number. Similarities between the works of Hofstede (1980) and Bond (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987), and the framework developed by Schwartz (see e.g., Schwartz, 2004) indicate that about six dimensions tend to cover the range of expected variations across countries. Some dimensions might be worth considering together, such as Individualism Collectivism and Power Distance, since most collectivist countries score high on Power Distance. Moreover, these two dimensions were separated by Hofstede on conceptual grounds, although they formed the same factor (Hofstede, 1980:83-4).

An illustration of the benefit of considering the dimensions of Power Distance and Individualism Collectivism jointly is the development by Triandis (1995) of the variations of Vertical and Horizontal for Individualism and Collectivism. These variations distinguish between a focus on vertical or horizontal social relationships. Combining both of the notions included in Power Distance (a focus on vertical or horizontal power distibution) and the ones in Individualism Collectivism (unit of allegiance) provides a complementary

tool for the study of relationships between superiors and subordinates. For example, it better explains why some environments (such as vertical collectivist) tend to be linked to a certain leadership style (in this case authoritarianism - see Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). The framework developed by Maznevski et al., (2002) on the basis of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) presents the orientations of "Individual, Collective and Hierarchical," but their dimension does not really combine them. Instead, it shows that these orientations are alternative ways of organising relationships among people. The combination of distinct dimensions, such as Power Distance and Individualism Collectivism can provide stronger explanatory frameworks. For example, the understanding of leadership practices and preferences is enhanced in the review by Dickson, den Hartog and Mitchelson (2003) of studies investigating Vertical and Horizontal Collectivism or Horizontal and Vertical Individualism.

Consideration of both the positivist and the interpretive types of analysis in light of each other indicates that the current trend toward refinement of dimensions into more dimensions (see e.g., House et al., 2004), together with the tendency to study the influence of only one dimension (see Kirkman et al., 2006), might lead to fragmentation of the explanatory power of the cultural dimensions rather than enhance them. It is suggested here that trying to consider dimensions together in interaction could be a more rewarding path to follow for the development of stronger theoretical frameworks.

Analyses in interplay

Interplay, as a multi-paradigm study, adopts an ideology in favour of diversity, uses multiple ontologies and plural epistemologies, as explained in the framework for multi-paradigm studies developed in chapter 2. In other words, when we place the analyses in interplay, their diversity needs to be respected and built on at the same time. The present bi-paradigm interplay is intended to do so by maintaining tension in the distinctions between positivist and interpretive analyses around the similarities that they present. In this first interplay, the similarity in focus is in the use of strong ontologies; the tensions are between the analytical frameworks. When placed in interplay, the two analyses create a tension between the predefined and emergent frameworks, as well as between the convergent and divergent models of analysis. Chapters 3 and 4 show that both types of analyses are successful in explaining a situation, either with predefined constructs or with emergent systems of meanings. In addition, both analyses improve explanations, but

with distinct strategies; one adds more cultural dimensions, whilst the other diversifies the paths of explanation. This tension can be seen as the creative force of the interplay.

The strategy interplay adopts multiple ontologies and epistemologies; in other words, it considers that both types of analyses are valid and correct and may be comprehended together. Consequently, the interplay enables analytical frameworks to be both predefined and emergent, thus presenting the challenging question: how is this possible?

A first possibility is to try to combine a predefined framework and an emergent one. For example, in chapter 3, the predefined framework of Power Distance is helpful in analysing the theme of superior-subordinate relationships. In chapter 4, the Swedish interviewees make reference to a socio-political mode of organisation of individuals, whilst the Japanese interviewees tend to refer to a vertical, hierarchical organisation of the collective. The theme of equality/inequality is present in the Swedish interviews; the one of dependence and power is stronger in the Japanese interviews. How is it possible to combine these various themes with the Power Distance dimension?

One argument may be that Power Distance addresses a general theme (acceptance of inequality in power), and the particular (local) expression of that theme is shown by the emergent frameworks. To what extent then, does the predefined framework of Power Distance enable the emergent ones of individual and collective social organisations and dependence to be taken into account? To what extent is it arguable that Power Distance is understood by the Japanese interviewees in the framework of dependence on a group, which in turn is managed by a superior? Or should these themes be considered in another dimension such as Individualism Collectivism? The predefined themes that are addressed by the cultural dimension, and their assumed expression in similar behaviour (e.g., superior-subordinate relationships), limit the development of an emergent framework. Since the range of themes that can be addressed in the study of certain behaviour (e.g., a superior-subordinate relationship) is restricted, it appears difficult to combine or juxtapose the two different natures of the analytical frameworks on an equal footing.

Another possibility is to consider an analytical framework that would be both emergent and predefined at the same time, thus having a dual nature. In view of the analyses in chapter 3 and 4, it seems that the primary reference to Power Distance (chapter 3) and to social organisations (chapter 4) points toward the modes of power management that are seen as acceptable. What

concept could include both the notion of power and its acceptance, and also enable predefined and emergent analytical frameworks to coexist? The notion of authority seems to be a solution.

Authority gives power the added dimension of legitimacy. In a relationship of authority between two persons, one feels entitled to indicate the options available, and the other perceives a constraint linked to these options (e.g., relevance, obligation to obey etc.). In a superior-subordinate relationship of authority, superiors consider themselves entitled (and in fact have the right) to manage, and subordinates recognise an obligation to comply. The notion of authority implicitly encompasses a form of organisation, including hierarchical interactions and the normative regulation of power (see e.g., Scott, Dornbush, Bushing & Laing, 1967; Zelditch & Walker, 1984; Scott, 2006). It therefore seems to provide a convenient theoretical framework for the study of power inequalities and social organisation. A focus on authority maintains the general theme of power and consolidates it with the particular one of legitimacy. Legitimacy can be termed particular in the sense that it refers to normative belief systems that constrain and support the expression of power. Normative belief systems can be viewed as a cultural expression of a human group. In sum, the notion of authority adds the dimension of legitimacy to the notion of power, thereby including the particular local support of legitimacy that makes the power accepted.

Table 5.4: Interplay 1

	Positivist paradigm	**Interpretive paradigm**
Similarity: strong ontologies	Culture as essence	Culture as essence
Principal analytical divergences addressed	Predefined framework	Emergent framework
In interplay	Authority includes a general dimension of power and a local dimension of legitimacy	

Using the notion of authority to compare hierarchical organisations across countries could put in focus the tension between a universal phenomenon (power in organisations) and the particularities of its local expression in a legitimate form. This would permit the development of a theoretical framework that allowed for both a possible predefined universal aspect (power) and an emergent particular one (legitimacy). Placing the analyses in interaction around their strong ontology (culture exists and influences human behaviour), while considering the tension between the different natures of the

analytical frameworks, suggests the development of a framework with both emergent and predefined aspects (see table 5.4). In view of the analyses in chapters 3 and 4, the example of a theoretical framework of authority is proposed.

A theoretical framework of authority

A classic reference to types of authority is found in Weber's *Economy and Society* (Weber, 1911). The following brief presentation of his contribution explains various types of authority. It is useful to present them before reconsidering the analyses of chapters 3 and 4, and the corpus of interviews, in light of the theoretical framework of authority.

Weber distinguishes between rational-legal, charismatic and traditional ideal types of authority. "Rational-legal authority rests on the "belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands" (Weber, 1947:329). Intentionally established abstract rules that are universally applicable make the exercise of rational-legal authority possible" (Nelson, 1993:656). The bureaucratic organisation is an illustration of the rational-legal type of authority.

The charismatic type of authority is associated with an individual rather than a system. It "rests on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by [this person]" (Weber: 1947:329).

The traditional type of authority is based on the belief in the "sanctity" nature of the "order" (the social organisation) of a group (Weber, 1947: 334). "Sanctity" should be opposed here to "secularity". This order is not regarded as secular, in the sense that it is not considered a function of a certain time period. In other words, it is not viewed as temporal. This means that the social organisation of the group (its "order") is seen as timeless. Traditions have been "handed down from the past" for generations, and tend to be viewed as unchanged through the vicissitudes of time (war, prosperity, expansion, migration, etc.). Traditions designate those who are in positions of power and those who perpetuate this (successful) social organisation. Traditions gain their legitimacy through the power that they have displayed in keeping the group alive, with the management of power thus implied. Hence, those in positions of power are seen as legitimate since these positions have been conferred on them by tradition. Weber's development of the traditional type of authority builds on historical and contemporary examples

of societies that have adopted traditional types of political power. Today, few societies have a traditional type of political power, but what is interesting for cross-cultural management research is not the political applicability of the ideal type of traditional authority, but the ideal type in itself and the theoretical framework that it provides.

In contrast to the rational-legal type of authority, the traditional type of authority does not specify spheres of competence, i.e., a formal division of labour, responsibilities, and obligations. The authority of those in positions of power is pervasive. In addition, it favours ascription, in contrast to the rational-legal type that determines rules and norms, e.g. for promotion based on criteria like technical qualifications, education, and academic diplomas. Finally, a traditional type of authority favours private appropriation of positions of power. Positions can be held for life and transferred to others. Weber's (1911/1995:301-19) description provides additional characteristics, but the ones presented above are especially relevant because they reflect cultural dimensions developed in cross-cultural management literature.

In sum, three principal types of authority are presented: rational-legal (sometimes also referred to as modern), charismatic and traditional (including paternalism, patriarchy, gerontocracy etc.).

Reconsidering previous analyses in light of the theoretical framework of authority

The theoretical framework of authority is arguably a possible way to place analyses in interplay. Can it respect both types of analyses, hold them in tension, and provide additional insights? These are the conditions and expected contributions of interplays.

In the analysis performed in chapter 3, and especially the section on the relationship between superiors and subordinates, two cultural dimensions were suggested as explicative: Power Distance and Masculinity Femininity. Taken together, the two dimensions can be regarded as complementary. Power Distance is concerned with power and Masculinity with the normative regulation of this power: the framework for its legitimacy. The analysis of the relationship between superiors (in Japan) who demand progress in "work" and "results," and those (in Sweden) who create a more "friendly" and "at home" situation, combines the cultural dimensions of high Power Distance and Masculinity (in most descriptions of the Japanese environment) and lower Power Distance and Femininity (in most descriptions of the Swedish environment).

The Masculinity Femininity dimension can be seen as providing a necessary complementary framework for Power Distance. Power Distance is based on the acceptance of an unequal repartition of power, but for what social purpose? Is it for the preservation of the social fabric, the basis of the cultural dimension of Hierarchy in Schwartz's framework (Schwartz, 1994)? If so, what is the orientation of the normative regulation of power? Masculinity indicates that it is toward achievement, whereas Femininity implies that it is toward social concerns. In sum, the juxtaposition of the two cultural dimensions provides the framework within which the exercise of power is legitimate. Note that it indicates only a framework for the legitimacy of power, not the legitimacy itself, since a cultural dimension is not such a complex construct as a normative belief system. It may be necessary to consider the cultural dimension Power Distance conjointly with another dimension that explains the framework for the legitimacy of power. Vertical and Horizontal Individualism and Collectivism in Triandis (1995) and Singelis et al., (1995) provide not only better explicit forms of Individualism and Collectivism, but also expressions of Power Distance.

In sum, on reconsideration of the analysis in chapter 3, the theoretical framework of authority explains the combination of the two cultural dimensions of Power Distance and Masculinity Femininity. The positivist analysis, with predefined frameworks for cultural dimensions, could not explain why the dimensions were combined. It presented them as complementary in the sense of furnishing each other with more information. In the theoretical framework of authority, Power Distance can be seen as addressing the notion of an unequal division of power, and Masculinity and Femininity as an accepted social framework for this repartition. The theoretical framework of authority also respects the (predefined) nature of the analytical frameworks used in the positivist analysis. Besides, it has the potential to creating tension through the introduction of further elements. Masculinity Femininity provides only an indication of a framework for legitimacy; it does not describe that legitimacy in detail. The latter is done in the interpretive analysis of chapter 4, which exposes the systems of meanings that constrain and support the expression of power in the view of the Swedish and Japanese interviewees.

Reconsidering the analysis of chapter 4 in light of the theoretical framework of authority also leads to new insights. In chapter 4, both the Swedish and Japanese systems of meanings (that emerged from the verbatim on the relationship between a superior and a subordinate) address the theme of au-

thority, but they specify two different legitimacy. In the Swedish systems of meanings, (see figure 4.1, page 140), there is on one side of the figure the "formal," "structured" and "old" type of system of organising interactions between superiors and subordinates. This refers to a traditional type of authority, where respect is associated with titles and an established structure. Weber's ideal type of traditional authority seems to apply here. Traditional authority (Weber, 1911/1995:301-319) rests on the belief in the "sanctity" of an order that remains valid through time and in the legitimacy of those who are supposed to transmit and perpetuate that order. Traditional authority implies personal loyalty to rulers, though based primarily on their social category, not their personal attributes (Nelson, 1993:656). This perception of authority is the one through which Swedish interviewees make sense of the interactions that they encounter in Japan between "loyal," "respectful" subordinates, and supervisors in a system of "apprenticeship". The description of the "not so hierarchical" type of relationship, as Swedish interviewees see it in Sweden, suggests a more "modern" and individualist type of support for the authority of superiors. The legitimacy of the superiors is supported not by the sanctity of a formal system, but by their consideration for individual freedom and the moderation that individuals may have in the execution of tasks. This type of authority could be labelled "modern/democratic".

The emergent system of meanings found in the interviews with Japanese researchers also indicates certain types of authority. For the Japanese researchers, the organisation of meanings of the "strict hierarchy" (see figure 4.2, page 152) connects the professor with "dependence," "control" and "directiveness". Japanese interviewees depict a system of close interdependence between superiors and subordinates. The authority of professors seems to derive primarily from their position and their role in maintaining the group and perpetuating its existence. The reference to paternalism/patriarchy (e.g., to the "big mother") also indicates a traditional type of authority. One aspect of a traditional type of authority is the pervasiveness of the power of superiors. This echoes the description by interviewees of the power of professors over their research groups, positions at the hospital, hiring of faculty etc. Another characteristic is the ascriptive nature of positions, rather than determined by impersonal rules. This is reflected, for example, in the verbatim of interviewee [11] describing the process for becoming head of a project in his former Japanese laboratory: "[the professor] must see someone work very hard and for his career, he must select the person". No explicit reference is made to a system of academic achievements. The contrasting figure of the

friendly superior can also be seen in light of authority. The authority of the superiors seems to emanate from their choice not to use their power coercively. They appear to have power (see interviewee [34] "he has power and he is very kind"), but they listen to and respect subordinate initiatives and ideas.

In sum, the theoretical framework of authority shows that the aspect of power and its unequal repartition is present in each system of meanings highlighted by the interpretive analysis in chapter 4. The legitimacy of this power varies depending on the type of social organisation considered legitimate by the interviewees (either traditional or modern). The theoretical framework of authority respects the nature (emergent) of the analytical frameworks but also has the potential to create tension with the theme of power. Power is present in each form of authority, providing a potential predefined construct and a general theme. This aspect was overlooked in the interpretive analysis.

Reconsidering the interviews in light of the theoretical framework of authority

Reconsidering the corpus of interviews in light of the theoretical framework of authority is also possible. First, it is necessary to define what is meant by power. This is certainly not an easy task since the construct is one of the most thoroughly discussed in the social sciences. In view of the orientation of both the interpretive and the positivist paradigms toward a "consensual" approach to their object of study, and in view of the predefined nature of power in this interplay, I have chosen a non-critical and behavioural definition. To state it differently, I adopt a one-dimensional view on power (in Lukes's terms) according to Mulder 's (1977) definition – also used by Hofstede, 1980: "the potential to determine or direct (…) the behaviour of another person (…) more so than the other way around" (cited in Hofstede, 2001:82). The theoretical framework of authority thus comprises the dimensions of power and legitimacy. Legitimacy is viewed as the normative belief systems that regard power as valid and thereby acceptable to the members of an organisation. The belief systems that support the legitimacy of power are not predefined.

In the interviews with Swedish researchers, the power of the superior over subordinates is present in the description of both Japanese and Swedish superiors. Even if KI scientists sometimes seem to envy the greater apparent power of their Japanese counterparts, they too have power to influence their

researchers. In addition, the legitimacy of their power is presented rather unanimously. The Swedish researchers mention that they see the traditional system in which some of their Japanese colleagues operate as illegitimate (an apprenticeship, researchers do as the boss says, as if he were an "oracle"). In their description of the Japanese research environment, and in their references to Sweden, the Swedish researchers emphasise that they see a modern/democratic mode of social organisation as more legitimate (see chapter 4). In brief, Swedish superiors have power based on the normative belief system that a modern/democratic and individualist social organisation is preferable, and where social concerns and equality are appreciated. In summary, the Swedish researchers tend to espouse a modern/democratic type of authority.

In the interviews with Japanese researchers, it clearly appears that superiors have "a lot of power," but the descriptions of two kinds of superiors reveal two different social organisations that validate their power. In the case of "Strict hierarchy," the system is a vertical form of collective social organisation where the boss is responsible for the group. In the description of the "Friendly superior," the social organisation depicted seems to be one consisting of independent individuals (with the themes of "symbolic equality"and "independence"). In brief, Japanese superiors possess power based on two distinct forms of social organisations (see chapter 4). The Japanese interviewees thereby showed two legitimate foundations for power, in other words, two distinct forms of authority (traditional and "modern").

In view of the theoretical framework of authority, it appears that in the Swedish environment one type of authority tends to prevail, while in the Japanese environment, two types cohabit. However, it also appears that Japanese researchers tend to "work a lot," regardless of their type of superior (in Japan). In Sweden, where one kind of authority is socially supported, researchers are said to work just as much as in Japan, except, however, in the laboratory environment. Using the theoretical framework of authority therefore provides new insight into the strong ontological assumptions of both the interpretive and positivist cross-cultural management studies. Indeed, both argue that there is a relationship between culture and organisational behaviour, through either values or systems of meanings. The two different kinds of authority appear capable of supporting a tendency toward the same behaviour ("work hard" in Japan), whereas a single shared perceived system of authority can lead to different behaviour (work as hard as in Japan or, in the laboratories, work less hard). Consequently, there is a complex relationship

between systems of meanings or values and behaviour, where other aspects are also present. The influence of the environment seems to play a central role in this regard. In Japan, this environment is presented as very competitive, whereas in Sweden, it appears less so in the laboratory environment. The flexibility of values and systems of meanings in regard to their influence on behaviour is also highlighted. Distinct systems of meanings and values (e.g., expressed by the different figures of superiors) can lead to behaviour that is adapted to the same environment (e.g., a competitive environement). Reciprocally, a similar system of authority (e.g., Swedish modern democrat) can lead to different behaviour depending on the environment (research in laboratories or not).

As a concluding note, the theoretical framework of authority appears appropriate to both the positivist and interpretive types of analysis, further enriching the analysis in chapters 3 and 4. In addition, this theoretical framework makes it possible to create tension between the predefined and emergent natures of the theme of power and legitimacy with authority. The theoretical framework of authority also helps to shed a new light on the verbatim of the Swedish and Japanese interviewees. It shows that although behaviour tends to be considered homogeneous (Japanese researchers "work a lot"), it can be associated with two different forms of the perceived authority of superiors. In Sweden, where only one type of authority seems to be socially accepted, it may lead to different working behaviour. The relationship between systems of meanings or values is thus more complex than tend to be assumed in the interpretive and positivist ontologies of cross-cultural management research.

Contributions to positivist cross-cultural management studies

Contributions to positivist cross-cultural management studies can be identified with the theoretical framework of authority. The study of types of authority can include distinct analytical frameworks, models of analysis and analytical processes, thereby creating conditions for positivist and interpretive research communities to interact dynamically without leaving their respective paradigms. The principal contribution of this interplay is the explanatory power that it adds to the relationship between Power Distance and leadership. The following sections especially address the relationship between Power Distance and empowerment, paternalism as a form of traditional authority, and Power Distance and leadership preferences, and discuss

the theoretical and potential methodological advantages of using the theoretical framework of authority rather than cultural dimensions or systems of meanings.

The interplay that the theoretical framework of authority can facilitate between positivist and interpretive studies also features the advantage that authority is a concept already studied in interpretive and positivist studies, but there are relatively few cross-cultural studies who refers to authority. Inglehart's (1997) study of values across 43 societies highlights that the dimensions showing the greatest divisions between countries related to forms of authority, and values of survival versus self-expression. However, his use of authority as a dividing dimension is predefined, etic and monolithic, in contrast to the theoretical framework suggested in this interplay. Inglehart tends to amalgamate "traditional authority" together with low-income societies around the world and does not endeavour to present the local forms of legitimacy that sustain traditional authority. In other words, Inglehart uses the theme of authority as a broad cultural dimension that supports the strong distinction found in his survey between rich and low-income societies. In contrast, the interplay suggested here on the theme of authority takes the form of an ideal type to explain variations also found among Western and modern societies. In brief, the focus on authority in this interplay can provide a general/etic theme (power) to be studied across countries and investigated in its local forms (together with legitimacy).

Power Distance and empowerment in light of the framework of authority

For positivist cross-cultural management research, the study of types of authority, rather than high or low Power Distance, presents a clear theoretical advantage through its explicative power in regard to individual behaviour. Power Distance in itself does not explain why individuals accept an unequal division of power, or why they prefer, for example, a directive leadership style to a delegating one. Frequently, the answers provided are tautologies. Individuals in high Power Distance environments do not want empowerment because they are "accustomed to taking orders from their supervisors and may neither expect nor desire to be delegated" (Pellegrini & Scandura, 2006:266).

Extant research on the relationship between Power Distance and empowerment highlights that in environments with high Power Distance, employees tend to show aversion to empowerment (see e.g., Hui, Au & Fock, 2004; Carl, Gupta & Javidan, 2004). Aspects in which this attitude is observed in-

clude job satisfaction, performance and leadership preferences (see Dickson et al., 2003). Reconsidering these studies in light of the traditional type of authority, it is possible to explain the reluctance to accept empowerment. If employees view their organisation or the social organisation of their business environment in light of a traditional type of authority, empowerment can be seen as illegitimate because it is initiated by individuals rather than through traditional forms like norms and practices in use. Traditions have assured the perpetuation of the society in which they evolve, and breach of or the undermining of tradition (although possible to a certain degree) can also be seen as threatening the established order and hence the existing social organisation. Weber explains (1995: 308) that in a traditional type of authority, those with power are restrained by tradition in their use of it. As their legitimacy is based on the traditional order, it does not permit them to undertake radical change.

Weber explains that in traditional types of authority, status is ascriptive rather than based on achievement. Furthermore, in contrast to the rational-legal type of authority, a traditional type of authority does not promote the development of generally applicable rules (independent of the context). Finally, traditional types of authority enable personal appropriation of power. Such authority is pervasive because there is a lack of specified spheres of competence. These three characteristics are reflected in the cultural dimensions of Achievement Ascription and Universalism Particularism (Trompenaars, 1993), as well as Laurent's (1983) perceptions of authority as instrumental or personal. Zander (1997 and 2002) tests the relationship between cultural dimensions and empowerment across 18 countries. She notes the correlation between preference for empowerment and the cultural dimensions of Achievement, Universalism, and authority as instrumental. Her study gives strong support to the present claim that the ideal type of traditional authority should be considered in order to explain employee aversion to empowerment, since she shows that empowerment is not desired in an environment characterised by Ascription and Specific and personal authority (characteristics of traditional authority).

In light of Weber's ideal type of authority, it is likely that when employees perceive the legitimacy of their superior's power through the traditional ideal type of authority, they are also likely to consider the legitimacy of their superior in relationship to their compliance with established practices ("traditions"). This does not imply absence of change. As long as the "tradition" - and the order that it supports - is not challenged, there is room for modifica-

tion. A traditional ideal type of authority is implicitly linked to a concern for the group. Since "traditions" have gained legitimacy through successful perpetuation of the group/society/social order, it is likely that there is a reference to the group in the traditional ideal type of authority. Traditions are legitimate because they have proved efficient in perpetuating the group. Thereby, the respect of individuals for tradition can be linked to the predominance of the group. Thus, in a way, individuals may respect traditions because they perpetuate the group to which they belong, and hence maintain their own (social) existence.

This relationship points toward the dimension of Collectivism and can also explain the actual relationship between the dimensions of Power Distance and Individualism Collectivism. Indeed, if high Power Distance indicates a traditional ideal type of authority, it is likely to correlate with a concern for the group and thus with Collectivism. This relationship is shown in Tiandis and Gelfand's study of authoritarian forms of leadership. Authoritarianism is an archetypical form of traditional authority. Triandis and Gelfand (1998) find a relationship between environments characterised by vertical collectivism, an authoritarian form of leadership, and an emphasis on sociability in the sense of submission to an in-group (Dickson et al., 2003:744). Their study illustrates the relationship between authoritarian forms of authority and its relationship to the group over which it is exercised. The authoritarian form of leadership is a typical illustration of Weber's traditional type of authority. Paternalism is another example.

Paternalism as a form of traditional authority

Paternalism is a rising domain of investigation in cross-cultural management research (see e.g., Pellegrini and Scandura, 2006; Aycan, 2006). In a patriarchal group, one person is seen as the chief. Paternalism is a form of patriarchy, where the chief is the head of the household. The authority of this individual is personal, in the sense that it is not established by written administrative rules, but it is linked to the group and to the interest of group members. It is the responsibility of the head of the group to take care of group members (collectively), and the members accept this division of responsibility since doing so is in their collective interest. The authority of the chief is in fact constrained by the interest of the group (Weber, 1995:307). The persons occupying the position of chief are likely to lose their legitimacy if they endanger the existence and survival of the group. In sum, the traditional

form of authority, as in the case of paternalism, combines an individual and arbitrary dimension of authority for the continued existence of the group.

The study by Pellegrini and Scandura (2006) advocates attribution of a mediating role to the "indigenous" (Aycan, 2004) cultural dimension of "paternalism" in order to understand the relationship between leader-member exchanges and job satisfaction. They represent an emerging trend which tends to complement etic cultural dimensions with emic ones. Their recent contribution to the *Journal of International Business Studies* both builds on and reinforces previous research on paternalism. However, if paternalism is considered as one form of an ideal type of traditional authority, the previous research on which they build, as well as their own findings, appears more consistent.

Pellegrini and Scandura describe paternalism as an environment where "people in authority assume the role of parents and consider it an obligation to provide protection to others under their care. Subordinates, in turn, reciprocate such care and protection of the parental authority by showing loyalty, deference, and compliance" (Pellegrini & Scandura, 2006:267). Pellegrini and Scandura (2006:275) explain employee preference for paternalism by the instability of the economy. However, the metaphor of the family as a provider of protection needs not imply a paternalistic form of leadership. D'Iribarne (2002) relates references by employees of a Mexican company to the metaphor of the family that provides protection. But there is no mention of a strong father. The family is described as consisting of "brothers" bound together by reciprocal solidarity between employees as members of the same protective family. The metaphor of the family as a place providing help, where people "care," does not imply paternalism. As care can be collective, providing care does not adequately explain how authority is acquired by a chief (a "father" or "mother" figure), although this explanation is often offered by research on paternalism (see also the review in Aycan, 2004).

Pellegrini and Scandura use the metaphor of the family to explain the involvement of those with authority in the "off-the-job lives" of employees; the authors hold that this involvement is due to a personal interest arising from "caring". However, if "caring" is so important to superiors, why do they not "care" to delegate?

In light of the ideal type of traditional authority, the individual "care" that the person in a position of authority provides for members could be regarded as a kind of emotional compensation. Sometimes group members have to sacrifice their own immediate benefits for the good of the group (see for ex-

ample the case of Interviewee [27], who waited five years before his boss allowed him to come to KI). It is possible that members forego benefits for the good of the group in the belief that they themselves are not sacrificed as individuals or as group members. This assurance is expressed through the chief's involvement in, and "care" for, individual members, both at work and outside work.

Why can delegation not be an expression of paternalism? Both Pellegrini and Scandura's study and that of Aycan, Kanungo et al., (2000) show a negative relationship between paternalism and delegation, but they do not explain why empowerment appears incompatible with paternalism. If we consider paternalism in light of the ideal type of traditional authority rather than in light of the family metaphor, the reluctance to delegation makes sense. As a form of the traditional type of authority, paternalism reflects the particular case of the head of the household as the chief. The chief's mission is to perpetuate the household, and their authority to do so, and how to do so, is based on tradition. If they delegate to a random member of the household, they transfer their responsibility to a person who is not entitled by tradition to hold it and hence lacks the legitimacy to assume it. If/when delegation takes place, it is to a person entitled by "tradition" (oldest household member, first born, etc.). Pellegrini and Scandura show that delegation exists in Turkey, but they cannot link it to their definition and measurement of paternalism.

An additional advantage of considering paternalism in light of an ideal type of authority is the possibility of limiting some of the abusive connotations and implicit associations linked to the metaphor of the family. Pellegrini and Scandura had expected gender and age effects to support a paternalistic style of management in Turkey, but did not find any. However, with paternalism as a form of authority, there is no theoretical ground for expecting gender or age differentiation. The association of paternalism with a "dated" mode of leadership led the authors to expect less support from younger employees, but if paternalism is seen as one expression of an ideal type of authority, in contrast to a rational-legal and impersonal type, or a charismatic one, the belief that young generations should not support it is less obvious.

Investigating paternalism as a form of traditional authority may also lead to a new path of research on the social organisation to which paternalism is linked. It could thereby add a social variation to the current focus on individuals which is, for example, on the behaviour of the father figure (e.g., be-

nevolent, exploitative, authoritative etc.). Considering the theoretical framework of traditional authority also presents the advantage of erasing the "emerging countries" connotation of paternalism. Dickson et al., (2003:739) note that while paternalism is frequently observed in emerging nations, there is no general correlation between paternalism and a form of economy across countries. The case of paternalism in Japan is an illustration (e.g., Uhl-Bien, Tierney, Graen & Wakabayashi, 1990). The use of ideal types of authority, rather than paternalism, is also a way to avoid the negative associations frequently made in the West with "paternalism" (see Pellegrini and Scandura's 2006 as well as Aycan's 2004 discussions). However, since "traditional," too, may have a negative connotation, a new terminology may be needed.

Power Distance and leadership preferences in light of the framework of authority

For positivist cross-cultural management research, the study of types of authority adds further explanatory power to studies relating Power Distance to leadership preferences. The review by Dickson et al., (2003) of studies of leadership in different cultural contexts describes the multifaceted relationship between Power Distance and Leadership. In an environment of high Power Distance (in contrast to one of low Power Distance), subordinates are, for example, more reluctant to challenge their superiors and more fearful of expressing disagreement (Adsit, London, Crom & Jones, 1997), want more guidance from their hierarchy, appreciate "status-conscious," "elitist" and "domineering" attributes in leaders, want less participative leadership, and see directive leaders as more effective (Dickson et al., 2003:737-768). The description is compelling but does not answer the question "why?" Why do individuals in an environment of high Power Distance not want delegation, whereas delegation is desirable in a setting of low Power Distance?

The theoretical framework of authority enables us to go beyond both tautologies and descriptive presentation of the relationship between Power Distance and leadership preferences. It articulates these in terms of the themes inherent in types of authority. For example, in an environment where employees perceive a traditional type of authority, a challenge to their supervisor (see Adsit et al., 1997) is also directed at the legitimacy of the authority conferred on them by the social order. In other words, challenging your superior can be considered a threat to the social order to which you and your colleagues belong. With a traditional ideal type of authority, which is associated with personal and pervasive power, it is more "dangerous" to challenge

your superiors (Adsit et al., 1997) since their authority is not limited by its implications for individuals, but rather constrained by the group.

In addition, the interdependence of superiors and subordinates, linked to the responsibility of superiors for the perpetuation of the group and their dependence on the performance of group members (see illustrations in chapter 4 and Weber, 1995:308), explains the inclination to adopt a directive, "controlling" leadership style (see House et al., 2004). It also explains employee preference for more guidance to help them meet the requests set by superiors.

In an environment where a traditional ideal type of authority prevails, indications that the leaders adhere to the system which they are supposed to perpetuate can probably be expected and considered desirable. Such indications can be seen in leaders' attributes like "status-conscious," "class-conscious," "elitist" etc. (den Hartog, House et al., 1999), characteristics of leaders in a high Power Distance environment. In sum, the theoretical framework of authority provides a better explanation of reported relationship between leadership preferences and Power Distance, suggesting that a high score on Power Distance indicates an environment with potentially a traditional form of authority.

Conceptual and methodological advantages of the theoretical framework of authority

In addition to this explanatory power, the investigation of types of authority offers the advantage of using ideal types. Weber's ideal types are conceptual constructions that are associations of elements. Ideal types of authority present the basis for the legitimacy of a form of power, which is then expressed through property, governance, economy, etc. Ideal types need illustrations to be understood, although no illustration ever fully represents an ideal type, since an ideal type is an abstraction.

Using ideal types provides the structure and also the flexibility needed for a study in which both interpretive and positivist paradigms will be used. While "type of authority" represents a constant category, emergent conceptualisations can display the variations and the local expression taken by types of authority in certain environments. In cross-cultural management studies, a focus on "type of authority" allows one category (one dimension) and maintains a manageable number of major variations, (like traditional, charismatic, rational-legal). Cultural dimensions tend to be viewed as bipolar or as an index (on which countries score high or low), whereas the

ideal type permits more complexity. One advantage is the limitation on the number of themes to consider in cross-cultural studies (authority being one theme), without excessively reducing the complexity expressed by each theme. Some cultural dimensions comprise more than two orientations (see Maznevski et al., 2002) but remain however more restricted in the themes composing the theoretical framework that includes the variations. In addition, they need to permit interaction with research from the other paradigm.

Another advantage to the study of ideal types of authority is that these do not claim to be exclusive. Several types of authority are always present in the same environment. In *Economy and Society*, Weber finds illustrations of all three types in his experience of contemporary German society. Within each society, however, some organisations or institutions tend to adopt one ideal type of authority. But it is impossible to contend that a single ideal type of authority pervades many spheres of a society; the same is true of cultural dimensions, especially in complex modern societies.

Adopting a focus on authority appears methodologically feasible, too. High scores on the cultural dimension of Power Distance seem to indicate an inclination toward the ideal type of traditional authority. The measurement of Power Distance is based on two major themes: the decision-making style of the direct superior of the respondents, and the respondents' perception that employees are "afraid to express disagreement with their managers" (see measurement items in Hofstede, 2001:470-2). High power distance is characterised by employees' "being afraid" and tending not to prefer the "consultative" type of manager (Hofstede, 2001:86). These two themes are linked to the expression of a traditional ideal type of authority. In addition, d'Iribarne (1997) argues that Power Distance appears to be a tool to measure symbolic distance between superiors and subordinates. Could the ideal type of traditional authority be associated with environments where there is a strong symbolic distance in hierarchical relationships?

The development of the dimension of Paternalism by Aycan (2006) provides additional support for the possibility of assessing ideal types of authority (in this case the traditional form of patriarchy) across countries. Is the cultural dimension of Power Distance linked to another type of authority, for example rational-legal, when it shows a low score? The relationship between low power distance and preference for empowerment (Dickson et al., 2003), and the positive correlation between empowerment and Universalism, Achievement and authority as instrumental (Zander, 2002), are indications

that this might be the case. Further study is required to confirm this suggestion.

As a concluding note, this first interplay, between emergent and predefined frameworks around the use of strong ontologies, can be said to present a new theoretical framework for cross-cultural management studies. Thus, the interplay shows that a respectful and dynamic interaction with the paradigmatically Other does contribute to the cross-cultural management current of research. The interplay of the interpretive and positivist types of analyses conducted in chapters 3 and 4 pointed to the possibility of focusing our cross-cultural investigations on the theme of authority, rather than only on Power Distance or emergent systems of meanings. Authority provides both a general/universal aspect of power and a context-dependent expression (legitimacy) that makes it possible to place positivist and interpretive studies in interaction while respecting the paradigms to which each belongs. The relevance of studying types of authority for cross-cultural management research is shown by the explanatory power that it adds to the existing literature on superior-subordinate relationships across countries. The explanatory advantage of using authority is especially illustrated by the case of the relationship between Power Distance and empowerment, and paternalism. The focus in the examples is on relationships between individuals, or an individual level of analysis. Authority appears to be a very useful ideal type for understanding interactions between individuals; however, it might not be so helpful for the study of organisations' behaviour (e.g., preference of entry mode for establishment on foreign markets). The present claim of the usefulness of considering authority is limited to the study of interpersonal relationships. This interplay takes place at the analytical level of individuals (see figure 5.1, page 164), whereas Interplay 2 is conducted at the analytical level of organisations.

Interplay 2

The second interplay uses the tensions between the different theoretical concerns and models of analysis, together with a focus on similarities (see figure 5.3). The "consensual" approach of science adopted by both positivist and interpretive studies in cross-cultural management is at the origin of this focus on similarities, on the regularity and coherence that can be found in the verbatim of the interviewees. It is also linked to the belief that considering shared values and shared systems of meanings provides information on be-

haviour and action. Ultimately, it is also related to a belief in the possibility of influencing corporate reality with management techniques that take cultural values and meanings into consideration. The latter is a second similarity between the paradigms: an objectification of the organisation of social reality. Cross-cultural management studies in the interpretive and positivist paradigms recognize the possibility of influencing reality through a better understanding of it (called a technicist view by Alvesson & Willmott, 1996).

Figure 5.3: Elements of Interplay 2
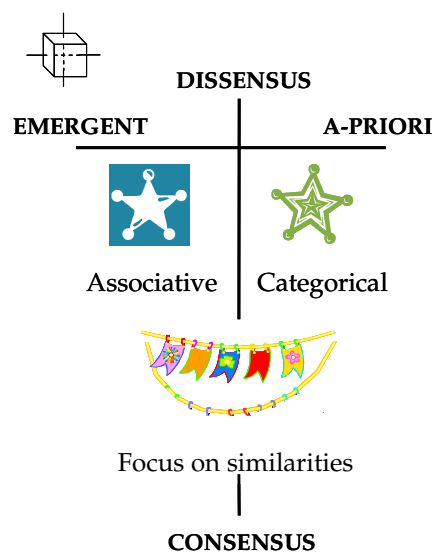
The interplay is conducted in two steps. First, the interpretive and positivist types of analyses are juxtaposed to shed light on their respective blind spots. It is suggested that adding cognitive frames to the study of values enriches the predictive power of cultural dimensions and cultural values in regard to behaviour. Studies that follow this track of research are briefly presented. The second step of the interplay creates a tension between the different models of analysis (categorical, associative) around the analyses' shared consensual approach.

The reconsideration of the analyses of chapters 3 and 4 suggests that social norms provide a framework that permits interplay between the two types of analyses. The potential contributions to the positivist cross-cultural management stream beyond the present study are then indicated. The mixed results hitherto found on the influence of culture on international venture performance are examined. It appears that in an international joint venture,

practices of interaction between partners are a mediating variable of the influence of national culture. Norms of interaction could therefore complement current research, for example on the relationship between culture and the performance of international alliances. Suggestions are presented for Sirmon and Lane's (2004) model, which is a synthesis of present literature on the subject.

Analyses in light of each other

Positivist and interpretive cross-cultural management studies resemble each other in their focus on similarities. In positivist cross-cultural management studies, the internal coherence of a sample of respondents is investigated through analysis of variance, for example. In addition, constructs are tested for consistency. In other words, the focus is on the identifiable regularities in the samples. Positivist cross-cultural management studies are based on the premise that regularities exist at the national or societal level of analysis. The first implication is the consideration of nationality as a proxy for culture. Schaffer and Riordan's (2003) review of positivist cross-cultural studies between 1995 and 2001 reports that country is taken as a proxy for culture in 79% of the studies, with national cultures assumed to be homogeneous, or at least presenting strong internal consistency. In addition, the investigation of the relationship between culture and organisational behaviour is performed (frequently) on the mean of a (national) sample, a convenient reduction of the sample's complexity (convergent analytical process). These limitations are already known in positivist cross-cultural management studies and have sometimes been addressed (see review by Schaffer & Riordan, 2003) in respect to one of their fundamental principles: the search for regularities. This attention to regularity is also expressed frequently in the investigation of the shared importance accorded to certain values, and of the managerial behaviour which is expected to result from these values (see e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Smith & Schwartz, 1997; Ralston, Holt et al., 1997). Knowing the important values for a country is a tool for grasping the behaviour encountered in this context and possibly for managing it (e.g., Hofstede, 1991; Schwartz, 1999); this expresses a "technicist view" of management.

In interpretive cross-cultural management studies, the focus is also on similarities, though in meanings or systems of meanings. The focus on regularities highlights recurrent associations of meaning in the verbatim of the interviews, as well as in other studies that are brought into the analysis. The focus on the regularities shared by the diverse studies makes it possible to

show that the emergent system of meanings is the expression of a social phenomenon, linked either to an organisation or to a society/nation. For interpretive cross-cultural management studies, an enhanced understanding of the frame of meanings in the studied situation is a stronger explicative tool than a focus on values. Meanings are the focal point since interpretive studies consider that individuals do not "behave," but "act" with intentions and in a meaningful way. Individuals are seen as acting primarily as a function of the sense that they give to their actions. Consequently, knowing the interpretive frame used by the actors can also help to improve the management of organisational behaviour ("technicist view").

The juxtaposition of this concern for the study of regularities and the divergent models of analysis enables us to shed a new light on each type of analysis. Both types of analysis concentrate their investigation on the identification of common denominators within the samples studied. The positivist studies concentrate their search on such areas as cultural dimensions and their relationship to behaviour. In light of the interpretive studies, the focus on cultural dimensions cannot show how behaviour is appreciated. In the interpretive analysis of chapter 4, it appears that interviewees hold distinct opinions about the behaviour that they claim to be sharing with others (e.g., they have different opinions on the "democratic" leadership style they adopt). The focus of the positivist analysis on the relationship between behaviour and culture assumes a relationship of causality in the sense of desirability. It implies that the pre-eminence of certain values over others (e.g., the value accorded to the group in the Collectivist dimension) will lead to voluntary behaviour in line with the expression of these values. The relationship assumed between value and behaviour does not leave room for assessment. A shared behaviour may be observable, but does it really come from individuals' sharing an appreciation of the same values? In addition, empirical investigations display variations within countries (e.g., Au, 1999; Lenartowicz & Roth, 2001).

Interpretive studies, by considering the system of meanings used by the interviewees, can help explain why individuals tend to have similar behaviour within a country, while preserving their diversity (national heterogeneity). If they use a similar grid for understanding a situation, in other words, a shared system of meanings, they may tend to act in similar ways. But this does not mean that they all share the same desire; individuals maintain their diversity of opinion and intention. A study by Sinha, Vohra, Singhal et al., (2002) shows, for example, that collectivist behaviour can be linked to collec-

tivist but also to individualist intentions. Individuals may act in similar ways, but their intentions vary. The positivist focus on value can hence be complemented by simultaneous consideration of intentions or meanings.

In the interpretive analysis, the focus on shared structures of meanings offers a representation of the cognitive schemes used by the interviewees to organise their discourse, and the divergent model of analysis provides support for it. But it is introduced a posteriori and concentrates on identified shared systems of meanings. While the positivist studies try to test (with the criterion of refutation), the interpretive studies will seek confirmation and support for the emergent construct as a societal cultural expression. The support that they find is in similar systems of meanings present in other aspects of the society. However, are they relevant in these other spheres of society, or are they simply observable there, too? In other words, it may be possible to demonstrate that a same system of meanings is present in other spheres of the society, thereby being cultural, but does it mean that this system is the one used by individuals to act in these other spheres? In brief, if it is convincing that the identified systems of meanings are cultural, their relationship to action is not very tight.

In sum, in light of the interpretive analysis, the positivist cross-cultural management studies could give greater consideration, in their theoretical frameworks for the influence of culture on behaviour, to the likelihood that meanings and intensions will vary within a population, even one with shared values and behaviour. In light of the positivist paradigm, interpretive cross-cultural management studies could place stronger emphasis on showing the relevance for individual actions of sharing the same cultural system of meanings.

Implications for positivist cross-cultural management studies come in light of the interpretive studies that work with systems of meanings. The cultural dimension frameworks and their scores per dimension for each country appear to show internal coherence or homogeneity. The consideration of a direct influence of cultural values on individual behaviour provides a touch of determinism as well. These aspects have long been used in arguments against positivist studies, some of which are already addressing these limitations. For example, to consider internal diversity or cultural groupings within countries (see Au, 1999; Lenartowicz & Roth, 1999 & 2001) is viewed as legitimate and is addressed in subsequent studies. The deterministic influence of cultural dimensions is questioned by studies reporting behaviour that

is apparently contradictory to the dominant cultural dimension of the environment studied. These apparent contradictions are sometimes called "cultural paradoxes" and explained in light of the limitation of cultural dimensions as "sophisticated stereotypes" (see Osland & Bird, 2000). They argue that closer attention should be paid to the sense-making used in the context investigated.

The consideration of interpretive schemes is likewise supported by Smith, Peterson, Schwartz et al., (2002). They first emphasise that the study of cultural values or systems of values has limited power to predict behaviour when a large sample of societies is considered. They then contend that a moderating aspect should be introduced in order to provide a better understanding of the influence of culture on behaviour across countries. Their choice is for a source of guidance, an interpretive structure that individuals mobilise when dealing with a situation. Sources of guidance combine individual interpretive structures that are linked to the individual's life experience as well as the expected views of the local environment (for instance, one's superior, a friend etc.) and society in general (Smith et al., 2002:191). Consequently, sources of guidance represent an overlap with shared systems of meanings that are promoted by interpretive analyses. For example, respondents in environments scoring high on Power Distance tend to prefer a hierarchical source of guidance (they refer to their superior) for solving a problem. The strong predictive power of cultural dimensions on the choice of source of guidance by managers, shown in a study by Smith et al., (2002), gives credibility to the benefit and feasibility of adding systems of meanings in the study of the influence of cultural values on behaviour. By considering interpretive structures conjointly with cultural values, some positivist cross-cultural management studies are already improving the strength of their predictive models. This encourages further efforts to pursue this study of the influence of culture on behaviour, with a combined focus on values and cognitions.

Analyses in interplay

The two analyses can be placed in interplay centring on their similar concern for a focus on what is shared across the internal diversity of the material (e.g. interviews, data), and building on their contrasts in concerns and models of analysis. In other words, this second interplay is based on the tension created by the different models of analysis, between those directed at causation and categories (positivist paradigm) and those with interpretation and associa-

tions (interpretive). While cross-cultural management studies in the positivist paradigm are concerned with values that are perceived as antecedent to behaviour, the interpretive paradigm pays more attention to meanings (i.e., the association of themes that are used by individuals to make sense of a situation). Can the tensions lead to conjoint consideration of values and meanings around observed similarities? In what frame can values and meanings interact, enabling the different analyses to interact while keeping their integrity?

A reconsideration of the analyses performed in chapters 3 and 4 helps us to sketch a certain relationship between meanings and values that might fit the frame of norms. In the interpretive analysis of the verbatim of Swedish researchers (chapter 4), it was apparent that although interviewees use a shared system of meanings when they talk about superior-subordinate relationships, some condemn a directive leadership style, while others indicate that they envy some of its advantages (speed, less discussion, efficiency). However, according to the interviewees, none use a directive leadership style in their home laboratory. The possibility that some values in Swedish society might carry more weight than others could explain the reported lack of a directive leadership style in KI laboratories. In the systems of meanings emerging from the Swedish interviews, the connotations of the "hierarchical" system are linked (in a pattern of oppositions) to democracy and modernity. In the "not so hierarchical" system, similar connotations are found, and the notion of "democrat" is explicitly mentioned. It would appear that values linked to democracy could play a role in the identified systems of meanings, in the sense that they would present their alternative ("democrat" rather than "hierarchical") as the desirable or normative one.

This idea is supported by positivist studies of values across countries. For example, in the work of Schwartz, the "cultural profile" of Sweden attaches proportionally the greatest importance to the value structure of Egalitarianism. In Egalitarianism "people are socialised to internalise a commitment to voluntary cooperation with others and to feel concern for everyone's welfare" (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000:420). This indicates that weight may be given to themes in line with Egalitarian commitment and thereby to the constituent elements of "consensus" and "democrat". This is consistent with the analysis of chapter 3, which shows that the relationship between Swedish superiors and subordinates is influenced by the cultural variation of Masculinity Femininity. Hofstede's Masculinity index includes the themes of assertiveness and gender-role differentiation. The Femininity variation expresses the themes of

nurturing and solidarity (see Emrich, Denmark & den Hartog, 2004:344) and indicates aspects of Egalitarianism.

Considering both types of analyses conjointly, it seems that we can obtain a better explanation of the reported behaviour. Certain values encompassed in the system of meanings appear to play a stronger role than others, and influence individuals to act in accordance with those values, even if they in fact disagree with the values in some way or do not adopt them fully. For example, although some KI respondents envy some of the characteristics of a directive leadership style, cultural values related to Egalitarianism probably stop them from adopting it. Considered in light of systems of meanings, cultural dimensions can no longer be criticized for determining behaviour, but they are predictive in the sense of indicating that some societal values are likely to take precedence because they are strong societal values that people are unlikely to go against - like a norm.

The systems of meanings that emerged from the analysis of the verbatim of Japanese interviewees also point toward a cultural system of values, and indicate that some values seem to carry more weight than others. Sagiv and Schwartz (2000:423) show that the cultural profile of Japan emphasises Mastery. "Mastery encourages active self-assertion in order to master, change, and exploit the natural and social environment to attain personal or group goals (…). Mastery overlaps somewhat with Masculinity: both emphasise assertiveness and ambition" (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000:421). In the systems of meanings used by the Japanese interviewees, this is consistent with the themes of "work hard," "long working hours" and "competition". The long working hours were associated with both the strict hierarchical system and the friendly superior in Japan. Researchers were pushed to work hard in order to produce more articles (for the professor), but also for the students' own good (e.g., for Master students to acquire "above [advanced] skills"). In both cases, there is an implicit reference to a competitive environment. Pressure from the environment on the researchers (whether or not via the professor) is present in both systems of meanings. Some elements, like "work hard," will carry a different weight in the systems of meanings in use, since these elements may not be socially negotiable. In chapter 3, the centrality of the themes encompassed in Mastery is underlined by the Japanese interviewees in their description of superior-subordinate relationships in Japan. The dimension of Masculinity was seen as representative of the type of relationships described (Masculinity includes the notion of assertiveness, see Emrich, Denmark & den Hartog, 2004).

Therefore, considering conjointly the systems of meanings and of cultural values, the relationship between shared meanings and shared values is made more complete. First of all, cultural dimensions lose their homogenising and deterministic aspect linked to sole consideration of cultural values regarding behaviour; the systems of meanings that include cultural values moderate their influence. In other words, the relationship between cultural values and behaviour is attenuated by the systems of meanings that express cultural value(s). In the case of the Swedish interviews, the values linked to Egalitarianism are expressed in a modern/democratic form of social organisation. However, that expression is only one of several that the values may take (see e.g., collective forms of egalitarianism, fraternity, and communism). The relationship between cultural dimensions and behaviour gains explicative power with the moderation of the systems of meanings. At the same time, the systems of meanings are complemented by the introduction of a pondering aspect: some values included in certain systems of meanings are socially more important than other. When the two analyses are in interplay, their distinct focus on emergent meanings and cultural values, and their distinct models of analysis (search for causality, categories or associations), complement each other. Considered in interaction around their concern for studying regularities and their perception of social reality as manageable (hence the need to study the relationship between values or meanings and behaviour), they point toward investigation of moderating elements of behaviour, as in studies on social norms.

Social norms in organisations

Social norms are studied in both the positivist and interpretive paradigms, at the individual, organisational and institutional levels. Social norms can be said to be legitimate, socially shared guidelines to accepted and expected behaviour (see Birenbaum & Sagarin, 1976). They are a combination of three elements (see Gibbs, 1965:589). First, norms are a collective assessment of behaviours in terms of "what they ought to be". Second, they are a "collective expectation as to what behavior will be and/or [third] particular reactions to behavior, including attempts to apply sanctions or otherwise induce a particular kind of conduct". Norms tend to be thought of foremost as behaviour, although they also include an interpretive scheme which is value loaded: norms indicate what behaviour "ought" to be. Norms encompass expectations, thus providing an interpretive frame for what is going to happen. A special feature of norms is that they are not reflected upon. Norms

point toward a scripted cognitive frame (expectations) and behaviour, rather than a planned one. They are collective and apply at the individual level at the same time.

The cognitive aspect of norms overlaps with the systems of meanings shown in the interpretive analysis. Norms and systems of meanings provide a cognitive frame that is used (and not reflected upon) for the interpretation of a situation (and hence creates expectations). At the same time, a norm is value loaded. In norms, the combination of a system of meanings and a value seems to provide a possible venue for the study of values and meanings in interplay and their possible explanatory power in regard to behaviour. The interaction between systems of meanings and cultural values can be understood as the expression of a norm. In Swedish society, the prevalence of cultural values related to Egalitarianism indicates a norm of a "not so hierarchical" research environment. In Japan, the competitive environment and cultural values related to assertiveness tend to impose the norm of hard work, which is then moderated by supervisors in different ways.

In sum, behavioural norms indicate how both values and meanings are enacted in organisational behaviour. A study focussing solely on values does not explain very well the link between a value and behaviour. In addition, using only values cannot show with adequacy that individuals in the same environment have different preferences and different opinions. The sole study of systems of meanings lacks the weighting of the elements; thus, it does not show that some elements of the systems are more socially desirable than others. Norms offer the advantage of providing a framework for the study of meanings and values together (see table 5.5). Moreover, it can res-

Table 5.5: Interplay 2

	Positivist paradigm	**Interpretive paradigm**
Similarity: consensual and technicist approach	Culture as shared values	Culture as shared systems of meanings
Principal analytical divergences addressed	Categorical model of analysis	Associative model of analysis
In interplay	Norms shed light on the relationship between values, meanings, and behaviour	

pect the concern for a consensual approach since the study of normative behaviour can focus on shared norms and shared behaviour. Likewise, the study of norms can respect the divergence between the paradigms in their

predefined or emergent theoretical frameworks. Norms can be approached either as idiosyncratic to a situation or as a general phenomenon across environments. The study of norms also makes it possible to respect either a categorical and causative model of analysis or one oriented towards interpretation and associations. Origin, antecedents and development of social norms, as well as the role of norms for the interpretation of behaviour can be addressed by positivist and interpretive studies. In other words, the concept of norms is broad enough (in the sense that it is not a construct typically bound to one paradigm –like "cultural dimensions" are, for example) to make it possible for positivist and interpretive studies to interplay.

In cross-cultural management studies, societal or cultural norms tend not to receive particular attention in the investigation of organisational behaviour across countries. However, they can provide a framework for the interaction between positivist and interpretive cross-cultural management studies. The positivist studies have already identified important societal values, and the interpretive studies can provide an indication of the framework in which these values are enacted.

Contributions to positivist cross-cultural management studies

The study of norms, with a research agenda where both interpretive and positivist studies may interact, can contribute to positivist studies in cross-cultural management. Appeals for the study of norms in cross-cultural management research are sometimes made together with pleas in favour of considering to a greater extent the context that influences organisations and organisational behaviour (e.g., Redding, 2005). Yan and Sorenson's (2004) study offers to complement existing interpersonal theories on motivations for conflict resolution by adopting a stronger focus on cultural norms. They insist on the necessity to consider norms of behaviour, and not only the personal and cultural dimensions, in an environment such as China, where Confucianism provides people with comprehensive and detailed codes of conduct. Strengthening the research on social (or cultural) norms in cross-cultural management studies could provide a better understanding of individual-level behaviour.

In their study of the relationship between values and behaviour, Bardi and Schwartz (2003) show the central role of norms. While personal values are a reliable predictor of individual inclination toward certain behaviour (see Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995), the relationship between values and behaviour is

moderated by norms. The relationship between cultural values and behaviour could be clarified by a stronger focus on norms that would explain the local cognitive moderation of values. Further research needs to show the moderating role of social norms (developed at either the societal or organisational level) on the enactment of values.

A research agenda for the study of norms in international ventures

The investigation of norms (in the sense of interpretive schemes that influence action through expressing values) may contribute to various strands of literature dealing with the influence of culture on management, such as studies of international alliances or international joint ventures (IJV). The influence of national cultures has been explored, for example, in studies on entry mode, performance and survival of organisations (e.g., Kogut & Singh, 1988; Barkema & Vermeulen, 1997). Cultural distance between countries is addressed as either an impeding or a facilitating variable (e.g., Li & Guisinger, 1991; Morosini, Shane & Singh, 1998). Differences in organisational culture have also been studied, and strong dissimilarities between organisational cultures are perceived as detrimental (e.g., Brown, Rugman & Verbeke, 1988), or leading to dissatisfaction (e.g., Pothukuchi, Damanpour, Choi, Chen & Park, 2002) in IJVs. Sirmon and Lane (2004) add professional cultures to the possible cultural variables impeding the development of efficient interaction between employees in an international alliance.

In light of the preceding consideration of the moderating role of meanings in the enactment of national cultural values, it seems difficult to establish a direct causal relationship between national cultural values and organisation's behaviour. If national cultural values are moderated by interpretive frames such as those used by the employees of an IJV, this can provide an alternative explanation of the mixed results found for the influence of (national) cultural differences. Indeed, rather than these differences as such, it could be their management that explains whether the impact on the organisation is positive or negative. Management of the differences can include, for example, the creation of shared interpretive frames in the form of cognitive and behavioural norms shared by employees. When shared norms have been successfully created among employees, the employees can benefit from the diversity and complementarities of both parent firms. A failure in the creation of shared cognitive or behavioural norms could explain the impact of national cultural differences on firm performance.

Extant research on the interactions of employees of different cultural backgrounds (national and organisational) in an IJV indicates that norms are an important moderating variable. Brannen and Salk (2000) study the emergence of shared understandings and practices, and shared local organisational norms, in a Japanese-German joint venture. They emphasise the moderating effect of norms. They show how, when the IJV had just been formed, distinct national practices and habits could lead to frustrations and incomprehension. However, in time the employees reached compromises and also developed common practices that were not a reproduction of either Japanese or German organisational behaviour, but new to both groups. Studying the impact of national culture on the employee influence in the organisation, Salk and Brannen (2000:200) find that it is the employees' "volition to accept and adapt to local, emergent norms [of the IJV] that contributes to being influential." The authors insist that the cultural differences encountered between German and Japanese employees were not necessarily a challenge as such. However, the way in which these differences were managed was crucial.

The emergent norms among the employees of the IJV, and employee orientation toward these norms, indicate that the local emergent processes of interactions are a critical aspect. The orientation of employees to the local norms, i.e. toward the daily management solutions that are adopted, the routines that develop, the habits that are formed around meetings, coffee breaks and the like, are important for managing the differences between them. If employees remain oriented toward their parent company, the effect may be detrimental. Salk and Shenkar (2001) provide an illustration of an IJV where contextual features prevented the establishment of shared norms and the employees' orientation to these norms. While it seems as if distinct orientations can be expected at an early stage of an IJV (Salk, 1997), a subsequent orientation toward common norms (either imposed by one of the parents or developed conjointly) appears essential. The mixed results on the influence of national culture on IJV performance could be due to failure to consider the development of shared norms, among employees of the organisation.

Sirmon and Lane (2004) review the literature on the influence of organisational cultures on the development of efficient relationships in an IJV. The studies are consistent in indicating that large discrepancies between the organisational cultures of international partners have a negative impact on the development of efficient interaction among employees. Likewise, Fey and Beamish (2001) show that the outlook for IJV performance is best when the

partners have similar organisational climates, in other words, similar types of organisational practices. They also show that the impact of a discrepancy between the organisational climates of the parent firms is greater than that of discrepancies between their national cultures. Similar results are presented by Pothukuchi et al., (2002) for organisational cultures. They show that the negative relationship between cultural distance and IJV performance is more closely linked to discrepancies between organisational cultures than between national cultures.

These findings on both organisational culture and climate support the recommendation to consider how the local organisational norms of IJV employees moderate national culture. When employees come from parent organisations with similar organisational climates, the comparability of their practices can make it easier to adopt or develop shared behavioural norms of interaction. When employees come from sharply differing organisational cultures, they may be more dependent on successful management of the integration processes. Strong discrepancies between organisational cultures appear more detrimental than strong discrepancies between national cultures because organisational cultures are more directly related to interpersonal behaviour (and hence interpersonal norms of interaction). National cultures are measured according to values that have an indirect and complex relationship to organisational behaviour. In contrast, organisational cultures are measured in Pothukuchi et al., (2002) according to organisational practices (Hofstede et al., 1990). Like organisational climate, they are more closely related to established behavioural norms. In addition, Hofstede et al., (1990) show that practices are more representative of organisational culture than of national cultural values. Studies of the influence of organisational culture on IJV management can therefore be seen as supporting the claim that national cultural differences as such are not crucial to the IJV, but the way in which these are managed is (Salk & Brannen, 2000). Thus, the local behavioural norms in the IJV, appear to be decisive, rather than the scores of the respective parent companies on cultural dimensions.

Norms of interaction and performance of international alliances

The interplay between values and meanings in respect to organisational norms can contribute to the literature on the influence of national culture on international partnerships. The mixed results from the investigation of national cultural differences and their impact on IJV performance, for example, indicate that there is a moderating variable possibly in the form of local,

emergent, or transferred organisational norms. This finding may be generalizable to other forms of interaction between international partners, for example, to international alliances.

This interplay between cultural values and systems of meanings, which points toward the study of norms, suggests a revision of the framework recently proposed by Sirmon and Lane (2004) for understanding "cultural differences and international alliance performance". The authors developed a theoretical framework based on extensive review of the literature on the influence of culture on organisational performance, including in their model national, organisational and professional cultures. The preceding argument in favour of the study of norms to better understand the impact of culture (cultural values and meanings) is probably relevant to all forms of international ventures. The argument is based on a review of the literature on IJV studies; however IJVs and alliances present similarities, in the sense that both imply collaborative behaviour between independent firms in combining resources and efforts, where employees of different cultural background interact. Therefore, it is suggested that the study of norms that develop between employees in interaction could also contribute to a better understanding of the influence of culture of international alliances.

Figure 5.4: Sirmon and Lane's (2004:307) model of cultural differences and performance of international alliances
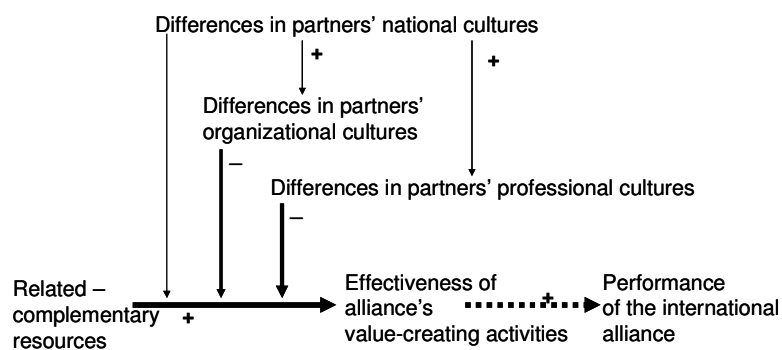
The thickness of the arrows indicates the relative strength of the relationships.

Sirmon and Lane's (2004) theoretical model addresses the influence of national, organisational and professional cultures on the performance of international alliances (see figure 5.4). The core of Sirmon and Lane's (2004) argument is that the alliance's performance is linked to successful manage-

ment of the alliance's primary value-creating activities. Successful management is defined as an effective interaction of the employees involved in these activities. Such interactions are driven by sense-making, which is shaped by personal experience and socialisation. Sirmon and Lane suggest considering three principal types of employee socialisation: national cultural, organisational and professional. They contend that the most influential component is the varied professional backgrounds of employees.

Sirmon and Lane see socialisation primarily as a cognitive dimension when they discuss the influence of national and professional culture. Their focus on the causal relationship between values and behaviour presents national culture, with an element of determinism for individuals: "beliefs and norms of national culture are learned early in life, and endure despite subsequent socialisation by organizations and occupations". Their focus on a causal relationship and predefined frameworks seems to divert their attention from the possibility that employees will develop local, emerging, and different norms in interaction with their international partners. According to Brannen and Salk (2000), partners develop a "negotiated culture" through their interaction. The differences that employees may have, originating from their national, organisational or professional backgrounds, are moderated by the interaction of employees with their partner and the patterns, norms and habits of interaction that they develop together.

Sirmon and Lane (2004) hold that the influence of professional culture is stronger than the influence of national and organisational cultures. Their argument is based on interpretation of the study by Lenartowicz and Roth (2001) of national subcultures in Brazil and their relationship to business performance. Sirmon and Lane's (2004:315) interpretation is that "by specifying and understanding a more proximal and salient culture to which people belong, one can predict behaviors more accurately". Lenartowicz and Roth's study shows performance discrepancies between sub-cultures in distinct regions of Brazil, though not that subcultures better predict individuals' behaviour. Sirmon and Lane interpret the findings of Lenartowicz and Roth as follows: the more proximal and salient, the more accurate the prediction of a cultural influence. Thereby, they claim that professional culture is the most influential of the three cultural variables that they consider.

This argument is fragile, however, because it assumes that the three cultural variables have a similar type of influence (only their strength varies) and overlooks that organisational culture is linked to practices and organisational norms. While national and professional socialisation is presented in
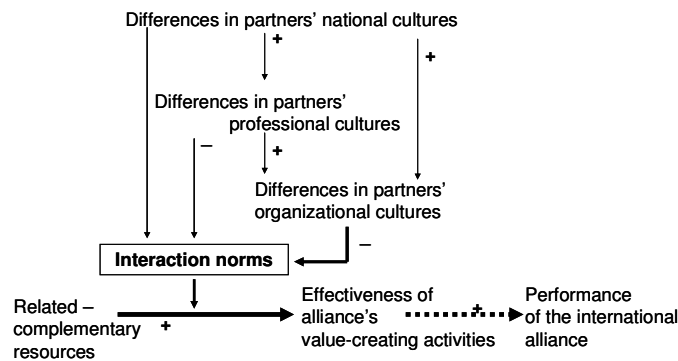
their article primarily as a cognitive frame, Sirmon and Lane discuss sociali-sation through organisational culture first and foremost as behaviour (and thus not as cognition). They rely on studies focussing on organisational prac-tice to support their claim of the influence of organisational culture. How-ever, they do not seem to notice that they are defining the socialisations in different ways (as cognition or as behaviour). In brief, the three sources of socialisation (national, professional and organisational) are dissimilar. If so-cialisation through organisational culture is linked mostly to organisational practices (behaviour), it already moderates the two other forms of socialisa-tion. The national cultural and professional cognitive frames are enacted in organisational practices, to the same extent that values and meanings are en-acted through norms (see Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). This may bolster the in-fluential position of socialisation through organisational rather than professional culture.

In sum, the "model of culture differences and international alliance per-formance" proposed by Sirmon and Lane (2004) could be modified on three points in regard to the assessment of the influence of culture on alliance per-formance. Firstly and more importantly, it is assumed in the model that in-teractions among employees are driven by sense-making shaped by personal experience and socialisation, but only socialisation prior to the alliance, not within the alliance, is considered. In other words, the authors do not seem to consider that employees will develop new socialisations and new ways of sense-making, and will re-contextualise their knowledge and ideas according to their experience in the alliance. A possible contribution to the model could be to add an arena for interaction between the partners, a place where norms of interaction develop and moderate the cultural influences. A second modi-fication could be to cease viewing organisational culture as an influential variable of the same nature as the cognitive frames acquired in national and professional socialisation. The literature supporting the influence of organ-isational culture deals with practices, not cognition. Organisational culture can therefore been seen as moderating the influence of the other two cultural variables. This leads us to a third modification: to some extent, organisational culture (rather than professional culture) can be regarded as the most impor-tant aspect. Indeed, in the logic of the authors, it may be the most proximate and salient aspect of the alliance's value-creating activities.

Considering the focus of the present interplay on norms, a modification of Sirmon and Lane's (2004) model is suggested (see figure 5.5). The influence

of national, organisational, and professional cultures is maintained, but moderated by norms of interaction.

Figure 5.5: Modified model of cultural differences and performance of international alliances based on Sirmon and Lane (2004).

Differences in partners' national cultures
+
Differences in partners' professional cultures
+
Differences in partners' organizational cultures
–
Interaction norms
Related – complementary resources
+
Effectiveness of alliance's value-creating activities
Performance of the international alliance

As a concluding note, it appears that this second interplay between interpretive and positivist studies is possible based on their common consensual and technicist approach, building on the tensions created by their different models of analysis. Interplay 2 gives a second illustration of a contribution that a multi-paradigm study can bring to cross-cultural management research. The study of norms can show how values and interpretive frames are combined, providing categories to be used in the search for causality (links between cultural values and behaviour) and associations (meanings associated with norms). The study of norms, and especially behavioural norms in organisations, can contribute to cross-fertilisation of the interpretive and positivist studies on the influence of culture on management. In the literature on IJVs or alliances, a focus on norms can furnish an explanation for the mixed results obtained on the influence of national culture on international ventures. An agenda for research on norms of interaction can provide a venue of active interplay between cross-cultural management research in the interpretive and positivist paradigms.
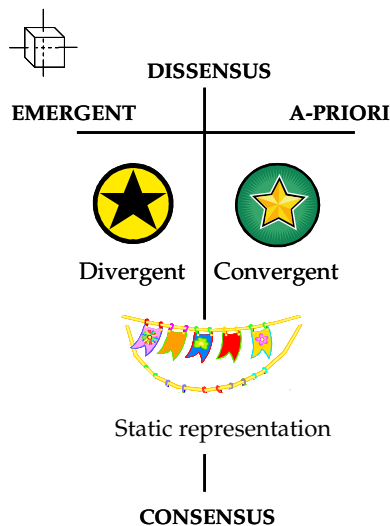
Interplay 3

The third interplay considers divergent and convergent analytical processes, together with static representations of culture (see figure 5.6). A tension be-

tween the divergent analytical process, which tends to create a complex picture of a phenomenon, and the convergent process, which aims to reduce its complexity (e.g., to laws, regularities etc.), can be achieved in this interplay around static representations of culture. Although both interpretive and positivist research communities agree that culture is changing over time, or that culture is dynamic, their representations of culture are static. For example, they use metaphors (like that of an iceberg or an onion) or a system (of meanings), the outcome of a value survey in the form of a snapshot, or similar structures of meanings across various studies over time.

Figure 5.6: Elements of Interplay 3

The interplay is conducted in two steps. First, the interpretive and positivist types of analyses are juxtaposed to shed light on their respective blind spots. In light of interpretive studies, it is suggested that positivist studies can strengthen the cultural-dimension constructs and their measurement with a stronger focus on the (structure) of the items composing them. Likewise, cultural dimensions are frequently used to study similarities and differences in behaviour across countries, although the dimensions can also provide information on the uniqueness of countries.

The second step of the interplay is the consideration of the tension created between the distinct analytical processes and the shared static representation of culture. In interplay, the distinct analyses suggest to use cultural dimensions as the expression of "logics". Implications for positivist cross-cultural management studies are presented to enhance our understanding of culture

as simultaneously homogeneous and heterogeneous, as well as changing while some of its elements are kept constant.

Analyses in light of each other

The positivist studies offer a static representation of culture through the use of constructs like cultural dimensions. Cultural dimensions stand for an association of items that shows consistency across countries. For example, Hofstede's cultural dimensions were empirically developed using a factor analysis. In light of interpretive analyses such as those displayed in chapter 4, however, cultural dimensions may appear formless. In chapter 4, the focus on a system of meanings displays relationships in a cognitive map. The map shows that some items are interlinked, providing a drawing with a certain shape. In light of the study's focus on systems or structures, the cultural dimensions seem to be loosely articulated since the relationship between the points forming the same factor (e.g., in a factorial analysis) is a correlation pattern. The points/items are organised in an Aristotelian relationship, and co-vary in similar correlation patterns. In other words, the items tend to score high or low on a factor, and they tend to be seen as a group rather than as individual items within the group. In sum, in light of the interpretive analysis of chapter 4, the outcome of positivist analyses and their convergent process toward cultural dimensions may appear formless, in the sense of not showing the reciprocal articulations between the items within one dimension.

For example, in chapter 4, the interpretive analysis links the themes of "structure" to "formal," then to an "old system" and then to a "directive leadership style" (see figure 4.1, page 140). The themes of "formality" and "directive leadership" style are also to be found in the expression of Power Distance (Hofstede, 2001:107), but the dimension does not graphically display how they are linked to each other. Items can come close on the graphic representation of a factor analysis, though belonging to separate factors. In figure 4.1 on page 140, however, the theme of formality appears to play a central role, especially when placed in contrast to "speak freely," "open," which are linked to "moderation," "consensus" and "democrat". The map showing the organisation of the various items suggests that key distinctive aspects of the opposed social systems are the forms of communication (either "formal" or "speak freely").

In sum, in the positivist studies, the links between the items composing a dimension can be investigated with the correlation patterns that they share. It

is more difficult, however, to see the relationship between one item in one factor and another item in another factor. Moreover, Aristotelian logic is a fundamental principle. Items are more or less correlated and load more or less on a pattern of correlation. The investigation of their relationship is organised according to a binary logic. This approach also influences the types of questions posed and the way we think about culture in terms of oppositions and differences (see Ofori-Dankwa & Ricks, 2000). In view of the interpretive analysis, correlations can be seen as a rough indication of the cognitive organisation of the various items.

In light of the positivist studies of culture and their convergent analytical process, the interpretive focus on systems of meanings with a divergent analytical process seems to have no predefined limits. Interpretive studies represent culture with a multiplicity of sources that re-emphasise the same systems of meanings. Is this diversity of sources always legitimate in studying societal or national culture? The interpretive associative model of analysis differs from the positivist concern of reducing the complexity of the phenomenon under study with often predefined components of what is considered as culture. In addition, the positivist studies focus on the time frame in which the scores of countries are measured. Hofstede's cultural dimension scores are sometimes criticised as outdated since major economic changes have taken place in some of the sample countries since the 1960s, when the data were collected. In contrast, interpretive studies do not seem to be overly concerned with the use of references that are a generation or two old; it actually reinforces the validity of the cultural argument they are making. Indeed, if a similar system of meanings is to be found in other research, and possibly previous research, a certain social consistency connected with culture is shown. To some extent then, the associative model of anlysis and the divergent analytical process for studying societal/national culture use the stability of meaning systems over time in treating culture. The attention of positivist studies to contemporary data as an illustration of cultural dimensions could also be contemplated for the examination of societal/national culture in the interpretive studies. Doing so might shift the attention toward new systems of meanings rather than the stable ones.

Implications for cross-cultural management studies in the positivist paradigm can first address the cultural-dimension constructs. Considering both the theme of a dimension and the way in which it takes shape can help improve the fit between its definition and its relationship to organisational be-

haviour. This can be achieved by taking greater account of the items composing the dimension (when empirically developed) or the items composing its measurement. There would then be stronger emphasis on the organisation of the items constituting a dimension rather than the current emphasis on the central theme of the dimension. For example, the cultural dimension of Individualism in Hofstede (1980) is based on respondents' emphasis on the work goals of "personal time," "freedom" and "challenge", and on the low importance accorded to "use of skills," "physical conditions" and "training". Hofstede's interpretation of the dimension is that this factor shows a contrast between work goals stressing employee independence from, and those expressing dependence on the organisation (Hofstede, 2001:214). Hence, the core of the dimension appears to be the notion of (in)dependence. However, this dimension is labelled "Individualism Collectivism," thus indicating an emphasis on the individual/group relationship. Trompenaars (1993) uses a similar label for his dimension, though the measurement underscores that respondents see individual goals prevailing over group goals. In sum, the cultural dimensions tend to be treated as the expression of a central theme, although they may reflect or be measured by another theme or a combination of themes. Closer consideration of the way in which cultural dimensions are measured and defined could yield stronger hypotheses on the relationship between behaviour and cultural dimensions. It would also help in the choice of the cultural dimension best suited for empirical investigation of the relationship between culture and behaviour.

A second implication of viewing positivist studies in light of interpretive ones may be that it shifts attention away from convergent processes. Cultural dimensions are often used for studying the influence of culture on behaviour in different countries. However, cultural dimensions can also be used to study the specific profile of a single country. Cultural dimensions are general constructs that show consistency among correlations and patterns of covariance. Items may not always load as much on the dimension in each of the countries studied, but they present the same pattern in relation to the other items. The focus of cultural dimension studies is the search for regularities across countries, not the exact articulation of items in each single country. However, they may do the latter as well.

The etic concern on which the cultural dimensions are based implies that researchers have to eliminate items that show particular or unique variations. For instance, the GLOBE project develops its measurement instrument for culture and leadership using local country co-investigators. When they ex-

pressed concerns about a particular item in the measurement, this item was removed (see House et al., 2004 and Javidan, House, Dorfman et al., 2006). But what if the item is of central importance in another cultural environment?

Likewise, Schwartz' study of universal value structures leads to considering only those that show a similar meaning across countries (in other words, the values that correlate with each other in similar ways from one country to another). Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) explain the rationale for excluding the values that showed excessive variance across countries. However, most of these values that did not appear in the expected value structure came out in an adjacent one. It is also interesting to study these values in particular and observe how they can take on distinct meanings in different samples (such values are "true friendship," "a spiritual life," "inner harmony" and "social recognition").

Schwartz and Sagiv investigate a few cases where the value structures appearing within one country significantly differed from the universal value structures, and where some values appeared in a different value structure than in the other samples. Japan is one of these cases. Schwartz and Sagiv show that in the Japanese samples of respondents, the value "true friendship" appears in the security values region (rather than the region of benevolence) and the value "forgiving" in the universalism region (rather than the region benevolence). These strong discrepancies indicate particular Japanese meanings associated to these values. In sum, the concern of large-scale positivist cross-cultural management studies can be combined with specific investigations of cultural dimensions in a single country, showing how they differ from the etic/universal organisations of values. In other words, by shifting attention away from a convergent analytical process, in search of models and consistency across all countries, researchers can also use cultural dimensions to study a country's specificity. This agenda is already followed by some researchers, who help us gain a more thorough understanding of the specific local expression of general constructs (see e.g., Triandis, McCusker et al., 1993).

Analyses in interplay

When interpretive and positivist analyses are put in interplay around their shared static representation of culture, it becomes clear that the two types of studies place distinct emphasis on what represents culture. The interpretive studies stress a system of association between different meanings. The posi-

tivist representation of culture, on the other hand, refers to values through cultural dimensions. This emphasis on values is the heritage of a research tradition concerned with the "cultural system" (see the discussion in chapter 1 on the parsonian systems, page 26), but so are the interpretive studies to some extent. Interpretive studies focus on "shared meanings" (especially in organisational culture studies) and are also in line with the view on culture as "shared". In both interpretive and positivist analyses, culture is studied as something that the individuals of a group have in common (whether values, meanings or systems of meanings). Parsons' social and cultural system is concerned with what people share and precisely on this point, it can be criticised as providing static representations of societies (see e.g., Boland, 1996). With this commonality between the interpretive and positivist studies, the two analyses can be placed in interplay on what they consider to be shared (either values or an organisation of meanings), in other words, their static representation of culture.

Shared meanings versus shared organisations of meanings

Cross-cultural management studies in the interpretive paradigm, which are concerned with the study of national culture, differ sharply from many organisational culture studies in their understanding of culture. In organisational culture studies, there is a tendency to approach culture as "shared meanings," based, for example, on Turner's (1971) definition: "culture is a distinctive set of meanings shared by people whose actions are similar to each other and different from those of other cultures" (cited by Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992:176). The concept of sharing is generally understood as acknowledging, or using, similar meanings (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992:177). In the interpretive cross-cultural management literature on national culture, represented by scholars like d'Iribarne (1989, 2006) and other researchers adopting a similar perspective on national/societal cultures (e.g., Chevrier, 1998, Globokar, 1997; Yousfi, 2005), the focus is not on shared meanings, but on a shared organisation of meanings, into patterns of oppositions, for example. This distinction is essential and must be presented before discussion of the third interplay.

D'Iribarne (2003) explains that the understanding of what it means to be a free person varies between France, the United Kingdom and Germany. He also shows that within each country, there are similar forms of understanding over time and among various political regimes. In France, at the period of the French Revolution, the idea of a free person is the same in spirit as it was

under the Ancient Regime. A free person is seen as possessing the attributes that used to be the exclusive ones of nobility: individuals are respected according to their status and need not bow down to anyone or to any petty interests. Free individuals thus have the attributes of nobility. This perception of a free individual and the reference to nobility are still relevant in contemporary French society.

For example, hierarchical relationships in organisational life have to deal with the subordinate position of free individuals, and there are numerous references to themes connected to nobility. Several studies have noted how individuals use the reference of the "métier" (a profession), in ways similar to the reference to nobility, to make sense of their position of subjugation to a hierarchy and being a free individual at the same time. Just as nobility is seen as a quality transcending time and the material world – something spiritual like ideas, thoughts and art - subordinates in organisations use references to something beyond themselves to relate to the hierarchy of which they are a part. Being subordinated to something noble (like ideas, rationality) is not degrading, as it is not petty.

In addition, the reference to nobility appears in subordinates' perceptions of themselves as free individuals. They have their status and their rank, and as long as they are respected and regarded as a function of their rank, and thus acknowledged in their position, they are not humiliated. A rank is not humiliating as such, as long as it is based on something noble (not petty, not impure, not motivated by personal interests). The many facets of this notion of a free individual, the understanding of nobility, and how these concepts are manifested in contemporary French society are developed in d'Iribarne (2006). D'Iribarne (2007:9-10) argues that the patterns of interpretation mobilised to make sense of superior-subordinate relationships tend to be those opposing, on one hand, "the experience consisting of resistance, in the name of something great to which one has given oneself, against fear and petty interests," and, on the other hand, the experience "to bend, to deny what is great by fear or by interest".

This pattern of oppositions expresses a contrast. Although the pattern is recognisable across time, its expression varies both among contemporaries and over time. For example, the perception of nobility as lofty, beyond the material world is opposed to notions like low, degraded (in its figurative sense). D'Iribarne (2006:60-70) shows how this pattern of oppositions is noticeable in references by Proust (from 1909) when discussing social, aesthetic and moral matters. Proust uses numerous words linked to the register of de-

composition or putrefaction when he describes (in his view) low social, aesthetic or moral behaviour. Likewise, Bourdieu's *Distinction* builds on the central opposition between what is seen as sophisticated and what is regarded as ordinary, and displays similar types of oppositions (high and ideational to low and disgusting). In sum, the type of oppositions remains the same, but what exactly is opposed varies to some degree (high, noble and ideational as opposed to low, vulgar, disgusting and putrid). This recognisable pattern of oppositions through time does not mean that an entire society adopts it in a one unique expression. Social heterogeneity and social variations provide distinct expressions of what is held to be in opposition. For example, one social group may consider that what is high and superior is based on honesty and virtue, whilst another may argue that what is high is based on honour or spirituality. However, the various social groups are likely to use the same pattern of oppositions, between high and petty (rather than high and e.g., ugly), and, they are likely to use it in the same discussion (e.g., in the discussion of hierarchical relationships).

This pattern of oppositions between high and low, ideational and material, is common to various societies, but not necessarily for the interpretation of a hierarchical relationship. In the USA, for example, relationships between superiors and subordinates are not interpreted in the frame of an opposition between devotion to something greater and the pursuit of individual (petty) interests. "The careful separation of responsibilities leading to fix for [every employees] objectives freely negotiated, that are supposed to faithfully represent [their] contribution to the common work, (…) [is] joined to the representation of the subordinate as a supplier to his superior compared to a customer" (d'Iribarne, 2007:11). Varied frames of interpretation are used across countries for analysing and making sense of hierarchical relationships. In sum, patterns of oppositions, as between high and low, and sophisticated and ordinary, are not unique to any society (see also Douglas, 1966). What may be more typical of a particular society, though, is the discussion with which the pattern is associated (e.g., hierarchical relationships) and the associations to which it refers to (e.g. liberty, nobility).

This long detour via societal patterns of oppositions is necessary in order to understand how interpretive and positivist cross-cultural management studies can be placed in interplay. In the interpretive cross-cultural management studies, systems of meanings and patterns of oppositions are seen as a cognitive schema that is mobilised in individual actions. These schemas present some stability in their construction (pairs of oppositions and the themes

to which they are linked, such as nobility), but not in their expression (e.g., what exactly is considered noble), across time and social groups. If we look now at the cultural dimensions, the binary aspect of interpretive patterns of oppositions of meanings and the binary nature of many cultural dimensions are striking.

Cultural dimensions as the expression of logics

In the dimensions of Power Distance and Individualism Collectivism, fundamental themes like equality or the relationship of individuals to the society are at the core of the definitions. The binary approach to the themes reflects the patterns of oppositions that can be identified with interpretive studies of the organisation of meanings. These themes, which refer to universal notions (such as equality), are argued to represent etic dimensions across countries. How and when the themes are discussed is likely to vary, though, as is also the case with the patterns of oppositions of meanings (e.g., noble or vile, used in connection with hierarchical relationships in France, but not in the USA). Arguably a cultural dimension is the expression of a universal notion or value (e.g., equality), framed in an opposition pattern that is likely to be roughly valid across many countries (since cultural dimensions present cross-country consistency; see also Schwartz' universal value structures). What may vary, however, is the behavioural expression of this value and the situations in which reference is made to it. In other words, a similar behaviour may not express the same value (see Sinha et al., 2002), or the same type of behaviour may not be interpreted in reference to the same universal theme. Chapter 4 shows, for example, that Swedish and Japanese interviewees do not make sense of a directive leadership style through the same values and themes.

With a focus on the ideational aspect of cultural dimensions, it is possible to consider positive and interpretive approaches in interplay. The typical expressions of the values of cultural dimensions are left aside, as is the specific behaviour argued to be representative of these dimensions. The consideration of cultural dimensions thereby changes; they are seen no longer as an antecedent to behaviour, but as a cognitive organisation of values.

Let us consider, for example, the dimension of Power Distance, which is defined in relation to the notion of equality. Behaviour regarded as representative of high Power Distance includes centralised decision structures in organisations and autocratic or a paternalistic leadership style (Hofstede, 2001:107). A society where individuals accept unequal distribution of power,

and where the value of equality is not central, is argued to be high on Power Distance. However, it is hard to maintain that authoritarian or paternalistic behaviour by superiors is seen in opposition to equality in every society. For example, paternalism can be linked to the notion of equality, as the members of the group managed by the father figure are from the same family. In addition, paternalistic behaviour can be contrasted with behaviour that masters can exercise over their slaves (see d'Iribarne, 1998). When family is opposed to slavery, equality can be associated with family and paternalism (see also the discussion following Interplay 1). It is therefore difficult to contend that the expression of values included in the cultural dimensions is the same in different environments. If, however, Power Distance is considered only as a pattern of oppositions of values associated with equality, the dimension no longer claims to be represented by typical behaviour. This signifies that the dimensions are used as a pattern of association of values (like Schwartz' value structures). Using only the ideational aspect of cultural dimensions means considering these as a way of structuring one's values, a way of thinking, which is called here a "logic".

The interplay between interpretive and positivist studies of national culture can take place around their concern for what is shared within samples (leading to static representations), and their different analytical models by using the cultural dimensions in a different way. Cultural dimensions can be seen primarily as an ideational pattern of oppositions, disconnected from etical representative behaviour. The dimensions are then no longer seen as representing a shared set of values that influences behaviour in a specific direction. Rather, cultural dimensions can be considered as cognitive tools that are used for action. In other words, cultural dimensions are used as logics, that is, no longer as mental programming (Hofstede, 1980) that fosters certain behaviour, but as a way of thinking that individuals have at their disposal. Logics can be viewed as a means of organising, to the extent that they provide patterns of oppositions of values and themes that are used by individuals to make sense of their environment. This cognitive approach is not new, but it has not necessarily been applied to cultural dimensions. Shweder and LeVine (1984) present culture "as a shared meaning system," Kluckhohn (1954) as "patterned ways of thinking" (quoted in Gelfand et al., 2007), but it is suggested here that their definition could be applied to cultural dimensions instead.

Reconsidering previous analyses in light of logics

In the positivist analysis of chapter 3, the verbatim of KI scientists associates Power Distance with the descriptions of the Japanese research environment. The interviewees used mainly the opposition reflected in the cultural dimension of Power Distance (rather than other dimensions) in their description of superior-subordinate relationships. This is shown in chapter 4 by the opposition that KI interviewees tend to find between "hierarchical" and "not so hierarchical" systems of meanings. In chapters 3, a classic use of the cultural dimensions would conclude that the verbatim reflects the low Power Distance of the Swedish interviewees, or that they place strong emphasis on the value of equality. In contrast, a view on cultural dimensions as expressing patterns of oppositions (i.e., "logics"), would claim that the KI scientists tend to organise their perception around the opposition equal/hierarchical. In other words, the point is not that the "Swedes" are low on Power Distance or have a strong desire for equality; it is that they tend to use the hierarchical/equal frame of opposition to make sense of superior-subordinate relationships. Although their exact expression of the opposition will vary depending on their social group, level in the hierarchy, personal experience etc., they are likely to use it when they talk about superior-subordinate relationships.

In the positivist analysis of the verbatim of Japanese scientists, the cultural dimension of Power Distance also emerges in the verbatim describing superior-subordinate relationships. But so does Masculinity Femininity (hard work, competition, kind supervisor, etc.), and particularly so in the interpretive analysis. A traditional application of the cultural dimensions would conclude that the Japanese interviewees come from an environment that scores high on Masculinity, thus explaining why they notice that Swedish superiors are more "kind" (indication of the Femininity pole) – since the Swedish national environment scores low on Masculinity. However, this does not explain why the Swedes do not use the themes of Masculinity as much in their description of the Japanese research environment. In other words, why do the differences between the scores not appear systematically? Why do the Swedes not describe the Japanese research environment as Masculine?

Using the cultural dimensions as indicators of logics can explain this discrepancy. When discussing superior-subordinate relationships, the Swedish interviewees emphasise themes linked to the cultural dimension of Power Distance, whilst the Japanese interviewees use themes linked to the cultural dimension of Masculinity Femininity. It can be argued that Swedish inter-

viewees tend to use the opposition between unequal and equal when referring to hierarchical relationships, whereas the Japanese interviewees tend to mention two modes of achievement (included in the Masculinity dimension). On the one hand, a "strict" superior pressures subordinates to achieve and perform; on the other hand, achievement is left to individuals. Japanese interviewees tend to use this pattern of oppositions to make sense of the superior-subordinate interactions that they are discussing, rather than the one of equality/inequality. In other words, they show that they tend to organise their perception of superior-subordinate relationships with a different logic.

In sum, using the cultural dimensions as the indication of the logic in use makes it possible to avoid the assumption of shared values and behaviour in a population which presents social, hierarchical and other heterogeneities. At the same time, it still explains the consistencies observed. In addition, employing the cultural dimensions as indicators of a logic in use can make sense of the fact that the same score discrepancy (between Sweden and Japan on the Masculinity Index) is only mentioned in one of the samples (Japanese interviews). It can even be advanced that the Swedish interviewees tend to make sense of hierarchy with a logic of (in)equality, whilst the Japanese interviewees tend to use the logic of achievement. This connection, in Japan, between hierarchy and achievement is also underlined by Whitley (1992a:96).

Advantages to considering cultural dimensions as logics

Considering cultural dimensions as logics (as patterns of oppositions, ways of thinking - rather than linked to behaviour) is a small but significant shift in regard to the understanding of culture in cross-cultural management research. It is only a small shift since the cultural dimensions are currently presented and measured as the shared values or behaviours of a given population, with a strong emphasis on the ideational aspect. In brief, a country is said to be low on Power Distance, for example, because the respondents of this country sample considered values of equality very important and reported behaviour like participative decision making. The argument is that values and behaviour reflect a currently established societal preference that has developed over time.

The significance of the shift of using cultural dimensions as logics is that some of the limitations of cultural dimensions are then addressed. A first limitation linked to the current use of the cultural dimensions is that they fail to acknowledge the internal heterogeneity of populations. It is difficult to maintain that an entire society shares the same values and places similar em-

phasis on similar values. However, it is arguable that the logic of low Power Distance (i.e. a pattern of oppositions between "equality" and "hierarchy") is a strong organising principle in certain societies. What exactly will be called "equal" and what should be "equal" will vary according to social groups. Thus, using logics does not imply that values, or their expression, are shared in a country; what is shared is the emphasis placed by the population on a pattern of oppositions (between "equality" and "hierarchy" in the example of Power Distance).

This argument for changing the current view on cultural dimensions would seem to favour application of Schwartz' value structures. It clearly does, provided the structures are considered as patterns of oppositions within each country. However, Schwartz' structures of values are used as cultural dimensions, with a single orientation chosen for each country, emphasising values rather than their pattern of organization. Likewise, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) value orientation questionnaire, as adapted and used for management by Maznevski et al., (2002) displays variations within country. It shows that all the different variations of a dimension are present in each country, including the variation most frequently chosen by the respondents. This instrument is not concerned with systems of values, in the sense that it will not show which pattern of oppositions is most often used by respondents; it only measures the intensity of the various orientations. The logics are reminiscent of Trompenaars' (1993) or Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars' (2000) presentation of cultural dimensions as a "dilemma". However in their use of the dimensions, the authors emphasise only one pole per country and opt for a binary dichotomy. They also stress values. In sum, existing cultural dimensions accord the primary role to cultural values, not to their organisation.

The second distinction that logics operate is that they remove the close relationship argued by cultural dimensions between values and behaviour. In Hofstede's mental programming, for instance, the prevalence given to values implies that values are antecedent to behaviour. Logics, as ways of thinking, do not claim to have direct consequences for behaviour. They are first of all a way of organising one's thoughts; they do not claim the prevalence of certain values. Carrying the argument to an extreme, it could be said that logics are not the expression of values, but the organisation of ideas, meanings, etc. which themselves contain values. In other words, logics are primarily about organising, not about expressing an important value in a population. In sum, with logics, values are not seen as antecedent to behaviour since the relation-

ship between values and behaviour is indirect; and a logic is an organising device rather than an expression of a value.

An additional distinction between the images of mental programming and logic concerns the notion of determinism. Although both emphasise ideational aspects, mental programming seems to imply a kind of predetermination. Perhaps put somewhat simplistically, one can say that in a high Power Distance environment, the mental program of individuals is oriented toward acceptance of inequality and that therefore their organisational behaviour is hierarchical. Change within a short period is problematic at the individual and organisational levels. However, if logics are seen as ways of thinking (rather than primarily as expressions of a value), it is more likely that individuals can change their ways of thinking as long as doing so would not completely contradict important values in their life. Using logics, rather than mental programming, seems to provide a more ready explanation for rapid change.

At the same time, if logics are primarily ways of thinking, of organising one's thoughts and subsequently one's actions, it is also likely that, in a given society, individuals will have shared logics in relation to their social organisation. Social actors may follow existing logics and thereby contribute to perpetuating (recreating) them - a possible explanation for the perceived cultural continuity of society. Hence, this continuity is not based on permanence of values or the existence of a "national character," which is the premise of Hofstede (1980). It thus constitutes another distinction between cultural dimensions and logics.

Table 5.6: Interplay 3

	Positivist paradigm	**Interpretive paradigm**
Similarity: static representation of culture	Cultural dimensions with a focus on values	Cultural system of meanings with a focus on organisation of themes
Principal analytical divergences addressed	Convergent analytical process	Divergent analytical process
In interplay	Cultural dimensions indicative of patterns of oppositions, or "logics"	

Sorting out the relationship between values and behaviour with the use of logics has its limitations. A powerful (but also much criticised) aspect of the literature on cultural dimensions is that it connects types of behaviour with the poles of the dimensions. The consideration of typical organisational behaviour that would be representative, across countries, of a certain logic, is

abandoned. It needs to be re-established on the basis on empirical studies linking values to behaviour.

The common emphasis by both positivist and interpretive studies in cross-cultural management on what is culturally shared in a population under-scores that the former is centred on values, the latter on systems (see table 5.6). Placed in interplay, they suggest a possible focus on logics. Using logics instead of cultural dimensions or shared cultural values permits considera-tion of internal heterogeneity in culture. Logics do not presuppose that coun-try nationals will place the same emphasis on values, but that they are likely to use the same types of oppositions of values and themes in their discussion of a given topic. The exact content of their opposition will vary (e.g., what is seen as unequal), but they are likely to refer to the same pattern of opposi-tions (e.g., between equal and unequal, modern and dated) in their discus-sion of the same topic (e.g., the discussion of hierarchical relationships in Sweden). At the same time, logics preserve a certain homogeneity and stabil-ity which is commonly associated with culture (in positivist and interpretive cross-cultural management studies). Using logics respects the convergent analytical process of positivist studies to condense our representation of real-ity into models or frameworks. To that extent, logics are very similar to cul-tural dimensions. Moreover, logics also permits the use of divergent analytical processes that can take as a starting point the pattern of opposi-tions and develop the systems of meanings that are linked to this opposition. In other words, the use of logics seems to allow interaction between the dif-ferent concerns (on values or systems) and the different analytical processes of positivist and interpretive analyses.

Contributions to positivist cross-cultural management studies

Interplay 3 can contribute to the understanding of national culture as both homogeneous and diverse, as well as the understanding of cultural continu-ity and change, for positivist studies in cross-cultural management. The cur-rent representation of national cultures implicitly adopted by positivist cross-cultural management studies emphasises shared basic assumptions or val-ues, or shared emphasis on similar values, which are then displayed in shared cognitions or behaviour (see e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1994; Maznevski et al., 2002; Smith Peterson, Schwartz et al., 2002; House et al., 2004; Erez & Gati, 2004).

In positivist comparative management studies, Hofstede is among the few (if not the only one) to develop at length his views on culture and national cultures: their specificity, stability and possible change. His conceptualisation of national culture supports the use of cultural dimensions, and it is often referred to (in textbooks or cross-cultural management research, see e.g., Bjerke, 1999). As presented by Hofstede, national/societal culture emphasises values. In his presentation of culture, however, he does not distinguish clearly between the notions of homogeneity and stability; consequently, he is criticised for claiming both homogeneity and stability of values in society. Examination of Hofstede's conceptualisation of cultural stability (and change) reveals limitations that can be addressed with the use of cultural dimensions as logics.

The problem of cultural homogeneity and stability

Hofstede's claim of the stable and homogeneous nature of national culture is influenced by Parsonian societal models, as well as notions such as "national character" (see Mead, 1951 or 1953). Hofstede sees culture as an ideational expression of this continuity over many generations, centuries and possibly even a millennium. In the section on the stability of culture (see Hofstede, 2001:11-13), he explains that "there must be mechanisms in societies that permit the maintenance of stability in culture patterns across many generations" (Hofstede, 2001:11).

Such mechanisms are presented in figure 5.7 and explained as follows: There are central value systems that have been influenced by physical and social ecological factors (e.g., climate, demography). These value systems are expressed through societal norms that have led to the development and maintenance of institutions (e.g., family, social stratifications, religion). "The institutions, once established, reinforce the societal norms and the ecological conditions that led to their establishment. In a relatively closed society, such a system will hardly change at all". In this model, "changes are supposed to come mainly from the outside (…) and influence the origin, not the societal norms themselves". Hofstede mentions that the terminology of figure 5.7 is partly adopted from Berry (1975) - in its ecological aspect (see also Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen, 1992) - and from Parsons (1977). The box of "societal norms" is Parsons' cultural system: a central value system influences the structure and also the functioning of institutions, including role differentiation, socialisations etc. In addition, Shils' 1975 essays in macro-sociology

explain the central role of societal norms in regard to institutions and social stratification.

Parsonian systems and societal models provide very little leeway for change, either from outside or inside, although change occurs in all social systems. The models are well suited for explaining an observed consistency within a social system. But the same modes of explanation transform consistency into stability. The consistency of social norms ("value systems of major groups of population") seems to indicate that the population of a nation tends to share a same value system and thereby lives in a world (structures, institutions) that it has shaped according to its own values. There is hence no need for change. "The system is in a homeostatic (self-regulating) quasi equilibrium" (Hofstede, 2001:11-13).

Figure 5.7: The stabilising of cultural patterns in Hofstede (2001)
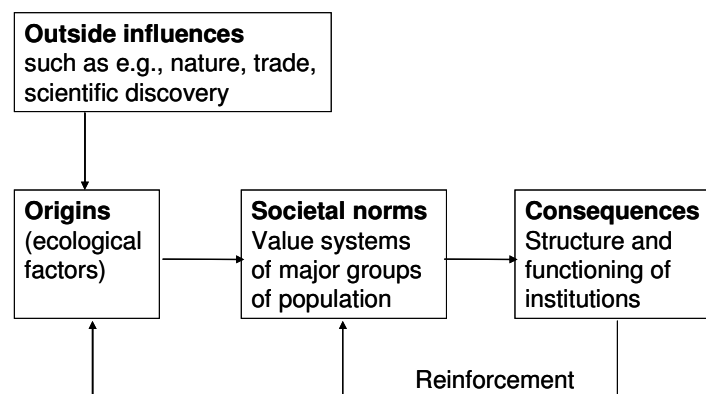
Adapted from Hofstede (2001:12)

This model provides Hofstede with support in two ways: first, it explains a certain degree of homogeneity in countries, which legitimises using the mean of country samples. Second, value systems are treated as both an antecedent to institutions and a consequence of ecological and external factors; this provides culture with a special status that differs from the one conferred by institutional theory, thereafter legitimising the focus of Hofstede's analysis on culture.

The concern with the model presented in figure 5.7, is that Parsonian views on society do not claim that societal norms represent value systems of "major groups of population" (see figure 5.7) that can be understood as large parts of the population. Rather, they are said to represent the value system of

influential, thus much smaller, groups. Hofstede knows this distinction, and mentions it. "The idea of a central value system that feeds into different types of institutions is also found in the work of Shils (1975), who argues that it is shared by at least the majority of elites, not necessarily the rest of the population," (Hofstede, 2001:37, note 34). However, he does not deal with the distinction, which constitutes a criticism of the Parsonian view on societies. "Radicals accused Parsons of pandering to the false consciousness of the bourgeoisie, ignoring dissent and promoting a conforming illusion of social consensus, emphasizing social equilibrium and refusing to recognise the forces making for change" (Kuper, 1999:81).

Although the discussion on the internal diversity of value systems within each society is discarded by Hofstede, it is not incompatible with his empirical study. The difficulty that appears here is in establishing consistency between the fact that certain values are representative of "elites," and the use of sample means. In other words, it is difficult to reconcile a country score with the claim that it is representative of the population. A solution is provided by the consideration of "value systems" (as in Parsons), which means structures and organisation of values, rather than only dominant values. Hofstede shifts between value systems and dominant values, leading him to consider only one pole of the dimensions per country. In the conceptualisation and the measurement of cultural dimensions, variations are seen as opposite poles, rather than a single logic that gives preference to one pole. When the dimensions are conceptualised not as a continuum, but as possible expression of value orientation, as in the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) questionnaire, the outcome shows cohabitation of collectivist and individualist types of values, within a single population, for example (see Maznevski et al., 2002). Although one value orientation takes the precedence over the others, the population has not necessarily adopted only the values of the dominant orientation (as implies Hofstede's use of cultural dimensions).

Logics for understanding cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity

The distinction in seeing the dimensions expressing a logic, rather than dominant values, is a way to allow diversity within the sample while still preserving a certain consistency. The robustness of the cultural –dimension constructs (or value structures) across countries indicates that the oppositions between different orientations are valid in many countries. Similarly, the interpretive cross-cultural management studies show that what is shared is a system of meanings, like a structure – not merely meanings. The prefer-

ence for one orientation (in country scores on cultural dimensions) might be linked to certain values that are socially dominant in the country concerned, and not only to values that are shared. If logics are used, the high score of a country on Individualism, for instance, would not necessarily mean that individuals in that population consider individualist types of values to be very important. It would mean, first, that this type of logic is relevant in that discussion, and second, that the society tends to allow one of the options (individual values) to prevail.

In Hofstede's study, the high score of a country on Masculinity, for instance, could mean that the way in which the population tends to organise the value of work goals is linked to the logic of assertiveness versus social concern. Likewise, a high score on Individualism would mean that the sample population tends to organise the value of work goals along the opposition between independence from the organisation and dependence on it. The fact that some countries score significantly higher than others could mean that the dichotomy, the pattern of oppositions proposed in the dimension, is particularly relevant in that example. A high score by the USA on Individualism might mean that the logic of independence from the organisation is one that makes sense in the understanding of work goals. An average score on one of the dimensions could indicate that the proposed logic was not necessarily one used in the discussion of the importance of work goals. Thus, to some extent the cultural dimensions would indicate a relevant logic in their extreme scores (for the dimensions with a measurement for both poles – such as Masculinity Femininity, Individualism Collectivism). The other dimensions would then indicate a relevant logic in their high scores (Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance). This is a limitation to considering cultural dimensions as logics: the average scores may be taken to indicate that the logic proposed in the dimension is not considered relevant. Indeed, an average score could indicate that the respondents were not really used to thinking of the problem in those terms, or that the oppositions provided (in the measurement) did not make much difference to them.

The correlations that Hofstede finds between the high score of a country on Individualism, for instance, and indicators of the dominance of individualist-type values in that society, can also be seen as showing the relevance of this logic in other spheres of the society, not just in respect to work goals. The numerous illustrations by the author to support the validity of the scores and their explicative power in the organisation of the society concerned can similarly be seen not as expressing shared values, but as showing the dominance

of one logic in various social spheres. In chapter 4, for example, the KI interviewees drew a distinction between "hierarchical" and "not so hierarchical". They used this distinction, this logic, to talk about superior-subordinate relationships, but also about other social relationships, referring to the Swedish social system prior to the "du-reform" and also in relation to a political system (democracy). The associations of meanings shown in the interpretive analysis could indicate that this logic is used in various spheres of society.

In sum, the use of logics, rather than cultural dimensions, enables us to make sense of similarities (homogeneities) encountered in national cultures or sample populations, without denying their diversity. A population may tend to discuss an issue (e.g., desirable work goals) with a dominant logic that would oppose, for example, dependence on the organisation to independence from it. This logic does not mean, however, that the members of the population share the same values. The expression (in the form of behaviour) of the logic can also vary.

Logics for understanding cultural change and continuity

The use of logics provides a second advantage in regard to change. Hofstede's model of societal change (or stability) implies that culture changes very slowly, and that when change occurs, it is prompted by the environment. Hofstede states: "I believe that norms change rarely through direct adoption of outside values; rather changes occur through shifts in ecological conditions. (…) One of the most effective ways of changing mental programs of individuals is to change behavior first". Hofstede, like Schein (1985), assumes that changes occur first in behaviour and outside "layers" of culture, and then, progressively, transform the value system. However, it is questionable to what extent it is possible to adopt new behaviour, or to change existing behaviour while keeping it meaningful.

D'Iribarne (2002) shows that radical new behaviour was successfully adopted in the Moroccan subsidiary of a multinational company with the introduction of TQM. The employees saw the requirements and philosophy of the TQM system in the light of an existing cultural reference that served as a supportive metaphor. Similarly, the Mexican subsidiary of another multinational company turned around its organisational culture and climate using one of the Mexican metaphors associated with the family (protection, fraternity, a place where one grows). Thus, behaviour is certainly malleable and changeable, even radically, but it needs to make sense. Keeping this concern of interpretive studies in mind, the changes reported in national cultures

through the use of positivist cultural dimensions can be viewed in a new light.

If we consider that the cultural dimensions are reflections of a logic, the behaviours associated with a cultural dimension are one expression of that logic, but not the only possible one. For instance, paternalism can be regarded as expressing a symbolic equality, or the opposite, depending on the cultural context in which it is interpreted. When cultural dimensions are considered as logics, and thus no longer regarded in relation to a universally representative behaviour, cultural changes can be interpreted differently. Currently, differences in behaviour are viewed as expressing cultural differences. At the risk of oversimplification, we could say that when employees show a preference for individual reward in an environment where they used to prefer a collective reward system, this change indicates a shift toward individualism. However, if cultural dimensions are used as logics, a shift in preference may indicate that employees no longer use the logic of individual versus group to make sense of the legitimacy of a reward. Perhaps, for example, the logic of mastery (versus process?) has taken over. This would more easily explain rapid societal changes.

There is an implicit contradiction in the cross-cultural management literature using cultural dimensions in analysing change. If cultural dimensions are the expression of an answer developed by a society over time to deal with fundamental questions, a change from a collectivist answer to an individualist one is the most radical that can be made. It is questionable, though, how rapidly such a change can actually take place, and indeed whether it is possible at all. In a longitudinal analysis of the World Values Surveys, Inglehart (1997), and later Inglehart and Baker (2000), show that in 65 countries (with 75% of the world's population) major changes cohabit with persistent traditions associated with values. Economic development (which can be very rapid) is pushing the value preferences of respondents toward "rational," "tolerant," "participatory" (and away from absolute norms and values). However, this shift is said to be "path dependent". Societies are not converging toward a similar modernity, but are changing along a path already established, principally, it seems, by the traditional religious and philosophical system of the societies affected (Roman Catholic, Protestant, Confucian etc.). Therefore, if cultural dimensions reflect the traditional cultural response that a society has developed over time, this response is unlikely to change radically. If, on the other hand, a cultural dimension is seen as indicating a logic, a prevailing way of thinking in a certain situation, it is less firmly linked to

fundamental philosophical values and thus might be easier to change. In other words, a logic, rather than the fundamental traditional way in which the society is organising itself, would provide a way to make sense of a situation.

For example, the Japanese practice of lifetime employment is seen as the expression of Japanese cultural values that praise loyalty to a community (e.g., Dore, 1973). The cultural dimension of Collectivism/ Communitarianism is a convenient tool, and the cultural explanation for lifetime employment in Japan can be straightforward. But a number of studies show how the phenomenon of lifetime employment in Japan has varied with the different phases of the Japanese economy in the 20th century (see e.g., Moriguchi & Ono, 2006). The lifetime employment of "core" employees developed during the interwar period, as the technical organisation of a firm's production became increasingly firm-specific. "To train and retain skilled workers ("juku-ren-ko"), who were well-known for being footloose and lacking corporate loyalty, major employers began introducing a variety of HRM practices" (Moriguchi & Ono, 2006:156). This development contributed progressively to the Japanese practice of lifetime employment.

But why were the fundamental cultural values of a community, of collectivism, not already at work on these "footloose [workers] lacking corporate loyalty"? With the conceptualisation of logic, it is possible to argue that during the interwar period, various firms and institutional actors used the existing logic of a community to make new sense of the relationship between employees and employers. This logic was nurtured and reached a dominant position, in the sense that it became commonly used in Japan to make sense of employer-employee relationships. When the environment changes, so do the elements used to make sense of it, and the logic is (gradually) altered or abandoned. With this reasoning, we can explain rapid change (at the societal level). At the same time, the logics that already exist and are in use in the society can be modified in their expression, or existing logics can be used in new discussions (e.g., the logic of a community in connection with a corporation). This possibility also explains the perception of cultural continuity, within a country, over time. Such continuity is sometimes regarded as the cultural "legacy" that influences the modern institutionalisation of business systems (see e.g., Whitley, 1992a:106ff).

On a concluding note, this third interplay, building on the tension between divergent and convergent analytical processes, and around a similar ten-

dency toward static representations of culture, suggests that cultural dimensions can be viewed as indicators of a logic, the use of which enables both analytical processes to interact. A logic can take the form of a pattern of oppositions and allows for a convergent analytical process, or it can be a complex combination of elements around a pattern of oppositions, with a divergent analytical process for its study. The static representation of culture is preserved in both types of analysis since logics make it possible to relate to cultural consistency and continuity. At the same time, the use of logic allows cultural heterogeneity and (rapid) cultural change. In sum, Interplay 3 shows a third contribution to cross-cultural management research, and provides a third illustration of the benefit for researchers of that stream from actively and respectfully interacting with studies from another paradigm.

Concluding notes on the three interplays

The three interplays presented in this chapter offer three illustrations of ways in which paradigm similarities and contrasts can interact. Interplay 1 places predefined and emergent analytical frameworks in interaction around strong ontologies. Interplay 2 places associative and categorical models of analysis in interaction around a focus on similarities. Interplay 3 places divergent and convergent analytical processes in interaction around static representations of culture. The interplays presented in this chapter show a kind of similarity to those developed by Schultz and Hatch (1996), in that they put only one form of contrast under tension at a time. For example, the differences between the natures of theoretical frameworks are placed under tension based on the similarity in adopting a strong ontology. It is of course possible to address several tensions simultaneously, but I found it more productive and much clearer in this presentation to combine basically only one tension and one similarity.

I did not use the same tensions around the same similarities as Schultz and Hatch, except for Interplay 3. Like their Interplay 3, the third interplay presented in this chapter addresses the themes of cultural stability and instability, though in a different way. Schultz and Hatch stress a both-and perspective for the study of culture, insisting on the necessity of viewing stability and change as interdependent; indeed, change can only be seen from a position of stability. The authors show how the two are interconnected and improve our understanding of organisational culture. Interplay 3 in this chapter does not centre on stability and instability, but shows how the con-

cept of logic can facilitate understanding them. It addresses the themes of stability and instability as an illustration, not as the logic itself. In fact, many different combinations can be made with the contrasts and similarities between the paradigms, and even when the same sets are considered, they can apparently lead to different results.

The three interplays presented in this chapter create interaction between positivist and interpretive studies in cross-cultural management. Interplay 1 is intended to treat the theoretical framework of authority as a possible interface. In this framework both types of study can interact and enrich each other, while "keeping" the studies within their own paradigms. The framework includes both a (positivist) approach to Power and an (interpretive) one to legitimacy. Interplay 2 suggests the research agenda on norms of interaction, which makes it possible to respect the different concerns of studies for meanings or values. In this research agenda, both types of studies can follow their own research objectives and modes of analysis, while still interacting with studies from the other paradigm. Interplay 3 proposes to add to the views on culture the conceptualisation of logics. It offers both positivist and interpretive studies to interact on a conceptualisation that concentrates on cognitive aspects of culture, and that can, simultaneously, respect both the positivist and interpretive analytical processes. Interplay 3 is a conceptualisation, in the sense that it is dependent on the process of its expression to be understood. In my view, "logics" are inseparable of their formulation in first the pattern of oppositions, the distinction that needs to be made between shared meanings/values and shared systems of meanings/values. Thus, the interplays offer to consider a theoretical framework, a research agenda and a conceptualisation. They are not proposing venues like theories or constructs that are linked more closely to paradigmatic positions. Interplays are on purpose offering a broad arena for interaction, to respect the paradigmatic differences of the studies.

In each interplay, there is an ambition to create interaction between interpretive and positivist studies in cross-cultural management, while respecting their divergences in epistemology. To that extent, interplays contrast with studies that combine works from different perspectives in an endeavour to enrich or complement one of them. The interplays presented in this chapter are intended to provide an arena of interaction between interpretive and positivist studies in cross-cultural management research, while respecting their differences and enabling each to remain in its own paradigm. The theo-

retical framework, research agenda and conceptualisation suggested should enable the studies to interact without giving primacy to one paradigm.

After considering the studies in light of each other, and after presenting each interplay, I suggest potential contributions to positivist cross-cultural management studies. The sections where this is done illustrate how the new perspectives gained by contrasting the studies or placing them in interaction can be used in the positivist paradigm, preserving its research concern and types of analyses. In sum, the interplays present possible venues of interaction between the paradigms. They do not present a neutral ground above both paradigms, but a place where they can meet, while allowing them to maintain their differences and using them as a source of creative tensions. This place is not "in between" the paradigms, like a no-paradigm land, but among them, in the sense of being a venue where both can express their preferences, concerns and methodologies.

Furthermore, this chapter shows that interplays are not simply "politically correct" places of interaction between studies, but can help to enrich them as well. Contributions to positivist studies in cross-cultural management are offered as additions to the growing stream of research on cross-cultural leadership, on cultural influence on the performance of international alliances and on the views of culture (as heterogeneous/homogeneous and changing/stable). As these contributions are intended to complement or enrich existing models that are widely used and referred to, they touch on important aspects of cross-cultural management research. Interplays, therefore, are not only "politically correct" ways for studies in one paradigm to interact with studies from the other, acknowledging their differences and respecting them. Interplays also demonstrate that they have creative power to contribute to existing studies, and that, more generally, relating to the Other is rewarding.

Conclusion

The present study shows how cross-cultural management researchers can respect and actively engage with another paradigm, while contributing to their own. There is little previous research in which this position has been taken. Harris (2000) provides an illustration in comparative management with a "bridging strategy" (Schultz & Hatch, 1996). His work concentrates on method and the development of native categories, and he too considers both the positivist and interpretive paradigms. An important difference, however, between the strategies of bridging and interplay is in their treatment of differences and similarities between paradigms. The bridging strategy searches for "compromises" (Harris, 2000) or highlights similarities (Gioia & Pitre, 1990). It does not try to maintain tension in the, differences and similarities between paradigms, in other words, to consider them jointly. In my opinion, interplays are neither about building a bridge based on what paradigms have in common, nor about finding a compromise in which certain differences are discarded or ignored. Interplay is intended to provide a possible venue of interaction where both similarities and differences are considered and respected.

Thus, in contrast to Harris (2000), the strategy of interplay is chosen in the present study, which is oriented toward theoretical aspects of cross-cultural management research. Harris recommends building bridges over the "gulf" that separates the positivist and the interpretive paradigms. It is suggested here, however, that the lack of interaction is attributable not so much to a

gulf as to a lack of awareness (possibly due to the limited impact of the paradigm debate in cross-cultural management research?). The present study is therefore intended to enhance the paradigm awareness of researchers in cross-cultural management (chapter 1). The feasibility of a multi-paradigm study is then explained (chapter 2), choosing the strategy of interplay that respects paradigm differences and points of similarities (presented in chapters 3 and 4) and provides meaningful interactions that can contribute to cross-cultural management research (chapter 5).

Summary and contributions of each chapter

Chapter 1 presents a paradigmatic mapping of the field of culture and management. The focus is on the broad topic of "culture and management" for the purpose of sketching the paradigmatic landscape in which cross-cultural management studies are positioned. This paradigmatic mapping illustrates that the diversity within the research current of cross-cultural management is less disciplinary than paradigmatic. Therefore, a multi-paradigm study is advocated for taking various (paradigmatic) views into consideration (as recommended for contributions to this stream of research). The contributions of this first chapter are threefold.

Firstly, the chapter presents several schools of thought that influence the conceptualisation of culture in the field of culture and management. The variety of disciplines represented by these schools – including anthropology, sociology and psychology - reflect the diversity of approaches found in cross-cultural management research. The review describes these approaches in respect to their origin and research concern, and in relation to the others. It underscores the equal legitimacy of their views on the study of culture, and it shows that the studies inspired by each approach are equally valid. This presentation helps us to understand the distinctions between the studies and between paradigms.

Secondly, the review of the various schools of thought referred to in the field of culture and management shows that the studies differ not only in respect to disciplinary basis. The three contrasting dimensions identified in the review reveal that differences in fundamental assumptions (e.g., whether the construct of culture is predefined or emergent) constitute great divides that can also be found within disciplines. These divides resemble the ones used by Burrell and Morgan (1979) and Deetz (1996) to classify different research paradigms. Consequently, combining emic and etic approaches in a study is not only a matter of letting different disciplinary orientations (e.g.,

anthropology and management) coexist side by side, but also a matter of accommodating very different views on what constitutes knowledge, and ultimately, very different epistemologies.

Thirdly, the paradigmatic mapping of the culture and management studies distinguishes at least four approaches. Thus, the positivist paradigm is no longer viewed in light of a dual opposition (positivist versus interpretive), but as one of four paradigms. The paradigmatic mapping stresses the relative position of the positivist paradigm and makes it possible to shed new light on its paramount position in cross-cultural management studies. This mapping shows that cross-cultural management studies are present in the other paradigms as well, although they tend to be overlooked – especially the critical and post-colonial studies.

Arguments in favour of studies combining different approaches emphasise that the awareness brought by diversity shows one's own limitations in a new perspective. This effect can improve such studies, for example by enhancing measurement techniques (see Schaffer & Riordan, 2003), or refine theories in use (e.g., Szabo, 2007). Multi-perspective studies are called for in positivist cross-cultural management research (e.g., Yaganeh & Su, 2006; Jackson & Aycan, 2006), principally on the basis of these arguments. However, these appeals do not mention the potential methodological and intellectual complexity of conducting studies with multiple approaches, and they do not sufficiently stress the fact that these different approaches are linked to different paradigms. In other words, there is agreement on the benefit of conducting studies that combine different approaches, but the potential ontological, epistemological and methodological challenges involved are not addressed.

The presentation of what is involved in a multi-paradigm study is the principal contribution of chapter 2, which focuses on paradigm research and presents a framework for multi-paradigm studies. It examines the feasibility of bi-paradigm interplay, detailing what interplays are and on what aspects of the "disciplinary matrix" they can be conducted. The choice in favour of paradigm interplay is based on the fact that it permits juxtaposing paradigms and placing them in interaction on their differences and similarities. It fosters active acknowledgement of differences between views. In other words, the main contribution of chapter 2 is its detailed presentation of a strategy for cross-cultural management scholars who wish to accommodate the various paradigmatic positions present in their own currents of research.

Initially, the positivist and interpretive paradigms are actively acknowledged through two separate analyses. The separate presentation of the analyses permits to make explicit their differences in regard to theoretical frameworks, models of analysis and analytical processes - in brief, their differences in the symbolic generalisations which are part of the basis for the interplays. These differences are the ones leading to the creative tensions of the interplay.

Chapter 3 presents a positivist analysis of the interviews with mainly Swedish and Japanese medical researchers within the framework of a collaborative project involving Karolinska Institutet (KI). The contributions of the positivist analysis consist of the support provided for the theoretical and empirical claims that most of the cultural-dimension constructs can be used at the individual level of analysis. The usefulness of the cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis is then investigated. The analysis of the interviews shows that interviewees find three principal differences between the Japanese and KI-Swedish medical research environments: in the individual's relationship to the group, in superior-subordinate relationships and in working hours. The first two differences represent clear illustrations of cultural dimensions. Differences in working hours are explained with a combination of cultural dimensions. In sum, many cultural-dimension constructs are both relevant and useful for explaining cultural differences observed at the individual level of analysis. Thus, Chapter 3 renders a contribution - modest to be sure - to cross-cultural management research by outlining an explanation and an argument in favour of using cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis.

Chapter 4 offers an interpretive analysis of the interviews. It emphasises systems of meanings in the study of the influence of societal culture on organisational behaviour. The contributions of the interpretive analysis are related mainly to its illustration of the feasibility of studying societal cultures through a relatively small sample of interviews on organisational behaviour. The chapter shows how a systematic analysis of the interviews progressively reveals the systems of meanings used by the interviewees when they talk about superior-subordinate relationships. In a second step, the societal nature of the systems of meanings is emphasised in light of previous research on Swedish and Japanese societies. The comparison of the two identified systems of meanings shows that the Swedish interviewees tend to refer to a hierarchical system in opposition to individual freedom (and equality). In contrast, Japanese interviewees tend to refer to a hierarchical system where

superiors are also in charge of a group of researchers. Whereas the Swedes tend to regard hierarchy in reference to its (dated) constraint on individuals, the Japanese tend to view it through its relationship to the group (vertical collectivism). In sum, the chapter contributes to cross-cultural management studies by illustrating how a qualitative interpretive study based on a limited number of interviews can compare the influence of different societal/national cultures on management.

Chapter 2 presents the strategy of interplay as a possible one for the interaction of different views (detailed in chapters 3 and 4), but it does not show whether this strategy results in any contributions. The principal contribution of Chapter 5 is the demonstration that the strategy of interplay can be of use to scholars in the research current of cross-cultural management in diverse and significant ways. Three interplays are conducted; their outcomes are developed and then examined in view of their contributions to cross-cultural management research. The outcome of Interplay 1 suggests a theoretical framework; the outcome of Interplay 2 proposes a research agenda and the outcome of Interplay 3 provides a conceptualisation.

Interplay 1 first contrasts the analyses in regard to the different nature of the frameworks (predefined or emergent) and their belief in strong ontology. In light of the interpretive paradigm, positivist studies appear to add constructs (e.g., cultural dimensions) to enhance the understanding of a phenomenon. It is suggested that constructs can instead be combined, and examples of studies combining dimensions in their analysis, and the enhanced results obtained, are mentioned. Then the analyses are placed in interplay. They suggest consideration of theoretical frameworks that include both general and local components. Contributions to the current of positivist cross-cultural management studies are discussed, and research in cross-cultural leadership is re-examined in view of a theoretical framework focused on authority.

Authority encompasses the notion of power addressed in the cultural dimension Power Distance, together with a form of legitimacy that is local (idiosyncratic). Using the theoretical framework of authority, we can make better sense of several associations already investigated in the cross-cultural leadership literature but not actually explained. The case of the relationship between Power Distance and empowerment is examined first. Using the ideal type of traditional authority helps make sense of this correlation. Then paternalism (which belongs to the ideal type of traditional authority as a particular form of patriarchy), is examined in a reconsideration of the study by

Pellegrini and Scandura (2006). The theoretical framework of traditional authority makes sense of the authors' results, resolves contradictions that they found and explains associations that they could not address. Thirdly, reported correlations between Power Distance, leadership preferences and attributes of leaders are also explained better in the theoretical framework of traditional authority. In sum, the outcome of Interplay 1, suggesting the use of ideal types of authority in studies on cross-cultural leadership, should be helpful in the further development of theory.

Interplay 2 is first approached through contrasting studies with different models of analysis (causal, categorical and associative) while a focus is maintained on their similar concern for shared elements. In light of the interpretive analysis, the positivist attention to causal relationships between values and behaviour can be complemented by frames of cognitions. Positivist studies that incorporate cognitive dimensions in their study of the relationship between cultural values and behaviour are presented, and the stronger predictive models found are noted. Then, Interplay 2 suggests a research agenda for the study of norms that would enable us to develop creative tensions between the preferences of interpretive studies for meanings and of positivist studies for values. Norms indicate indeed how both values and meanings are enacted in behaviour.

Contributions to positivist cross-cultural management research are presented in an examination of the literature on international joint ventures and alliances. Mixed results have hitherto been obtained in the investigation of the relationship between cultural differences in regard to parent companies or partners, on the one hand, and the performance of international joint ventures, on the other. The model developed by Sirmon and Lane (2004) for the understanding of various cultural differences and their implications for the performance of international alliances is re-examined, with a focus on norms. A revision of the model is proposed in light of the introduction of a moderating level of norms of interaction between the partners. It is underscored that the impact of cultural differences does not derive from the degree of their discrepancies (in other words, cultural distance), but from the way in which they are managed through norms of interaction. In sum, Interplay 2, which suggests an agenda for research on interaction norms in studying the impact of culture on international ventures, serves to complement existing models.

Interplay 3 operates on the similarity of the two paradigms in their static representations of culture, in tension with their distinct analytical processes (convergent or divergent). It first positions the studies in contrast. In light of

the interpretive paradigm, the cultural dimensions stress etic aspects across countries. But the methodological means are available to conduct within-country studies as well. Examples of studies on country-specific variations of etic dimensions are presented. Then the analyses are placed in interplay. Interplay 3 first focuses on the difference between the study of culture through shared meanings and its study through shared systems of meanings (e.g., a pattern of oppositions). It then shows how cultural-dimension constructs can be re-interpreted as the expression of a cognitive system (that views values in a pattern of oppositions), which is called a logic. Contributions to positivist cross-cultural management research are directed at understanding cultural homogeneity and continuity. They are presented together with a re-examination of Hofstede's (1980) model of culture. In view of the conceptualisation of logic, regularities within countries (trends) can be found without implying determinism or homogeneity. There are also contributions in respect to cultural change. It appears as if better sense can be made of rapid changes with the use of logics instead of cultural dimensions. In sum, Interplay 3 is capable of addressing a known limitation to cultural-dimension constructs and thereby contributing to cross-cultural management research.

Relating to the Other

Implications for cross-cultural management, as well as for practitioners, are first linked to the objective of the thesis: to find a respectful form of interaction with the Other. Interplay can be seen as a possible strategy for interacting with the one who is culturally different. The strategy of interplay leads to different outcomes than the "bridging strategy," which emphasises what the parties have in common and looks for compromise. In other words, managing cultural diversity with interplay means seeking a solution where the preferences of both parties are respected without omitting or ignoring the differences between them. To some extent, interplay is not aimed at finding a "third option" (in the case of a bi-cultural interaction), but rather an option that can maintain tension between both the differences and the similarities between the parties. A third option (unless it satisfies both parties' preferences) could entail a shift of focus away from the preferences of those involved and possibly impose other sets of priorities. In sum, with the strategy of interplay, it is suggested that managers facing cultural diversity could stop searching for "compromises" and similarities, and instead look for a way to work together with respect for their differences as well as their similarities.

Further implications for practitioners are linked to the outcomes of the three interplays. The consideration of cultural-dimension constructs at the individual level of analysis, together with possibility of linking different preferences to different logics, sheds new light on multi-cultural situations. The "sophisticated stereotype" (Osland & Bird, 2000) that cultural dimensions are can be reduced by treating cultural differences primarily as cognitive, and in some ways, independent of associated typical behaviour. In other words, although cultural dimensions tend to imply tendencies (seen as determinism by some) and homogeneity, they are also tools that can help in the search for creative solutions if their construct and logic are considered. This means that managers dealing with diversity can regard differences less in terms of engraved preferences, predispositions, habits and socialisation and more in terms of ways of thinking. In addition, managers can pay more attention to the meanings associated with these different ways of thinking. Put differently, by focussing on the meaning structures of employees (e.g., how they think about hierarchy), it is possible to better understand and then possibly to apply their different ways of thinking in successful interactions.

Interplay 2 has another implication for practitioners through showing that culture is dynamic and in the making. Practitioners may overlook this when employees of different cultural backgrounds are interacting. Intercultural encounters potentially create new norms that also have implications for project management. Simply put, culture is not only a kind of socialisation already carried by individuals when they begin interacting, but culture is also in the making as interaction proceeds. Interplay 2 thus advances that norms of interaction are important elements that develop when employees with different backgrounds meet. This shifts attention away from the extent of cultural differences between the parties to an encounter. In other words, the differences between the cultural background of people in interaction may not be as great a potential source of conflict as the interaction norms that develop (or not) between them. Simply put, how cultural differences are managed may be more important for successful cross-cultural management than the differences between cultures.

This thesis offers two principal contributions to cross-cultural management research. First, it illustrates through the strategy of interplay how cross-cultural management researchers can actively respect and engage with another paradigm. Second, the bi-paradigm interplay provides contributions to the research current of cross-cultural management. In brief, this study shows how it is possible to actively respect and engage with an Other, and how this

interaction can contribute to one's own research stream and special research concerns.

Could the contributions of this thesis have been achieved without interplay? In other words, do researchers have to interact with the paradigmatically different to arrive at these contributions? Probably not. Interplay 2, for example, is already suggested in the literature on international joint ventures, and it is a small step to include a focus on norms of interaction in a theoretical model on the influence of culture on international alliances. But this question is somewhat beside the point. This dissertation does not contend that researchers have to enter into interplay with the Other in order to contribute to their own streams of research. Nor does it argue that the contributions will be different if interplay is used. The primary aim of this dissertation is to answer repeated calls for more interaction between research paradigms in cross-cultural management by showing how it can be done. This is achieved by addressing the challenges of multi-paradigm studies, by explicitly showing how interaction between research paradigms is possible, and by pointing to the contributions of this interaction.

Can anyone implement a strategy of interplay? I believe so, but there are two prerequisites. First, paradigm awareness is a precondition for recognising, understanding and respecting the differences between the paradigms involved. I believe that paradigm awareness is possible for researchers regardless of the paradigm in which they have been socialised. The second prerequisite is the adoption of the ideological, ontological and epistemological views explained in chapter 2 in the section "A framework for multi-paradigm studies". Conducting a multi-paradigm interplay means that researchers adopt an "accommodating ideology" (Lewis & Kelemen, 2002:258) in the sense that they believe it possible to consider contrasting views and similarities conjointly. Interplay is one of the strategies that place paradigms in interaction. But unlike other strategies of interaction, interplay does not give precedence to one paradigm (as does a sequential strategy). Thus, the principles are those of interaction and consideration of the paradigms involved not only in their entirety, but also as equally valid.

This ideology, however, is not necessarily representative of research paradigms. Are researchers in certain paradigms, to a greater extent than in others, predisposed in favour of multi-paradigm studies? I believe that some paradigms (those not in a position of power?) may tend to promote paradigm awareness to their researchers. When I studied sociology and social-anthropology as a Master's degree candidate, epistemology and paradigm

awareness were well established in the curriculum. But the accommodating ideology supporting the multi-paradigm strategy was not. Later on, as a Ph.D. student in a positivist research environment, I gradually revised my views on positivist/functionalist approaches to science. I learned to appreciate their value and I came to realise that a bridging strategy does not do justice to the differences between paradigms. For me personally, this change was a long process, one that I believe matured my views on science and how to interact with positions taken in another paradigm. But my personal experience does not mean that all researchers need to go through the same process before they can follow the strategy of interplay. What it does mean, I believe, is that a scholar needs to consider the paradigms in interaction as equally valid in order to respect both their differences and their similarities.

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Laurence Romani

Relating to the Other.
Paradigm interplay for
cross-cultural management research

Is there a way in which cross-cultural management scholars can
actively respect and engage with another paradigm while
contributing at the same time to their own?

In the heterogeneous stream of cross-cultural management
research, repeated calls are made for using its diversity with
multidisciplinary studies. But diversity within cross-cultural
management research is also present in the form of different
paradigms. Building on this diversity would mean conducting
multi-paradigm research, which is difficult and leads to
debated contributions.

The present study investigates how scholars, with *Interplay*,
can address the internal paradigmatic diversity of cross-
cultural management research and provide significant
contributions to this stream of study. Interplay is a strategy that
respects both paradigms' differences and similarities to foster
creative tensions between them. The outcomes of interplays are
venues for interactions between paradigms, rather than an
integration or a bridge. Three venues for respectful interactions
between positivist and interpretive cross-cultural management
studies are presented. The first is a theoretical framework, the
second a research agenda and the third is a conceptualisation.
Implications for positivist cross-cultural management studies
are discussed for cross-cultural leadership, the study of the
influence of culture on international ventures and the
understanding of a country's cultural diversity and change.