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AN EXAMINATION OF CROSS-CULTURAL TRUST DEVELOPMENT: ADOPTING A ‘MOSAIC THEORY’ PERSPECTIVE OF CULTURE

ABSTRACT

Trust is an integral feature of human relations, and in turbulent and uncertain times trust serves as a tool that enables organisational members to accept higher levels of risk and increases their willingness to cooperate with each other on a dyadic, group and organisational level. However, the development of trust can be significantly hindered or even obstructed in culturally unfamiliar settings, and between parties who come from different cultural backgrounds.

This thesis aims to fill the gap in the literature pertaining to culture’s influence on trust and trust development and the ways in which trust can be formed and enhanced between individuals from different cultural backgrounds. It adopts the ‘mosaic’ conceptualisation of culture in order to overcome the limitations associated with using nationality as a proxy for culture and to address the multiplicity of cultural influences on behaviour. This unravels the etic and emic determinants of culture on trust and its development across cultures. It also accounts for the role of governing contextual factors (i.e. organisational factors and individuals’ cultural intelligence) on this process.

Through undertaking a mixed-method approach, data was collected from participants via surveys followed by semi-structured interviews. Data collection took place in Durham, UK, Munich, Germany and Cape Town/Johannesburg, South Africa from individuals operating in various multinational organisations, and across different organisation levels. This method of data collection resulted in rich and detailed accounts of how individuals adopt different cultural identities and how they develop (dis)trust with their counterpart from a different cultural background.

Overall, findings from this research confirm the mosaic conceptualisation of culture and reject the use of nationality as proxy for culture. It further reveals that individuals adopt multiple cultural identities in order to display trusting behaviour in the workplace, where some cultural facets (i.e. Family, Organisation and Profession) are more influential on the trust development process than others (i.e. Nationality, Religion, Political Affiliation, etc.). Trust development is enhanced when dyads share cultural values and is hindered when they encounter conflicting values, and is moderated by their level of cultural intelligence.

**AN EXAMINATION OF CROSS-CULTURAL TRUST
DEVELOPMENT: ADOPTING A ‘MOSAIC THEORY’ PERSPECTIVE
OF CULTURE**

Submitted by: **Badri Zolfaghari**

For the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my grandfather, Mr. N. Bahri. He taught me the value of education, he always believed in my ability to achieve what I put my mind to, and if it wasn't for his support and encouragement, I wouldn't have been able to pursue my curiosity.

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

This thesis sets out to examine how interpersonal trust is developed between dyads coming from different cultural backgrounds and operating in a culturally diverse organisational setting. It does this by addressing the following research questions: How do individuals' perceive their culture and its influence on their behaviour? How does culture influence the multidimensional construct of trust? What role do situational factors play on the trust development process? However, prior to unpacking the main aims and objectives of this research, the following two vignettes are presented, the first of which exhibits how cultural differences can hinder the development of trust in an organisation settings. The second vignette illustrates how globalisation and social mobility has resulted in a new paradigm under which 'culture' and 'individuals' cultural identity' needs to be defined.

A CORPORATE ACQUISITION

In 1999, Ford Motor Company, an American automotive company, bought the Swedish car manufacturer Volvo Cars, with the aim of enabling Volvo to take advantage of the economies of scales provided by Ford (Styhre et al., 2006). Ford's core values revolved around three main areas, 'one team', 'one plan' and 'one goal' (<http://www.ford.com>). Volvo was formed as a subsidiary company based in Gothenburg, Sweden and its mantra was simply to create solid and reliable cars. Thus safety was at the forefront of their agenda (<http://www.VolvoCars.com>). While Ford had a hierarchical, top-down management style, Volvo had a flat organisational structure and was decentralised, in which the employees were given autonomy to work towards a common goal.

After the acquisition, Swedish employees were said to have faced 'cultural anxiety', which is the stress associated with encountering an unfamiliar and ambiguous situation (Styhre et al., 2006), given that they perceived the 'American management style' as being essentially different from their 'Scandinavian management style' (ibid). The Americans were much more individualistic, hierarchical, aiming for the stars and reaching them, whereas the Swedes were more collective, thought of themselves as being good citizens regardless of control and aimed for the stars but were satisfied with reaching the treetops. These perceived differences, according to the Swedish partners, resulted in a strong lack of trust between Swedish employees and American managers. One Volvo designer said:

“We Swedes are used to taking responsibility and being given responsibility, we have a flat structure. In the US, you never do more than the boss tells you, or you’re out...they want to control from the top, and they think if they can control something, it’s great... we sense such mistrust by [American] management, and this is not in line with our culture” (ibid, page: 1300).

Rules and regulations that were being imposed on the Swedes as the ‘Ford way’ of doing things, the inequality between the workers, the cultural differences between the employees and management of the two companies, the short-term financial focus of Ford and the lack of perceived trust ultimately resulted in the failure of the partnership. Ford, being drained of cash and management, decided to end the acquisition in 2010 by selling Volvo to Greely, a Chinese carmaker (<http://www.economist.com/node/15804598>).

The example discussed above demonstrates how cultural differences can hinder cooperation and trust in the organisation setting (Stahl and Mendenhall, 2005, Dirks and Ferrin, 2001). However, if organisations want to achieve sustainable growth and global efficiency through these methods, then they have to consider how to build and maintain trust, within and across the organisational levels (Bartlett and Ghoshal, 1998). Trust can improve the quality of work performance, problem solving and communication; it can enhance manager-subordinate relationships, and improve a firm’s ability to adapt to complexity and change (Stahl and Sitkin, 2005). But as evident from the scenario above, trust can be jeopardised, compromised and much more difficult to develop and maintain in a situation of cultural unfamiliarity (Johnson and Cullen, 2002). While cultural sensitivity - which is considered as the firm’s ability to sympathetically deal with cultural differences - can enhance trust and increase the likelihood of a successful partnership (Johnson et al., 1997 cited in Stahl and Mendenhall, 2005), cultural arrogance can have detrimental effects on the level of trust in relationships.

Cultural variances however can occur on different levels. Considering the vignette above, on a *national* level, the United States ranks higher on individualism, power distance and uncertainty avoidance, and lower on masculinity compared to their Swedish counterparts (Hofstede, 1983). On an *organisational* level, Ford values growth, whereas Volvo values reliability, and on an *individual*- level it can be inferred that employees in different organisational levels would have different degrees of willingness or ability to adapt to the new and unfamiliar situation (Triandis, 2002).

THE CASE OF THE AMERICAN JOURNALIST

On an individual-level, this vignette illustrates that when individuals are exposed to different cultural settings, they can adopt different cultural values, thus it sheds light on the limitations that arise when equating an individuals' culture with their nationality. Sarah Lyhall, an American born writer for the New York Times describes her acculturation experience, returning to the US after having lived in London for 18 years, in the following way (<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/18/opinion/sunday/ta-ta-london-hello-awesome.>).

“Now that my spell as a foreign correspondent for The New York Times has ended and I’ve come back home — if a place counts as home when you’ve been away for so long — I’ve had some time to think about how Britain and America have changed, and how I have... I resolved to hang on to my own accent, mainly by watching a lot of American TV, and to assimilate, as best I could, while remembering where I came from. What happens then is that you begin to see through the looking glass from both sides. I began to understand how America appeared from 3,000 miles away — not just the things Britons admired, but the things they didn’t... The pursuit of happiness may be too garish a goal, it turns out, in the land of the pursuit of not-miserableness. After enough Britons respond with “I can’t complain” when you ask them how they are, you begin to feel nostalgic about all those psyched Americans you left behind. Britain became more American while I lived there — everyone did, thanks to the Internet and the global economy... After years of using pound and euro coins, I find dollar bills cumbersome and idiotic. After years of living happily among Britons, who by New York standards would be considered functioning alcoholics, I now find my old friends’ tendency to order wine by the glass, not the bottle, unnecessarily Puritanical. I’ve grown accustomed to British friends who, when it comes to personal matters, don’t ask much, don’t tell much and really, really, don’t want to get into it. I have become an expert in the art of the anodyne weather discussion. I’m chronically sorry. “Sorry,” I said to a Metro-North conductor the other day, when I disrupted the swift completion of his progression through the train by asking what time we would get to my stop. “No problem,” he said, looking surprised at my apology, and so I apologized again, for apologizing”.

Sarah’s case is a representation of the numerous individuals who have been exposed to multiple cultures and as a result, their behaviour has been influenced by different cultural norms and practices. These individuals, who also make up the organisational workforce,

make the dichotomy of ‘American managerial style’ versus the ‘Swedish managerial style’ an oversimplified one when considering a scenario where the workforce of a multinational corporation, such as Ford for example, is composed of individuals like Sarah. Given that it becomes difficult to assess the extent to which Sarah’s behaviour is derived from her ‘American’ culture or her ‘British’ culture or a culture created by the combination of both.

As shown in the Ford/Volvo acquisition, cultural diversity, be it on a(n) national, organisational or individual level can result in less shared values, norms, practices, routines and perception of roles. But when this distribution is wide, people try to be on the ‘socially valued’ side of this distribution. This means that they cultivate a ‘different self’ that is distinct and unique (Triandis, 1997). However, there is an underlying tension when trying to manage diversity on an organisational level. This is due to the fact that on one hand, there is pressure towards cultural convergence, plurality and inclusion (i.e. Ford’s mantra being ‘one team’, ‘one plan’ and ‘one goal’), and on the other hand there is pressure towards divergence, pluralism and exclusion of some parties (the ‘we’ versus ‘them’) (Tajfel, 1982, Steers et al., 2010). Thus from the individual actor’s perspective, there is a simultaneous need for sharedness and uniqueness in a diverse context whilst from the organisational perspective, there is a need to manage this contention that derives from diversity.

In the past, the approaches undertaken by managers and decision makers to deal with these tensions were to identify components of diversity (i.e. gender, race, nationality, etc.), and equate them with certain functions and actions, as this association allowed for predictable outcomes. For example culture was equated with nationality, and nationality was then associated with certain functions, hence the behaviours of an individual who came from a particular national background could, to a certain extent, be predicted. This made examining and managing cultural diversity a lot easier (Hofstede, 1983, Trompenaars, 1993b).

This conceptualisation of culture was also used to examine how trust can be developed across cultures (Doney et al., 1995). For example in relation to the Ford/Volvo acquisition, and adhering to Yamagishi’s (1994) national trust scale, it should be inferred that Americans are more trusting than Swedes. But as shown in the case above, the Swedish counterparts perceived a lack of trust by their American managers. Moreover, it was evident that cultural differences can occur on national, organisational as well as individual

level. Therefore examining trust development across national levels delimits its applicability.

To date, the gap that remains in the literature pertains to the ambiguity of the cultural facets that influence trust and how it is developed, particularly in situations where the parties involved come from different cultural backgrounds (Dietz et al., 2010, Saunders et al., 2010). Moreover, given that the advancements in technology, the interconnectedness of economies that transcend nation-states and functional interdependence among people across societies and nations has resulted in increased social mobility (Berry, 2008, Kim and Bhawuk, 2008), and social mobility implies that individuals come to acquire more than one national culture (i.e. Sarah's case), equating nationality with culture becomes obsolete (Williamson, 2002, McSweeney, 2002). Furthermore, it has become apparent that cultural differences can coexist on different levels (national, organisational and individual), where these levels may overlap (Schneider and Barsoux, 2003). Therefore equating culture with nationality undermines the influence of culture on other levels (i.e. Organisation and Individual-level).

In order to address these limitations, organisational researchers in the field of cross-cultural studies propose the adoption of new perspectives towards the conceptualisation of culture and how it is dealt with, defined, used and applied to cross-cultural interactions such as trust development (Sackmann and Phillips, 2004, Earley, 2006, Tung, 2008, Ekstig, 2010, Chao and Moon, 2005, Friedman et al., 2012, Brewer and Chen, 2007). Suggesting that culture is composed of multiple facets, where these facets interact with each other in complex ways, and result in a complex outcome (behaviour) that is greater than the sum of its parts (Hannerz, 1992).

Consequently, given the presence of cultural diversity in organisational settings, and the significant role that trust plays in facilitating and enhancing cooperation and collaboration between and across organisations with culturally diverse settings, this research sets out to examine how trust can be developed between individuals who come from different cultural backgrounds, taking into account the complexity of culture. The aim of doing so is to address the gap in the literature pertaining to how culture is perceived as a multifaceted construct and whether individuals adopt multiple cultural identities, and how these multiple facets influence the multidimensional construct of trust and its dyadic development. This is done in order to provide organisational researchers and practitioners

with the ways in which they can manage cultural diversity and achieve social sustainability through the development of trust (Sackmann et al., 2009).

OVERVIEW OF THESIS

This thesis aims to do this by answering the following research questions:

- 1) Can culture be conceptualised as a complex system that is composed of multiple facets?
- 2) How do individuals adopt multiple cultural identities when exposed to various cultural settings?
- 3) How do these multiple cultural facets and the individuals' multiple cultural identities influence how trust is perceived and developed between dyads from different cultural backgrounds?
- 4) What role do situational factors play in the cross-cultural trust development process?

The role of each chapter in addressing these objectives is as follows.

Chapter Two aims to provide a conceptualisation of trust and its fundamental role in enhancing collaboration and cooperation in organisational settings. In order to do so, it examines how trust is defined across disciplines and in particular, in organisational research and illustrates the various dimensions of trust, namely individuals' disposition to trust and how they assess others' trustworthiness. It then looks at the process of trust development, and the various levels of trust that are developed as an outcome of this process.

Chapter Three is concerned with unravelling the limitations associated with prior conceptualisations of culture and provides a conceptualisation that addresses cultural complexity. This chapter initially provides an overview of the various definitions of culture and in doing so, reveals the complexity associated with this construct. It then seeks to examine the various facets of culture, from the most visible layer (artifacts) to the least visible layer (underlying values and basic assumptions). Subsequently, it looks at how culture influences behaviour by providing individuals with patterns that constrain them to act in a certain way. This unravels the importance of the external environment on behavioural manifestations of culture, thus depicting how changes in the external environment can result in changes in the determinants of culture on behaviour. Lastly, this

chapter presents the conceptualisation proposed by Chao and Moon (2005) as the adopted approach to examining cultural complexity with the aim of addressing the limitations associated with prior conceptualisations, such as those that equated nationality with culture (Hofstede, 1983).

Chapter Four presents the theoretical underpinning of the research aims and objectives. It draws from the two previous chapters in order to examine how culture influences the process of interpersonal trust development. It initially depicts how culture and its multiple dimensions influence the multifaceted construct of trust. It then examines the existing frameworks in the literature that address cross-cultural trust development. As a consequence of their identified limitations regarding their approach to culture, this chapter presents the trust development framework provided by Dietz et al., (2010) as the adopted framework in this research, due to the fact that this framework acknowledges the multiplicity of cultural identities and allows for these multiple dimensions to be examined on the various stages of the trust development process. It lastly explores factors, other than culture, which may have an effect on trust development, namely organisational factors as well as the moderating role of individual's cultural intelligence.

Having laid the theoretical foundation of this research, and exposed the gaps pertaining to the conceptualisation of culture in cross-cultural interactions as well as the utilisation of frameworks that were aimed at examining cross-cultural trust development, Chapter Five is concerned with addressing these gaps by devising a research method that allows for the examination of the research objectives and ultimately provides answers to the research questions. This chapter initially presents the three main objectives of this research. 1) The examination of Chao and Moon's (2005) Cultural Mosaic Metatheory as the adopted approach towards a multifaceted conceptualisation of culture. 2) The examination of how trust is developed between dyads coming from different cultural backgrounds, adhering to the five-stage trust development process presented by Dietz et al., (2010). 3) Uncovering the impact of governing contextual factors (organisation and individual-level factors) on the trust development process. These objectives were devised in order to address the gaps in the literature pertaining to the conceptualisation of culture (research questions 1 & 2 in the previous section) and its influence on dyadic trust development within the organisation setting (research questions 3 & 4).

Having set out the research objectives, this chapter then provides the ontological and epistemological stance underlying the methods of inquiry. It introduces the notion of the

‘paradigm interplay’ as a multifaceted approach that enabled me to address the quantitative and qualitative objectives of this research by acknowledging the simultaneous presence of realist and interpretivist paradigms (Schultz and Hatch, 1996). In line with the epistemological stance, this chapter discusses how adopting a mixed-method research design allowed for the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data collected via surveys addressed those objectives pertaining to the cultural mosaic and the measurement of dimensions of trust (i.e. disposition and assessments), and qualitative data collected via interviews enabled me to address those objectives relating to how trust was developed and how individuals were able to adopt multiple cultural identities.

Having surveyed and subsequently interviewed a total of 43 participants across the organisational level, operating in six different multinational companies located in the UK, Germany and South Africa, this chapter then looks into the sampling techniques that were used, the process of gaining access to these companies and the stages in which the data were collected. Given that this data, in combination, provided rich and detailed accounts of how individuals developed trust with their colleagues from a different cultural background, this chapter concludes by presenting the frameworks used in order to conduct an analysis of the collected data. Lastly, as with all research, the limitations associated with the adopted methodology, and how I aimed to overcome the limitations to the best of my capacity will be disclosed.

Chapter Six is dedicated to presenting the findings pertaining to the first research objective and was developed as a result of ‘within-case analysis’ of the data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Each case (participant) provided a unit of analysis and depicted how participants perceive their culture as a composite of various facets and revealed how they were able to adopt multiple cultural identities when exposed to different cultural settings. Given their experiences in interacting with individuals who come from different cultural backgrounds, this chapter also unveiled the factors that the participants regarded as influencing their general willingness to trust the culturally different other. This chapter concludes with confirming the ‘Mosaic’ conceptualisation of culture and illustrates how individuals draw from their various cultural identities (i.e. Family, Nationality, Profession, Age, Urban/Rural Background) in order to display behaviour and similarly, interpret the observed behaviours of others.

Chapter Seven presents the findings that are generated from ‘cross-case analysis’ of the data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Building on the previous chapter, it shows how the

participants' various cultural identities influenced each stage of the trust development process. It subsequently depicts the four patterns of trust development process that emerged as a result of the dyads' shared or conflicting cultural tiles. The *highest level* of trust was obtained when dyads shared multiple cultural tiles such as their family values, their organisation and professional values and common past experiences. *Mid-level* trust was obtained when dyads shared the values that derived from the organisation in which they were operating, and the values espoused by their professional status in the organisation. *Working-level* trust, which implicates the minimum level of trust that was required in order for dyads to be able to work together, was established on the basis of shared organisation values alone. *Distrust*, as the fourth and final level depicts the scenario where dyads were unable or unwilling to develop trust. This was due to their conflicting cultural tiles and their lack of shared cultural values. This chapter concludes with the presentation of the main findings. Firstly, it shows that trust can be developed between individuals who share multiple cultural values and hampered when individuals have conflicting values. Secondly, by revealing the various cultural facets that influence trust and trust development, it illustrates that in contrast to prior research, national cultural differences are not the strongest determinants of cultural conflicts, which in turn can result in the hindrance of trust development. Lastly, it unveils the situational factors (i.e. organisational sub-cultures, recruitment process, individuals' level of cultural awareness) that positively or negative influenced the process. These findings answer the research questions presented above, and ultimately allow for the attainment of research objectives.

Chapter Eight, as the final chapter of this thesis, draws together the main findings arising from the within-case and cross-case analysis of the data and discusses these findings in relation to previous literature, with the intent to address the objectives that were set out by this research. It argues why nationality should not be equated with culture when conducting cross-cultural research in the organisation setting, it provides patterns of trust development and depicts how trust can be enhanced across cultures, it sheds light on how managers and decision makers can modify organisational factors in order to enhance trust development within the corporate setting, and lastly, it draws attention to the moderating role of cultural intelligence on cross-cultural trust development. This chapter subsequently elicits the main contributions that these findings make to the understandings of the multiplicity of cultural identities and their influences on trust development within a culturally diverse social setting. I conclude this chapter with a discussion surrounding the

implications of these findings for researchers and practitioners and provide a point of departure for future research.

CHAPTER 2 : THE CONSTRUCT OF TRUST

INTRODUCTION

With the overall aim to examine how dyadic trust is developed across cultures, the purpose of this chapter is to elucidate my conceptualisation of the construct of trust and the trust development dynamics. This is done in order to clarify what this construct is composed of, what constitutes as trust in the relevant other and what features come into play when individuals interact and interpret each other's trustworthiness. To this end this chapter will firstly attain to the various definitions of trust and present the adopted definition which best encapsulates the multidimensionality of trust. Secondly, it will discuss the dimensions of trust that come into play in interactions. Lastly this chapter will examine the trust development process across individuals and the various levels of trust that is established as an outcome of this process. Thus this chapter provides the foundation for Chapter Four, which examines the influence of culture on the trust development process.

WHAT IS TRUST?

Trust has been a key concept that has concerned various social scientists such as psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, economists, anthropologists, historians and sociobiologists due to its fundamental function and centrality of human interaction (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996). However, these definitions are based on the phenomenological level that is being taken into consideration therefore differ in terms of their applicability.

In their review of definitions and research approaches to trust, Lewicki and Bunker (1996) identified three approaches to defining trust on the basis of disciplines. Personality theorists have focused on individual personality differences and define trust as a belief, expectancy, or feeling that is deeply rooted in the personality and has its origin in the individual's early psychosocial development. Whereas social psychologists who focus on interpersonal transactions on individual and group level believe trust to be an expectation of the other party in transaction, the risk associated with assuming an action on such expectations, and the contextual factors that serve to either enhance or inhibit the development and maintenance of that trust. The third approach pertains to the view of

sociologists and economists who focus on trust at an institutional level and therefore define it as a phenomenon within and between institutions, which is also dependent on the trust that the individuals put in those institutions, therefore crossing individual-level with organisational-level (Bachmann and Zaheer, 2006).

Considering that trust, as a social construct, rooted in human interaction can simultaneously occur on an individual, group or organisational level and these levels can overlap in a given social setting, it becomes imperative to adopt a definition that is applicable to multiple levels. Rousseau et al. (1998, p: 395) posit the following definition of trust which is applicable across disciplines and levels of study: *“trust is a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another”*. Therefore it is said that when, *“we trust someone or that someone is trustworthy, we implicitly mean that the probability that he will perform an action that is beneficial or at least not detrimental to us is high enough for us to consider engaging in some form of cooperation with him. Correspondingly, when we say that someone is untrustworthy, we imply that that probability is low enough for us to refrain from doing so”* (Gambetta, 1988, p: 218).

In line with the above definitions of trust which consists of the acceptance of risk, positive assumptions regarding the other party and the acceptance of vulnerability, I aim to adhere to the definition below by Mayer et al. (1995, p: 712) given that this definition corresponds with the intention of the study as it applies to a relationship with another identifiable party who is perceived to act or react in volition towards the trustor (a person who trusts).

“Trust is the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party”.

The above definitions elicit three features of trust. Firstly that trust is initially an intention based on a belief, which may or may not lead to action (Dietz and DenHartog, 2006). Although, trust as a belief is subjective because it is based on the other party and the relationship one has with that party (ibid). Therefore trust as a belief involves an assessment made in relation to the other party’s trustworthiness (Mayer et al., 1995). Secondly, this belief needs to be manifested to a form of decision. Meaning that if trust is to be present, the expectation of trustworthiness and the intent to trust must coexist (Huff and Kelley, 2003). Lastly, to say that we trust someone is to show that we have accepted

the risk associated with trust and have in fact made ourselves vulnerable to the other party based on our assessment and our decision to trust, therefore engaging in a risk-taking behaviour (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). Considering that trust itself is not a behaviour but a cognitive category and trusting does not entail risk but it is rather the acting upon trust that is risky (Mollering, 2006). Given that the above definitions have elucidated three features of trust, namely trust as a belief, trust as a decision and trust as an action, the following section will discuss each of these dimensions in more detail in order to provide an understanding of the various components of trust that need to simultaneously be present for trust to be developed. The sequence in which these components interact will be dealt with in the Trust Development Process section of this chapter.

Dimensions of trust

In pursuit of understanding what is meant by trust development, this section is concerned with eliciting what this construct is composed of. According to Nooteboom (2002), trust entails a subject, a person who trusts (trustor) and an object (trustee) where trust occurs based on attributions of the trustor and reasons of trustworthiness of the trustee. In accordance with the above definitions and as previously referred to, a trustor has an intention to trust (disposition), based on the attributes of the trustee (assessment of trustworthiness) and thereby acts on this intention (trusting behaviour). Each of these dimensions is discussed as follows.

1. Disposition (Propensity) to trust: is considered to be a facet of an individual's personality trait that presumably remains relatively stable throughout one's life and is defined as the expectancy held by the individual that the statement of the general other can be relied upon (Mayer et al., 1995, Rotter, 1971). Disposition to trust is influenced by early developmental experiences, personality types and cultural backgrounds and will influence the extent to which a trustor is willing to trust the trustee prior to interaction and assessment of his/her trustworthiness (Mayer et al., 1995, Hofstede, 1991a).

Where Mayer et al. (1995) and Rotter (1971) argue that disposition to trust is relatively stable across situations, I would argue that its stability is strongly altered by the initial conditions that developed this character trait. For example an individual's exposure to multiple cultures could in fact reduce or increase an initial disposition to trust therefore altering its stability across situations. For this reason,

in order to take this dimension of trust into account without generalising its influence across situations, I adopt the approach taken by Costa and McCrae (1992) when examining an individual's disposition to trust given that they acknowledge propensity to trust as a personality trait but posit that an individual's personality trait can be measured across five dimensions¹ which can change based on their experiences, therefore their measures are more diagnostic and applicable across cultures (Costa and McCrae, 1992).

2. The second facet is concerned with assessment of the other party's trustworthiness. Unlike propensity which is a tendency towards the general other, assessment of trustworthiness occurs in relation to a particular individual (the trustee), given the occurrence of an interaction, hence is targeted against one party and therefore is subjective (Dietz et al., 2010). Considering that trust is based on a positive expectation, it can be understood why various scholars have suggested that characteristics of the trustee will determine the extent to which he/she is trusted (Johnson-George and Swap, 1982, Mayer et al., 1995). Table 2.1 provides an overview of the numerous antecedents of trust that have been identified by various scholars. As a consequence of Mayer et al.'s review of the literature regarding these antecedents, they identify three characteristics of the trustee that have been most commonly referred to and encompass the majority of the mentioned antecedents.

¹ Neuroticism (N) vs. Emotional Stability; Extraversion (E) or Surgency; Openness to Experience (O) or Intellect; Agreeableness (A) vs. Antagonism; and Conscientiousness (C) or Will to Achieve.

Table 2.1: Antecedents of trustworthiness (Mayer et al., 1995)

Authors	Antecedent Factors
Boyle & Bonacich (1970)	Past interactions, index of caution based on prisoners' dilemma outcomes
Butler (1991)	Availability, competence, consistency, discreetness, fairness, integrity, loyalty, openness, promise fulfillment, receptivity
Cook & Wall (1980)	Trustworthy intentions, ability
Dasgupta (1988)	Credible threat of punishment, credibility of promises
Deutsch (1960)	Ability, intention to produce
Farris, Senner, & Butterfield (1973)	Openness, ownership of feelings, experimentation with new behavior, group norms
Frost, Stimpson, & Maughan (1978)	Dependence on trustee, altruism
Gabarro (1978)	Openness, previous outcomes
Giffin (1967)	Expertness, reliability as information source, intentions, dynamism, personal attraction, reputation
Good (1988)	Ability, intention, trustees' claims about how (they) will behave
Hart, Capps, Cangemi, & Caillouet (1986)	Openness/congruity, shared values, autonomy/feedback
Hovland, Janis, & Kelley (1953)	Expertise, motivation to lie
Johnson-George & Swap (1982)	Reliability
Jones, James, & Bruni (1975)	Ability, behavior is relevant to the individual's needs and desires
Kee & Knox (1970)	Competence, motives
Larzelere & Huston (1980)	Benevolence, honesty
Lieberman (1981)	Competence, integrity
Mishra (In press)	Competence, openness, caring, reliability
Ring & Van de Ven (1992)	Moral integrity, goodwill
Rosen & Jerdee (1977)	Judgment or competence, group goals
Sitkin & Roth (1993)	Ability, value congruence
Solomon (1960)	Benevolence
Strickland (1958)	Benevolence

Considering that trust occurs within a specific domain, meaning that party A trusts party B with a specific task (Mollering, 2006), party A would expect party B to display the abilities related to that task. *Ability* as one of the essential antecedents of trust is defined as a group of skills and competencies that enable a party to have influence in a specific domain (Mayer et al., 1995). Therefore the trustee (party B) has to display the appropriate abilities related to the relevant task in order for the trustor (party A) to be able to assess him/her as trustworthy. The second antecedent of trust is *benevolence* and it is defined as the extent to which the trustee wants to do good for the trustor aside from egocentric profits, thus it is a display of care and concern from the trustee towards the trustor (Mayer et al., 1995, Dietz et al., 2010).

The difficulty in assessing whether a trustee is benevolent or not lies in the discrepancy between what is considered as 'good will' or 'non-egocentric' by the

trustor and the trustee. The example provided by Mayer et al. (1995) regarding the relationship between a mentor and his/her protégé suggests that a mentor's benign intentions to help his/her protégé without extrinsic rewards can induce a positive assessment of the mentor's benevolence. I would argue that if the protégé takes this help for granted and presupposes that his/her mentor should display a degree of care and concern towards him/her, this positive assessment will not take place. Therefore in order for benevolence to contribute towards assessment of trustworthiness, the trustee's intent and the trustor's perceived intent need to be aligned. The third antecedent of trust pertains to the trustor's perception that the trustee adheres to the principles and values that is acceptable by the trustor, thereby considering the trustee as having *integrity* (Mayer et al., 1995). Although the identification of whether or not a trustee has integrity would take place after a certain degree of interaction between the trustor and the trustee, considering that in the initial assessments, it would be difficult to associate an observed behaviour to a particular value.

The tension regarding assessments of the trustee's trustworthiness lies in the fact that firstly, each criteria can be assessed in different stages of an interaction (McKnight et al., 1998). For instance determining whether a colleague is capable of completing a certain task is more easily identifiable and can occur earlier than identifying whether the colleague has integrity. Secondly, there are decision heuristics that occur during interactions which can hinder assessments made (Luhmann, 2003). For example if two events co-occur, there would be a tendency to prematurely assign causality and this in turn can alter assessments of trustee's benevolence. Moreover, actions of the trustee might be interpreted based on an asymmetry of knowledge, meaning that the trustor might interpret an action of the trustee based on a knowledge that the trustee may not have had at the time of action (ibid). However, despite the significant impact that the trustee's ability, benevolence and integrity have on the assessment of his/her trustworthiness, there are also various factors that can impede this assessment process.

These barriers can be categorized under psychological and social barriers (Kramer, 2010). The psychological barriers entail in-group versus out-group categorisation where an in-group member is viewed more positively than out-group members (Brewer, 1979). Second factor is regarded as the egocentric bias which relates to

fairness in judgments and is associated with favouritism regarding oneself in relation to the relevant other when making judgments (Gelfand et al., 2007). The third and final psychological barrier pertains to dispositional bias whereby a social perceiver may tend to attribute the other party's behaviour to internal, dispositional factors while reducing or neglecting situational causes for that behaviour (Kramer, 2010).

Social barriers on the other hand influence the development of trust on a societal level and therefore also contain individual-level psychological barriers. For instance, a study conducted by Insko et al., (1990) cited in Kramer (2010) which examined the effect of in-group discussions on trust-related judgments revealed that there were significantly more distrust statements in discussions between groups in comparison to discussions between individuals. This is rooted in what Tajfel (1982) refers to as 'social identity theory' which posits that individuals will hold solidarity with their in-group members and they are more likely to behave in a cooperative way towards their in-group members in comparison to their out-group members. An additional factor that can be considered as a social barrier to trust development is the perception of group differences where according to Campbell (1967), these differences are often exaggerated. These impediments give rise to the notion that while familiarity can result in positive assessments of trustworthiness, unfamiliarity can hinder this process. This has direct implications for assessments of trustworthiness across individuals coming from different cultures and will be addressed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Yet, the construct of trust has been said to be more than perceived trustworthiness (Mollering, 2006), whereby indicators of trustworthiness can explain *what* kind of information the trustor will use but fail to identify *how* they will use it. In addition, although trust scholars have more or less agreed on the most influential antecedents of trust, they have yet to determine the degree to which a trustor places emphasis on each facet. For instance where ability may be a stronger determinant when the trustee is a subordinate of the trustor, it may be given less weight when the trustee is a superior of the trustor given that a superior's ability regarding a task might be taken for granted. To address these gaps in the trust literature, Chapter Four will discuss in more detail how discrepant cultural schemas between the trustor and the trustee can significantly influence assessment of trustworthiness and how culture

can influence the weight individuals place on each determinant of trust (Saunders et al., 2010b).

3. In order for trust to be present in a relationship, in addition to a willingness and an assessment, there needs to be behavioural displays of trust which is the enactment of risk taking and acceptance of vulnerability by the trustor (Dietz et al., 2010). However, given that trust is situational, considering that behaviour occurs in a specific situation and situational cues can direct behaviour (Holliday et al., 2004), and is contextual given that when a trustor is assessing a trustee's behaviour, context makes certain information more salient and therefore provides the trustor with expectations relevant to that information (Luhmann, 1979), behavioural manifestations of trust can vary across interactions. Nonetheless if trust is based on expectations and specific antecedents (Mayer et al., 1995), it can be expected that certain observable behaviours can enhance or impede its development (Gillespie, 2003). In order to close the gap between construct and measurement of trust as a willingness and trust as a behaviour, Gillespie (2003) identifies two categories-as well as their measurement-that can determine behavioural manifestations of trust given the presence of involved risk. 1) *Reliance*, which is the degree to which a trustor relies on the trustee's skills, knowledge, judgments or actions (by delegating tasks). 2) *Disclosure*, which is the extent to which the trustor is willing to disclose work-related, personal or sensitive information to the trustee (Gillespie, 2003, Dietz et al., 2010). Nonetheless, Dietz and Den Hartog (2006) posit that “ *the action of trusting another is at best only a likely consequence of the decision to trust, it is by no means guaranteed*” (p. 560). Suggesting that the availability of cues that can determine the trustee's trustworthiness in addition to the trustor's disposition to trust may or may not result in trusting behaviour and if it does, it does not guarantee the indefinite presence of trust.

The non-linearity of the three forms of trust mentioned above have raised contention between trust as an intention, trust as a belief and trust as an action. Or in other words, whether or not trust can be considered as an etic construct that can be universally applied or whether the various forms that trust takes are emic (i.e. culture, context or situation specific) (Saunders et al., 2010b). To this end, one of the aims of this research is to examine the etic and emic determinants of trust and the behavioural manifestations of trust across cultures.

Having discussed the three forms of trust which entails an individual's disposition to trust, the assessment of the other party's (trustee) trustworthiness and trusting behaviour (reliance and disclosure) in relation to the trustee, it became apparent that in order for trust to transform from an intention to behaviour manifestations, given the presence of risk involved, the trustor and the trustee will undergo a process that involves exchange of behaviours, interactions, assessments, and if trust is to endure in the relationship, reciprocation of trust (Nooteboom and Six, 2003). The following section is aimed at examining the sources as well as the process of trust development on an interpersonal level.

THE TRUST DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Trust development is based on a body of evidence about the other party's trustworthiness, from which a belief or a judgment about the party's future behaviour is formed (Dietz et al., 2010). This judgment is then modified based on subsequent evidence gathered as an outcome of their trusting behaviour towards the party (Mayer et al., 1995). If the behaviour of the other party is considered to be trustworthy, then this party will tend to display trust related behaviours such as reliance, disclosure, reduction of control mechanisms and acceptance of interdependence (Gillespie, 2003, Zand, 1972). While reciprocation of this trust can enhance this process, the lack of can impede its development and in some cases result in distrust (Nooteboom, 2003). Reciprocity "*has been characterized as short-term altruism for long-term self-interest*" (Putnam, 2000, p. 134 cited in Nooteboom, 2003). Thus trust development can be characterised as a dynamic and cyclical process, where the outcome of each interaction provides an input for the next. However, Lewicki et al., (2006), having conducted a review of the models of interpersonal trust development posit that this process consists of various psychological, behavioural and contextual variables that cause the level of trust to change over time. In fact, findings presented in Chapter Seven show that respondents were able to achieve high trust despite their initial low willingness to trust and in some instances they were unable to develop trust despite their high willingness to trust. Therefore eliciting the importance of the trust development process and the attention that should be given to the multiple factors influencing this process.

Dietz and Den Hartog (2003) provide a multi-dimensional, integrated framework that categorises this process under three components.

- 1) Multiple inputs, such as the trustor's disposition to trust, the trustee's motives and characteristic, nature of the relationship, situational/organisational factors and domain specific concerns.
- 2) Process, which consists of beliefs about the trustee's trustworthiness and the decision to trust.
- 3) Output, which is the enactment of trust and involves risk-taking behaviours. This output is then interpreted and provides an input for the following interactions.

In comparison to the trust development process frameworks provided thus far in the literature (see Nooteboom, 2003, Lewicki et al., 2006, Zand, 1972 and Mayer et al., 1995), this framework captures the dynamics and multidimensionality of this process by integrating the dimensions provided by previous frameworks and adding elements such as the multiplicity of inputs as well as the feedback loop between Outcome and Input, thus providing a comprehensive representation of this process. For this reason I adopt this categorisation and provide an overview of each component in the following sections.

Inputs

A belief about the other party's trustworthiness is based on a number of sources and these sources have been categorised in different ways (for review see Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). For example while Lane and Bachmann (1998) divide them into micro-level (relationship specifics) and macro-level factors (i.e. external to the relationship), Nooteboom (2003) divides them into psychological and rational factors, McKnight et al., (1998) dichotomise these sources and state that initial trust formation is either based on individual's dispositional factors or institutional cues. Even though these categorisations show that the trustor draws from multiple sources in order to form a belief about the trustee's trustworthiness, their divisions overlook the simultaneous activation of these sources. Meaning that while a trustee may be considered as trustworthy across the ability, benevolence and integrity dimensions (trustee's characteristics), a trustor may still decide not to trust the trustee based on his/her low disposition to trust, and/or the high risk associated with their situational factors. Thus, the simultaneous activation of these multiple sources, such as trustor's low disposition to trust, the trustee's trustworthiness and the situational factors can result in an unpredictable outcome. The aggregate of these multiple sources can consequently create an outcome that is greater than the sum of its parts (Holland, 1998).

In their review of the sources of trust, Dietz and Den Hartog (2006) posit that the multiplicity of these sources should be taken into account when measuring trust and trust development. However, although they acknowledge the simultaneous activation of these sources, they have not shown how these sources interact with each other in order to result in a certain degree of trust. The sources they consider pertain to the trustor, the trustee as well as the characteristics of their relationship. The factors relating to the trustor are his/her general disposition to trust (Rotter, 1967), where initial trust levels have been found to vary across individuals (McKnight et al., 1998). As well as the national culture the trustor comes from considering that Huff and Kelley (2003) and Yamagishi (1998) found that individuals coming from collective cultures have stronger in-group bias which results in lower disposition to trust.

Sources of evidence which pertain to the trustee can be divided into two categories, evidence that is gathered directly from the trustee and “presumptive evidence”, which is gathered without prior direct knowledge (Dietz et al., 2010, p: 12). The trustee’s characteristics such as his/her ability, benevolence and integrity are attributes which are evaluated by the trustor based on direct interaction and form a basis for future actions (Mayer et al., 1995). Table 2.1 provided an overview of the various antecedents that can be considered by the trustor when evaluating the trustworthiness of the trustee. However, as noted earlier while the factors contributing to positive assessments of trustworthiness have been provided, the weight that the trustor assigns to each antecedent in order to form a positive assessment remains unclear and should be given attention. In particular when the trustor and trustee come from different cultural backgrounds, thus acquire different levels of propensity to trust given that this can influence how trustworthiness is assessed (Saunders et al., 2010, Ferrin and Gillespie, 2010). Presumptive evidence consist of information gathered about a trustee’s membership of a social or organisational group (Mayerson, 1996), information from a third party regarding the reputation of the trustee (Blois, 1998, Ferrin et al., 2006), and the expectation that the trustee will behave in accordance with his/her role in the organisation (Barber, 1983 cited in Dietz et al., 2010).

On an interpersonal level, the nature of the relationship between the trustor and trustee will also influence how trust is assessed and formed (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). Factors such as the degree to which the trustor’s position is stable in the relationship (Payne and Clark, 2003 cited in Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006), the level of interdependence between the trustor and trustee (Sheppard and Sherman, 1998 cited in Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006),

the level and degree of openness in their communication (Blois, 1999, Zand, 1972) as well as the extent to which the trustor is familiar with the trustee (in-group and out-group membership) are considered as contributing to the trustor's belief and decision to trust the trustee.

Given that the aim of this research is to examine the process of interpersonal trust development within the organisation context, and that trust is an expectation that is set within a particular contextual parameter (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996), factors pertaining to this context should also be taken into consideration when accounting for the sources of trust development (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006, Kramer, 1999, Bachmann, 2010). Regulations that enable parties to feel assured about their expectations (Sitkin, 1995 cited in McKnight et al., 1998), assurances that mitigate the perceived risk involved in forming trust intentions (Zaheer et al., 1998) and legal recourse such as contracts which allow the trustor to believe that the trustee will act in accordance with the norms surrounding the contract (McKnight et al., 1998) are organisational constraints that pertain to the context, thus, are sources that the trustor may also draw upon in the early stages of the trust development process. *“An example of this is apparent whenever we board a train. At no point do we meet the driver, and so we have no interactional sources for her/his trustworthiness. Yet we enter the carriage with a substantial level of confidence that (s)he plans to take the train to its stated destination, and will almost certainly try to do so capably”* (Dietz, 2011, p: 216).

However, Bachmann (2010) argues that the business environment in which the parties operate in, is itself influenced by the national culture. For example findings revealed that there is a higher level of trust between an employee and employer in Germany than in the UK (Fox, 1974 cited in Bachmann, 2010). This, he argues is due to the fact that German business systems are institutionally more regulated than the UK systems (Lane and Bachmann, 1996). Thus the examination of situational factors signifies two points, firstly that there are factors that can influence the initial trust development process which are independent from the trustee's input, such as the example provided above regarding boarding the train (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). Secondly that the initial stage of the trust development process is influenced by personal, situational, organisational and national dynamics and their interplay, hence the multiplicity of these factors in conjunction should be taken into account.

Process

Drawing from the abovementioned inputs, this stage is driven by the aggregate of those inputs and involves the trustor's belief about the trustworthiness of the trustee, as well as the manifestation of this belief, which is the decision to trust the trustee (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). Party A's (the trustor) belief regarding the trustworthiness of party B (the trustee) will be a result of an assessment made based on the evidence provided earlier. And if these assessments lead to an assumption that party B's actions will have a positive consequence for party A, then it can be suggested that party A believes party B to be trustworthy (Mayer et al., 1995). Although this does not necessarily imply that party A trusts party B (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006), it rather implies that party A is likely to decide to trust party B within the domains of their interaction (Nooteboom and Six, 2003). This decision implies that party A is willing to make him/herself vulnerable to the actions of party B, given the risk associated with this action (Mayer et al., 1995, Rousseau et al., 1998).

The formation of beliefs and the decision to trust can however be influenced by factors such as decision heuristics (Nooteboom and Six, 2003), the degree of reciprocity and social exchange (Deutsch, 1973, Whitener et al., 1998, Lewicki et al., 1998). Decision heuristics derive from the interplay between the cognitive and affective sources of trust and can yield in errors regarding assessments of trustworthiness. This occurs because perceived information is altered in such a way as to prevent disruption of existing perceptions and cognitions to which the perceiver is strongly committed to (Deutsch, 1973 cited in Nooteboom and Six, 2003). Thus, decisions based on perceived information or attributes are influenced by the availability of the heuristics (emotion laden and vivid information that is readily available in our memory), the representativeness of the heuristic (the similarity of the perceived information to stereotypes), as well as the tendency of the decision maker to anchor judgments and adjust information based on his/her base values, previous experiences or social comparisons (Bazerman, 1998 cited in Nooteboom and Six, 2003).

Turning to the role of reciprocation as the second factor influencing the trust process, Nooteboom (2003) posits that the tendency for reciprocity is 'in our genes' since it was conducive for survival. This implies that the principle of reciprocity is universally held (Zand, 1973, Malinowski, 1944, Gouldner, 1960 cited in Nooteboom and Six, 2003). Thus in a game of give and take such as trust development, an individual is inclined to make a

risky pre-commitment based on the expectation that the other party will reciprocate (Lane and Bachmann, 1998). Where the reciprocation of vested trust can incrementally increase trust development as interaction continues, the lack of can cause trust building to decrease (Lewicki et al., 1998, Wasti and Tan, 2010). Although, reciprocity has been identified as significantly decreasing as the social distance between the actors increase (Buchan et al., 2002). Therefore despite it being a universally held principle as mentioned above, the act of reciprocation is more likely to occur in relation to a familiar party than an unfamiliar one. It could be inferred that even though reciprocation can positively influence the trust development process, either party may refrain from reciprocating if they come from a different cultural background.

The concept of social exchange contributes to the development of trust by providing the norm for reciprocity and partially explains the dynamics of why an individual may be voluntarily willing to provide a benefit to another party, and by doing so, invoking an obligation to the other party to reciprocate (Blau, 1964 cited in Whitener et al., 1998). It has been argued that the gradual expansion of these exchanges over time, in conjunction with the act of reciprocation can foster trust development and result in the generation of trust (Whitener et al., 1998).

The process of gathering information about the trustee and interpreting them in order to form a belief about his/her trustworthiness provides the foundation for the decision to trust the trustee, and is influenced by decision heuristics, the extent of reciprocation and the social exchange between the two parties. However trust is said to present when this decision is manifested into trust-informed actions, that is the 'actual risk-taking behaviour' (Mayer et al., 1995, Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006).

Outcome

Different levels of trust as an outcome can emerge based on the sources that party A draws from in order to form beliefs about party B's trustworthiness, and party A's decision to trust party B. Manifestations of interpersonal trust which involve risk-taking behaviours have been generally categorised as the degree of 'reliance' on, and 'disclosure' to the other party (Gillespie, 2003), and have been discussed as the third dimension of trust. However as noted above, A's trust in B needs to be validated and reciprocated in order for trust to further develop. Thus party B will interpret party A's trust related behaviours and will act correspondingly. This in turn provides evidence for the trustor to either continue his/her

trust behaviours towards party B or withdraw from trusting him/her based on party B's actions (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). Despite the significant role of reciprocation and validation of trust-related behaviours (ibid), the feedback between the outcome stage and the input stage has often been neglected in the frameworks that addressed interpersonal trust development processes (Lewicki et al., 2006, Nooteboom, 2003, McKnight et al., 1998, Mayer et al., 1995). Thus, in this research I aim to adhere to a trust development model that accounts for this feedback loop and permits its examination across dyadic trust development. This objective will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Levels of trust

The outcome of party A's decision to trust party B, and party B's reciprocation of that trust can result in different degrees of trust (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). Where repeated, multifaceted interaction that allows both parties to gain more insight regarding each other's trustworthiness can cause the level of trust to increase as time goes by (Lewicki et al., 1998). The degrees of trust have been mainly divided into five distinct categories although the transition from one level to another has not been clearly defined (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996, Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006).

The first degree is *deterrence-based trust* and is grounded on the premise that the potential cost of discontinuing a relationship outweighs the short-term advantage of acting in a distrustful way (Shapiro et al., 1992 cited in Lewicki et al., 2006). Therefore trust is sustained only through the consequences of not maintaining trust. However Dietz and Den Hartog (2006) posit that in fact, this type of trust does not comply with the definition of trust given that in this scenario, positive expectations are not based on the characteristics of the trustee but rather based on the threat of the external sanctions.

Calculus-based trust is based on the characteristics of the interaction and emerges as a result of a calculative process. Whereby if the cost of the breach of trust is greater than the risk involved, the parties then decide to engage in limited trust-related activities (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996). Yet, Dietz and Den Hartog (2006) posit that similar to deterrence-based trust, calculus-based trust cannot be considered as a trust state given that suspicion and control remains and trust is a result of a calculative processes rather than positive expectations.

Knowledge-based trust is developed on the basis of increased and multifaceted interaction between the parties (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996). It implies that the trustor knows the

trustee well enough to be able to predict his/her behaviour and this prediction enables the trustor to reduce control (ibid). Although the extent to which predictability fosters trust and results in a positive expectation has not been identified (Gill, 1986). For instance if an employee is predictably unreliable, can his/her superior claim that the employee is trustworthy? According to Dietz and Den Hartog (2006) however, this is where real trust begins.

As assessments of trustworthiness are vindicated through increased interactions across different scopes, multifaceted knowledge about the other party is gained, thus resulting in the formation of *relational-trust*. This level of trust entails the parties' care, concern and emotional attachment for one another and is based on a much stronger confidence in the other party (Rousseau et al., 1998). It can be inferred that in order for trust to increase from knowledge-based to relational-based, mutual positive expectations and shared concerns need to be present. Thus placing more emphasis on the quality of the interaction between the trustor and trustee (Lewicki et al., 2006, Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). McAllister (1995) refers to this type of trust as 'affective-based' trust given that it involves more emotion-laden exchanges.

The final and highest level of trust established between parties is described as *identification-based* trust. It is developed on the basis of parties' increased identification with one another as the interaction intensifies (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996). The attainment of this level of trust implies that each party can represent the other's interest in full confidence (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006).

Reviewing the levels of trust that have been asserted to develop as a result of the process reveal three points. Firstly, the sources that become available to the parties in each level of trust development and how they contribute to the process remain unclear. For instance while it has been acknowledged that cognitive sources contribute towards calculus-based trust and psychological sources contribute to affective-based trust (McKnight et al., 1998), given the sources mentioned above it became apparent that there are in fact various psychological (i.e. disposition to trust, nature of the relationship) and cognitive (i.e. trustee's trustworthiness, situational/organisational factors) sources that come into play in the early stages of the trust development (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). Thus making the former statement about determinants of trust development an oversimplified one.

Second, the definitions above regarding the escalation of trust levels assume that increased interactions result in higher levels of trust without clarifying the characteristic of the juncture points of the development process from one level to the next (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996). However adhering to the premise that the inputs (sources of trust) and the process (beliefs regarding the trustee's trustworthiness and decision to trust) interact in a multifaceted way, it can be understood that increased interpersonal interaction should address these multiple dimensions in order to result in the development of trust. For instance at which point do the parties involved renounce calculation of the cost and benefits of maintaining trust and gather *enough* knowledge about each other's trustworthiness in order to move from what is considered calculus-based trust to knowledge-based trust (Lewicki et al., 2006).

The third and final point is concerned with the fact that while much attention has been given to factors that enable the trustor to trust the trustee based on the trustee's characteristics- hence examining the trust development process from the perspective of the trustor (McKnight et al., 1998, Lewicki and Bunker, 1996, Mayer et al., 1995, Rousseau et al., 1998), -not much attention has been drawn to factors that allow for the vindication and progression of the initial vested trust. Such as the extent of trustee's reciprocation and his/her assessment of the trustor's trustworthiness and how this influences the interactions and assessments that follow (feedback between the output stage and the input stage). Therefore giving rise to the need to examine the trust development process as a dynamic, non-linear and cyclical process rather than a linear and static one (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006).

CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a conceptualisation of trust and how interpersonal trust is developed across dyads. Initially, presenting the adopted definition of trust revealed that this construct is composed of various dimensions (i.e. disposition to trust, assessment of other party's trustworthiness and behavioural manifestations of trust). Thus in order to examine the trust development process it is not only necessary to clarify which dimension is being measured, but also to take all dimensions into account.

Moreover, while the review of the trust development frameworks in conjunction exposed the complexity associated with the examination of this multidimensional construct, each framework in isolation had not taken this complexity into account. In addition, considering

that the trust development process consists of multiple inputs that interact with each other in various ways, a process of interpretation of trustworthy behaviour which may or may not lead to the decision to trust and finally, behavioural manifestations of trust that result from the decision to trust (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006), these factors in aggregate imposed the following limitations on the existing frameworks.

First limitation is concerning the ambiguity regarding the multiple sources of trust that the trustor draws from and how their influence in conjunction contributes to trusting beliefs and decisions. Second limitation is in relation to the vagueness of the quality and nature of the interaction between the trustor and trustee which has been suggested to increase as the interaction between them continues (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996). Third limitation is associated with how trusting behaviour displayed by both parties is interpreted and thus provides a feedback for the interactions that follow, given that Dietz and Den Hartog (2006) posit that this feedback process has often been neglected in the trust development frameworks and should be taken into account.

Having discussed the construct of trust, the following chapter will address the conceptualisation of culture as a similarly complex and multifaceted construct, and in conjunction with this chapter, serves as a foundation for Chapter Four, which examines the trust development process across dyads from different cultural backgrounds.

CHAPTER 3 : THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

Culture is an inherently complex and multifaceted construct that influences individuals' values, norms and behaviours on multiple levels (Goodenough, 1981). It provides individuals, as members of a society, with schemas that allow them to make sense of their own experiences as well as interpreting the experiences of those similar to them (Geertz, 1973). However, determining the influence of culture on behaviour has shown to be a difficult task given that culture is itself a process and an outcome and manifestations of culture occur often on a subconscious level (Parson, 1951, Hofstede, 1991a).

Having provided an overview of how trust and trust development is conceptualised in the previous chapter, this chapter is aimed at unravelling the constituencies of culture as a shared social system in order to determine how it guides individuals' behaviours and how individuals, as social, cultural beings interpret the behaviour of others. Thus, this chapter will initially review the various definitions of culture that have been provided in the literature and will then attain to the facets of culture. I will subsequently show how these facets influence behaviour and how the behaviour of others is interpreted. Considering that the aim of this research is to examine trust development within the organisation context, I will discuss the various conceptualisations of culture pertinent to organisation context (Smircich, 1983).

This chapter will conclude by offering the theoretical approach suggested by Chao and Moon (2005) as a suitable conceptualisation of culture that addresses the multiplicity of cultural identities held by individuals as culture bearers and allows for the examination of the interplay between the numerous facets of culture across dyadic interactions.

DEFINING CULTURE

To claim that culture can be clearly defined is an oversimplified statement given that since 1871, when one of the very first definitions of culture was provided, to date its definition remains fragmented (Dietz et al., 2010). The variation in defining the term 'culture' derives from the different approaches that have been undertaken on the basis of assumptions held regarding what culture refers to (Sackmann, 1991). Culture was originally defined by Tylor (1871) as "*that complex whole which includes knowledge,*

belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (p.1). In contrast to its original definition which encompassed various human activities and assumed that culture is a label given to humans as evolved species, later definitions referred to culture as an instrument utilised by individuals in order to give meaning to the world around them and was determined by their history, and transmitted from one generation to the next (Malinowski, 1944, Parson, 1951). Based on these assumptions culture is defined as a set of rules for fitting people together into a system (ibid).

Early authors such as White (1969), Geertz (1973), Harris (1964) and Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) cited in Sackmann (1991) propose that culture should be viewed as a science (consisting of various laws) that determines behaviour and is determined by environmental and technological factors. Therefore they introduce the terminology of behaviour into the definition of culture and view ‘culture as a system’. Culture is defined as *“an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life...”* (Geertz, 1973, p: 89). It could be inferred from this definition that:

- Culture can be learned.
- The individual is an important unit of study seeing as the cultural learning is transmitted via individuals.
- Behaviour derived from culture occurs in a pattern seeing as culture is composed of patterns of thought and action.
- Cultural knowledge is accumulated and developed over time and therefore is subject to re-evaluation.

Contemporary definitions of culture, building on prior definitions assume that culture is a tool for problem solving in such a way that it enables individuals to make sense of the behaviour of others, therefore introducing the act of interpretation to cultural manifestations (D'Andrade, 1981, Hannerz, 1992b, Trompenaars, 1993b). In line with these assumptions, Schein (1984) offers a definition of culture that is applicable to the organisation as a social context. *“A pattern of basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to these problems”* (p: 3). Therefore

culture is simultaneously manifested and interpreted in a social context and in relation to other individuals. This definition also suggests that culture is changeable given that its manifestation can occur in relation to an external (different) environment. Although, given that ‘culture provides collective structure’ (Weick, 1979 cited in Allaire and Firsirotu, 1984, p: 205), the necessity to adapt to the external environment becomes apparent due to the fact that collective structure comes about when the individuals ‘fit’ with their environment (D'Andrade, 1981). However, in order for individuals to be able to ‘fit’ with their environment, their cultural knowledge has to be in line with that of their social members, therefore culture provides structure when it is ‘shared’ (Strauss and Quinn, 1997).

The review of the more recent, abovementioned definitions and assumptions regarding culture reveal that they postulate the following:

- Culture is a product of the mind although not necessarily learnt subconsciously but also adopted based on the external environment.
- Based on the previous point, culture is thus context and situation specific.
- Culture develops on an individual level but refers to and provides structure for higher levels.
- Culture influences the interpretation of observed behaviour.

It can be concluded from the definitions proposed by various scholars that culture consists of multiple facets and refers to a range of human activities on a micro and macro level. Its complexity derives from the fact that it is simultaneously a determinant and outcome of how behaviour is displayed and interpreted. The following section will review what has been argued to be the content of culture.

Facets of Culture

Scholars have labelled the different content of culture using various terminologies. While Goodenough (1981) divides these into four categories consisting of forms, propositions, beliefs and values, Hannerz (1992a) proposes three dimensions pertaining to ideas and modes of thought, forms of externalisation and social distribution. Schein’s (2004) taxonomy encompasses those previously proposed and allows for culture to be analysed at different levels.

Artifacts, as the most surface-level and observable feature of culture refers to those phenomena that are seen, heard and felt when encountering an environment that is unfamiliar to the observer (ibid). This implies that what is observed and associated with culture are those artifacts that are different to what we have been previously accustomed to, hence drawing attention to what is ‘different’ and not ‘similar’. Artifacts include architecture of a physical environment and are embodied in clothing, language, emotional displays, manner in addressing others, observable rituals and practices. In an organisation context, it includes the way meetings are held, the company’s logo and published codes of conduct (Trompenaars, 1993b, Triandis, 1997, Schein, 2004). Cultural artifacts are easily observable but often the most difficult to decipher given that the observer’s interpretation is merely a reflection of their own experience and understanding of the world. This implies that the meaning attached by the observer may differ from the meaning that the artifact represents (Sapir, 2002). Artifacts are then external manifestations of beliefs.

At a deeper level lie individuals’ *values* and *beliefs*. Beliefs refer to those propositions we accept to be the ‘truth’ and are indicative of what ‘ought to be’ as oppose to ‘what is’ (Goodenough, 1981). This implies that our beliefs become apparent to us when we are faced with alternative propositions. Adhering to our beliefs requires a subjective judgment concerning a relation between the object of belief and other values, concepts or attributes. Thus commitment towards these beliefs will however tend to vary across individuals. Given that they are based on the degree of confidence one has in relation to that belief, the centrality of the belief-some beliefs are widely used and others may emerge in a specific context-, and the functionality/interrelationship of the belief-the extent to which its related to other beliefs and the degree to which it is needed (Gibson et al., 2009). Beliefs however are formed on the basis of values. Meaning that when we choose a specific mode of conduct over an alternative mode, we are being guided by the values we adhere to (Rokeach, 1973).

Values, as fundamental building blocks of culture are beliefs that pertain to an end-state behaviour and have been suggested to transcend situations, guide selection and evaluation of behaviour and events, and serve both individual and collective interests (Schwartz, 1992). Meaning that an individual will adhere to values such as power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation and self-direction that serve the individual interests whilst simultaneously adhering to values such as benevolence, tradition and conformity that serve collective interest (ibid, p: 4). However, it could be argued that the prevalence of a certain

value over the other which guides our beliefs and results in an end-state behaviour will partially be determined by governing contextual factors. Given that value structures evolve over time as social conditions are transformed (i.e. education, economic state) (Trompenaars, 1993b, Hofstede, 1983, Osland and Bird, 2000). Values adopted due to situational factors are considered as ‘espoused values’, whereas values that predominantly serve as a heuristic for behaviour and are more often given priority to are ‘normative values’, and if these two tend to differ, they can result in incongruent behaviour (Schein, 2004, Schwartz, 1992).

The deepest and most stable facet of culture is *basic assumptions*. Schein (2004) argues that basic assumptions are taken for granted beliefs that have proven to hold true regardless of the situation. They are non-debatable, non-confrontable and difficult to change. They serve as the ultimate source of cultural behaviour (Dietz et al., 2010). Such that culture’s ability to serve as a problem solving tool derives from the assumptions individuals as culture bearers hold with regards to human nature, human relationship, human activity, time, language, space and reality (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961 cited in Sackmann, 1991, Rokeach, 1973, Geertz, 1973). However, considering that together with values, basic assumptions are learned at an early age and are reinforced throughout the individuals’ socialisation with their external environment, in a culturally different environment where other assumptions are held, these basic assumptions may also be questioned. Therefore it could be argued that to a certain extent, at the very core, cultural knowledge is contextual seeing as its durability is dependent on its reinforcement by the external environment (Dietz et al., 2010, Tajfel, 1982, Sapir, 2002).

Thus, what is observed as an end-state behaviour is an outcome of the influence of these four cultural facets. Taking the opening fictitious vignette in Dietz et al. (2010 , p:3), the observed behaviour (artifact) is Badri-an Iranian business woman- choosing to shake hands with her new German alliance partner Johann. This gesture is due to the fact that Badri believes that in order to develop a professional and durable relationship with a new colleague, one has to initially display openness towards him/her. Choosing to display openness in order to achieve a durable and professional relationship is derived from the fact that Badri values relationships. The reason relationships under these circumstances are important for Badri is because her basic assumption regarding human relationships require the overcoming of values that serve individual interests such as self-direction and achievement in relation to her values that serve collective interests such as conformity and

tradition. Although deciphering Badri's values and basic assumptions from the mere observation of a handshake is not a straightforward process given that the interpretation of this observed behaviour would strongly be determined by the observer's cultural schemas (Strauss and Quinn, 1997). To this end, the following section is aimed at discussing how these cultural facets can result in end-state behaviour.

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON BEHAVIOUR

As shown in the previous section, behavioural manifestations of culture result from a process that entails micro-level and subconscious selections of assumptions, values, beliefs that are each influenced by the individual's cultural schemas. Culture has been said to impact behaviour through its influence on other proximal outcomes which is why determining behaviour derived from culture is a very complex process (Gibson et al., 2009). Nonetheless, whilst culture influences behaviour, behaviour is not solely an outcome of culture. Considering that behaviour is also influenced by personality traits such as social adaptability, conformity, emotional stability, conscientiousness and openness (Gibson et al., 2009, Costa and McCrae, 1992), as well as societal factors such as political, economical, technological and social structures (Hannerz, 1992a, Sapir, 2002, Mendoza-Denton and Mischel, 2007, Costa and McCrae, 1992). Therefore behaviour that may be interpreted as a manifestation of culture could in fact be moderated and influenced by other factors.

Given that culture acts as a sense-making tool that allows us to function effectively in our social environment, its influence on behaviour should serve its purpose. It does so by providing individuals with patterns that constrain them to act in a certain way (Wallace, 1970, Sapir, 2002). The adoption of patterns not only reduces the anxiety of functioning effectively in unfamiliar situations, it also allows for the interpretation of observed behaviours (Earley, 1997, Wallace, 1970). Patterns are enduring, hierarchical and pertain to various human activities that result in behavioural manifestations of culture in the following way (Sapir, 2002).

1. Initially an individual receives a stimuli and perceives that stimuli.
2. The individual learns to associate the perceived stimuli with a certain outcome where this learning takes place in relation to the individual's external environment and develops at an early age.
3. This outcome is then externalised in the form that is appropriate and relevant.

Therefore, there are overt responses to perceived stimuli and given the reinforcement and continuity of this process, it occurs instantaneously and subconsciously (Strauss and Quinn, 1997). The analogy of culture being a 'software of the mind' refers to its ability to process inputs received and provide an output which in cultural terms is 'behaviour' (Hofstede, 1991a). An example of behaviour occurring from patterns is how people in different cultures greet another person. There are multiple factors that are taken into consideration when an individual wants to choose a method of greeting. For instance do we know the other person and if so, how well? Are they from a different gender and if so, what is the customary method of greeting (i.e. Handshake, bowing, kissing the cheeks or verbal greeting)? Answers will tend to vary depending on how we have learned to associate this stimulus (meeting another person) to an outcome (making a polite impression) and how that outcome is externalised appropriately (if from a different gender and unfamiliar than shake hands).

However, this does not occur in isolation, meaning that the feedback received from the external environment will determine to an extent our repetition of that behaviour. Positive reinforcement will motivate the repetition of that behaviour and conversely, negative feedback will cause modifications. Therefore the strength of the pattern (the extent to which it reoccurs) that becomes induced in our minds will to a large extent be determined by the feedback received from our external environment (Strauss and Quinn, 1997). For this reason, it could be argued that cultural patterns that result in behaviour are in fact strongly determined by the exchange between the individual and their social surrounding. Similarly, observed behaviour will be interpreted positively based on the extent to which the pattern is familiar for the observer.

It could be inferred from the abovementioned process that culture's determinacy of behaviour is to a large extent influenced by the context in which this process takes place, and its strength is derived from the degree to which it has been reinforced by the social actors in that context. Hence, given the importance of context in cultural learning and its influence on behaviour, and that this research is aimed at examining trust development within the organisational context, the following section will look at how culture has been conceptualised in the organisation setting. It will examine the relationship between the individual and the organisation and whether culture can be seen as a dependent or an independent variable in this relationship (Smircich, 1983).

CONCEPTUALISING CULTURE IN THE ORGANISATIONAL SETTING

Referring to the definitions provided for culture and how it influences behaviour in a social context, it can be inferred that culture is both a process and an outcome. Meaning that it is *“the shaper of human interaction and the outcome of it, continually created and recreated by people's on-going interactions”* (Jelinek et al., 1983, p: 331). Applied to the organisation setting, it could be argued that on the one hand, the organisation is itself composed of individuals and provides a context for their interaction through its aims, objectives, missions and functions, hence a process. On the other hand it is an outcome of their interaction as observable through its reputation and image (Morgan, 1997). Therefore the question that according to Smircich (1983) remains is whether culture is something the organisation ‘has’ or is it something the organisation ‘is’? She offers five conceptualisations of culture, each of which will be discussed as follow.

1. Culture as an independent variable: culture in this scenario is injected into the organisation through the organisation members and its presence is revealed through the actions of its members. This conceptualisation has been extensively adopted in comparative management studies because it allows for the examination of cultural similarities and variances across organisation, national or group boundaries (ibid). Although this conceptualisation facilitates the conduct of cross cultural studies (Doney et al., 1998, Johnson and Cullen, 2002), it overlooks the etic and emic determinants of culture. Due to the fact that as previously discussed, cultural learning is a continuous process and its influence on behaviour is subject to modification and fluctuation. Therefore assuming culture is inserted in the organisation through its members discounts the fact that culture can change as an outcome of the members’ interaction with each other. Thus resulting in culture specific as well as shared behaviours (i.e. Organisational sub-culture) (Trompenaars, 1993a, Martin, 2002, Sackmann, 1992).
2. Culture as a dependent variable: in contrast to the previous conceptualisation, which assumed the organisation ‘has’ a culture, this scenario assumes that organisation ‘is’ a culture that is reflective of the values, social ideals and beliefs of its members. It posits that the culture is shared among its members hence facilitates commitment, enhances social stability and serves as a sense-making device that can guide behaviour (Smircich, 1983). This conceptualisation assumes that all members perceive and internalise the organisation culture in a similar manner, and will

display similar behaviour manifestations of culture. Thus not accounting for individual-level variances.

3. Cognitive perspective of culture: this conceptualisation assumes that culture is ‘a system of shared cognitions, knowledge or beliefs and the organisation is a network of subjective meanings or frames of references that is shared by its members. To the external observer, it appears to function in a rule-like manner’ (Smircich, 1983, p: 348). This perspective assumes that firstly, all members are connected to each other through the ‘network’. Secondly, since culture is the product of the mind, and manifest in a ‘rule-like’ manner, then behaviour is solely an outcome of culture. However, it could be argued that firstly, this network is partially based on the organisational structure and secondly, as previously discussed, behaviour is not solely an outcome of culture. Therefore diluting what is interpreted as ‘organisational culture’. Thirdly, individuals develop cultural schemas prior to their association with the organisation, therefore interjecting their previously developed culture with their adopted organisational culture as a result of connection to the ‘network’.
4. Symbolic perspective of culture: this conceptualisation assumes that the organisation, like culture, is perceived as a pattern of symbolic discourse where its culture can be understood through the process of deciphering hence subject to interpretation (ibid). Therefore from this perspective, if culture is meant to be shared by organisation members, processes and activities have to be interpreted in a common way. However, given that culture’s influence on behaviour is subject to an association between a stimuli and an outcome, in order for symbols to be shared, members have to acquire common associations, but the processes by which these ‘shared interpretations’ are achieved remain unclear (Smircich, 1983, Dietz et al., 2010).
5. Structural and Psychodynamic perspective: culture is conceptualised as an expression of subconscious psychological processes, and organisational forms and practices are projections of these unconscious processes (ibid). Adhering to this perspective requires an identification of the link between these unconscious processes and their conscious manifestations with the aim of determining hidden, universal dimensions of human mind. However, given that the aim of this research is to unravel the etic as well as emic determinants of behavioural manifestations of

culture, adopting this conceptualisation delimits the applicability of these manifestations to universal (etic) patterns.

From the above conceptualisation it could be inferred that each perspective accounted for certain dimensions of culture and as a result, overlooked other dimensions. For example the symbolic perspective considered cultural artifacts but did not delve into underlying cultural values. Nonetheless, given that culture is a multi-dimensional and multi-level construct with etic and emic determinants and consequences (Tung, 2008, Schneider et al., 2003, Chao and Moon, 2005), and the role of the individual in relation to the organisation (either as acquiring a culture or creating a culture) remains debatable (Smircich, 1983, Sackmann and Phillips, 2004), it has been argued that individuals can acquire multiple cultural memberships that arise from different social identities (Dietz et al., 2010). Therefore drawing from social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982), Dietz et al., (2010) posit that an individual's self concept can be partially derived from their organisational membership, providing the individual adopts the organisation values, thus exemplifying how the organisational and individual identities can be intertwined. To this end, with the aim of unravelling how multiple cultural facets influence behaviour and how these in turn are manifested within the organisation setting, the following section will discuss the conceptualisation of culture as a multi-facet and multi-level construct.

CULTURAL COMPLEXITY AND MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

The construct of culture has predominantly been viewed as a social phenomenon and attributed to a group, society, organisation and nation (Hofstede, 1991a, Allaire and Firsirotu, 1984, Schein, 2004). This is due to the fact that by definition, culture is assumed to be a shared reality (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). This section is concerned with two arguments. The first argument pertains to the sharedness of culture, so how does culture become shared hence ascribed to a group? And given the criteria that cause cultural sharedness, the second argument is related to the notion that an individual can acquire multiple cultural identities where some aspects may be shared among different members (of a nation, organisation or a group) and others may be attributable to the individual (Chao and Moon, 2005).

How culture becomes shared

Social structure and learning is shaped by individuals' contact with each other, and culture emerges as a result of the accumulation and aggregate of these activities (Hannerz, 1992a). But scholars such as Strauss and Quinn (1997) argue that in order for individuals to 'share' a culture they do not necessarily need to acquire the exact same life experiences and learning. Experiencing the more general patterns such as common language, historical events, uniform childcare and similar socialisation patterns would suffice. It can thus be inferred that the level of what is shared varies. For example, while there are millions of people who share English as a common language, there are few who can claim they have uniform childcare. Furthermore, while culture is learned through social interactions, the process of learning is one that occurs at an individual level given that it is, to an extent, dependent on the individual's degree of motivation (Geertz, 1973, Earley, 1997). Therefore causing an individual-level variation to prevail in a group that has been exposed to similar social settings.

Yet, assuming that cultural schemas are learned in a similar way, they then need to be internalised by the individual and associated with positive feelings in order to result in behaviour (Malinowski, 1944). Referring to the earlier example of 'greeting another person', if the individual has learned through family upbringing that one should always shake hands when confronted with another person as a polite gesture of greeting, and this association or pattern is 'shared' among that individual's family members. But within the organisation context, the individual observes that this pattern does not occur among other members (organisation members), the individual will no longer acquire the motivation, nor the positive association to conduct this behaviour. Causing what previously was a shared cultural schema between the individual and his family members to evolve and modify to perhaps what is shared among his/her current organisational members (i.e. verbal greeting). Considering this scenario, defining *what* is shared and with *whom* becomes important.

At the very basis of behavioural manifestations of culture underlie value sets that can simultaneously cause consistency in behaviour and occasionally result in alteration of behaviour (Schwartz, 1992). Implicit in the 'greeting' scenario above, was the fact that the individual was motivated to greet in a fashion that was in accordance with the shared organisational culture. Maznevski et al. (2002) argue that shared patterns vary within a society on the basis of deep-level values that are associated with societal effectiveness. For

instance shared value orientation has been used to improve interpersonal and team effectiveness within organisations boundaries (Lane, 1997), as well as across cultural boundaries (Schneider et al., 2003, Hofstede, 1991b). However, as Schwartz (1992) has pointed out, there is evidence of significant variance in response to value orientations on an individual level. Hence, average value orientation of a group (in his study, a nation) is by no means reflective of individual value priorities. D'Andrade (1987), in line with this notion stated that although culture is shared knowledge and beliefs among a group of people, there is considerable disagreement between individuals of the group concerning most items of knowledge and beliefs. A study conducted by Triandis (1997) also revealed that the more heterogeneous the group, the less the norms and values are shared.

Therefore, while members of a group, society, organisation or nation might share certain values and acquire similar motivations to perform effectively, the extent to which these values are shared, the type of values that are shared (i.e. values that serve individual or collective interest), or whether those values are instrumental (lead to a desirable mode of conduct) or terminal (lead to end-state behaviour), and the motivational factors underlying the behavioural manifestations of these values (behavioural patterns) vary across individuals. As shown in the scenario above, values are also influenced by situational factors (i.e. common greeting patterns in the organisation) (Rokeach, 1973). To this end the following section will examine individual's adoption of multiple cultural identities through multiple group memberships (i.e. Family, society, organisation and nation).

Multiple cultural identities

The previous section revealed that the sharedness of culture is determined by the values that are shared among a particular social group, be it a family, an organisation or on a larger scale, a nation. The values that are shared with each group will tend to differ, for instance one might share values pertaining to self-direction, security and spirituality with family, achievement, power and conformity with the organisation and tradition and universalism with fellow nationals (Schwartz, 1992). The interconnectedness of the behavioural patterns that emerge as a result of these value orientations and their adoption in any given circumstance and across societal levels are factors that result in the complexity of determining which facet(s) of culture is being shared.

To address this complexity and bridge the gap between national-level, group-level, organisational-level and individual-level determinants of cultural behaviour, Brewer and

Yuki (2005) suggest the adoption of social identity theory which is defined as “*that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group...together with the values and emotional significance attached to that membership*” (Tajfel, 1981, p.255 cited in Brewer and Yuki, 2005). Implying that if an individual is to share values with a group, firstly (s)he has to identify with the group and secondly, positively evaluate the association with the group. However, given that an individual can have multiple self-conceptions that may have conflicting features which are activated in certain situations (Fiske and Taylor, 2006), the individuals’ identification with a group and the creation of a common culture remain complex and dependent on certain conditions. In line with this view, Schneider and Barsoux (2003) posit that individuals operating within the organisation context are under the influence of their multiple cultural spheres (i.e. nationality, profession, industry, company and function), where each sphere has its own set of artifacts, behaviours, values and beliefs, and behaviour is derived from the interaction among these spheres.

Cultural complexity derives from the fact that similar to a complex system, culture is composed of various elements that interact with each other in a non-linear process, and result in an outcome (behaviour) that is based on certain (initial/emergent) conditions, and when observed, the elements of which are activated are not decipherable as individual entities but rather paint a holistic picture of what is labelled as ‘culture’ (Gleick, 1987, Holland, 1998, Page, 2011). Transposed to cultural terms, earlier discussions revealed that culture consists of various facets (i.e. values, assumptions and artifacts) that are interdependent and result in behaviour in the form of patterns (meaning that there is a certain input which is then processed and results in a certain output), however this relationship-despite what Schein (2004) argues- is not linear, meaning that a certain input (stimuli) does not necessarily result in the same output (behaviour) as I discussed in the scenario of ‘greeting another’. In addition, individuals can adopt various memberships and share different values with different members, but as discussed, the adoption of certain values is dependent on certain conditions (i.e. cognitive awareness of that membership and positive associations). Thus, overall resulting in behaviour that, given the social conditions under which it occurs, cannot be attributed to ‘a specific culture’. As Hong et al. (2007) posit “*When individuals become experts in more than one culture, their social information processing is channelled through the lenses of more than one culture, and their*

interpretive biases could be pushed in the direction of one or the other culture by the presence of cultural cues in the immediate environment” (p: 325).

Whilst some scholars have acknowledged the multiplicity of cultural identity, they have failed to provide an operational framework for its examination (Schneider and Barsoux, 2003, Sackmann, 1991, Tung, 2008, Holliday, 2010, Hannerz, 1992). Chao and Moon (2005) however, have provided a clear and comprehensive framework that allows for the measurement and examination of the multidimensional construct of culture on the individual, group and organisational level. To this end the following section will examine the conceptualisation of culture proposed by Chao and Moon (2005) which draws from complexity theory and allows for the disentanglement of the multidimensional construct of culture by acknowledging cultural complexity as an inherent feature of this construct, thus proposing a metatheory that in line with this view conceptualises culture “*as a pattern of cultural identities within individuals that has implications for the conceptualization and assessment of culture at multiple levels of analysis*” (p: 1128).

THE CULTURAL MOSAIC

The concept of the cultural mosaic proposed by Chao and Moon (2005) posits that an individual’s culture can be viewed as a composite of various elements -according to their terminology- ‘tiles’, where in a given situation depending on the governing situational factors, individuals draw from a combination of their tiles in order to display a behaviour appropriate to the relevant cultural paradigm. Thus allowing for the simultaneous recognition of global individual culture with the presence of localised influences. The cultural tiles are categorised under Demographic, Geographic and Associative tiles.

Demographic tiles comprise of physical attributes such as age, gender, race and ethnicity and although inherited, influence cultural behaviour in various ways given that value orientation is in part influenced by these tiles. Accounting for ‘age’ as one of the demographic cultural tiles recognises that as individuals mature, their value structure and orientation may change due to their various socialisation experiences. Thus age as an emic construct influences cultural behaviour due to its dependence on the individual’s particular life experiences in various stages of their life, where these experiences can result in an alteration of cultural perceptions and behaviours following that experience. These accumulated experiences however may not necessarily be in direct correlation with the individual’s chronological age. For example, an individual who-in the early ages of

development- has been exposed to a high degree of national cultural diversity whilst attending a particular primary school that enrolled kids from various national backgrounds will tend to have a different perception of cultural diversity compared to an individual who-in the later stages of his/her development-was exposed to national cultural diversity only when he/she began working for a multinational company. Yet as an etic construct, age similar to race or ethnicity is a visible trait that influences how individuals' behaviours are perceived. For example in an organisational setting, an older individual might be perceived as behaving in a more consistent and predictable way than a younger individual. Therefore considering cultural tiles such as age addresses the limitations associated with prior conceptualisations of culture (i.e. Schein) as previously discussed. Whilst the influence of race and ethnicity on cultural behaviour has previously been accounted for (Markus and Kitayama, 1991), their influence in conjunction with age and gender has not. For example it can be expected that a 50-year-old male from Zimbabwe (ethnically black) will behave differently than a 30-year-old female from Norway (ethnically white) in the earlier 'greeting' scenario.

Geographic tiles refer to features of the region in which the individual belongs to such as climate, urban/rural, coastal/inland background, region or country. Geographic tiles unlike certain demographic tiles (i.e. gender, ethnicity) are not mutually exclusive. Meaning that an individual can simultaneously be associated with multiple geographic locations throughout the course of their life, where each location has had their influence on the individual's geographic culture. This shows that the attribution of a 'nationality' to individuals living in a particular country is an oversimplified one.

Associative tiles relate to those formal and informal groups that an individual associates with, some of which by choice. Deriving from the individual's need to belong (Baumeister and Leary 1995), and their motivation to be affiliated with a group (Tajfel, 1982), these tiles consist of groups such as family, religion, profession, employer and political affiliation. Family, as the nucleus of which human activity is learned and as the first social group the individual begins to know provides a strong sense of identity for the individuals (Chao and Moon, 2005). Despite the fact that family upbringing has been identified as being a predictor of achievement motivation, and advancing a country's economic growth (McClelland, 1961 cited in Lonner and Adamopoulos, 1997), its direct influence on the individual's cultural behaviour in different social settings (i.e. workplace) has not been given attention to. Nevertheless, associative tiles take into account the motivational aspect

of culture, meaning that when an individual willingly associates with a group, it can be assumed that the individual will have the willingness to adopt the group's values (Tajfel, 1982, Brewer and Yuki, 2005). Though there are groups that individuals associate with on a non-optional basis such as their work-teams or departments within the organisations, thus under these conditions the individual may or may not acquire the willingness to adopt the group's values.

In aggregate, it has been suggested that these tiles can either merge in harmony and strengthen an individual's value-sets and result in predictable behaviour, or conversely, the tiles can maintain their independence or give rise to conflicting value-sets hence resulting in unpredictable behaviour (Chao and Moon, 2005 p: 1133). Implying that when Badri decides to shake hands with her colleague (in the earlier scenario), she is simultaneously a female, mid 40s, nationally Iranian, lives in an urban area, works for Oil Company X and is Muslim (Dietz et al., 2010). Thus her attempt to shake hands was a result of her value to conform to the organisation practices, develop a professional relationship and make a positive initial impression. Hence activating the tiles (i.e. organisation, profession, age) that in concordance resulted in this behaviour. The question that remains is whether the same combination of tiles are activated when an individual encounters a similar situation and whether the individual recognises the situation as in fact being similar. Referring to Badri's situation, can it be expected that Badri will *always* shake hands with a male colleague if she encounters a *similar* situation?

This point draws attention to the importance of governing contextual factors that trigger the activation of certain tiles and override the influence of others in order to result in a behaviour that is in line with the relevant cultural paradigm (Chao and Moon, 2005). Those tiles that become activated across situations and overcome the influence of other tiles are considered to be 'dominant tiles'. Those tiles that merge and work in concert with dominant tiles are considered as 'self-organising' tiles, and those tiles that maintain their independence and result in behaviour that is unpredictable and changeable according to the situation are considered to be 'independent tiles'.

Adopting this conceptualisation of culture rejects the widely adopted notion of simply using nationality as a proxy for culture (some of which are: Hofstede, 1991, Yamagishi, 1994, Black, 1990, Doney et al., 1995, Luo, 2002), but rather accounts for nationality as being one of the various tiles that-in conjunction with other tiles- can influence an individual's cultural identity and result in behavioural manifestations of culture (Chao and

Moon, 2005, Berry et al., 2002, Tung, 2008, Taras, 2011). Considering that an individual can be exposed to multiple national groups, (i.e. Sarah's case in the Introduction) throughout the course of their life, and can differentiate between the values they communicate to the national public and values they internalise on an individual level as being the norm (Todeva, 1999), allocating an individual to *a* national culture as proposed by Hofstede (1991) becomes obsolete.

Although the adoption of Hofstede's approach to the examination of culture contributed a great deal to cross-cultural studies, it fails to provide a dynamic and holistic view of culture in the current sociological and economical context in which individuals operate (i.e. consider the case of Sarah in the opening vignette). Scholars such as Todeva (1999), Williamson (2002), Ward (2008), Maznevski et al. (2002), Minkov and Hofstede (2011), Fiske (2002), Page (2011), Schultz (1992), Shenkar (2001), Singh (2004), Taras et al. (2011), Tung (2008) and Kirkman et al. (2006) each provide accounts of the limitations associated with the adoption of Hofstede's conceptualisation of culture. Some of which are variances of value orientations within a country (Singh, 2004, Schultz, 1992), the presence of sub-cultures within the national culture (Shenkar, 2001) as well as the methodological flaws that have been critiqued by McSweeney (2002). Thus, Ferrin and Gillespie (2010) posit "*the use of country as a proxy for culture is a simplifying assumption with obvious limitations*" (p: 73).

Adhering to the cultural mosaic conceptualisation of culture can overcome these limitations by taking into account various determinants of culture and provide a comprehensive approach towards the examination of the influence of one's culture on their behaviour. This in turn advances understanding of *how* various dimensions of culture influence behaviour and *which* behaviours can be attributed to culture (Triandis and Suh, 2002, Dietz et al., 2010). It also allows for the identification of individuals' shared cultural values with their various group associations (Chao and Moon, 2005). Nevertheless, the aim of adhering to an individual level conceptualisation of culture is not to undermine cultural sharedness on a higher level (i.e. group, organisation or nation) but rather to allow for etic and emic determinants of culture to become apparent when resulting in behavioural manifestations.

CONCLUSION

In sum this chapter was concerned with the conceptualisation of the multidimensional construct of culture and its antecedents and influence on behaviour. Initially it provided an overview of how culture has been defined in the literature. Although the definitions remain contested, there are features of culture that can be defined such as a set of basic assumptions that relate to human activity and their interactions with each other, where these assumptions can be shared among an identifiable group (Gibson et al., 2009). Culture is learned, transmitted and can be modified in order to perform as a sense-making tool that enables individuals as culture bearers to solve social problems (Hannerz, 1992a).

This chapter also showed that culture influences behaviour through patterns, where a perceived stimuli is associated with an outcome (behaviour), and this outcome is externalised in a way that is appropriate to the relevant cultural paradigm (Strauss and Quinn, 1997). However, it became apparent that *appropriateness* is relative to the governing situational factors, and that behavioural manifestations of culture will tend to evolve and change based on the individual's external environment. Therefore causing the interpretation of observed behaviour to be a complex process.

Subsequently, reviewing Smircich's (1983) conceptualisation of culture within the organisational setting showed that adhering to either conceptualisation results in a mutually exclusive examination of cultural facets, despite the overlap that exists between multiple dimensions of culture (i.e. symbolic, cognitive, structural, etc.). In order to overcome this limitation and allow for the acknowledgement of multiple cultural dimensions, I introduced conceptualisations that take into account the fact that individuals can share different cultural values with different groups of people (i.e. family, society, organisation and nation) (Schneider and Somers, 2006, Chao and Moon, 2005). Claiming that the attribution of the term 'culture' to a group does not necessarily imply sharedness across all dimensions. Rather, it is the identification of common value orientation among members that allow them to behave in accordance with the relative cultural paradigm, in order to reach the goals associated with the particular group.

I adopt the conceptualisation proposed by Chao and Moon (2005) as a theoretical framework towards examining cultural determinants on behaviour and the creation or identification of shared cultural identities among members of a given social group. Where shared cultural identities facilitate interpersonal interactions. This is done in order to

advance the understanding of those cultural dimensions that when/if shared among members, can result in favourable organisational behaviour (i.e. organisational citizenship, commitment, trust, etc.). Whilst unravelling those features that, when in conflict, hinder the development of these desirable outcomes.

Thus, the following chapter will examine how culture, and individual's multiple cultural identities will influence their trust development with an individual who comes from a different cultural background. Considering that trust development is a dyadic, continuous and dynamic interaction, and can occur between members of an organisation who acquire multiple cultural identities. Where some cultural identities may be shared among the members (i.e. Organisation, Gender, Profession, etc.) and others will tend to differ (i.e. Family, Urban/Rural Background, Religion, etc.) (Dietz et al., 2010).

CHAPTER 4 : THE TRUST DEVELOPMENT PROCESS ACROSS CULTURES

INTRODUCTION

Chapter two discussed the construct of trust and how it's developed on an interpersonal level. Chapter three presented a conceptualisation of culture as a multifaceted and multidimensional construct that determines behaviour and how behaviour is interpreted across interactions. This chapter draws from the previous two and aims to provide an understanding of how trust is developed in dyadic interactions among individuals who come from different cultural backgrounds.

In so doing I will initially examine how cultural values, beliefs and schemas influence an individual's disposition to trust, their assessment of other's trustworthiness as well as how they display behavioural manifestations of trust (Mayer et al., 1995, Doney et al., 1998). This will be followed by a review of the literature regarding the various frameworks that explore the process of trust development across cultures and how they have conceptualised culture. I put forward the five-staged framework developed by Dietz et al. (2010) as the adopted framework for this research. Given that it addresses the limitations regarding the trust development process discussed in chapter two, takes into consideration the inherent feature of cultural complexity and allows for the conceptualisation of culture as a composite of multiple tiles.

Moreover, considering that cross-cultural interactions require a certain degree of adaptation (Triandis, 2002), I lastly examine the role of individual's cultural intelligence as a moderating factor that has been suggested to enhance cross-cultural interactions (Earley and Mosakowski, 2004, Earley, 2003, Ang et al., 2007).

This chapter provides the theoretical underpinning of the main research objective '*how dyadic trust is developed across cultures*' and addresses the gap in the literature regarding the etic and emic determinants of culture on trust development and how shared cultural identities can develop and result in higher levels of trust in the organisational setting (Saunders et al., 2010b, Dietz et al., 2010).

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON TRUST

In the previous chapter it became apparent that culture consists of our basic assumptions regarding what we believe to be truth about human activities and relationships (Schein, 2004). This then guides our value orientation, for example if we believe that humans in general are good by nature then we are more likely to value benevolence and believe that humans are benevolent as well, or if we believe in the well-being of the collective then we are likely to value conformity (Schwartz, 1992). Thus given that an individual's disposition to trust involves a positive expectation regarding the general other, it becomes evident that our belief regarding human nature and human activities will strongly influence this expectation (Mayer et al., 1995, Johnson and Cullen, 2002). A study conducted by Huff and Kelley (2003) across seven nations depict how levels of propensity to trust are higher among business relationships in the U.S compared to Asia. In line with this finding, Yamagishi and Yamagishi (1994) posit that in comparison to their Japanese respondents, American respondents were more trusting of other people in general. Thus claiming that the general disposition to trust is lower in collective cultures (i.e. Japan) compared to individualistic cultures (i.e. the U.S).

Cultural schemas also influence how trustworthiness is assessed across its various dimensions (i.e. ability, benevolence and integrity), and the extent to which each dimension gives weight to positive assessments by filtering how and what information is being perceived by the observer (Gibson et al., 2009, Branzei et al., 2007). As shown in the previous chapter, culture's influence on behaviour occurs in patterns, where certain stimuli are associated with certain external manifestations. This in turn influences how the behaviour of others is interpreted. So for example where showing up late for a board meeting is considered as disrespectful in a German organisation, it is in fact the norm in an Iranian Organisation and would not be a sign of lack of reliability.

For this reason, scholars argue that similarity in behaviour can result in positive assessments of trustworthiness. This is due to the fact that similar cues are easily decipherable and that similarity in behaviour tends to be associated with value congruence, which directly impacts assessment of trustworthiness across the integrity dimension (McKnight et al., 1998, Zaheer and Zaheer, 2006, Shapiro et al., 2008).

However, implicit in this interpretation lies the ambiguity regarding which cultural identity is being used to interpret the 'similarity' of the observed cues. For example considering the

above scenario, how would the trustworthiness of an individual who is nationally Iranian, Professionally a consultant, a mother of three and arrives late for a board meeting held in an American company located in Munich, Germany be assessed? Across which dimension does one assess this individual's ability or benevolence, and as a result, what would the observed behaviour (tardiness) be attributed to?

Furthermore as mentioned above, the weight individuals assign to each dimension of trustworthiness has been argued to differ across national cultures. Doney et al. (1998) posit that individuals who come from collective cultures are less likely to attribute significance to the ability dimension given that they are accustomed to group cooperation and not individual achievements. It could thus be expected that benevolence (i.e. the positive intention of the individual in the group to cooperate with the group for the well being of the collective) will be a higher contributor to trustworthiness in more collectivist cultures. In line with the view that the weight ascribed to dimensions of trustworthiness differ across national cultures, Lane (1997) found that consistency in institutional conditions such as market rules and technical standards result in greater trust among co-workers in Germany compared with Britain. Therefore it is evident that national and institutional elements interact with each other whilst simultaneously influencing dimensions of trustworthiness.

Based on the above argument it can be expected that since culture directly and indirectly influences behaviour, it will also influence how trust is displayed. Given the discussion regarding the sharedness of culture among a certain social group (i.e. Family, Organisation or Nation) in the previous chapter, it can be inferred that where certain behaviour displays may be considered as the norm and result in trusting behaviour in one group, they may not be acceptable in another and therefore be considered as the lack of perceived trustworthiness. Gibson et al. (2009) discussed how behaviours such as providing encouragement, guidance, conformity, disclosure and feedback can vary across national cultures, and given the multiple group membership among individuals, it may well be that while providing encouragement and guidance is a shared behaviour among family members and results in the development of trust, it not be considered as a trusting behaviour of members of a team working together in an organisation setting. Where instead providing feedback is considered as a behavioural manifestation of trust.

In sum, while a review of the literature regarding the influence of culture on trust shows that various facets of national culture can directly and indirectly influence the multiple dimensions of trust from dispositional traits to behavioural manifestations of trust, it

delimits our understanding of cultural determinants to the national level. However as discussed in Chapter Three, national culture is merely one dimension (tile) of culture that influences cultural behaviour. Furthermore, this association can result in the overestimation of cultural influences on this process, given that these scholars have not made a distinction between cultural and contextual influences on trust related behaviours (Dietz et al., 2010). Ferrin and Gillespie (2010), whilst acknowledging multiple cultural dimensions, have been able to identify the levels of trust, determinants of trust, consequences of trust and the role and meaning of trust that differ across national-societal cultures. Yet they conclude that there are unidentified macro/micro, etic /emic cultural determinants that influence trust and how trust is perceived, manifested and consequently developed. This further confirms the notion that using nationality as a proxy for culture when aiming to study trust development across different cultures can result in contradictory and inconsistent findings.

As the key contribution to theory, I will show how adopting the mosaic conceptualisation of culture in conjunction with the five-staged trust development framework can allow for the disentanglement of cultural complexities underlying behaviour that directly and indirectly influence trustworthy behaviour as well as the assessment of other's trustworthiness (Chao and Moon, 2005, Dietz et al., 2010).

Having addressed the limitations associated with the general trust development frameworks in Chapter two, the following section will review the frameworks provided for the examination of *cross-cultural trust development* process.

FRAMEWORKS FOR INTERPERSONAL TRUST DEVELOPMENT ACROSS CULTURES

The trust development process as shown in Chapter Two consists of three stages. First the *inputs*, which serve as the sources for initial judgment regarding the attempt to engage in trust related activities with the other party (trustee), which given the above argument, will also be influenced by the trustor's cultural background (Nooteboom and Six, 2003). Second, the *process*, which involves the belief about the trustee's trustworthiness based on assessments and interpretation of behaviour, as well as the decision to engage in trust related activities. Third, the *output*, which consists of behavioural manifestations of trust (i.e. reliance and disclosure) and is based on both parties' past experiences, their similarity and the social context (organisational context). However, while cultural similarities

between the parties involved as well as their familiarity with the context can enhance the interpretation of behaviour and the development of trust, cultural differences can hinder it.

Dietz et al. (2010) provide a review of the frameworks that have been presented thus far that allow for the examination of cross-cultural trust development process. Arguably, while each framework provides insight and offers significant implications for the examination of this process, they fail to take into account the multidimensionality feature of culture.

For instance Doney et al's. (1998) framework identifies five cognitive trust building processes that could develop between two parties from different cultural backgrounds. Although, they conceptualise culture using Hofstede's (1991) dichotomy of Individualistic versus Collective cultures, therefore use nationality as a proxy for culture. In addition, their framework shows that while culture's influence on rational cues for processing trust related information is taken into consideration, the effect of culture on the emotional cues have not been referred to. As discussed in the previous section however, it was evident that culture also influences emotional determinants of trust.

Johnson and Cullen (2002) provide a model for trust in exchange and take into account both rational and emotional sources of trust. They adopt the symbolic interactionism perspective towards culture, proposing that symbols provide the vehicle for trust signalling and adhere to Hofstede's classification of culture when examining 'different cultures'. Therefore implying that when parties from different cultures (national cultures) intend to develop trust, they must "*mutually develop and agree on what behaviour, activity or gesture in the relationship serves as a trust signal*" (Johnson and Cullen, 2002, p: 358) . While acknowledging that applying the individualism versus collectivism dimension of culture to cross-cultural trust development had produced inconsistent results, they suggest the use of uncertainty avoidance and high/low context cultural dimensions to understand cultural influences on the predisposition basis of trust (Hofstede, 1991). But assuming that the parties involved have a similar situation to the Iranian born woman who arrives late for a board meeting held in an American company she is employed by located in Munich where she has been living for several years (scenario discussed in previous chapter), then the use of the suggested dimensions become inapplicable. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter Two, trust development involves various stages and begins prior to exchange of interactions (Dietz et al., 2010). Therefore it may be that one party's low predisposition to trust prevents the further development of trust even prior to the identification or creation of 'mutual activities and gestures'. Alternatively, as noted by cognitive psychologists, social

inferences are made from facial attributes and surface-level traits often within the first 500-1,000 milliseconds of exposure, and interestingly, trustworthiness held the highest correlation with judgments in this respect (Willis and Todorov, 2006). Therefore initial assessment about another's trustworthiness is not necessarily derived from the degree of perceived signals of trustworthiness, but rather a spontaneous process which is in fact "*a projection of the personality of the receiver*" (Campbell, 1967, p: 820).

Zaheer and Zaheer's (2006) model acknowledges that not only do trust levels differ across cultures, so does the nature of trust, although they also use nation as a proxy for culture. In their view there is an asymmetry of trust between individuals who come from 'high-trust' cultures and those who come from 'low-trust' cultures, meaning that two parties both coming from low cultures (countries where general predisposition to trust is low) or high cultures (countries where general predisposition is high) are likely to develop higher levels of trust with each other. In addition to the previously mentioned limitations which also apply to this model, it could also be argued that predisposition to trust does not necessarily result in trusting behaviour (Gillespie, 2003). Therefore even if both parties come from 'high' or 'low' cultures and acquire similar predispositions to trust, it cannot be assumed that this will lead to an enactment of trust (i.e. reliance and disclosure). Furthermore, interaction can exist between a 'low-culture' and a 'high-culture' which they do not account for.

Chao and Moon's (2005) conceptualisation of culture considers interaction between dyads coming from different cultural backgrounds as a multifaceted relationship, where some tiles (features) of their culture may be shared (i.e. Profession, Age), while others are not (i.e. Gender, Nationality), thus interaction is influenced by a network of common and unique tiles (ibid). Figure 4.1 represents interaction between Party A and Party B and shows how each Party, having their own cultural mosaic, can draw from different tiles and adopt different cultural identities when displaying trust related behaviours. Thus, cross-cultural trust development is not only influenced by national tile-which in this case is not shared- but rather influenced by an interplay of multiple tiles, some of which may be common between the dyads (in the figure below: Environment, Profession, Age). Therefore adhering to this conceptualisation when examining cross-cultural trust development can overcome the abovementioned limitations which were associated with using nationality as a proxy for culture.

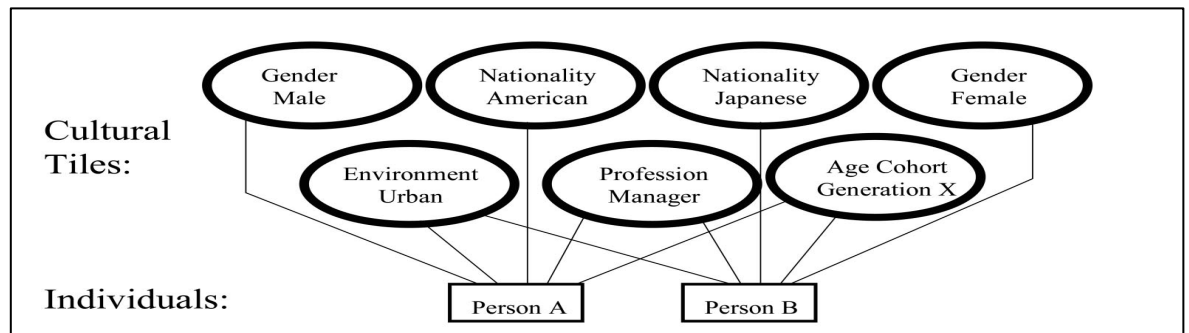


Figure 4.1: Interaction between cultural tiles (Chao and Moon, 2005, p: 1133)

In addition to the abovementioned limitations associated with the three frameworks for cross-cultural trust development (Doney et al., Johnson and Cullen, and Zaheer and Zaheer), there are other factors that need to be addressed when examining this process. Firstly it is the role of context in which these interactions take place, given that contextual factors (i.e. institutional regulations, nature of the relationship) not only influence the strength of the patterns developed through cultural learning but also influence how trust is perceived, interpreted and enacted (Wright and Ehnert, 2010, Dietz et al., 2010, Welter and Alex, 2012). Secondly, none of the above frameworks allow for the conceptualisation of culture from a cultural mosaic perspective (Chao and Moon, 2005). They are based on the premise that the national dimension of culture act as the filter through which cultural distance is measured, thereby overlooking cultural differences that can exist across other dimensions, not to mention within-national differences themselves (Sackmann and Phillips, 2004).

Having examined the limitations associated with frameworks of general trust development in Chapter Two (see page 27) as well as the above frameworks that address cross-cultural trust development, the following section presents the framework developed by Dietz et al. (2010) as the adopted framework that in conjunction with the cultural mosaic metatheory of culture (Chao and Moon, 2005), allows for the ‘mosaic’ conceptualisation of culture and the examination of the etic/emic, micro and macro determinants of culture on the various dimensions of trust across dyads coming from discrepant cultural backgrounds (i.e. Family, Organisation, Profession, Nationality, etc.). The adoption of this framework is due to the fact that it not only considers culture as a multifaceted and multidimensional construct, it also recognises that individuals can adopt different cultural identities based on

governing contextual factors, thus overcomes the limitations associated with previously discussed frameworks.

THE FIVE-STAGED TRUST DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The five stage trust development process framework was developed by Dietz et al. (2010) as a result of their exhaustive review of the existing proposed frameworks discussed above. This framework has various implications for the advancement of theory with regards to cross-cultural trust development. Firstly, it allows for the simultaneous conceptualisation of culture as a cognitive, symbolic, dependent and independent construct (Smircich, 1983), due to its acknowledgment that different dimensions of culture influence different dimensions of trust. Second, considering that culture influences each stage of trust development, this framework permits the micro-level examination of this influence. Although it should be noted that claiming to establish clear distinctions between each stage is an oversimplified statement given that the authors themselves note that stages will overlap. Thirdly, this framework is developed on the premise that trust development does not evolve in a linear form, therefore allows for the depiction of how the level of trust can vary in each stage based on the extent and quality of interaction. This overcomes the limitations associated with previously discussed frameworks and extends our understanding of etic and emic cultural determinants of different levels of trust.

The stages of the trust development process that both parties undergo are shown in Figure 4.2. Each stage is described below:

1. Context: this stage is concerned with parties' prior cultural preconceptions, their previously acquired cultural knowledge regarding cultures dissimilar to theirs, the parties' ability and motivation to adapt or accommodate the other (Chao and Moon 2005; Molinsky 2007).
2. Opening Stance: prior to the exchange of interaction, this stage entails initial assessment made by both parties regarding the trustworthiness of the other where the presence of symbols that signify trustworthiness are to be considered. Judgments made at this stage correspond to each party's cultural background seeing as exchange of trust related behaviours have not yet occurred. Therefore at this point in their interaction, immediate assessments can either result in suspended judgment, where cultural differences are either overlooked or are deemed not to

hinder positive assessments of trustworthiness, or result in the emergence of bias as a consequence of observed dissimilarities and reduce the trustor's willingness to trust and negatively influence the progress of stages that follow.

3. Early encounters: the initiation of communication and the exchange of trust relevant information take place at this stage. Parties will evaluate and interpret behaviours observed thus far and test their previously held assumptions. They may modify their expectations and, depending upon certain factors (i.e. identified similarities, acceptance of differences), may display a certain level of determination to overcome misunderstandings. This however is subject to the party's determination and motivation to do so, thus the progress of this stage is not only based on evidence gathered via direct interaction, but also based on the individual's personal characteristics (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006).

4. Breakthrough/ Breakdown: depending on the progress of previous stages, in this stage parties either proactively modify their behaviour because they have reconciled their differences or identified commonalities in order to establish the trust required or conversely, fail to come to a mutually shared understanding of acceptable trusting behaviour and therefore operate in a state of distrust.

5. Consequence: if the outcome of the previous stage leads to trust, then it may well be that the level of established trust enhances as a consequence of their continued interaction and confirmation of their judgment regarding the other party's trustworthiness, or on the contrary either party violates the terms of the trust relationship which causes a re-evaluation, decline or in some cases a deterioration of the trust development. If however the outcome of the previous stage is distrust and due to external factors the parties have to continue to work together, they are expected to adjust their behaviour accordingly (i.e. increase monitoring and control mechanisms) or engage in what the authors regard as trust repair efforts (Dietz, Gillespie et al. 2010). The feedback loop shown in Figure 4.2 pertains to this validation, modification or repair processes of trust.

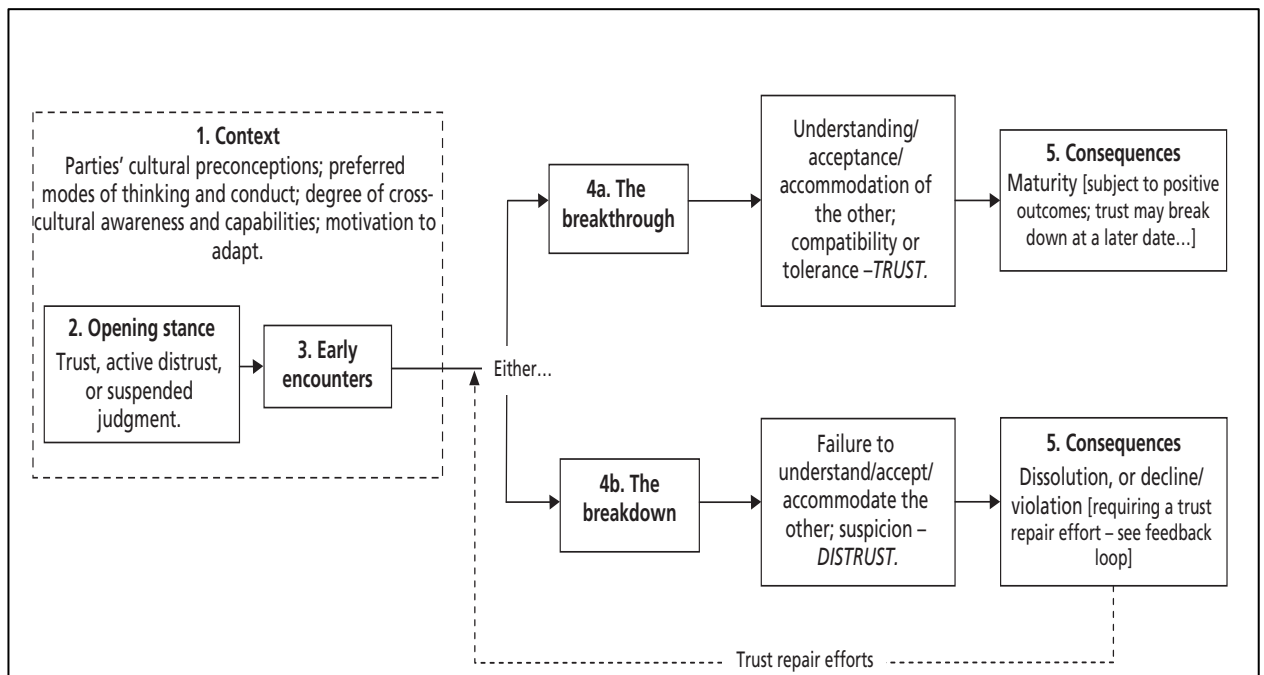


Figure 4.2: Staged model of trust development across cultural boundaries (Dietz et al., 2010, p: 30)

Considering a trust development process between Party A and Party B (shown in figure 4.1) using the Dietz et al., (2010) framework would illustrates the following scenario.

Party A encounters Party B in the organisational setting where each party's cultural tiles are as shown in Figure 4.1. Given the context, it may be that Party A generally has a higher willingness to trust compared to Party B given his previous positive experiences or family upbringing. However it could be that Party B has had more experience working with individuals from other countries and in particular, Americans and therefore has more awareness regarding differences in work behaviour (*cognitive* perspective of culture is pertinent here).

In the opening stance stage, Party A might assume that Party B is less expressive and outspoken (*symbolic* perspective of culture), perhaps due to stereotypes associated with younger female Japanese colleagues (see Figure 4.1). On the other hand, Party B-having previously worked in a similar situation- may acquire the awareness regarding the norms and behaviours related to working with an older American superior from her past experiences. Each party will have their own degree of predisposition to trust, which they may or may not act on. For instance while Party A has a high willingness to trust, it may be that given his assumptions regarding Party B (i.e. conservative, introvert), he would later refrain from acting on his predisposition. Meanwhile Party B, who might assume that

Americans are trusting and open, would later expect to observe behaviours-that for her-are associated with being trusted (i.e. open communication and delegation). Moreover, given the organisation culture (high performance company), she might also assume that her expectations would be met as they will be reinforced by this type of organisation (culture as an *independent* variable) (Gelfand et al., 2007).

In the early encounter stage, as the interaction progresses, Party B is showing signs of her ability to complete tasks and simultaneously expects her superior to show a level of reciprocation, but being her superior, she is confident of his ability and takes that dimension for granted, yet gives more weight to benevolence as a sign of his trust in her. From Party A's perspective, trust is only present on the basis of her ability but perhaps not benevolence or integrity seeing as they have not identified commonalities other than task related issues (culture is a *dependent* variable construed based on their interaction). According to both parties, there is an issue at this stage that needs to be resolved given that neither of them perceive this working relationship to have the required level of trust.

In order for this process to result in a breakthrough, Dietz et al. (2010) posit that there are four possibilities that allow for this to occur. First, the *recognition* and *promotion* of shared cultural identities. This point, in line with Chao and Moon's (2005) proposition that shared tiles facilitate interaction, implies that the identification of shared tiles can create a perception of a shared cultural identity which in turn can facilitate the trust development process.

Second, the *alignment* of tiles, although they may not be the same but are compatible (they result in the association of a similar externalisation from a stimuli). Considering the dyads from figure 4.1, it may be that despite parties' different national tiles, both 'American' culture and 'Japanese' culture value cooperation and collaboration in the workplace thus inducing similar behaviour in both parties that is conducive to the trust development process. Similar behaviour as previously discussed can also enable positive assessments of trustworthiness and facilitate the development of trust (Gulati and Sytch, 2008).

The third scenario that can emerge is either party's *acceptance* of, or *adaptation* towards the other party's dominant culture (Dietz et al., 2010). Meaning that either party would have to make a conscious and purposeful effort to change their form of behaviour for the purpose of creating an outcome that is desirable to the other party. This act is what Molinsky (2007) considers as 'code-switching' and is often required when individuals

have to operate in different cultural settings. Referring to the dyads in figure 4.1, it may be that Party B has to accept that Party A has a more confrontation form of communication (due to their different 'national' and 'gender' tiles) and therefore has to adopt this new form of behaviour in order to be able to function effectively. However, it can be expected that the extent to which the new cultural norm is different from the individual's cultural norm, the more difficult the adaptation process will be (Black and Mendenhall, 1990). Given that positive cultural cues facilitate adaptation and negative cues can prevent it (Cheng et al., 2006), the emergence of this scenario is dependent on the degree of cultural distance between the two parties and their perception of the salient cultural cues.

The fourth and final scenario is the possibility of creating a new, shared cultural identity between the dyads (Dietz et al., 2010). Where certain tiles from each party may self-organise into the creation of a common identity (i.e. corporate identity) that induces similar values and behaviours in both parties. For instance Parties A and B from figure 4.1, through their self-organising Organisation tile, can create a shared organisation identity that enables them to behave in accordance with the organisation values and code of conduct. Thus providing them with similar behavioural manifestation of 'organisational culture'. Although, the emergence of this scenario may require the renunciation of the dominant tile if the values induced by the dominant tiles are in conflict with the values induced by the new self-organised tile, and this undermines the role of the dominant tile (Chao and Moon, 2005).

Nevertheless, regardless of which route this process follows, it can be inferred that in order for either state to emerge and result in breakthrough, parties have to undergo a process of adaptation or modification of behaviour, be it to accommodate the other party, to accept their differences or to identify shared cultural identities. All of which requires a degree of openness, flexibility and cultural awareness (Earley and Peterson, 2004, Molinsky, 2007, Shapiro et al., 2008). To this end the following section is aimed at discussing the moderating role of individual's cultural intelligence on interpersonal interactions that take place in a cultural setting that is unfamiliar to the individual (Earley, 2003, Ang et al., 2007).

THE MODERATING ROLE OF CULTURAL INTELLIGENCE IN TRUST DEVELOPMENT

In the early 2000's the concept of cultural intelligence (CQ) was introduced to provide researchers and practitioners with a method for the scientific study of cross cultural interactions (Triandis, 2008). Cultural intelligence is defined as an individual's capability to function and manage effectively in culturally diverse settings (Ang and Dyne, 2008, Ang et al., 2007), and provides insight as to why some people function more effectively in culturally unfamiliar situations than others. Considering that cultural intelligence is specifically focused on capabilities to grasp, reason and behave effectively in situations characterised by cultural diversity, it is considered as a multidimensional construct that consists of four dimensions (ibid).

Metacognitive CQ refers to an individual's level of awareness during cross-cultural interactions and involves a higher-level cognitive strategy that allows individuals to develop new heuristics for social interactions in novel settings (Ang and Dyne, 2008). Therefore those individuals that acquire high levels of metacognitive cultural intelligence are aware of the cultural preferences and norms of other societies (ibid). It can thus be inferred that high metacognitive CQ can influence interaction in the opening stance stage of the trust development process seeing as in this stage parties are forming judgments regarding observed behaviours based on their cultural background. For example, the trustor's awareness of the fact that behavioural displays of trust may differ in different cultural settings may prevent negative assessments made in relation to the trustee's displays of ability, benevolence or integrity which may differ from the trustor's expectation.

Cognitive CQ refers to the individual's level of knowledge regarding other cultures, including norms, practices and conventions. Given the multiplicity of cultural knowledge, cognitive CQ encompasses cultural universals as well as culture specifics. For example while honesty can be considered as a universal determinant of trustworthy behaviour, the importance of punctuality may differ across cultural settings. Hence it is expected that those who acquire high cognitive cultural intelligence have knowledge regarding etic and emic determinants of trustworthy behaviour.

Motivational CQ reflects the individual's motivation to learn how to function effectively in different cultural settings and behave in accordance with what he/she knows to be suitable.

It is considered as an important part of cultural intelligence seeing as it is the source that drives adaptation. It can thus be inferred that those with high motivational cultural intelligence will be intrinsically motivated to either adapt to or accept cultural differences that arise in the trust development interaction (Dietz et al., 2010).

Behavioural CQ is concerned with the capabilities of the individual to exhibit appropriate verbal and nonverbal actions when interacting with others from a different cultural background or when situated in different cultural settings. Therefore while having the motivation, knowledge and awareness to function effectively is an important part of cultural intelligence, the behavioural displays are what serve the grounds for judgment seeing as inferences are made often from verbal and non-verbal behaviours and gestures (Ang and Dyne, 2008). It can be suggested that behavioural cultural intelligence can influence the early encounter stage of the trust development process and allow for the breakthrough of trust to occur given the misunderstandings that may emerge as a result of cultural differences among the two parties.

Few recent studies have examined the role of cultural intelligence on individual level outcomes such as adaptive performances, expatriate effectiveness, and strategic leadership (Mannor, 2008, Kim et al., 2008), as well as its mediating role on group level outcomes such as diverse teamwork effectiveness, managing diverse teams and its effect on interpersonal trust in multicultural teams (Moon, 2010). A study conducted by Rockstuhl and Ng (2008) on 40 project-teams comprising 259 members examined whether the effect of dyadic-level cultural diversity on interpersonal trust is moderated by the level of CQ that the members possess. Their findings revealed that members with higher metacognitive and cognitive CQ reported higher trust in their culturally different partners.

Although these few studies provide insight as to why certain individuals with higher levels of CQ are more effective in managing and operating in different cultural settings, and how CQ can increase the performance of culturally diverse teams, their conceptualisation of cultural intelligence is a snapshot of the individual's state, given that the examination of cultural intelligence on individual-level interactions are relatively recent (Triandis, 2008). To this end, it becomes evident that in order to reap the benefits of the moderating role that this construct has on individual and group level performances in culturally diverse settings, one also needs to understand how individuals who have higher levels of cultural intelligence have acquired it and how those who don't have it can do so (MacNab and Worthley, 2012). For this reason, one of the aims of this research is to look at how

individuals who display a higher level of cultural intelligence draw from their past experiences and cultural tiles in order to establish higher levels of trust with their respective counterpart, and to examine the extent to which the various dimensions of cultural intelligence can influence each stage of the trust development process.

INTEGRATING THE FRAMEWORKS

Figure 4.3 provides a representation of a dyadic interaction between individuals who have their own cultural mosaics and engage in a trust development process. Each mosaic is composed of demographic, geographic and associative tiles pertaining to the relevant party, where some tiles (i.e. Profession, Age, Organisation, etc.) may be shared between the dyads.

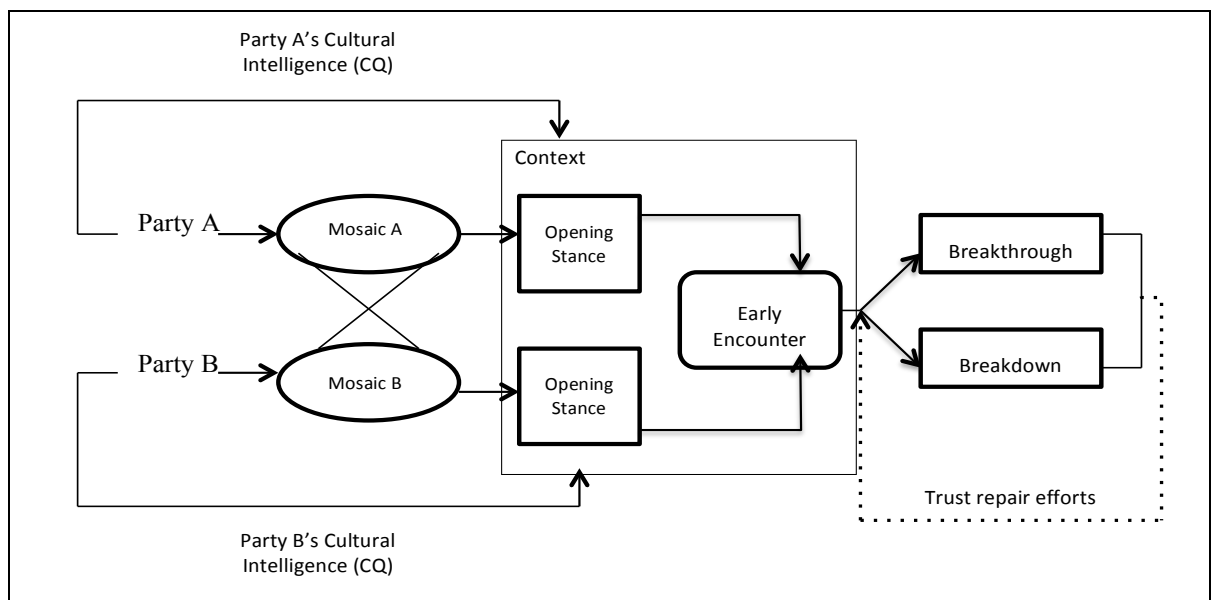


Figure 4.3: Cross-Cultural Trust Development Process

As discussed in the previous section, each party's cultural intelligence (CQ) and its multiple dimensions are likely to impact the trust development process. Figure 4.2 shows that cultural intelligence influences the Context under which the Opening Stance and Early Encounter stage takes place in given that Context involves the individual's cultural preconceptions (Ang et al., 2007, Dietz et al., 2010). As interaction continues between the dyads that are influenced by their multiple cultural tiles, they can either achieve a state of breakthrough (one of the four scenarios discussed in the earlier section), alternatively if they fail to reconcile their differences and identify shared cultural identities the process will result in the breakdown of trust. Trust repair efforts may be undertaken if the parties wish to form an enduring relationship or further develop their current relationship.

CONCLUSION

This chapter examined how trust can be developed across dyads from different cultural backgrounds. Drawing from Chapter Two that revealed the construct of trust, its antecedents and outcomes and the stages of its development, and Chapter Three which provided a definition of culture, its various facets and how it influences behaviour, and how multiple memberships require a conceptualisation that encompasses the individual's adoption of multiple cultural identities when examining cross-cultural interactions (Mosaic Metatheory). This chapter showed how culture influences the trust development process and in so doing, set the scene for the aims objectives of this research.

Having reviewed the literature pertaining to the examination of cultural influences on trust, this chapter initially discussed how various facets of culture influences individual's disposition to trust, assessment of other party's trustworthiness and trusting behaviour (Mayer et al., 1995). Yet, given that individuals can adopt multiple cultural identities due the influence of their multiple cultural tiles, it remained unclear which of these identities was being taken into consideration. Moreover, it revealed that these influences have predominantly been examined through the national dimension of culture, thus using nationality as a proxy for culture and associating trust-related behaviours with the individual's national cultural identity. Providing a gap in the literature regarding how other cultural dimensions (i.e. Organisation, Profession, Background, Age, etc.) can influence trust related behaviour and how it is assessed in dyadic interactions (Dietz et al., 2010).

Subsequently, this chapter provided a critical review of the frameworks that examined cross-cultural trust development. This led to the identification of each framework's contribution to theory and practice as well as their limitations. In sum, the limitations associated with the previously adopted frameworks were their use of nationality as the proxy for culture (Doney et al., 1998), their failure to take into account the influence of culture on emotional and rational sources of trust (McAllister et al., 2006), undermining the influence of culture on trusting beliefs prior to interaction (Johnson and Cullen, 2002), as well as providing a dichotomy between 'high-trust' and 'low-trust' cultures based on nationality and assuming that interaction only takes place between two 'high-trust' or 'low-trust' individuals (Zaheer and Zaheer, 2006).

In order to address these limitations, the five-stages trust development framework proposed by Dietz et al. (2010) was presented as the adopted framework given that it

considers culture as a multidimensional construct thus allows for the examination of its multiple dimensions (tiles) on the various dimensions of trust. Figure 4.2 provided a representation of this framework.

The following section of this chapter addressed the moderating role of individual's cultural intelligence on the trust development process (Triandis, 2008). With the aim of examining whether high cultural intelligence can facilitate and enhance the various stages of trust development among dyads who come from different cultural backgrounds, this chapter discussed the four dimensions of this construct and how they can influence the process (Ang and Dyne, 2008). Where metacognitive cultural intelligence may be more influential in the opening stance stage, cognitive and behavioural cultural intelligence can influence the early encounter stage, enabling breakthrough to be achieved. Finally motivational cultural intelligence underlies all dimensions and influences the individual's motivation to adapt to or accept cultural differences.

Overall the integrated framework (Figure 4.3) provided the theoretical foundation for the examination of how the mosaic conceptualisation of culture in conjunction with the five-stage trust development process can allow for the disentanglement of cultural complexities underlying behaviour that directly and indirectly influence assessments of trustworthiness, and how trust can be developed as a result of the interaction between two parties with multiple cultural identities (Chao and Moon, 2005, Dietz et al., 2010).

Having provided the theoretical underpinning of my objectives, the following chapter will examine the epistemological, ontological and methodological approaches that were undertaken in order to address these aims and objectives.

CHAPTER 5 : RESEARCH DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describe the qualitative and quantitative approaches undertaken in order to examine the process of trust development between dyads with dissimilar cultural backgrounds. It will begin by providing an overview of the objectives that required the undertaking of a mixed method approach. This will be followed by the ontological and epistemological stance underpinning methods of the collection and analysis of data. Subsequently, with the aim of adopting a mixed method approach, it will discuss the design and conduct of quantitative followed by qualitative methods. This chapter will conclude with the stages of data collection and frameworks for within-case and across-case analysis. This chapter will lastly outline the limitations associated with the applied methodology.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The inherently complex and multifaceted nature of the concepts of culture, trust and influence of culture on trust combined creates a complex system that is greater than the sum of its parts (Gleick, 1987). A complex system is considered to be dependent on its initial conditions (ibid). In line with this perspective, the aims of this research is to unravel the complexities of culture as it is experienced and operationalized by individuals in their social interactions based on the framework provided by Chao and Moon (2005). This framework not only taps into the micro building blocks of an individual's culture but also allows for the identification of salient, independent and converging cultural tiles in relation to contextual factors.

Little is yet known regarding the influence of cultural differences as well as the similarities in relation to individual's cultural tiles and their role in dyadic trust relationships, as well as the dynamics between the various types of tiles and their effect on the various forms of trust (Saunders et al., 2010b). To this end, the aim of this research is to examine the trust process in culturally diverse settings taking into account the role of the antecedents of trust, the conditions under which trust is formed as well as the type of trust as an outcome of the process. On an individual level, I seek to understand how individuals perceive their own as well as their counterpart's trustworthiness and what role do their trusting beliefs and

assessments regarding their counterpart's trustworthiness play when displaying (dis)trust related behaviours. The condition under which the trust process is examined requires that particular attention be given to the impact of various cultural tiles in each of the abovementioned objectives.

In line with the objectives relating to the trust process, the framework developed by Dietz et al. (2010) was deemed to be most suitable to apply as it was developed on the premise that trust is a cyclical, non-linear process influenced by various contextual and situational factors. Moreover, that trust occurs in stages and although each stage may not be divisible, as they tend to merge based on a particular encounter, event or a change in situational factors, it is nonetheless achievable to explore the factors enhancing the process or conversely deteriorating it. Whether those factors are attributable to internal elements such as the trustor and the trustee or whether they are a result of external influence are open for exploration. Most importantly however, by addressing the issues relating to cultural gaps in the 'context' stage (refer to Figure 4.2), the framework allows for the complexities of culture to be taken into account in each stage.

The examination of the literature regarding cross-cultural trust development and adopting the five-stage trust development framework elucidated the significant role of individual's cultural adaptation and its influence on the enhancement of cross cultural interactions (Molinsky, 2007). Therefore when designing the method of data collection, the element that determined an individual's adaptive motivations and behaviours were added (Triandis, 2008, Earley and Mosakowski, 2004, Ang and Dyne, 2008). This was done with the aim of understanding whether individuals who display certain levels of cultural intelligence can draw from their previous experiences and cultural tiles in order to establish higher levels of trust with their respective counterpart. This can enable the improvement of activities introduced by the organisation for training purposes in order to enhance and perhaps catalyse the trust development process across various organisation levels (Earley and Peterson 2004). In sum, the research objectives are to examine the impact of the below constructs on the cross-cultural trust development process:

1. Individuals' cultural identity and the cultural tiles they perceive as having the most impact on their trust relating behaviours.

2. Individuals' disposition to trust, their assessment of their counterpart's trustworthiness, factors leading to the decision to trust/distrust as well as behavioural manifestations of trust.
3. The role of governing contextual factors and individual's cultural intelligence.

The following section will be designated to the ontological and epistemological stance underpinning the research methodology and analysis. As it can be inferred from the objectives of the research, adhering to commensurable research philosophy was a challenging task, given that some aims (i.e. individual's disposition to trust) pertain to objective examination of a construct whereas others (perceived cultural identity) require a subjective and interpretive approach. To this end, the following section will discuss the reasoning behind the adopted philosophical stance and why it was considered to best serve the research interests.

ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

"All theories of organisation are based upon a philosophy of science and a theory of society" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 1). Ontology refers to our assumption about the essence of the phenomenon under investigation and raises questions that are concerned with whether reality is external to the subject under investigation or whether it should be regarded as the product of the mind and consciousness. Epistemology is concerned with the nature of the knowledge itself and therefore raises questions relating to how we acquire the knowledge about the phenomenon under investigation (ibid), and whether we regard the social world as dualistic/objective and or transactional/subjective (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

There are however, several assumptions held between reality as a projection of human imagination and reality as a concrete structure. Moving from the subjective end of the spectrum to the objective end there lies various classifications of how reality can be construed and what our relationship is to that construction (i.e. reality as a social construction, a symbolic discourse, contextual field of information or reality as a concrete process/structure). This transition however, from one typology to the other is considered to be a gradual one and it may well be that advocates of any given position try to incorporate insight from others since adopting one view will result in the undermining of others (Morgan and Smircich, 1980). Furthermore, the subjective-objective taxonomy is itself

said to be socially contrived, obscuring the nature of the research and creating conflict between qualitative and quantitative research (Deetz, 1996). The following debate regarding the application of one paradigm to constructs such as culture and trust exemplify the mentioned limitations.

The Interpretivist Paradigm

The interpretive paradigm is concerned with understanding the world as it is experienced by its social actors and seeks subjective explanation that lies within the realm of consciousness. The problems associated with conflict or domination are not given much attention to in this paradigm considering that it is not clear whether these conflicts are real or a subjective understanding of reality (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Examining culture within this paradigm implies that culture is a product of the mind, a root metaphor that is internal to the organisation and a product of interaction among individuals and the organisation (Smircich, 1983, D'Andrade, 1981, Morgan, 1997). It is a mode of thought and contains various forms of externalisation which can be socially distributed to a population (Hannerz, 1992b). Culture then should not be seen as a bounded whole, rather an unbounded bundle of ideas, knowledge and beliefs that are continually being contested and regenerated (Cronk, 1999).

However, the disadvantages of adhering to this taxonomy are that having a purely interpretive perspective on culture will prohibit the use of the mosaic metatheory since culture would not be seen as an objective reality that can be broken down into various tiles, where the aggregate of tiles reveal an individual's culture (Chao and Moon, 2005). It would also undermine prior research regarding the impact of culture on trust seeing as assumptions held regarding culture were based on the premise of cultural objectivity (Hofstede, 1983, Doney et al., 1998).

Examining trust from an interpretivist paradigm also provides certain advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are that firstly, it is in line with the intention of the study given that part of the aims are to elicit and explore how trust is developed, how it is enacted, how individuals understand the other party to be trustworthy, and how they assess the other party's trustworthiness. Thus seeking an understanding of how trust and its multiple dimensions are interpreted and understood by the actors (Bryman, 2001).

The disadvantages are that despite the fact that the nature of trust remains contested and the debates regarding its etic and emic determinants and consequences exist, the level of trust, the trustworthiness of individuals, as well as the disposition to trust can nonetheless, be measured. This suggests that scholars predominantly see this construct as an objective reality. Nevertheless, the various forms of trust can be associated with different levels of objectivity/subjectivity. For example trust as a belief is subjective though trust as a decision and action is objective (Dietz and DenHartog, 2006).

Overall, the *how* questions pertaining to the construct of trust are better answered through the interpretive lens (Bryman, 2001). This paradigm also allows for the unravelling of the complex construct of culture, given that it is a concept which has proved to be indefinable by cultural theorists and has given way to debates regarding its dimensions as well as providing researchers with limitations when applying those dimensions to cross cultural studies. This perspective facilitates the reduction of complexity by allowing for culture to be seen as a way individuals make sense of *their* world and how *they* operationalize their culture in social interactions (Tsoukas and Hatch, 2001). Revealing meanings ascribed to specific events, behaviours and circumstances as well as providing further insight into contextual factors (Soin and Scheytt, 2006).

The Functionalist Paradigm

The functionalist paradigm is rooted in regulation and provides explanation for order, consensus and social integration. It also allows for the generation of knowledge that can be universally applied (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). From this perspective, culture can be seen as constructs that exist independently from the mind of social actors. It is a multidimensional system that has a causal relationship between other organisational variables (i.e. strategy, technology, etc.) and is shared among its members (Schultz and Hatch, 1996). Cross-cultural researchers often adhere to this view, as it enables them to develop relative positions by which various nations can be compared (Hofstede et al., 1990, Williamson, 2002).

The conceptualization and measurement of trust as an outcome can be better understood and dealt with within the functionalist paradigm. Given that by allowing the different forms of trust (belief, decision and action) to be measured independently, one could identify the effect of each form on the level and type of trust as an outcome.

Epistemologically however, the investigator and the investigated are expected to be independent of each other and inquiry should remain bias free in order to reflect the imperfectly apprehensible “truth” (Healy and Perry, 2000). Thus, the implications of adhering to this paradigm are twofold. First, considering that the effects of culture can be better understood when seen as a gestalt created by a combination of elements (Gibson et al., 2009), and that the aim of the research is to explore the effect of culture on the development of trust, it seems appropriate to apply the frameworks provided by Chao and Moon (2005) and Dietz et al. (2010) in order to meet these aims. Second, the overall objectives are not purely in line with this perspective considering that the aims of this research are to examine the frameworks whilst answering the *how* questions as previously discussed.

In sum, from the comparison between the interpretive and functionalist paradigm it becomes evident that wearing the lens of incommensurable paradigms can impose various limitations on the approaches taken to meet the objectives of the research given that adhering to one paradigm will cause the undermining of the other. This will consequently result in the attainment of knowledge limited to that paradigm and forsaking knowledge outside those realms. In order to overcome this limitation, and better address the qualitative and quantitative objectives of this research which required examining the constructs of culture and trust through both lenses, the view of ‘paradigm interplay’ has been adopted and is discussed as follows (Schultz and Hatch, 1996).

Paradigm Interplay

The idea of the paradigm interplay, which is the simultaneous recognition of both contrasts and connections between functionalist and interpretive paradigms, has been introduced for those organisation studies that could not have been easily placed in one paradigm. Contesting the view that paradigms are incommensurable, Schultz and Hatch (1996) propose that cultural studies can benefit from paradigm crossing given that “*this strategy enables researchers to transpose the findings from studies conducted in one paradigm into the theoretical frameworks offered by another therefore allowing the researcher to move back and forth between paradigms so that multiple views are held in tension*” (p: 535). What this strategy assumes is the permeability of paradigms’ boundaries which allows for the simultaneous recognition of stability and instability, clarity and ambiguity, generality and contextuality. This approach addresses what organisational trust scholars posit as the

need for simultaneous recognition of etic and emic determinants of the interplay between culture and trust (Saunders et al., 2010b).

Adopting the perspective of the paradigm interplay allows for the construct of culture to be simultaneously regarded as a general, predefined universal framework and as a contextually emergent construction of meanings. It will be possible then, to assume that culture contains both clarity from a categorical point of view and holds ambiguity from an associative perspective. Furthermore, the interplay between the static views of culture represented by both functionalist and interpretivist paradigms allow for culture to be studied as both stable and instable. This means that convergent views permit the description of singular points of view about culture therefore resulting in stable representations, while divergent processes encourage emergent points of view hence undermining the stability of earlier representations.

Within the realm of the trust development process and through use of this approach, I can specify those etic and emic behavioural manifestations of culture that positively or negatively affect trust. Furthermore, trust as a mental state and a belief can be seen as subjective whereas trust as a decision (manifestation of belief) and trust as an action (consequence of belief) can be examined through a predefined set of questions that are cross culturally applicable (Gillespie, 2003, Mayer et al., 1995).

In line with the aforementioned perspective, the multi-method design has been adopted in order to address, to the best of my capacity as a novice researcher, the etic and emic issues relating to dyadic trust development in the context of a culturally diverse organisational setting. Bearing in mind that the dichotomization of approaches to research is oversimplified, their appropriateness is contingent upon the nature of the subject being studied (Morgan and Smircich, 1980). To this end, the following section of this chapter will illustrate the adopted methodology, with attention given to sampling, instrumentation and procedures (Rudestam and Newton, 2007).

MIXED-METHOD APPROACH: EMBEDDED DESIGN

In order to address objectives of the research pertaining to measuring dimensions of trust (i.e. predisposition, assessment of trustworthiness and trusting behaviour), individual's cultural mosaic and cultural intelligence through objective means, as well those objectives aimed at addressing the *how* questions relating to the effect of culture on the development

of dyadic trust between two parties, a mixed-method approach has been adopted. This method is in line with the paradigm interplay as it assumes multiple realities and enables the adoption of multiple worldviews (Creswell and Clark, 2007). Given that it encourages the design of qualitative and quantitative methods that best address research objectives, adopting a mixed method approach enabled me to combine methods of data collection in order to address my research questions that could not be addressed using one method alone (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998).

Mixed method approach involves the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data whereby the combination of the two provides a better understanding of the research problem than either approach alone (ibid). For instance, where the intention was to seek elaboration, enhancement, and clarification of how cultural tiles influence behaviour, adhering to a qualitative approach was regarded as appropriate, whereas identifying which tiles the individuals would consider as most influential required a quantitative approach. Although Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) propose various methods of combining the data, the most suitable method for this research was the 'embedded design'. This approach implies that one type of data is embedded in, and provides support for the main type of data, therefore enabled me to combine the collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data within a qualitative research design, where one dataset (in this case quantitative data) provided a supportive role, and was 'embedded' in the primary (qualitative data) dataset.

Adhering to this methodology resulted in the following classification of my research aims. Objectives that were addressing the *how* questions such as the operationalization of culture, the process of adaptation, the effect of individual's culture on trust and the trust development process were approached using qualitative methods of inquiry (i.e. interviews) (Silverman, 2006). Objectives that were concerned with the detail aspects of culture and trust such as the individual's dominant tile, their assessment of their counterpart's trustworthiness, their disposition to trust, their level of cultural intelligence, etc. required the application of quantitative measures (i.e. surveys) due to the nature of the construct (Sekaran, 2003, Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). This decision regarding the sequence in which the different types of data should be collected was made based upon the role the primary and secondary data played in addressing the aims of the research. The

next section of this chapter will illustrate the methods of data collection, the instrumentation, and measurement characteristics.

DATA COLLECTION

Quantitative method of inquiry

Generally, a survey provides a numeric description of a trend, attitude or opinion of a population where a sample representing that population is chosen for the study and in this case addresses the research objectives pertaining to individuals' attitudes and behaviours towards trust and trustworthiness as well as their cultural mosaic. (Bryman, 1989). This method of data collection entails the systematic collection of data via questionnaires from a unit of analysis and usually at a single point in time (ibid). Although defining the dependent and independent variable, the appropriate sample size as well as the direction of their causality is a common procedure in designing quantitative methods of inquiry, it does not serve a purpose for the attainment of particular objectives of this study. The adoption of this method which arose out of the first pilot study (see Pilot study) enabled me to collect specific variables via questionnaires in order to provide support and direction for the main objectives of the study. In this case, it also allowed for the systematic gathering of demographic information about the respondents as well as certain attitudes regarding the influence of culture on trust that could not have otherwise been obtained.

Traditionally, attitudes regarding intra-organisational² trust have been measured using numerical scales (Dietz and DenHartog, 2006). A number of scales have been developed which measure various dimensions of trust in the organisational context (Rousseau et al., 1998). However, considering that trust is a multidimensional construct, if one aims to understand how trust is developed among dyads, it becomes imperative to capture its form, content and the situational constraints governing the interaction, additionally, the particular referent (the partner being trusted) should also be identified (Dietz and DenHartog, 2006).

In addition to the measurement of the construct of trust, the concept of cultural intelligence is one that also requires measurements via numerical scales (Earley, 2003). Cultural intelligence is a construct measured on an individual level, although its role on individual level outcomes has only recently been examined (Kirkman and Shapiro, 2005, Kim et al.,

² Trust between employees and supervisors/managers, or among co-workers (Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006)

2008, Mannor, 2008). To this end, with the aim of tapping into the participant's cultural intelligence (Third Research Objective) via questionnaires, I was able to further inquire into its operationalization and its effect on the trust process during the interview.

Since the development of the cultural mosaic metatheory, a systematic scale that can identify the application of the framework has not to date been established, however, the authors themselves put forward a number of propositions relating to the framework where certain propositions are intended for individual level research (Chao and Moon, 2005). Building on these propositions with the intention to avoid inserting bias when testing this framework, the decision was made to develop a matrix where the respondents could rank the extent to which they felt the tiles had effect on their trust related behaviours

In sum, the application of the cultural mosaic metatheory to the five-stage trust development process requires the undertaking of the following measures. Firstly, the identification of each respondent's disposition to trust, assessment of counterpart's trustworthiness and willingness to trust their counterpart, secondly the identification of their cultural intelligence and thirdly their cultural mosaic (composite of tiles and those that are dominant). Details of the scales used for the measurement of each construct mentioned will be discussed in the subsequent section of this chapter. Some scales such as predisposition to trust and individual's cultural intelligence were originally developed on a five-point scale but were converted to a seven-point scale in order to increase the accuracy of the opinion being projected (Sekaran, 2003).

Design of the questionnaire

Measuring trust

As previously mentioned, measuring the construct of trust included the measurement of its below component where the appropriateness and relevance of each measure has been discussed in the review of the literature. Reliability charts for each measure are presented in Appendix 3.

General predisposition to trust: The eight-item measure which was adapted from NEO-Personality Inventory Revised and tapped into respondent's attitudes towards trusting the general other (Costa and McCrae, 1992). In comparison to other measures of predisposition to trust (i.e. Rotter, 1967, Johnson-George and Swap, 1982, McKnight et al.,

1998), this measure considers predisposition to trust as a personality trait that is subject to change over time and is in line with the perspective undertaken in this research. On a seven-point scale, respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed with each statement such as: I have a good deal of faith in human nature; I think most of the people I deal with are honest and trustworthy. Where 1= strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree. The Cronbach's alpha measure of reliability for this study was =0.761.

Assessment of their counterpart's trustworthiness: The 17 item scale adopted from Mayer et al., (1995) measured the extent to which respondents agreed to their counterpart's ability, benevolence and integrity. This measure was adopted due to its clear distinction between the three dimensions of trustworthiness as discussed in the review of the literature pertaining to dimensions of trust. This measure has been proven to be consistent, accurate and replicable across studies (see McEvily and Tortoriello, 2011 for complete review). Respondents were asked to rank the extent to which they agreed with statements such as: My counterpart is very capable of performing his/her job (ability); my counterpart really looks out for what is important to me (benevolence); my counterpart has a strong sense of justice (integrity). Where 1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree. The Cronbach's alpha measure of reliability for this study was = 0.912.

Willingness to trust in relation to their particular counterpart: The 10 item scale adopted from Gillespie (2003) measured respondents' degree of reliance and disclosure to their respective counterpart. This was the only measure that considers behavioural manifestations of trust as an individual's degree of reliance and disclosure and was developed as part of the Behavioural Trust Inventory with the aim of addressing prior gaps in the literature regarding measurement of trusting behaviour (see Gillespie, 2003 for complete review and validity measures). Respondents were asked to rank the extent of their willingness to adopt behaviours such as: How willing are you to rely on your counterpart's task-related skills and abilities; how willing are you to share your personal beliefs with your counterpart. Where 1= not willing at all, 7= very willing. The Cronbach's alpha measure of reliability for this study was =0.7.

Measuring individual's cultural intelligence

Individual's cultural intelligence: The 12 item measure derived from Early and Masakowski (2004) was used to tap into the individual's motivational, cognitive/metacognitive and behavioural cultural intelligence. Thus addressed the four

dimensions of cultural intelligence discussed in the previous chapter. In comparison to the measure developed by Ang and Van Dyne (2008), this measure, whilst addressing the same dimensions, was specifically developed for organisational members operating within the organisation context. Hence was deemed to be more suitable for the purpose of this research and was considered appropriate given the organisation context under which this research was taking place. This measure asked respondents to rank the extent to which they were motivated to adapt to a different lifestyle, their confidence in dealing with people from a different culture, as well physical enactment of adaptation such as altering their body language, their speech, etc. Lastly, it measured their degree of cognitive awareness when encountering individuals from a different cultural background. Where 1= strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree. The Cronbach's alpha measure of reliability for this study was = 0.658³.

Identifying individual's cultural mosaic

Data regarding specific demographic, geographic, and associative tiles of the cultural mosaic were straightforward to extrapolate. For example, respondents were asked to rank their age group and their highest level of education attained, and disclose their country of birth, their profession, what they considered their nationality to be-in the case where individuals were born in one country but held a different nationality- as well as their hobbies. Questions regarding what their political orientation was and what religion they adhered to were initially included but due to their considerable sensitivities, were eliminated after the questionnaire was piloted.

Identifying dominant tiles

In order to examine individuals dominant tiles on their culture, their work behaviour, their willingness to trust and the tiles they considered influential when assessing their counterpart's trustworthiness, a matrix was developed where the row comprised of associative (family, religion, profession, political affiliation), demographic (Age, nationality, ethnicity and gender) and geographic (coastal/inland, urban/rural) tiles. The columns composed of factors relating to their trust related behaviours such as culture, work behaviour and disposition to trust and respondents were asked to rank to what extent the tiles influenced their trust related behaviours (see Appendix 4). For example, if a

³ Although the alpha coefficient for this scale is below 0.7, the scores served the purpose of indicating the degree of respondent's cultural intelligence.

respondent felt their family or age influenced their predisposition to trust, they would rank it higher than other tiles. This would overcome the limitation of using nationality alone as a proxy for determining disposition to trust (Doney et al., 1998, Hofstede, 1991a). It should be noted however that while a prior definition of ‘culture’ was not provided for the respondents, the questionnaire briefly introduced the idea of the mosaic conceptualisation of culture. This was done in order to prevent the insertion of the researcher’s understanding of culture and allow for the emergence of the respondents’ definition and perception of culture.

Subsequently, respondents were further required to rank the tiles they felt influences their *assessment of their counterpart’s trustworthiness*. This section was divided into two parts. The first part required the respondents to rank the tiles in relation to themselves-for instance if they regarded their organisation culture as having the strongest impact on their judgment to trust their counterpart. The second part asked the respondent to rank the tiles in relation to their counterparts- the example being that if their counterpart’s age had a high impact on how trustworthy they assumed their counterpart to be, they would rank it as high.

Guidance regarding the procedure of completing the questionnaire was also included. Furthermore, in relation to the objectives of the research, respondents were specifically required to choose a counterpart from a different cultural background when filling out the questionnaire. Table 5.1 is an example of how the tiles were ranked in relation to trust related behaviours such as cultural identity, work behaviour, etc. It is evident that the respondent in the example below considered their Family tile as having the highest impact on their cultural identity (hence ranking it 11) and their Political affiliation as having the lowest impact (hence ranking it 1). Whereas Profession and Organisation were the highest ranked tiles on the respondent’s work behaviour (11, 10).

Respondents were directed to choose a counterpart from a ‘different cultural background’, which according to the mosaic conceptualisation implied that the counterpart could differ across any of the tiles (i.e. National, Organisational, Professional, etc.), thus any two individuals will have ‘cultural differences’ considering that they will differ across at least one cultural tile. Given this option, while the majority of respondents had chosen counterparts from a different national culture, thus equating culture with nationality, others tended to equate the term ‘counterpart’ with a colleague who performs the same function as the participant but rather in a different department, thus equating culture with

profession. Overall, cultural differences were associated with national and professional differences between the respondent and their chosen counterpart.

Table 5.1: Cultural mosaic matrix

	Family	Age	Ethnicity	Nationality	Religion	Profession	Hobbies/ Interests	Political affiliation	Organisation -Workplace
1)Your cultural identity	11	2	3	7	9	4	6	1	5
2)Work behaviour	5	4	3	7	9	11	2	1	10

Qualitative method of inquiry: semi-structured interviews

In line with the overarching objectives of the research pertaining to *the examination of the various facets of culture on the multidimensional construct of trust* (see Research Objectives 1 and 2), data collected via interviews served as the primary source of data. Although there are other forms of qualitative data collection (i.e. observation, focus groups) (Cassell and Symon, 2004), none of the alternative methods proved suitable for the purpose of this study mainly due to the sensitive nature of the subject under investigation. Interviews however, are considered to be one of the most common method of data collection in qualitative research that can provide subjective accounts of the trust process and have recently been used in the area of organisational trust (King, 2004a, Saunders et al., 2010a). In relation to my research, the interpretivist approach towards interviewing was adopted (King, 2004), where the text of the interview is not considered as ‘real’, but rather a projection of the interaction constructed within that particular setting and context. This was due to the fact that I was interested in the particular dyadic interactions which resulted in (dis)trust as an outcome and I had accounted for the governing contextual factors. This technique also supported the act of probing which was of paramount importance to the enhancement of the quality of the data extracted.

Conducting interviews required me to make an assessment of the setting, make the decision on how I should present myself, take action in locating the informant, establishing a rapport and framing the interview questions without over managing the discussion (Fontana and Frey, 1994). Having looked at the advantages of employing this technique as

well as the peripheries surrounding it, the next section will discuss what the interview aimed to elicit and how the interview questions were developed.

Design of the semi-structured interview

Considering that the majority of prior research conducted in the context of cross-cultural issues as well as areas regarding the construct of trust employed quantitative techniques, designing an interview deemed to be a difficult task. As previously mentioned, a recent wave of research on organisational trust had conducted interviews, demonstrating its strengths and weaknesses (Saunders et al., 2010b). Although, some of these studies such as Wasti and Tan (2010) and Smith and Schwegler (2010) took a bi-national approach whereas my intention was to discount for nation as a proxy for culture. To this end, I developed semi-structured interview questions based on my theoretical framework (see Figure 4.3). Being appreciative of the fact that the interview should not be a neutral conduit or a source of distortion, rather an occasion for producing knowledge and eliciting how meaning is constructed whilst making sure to take each respondent through the same journey (Silverman, 2006, Coolican, 2005, Patton, 1990).

In relation to the cross-cultural nature of the study, various additional factors needed to be taken into account whilst formulating the interview questions such as awareness regarding language differences considering that in a number of cases English would have been the respondents' second language (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996), understanding that the norms and values differ in different countries and organisations, hence questions needed to be formulated as bias free as possible. Also, I had to bear in mind that different symbols carry different meanings or in fact, one symbol can connote more than one meaning. With this in mind, I had to make sure the respondent and I were clear on what was being conveyed (Ember and Ember, 2009). (The Pilot Study section of this chapter discusses how these issues were addressed).

In order to tap into the issues relating to the cultural mosaic metatheory, open-ended questions were designed in order to elicit the individual's understanding of their cultural identity and how their dominant tiles (which were determined using the survey) affected their behaviour. Further prompts were used to extrapolate the role of independent or conflicting tiles. Subsequently, further open-ended questions were formulated based on each stage of the trust development framework developed by Dietz et al. (2010). Following

their sequence of the process, initially questions were related to the participant's first encounter with their chosen counterpart, their initial judgment about the trustworthiness of their counterpart and factors contributing to that thought (Opening Stance). This was followed by questions relating to their initiation to communicate and gather trust related information, interpreting trust related behaviours. In this section techniques of critical incidents were also used in order to capture any experiences that may have resulted in misunderstandings or conflict (Early Encounter) (Chell, 2004). Whether trust had been established or not and on what grounds was the next area of concern. Cultural awareness and manifestations of cultural adaptation were also taken into account for at this section of the interview (Breakthrough/Breakdown). Lastly, the level of trust the participant felt existed at that stage of the professional partnership was accounted for (Consequence).

The final set of questions regarded the participants' motivations to work in a culturally diverse setting, their adaptive skills and their recommendation for future practice were inquired.

Table 5.2 provides an overview of the link between the research questions, the interview questions and the theoretical framework shown in Chapter Four (see Figure 4.3).

Table 5.2: Interview Design

Interview Question	Cultural Mosaic & Stages of trust development	Reference to literature
1) How do these ranked (X, Y, Z) tiles affect your: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture • Work behaviour • Willingness to trust 	(1) <i>Context: pre-conceptions; preferred modes of thinking.</i>	Chao and Moon (2005)
2) What I found from your questionnaire was that you are generally a (trusting/cautious) person, why do you think that is?	<i>The effect of the dominant tile(s).</i>	Dietz et al., (2010)
3) What is trustworthiness to you? What do you look for when you want to trust someone?	<i>The factors contributing to trust.</i>	Gillespie (2003 & 2010)
4) Can you briefly tell me about your counterpart without giving names or revealing his/her identity? Why did you choose this particular counterpart?	(2) <i>Opening Stance: trust, active distrust, or suspended judgment.</i>	
5) Tell me about the first time you met each other? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What did you think of your 	(3) <i>Early Encounter: initiating communication; interpreting cues; testing</i>	

<p>counterpart at first?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were you familiar with his/her background? • What was your initial assessment and why? • What was the initial level of trust between the two of you? <p>6) How did you show that you are a trustworthy person to your counterpart?</p> <p>7) How did the relationship progress? Can you give an example of any misunderstanding or struggles you had to overcome in the process?</p> <p>8) What do you think are the most important factors that you and your counterpart share that may have helped facilitate the trust development between the two of you?</p> <p>9) How is the relationship now in terms of trusting one another? What would you say the level of trust is now?</p> <p>10) How do you feel living/working in a foreign country? <i>If applicable.</i></p> <p>11) How do you feel working with people from different cultures?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frustrated/ anxious/confused • Excited/pleasant/ motivated/inspired <p>12) Where does the cultural awareness come from for you? <i>If applicable</i></p>	<p><i>assumptions; modifying expectation.</i></p> <p><i>(4) Breakthrough/Breakdown: Type of trust.</i></p> <p><i>(5) Consequence.</i></p> <p><i>Contextual factors: Factors prohibiting or facilitating the cross-cultural trust development process.</i></p>	<p>Mayer et al., (1995)</p> <p>Dietz et al., (2010)</p> <p>Taras et al., (2011)</p> <p>Early and Mosakowski (2004)</p> <p>Molinsky (2007)</p> <p>MacNab and Worthley (2011)</p> <p>Gibson et al., (2009)</p>
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Having described the theoretical underpinning of the methods of data collection as well as methods undertaken in order to collect quantitative data via survey, coupled with qualitative data via semi-structured interviews, the following section will address the sampling techniques and the approach undertaken towards gaining access to my relevant sample.

SAMPLING AND ACCESS

Setting

The research objectives guide the setting under which sampling occurs and it is important to describe this setting prior to describing the sampling techniques, given that the setting influences the techniques used (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Considering that the aim of this research is to examine trust development in a culturally diverse setting, data had to be collected from individuals who were operating in a culturally diverse context. Within the organisational context, I aimed to access multinational organisations that were specifically interested in the development of diversity across their organisational level. This created a mutual benefit for me as well as the organisation. Such organisations provided a pool of suitable participants given that these members were recruited from various countries and were required to operate in a multicultural setting. From the organisation's perspective, they would similarly benefit from the outcome of my research, and this would in turn facilitate the access being granted to me as a researcher. Considering that the intention was not to use *organisation* as a proxy for cross-culture criteria and that my intended level of analysis-aligned with the level of theory- pertains to the individual, I aimed at obtaining access to more than one organisation although this proved to be a very difficult task. (See Gaining Access for details). Furthermore, given that I viewed the objectives pursued in this research to be a stepping-stone for further research and inquiry on group and organisational level with implications for international management and leadership studies, I aimed at restricting the setting to 'organisations'.

I began conducting my pilot study at the University's International Office given that the individuals operating in that office came from different cultural backgrounds and had experience in working in different markets (i.e. North America, Canada, Africa, East Asia, etc.) conducting various activities such as marketing and recruitment, exchange programmes, offering international student support. Hence they were exposed to diversity and indeed, the office itself was an amalgamation of culturally diverse individuals (refer to Pilot Study for details).

The second phase of data was collected in a multinational organisation in Munich, Germany. With the intention of selecting samples on the basis of diversity across the various cultural tiles, I intended to gain access to an organisation in a different country. I was however, limited on the grounds of access, therefore having made various attempts at

obtaining access to various organisations that held the criteria mentioned above, my decision to conduct this research at the following organisations was partially driven by the access granted. Below are brief descriptions of each company.

Company A: is the leading integrated financial service providers worldwide headquartered in Munich, Germany, offering services in more than 70 countries. In relation to cultural diversity, “43% of managers at the top two levels are non-Germans and females represent 33% of the managerial positions. There are 39 different nationalities represented in our top management and 60 different nationalities working at the headquarters.” The average age of an employee is 38.7 with an average tenure of 7 years.

Company B Ltd.: is a global tourism company based in Munich, Germany. It is the fourth largest tour operator in Germany and the ninth in Europe. The company has over 2,500 employees and has subsidiaries in Australia, South Africa and Switzerland. The company is represented by 30 different nationalities and 70% of their workforce is female.

Company C: is a large reinsurance company that is headquartered in Munich, Germany. Their activities include risk management, asset management, reinsurance, main insurance, and health insurance. It has 47,000 employees operating worldwide and their global success is attributable to “an international approach to human resources management” In 2011, the company launched a Group-wide diversity policy and within that year, it reached a quota of 20.5% representing females considering its 3% employee turnover. Diversity is regarded as “an acceptance and value of differences between our employees...”

Company D: is a leading international Tobacco company operating in 58 countries worldwide with over 78,000 employees. The subsidiary in South Africa was established in 2003 with over 500 employees. Their offices are located in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

In the context of multinational companies operating in South Africa, workforce diversity is an outcome of the Employment Equity Act imposed by the Department of Labour after Apartheid (Labour, 2004). Although the companies operating in South Africa consisted of a culturally diverse workforce, the reason for acquiring this diversity proved to be different in relation to the German context mentioned above. This was due to the fact that diversity was not explicitly considered to be a source of competitive advantage but rather an inherent and inevitable feature of the organisation due to the governing regulations (Employment and Social Affairs, 2003).

Company E Group Plc.: is one of the largest Banking Groups established in the United Kingdom. The Group itself was formed in 2009 by bringing together many well-known brands in the banking sector. The company operates in 30 different international territories including South Africa. With the aim of having local presence in key locations, they have set up an office in Johannesburg that is comprised of a team of expatriates which provide services to customers living, working or travelling to Africa

Having provided the setting in which the sample was drawn from, the next section will discuss the sampling techniques used in order to access the participants from which the data was gathered from.

Sampling techniques

The overall nature of the study is an empirical, investigative study- the quantitative measures taken provide a supplementary role and are not intended to be generalized across the population (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998)- and so the sampling techniques adopted in this research are in line with qualitative techniques. Qualitative research entails work with a small sample of people in a given context (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Given the above, a purposive method of sampling was adopted where the sample was drawn from the abovementioned organisations and was based on the premise that this will allow for maximum correspondence between the research question and the relevant respondent (Bryman, 2004).

However, as is the nature of qualitative research where sampling methods tend to evolve as the fieldwork begins, the sensitive nature of topic of trust and the regulatory factors governing the aforesaid organisations led to the adoption of a convenience sampling approach. Although there are limitations associated with applying this technique such as the reduction of the representativeness of the data, it is however appropriate to use in order to increase sample size (Bryman and Bell, 2007). It also enabled me to recruit participants until saturation of data was reached seeing as data collection occurred in stages and preliminary analysis took place after each stage (ibid).

I was able to adopt this approach by obtaining access to the mentioned companies by initially corresponding with their Head of Human Resource Management and Group Diversity Manager. After having provided them with an executive summary of my research and what the process of data collection entailed (see Appendix 4), I was then granted permission to conduct my research with those potential employees who were

interested in participating in the research. Successively, the employees were contacted through the Human Resource Division or Group Diversity Manager of the relevant company and were given the option of participating in the research, should they choose to confirm, they then directly corresponded with me.

Although creating a variation across the sample (i.e. gender, education, position, nationality etc.) adds confidence to the findings, I was very limited in employing variation techniques considering that I was not given permission to contact employees myself and therefore had to rely on the variation that occurred across the participants who were willing to participate in the research (Miles and Huberman, 1994). I did however request that the key contact in the company take this variation into account when contacting their employees and managers across the organisation level.

Participants

Participants varied on the basis of the selection criteria set out by the objectives of the research. This meant that the respondents varied across a number of features such as age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, profession, organisation, educational background, etc. The common feature the participants were required to share was the experience of working in a culturally diverse organisation setting and responding to questions in regards to a chosen counterpart from a different cultural background. Table 5.3 presents an overview of the number of participants surveyed, 34 of which were subsequently interviewed given that 3 respondents out of the 37 that were surveyed were not willing to participate in the interview. Given that saturation of data had been established- this was detected as a result of the data analysis that was taking place alongside data collection- no further participants were required (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

The classification of respondents will be dealt with in more details in Findings Chapter Six and Seven.

Table 5.3: Data Collection Summary

		Germany		South Africa		UK		Total	
		Gender		Gender		Gender		Gender	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Level	Non-managerial	3	2	0	0	0	0	3	2
	Middle manager	8	5	8	1	1	6	17	7
	High-level manager	4	4	1	0	0	1	5	5
Education	High School	2	0	2	0	0	0	4	0
	Bachelors	3	1	2	1	0	6	5	2
	Postgraduate/Doctorate	8	8	2	0	1	1	11	9
	Professional Degree	2	2	3	0	0	0	5	2

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Age Range	26-30	2	5.4
	31-35	11	29.7
	36-40	16	43.2
	41-45	4	10.8
	46-50	3	8.1
	56-60	1	2.7
	Total	37	100.0

Gaining access to the sample

Obtaining access to the companies was of paramount importance in the data collection process and proved to be a very difficult task given the sensitivity of the nature of the study. Although various attempts were made in order to obtain entry in the relevant companies, the few mentioned above granted access. Obtaining access was an issue I had to reflect upon in the early stages of the methodological design, considering that I had to decide on my informants, how they would relate to my research and how I could establish trust as an external party to the organisation (Feldman et al., 2003). Additionally, this all had to be done within the appropriate timeframe of the research project. To this end, I was able to secure access by establishing contact via pre-existing networks and therefore was introduced to the gatekeepers as a trusting researcher. I further had to reflect upon the various cultural norms, behavioural norms, dress code, and acceptable codes of conduct in the company as well when coming into encounter with the respondents (Silverman and Marvasti, 2008).

I approached this by initially contacting the relevant gatekeeper in the company via email, I then introduced myself and provided a brief description of my research plan in addition to an executive summary which entailed the aims of the research and the methods of data collection with regards the timeline outlined by myself. This was then administered with the approval of my respective supervisors.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Due to the nature of qualitative research, which entails data being collected from human subjects, there are a number of ethical issues that need to be accounted for. The first issue relates to the previous section (obtaining access to the field) and involves remaining clear and open about the aims and objectives of the research when doing so (Silverman and Marvasti, 2008). Secondly, the conduct of qualitative research, namely interviews inevitably involve contamination of data with the values grounded in the beliefs of the researcher (ibid). In addition, cross-cultural research demands further reflection which not only should be accounted for throughout the design of the research but requires responsiveness throughout the process of data collection (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, Marshall and Batten, 2003). Nevertheless, there are overlapping guidelines that apply to all disciplines which will be discussed in further detail and in relation to the conducted research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005)

Informed consent refers to the fact that respondents should be granted full autonomy in participating in the research and have the right to be informed about the nature and outcome of the study (ibid). In order to comply with this code of conduct and as mentioned in the previous section, an executive summary of my research objectives and method of data collection was initially submitted to the relevant gatekeepers of the companies I was seeking to obtain access to. Subsequent to this, each respondent was provided with a description of myself as an independent researcher associated with my institution, as well as a brief summary of the research aims and stages of the data collection (the initial survey and the follow up interviews). Enclosed was also a section regarding the voluntary participation of the respondent and their right to withdraw at any time during the data collection process. They were also ensured confidentiality. Meaning that the data would be used strictly for academic purposes and will remain at the researcher's discretion. It was also important to provide them with my contact details should they have any further queries (see Appendix 4).

Ensuring privacy and confidentiality is an ethical code that provides safeguards for respondents against any unwanted exposure. Asking respondents to disclose personal, trust related information regarding their counterpart was a highly sensitive issue and therefore not only required the establishment of trust between the interviewee and interviewer, but also making sure that the identity of the interviewee's chosen counterpart remains anonymous to the interviewer throughout the interview process. Furthermore, ensuring privacy also meant that interviews could not be conducted with the dyadic pairs although this may have resulted in a richer dataset. To this end, pseudonyms had been created for each respondent and considering that they had disclosed their position in the company as part of the data collection process, company names also had to be kept anonymous.

There were instances where prior to conducting the interview with the respondent, I further had to describe the intention of the study and what I intended to do with the results, given that the subject of the interview was of sensitive nature and data protection, particularly in Germany, seemed to be of paramount importance.

A final issue regarding ethics is concerned with the accuracy of data being presented (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). With regards to the process of data collection-whereby questionnaires were filled out prior to the interview in the absence of the researcher- and in addition, respondents varied in their cultural background, various measures had to be taken into account in order to make sure what was conveyed to the respondent and similarly,

from the respondent to the interviewer was in fact, according to the interviewee, accurate. In so doing, the interview began by going over the participant's responses to the questionnaire and clarified any issues that had arisen. Furthermore, validation was sought from the respondents throughout the interview to ensure my understanding of their answer was a true representation of their stance.

THE STAGES OF DATA COLLECTION

Considering that a mixed-method design necessitates the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data, and in particular, embedded design involves embedding one type of data (in this case quantitative) into the other (qualitative data) (Creswell and Clark., 2007), it required for the data to be collected in various stages, where each stage took between 3-4 months. Having conducted purposive piloting which developed and enriched the adequacy of the design and instrumentation of the data collection, subsequent data was collected in a cyclical, recursive method where the outcome of each stage was used to further develop the next (Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) .

Pilot study: UK

The pilot study was conducted at a University's international office located in Northern England in order to examine a number of elements regarding the interview questions. Although the questions were founded in previous literature, they had been originally constructed. Therefore, piloting served as a tool that enabled me to determine whether the questions were being asked in a cohesive order, considering that the questions involved the participants' conceptualisation of their culture and following that, the stages of the dyadic trust development (ibid). It was also necessary to ensure that the language used was comprehensible and neutral for the respondent and whether certain questions required further prompting and if so, how would that effect the duration of the interview (Sapsford and Jupp, 1996, Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998).

Pilot interviews enabled me to change the order of the questions in a way that was consistent with the theoretical framework and provided a suitable template for the analysis in the later stages (King, 2004a). For example, it became apparent that it was important to first ask about respondents' general disposition to trust, and then inquire about their willingness to trust their particular counterpart. This allowed me to determine the difference between the respondents' general tendencies or specific situational factors

pertaining to their dyadic relationship which may have influenced the level of predisposition to trust. Also it was important to make sure that the order of the questions was in line with the stages of the trust development framework (see Figure 4.2).

The completion of the survey took place prior to the interview and in the presence of the interviewer. This was done in order to be able to determine if there were any modifications that needed to be done. As a result, it became apparent that certain clarifications and adjustments were required regarding the instructions that were provided for the respondent (see Appendix 4), as well as the re-phrasing of some of the words used in the questionnaire (Sapsford and Jupp, 1996). For example, the word ‘confide’ in the questionnaire relating to willingness to trust their counterpart’s was changed to ‘share’.

In retrospect, there were also occasions where my prompting led to the insertion of bias, becoming aware of this in the early stages of interviewing prevented the reoccurrence of this practice in the later stages of data collection (Sapsford and Jupp, 1996).

Fieldwork: Germany

The second stage of data collection commenced in Munich, Germany. Prior to the dissemination of the questionnaires among the respondents, I had to conduct a further pilot with the relevant gatekeeper of Company A in order to ensure that the questions being asked were in accordance with the Company policy. Having attained her approval, I then corresponded with participants via email in order to send them an electronic copy of the questionnaire and to schedule the follow up interview. All questionnaires were received and the corresponding interviews were scheduled prior to my departure to the field (Camic et al., 2003).

Although provisional plans were made regarding how I would approach the data collection, I had to allow for the flexibility required in conducting organisational research (Bryman, 1989, Sarantakos, 1993). Furthermore, considering that my presence in the ‘field’ was of limited time, I had to be aware that I would not be seen as an insider to the organisation and therefore have to abide by their regulations (Smircich, 1995).

Having familiarized myself with the codes of conduct of the ‘field’ under investigation (i.e. talking to the gatekeeper, reading about the company), each respondent’s completed questionnaire was then studied prior to the interview. This method was pursued due to the fact that although the interview questions were thematically in accordance with the

previously mentioned research outcomes, they were tailored to an extent to the response of that particular respondent in order to extract the depth required. For example if respondents had ranked their disposition to trust as high and their disclosure of personal information to their counterpart as low, they were asked to elaborate and explain the factors influencing this seemingly inconsistent configuration. Moreover, if respondents had ranked their cultural intelligence as high/low, they were also asked to describe the antecedents and outcomes of this. There were also occasions where the respondents expressed difficulty in filling out the questionnaire, this generally related to the fact that asking respondents to think retrospectively regarding the early stages of trust development proved to be a challenging task. In such cases, they were asked to give their feedback and express any changes they may wish to make to their responses.

It should be noted however that there were more respondents promised than delivered. As an external party to the organisations, I had not been given authority to contact employees myself and had to rely on the gatekeeper's contacts. And although the gatekeepers had assured me that they had contacted various departments, requesting their participation in this research, the respondents specified in the sample section were ones that had accepted this request.

Fieldwork: South Africa

The final round of data collection was conducted in South Africa, both Cape Town and Johannesburg, following a similar approach as above regarding preparations and the prior scheduling of the interviews. Arriving in Cape Town, I soon realized that not all participants were located in Cape Town itself. Because I did not have the means to travel to Johannesburg, I decided to conduct phone interviews via Skype and telephone with those respondents from Company D and E (Cachia and Millward, 2011).

The use of telephones as a tool for conducting qualitative interviews has been relatively under-explored. Having conducted face-to-face interviews, I further became aware of the importance of building rapport and making a good impression, particularly when discussing a matter such as trust (Mollering and Stache, 2010, Sarantakos, 1993, Cachia and Millward, 2011). Nonetheless, it has been suggested that in the case of semi-structured interviews, phone interviews can provide good quality textual data (Cachia and Millward, 2011). In order to ensure that a consistent quality would be maintained among the interviews conducted face-to-face versus the telephone, I initially had to brief the

respondent regarding my incapacity to meet them in person. Furthermore, I allowed for the conversation to be initially driven by the respondents by asking them what they thought about the questionnaire and topic of trust. Having put the respondent at ease, I then proceeded with the interview as per themes (King, 2004b)

A further amendment that was made to the procedure of data collection as a result of reflections from the previous stage was the alteration in the sequence of the interview questions regarding the interviews conducted in South Africa. This was done with the intention to examine the extent of interconnectedness among the cultural tiles and the trust development process. Therefore, the respondents were initially asked to give their own account of the process and subsequent to that, they were asked to discuss their dominant tiles and how they felt it influenced their behaviour (Bazeley, 2009; Fiske & Taylor, 2006). Although this provided an opportunity for contextual issues affecting the trust process to emerge, it did not impact the themes that were intended to be covered (King, 2004b).

RECORDING THE INTERVIEWS

Prior to each interview, I clearly explained that the purpose of recording was in order to ensure a precise transcription for further analysis (Bryman and Bell, 2007), and that the recording would remain at my discretion at all times. All but one interview was recorded with permission of each respondent (Bryman and Bell, 2007). The one interview that was not recorded was due to the lack of permission granted by the interviewee. In such instance, permission to take notes from the account was sought in the presence of the interviewee (ibid).

Interviews recorded at each stage had been transcribed prior to commencement of the next stage. This was done in order to facilitate the development and modifications of the interview guide, it further provided an opportunity for me to reflect on my interview skills and best practices for further conduction of the semi-structured interviews (Patton, 1990). In a similar fashion, a small number of interviews were transcribed from the first stage of data collection prior to proceeding with following stage, therefore the process of transcription was taking place in parallel with the data collection (Silverman, 2006). Having completed the data collection process, the next section of this chapter will provide an outline of the frameworks adopted in the process of data analysis.

FRAMEWORK FOR DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is concerned with the deconstruction of data into its ‘parts’ and the reconstruction of it based on the research question (Dey, 1993). In mixed-method research, the data analysis can occur at any point of the data collection process (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). However, data analysis consists of the six general procedures shown below, the first three will be dealt with in this chapter, and the remaining three will be discussed in more detail in Findings Chapter Six and Seven (Creswell and Clark, 2007).

1. Preparing the data for analysis
2. Exploring the data
3. Analysing the data
4. Representing the data analysis
5. Interpreting the results
6. Validating the data and results

Preparing Data for Analysis

Considering that the data collection comprised two forms of data, namely qualitative data via semi-structured interviews in conjunction with the pre-interview questionnaire, data preparation was done separately for each form of data (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). However, based on the employed data collection method (embedded design), I was required to briefly examine the questionnaires filled out by each respondent prior to their interview (Creswell and Clark., 2007).

Preparing data collected via questionnaires

During the data collection process

After receiving each respondent’s filled out questionnaire, I took note of the tiles they had ranked as having the highest impact on their culture, work behaviour, willingness to trust, etc. (Chao and Moon, 2005). These tiles were noted as the respondent’s dominant tiles. Further notes were made of their rankings regarding each scale (i.e. willingness to trust, disposition to trust, cultural intelligence, etc.) (Gillespie, 2003, Earley and Mosakowski, 2004). This provided a guide for further prompting during the interview process as it enabled me to understand the meaning participants attach to the situation and the conditions under which this is done (Richards, 2005). Considering that in cross-cultural

research, meanings and connotations differ from one context to another (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996).

An additional outcome of examining their rankings prior to the interview enabled me to address the rankings that were less coherent, thereby giving way to issues that had not been previously raised (Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, 2003). For example, if the respondent had ranked their counterpart Ability and Benevolence as high, but their integrity as low, this prompted me to inquire further into the reasoning behind this. Moreover, in the instance where the respondent had ranked certain features of their disposition to trust as high and other features of it as low or in some cases as neutral, I was able to examine the cause and implications of this in more depth.

After completing the data collection process

After the completion of the data collection, having brought together the completed questionnaires (n=37), the results from the scales were then entered into a statistical software designed for the Social Scientists (SPSS) (Sekaran, 2003). On par with the intent of the study and the role the quantitative data played in the embedded design, there was no intention to claim generalizability of the results (Creswell and Clark., 2007). The purpose of preparing the data for quantitative analysis was first to certify the internal validity of the measures adopted, secondly, to explore the dynamics between constructs of trust and cultural intelligence as this was a new avenue to be explored (Ryen, 2008, Rockstuhl and Ng, 2008). Although the quantitative results were not generalizable to the population due to sampling techniques, I was able to provide an indication to links and emerging patterns that were worth exploring when analysing the qualitative data. For example, Age was negatively correlated with trustworthiness, and in fact when conducting cross-case analysis it became evident that respondents believed they became less trusting as they got older.

Preparing data collected via interviews

Although there are various approaches to analysing qualitative data, the approach I have adopted is derived from my research design described earlier in this chapter (Silverman, 2006, Miles and Huberman, 1994). There are however common features that need to be addressed when analysing qualitative data regardless of the approach, which are the reduction of data into meaningful parts, displaying the data in an organized and compressed form and finally drawing conclusions and verifications from the data (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Template analysis

The term ‘template analysis’ does not refer to a single clearly defined method (King, 2004b), it is rather a technique which allows for the thematic organisation of textual data (ibid). Its suitability for the qualitative data analysis of this research is derived from the fact that firstly, it is supported by a variety of epistemologies, and secondly, that it provides the researcher with the flexibility required to tailor it, therefore using it in conjunction with other approaches (King, 2004b).

The most important reason for adopting this approach was due to the fact that it enabled me to link each theme to a corresponding stage of the trust development process considering that this method is suggested to work well when the “aim is to compare perspectives of different groups within a specific context” (King, 2004; p, 257).

Coding template

The term coding generally refers to the organisation of qualitative data (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Coding allows the data to be categorized according to the concepts of the research. Admittedly, it separates the data from its context and introduces a degree of sensitive interpretations that can be affected by bias in the analysis. Although I cannot claim I can eliminate this limitation, being aware of this has caused me to take measures in reducing it (Richards, 2005). Nevertheless coding can enable the researcher to conceptualize the data, raise questions about the data, and understand the relationship among and within the data.

Template analysis allows for the development of hierarchical codes within a case which can then be applied across cases (King, 2004b). This method of coding allows the researcher to analyse texts at varying levels of specificity, where “broad higher-order codes can give a good overview of the general direction of the interview, while detailed lower-order codes allow very fine distinctions to be made, both within and between cases” (King, 2004b; p, 258). On this basis, a coding template was developed in order to guide the coding process throughout the analysis of the qualitative data.

Considering that the interview questions were developed on the basis of my theoretical frameworks which followed the sequence of the trust development process (Dietz et al., 2010), each code corresponded with the relevant theme. Therefore the main questions serving as the higher order forms, and the follow-up questions and probes as potential lower order codes (King, 2004b). Table 5.4 below provides an illustration of how the

coding template was developed in line with the interview questions and stages of the trust development process. For example the response to first question pertaining to respondent's ranked dominant tile (i.e. having ranked Family as 11) would be coded as 'Dominant Tile'. The response to the third question pertaining to ' the factors the respondents look for when trusting another individual' would be coded as ' assessment of trustworthiness'.

Table 5.4: Development of the coding template

Interview Questions (examples)	Cultural Mosaic & Stages of trust development	‘A Priori’ Codes
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) You seemed to have ranked (X, Y, Z) tiles as the most important factors affecting your <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture • Willingness to trust • Work behaviour 2) What I found from your questionnaire was that you are generally a (trusting/cautious) person, why do you think that is? 3) What is trustworthiness to you? What do you look for when you want to trust someone? 	<p><i>Context: pre-conceptions; preferred modes of thinking.</i></p> <p><i>The effect of the dominant tile(s) on:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural identity • Disposition to trust. • General willingness to trust others. <p><i>The factors contributing to trust.</i></p>	<p>1) Dominant Tile(s)</p> <p>2) Assessment of Trustworthiness</p>

Following this process led to the generation of predefined codes known as ‘A priori’ codes (King, 2004b). ‘A priori’ codes are more descriptive and do not require much analysis. The aim of producing these codes is to organize the data in accordance with the interview topic and prepare the data for further detailed analysis (King, 2004b, Coffey and Atkinson, 1996).

Creating general and predefined codes was the first step towards organising the data into meaningful chunks. Using template analysis allowed me to categorise responses to each interview question under the relevant themes, for example ‘dominant tile on culture’, then compare all responses and generate higher order codes (i.e. Family, Organisation, etc.). The initial coding template below was created based on ‘A priori’ codes. Considering that coding is done for the purpose of analysis, it becomes necessary to go through the data as many times as required in order to move beyond descriptive to more analytical/emergent codes. Having done this, I was able to develop richer and more detailed interpretation of the data (Miles and Hubermann, 1994, Lyn Richards, 2005). Results of this will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

Initial Template for Analysis

1. Dominant tiles

- 1.1. Effect on trustworthiness
- 1.2. Effect on culture
- 1.3. Effect on work behaviour

2. Assessment of trustworthiness

3. Opening stance

4. Early encounter

- 4.1. Leading to breakthrough
- 4.2. Leading to breakdown

5. Outcome

- 5.1. Breakthrough
- 5.2. Breakdown

6. Role of cultural intelligence

7. Contextual factors

THE FINAL TEMPLATE FOR ANALYSIS

The initial template developed was based on the theoretical framework and lead to ‘A priori’ codes. This prepared the data for further content analysis (King, 2004b). Coding the data generated from interviews was completed in several stages. Initially all transcripts were coded on the basis of the initial template using NVivo software which is a qualitative data analysis software package designed for working with rich, text-based data. Having then grouped the data relating to each theme together, I further re-examined contents under each code to identify emergent themes which resulted in the second order codes (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). At this stage, I took account of all the topics mentioned by the respondents. For example, when asked what factors respondent regarded as trustworthy behaviour, I coded for “honesty”, “reliability”, etc. This was done with reference to relevant literature on antecedents of trustworthy behaviour (Mayer et al., 1995). However, referring back to the previous literature, I decided to present the codes that had in fact ‘emerged’ as opposed to codes that were confirming previous literature (Richards, 2005). For instance while ‘honesty’, ‘openness’ and ‘reliability’ had been previously reported as antecedents of trustworthiness, ‘interaction’ had not. Therefore I accounted for ‘interaction’ as an emergent code. This was done in order to illustrate the factors that emerged within the context of my

research (cross-cultural interactions) and to focus on rich, novel data rather than pre-existing data.

The following stages of coding were concerned with collapsing, merging and producing codes across cases. I was however less inclined to merge codes because the intention of the research was to explore the factors that participants regarded as influential in each stage of the trust development process, therefore the conditions under which codes were merged were when two different codes were referring to the same concept or when a code had decontextualized its content to the extent where it was not associable to the general theme (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). For example the code referring to the respondents ranked dominant tile(s) on culture needed to be merged with the second order codes such as Family, Age, Background, etc. due to the fact that while some respondents were able to distinguish their influence, other talked about their combined influence, thus separating the second order code in these cases resulted in the decontextualisation of this data.

It should be noted however that there were occasions where respondents referred to a concept in more than once themes. For example where respondents were asked to identify the cultural factors that influence their general willingness to trust, they would often claim that their 'family' was most influential, and when they were asked to identify the factors that influence their counterpart's trustworthiness, the term 'family' also came up. In this case 'family' is used in two different occasions and carries different connotations. Therefore, it could be that one label refers to more than one condition depending on the participants' conceptualisation of the term.

After completion of the coding template, inter-coder reliability was established in order to ensure the reliability and validity of the developed codes (Silverman, 2006). This was done by providing transcripts of four anonymous interviews as well as my coding template to two of my fellow colleague and requesting they code each transcript. This yielded to an overall inter-coder agreement with minor variances which related to higher order codes (i.e. what factors accounted for openness and what factors accounted for reliability, pertaining to my relevant literature). The final template illustrated below was developed as a result of the abovementioned processes. I subsequently used this template as my point of departure for further within-case and cross-case analysis of the data generated from questionnaires embedded in the semi-structured interviews (Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, 2003).

Final Coding Template

1. Dominant tiles

- 1.1. Effect on culture
- 1.2. Effect on work behaviour
- 1.3. Effect on disposition to trust

2. General Assessment of trustworthiness

- 2.1. Interaction
- 2.2. Past Experience

3. The development of high trust

- 3.1. Opening stance
- 3.2. Early encounter
- 3.3. Breakthrough

4. The development of mid-level trust

- 4.1. Opening stance
- 4.2. Early encounter
- 4.3. Breakthrough

5. The development of working-level trust

- 5.1. Opening stance
- 5.2. Early encounter
- 5.3. Breakthrough

6. The development of distrust

- 6.1. Opening stance
- 6.2. Early encounter
- 6.3. Breakdown

7. Contextual factors

- 7.1. Organisation factors
 - 7.1.1. Nature of the work
 - 7.1.2. Recruitment process
 - 7.1.3. Department/Team

8. Role of cultural intelligence

ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

Data generated from a mixed-methodology can be analysed in a variety of ways such that quantitative data can be subject to qualitative analysis (Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, 2003, Miles and Huberman, 1994). Considering that my aim of collecting data via questionnaires (quantitative data) was to embed this data into the qualitative data, providing a supportive role in the data collection process, I intended to carry that intent through to the analysis of the data. As mentioned previously in the ‘design of the questionnaire’ section of this chapter, quantitative data collected via surveys provided a basis and guide for further, in-depth inquiry via interviews. Thus, in the analysis stage, a qualitative method of data analysis was pursued in order to provide rich and detailed accounts of the trust process described by each case. In line with this rationale, Miles and Hubermann (1994) propose that since displaying large amounts of qualitative data can be cumbersome, researchers can explore and describe a ‘case’ as the unit of display and/or alternatively, extend this to the display of multiple cases in order to identify patterns and increase generalizability. To this end, two types of analysis were conducted, ‘within case analysis’ which refers to each case as the unit of analysis pertains to codes 1 and 2 of the abovementioned template. Findings generated from within-case analysis will be dealt with in more details in the Chapter Six. The second type of analysis is conducted ‘across cases’ and relates to the remaining codes of the template. This type of analysis was conducted in order to identify emergent patterns across all cases that pertain to the trust development process. The findings generated from cross-case analysis will be presented in Chapter Seven.

It should be noted however that in order to validate the data and my analysis of the data collected (Creswell and Clark, 2007), a summary of the findings discussed in Chapters Six and Seven was drafted and administered to all my participants. I then requested that they provide me with their feedback and whether or not they considered the findings as relevant and appropriate with their responses. The respondents who replied stated that they found the findings interesting and confirmed its relevance. One respondent stated, *“it’s interesting to see that building trust has nothing to do with having the same nationality”* (Valerie).

LIMITATIONS

The final section of this chapter will consider the limitations associated with the research design. I will discuss the various limitations firstly regarding the adoption of the paradigm interplay as an alternative to committing to a single paradigm. I will then discuss the limitations related to the application of a mixed methodology, namely qualitative and quantitative methods of inquiry. This will be followed by restrictions concerning cross-cultural research and those imposed by being in the 'field'.

Adhering to the notion of multiplicity of paradigms requires the researcher to constantly move between the two paradigms from the process of design all the way through to the process of analysis (Lewis and Grimes, 1999). This imposes a layer of complexity and divergent thinking to the data analysis which permeates the boundaries that would have otherwise been imposed by adhering to a single paradigm (Schultz and Hatch, 1996).

In addition to the limitations associated with a mixed-method approach as declared by Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) regarding its 'adolescence', the application of this methodology involves addressing the limitations associated with qualitative and quantitative measures taken. Qualitative research methods are prone to limitations that relate to generalizability, replication and researcher bias (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The aim of this research is not to provide generalizable accounts but rather new insight into the trust development process. Therefore the exploratory/explanatory nature of the research overrides the issues relating to generalizability. To overcome limitations regarding bias and replication, I attempted to refrain from taking a narrow view of the interpretive practice and therefore presenting the result as an interaction between participants, acknowledging that meaning is constructed through collaboration (Silverman, 2006). Inter-coder reliability was also established in order to overcome the limitations associated with validity and reliability of coding qualitative data as discussed earlier.

There are limitations that could not be addressed such as the rapport the interviewer needed to establish with the interviewees (conducting face-to-face and telephone interviews) in order for them to openly and willingly discuss trust related issues. As a result, some individuals were inherently more willing to share private and sensitive issues than others. As well as the approach undertaken in order to examine the mosaic conceptualisation, which required the researcher to refrain from providing a prior

definition of culture and cultural identity, allows for the emergence of respondents' own understanding of this concept therefore limiting its scope to their understanding.

Combining qualitative and quantitative techniques conditioned the justifiability of the sample size. Although saturation was detected, and accounts provided by the 34 respondents allowed for a rich and detailed analysis of qualitative data, it should be acknowledged that this number is not large enough to allow for the generation of significant quantifiable results. Furthermore, although purposive sampling is one of the most common methods of sampling in qualitative research (Miles and Hubermann, 1994), it resulted in unavoidable restrictions regarding gaining access. This was mainly due to the sensitivity relating to the topic of research, the regulations governing the sampled organisations, their company culture and their structure. Therefore as an external party to the organisations, I was subjected to interview participants from organisations that met the criteria and granted access to interview their employees. This also imposed limitations on the sample size.

There are also limitations associated with conducting cross cultural research such as utilizing constructs developed in Western culture and applying them to various other cultures, also the discrepancy between the meanings various respondents attach to constructs, words or phenomena (Harkness et al., 2003, Karasz and Singelis, 2009), to this end, the domain of analysis will never fully match the cultural knowledge of the native. The epistemological stance of the research however permits the etic and emic views to be transmitted and therefore making transparent those constructs which are universally held and those which are more specific. It therefore provides a guide to how meaning generated from interactions, narratives and procedures unfolds and what is being conveyed.

Conducting research in the 'field' also required a certain degree of flexibility on my behalf. Firstly considering that the topic of trust was sensitive in nature meant that I had to be content with the extent of information the respondent was willing to share subsequent to probing. As the employees may have been less willing to share personal, detailed trust related issues regarding themselves or their counterparts who in some cases were their bosses with the researcher. Additionally, adopting emergent techniques of data collection such as conducting telephone interviews instead of face-to-face interviews proved to be more time consuming for me though it did not jeopardize the quality of the data collected, as I will show in the following chapter.

CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed the methodological approaches that were undertaken in order to address the research objectives pertaining to the identification of cultural influences on dyadic trust development. It provided the ontological and epistemological underpinning of the research design, namely the paradigm interplay. This was followed by the adoption of a mixed method approach which led to the design, conduct and framework for the analysis of quantitative data embedded in the qualitative data. Having discussed issues relating to sampling, obtaining access and ethical considerations, the chapter concluded with how both types of data were prepared for within-case and across-case analysis of the data.

Having prepared the data for analysis, the following findings chapter will examine the process and outcome of within-case analysis and will be concerned with addressing the first research objective ‘examination of the cultural mosaic and the role of dominant tiles within an individual’. This will then be followed by the second findings chapter which is an outcome of cross-case analysis and will examine the trust development process across the cases in order to address the second and third research objectives ‘the stages of the trust development process’ and ‘the role of shared cultural tiles and contextual factors’.

CHAPTER 6 : FINDINGS- THE CULTURAL MOSAIC AND MULTIPLE CULTURAL IDENTITIES

INTRODUCTION

The findings generated from the data collected via questionnaires in conjunction with semi-structured interviews explore the trust development process among dyads from dissimilar cultural backgrounds. This chapter seeks to exemplify how adhering to the notion of multiple cultural identities within an individual allows for the identification of cultural influences on trust-related behaviours by taking apart the layers of one's culture to its various constituting components. Following this, it further aims to display how these components influenced the trust development processes which ultimately resulted in the declared level of trust between the dyad. It will finally examine how the contextual factors governing the dyadic encounters facilitated or hindered the process and outcome.

This chapter will present the findings pertaining to within case analysis of data (themes 1 and 2 in the coding template), therefore initially providing holistic accounts of each case in relation to the trust process. This will contain each respondent's cultural mosaic as well as data relating to their disposition to trust, the assessment of their counterpart's trustworthiness, their degree of willingness to trust their counterpart and their cultural intelligence. It will additionally illustrate their dyadic encounter and whether it led to the breakthrough or breakdown stage of trust. This is done in order to provide an overview of their multiple cultural identities and its influence on the process.

It will then explore, in more depth, the influence of these multiple identities on trust-related behaviours by examining how the dominance of one tile over the other, or the simultaneous activation of two or more tiles, can result in behaviours that are either seen as trustworthy-and therefore facilitate the trust development process-or conversely, are regarded as untrustworthy behaviour hence cause disruption to the process.

Overall, findings discussed in this chapter will address the first research objective which is: *'individual's cultural mosaic and the impact of the composite of tiles on trust-related behaviours'*. By providing evidence of how multiple identities influence the trust process the subsequent findings chapter, building on this, is aimed at addressing the variation of trust development patterns that emerged across the cases and identifying those patterns that

led to high, mid-level, working-level trust or alternatively distrust.

WITHIN-CASE ANALYSIS

The term ‘case’ refers to one respondent as the unit of analysis and encompasses the findings generated from their completed questionnaires as well as their account of the trust development process which were uncovered during the interviews. Therefore, within a case there are five elements that correspond with the template presented in Chapter Five and represent the phenomenon under investigation:

1. The respondent’s dominant tile(s): those tiles that the respondent’s ranked as having the highest impact on their behaviour.
2. Shared/discordant tiles with counterpart: those tiles that were shared between the dyads which enhanced the trust development process. Shared tiles imply that both parties (dyads) are influenced by that tile and that the tile induces similar values in the individuals. For example while dyads may not necessarily share the same profession, they share the value of ‘being professional’. Those conflicting tiles within an individual and across the dyads which resulted in the deterioration of trust.
3. The trust development process (opening stance, early encounter, breakthrough/breakdown)
4. Outcome: level of trust established as a result of the process.
5. Contextual factors: factors (other than cultural tiles) determined by respondents that directly or indirectly affected the process.

The following section will describe each case in relation to the abovementioned elements by presenting the results from the questionnaires in a table, followed by a brief description of their trust development account. This is done in order to show the influence of cultural tiles on the trust development process, therefore providing the foundations for subsequent analysis pertaining to the multiplicity of influences of the dominant tiles on individual’s cultural identity, work behaviour and willingness to trust.

Case-Level Description

This section will provide a synopsis of the overall research objective by presenting four exemplary cases that depict how respondents drew from their multiple cultural tiles in

order to develop trust with their chosen counterpart. In line with the proposition put forward by Dietz et al. (2012), where a certain level of trust has been suggested to emerge as a result of the various interplays of cultural tiles, these cases thus are illustrative examples of the variation that emerged across the process and are presented in order to show which tiles are activated when resulting in the four identified levels of trust as an outcome of this process. Although this method of analysis was conducted for all 34 cases, for the purpose of brevity, this section will refrain from displaying this for all of the cases.

Below is a description of each column related to respondents' data display tables that are presented in the following section (Appendix 1 provides a table comprising of all 34 cases).

1. Nationality: Refers to either respondent's country of birth or the nationality they have adopted as their national cultural identity.
2. Disposition to trust; Cultural intelligence (CQ); Trustworthiness; Outcome: The mean score (out of 7) pertaining to their rankings on the relevant scale. Descriptions of the scales have been provided in chapter five.
3. Dominant tile: Those tiles ranked by the respondent as having the highest impact on their culture, work behaviour, willingness to trust and their assessment of their counterpart's trustworthiness.
4. Shared tiles: Those tiles that were shared within the dyad and which were cited as influencing their behaviours in a similar way.
5. Conflicting tiles: In contrast to shared tiles, conflicting tiles are those that were cited as influential on behaviour but were incompatible within and/or across individuals.
6. Outcome: Refers to respondents' willingness to rely on and disclose information to their counterpart as a result of their interaction.

Illustration of individual cases

The following are illustrations of four cases that have analysed across the dimensions mentioned above, and each case is representative of an identified level of dyadic trust. While the first case represents high-developed trust, the second case depicts mid-level trust, the third case shows how trust is developed on a working level and the final case is a representation of that absence of trust and the presence of distrust.

Case 1: Represents high trust

Table 6.1: Allen's case display

Nationality	Age	Disposition to trust	Counterpart's trustworthiness (Ability, benevolence, integrity)	CQ	Dominant tiles ⁴	Shared tiles	Conflict tiles across	Outcome= willingness to trust (reliance & disclosure)
German	36-40	5	Ability=6.17 Benevolence=4.6 Integrity= 5.33 Total= 5.37	5.42	1: Family, U/R ⁵ 2: Prof, Org, Family 3: Family, U/R 4: Family, U/R, Nationality 5: Hobbies, Org 6: Family, U/R	Family Organisation Profession Hobbies	Politics	Reliance= 5.4 Disclosure= 5.4

Allen is an international coordinator for company C in Munich. He provides an account in relation to his white South African counterpart based in the Company's subsidiary in Johannesburg. Their allocation to a joint project required Allen and his counterpart to travel between Munich and Johannesburg. He states how initially he was not very willing to trust his counterpart due to unclear aims set out by the organisation, nevertheless his first encounter with his counterpart appeared to positively influence Allen's willingness to trust him despite their apparent differences. Allen's Family and Urban Background as dominant tiles on his cultural identity and his willingness to trust have influenced his decision to positively assess his counterpart's trustworthiness, he describes how from his Family he has learned '*not be too suspicious but also seek the truth*'. Additionally, from growing up in a multicultural environment he has learned to '*develop an interest in people from different cultures*' and '*to interact accordingly*'. This is also reflected in his reasonably high cultural intelligence score in the above table (5.42). Therefore the combination of the influence of these tiles has resulted in Allen's initial positive assessment of his counterpart's trustworthiness in the presence of ambiguity regarding organisational aims.

When describing his first encounter he states "*I saw a white South African with an Afrikaans accent, assuming he's an ex-racist of course*" and "*for political reasons we completely crossed*". However he was able to overcome these apparent differences, firstly

⁴ Elements described in more detail in the Method chapter: 1= cultural identity; 2= work behaviour; 3= general willingness to trust; 4= Assessment of your own trustworthiness; 5= Trustworthiness of the 'other' person; 6= Trustworthiness of the other person (based on your own attributes).

⁵ U/R= Urban/Rural Background

due to the sharing of organisational values which led both parties to perceive the situation as “*either winning together or losing together*”. For this reason Allen made a conscious decision to initially rely on his counterpart’s task-related abilities (ability is ranked higher than benevolence and integrity). Although it is important to note that the trust displayed by Allen towards his counterpart in this stage was reciprocated by his counterpart. This reciprocation not only confirmed Allen’s assessment of his counterpart’s trustworthiness, but also allowed for further development to follow suit. “*I wasn’t sure about how the whole thing would develop, and not sure if I would go in there [project] with my name on it, if the two of us could deliver? But we were working on the same task and we worked pretty good together in how we accomplished these tasks. We said OK, you do this part and I do that part and we brought the stuff together at the end and see what we can produce from it. I brought information from my side and he brought from his side so it really worked well*”. The importance of adhering to organisation values and successfully completing the task can also be inferred from his ranking above where Organisation and Profession tiles are ranked as most influential on his work behaviour. A second factor that further enhanced this process was the identification of commonalities, “*what I found to be quite important is to have common topics to talk about*” says Allen. Through further interaction, both parties were willing to share personal information which led them to the identification of Hobbies and Family as shared common tiles. “*Well, we spent some time in the office together and he was talking about his family, he was talking about what he does in his spare time and what kind of music he likes and all these personal things. We could find some attachment points. I could say we soon began to share stuff like DVDs, talking about rugby results, so that kind of helped us find a common place*”. It can be inferred from this statement that although trust was initially built on the foundation of completing common tasks, it was further developed based on identifying and accentuating shared cultural tiles such as Hobbies and Family values.

Evidence from Allen’s statement suggests that this encounter led to the breakthrough of trust where differences were overcome by initial willingness to trust, reciprocation of initial displays of trust (reliance) and the identification of shared identities. “*Personally I had a good feeling when first talking to him, and the trust developed more and more, he invited over for braai (barbeque), we went to see a rugby game and stuff you do in SA. And that was lovely from a personal base and from a professional base*”. The equally scored levels of reliance and disclosure supports this statement that Allen not only relies on his

counterpart's task-related abilities, but also is willing to disclose personal and sensitive information to him. This would suggest a relatively high level of trust between this dyad.

Case 2: Represents mid-level trust

Table 6.2: Helen's case display

Nationality	Age	Disposition to trust	Counterpart's trustworthiness (ability, benevolence, integrity)	CQ	Dominant tiles	Shared tiles	Conflicting tiles	Outcome = willingness to trust (reliance & disclosure)
German	26-30	4.6	Ability=6.5 Benevolence= 4.6 Integrity= 4.6 Total= 5.2	6	1:Family, Age 2: Age, Profession, Organisation 3: Age, Family, Organisation 4:Family, Organisation, Age, Profession, Hobbies 5: Family, Age, Profession 6: Age, Profession	Organisation Profession	Age	Reliance=6.2 Disclosure=4.6

A second illustrative example is Helen, a Staff Operation Qualification Manager working in Company A's regional subsidiary in Munich. She displays a high level of cultural intelligence (6) and states that her degree of openness and awareness towards other cultures are a result of her own cultural identity, which in turn is influenced by her Family and her Age (past experiences), having lived in three different countries. *"I grew up in a tiny city but we had neighbours from all around the world around us, and my family was able to give me the experience to be open minded. And age, because I used to live in the United States and Spain, so age is important for me because it was during the last 10 years that I had those experiences"*. Her work behaviour and willingness to trust have been influenced by a number of concordant tiles that reinforce each other. Age meaning her personal experiences and her professional development which came about from her experiences having worked in various countries as well as the different organisations she has worked for have all, in accordance, led to Helen remaining open minded towards individuals from various cultural backgrounds, enabling her to postpone initial judgments regarding the assessment of other's trustworthiness.

Her account is in relation to her superior in her previous workplace whom she states *'was not an easy person to work with'*. His role as a mentor for Helen caused her to initially rely on his work-related judgments, hence the high ranking of ability. On the other hand, his

inability to reciprocate Helen's initial trust in his ability and to show reliance towards Helen caused her to have some reservations in terms of the further development of trust. Meaning that there was a disproportionate display of reliance between Helen and her counterpart which prevented the further development of trust at this stage. *"First of all, because he was my senior he had much more knowledge than I had and he was willing share the knowledge to a certain point, and he was also able to help me develop myself within the business area which was important for me too. However, he had his own way to do things which sometimes was too difficult to work with. For example, he had his opinion and this was the most important opinion of all and he was not very willing to think about the opinion of others or to say: 'maybe we should consider that'".* What enabled Helen and her counterpart to overcome this barrier to trust development was their mutual adherence to Organisation values, which meant that they both had to produce results that best suited the organisation.

To this end breakthrough was achieved when Helen decided to take the following action: *"my solution was to yell back at him. I got the impression that nobody else ever dared to yell back and it was a new situation for him and that's why he thought about it and then he came back and said 'OK I got your point, let's go from here' and that was it; we were able to work quite good after that". He was very settled in his ways and I was able to rattle his own experience and that's why he trusted me more and I was able to trust him more after that.*

According to Helen, the reason this method proved to be successful in this particular interaction was due to their degree of cultural awareness within the realms of the organisation, such way that, *"we both lived abroad so we were both used to dealing with different cultural mind-sets and we were both able to quickly analyse a situation and react to the situation and make the best out of that so that helped a lot, he got the feeling that I'm fair in what he's telling me".* Overall, shared Organisation and Profession tiles were able to overcome the conflicting Age tile and result in a high level of reliance yet lower level of disclosure. The trust that developed as a result does not seem to extend beyond the professional and organisational boundaries although within those confines, she regards it as relatively high.

Case 3: Represents working-level trust

Table 6.3: Dave's case display

Nationality	Age	Disposition to trust	Counterpart's trustworthiness (ability, benevolence, integrity)	CQ	Dominant tiles	Shared tiles	Conflicting tiles	Outcome= willingness to trust (reliance & disclosure)
Swiss	36-40	4.1	Ability=5 Benevolence=3.6 Integrity= 2.6 Total= 3.7	5.2	1:Family, Nationality 2-6: Profession, Organisation	Organisation	Profession	Reliance=5.2 Disclosure= 1.6

The third exemplary case is Dave. He is the Human Resource Director for Company D and is based in the company's subsidiary in Cape Town. The Multinational had entered the South African market through an acquisition of a local company where Dave, coming from the acquiring company became responsible for the region's Human Resource department. Therefore he was required to understand the regional culture as well as facilitate the acquired company's transition from their previous practices to Company D's acceptable practices. In this regard Dave says *"we have a big multinational company with a lot of rules, in term of rules and work ethics and how you deal with people, so we have what you call a code of conduct and basically some of the things were not something that I would have liked to see in the Company. Our code of conduct is not tailor made for South Africa, it's something that's ruling the behaviour that we have planned throughout the Company's work"*.

Having always worked in multinational companies, he states how based on his past experiences within diverse contexts, the only factor affecting his work behaviour and his willingness to trust others comes down to 'professionalism'. *"The people I work with, I don't care about their political affiliation or their religion or other stuff. As I said, for me it is not important if they're affiliated with a certain branch or if they're Muslims or Christians because ranking that high would be discrimination. I'm much more pragmatic, it's who they are, what is their job"*, and given this context trust development for Dave is *"I think the most important thing is being open, being fair and not being afraid of saying what's not going well"*.

As a result of the influential tiles on his cultural identity he states that it's important for him to separate his cultural identity from his work behaviour, *"maybe because I'm too Swiss, so basically work is work and home is home"*, associating his cultural identity

(Nationality and Family) with his identity at home and his work behaviour with his degree of professionalism (Profession) in the workplace.

His counterpart, who comes from the acquired company, is now his direct subordinate. Having worked together for the past three years he states how it has taken a long time for them to '*understand where the other is coming from*'. Dave's neutral disposition to trust (4.1) meant that initially, he was not willing to trust his counterpart and as a result had to monitor and control all proposals that his counterpart was drafting, making sure there was a balance between personal interest and the Company's interest. Under these circumstances both parties had to adjust their behaviour and expectations. Dave had to understand the South African work behaviour and make sure his counterpart was adhering to the Company's work behaviour. He says "*I mean I have my own style so I think the first impression was neutral and we had to start working, there were a couple of things that I had to adjust to because it was not according to the way we should work in the company but besides that I think it was OK*".

These adjustments, which are derived from sharing organisational values, caused Dave to assess his counterpart's trustworthiness as relatively high in relation to his abilities (5) but low across the benevolence (3.6) and integrity (2.6) dimensions. The low rankings are subject to governing contextual factors seeing as according to Dave, his position as a Human Resource Director required him to balance various interests, therefore increasing the risks associated with displaying trust related behaviours. When combined with Dave's initial low disposition to trust (4.1), it resulted in his low assessment of his counterpart's overall trustworthiness (3.7).

In sum, the governing contextual factors which pose high risks to the dyadic trust development in addition to Dave's low willingness to trust has resulted in Dave's willingness to rely on his counterpart's task based abilities with the absence of a willingness to disclose information to his counterpart. Shared Organisation tile enable this dyad to display a minimum level of trust in order to be able to work together.

Case 4: Represents distrust

Table 6.4: Gale's case display

Nationality	Age	Disposition to trust	Counterpart's trustworthiness (ability, benevolence, integrity)	CQ	Dominant tiles	Shared tiles	Conflicting tiles	Outcome= willingness to trust (reliance & disclosure)
American	31-35	4.5	Ability=5.3 Benevolence=2.4 Integrity= 4.6 Total= 4.13	4	1: Family, Nationality 2: Family, Organisation 3: Family, Religion 4: Family, Organisation 5& 6: Organisation, Family	None	Profession Organisation Nationality	Reliance=4.6 Disclosure= 3

The fourth and final illustration represents a case of distrust. Gale was born and raised in the United States and recently moved to Germany to pursue her professional development. She has been an employee of Company A for the past year and works as a Business Development Manager in a culturally diverse team. She is highly influenced by her Family upbringing in various aspects of her life. She states: *“my family I think really shaped my views at a young age so before I was influenced by anything else it would have been my family views that I took on first. And my values came from my family, anything that’s comfortable and how I feel at home, so that all came from my family. Then when I left my home or left my city, I think I would look for people who had similar values or a similar way of living, nationality and ethnicity the same because to me that’s where your culture comes from”*. The rankings above further confirm the strong influence of Family seeing as it is also ranked in conjunction with other tiles (Nationality, Organisation and Religion) on her work behaviour and her willingness to trust others. However, she mentions that prior to moving to Germany, she was more willing to trust and had a higher disposition to trust due to the influence of her Religion and Family, *“willingness to trust definitely comes from my family and then my religion, again it goes back to that’s where I felt comfortable, that’s where I learned to interact with people, that’s what I set my standards, so when people act differently to what I was used to at home then I would immediately not trust them”*.

Her low disposition to trust is due to the discrepancy between the influence of her Family tile and Organisational tile. Meaning that from her family, she has learned to be trusting, whereas operating in the organisation (considering that it’s a different environment and not in accordance with her standards) has caused her to be cautious, therefore resulting in low

willingness to trust. Under these conditions it can be inferred that her Organisation tile, by maintaining its independence has resulted in 'role conflict' where individual values discord with expected work behaviour (Chao and Moon, 2005).

Her counterpart is her team leader, which according to her has the highest culture gap with Gale. Stating that although few other team members are German, they have had exposure to other cultures whereas her counterpart is according to Gale 'very German'. Influenced by her Family and the Organisational values, Gale displays behaviours of what is according to her a willingness to adapt to the organisational culture and completes the tasks required in such way that is expected from her. However, given the discrepancy between her previous workplace (in the States) and the current workplace (in Germany), she has not been able to display trust-related behaviours towards her counterpart (i.e. reliance) and accordingly perceives herself as not being regarded trustworthy by her counterpart. *"In his mind he might be thinking, "well you're capable of doing it and you're doing fine and if you need help you'll ask", for me though it just wasn't that extra offer of assistance that I'm used to. He doesn't trust me because he doesn't allow me to help him. He doesn't share what he's working on. There's no real tie, we don't need each other so there is no trust"*. The lack of shared tiles despite Gale's willingness and attempts to adapt to her current workplace has resulted in Gale's relatively high assessment of her counterpart's abilities (5.3, possibly due to his position in relation to Gale) but a low assessment of his benevolence (2.4) towards her and a relatively low assessment of his integrity (4.6). *"He's a hard worker, very intelligent and he does a good job and cares about providing good quality so we have similar values there. But when it comes to building a rapport with this person, I think no"*.

This case unravels the importance of the adaptation process for trust development. Gale, having ranked relatively low on cultural intelligence (4) displays behaviours that correspond with her willingness to adapt (i.e. reading books about Germany, in the process of learning the language). However she states that her attempts have not yielded positive results and believes that adaptation is a process that should be adopted by both parties as oppose to the foreign individual trying to adapt to the local environment. Nonetheless, the absence of shared cultural tiles and the presence of conflicting Profession and Nationality tiles have resulted in a breakdown of trust with low reliance (4.6) and disclosure (3).

Conclusion of cases

In sum, the four abovementioned cases were illustrative of how different levels of trust/distrust is developed across dyads with dissimilar cultural backgrounds based on their activation of their various tiles and the alignment/misalignment of those ranked dominant tiles across the dyads. While the first case exemplified the development of a high level of reliance and disclosure (high trust) based on multiple shared dominant tiles between Alex and his counterpart, the second case showed how a relatively high level of reliance but lower level of disclosure (mid-level trust) can develop on the basis of shared Organisation and Profession tile which is confined within the realms of the corporate interaction and does not exceed beyond that context and breakthrough is achieved based on the activation of shared dominant tile(s). The third exemplary case depicted how a relatively low level of reliance and disclosure (working-level trust) can be developed with the presence of both shared (Organisation) and conflicting dominant tile(s) and results in trust that is solely based on the other party's abilities within the organisation context. It also exemplified how governing contextual factors can influence the trust development process (which in this case increased the levels of associated risk hence impeding the process) where breakthrough is achieved by parties' displayed degree of adaptation. The final example depicted a case of distrust where the presence of conflicting tiles and the absence of shared tiles did not allow for trust to be developed among the dyads despite efforts to display a degree of adaptation. These cases also revealed how individuals adopt different cultural identities given the influence of governing contextual factors and the respondents' degree of cultural awareness. The example of Helen, Dave and Gale depicted how they adopted the organisational culture in order to be able to develop trust with their counterpart and achieve breakthrough (although in Gale's case this attempt was not successful).

Overall, the four cases and findings from all 34 cases support the mosaic conceptualisation of culture and show that individuals can and do perceive their culture as a combination of the various associative, demographic and geographic tiles, with some tiles dominating others in various stages of the trust development process (Chao and Moon, 2005). Thus showing that the cultural mosaic framework is evident, and participants and the researcher could differentiate the aspects of the different tiles. This supports the content and face validity of the method that was undertaken in order to examine the cultural mosaic and its applicability to the cross-cultural trust development process (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

Table 6.5 below shows the ranked dominant tiles across all 34 cases. These were tiles that were considered by the respondents as being most influential on their cultural identity, their work behaviour or their disposition to trust. For instance from the table below it is evident that 31 out of 34 respondents considered Family as being a dominant tile, while only 1 respondent considered Political Affiliation as being a dominant tile.

Table 6.5: Dominant Tiles Influencing Behaviour

Respondent	Ranked Dominant Tiles										
	Family	Age	Ethnicity	Nationality	Religion	Organisation	Profession	Hobbies	Political Affiliation	Urban/Rural	Coastal/Inland
Alex	X			X		X	X	X		X	
Albert	X	X									
Brigitte	X	X				X	X			X	
Chris	X	X	X	X		X					
Claire	X	X		X		X	X			X	
Ela	X	X								X	X
Franz	X	X	X	X						X	
Frederick	X	X	X			X	X				
Gale	X			X	X	X					
George	X					X	X			X	
Gregor		X		X		X	X			X	
Helen	X	X				X	X	X			
Henry	X	X				X	X				
Jan	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			
Joseph	X			X			X				
Nicole	X			X		X		X			
Ruth	X	X				X	X			X	
Simon	X	X		X	X	X	X			X	
Stine	X	X		X		X	X				X
Sabrina	X	X				X	X				
Siegfried	X			X		X	X				
Valerie	X				X	X	X			X	
Vicki	X	X			X	X	X				

Respondent	Family	Age	Ethnicity	Nationality	Religion	Organisation	Profession	Hobbies	Political Affiliation	Urban/Rural	Coastal/Inland
Claudio	X	X		X		X	X				
Bheki	X	X			X	X	X	X	X		
Dave	X			X		X	X				
Dan	X					X	X	X			
Edwin	X		X	X				X			X
Edward		X				X	X				
Hammond	X		X		X	X	X			X	
Jakob	X	X	X			X	X				
Pearl	X	X			X	X	X				
Steve	X	X		X		X	X	X			
Thabo			X	X		X	X				
Total (Out of 34)	31	22	8	17	7	29	27	8	1	11	3

THE ROLE OF DOMINANT TILES

As shown in the four exemplary cases and Table 6.5 in the previous section, some tiles such as Family, Organisation, Age and Profession were ranked more often than others as influencing individuals' behaviours. These ranked dominant tiles either reinforce each other in order to create an identity that is consistent across contexts and situations. Or contradict each other, resulting in behaviour that is contingent upon situational factors, whereby an activation of a particular tile results in behaviour derived from that tile (i.e. activation of Organisation tile results in the adoption of the values induced by the Organisation), hence the dominance of the values induced by that dominant tile on the individual's behaviour in that particular setting.

Given the activation of multiple tiles and their combined influence on individuals' behaviours, the subsequent sections will unravel, in detail, how the ranked dominant tile(s) influence respondents' trust related behaviours. Prior to providing a detailed description of how each tile and multiple tiles in conjunction influence behaviour, it provides an overview of the various configurations that emerged as an outcome of the multiple ranked dominant tiles in Table 6.6.

The "Influence on" column refers to the ranked dominant tile(s) on culture, work behaviour and disposition to trust and the frequency column (Freq) refers to the number of respondents who referred to those compositions of tiles. For example the first row shows that 6 respondents considered Family in conjunction with their Urban/Rural background tile as being most influential on their cultural identity. While 11 respondents considered their Organisation in conjunction with their Profession influencing their behaviour in the workplace, and 4 respondents considered Organisation and Profession as influencing their disposition to trust. The following section will discuss how these ranked tiles influenced respondents' culture, work behaviour and disposition to trust.

Table 6.6: Compositions of dominant tiles

Freq	Influence on cultural identity	Freq	Influence on work behaviour	Freq	Influence on disposition to trust
6	Family+ Urban/ Rural background	11	Profession + Organisation	4	Profession + Organisation
6	Family+ Nationality	3	Age + Profession+ Organisation	3	Family + Urban/Rural background
4	Family	2	Age (experience) + Profession	3	Family + Age
4	Family+ Nationality+ Urban/Rural background	2	Nationality + Organisation	3	Family + Organisation
2	Family+ Religion	2	Age + Organisation	3	Family + Religion
1	Family+ Age+ Nationality	1	Profession + Organisation + Family	3	Family + Age + Nationality + Ethnicity
1	Nationality + Ethnicity	1	Organisation	2	Family
1	Urban/ Rural background + Organisation	1	Profession	2	Age + Profession
1	Nationality + Profession + Organisation + Urban/ Rural background	1	Age + Family + Nationality + Ethnicity	1	Family + Age + Religion + Organisation
1	Family + Age	1	Age	1	Family + Ethnicity
1	Family + Age + Organisation	1	Profession + Family	1	Family + Profession + Organisation
1	Ethnicity + Nationality + Hobbies	1	Family + Organisation	1	Family + Hobbies + U/R background
1	Nationality	1	Family	1	Family + Ethnicity
1	Nationality+ Urban/Rural background	1	Family + Age + Religion + Profession	1	Family + Hobbies + Organisation
1	Ethnicity + Nationality + Hobbies + Family	1	Family + Hobbies + Ethnicity + Religion	1	Age + Political affiliation + Organisation
1	Family+ Hobbies	1	Urban/Rural + Organisation	1	Age + Organisation
1	Organisation	1	Age + Family	1	Profession + Hobbies

Effect on Cultural Identity

This section describes how the ranked dominant tiles have influenced the respondent's cultural identity according to their own accounts of this influence. In so doing, it provides an understanding of the extent to which culture affects trust related behaviours by eliciting what is-according to the respondents- culture, and how their culture influences their behaviours.

Overall, the tiles that were ranked as having the highest impact on respondents' cultural identity were Family, Nationality, Background, Age, Organisation, Religion and Hobbies. A total of 26 out of 34 respondents ranked Family as having the highest impact on their culture, Nationality (16 out of 34), Urban/Rural Background (15 out of 34), Organisation (5 out of 34),

Age and Ethnicity (4 out of 34), Religion and Hobbies (2 out of 34). This suggests that demographic tiles serve a primary role in individual's cultural identity. Evidence based on findings below also suggest that the dominant tiles, when in accordance with each other can strengthen individuals' cultural identity and induce behaviour that is a result of the values derived from their cultural identity or conversely, when in conflict, weaken this association. The influence of the activation of each tile will be discussed in the following sections.

Family

Family emerged as the strongest determinant of individual's culture influencing their cultural identity in a variety of ways. Family on the one hand shapes behavioural norms by providing individuals with mental frames that indicate what is right and wrong and as their first point of reference, provides them with an understanding of what is to be expected from the external environment and how occurring events in this environment are to be interpreted. Sample quotes include:

"You grow up in your family, you see what your dad does, what your mom does, how they do it, how their surroundings do it and basically that's what I think tells you how your cultural identity will be" (Albert)

"Basically the environment you grow up in so the first conscious reflection of what is right or wrong is determined by your family and the family basically predicts this set of environments" (Ruth)

On the other hand it is considered as a value priority, a certain taken for grantedness that family is given priority over other aspects of one's life (i.e. career) and when/if this value priority is shared among individuals, it can create a perception of shared cultural values. This can in turn have various positive implications, as I will show in following sections.

"Well look, basically family for me is the most important thing and that's a cultural thing because family always goes first and everything else comes after. That's why I ranked it highly" (Edwin).

"To me family has always been important, I'm married now and I've got two kids and I live my life for them, the background that I'm coming from we've always been a close knit family,

or even if I can put it this way in the Coloured community which I've been classified as Coloured, family is very important to you" (Hammond)

"For myself it's very important because I think still the family is a kernel or the key for everything for the whole thing that this system works you need a family, the family stands for a lot of things" (Frederick)

The synonymous use of Family and culture and the reference to Family as the kernel of which culture is derived from not only reinforces the influence that Family has on cultural identity but also depicts how Family provides the bases for cultural sensemaking, which is how individual's attach values to behaviours and given that association, how they then interpret the behaviour of others. This process is then recreated from one generation to the next, which is how it comes to be shared among the relevant members as mentioned by Hammond.

Interestingly, despite the fact that the majority of respondents ranked Family as having the highest impact on their cultural identity, and believed it to be the most influential aspect of their culture, they were under the impression that this association was exclusive to them. They were not aware of how important Family values were to others as well and tended to associate this to 'their own particular culture or community'. Edwin, Hammond and Frederick present an example of how three individuals that come from different national backgrounds, are in different age groups and work in different organisations can all hold the same sentiments regarding the influence of their Family on their cultural identity. As a result of this implicit 'shared family tile' it can be suggested that these respondents in fact share Family cultural identity. This implies that individuals can acquire common value priorities and deeply held assumptions regarding cultural determinants with the 'apparent' culturally different other without being aware of this shared identity, and they can draw from this shared identity in order to establish higher levels of trust, as shown the case displays and discussed in more detail in chapter seven.

As presented in Table 6.6 and shown in the above accounts, it becomes evident that Family was predominantly considered as the central tile which not only effects behaviour directly but also when ranked alongside other tiles such as Nationality, Urban/ Rural Background, etc., can amplify their influence on culture and thereby collectively become determinant of individuals'

cultural identity and behaviours derived from their cultural identity.

The example below is from a respondent who ranked his Family in conjunction with his Nationality as having the highest impact on his cultural identity.

“It doesn’t matter where you are, you can have your family placed somewhere else, and it’s the more internal context than the environment context. I would have strong German culture I’m pretty sure, and for me family and nationality are pretty much linked” (Chris).

Family is the first immediate environment where Chris’s culture was derived from. However, given that his Family hold national values, Nationality as a cultural tile is also activated and influences Chris’s cultural identity. This statement also shows the prevalence of Family tile over Nationality tile where Family can be considered as independent from situations therefore always dominating his cultural identity and Nationality, in consolidation with Family, strengthening his ‘German identity’ (Chao and Moon, 2005).

Another example is from a respondent who ranked his Family along with his Background, Age and Nationality as having the highest impact on his cultural identity. He discusses how the interplay of these tiles has led to his cultural identity which strongly influences his behaviour.

“So I would say my background, if I didn’t get the strict conditions that were laid down by my family I probably wouldn’t be where I am because I know some people who were let to go like wild animals, that’s why I attribute a lot of my achievements to my family and background”. (Steve).

Steve explains how growing up in his home country where there were no set rules of engagement, where people only went to work when they ran out of money, he learned from his family how to be responsible, hold a stable job and care for family. He states that his cultural identity which also determined his behaviour that led to his success, is a composite of how he was raised in his Family and how through his own experiences (Age), moving also from his home country Zimbabwe to Cape Town he has become the person he is today. In this case, similar to the previous, Family appears to be the central tile and strongest determinant of behaviour. Other ranked tiles seem to derive from the Family tile, for instance Steve discusses that the values he picked up at home were also carried through in later stages of his life and in

concordance leading to behaviour that has resulted in what he identifies as 'success'. Hence the prevalence of family values and norms over environmental norms has enabled Steve to achieve something that he does not consider to be common among his fellow citizens. Although Steve shares a national culture he does not share a family culture and since his behaviour is strongly influenced by his family culture, he will behave in a way that is uncommon for his fellow nationals.

Thus, what is meant by family in relation to culture are those underlying, deep-level values and basic assumptions that individuals pick up from their family environment as the first social group that they belong to. These values can, and in the majority of cases are, carried out through the individuals' life and strongly influence their behaviour and their interpretation of the behaviour of others. Based on this association between family and culture, 'shared family culture' can have two implications. The first being that when individuals share similar family values, they can develop a shared cultural identity, however in order for this to occur, individuals (in the case of this research dyads) would need to have spent a longer period of time with each other in order to be able to identify their shared underlying family values. Yet, statements provided by respondents did not refer to such identification. The second implication, and one that was referred to by respondents is that individuals may not necessarily share the same underlying family values, but rather they are, to a large extent, influenced by the values they picked up in their familial environment, thus identifying a great deal with their family. Where this identification (i.e. being family oriented), when shared with the relevant other can result in the perception of a shared cultural identity.

In sum, family as the most frequently ranked dominant tile (see Table 6.5) appeared to be stronger determinants of behaviour compared to national values, and when ranked in conjunction with Nationality-which can equate to where the respondent grew up- can reinforce national influences on an individual's culture. The next section will discuss the influence of the second most frequently ranked tile on cultural identity, Nationality.

Nationality

Succeeding Family, Nationality was the most frequently ranked dominant tile influencing respondents' cultural identity (16 out of 34). In the majority of cases (15 out of 16),

Nationality was considered alongside other tiles as determinant of cultural identity and its influence on individual's culture was dependent on its alignment with other ranked tiles. Meaning that if Family tile induced the same values in the respondent as their fellow nationals, the respondents were more likely to associate their culture with their Nationality. This occurred when Nationality was ranked alongside Family, or similarly when ranked in conjunction with other tiles.

The following cases provide examples of how Nationality, along with other ranked dominant tiles influence individual's cultural identity.

Siegfried presents the only case where Nationality alone was ranked as a dominant tile on his cultural identity. Given this association, he states:

"I think in my life it's a bit different because I was born in Romania and I emigrated to Germany when I was 1.5 years old, we were a small group of Germans in Romania. You know it was the Siebenburgen Saxon. Then our nationality as Germans was very important. That's why I think for me nationality has a high impact on my cultural identity". (Siegfried)

Nationality is providing the respondent with a sense of identity among the foreign others. As the only case that considered Nationality alone as a determinant of cultural identity it can be inferred that firstly, equating culture with nationality can impose various limitations seeing as even in this case, Nationality is being used as a term that refers to the respondent's history as oppose to behaviour derived from culture. Meaning that national culture is more malleable than what theories that equate culture with nationality assume it to be. Secondly, the respondent himself has adopted a 'German' nationality and not the nationality of the country he was born in, therefore, for those individuals who are born in one country and live in other countries, Nationality is dependent on how it is being adopted and what nation it is referring to. Moreover, given that he did not rank Nationality as an influential tile on other trust related behaviours and made no reference to his culture influencing his behaviour it can be inferred that Nationality as a tile has maintained its independence and has only come into play in the abovementioned context.

Considering that nationality provides the individual with a sense of identity in diverse social settings, combined with other tiles it appeared to influence their culture in the following ways:

“So I would say my cultural identity is nationality, it’s strong because even if I’m an expat for five years I’m firstly Swiss and I fully know the clichés around Switzerland, it doesn’t mean that I fit all of them but that’s who I am, and I would say that’s why I ranked family and nationality, because I come from a very very strong family and we have strong family values”
(Dave)

Similarly Stine states that:

“When I say that I’m Danish I’m thinking about a picture of the landscape and my family. I usually say I’m Danish, very Danish even. But also when you live in a foreign country you’re forced to emphasise your Danishness because when you live in a foreign country like I’ve done for so long you put a lot of energy putting a Danish coffee thing on the table to put a Danish flags on the table when it’s a birthday, you spend a lot of time finding Danish TV or series, because it’s who I am and I don’t have it, it’s far away so I’m more Danish then I was 15 years ago in that respect”. (Stine)

Dave and Stine had both ranked Family and Nationality as having the highest impact on their cultural identity. It can be inferred that living and working in a foreign country has resulted in their over emphasis on their national identity. Although for them, this goes hand in hand with their Family values and upbringing where Family is reinforcing national values. They do however elicit that despite the fact that they may not fit the ‘stereotypical national’, their culture is influenced by the symbols, artefacts, norms and behaviours shared by their fellow nationals. Nationality appears to be used as a metric by which the perceived differences between an individual and their foreign surrounding can be measured. Nationality then, as a dominant tile, when ranked in conjunction with other tiles, can be considered as a dependent tile which comes into play under nationally diverse social settings. Under these conditions, from an observer’s perspective, relating a particular behaviour displayed by Dave or Stine with their National tile is rather ambiguous given that only those that are reinforced by their Family tile seem to come into play. Therefore it is less distinguishable which behaviour can be associated with Nationality and which with Family. Furthermore, it is evident from Stine’s statement that the display of behaviour derived from National tile is relative to the external environment, meaning that in a nationally foreign context, Stine’s ‘Danishness’ is overemphasised whereas if Stine had been operating in her home country, there would be less

of a need for her to activate her National tile.

Overall, Nationality was activated by respondents who were operating in a foreign context and appeared to provide them with a sense of identity among the foreign ‘others’ and was used as a metric whereby the perceived differences between the individual and their external environment was measured. However, it did not appear to directly influence their behaviour. The next section will look at the influence of respondents’ Urban/Rural Backgrounds on their cultural identity.

Urban/Rural Background

Urban/Rural Background refers to the urban or rural environment the individual comes from. As a dominant tile, it went hand in hand with Family or Nationality as influential on respondents’ cultural identity. These cases tended to display an appreciation for their direct, local external environment and discussed how their identity was influenced by this environment. They also tended to display a high degree of cultural awareness when discussing the trust development process (refer to Appendix 1 for scores). Their reference to Background as an influential tile on their culture also implied that they accounted for within-national variances of culture. The accounts below depict how background in conjunction with Family/Nationality influences cultural identity.

“I believe most of it comes through your first 6 years where actually you are trained by your parents at home and part of it is also where you grew up and how you grew up and that’s why it’s the background you’re coming from, who are your neighbours, what are those other kids doing so what you grew up seeing becomes identifiable as your cultural identity and depending on how open it is then as you move on in life, if you live in different countries, you adapt or not”. (Ela)

The statement provided by Ela shows that although Family tile is important in determining one’s cultural identity, its influence does not occur in isolation. As individuals interact with their local external environment there are certain behaviours and norms that they pick up in those interactions. On a micro level, the ‘neighbourhood’ you grow up in and the norms and behaviours of the children in your neighbourhood that you play with as a child appear to also influence cultural identity albeit in a more indirect and implicit way.

“The main reason for this score was that a lot of my cultural identity is from...I’m from Frankfurt originally and Frankfurt is a very international place in Germany I would say, maybe more international than Munich given the financial industry, I think this has influenced my...probably the school I went to, I went to a German school with French bilingual affiliations, I did French and German so I grew up already with people from different nationalities at my school and I met people from different countries in the city very often and if I had grew up in a rural area, upper Bavaria there would have been completely different... and my family for example is less international then my school was. This plays a big role and I feel also at home in other big cities”. (George)

Where Ela’s case is referring to how growing up in a multicultural environment can increase your cultural awareness and facilitate later adaptation and result in a cultural identity that is open to the culturally different other, George’s case further supports this and exemplifies how the prevalence of Urban/Rural Background (city of Frankfurt and School) over Family tile resulted in his ‘multinational’ cultural identity. For George, his cultural identity is strongly influenced by his Background in conjunction with Organisation, and considering that George is operating in a multinational organisation, he has become aware of the importance of the role his multinational background plays on enabling him to operate in the organisational context.

Thus, Urban/Rural Background tile becomes activated when the individual encounters a social context that elicits similar value sets and those who consider their background as being influential on their cultural behaviour show an appreciation for within-national variances of cultural identities. This will in turn influence how they interpret others’ behaviours, as it will be shown in chapter seven.

Organisation

Organisation was seldom considered as an influential tile on respondent’s cultural identity (5 out of 34), and when ranked, it was predominantly in conjunction with other tiles. Edward, as the only respondent who ranked Organisation as his only dominant cultural tile, states that his cultural identity has been strongly influenced by the multinational organisations he has been working for in the past seven years. His exposure to a high degree of cultural diversity has influenced how he perceives culture, mainly providing him with the understanding that

nationality is not a sole determinant of one's culture, as he himself does not equate his culture with being 'British'.

"I would say that my identity has changed from working in British company in London to having 7 years working experience in a completely multicultural environment. It changes the way you think and behave, not necessarily in a switch but you grow and develop and you meet lots of new people you've never met before and you grow with that. So the reason for putting 11[highest score indicating the dominance of tile] there is for the simple reason that if you were interviewing me in England and I'd only ever worked in England I would be a different person from a cultural identity perspective". (Edward)

It can be inferred that Organisation as a dominant tile on cultural identity will influence behaviour in a situation where the individual adopts the organisation values and as a result adapt to the norms and behaviours associated with those values.

In support of this inference, evidence based on accounts provided by respondents such as Henry, Gregor, George and Jakob who also ranked Organisation as a dominant tile on their cultural identity show that these respondents tended to strongly identify with their organisation's norms and values and notably all held managerial positions in the company they were working for. For instance Jakob states "*whether I come from culture X (white South African community) is irrelevant in the workplace, we are here to do our jobs and achieve the company goals*" and Henry says "*I have been working in HR for forty years, other aspects of culture (tiles) don't effect me anymore, we have to work towards common organisational goals*". Therefore Organisation, as a ranked dominant tile on cultural identity, implies that the individual identifies with the organisation and is willing to adopt the values of the organisation. However, the influence of Organisation tile on behaviour becomes more apparent in the following section where respondents discuss its influence on their behaviour at the workplace. The following section will discuss the role of Age on cultural identity.

Age

Age as a dominant tile (4 out of 34) was predominantly associated with experience and was ranked alongside other tiles such as Family, Nationality and/or Urban/Rural Background. The role of age on respondents' cultural identity was a reflection of how their culture has evolved

and changed given their various life experiences. The conditions under which Age was ranked as influential was when respondents had made experiences that caused them to re-evaluate their perception of what was considered as the norm. Overall, Age as a dominant cultural tile influenced respondent behaviour in following ways. On the one hand it resulted in their increased degree of openness and flexibility when dealing with the culturally different ‘other’ as shown in the case of Helen and Henry.

“...Age because I used to live the United States and I used to live in Spain so age is important for me because it was during the last 10 years that I had those experiences and I was able to grow on those experiences that I had”. (Helen)

“Personally I think I’m not very affected [by cultural differences] at all because you know I have a lot of work experience in business for more than 40 years now and I’ve seen everything more or less”. (Henry)

Both Helen and Henry are disclosing how they have become more open towards other cultures by re-evaluating what culture refers to. For example Helen states that her exposure to different national countries has resulted in her understanding of the different behaviours that occur in different cultures (her reference to growth), these observed variances increase individual’s cultural intelligence and facilitate the trust development process and will be dealt with in the following chapter. Henry similarly states that he has understood that cultural differences do exist but can be overlooked given that for him, it has become a part of the system. On the other hand, its alignment with other tiles such as Family or Urban/Rural Background provided a reference point for individuals to assess behaviour.

“Usually when we are young the things we see are likely to stay with us for the rest of our lives, if my dad used to beat my mom every day I would think that when I grow up, I would beat my wife on a daily basis because you’re such a fragile mind you don’t know what is wrong or right and unless you’ve also got an independent mind where you challenge the behaviours and you intervene but in most cases we are guided by what we see around us” (Steve)

Steve’s reference to the influence of Age alongside other tiles on his culture expose how deeply held values that derive from tiles such as Family and Urban/Rural Background, if

carried out through one's life experiences can guide a behaviour that is consistent, hence predictable. And if not consistent, this may cause the individual to re-evaluate their deeply held assumptions, thereby causing behaviour that may not be consistent and predictable. It appears as though the activation of Age as a dominant tile on culture is rather a conscious reflection of individuals' past experiences as appose to a tile such as Family, which is associated with deeply held values and assumptions and influences behaviour on a subconscious level. The following section will discuss the circumstances under which Ethnicity was activated as a dominant tile and how it influenced cultural behaviour.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity as a dominant tile was seldom ranked as dominant on cultural identity (4 out of 34), though it was activated when respondents were operating in ethnically diverse settings such as South Africa. Ethnicity was a determinant of how individuals operate in their own community and across communities, and the norms and values associated with acceptable behaviour. It provided respondents with a sense of pride and belonging. Its influence, similar to Nationality, was related to respondent's history and roots as oppose to their day-to-day behaviour. However, it should be noted that all three respondents Jan (German-white), Pearl (South African-Coloured) and Thabo (South African-Black) who ranked Ethnicity as a dominant tile also displayed a degree of openness and receptiveness towards their ethnically dissimilar counterpart. It could be inferred that ranking Ethnicity as a cultural tile refers to the individual's awareness regarding ethnic diversity even though it may not directly influence behaviour derived from one's cultural identity.

"Well obviously the first part of my life I grew up in the old SA, and I grew up as a non-white which means that there were certain things that we didn't have access to. Having said this I grew up in a community with a similar race and culture and with similar types of values but a community that also would stand behind you if you want to achieve things which is a good thing...I also know where I come from which has created my foundation more than anything else". (Pearl)

Pearl's activation of Ethnicity as dominant tile comes from the fact that the discrepancy between her ethnicity and her fellow nationals was made apparent to her in various social

context given her reference to ‘old South Africa’ meaning at the time of Apartheid. Therefore similar to Nationality, Ethnicity becomes apparent in a diverse setting. Its influence on behaviour appears to be similar to Family-as it is also ranked alongside Family- and provides a foundation for the development of values.

“I think there’s a factor of pride here in the sense that the pride and the confidence you have that is linked to ethnicity in the sense of how for me, for my personal confidence it’s an important thing, to know where I come from, my cultural identity...” (Thabo)

Thabo’s statement confirms Pearls in such way that it provides the foundation for behaviour and in this case, given the overthrow of the Apartheid era and the end of racial segregation, provides him with a sense of pride and confidence which in turn will most likely influence his behaviour when dealing with racially different others.

Hobbies

Hobbies (non work-related pursuits) as a ranked dominant tile influenced respondents’ cultural identity through providing them with a sense of unity among those individuals that they shared hobbies with. Although hobbies was seldom ranked as influential and was ranked alongside other tiles, its activation was prompted when respondents were operating in a social setting that was initially unfamiliar to them. Edwin, Jan and Dan were working in a foreign country and similarly discussed how the identification of common interests enabled them to ‘fit in’. The role of Hobbies is explained alongside Family in the following way.

“Well look basically family for me is the most important thing and that’s a cultural thing because family always goes first and everything else comes after... hobbies, I used to play soccer and now I’m coaching soccer so I’ve got lots of similarities between being in a team and being in a working team, everyone wants to win whether it’s work or hobby you win together you lose together and if you lose you got to analyse what we can do better, work harder and win it afterwards”. (Edwin)

Edwin exemplifies how his Hobbies have influenced his cultural identity by making a comparison between the football team he coaches and his organisational team members and states that through football he has understood that in a team, you win together and lose together, signifying the creation of a sense of unity. This analogy of ‘winning together’ in a

working team or football team implies that hobbies can be used as a method of creating or extrapolating the sense of sharedness among members who may not necessarily share demographic tiles or certain associative tiles (i.e. Family, Religion or Profession). Shared Hobbies can also create shared experiences that in turn create shared schemas, which according to the definition of culture, as discussed in chapter three, results in perception of shared culture.

Religion

Religion was only activated by 7 respondents (see Table 6.5) and among those 7, only two perceived it as influencing their cultural identity and ranked it alongside Family tile. Religion influences behaviour by providing respondents with a set of guides, norms and acceptable behaviour such as having integrity, being honest, open and adhering to certain work ethics (Tarakeshwar et al., 2003). The norms and values espoused by religion were a consequence of, and so in line with, the Family upbringing and tended to reinforce behaviour derived from those value-sets. Hence when this tile was activated, merged in concordance with Family tile.

“It’s not that I’m overly religious but I think the fact that I was brought up in a religious home and in a religious environment there were certain values like integrity, honesty, hard work and my family had similar values as well so that to me that shaped me in terms of the foundation of what I am”. (Pearl)

According to Pearl’s statement it appears as though Religion does not directly influence behaviour, for example it does not result in manifestations of religious practices but rather strengthens the values espoused by Family and Religion where those value sets can in turn determine an individual’s behaviour.

Having discussed how the ranked dominant tiles directly and indirectly influenced respondents’ cultural identity and in turn, behavioural manifestations of culture, with some tiles considered as more influential than others (i.e. Family & Nationality being more influential than Organisation & Profession), the following section will discuss the ranked dominant tiles and their influence on respondents’ work behaviour.

Effect on work behaviour

This section will examine which tiles were considered as dominant on respondents' work behaviour and how, given their activation, respondents' behaviour in the workplace is influenced. The significance of examining individual's ranked tiles on their work behaviour is to determine, to what extent individuals feel their cultural identity influences their work behaviour. Work behaviour is understood as the way individuals behaved at the workplace with regards to their colleagues and co-workers. Tile(s) influenced respondent's behaviour at work in a number of ways depending on which tile(s) were ranked as being dominant. Overall, tiles that were ranked as having the highest impact on work behaviour are Organisation (25), Profession (22), Age and Family (9), Nationality (3), Urban/Rural Background (2), Religion (2) and Hobbies (1).

As it will be discussed further in this section in more detail, while a number of respondents regarded their culture as influential on their work behaviour, 18 out of 34 respondents believed it to be irrelevant and in fact, 'non-professional' to allow their culture to influence their behaviour in the workplace therefore adopting a separate identity in the workplace. This finding contributes to theory by providing a micro level perspective on the cultural determinants of workplace behaviour and is contrasted with prior theoretical assumptions that nationality is the proxy by which cultural behaviour is measured (Doney et al., 1998, Hofstede et al., 1990).

As shown in Table 6.6, the composite of tiles are similar to individual's cultural identity compositions, with tiles such as Family, Nationality and Urban Rural Background as salient in the previous section and Organisation, Profession and Age as the salient tiles on work behaviour. The following sections will examine the influence of these tiles on respondents' work behaviour.

Organisation

Organisation influenced the respondents' work behaviour by providing them with acceptable codes of conduct, unifying them by giving them shared corporate values to adhere to, providing rewards for trustworthy behaviour and sanctions for the breach of trust and most significantly, providing individuals with a sense of identity and belonging. Organisation

seemed to positively and negatively influence the individual's work behaviour, depending on whether or not it reinforced the individuals previously held assumptions-which may have been formed in their previous workplace or in their home environment-regarding appropriate work behaviour.

Bheki provides an account of how in the context of South Africa, given the multiple levels of diversity, his Company has been able to promote a sense of common work behaviour among its members.

“So what the organisation has done is to create a culture which they call “The One”, and that culture helps to steer people into behaving more or less similar, only when they’re here in the work environment and it just helps a diverse group of people to behave in a similar manner particularly when they’re in this environment”. (Bheki)

Chris, confirms Bheki's statement regarding the alignment between the values of the employees and the organisation to an extent where he believes that the employees in fact reflect and represent the values of the organisation and in particular, their direct superior which they are working for.

“Yes because I see a strong link, an organisation in my eyes is always represented by people, therefore I put them tight to each other. I have never seen a company where the employees have their values and the boss has different values...” (Chris)

Frederick refers to the industry in which the organisation is in when discussing the role of Organisation on his work behaviour. He takes into account that certain industries are more inclined to promote diversity and if the individual has the willingness to adapt and learn, then they are more likely to be receptive of culturally different behaviour. Therefore instead of creating a common behaviour they endorse the tolerance of different behaviour.

“I think a lot of companies I knew specially in the consulting area they have to work international and I think that makes it more, you have to be more open minded to other people and other cultures and there are more relationships between the culture and the different countries and so, I think that's very important” (Frederick)

The organisation can influence individuals' work behaviour through the enforcement of implicit and explicit codes of conduct that when shared among the organisation members, can

overcome the differences the members have across other tiles. In this case, the organisation acknowledges diversity but requires its members to overcome the barriers and adopt the unifying organisation culture. On the other hand, the organisation can promote a sense of compatibility on the basis of divergent views. Meaning that the organisation embraces cultural diversity as part of its structure, therefore its members no longer ‘see the differences’ rather the differences become a part of the work behaviour itself.

Edward provides an example of how diversity can become an integral part of the organisation and how that can influence a member’s attitude and behaviour towards diversity.

“When you work in Switzerland, in the operation centre it’s a hot pot of all sorts of nationalities, so although your nationality and your culture is still a part of it, obviously you can’t get away from it, but it’s a lot less than for example when I worked in London where maybe a bigger proportion of people are British. Therefore people’s culture, if they’re not British, can be a bit more obvious and open as a topic to think about. Whereas in this Company, especially in Switzerland its not really like that because nationalities are always different. That comes from the fact that in any room, in any given time you’re not going to have a domination of any one nationality or culture, it’s going to be people from all over the place. I personally find that you forget very quickly about where people come from”.
(Edward)

Edward’s statement shows that when national diversity exceeds a certain level in the organisation, it becomes a part of the organisation system and its members-if acquiring the willingness to adopt the organisation norms (similar to Edward)- will tend to get used to national differences such way that nationality as a discrepant cultural tile may not be activated at all.

In sum, Organisation as the most influential tile on respondents’ work behaviour on the one hand created a shared organisation identity among its diverse members and guided their behaviour in similar ways. On the other it promoted diversity as an integral part of its structure therefore encouraging compatibility on the basis of cultural variances of its members. Organisation as an activated cultural tile implied that the individuals adopt-or aim to adopt-the organisational values and codes of conduct. However this tile was predominantly ranked in

conjunction with Profession which will be subsequently discussed.

Profession

Profession, as the second highest ranked tile on work behaviour is associated with the position the respondents have in the organisation as well as their responsibilities in fulfilling that role and was predominantly ranked alongside Organisation tile as influential on work behaviour. Profession influenced respondents' work behaviour in the following ways.

“I think if you have a lower profession the impact may not be that high but if you have a qualification and have passed certain exams and have a higher profession then you would have a different behaviour to someone working in a supermarket for example. It's good for me to work here because I have experience so I can use it now...” (Claire)

Although Claire is stating the obvious fact that when you are trained or educated to fulfil a certain role, there is a taken for granted expectation that you will in fact do so, by making the comparison between ‘working in a supermarket as oppose to a high performance company’, she is also making reference to the fact that individuals hold underlying assumptions regarding the role of others in the organisational context as well. Therefore Profession, although influences work behaviour by instilling certain values and principles that the individual must demonstrate knowledge of, it further guides the individual's expectations of the relevant others in relation to their Professional tile. Implying that if one holds a high profession in the organisation, there will be certain expectations regarding the work behaviour of that individual. This expectation will also influence the assessment of trustworthiness in relation to the ‘ability’ dimension of trust, as it will also be shown in the following chapter.

Dave who is an HR director operating in Cape Town raises the importance of focusing on ‘professionalism’, he denotes that other cultural tiles are not significant when it comes to work behaviour but rather, the job that is required to be completed. He is suggesting that expectations and judgments regarding other members should be based on their Profession, rather than other cultural tiles.

“Because the people I work with I don't care about their political affiliation or their religion or other stuff. As I said for me this is not important if they're affiliated with a certain branch or if they're Muslims or Christians, because ranking that high would be discrimination. Where

I'm much more pragmatic, it's who they are, what is their job" (Dave)

The statements also indicate to the interconnectedness of Organisation tile with Profession, where the influence of profession on behaviour to a large extent is derived from the organisation context. Various respondents discussed how in their early exposure to the corporate context, they were influenced by the particular behavioural norms of the organisation they were employed by and how they have carried those norms throughout their careers.

As shown in Table 6.6, Profession was predominantly ranked alongside Organisation as dominant tiles on respondents' work behaviour. Implying that Profession can act as a dependent tile on Organisation when ranked in conjunction with each other. The statement below from Siegfried who also ranked Profession alongside Organisation further supports this argument.

"I learned industrial work and I had in my mind a very good training of three years and there we had to be very exact, professional, and I think that impacted my work behaviour. It was highly organized this company, and we had a very good training programme" (Siegfried)

Overall Profession, by instilling certain values and principles not only outlined how a task should be completed, it also guided the individual's expectation of the other in relation to their profession. Where certain abilities and competencies tended to be taken for granted by the observer (in this case the respondent). As I will show in the following sections, this taken for grantedness (implicit assumption) has implications for assessing other's trustworthiness with regards to the 'ability' dimension of trust.

Family

Family tile, although ranked significantly less in relation to work behaviour (9 out of 34) in comparison to its rank for individuals' cultural identity (26 out of 34), appeared to influence individuals' work behaviour by providing them with underlying values which guide their interaction and how they deal with others in the workplace. Values such as integrity, honesty, respect and attitudes such as openness towards culturally different others have derived from respondents' family values and how they have been indoctrinated with these values by their

family.

Vicki demonstrates this influence in the below statement.

“I come from a family that for the last hundred years have been entrepreneurs, and so there has always been a quite important link between the way my ancestors lived and worked and what kind of humanistic values they were living up to so it was always sort of tightly linked and they were always very active in church but also in their communities so responsibility is one of the key elements of their work ethic and so that also has been transmitted to me”.

(Vicki)

Sabrina exemplifies how her exposure to cultural diversity, which comes from her family has enabled her to become more open minded towards culturally different others.

“My father worked for a big chemical corporation in international business so I was always confronted with the international environment and we always had students at home from Spain, from the UK and even from Africa so I grew up in a very international atmosphere. I think this really helped to develop my cultural behaviour and identity, this international atmosphere and to be open minded to languages, cultures and so on, yeah that’s why. It also influenced my work behaviour and why I wanted to work in an international environment”.

(Sabrina)

However, Family tile alone was seldom considered as the sole determinant of work behaviour (2 out of 34) and was predominantly ranked alongside other tiles as influential. When ranked, it tended to overcome Organisation tile seeing as the values that are engrained in individuals for many years will be a stronger determinant of behaviour than those adopted in recent years through their affiliation with the organisation. Age, which was also ranked as frequent as Family (9 out of 34) will be subsequently examined.

Age

Respondents associated Age with experience and discussed how their behaviour in the current workplace has been influenced by their past personal or professional experiences. Age, similar to Family, enabled those individuals who had previously been exposed to diversity to behave in either a receptive manner towards the culturally different other or alternatively, display

tendencies towards stereotyping. Given the context (cultural diversity) under which these tiles were being discussed, the respondents referred to their experiences with regards to diversity. It could be that in a different context, Age (experience) can also result in other modifications of behaviour. However seeing as the influence of past experience on behaviour is also dependent on how that experience is being interpreted, it could be suggested that the influence of Age tile is itself dependent on the dominant tiles that are ranked alongside Age (such as Family, Background, etc.)

While respondents such as Franz, born and raised in Germany though travelled extensively to various countries for work associated Age (experience) with categorisation.

“Yes because in the end everything is the experience you made, you have been there in those situations abroad several times, you know how life is going there and what the people like and what they don’t like” (Franz)

Others such as Ela, having lived and worked in several countries, perceived its influence as resulting in openness towards others by causing the individual to be reflective of their own behaviour instead of trying to categorize the behaviours of the culturally different others.

“Age maybe just a reflection of experience, the more you see, behaviour changes based on your experience, so there’s an action and a reaction and when you see an action this is a learning for you next behaviour. By age you get to test and see again if you’re open and if you’re really analysing what you’re doing and if you’re self-critical about what you’re doing, then you need this time, especially work behaviour, you can start your work life being very open but if you’re in an environment because it also goes hand in hand with the environment and the workplace”. (Ela)

In sum, respondents associated Age with their experiences in different workplaces or their encounters with other individuals. The activation of Age tile in the above accounts was when Age (experience) had provided respondents with exposure to cultural diversity which had developed their ability to assess the behaviours of the culturally different other.

Interplay of tiles on work behaviour

As shown above, the dominance of Organisation, Profession, Age or Family tile alone does

not necessarily result in the adoption of organisational values and the display of appropriate behaviour that is in accordance with the organisation, where appropriate work behaviour is considered as behaviour that contributes to positive assessments of trustworthiness. Rather it is the willingness to adapt which is influenced by the interplay between Organisation and other dominant tiles. The compositions above also show that Organisation was predominantly ranked alongside other tiles such as Profession, Family and Age as influencing work behaviour. This implies that even though respondents considered the organisation culture as influencing their work behaviour, they tended to account for other tiles as guiding their values which underlie the work behaviour. It can be understood that the display of appropriate work behaviour is an outcome of the alignment of multiple dominant tiles.

Ruth's case exemplifies this interplay. She describes how her Family in conjunction with the Organisation and Profession have influenced her behaviour at the workplace.

“Well that goes back, as you see Family is still high because that's where I picked up my initial values and rules. Like you always have to do it right and you have to be a trustworthy person. Then when it comes to work behaviour, it's a give and take, and that very much depends on the environment you work in. So either you fit in and you learn how to play a game or you will never be successful. So this is why family is still high but I guess this is why profession and workplace I figured are very much related. The values that I learned for instance were to be honest, if hadn't learned that I would never have a chance of survival between our Operational Entities. We do have a lot of stakeholders. The Operational Entities are different departments within the Holding, we have our own environment within Market Management as well, so I could play some games but it wouldn't bring me much further. This is a high-performance organisation, either you deliver what you promised or you're already in trouble. So this is one of the values I learned as well, don't over promise and under deliver and I picked an organisation which actually was a natural fit because you select the organisation and the other way, the organisation selects you. So I guess both parties check for some soft fit in the values and otherwise it won't be a long term trust based work relationship”. (Ruth)

There is an alignment of Ruth's Family, Organisation and Professional tile, where Family was her dominant tile on her cultural identity and Organisation and Profession were dominating

her work behaviour. From her statement it becomes evident that she is drawing from her Family tile where she has ‘picked up’ her values and it is in the context of her Profession (Marketing Manager-central role among the Company’s different subsidiaries) as well as the Organisational norms (High performance) where she is able to implement the appropriate work behaviour. In this scenario the Organisation and Profession are guiding Ruth’s work behaviour however this process is facilitated by their congruence with her Family tile.

The multiplicity of tiles can also negatively impact an individual’s work behaviour when it is considered as dominant and is discordant with other ranked dominant tile(s) on work behaviour. Below cases exemplify how Organisation, when in conflict with Family or Profession, can negatively impact an individual’s work behaviour.

Thabo’s conflicting Organisation and Profession tiles have resulted in what he considers to be a miscommunication that inhibits trust.

“It definitely has a lot to do with how the organisation operates. For example there is a general feeling here what I found is that they’re not many room for meetings, so the inclination here is to have as few as possible which is an organisational thing. Which for me personally I think it’s very important to have [meetings] because that makes sure that people have the same feelings as you do. And I also think probably the biggest differences early on were around reading around expectations in terms of deliverance, so we did have some miscommunication about what is expected by him and what I was able to deliver, and very often, the expectation seemed to be a lot more than what I was able to deliver which led to some conflicts. I feel there’s a lot of miscommunication and mistrust especially across the level of the organisation which in my view is because of insufficient communication, but that’s my view”. (Thabo)

Thabo, having worked for the Company for the past four years identified how miscommunication has made it difficult for him to meet the required expectations. The company having its headquarters in Munich and its subsidiary in Johannesburg, in his point of view is not bridging the expectation gap among its entities. Professionally, as the treaty underwriter manager for the Company’s subsidiary in South Africa, he believes that there should be more opportunities for the German side to communicate with the South African side. The Company however is failing to do so. Having ranked Organisation and Profession as

his dominant tile(s) on work behaviour, he believes that he needs to act in accordance with the organisational norms and expectations though professionally he finds this process to be challenging seeing as his efforts to meet the organisation expectations were not initially recognised. He also refers to this discordance as leading to a low level of trust between him and his counterpart. This suggests that discordant tiles within an individual which results in behaviour that is not in accordance with the organisation can also hinder trust development across dyads.

Gale describes how her Family and Organisation tile(s) which according to her have the highest impact on her work behaviour, in conflict, have made it challenging for Gale to adapt to the organisational setting.

“Even though I’m in a work environment I still think that the way that I was raised has a huge impact on how I interact with people at the office, I think even if I’m at work there are still values that I have as a young child that I carry into the workplace, there are ways of interacting with people that I carry through and can’t change. The second one is the organisation, so first it comes from my family and then from the organisation and how it’s structured and who the people are that I’m working with, how the hierarchies are set up. That plays a huge role in how you respond to people. For example maybe in family it’s easy to be more personal and open, if you have a question you can easily ask it then in this organisation it’s a bit more structured, and you have to talk to certain people before you talk to other people so that’s definitely a change that I’ve had to make”. (Gale)

Conflicting tiles have influenced the development of trust, not only between Gale and her counterpart, but also between Gale and the Organisation. These conflicting tiles in Gale’s case are indicating that there is a certain level of adjustment required in order to function effectively within the organisational context. Gale’s previous work behaviour is not accepted in her current workplace and with Organisation as one of her dominant tiles on her work behaviour, she is aware of the required necessity to adopt the current organisation values and consequently adjust her work behaviour to her current workplace. This case, further confirming the notion that discordant tiles lead to behaviour that is inconsistent with the organisation, also shows that discordant tiles within an individual require that the individual undergoes a certain degree of adaptation. The process of adaptation and individual’s cultural

intelligence will be dealt with in the subsequent chapter.

Dichotomy of culture and work behaviour

The influence of multiple tiles on work behaviour and their alignment or conflict which led to behaviour that is in accordance or incongruent with the organisation ultimately was a result of how the individuals drew from those multiple tiles, meaning that the organisation culture or the family culture influenced the individual's behaviour if the individual had regarded it as influential (dominant). Given this adoption, evidence based on the examination of the rankings showed that while some respondents regarded their culture as influential on their work behaviour, others tried to maintain independent organisation identities, meaning that in the organisation context, they displayed certain sets of behaviour which they deemed as suitable in that particular social setting, therefore adopting the 'organisation culture'. The cases below exemplify how this dichotomy was established.

Valerie's first exposure to the corporate world was when she moved from France to Germany, she describes how through her work experience in Germany she has understood the working culture better and believes her professional behaviour is more in accordance with the 'German' way of working. Though her reference to the 'German way of working' seems to be related to the organisation being typically German and not diverse.

"When I started working I began my work life in Germany, but my culture, my values come from my family and Germany is also a part of my culture but more on the professional side. The company I was working with a lot of different people, not just German people but people coming from the UK and other cultures because I was in the Finance department, and so I didn't get really German culture and after two years I moved to a very very German company which was a big company and very traditional and then I got really in touch with the German culture. Germans have a different way to do things, they're very efficient people and they're very direct and if not possible they just say no and they don't think they should be diplomatic, they just have to be efficient and less emotional. I noticed sometimes I couldn't say really yes but I couldn't say no either and the German colleagues would say then OK you want to do and in my head it was clear that I said no but it was not clear for them, because in France you wouldn't say directly no and this is what I noticed after some negotiations actually just the

way of thinking is different". (Valerie)

Valerie's influence of her Professional tile on her behaviour which itself is influenced by the Organisation tile has raised Valerie's awareness regarding appropriate work behaviour and has enabled her to understand how she needs to adjust her behaviour accordingly in the workplace. She also makes a distinction between her 'French Family culture' and her 'Professional German culture', therefore indicating to the distinction between *home* versus *work* identity. Despite references made to an inclination to adopt work/home identities, evidence suggests that behavioural manifestations of this dichotomisation is not straight forward seeing as Valerie herself also says:

"Even if I live here for 10 years I noticed that my original French culture is there and I stay French and I behave maybe not 100% but I have a lot of French behaviour even if I've been here for a long time". (Valerie)

For Stine who was born in Denmark, lived in four different countries and worked for various multinational companies, this dichotomy is stronger. Having ranked Profession, Organisation and Age as dominant tiles on work behaviour she describes the distinctive identity she holds in the working place that is different from the identity she has at home in the following statements.

"It [the separation] comes from not being or feeling at home here where I am, in Munich and from not...because it's like an isolated cloud, my working culture and my identity I have when I'm at work, when I'm not in Germany, I'm not in Denmark, I'm in the corporate culture I would say". (Stine)

Stine and Valerie's distinction between their 'cultural self' and their 'working self' also shows that work behaviour which is not considered to derive from one's culture becomes highly influenced by contextual factors. In Stine's case, she mentions the 'isolated cloud of the organisation' and Valerie refers to 'very German company'. Given that contextual factors are subject to variation (for example Valerie can later be employed by a very American company), it could be suggested that their work behaviour will tend to be less predictable as it will be dependent on the governing contextual factors. This dichotomy which is described by Molinsky (2007) as 'code switching' is also influenced by respondents degree of cultural

intelligence and will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

Nevertheless, the extent to which the individual's work behaviour is influenced by their culture appears to be a result of the extent to which individuals draw from their cultural values in order to display behaviour in the workplace. In relation to their rankings it became apparent that those individuals whose dominant tile(s) on their culture was shared with their dominant tile(s) on their work behaviour tended to associate their behaviour at work with their cultural background. Table 6.7 provides an overview of these various configurations. The left hand column presents the cases where respondents ranked a common tile between their culture and work behaviour and right hand column are cases of discrepant tiles among culture and work behaviour. For example, examining the first row of Table 6.7 it is apparent that where culture effects work behaviour (left column), there is a shared tile (Family in this case) where the respondent draws from their Family values derived from their cultural identity when operating in the organisational context. Therefore if the individual considers honesty as a family value, this individual will also behave in an honest way in the workplace. Whereas in a scenario where culture does not effect work behaviour (right column), the respondent adopts the dominant tiles on work behaviour (organisation and profession values in this case) when displaying behaviour in the workplace as oppose to drawing from his/her family values. Therefore if the individual has learned from the family values to be honest but the organisation places more emphasis on achievement, it may well be that honesty as a value for that individual will be compromised in the organisation context in order to meet the demands of or adopt the values relating to achievement.

Table 6.7: Cultural (mis) alignment with work behaviour

Culture effects Work behaviour	Culture does not effect Work behaviour
<u>Family</u> + Background = <u>Family</u> + Organisation + Profession	Family+ Background ≠ Profession + Organisation
<u>Family</u> + Nationality + Background= <u>Family</u> + Age + Nationality	Family ≠ Age
<u>Family</u> + Nationality = <u>Family</u> + Organisation	Nationality + Background ≠ Profession + Organisation
<u>Background</u> + <u>Organisation</u> = <u>Background</u> + <u>Organisation</u>	Nationality ≠ Age + Profession + Organisation
Family + <u>Nationality</u> = <u>Nationality</u> + Organisation	Ethnicity + Hobbies + Nationality≠ Organisation + Profession
Family = Family	Nationality ≠ Profession + Organisation
<u>Family</u> = <u>Family</u> + Age	Family + Religion ≠ Profession + Organisation

Examining the relationship between individuals' cultural tile(s) and their work behaviour has elicited three outcomes. Firstly it shows how the tile(s) influence individual's work behaviour by revealing how concordant and discordant tiles can result in work behaviour that is either in line with the organisational norm or conversely, in dissonance with what is considered as acceptable. Secondly, considering that this alignment or misalignment of work behaviour has implications for assessing trustworthy behaviour given that it influences the extent of predictability of behaviour, it further provides the foundation for later discussions regarding the trust development process between the dyads (Costa, 2003). Thirdly, it also reveals that associative tiles are more frequently activated, thus play a more important role in relation to trust development in the organisation context. As the third and final trust related behaviour that was examined, the following section will discuss the influence of the ranked dominant tile(s) on respondents' disposition to trust.

Effect on disposition to trust

Initially identifying the role of the ranked dominant tiles on respondents' cultural identity and their behaviour in the workplace with regards to their co-workers, this sections is aimed at unravelling which tiles were ranked as being dominant on respondents' disposition to trust and furthermore, how these tiles influence behaviours related to respondents' disposition to trust, where disposition to trust refers to the respondents' predisposition to trust the general other. Table 6.6 depicts the various compositions, where similar to the dominant tiles ranked on cultural identity, overall respondents ranked their Family as having the highest impact on their disposition to trust. The tile(s) ranked in descending order are Family (24), Organisation (13), Age (10), Profession (9), Religion (5), Background (4), Ethnicity and Hobbies (3) and Political affiliation and Nationality (2).

With Family, Organisation and Age as the overall ranked dominant tiles, the following sections will depict their influence as well as their interplay on respondents' disposition to trust. Following the influence that the multiple ranked tiles played on behaviour in the previous sections, it can thus be suggested that concordant tiles will result in higher disposition to trust whereas as discordant dominant tiles will reduce individual's disposition to trust.

Family

Family as the most frequently ranked dominant tile on disposition to trust plays a similar role in determining the underlying values held by the respondents in relation to their cultural identity. It is considered as inducing beliefs regarding the intentions of others through providing the primary setting where the individual learns to trust and understands the antecedents and outcomes of trust. Where Family's influence on culture gave individuals an understanding of how to interpret cultural behaviour and which values to attach to that behaviour, in relation to disposition to trust, it provides individuals with an understanding of what values indicate trustworthy behaviour and which observed behaviour can be interpreted as trustworthy. It also provides the basis for individuals' understanding of trust and trustworthy behaviour. It appears that Family, ranked predominantly alongside other tiles can positively or negatively affect the individuals' disposition to trust. The accounts provided below exemplify the various bearings of Family as (one of) the dominant tile on individuals' disposition to trust.

Gale describes how her Family tile influences how she regards trust by providing her with an environment in which she was able to trust.

“Disposition to trust definitely comes from my family and then my religion, again it goes back to that's where I felt comfortable, that's where I learned to interact with people, that's what I set my standards”. (Gale)

Her references to 'standards', 'feeling comfortable' and 'learning interaction' are constructs that have created set assumptions for Gale with regards to when and how she can trust the relevant other. Seeing as these assumptions are very deeply held and have been carried through from childhood to adulthood they are less likely to be changed and will tend to subconsciously come into play during interactions. It is evident here that the influence of Family on disposition to trust can determine its utilisation and implementation in later stages of an individual's life.

Helen discusses the importance of mutual trust among her and her parents and the fact that she has carried that through with her when making initial judgments as to whether she should trust someone or not. This has not only provided Helen with an understanding and a definition of

how trust is displayed and how it's reciprocated, but it has also increased her willingness to display trust towards others seeing as she is confident that she has the ability to assess whether the relevant other is displaying trustworthy behaviour or not.

“Well first of all trust was very important within my family so my parents always trusted me and I always trusted my parents... You make your experiences if you can trust somebody or not and in this regard it's more or less the experience you make, if you meet people you can trust then your willingness to trust somebody new is there. If not, it's difficult, so I'm more or less on the side that I tend to trust people and if I make a negative experience then I have a look at why I did trust this person and what happened, then I'm more or less re-evaluating the whole situation again”. (Helen)

Joseph, confirming the statement made by Gale and Helen adds that Family further acts as an example of how one should behave in a trusting manner and what is to be expected when you are trusted therefore making reference to fact that family environment also provides mental frames regarding behavioural manifestations of trust. Where these mental frames are later associated with the norms regarding trusting behaviour.

“Because this is the first place where you build trust and your parents tell you how to approach other people and you see how they approach other people so it's a role model and you spend a lot of time in your family, I think it's very important”. (Joseph)

Where in the above cases, Family tile induced relatively higher levels of disposition to trust in the respondent, Claudio stated that his low disposition comes from his childhood and in particular his father. He learned to ask questions and not take things at face value which caused him to be more critical and therefore less trusting seeing as it had decreased his inclination to hold positive expectations regarding the other. In relation to this he refers to how growing up in an ‘Italian’ household but in the broader context of ‘Germany’ caused him to hold discrepant values (conflicting tiles) between his home environment and the external social environment which further reinforced this low disposition⁶.

Overall, similar to the foundational role that Family tile had on respondents' cultural identity, Family provides the basis for individuals' psychological state of acquiring the willingness to

⁶ Quote not provided seeing as his interview was not recorded.

trust the 'general other' seeing as its manifestations are defined and observed in the family environment. This also guides their expectation of what trust should be or in other words 'what trusting behaviour looks like'. Family can also positively or negatively effect an individual's disposition to trust. It can be inferred that the role of Family tile is to provide a foundation, be it for cultural sensemaking as shown in previous sections or disposition to trust. Organisation as the second highest ranked tile on respondents' disposition to trust will be discussed in the following section.

Organisation

Given the fact that respondents were asked to discuss their general disposition to trust within the organisation context, and that organisation strongly influenced their work behaviour, it can be expected that organisation will also influence their disposition to trust. Organisation, through its codes of conduct and its implicit or explicit sanction and rewards system provides an environment where its members feel that they can trust their fellow affiliates by influencing the risk associated with trust. The organisation also influences its members' disposition to trust through its recruitment process, meaning that some respondents felt they could automatically trust their colleagues because they were employed via the same standards as them, therefore promoting positive expectations regarding the relevant other. Overall, three key themes have been identified in this examination. Firstly that organisational structure leads to predictability, which in turn enhances trust. Secondly, that informal communication style leads to openness which in turn enhances assessments of trustworthiness and finally, organisational politics, which creates a perception of uncertainty among the organisational members, thus hindering the development of trust.

The respondents below describe how the organisational structure affects their disposition to trust:

"I was in another firm, it was smaller but better organized so I know that the organisation really has an impact on the assessment of the trustworthiness". (Gregor)

Where for Gregor, the more organized way of doing things enabled him to be more trusting, given that it allowed him to better predict the outcome of a process. For Henry, it is the informality of the Organisation, given that it provides the atmosphere in which discussing

issues openly is regarded as the organisational norm therefore lowering the risks associated with the breach of trust.

“Maybe I’m more open, but you know in the business especially Germany, I think in other countries it may be different because you have another... we have this Du (informal you) and Sie (formal you) you know, this company is quite informal, typical for tourism business but normally in other companies in Germany it’s more formal and if you’re in a company which is more informal you’re a little more relaxed and open, I’ve worked before in other companies which are more formal, you’re a little bit more closed and you’re not so open. Our culture here is more open than other companies”. (Henry)

Organisation, through its intended outcomes has been noted to negatively affect an individuals’ disposition to trust. The respondent below describes this situation as:

“Organisation is rather a factor that reduces your trust disposition because you learn that some people are changing opinions and you cannot really trust in what they say because the next day they might say something different. To a certain extent it’s due to the fact that they don’t have the power to stick with their own opinion and that other factors influence their behaviour, but it’s kind of fuzzy, you’re shooting at moving targets, people are a bit like wobbling targets, so to a certain extent I learned here that you have to be careful”. (Vicki)

Comparing the statements provided by respondents it can be inferred that there is no generalizable structure that enhances or reduces disposition to trust, it is rather the way in which these structures are employed by the individuals. For example for Gregor and Vicki, it is the presence of structure which enhances predictability whereas for Henry, it is the informality or rather the lack of particular structure which enables flexibility and openness and can result in higher levels of disposition to trust. The presence of politics and uncertainty in the organisation on the other hand is a factor that reduces individual’s disposition to trust. Thus, in order for the organisation to positively enhance employees’ disposition to trust their fellow colleagues, there has to be an alignment between the organisational structure and what is regarded as ‘favourable’ organisational structure.

Conclusively, following Family, Organisation influenced respondent’s disposition to trust by providing the context under which individuals were able to act on their disposition in relation

to their colleagues. Where certain organisational structures were conducive to the establishment of trust, others were unfavourable, and this was based on the extent to which these structures were in accordance with the respondent's Family tile or what the respondent regarded as suitable organisational structure which itself is occasionally based on past experience and will be subsequently discussed.

Age

Age can on the one hand decrease an individuals' disposition to trust considering that respondents referred to the fact that the older they got, the less they were willing to trust others and on the other hand, they stated that they were more willing to trust those were older than younger.

Sabrina, having ranked Age alongside Profession as influencing her disposition to trust, exemplifies a case where her high disposition to trust is in relation to those who are older and more stable in terms of their work behaviour rather than younger employees who might behave in unpredictable ways in order to excel in their career. Therefore the ranking of Age is not only a reflection of her experience that older people will tend to be more trusting, but also considering that it was ranked alongside Profession tile, it is also a reflection of how she relates Age to professionalism (which in this scenario is referring to work ethics).

"I would trust more elder than younger people, that may be what is behind the ranking. Age plays a quite important role in my work environment that way because I have my experiences that younger people sometimes are very ambitious and a little bit elbow mentality, they think they have to compete and sometimes behave differently than elder people who are more mature." (Sabrina)

This case also reveals the intricacies of the deep underlying assumptions that individuals hold regarding traits of the relevant other that can influence their general disposition to trust, which in this case are the assumptions held regarding Age.

Vicki, despite displaying a relatively high disposition to trust (5.5) discusses how due to her Family tile she initially had higher levels of predisposition to trust, but this has decreased given the influence of her Age (past experiences) tile. Therefore in this scenario Age (experience) is negatively influencing this respondent's disposition to trust. This case also

shows that the scores are a reflection of the overall tendency of the individual, and may not be generalizable across all interactions, meaning that when experience contradicts deeply held assumptions, dimensions of trust (i.e. disposition) will be dependent on the situation thereby, subjective.

“I think it does have an impact because I was told from my very early youth, at the very base everyone is a good person and you should trust and that you have some foundation of trust that you give away to any person that approaches you. I learned from experience though that you should be careful whom you trust” (Vicki)

Given that Age, in the previous section resulted in respondents’ display of openness towards the culturally different other and yet does not necessarily result in high disposition to trust, it could be suggested that ‘Age’ tile maintains its independence and causes respondents to display unpredictable behaviour (Chao and Moon, 2005). This may be due to the fact that Age corresponded with experience and every individual has his or her unique set of experiences which are also highly contextual. Therefore the display of certain behaviour can become dependent on governing contextual factors, hence unpredictable.

Age, in sum, influenced respondents’ disposition to trust on the one hand by reducing their disposition to trust as their age increased, and on the other hand, they were more willing to trust others whom were older (hence more experience). Age tile, when associated with past experience, maintained its independence and influenced respondents’ disposition to trust in either positive or negative ways depending on their prior experiences therefore its influences remains subject to change. The following section will discuss the influence of Hobbies on disposition to trust as mentioned by respondents.

Hobbies

Although hobbies was not considered as a dominant tile by many respondents (3 out of 34), given the novelty of its examination on trust and trust related behaviours, and its contribution to the enhancement of trust, which will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapter, it will however be examined with the aim to provide insight as to how this tile influenced disposition to trust.

Despite the fact that all 34 respondents associated with at least one type of hobby (i.e. cycling,

running, climbing, etc.) only Nicole, Dan and Edwin expressed that their hobbies affect their disposition to trust. Dan and Edwin both work as expatriates in South Africa and they describe how through their hobbies they were able to increase their encounters with a group whom they associate with and trust in that particular context given that it allowed them to better integrate and become familiar with the local practices and settings. Hobbies also provided a social setting where mutual reliance and fulfilment of positive expectations regarding the other became possible with the presence of lower risks in comparison to the work environment. Therefore overall, increasing their willingness to trust others even though they were operating in an unfamiliar cultural setting.

Nicole, unlike Dan and Edwin is operating in her home country. She explains how in addition to her Family, her Hobbies have reinforced her high disposition to trust.

“We do lots of sports and we go a lot into the mountains and there you have to rely on other people when we climb so if the other person does something wrong, you trust your life on the other person, so I was thinking that the hobbies that I do, it’s super important to have a functioning group or functioning partners and without trust you wouldn’t be able to go climbing or go into the mountains so that’s why I put a high mark”. (Nicole)

Having discussed the various tiles that were activated in relation to respondents’ disposition to trust, the following section will examine their combined as displayed in Table 6.6.

Influence of concordant and discordant dominant tiles on disposition to trust

In line with Chao and Moon’s (2005) proposition that more than one tile will be activated given the presence of external cues, findings reveal that the simultaneous presence and activation of multiple dominant tiles appear to positively and negatively influence disposition to trust when the tiles are in concordance or alternatively in conflict with one another. However, while the identification of the multiple ranked dominant tiles and their composed influence on an individual’s value-set was possible due to respondents’ own declaration of the tiles that were influential, the disentanglement of the multiplicity of tiles and their unique influence on respondents’ value-sets and behaviours was not viable simply through the examination of their statements, given that the pattern, the type of relationship and structure

between the activated tiles themselves are not clear.

A total of 5 out of 34 cases displayed evidence of how conflicting tiles can reduce their disposition to trust. Taking the exemplary case of Vicki who believes that her Age, Organisation, Family and Religion collectively influence her disposition to trust and in relation to this, describes how growing up she learned that she has to be trusting although the conflict between Organisation and other tiles has caused her to develop a low disposition to trust her fellow members.

“I was told from my very early youth, at the very base (Family + Religion) everyone is a good person and you should trust and that you have some foundation of trust that you give away to any person that approaches you, I learned from experience (Age+ Organisation) though that you should be careful whom you trust”. (Vicki)

Contrary to the process whereby discordant tiles have led to a low disposition to trust, concordant tiles resulted in higher disposition to trust in 5 out of 34 cases, considering that concordant tiles will induce behaviours that arise from similar value sets within an individual which was also shown in relation to respondents work behaviour (see page 148).

Bheki for example, describes how his high disposition to trust is a result of the interplay between his various dominant tiles in the following manner:

“I’m a trusting person, I’m a stupidly trusting person and it has nothing to do with anything. I’m from a class of people where I had nothing, where everyday folds and you don’t know what’s going to happen, where you pray that tomorrow will be a little bit better, and it’s not for me to judge, if you’re doing well and you come from another class that’s fine, but coming from where I’m from that’s one thing that you never get to do, you never ever get to judge people, you never get to label people negatively and we need to be in an environment where simple things if you run out of sugar you go to the person next door, that kind of a culture in SA amongst the black people we call “the spirit of togetherness” and it revolves around nothing else but trust so I was taught by the mother that raised me that you should approach everybody with a positive outlook until they prove themselves wrong”. (Bheki)

Although Bheki has ranked his Profession and Political affiliation as influencing his disposition to trust, he makes references to his Family upbringing, Ethnicity and Religious

background when explaining why he is trusting. These tiles were ranked as the dominant tiles on his cultural identity which suggests that his disposition to trust is derived from his culture. However, his reference to ‘culture among black people’ is related to the racial segregation imposed by the South African government during Apartheid which can be conceived as political. Furthermore, Bheki later mentions how through his work experience he has understood the importance of being united and considering the greater purpose therefore he has been able to overcome any differences he may have encountered with other colleagues and display a high disposition to trust in order to achieve the common goal. Overall, it is evident that role of the tile(s) in this case are very much intertwined, with Family dominating Bheki’s cultural identity as well as his disposition to trust. In this case, Family, Religion, Profession and Political affiliation have been able to concordantly lead to Bheki’s high disposition to trust.

This example also reveals how tiles that were in concordance with each other overlapped in terms of the values they activated. Bheki’s statements “*I was taught by the mother that raised me... kind of culture among black people...you pray everyday...*” refers to the dominance of his Family and Religion tiles and their overlap regarding the activation of the value that basic human nature is good, which has also strengthened his predisposition to trust. It could be inferred that the reason concordant tiles result in predictable behaviour is that they strengthen the value-set(s) of which they activate and result in the domination of a value over others regardless of external cues.

Even though Bheki and other respondents who had similar reinforcing tiles (i.e. Nicole, Pearl, Frederick) referred to their high disposition to trust, their relevant rankings were not significantly higher than other cases. Suggesting that although their concordant tiles on their disposition to trust resulted in *relatively* higher levels of disposition to trust, they did not necessarily lead to a *high* level of disposition to trust. Considering that an individual’s disposition to trust is an outcome of their positive expectation of the other party as well as well as the willingness to accept vulnerability, it can be suggested that while concordant can contribute towards positive expectations regarding a trustee, they may not influence the individual’s willingness to make themselves vulnerable given the culturally unfamiliar context. Consequently, allowing for contextual factors to determine their willingness to accept

vulnerability (Mayer et al., 1995, McKnight et al., 1998).

As depicted in Figure 6.1, the majority of respondents scored quite neutral in relation to their disposition to trust (mean = 4.7 & standard deviation= 0.6; where 4 according to the respondents meant that 'it depends'). Given this relativity, the following section will unravel the criteria by which respondents assessed their general willingness to trust in a culturally diverse context.

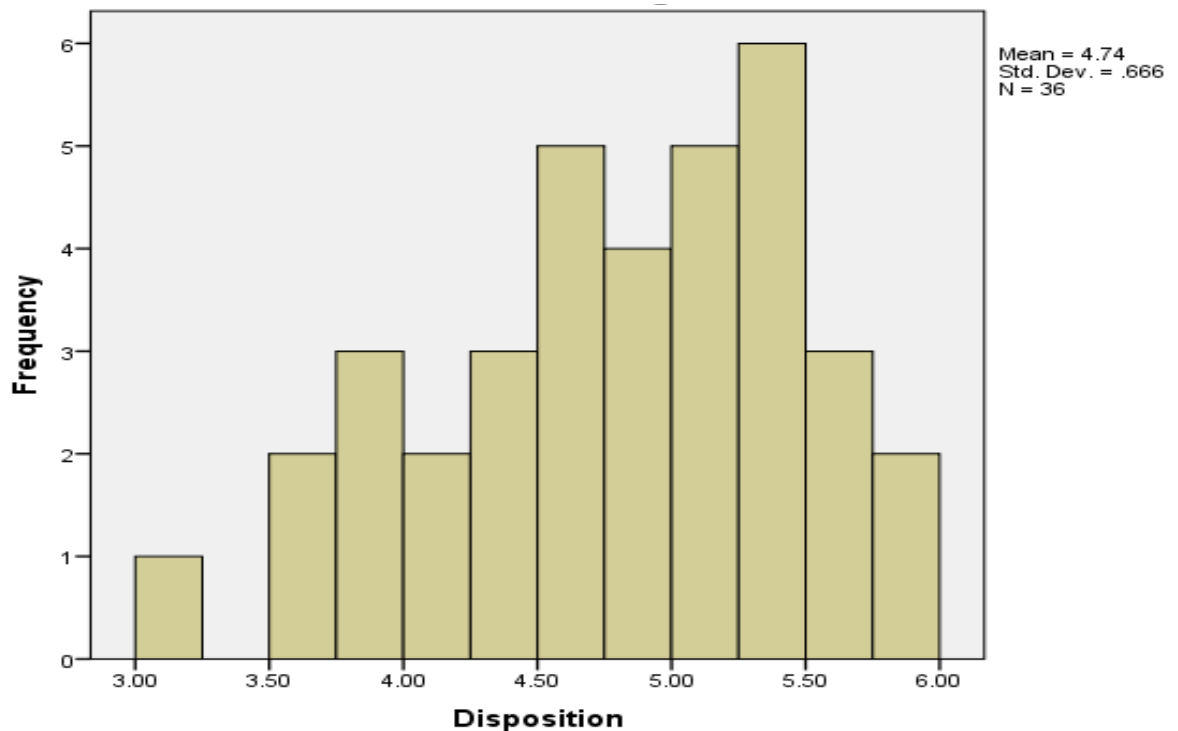


Figure 6.1: Disposition to trust

CRITERIA FOR ASSESSMENT OF TRUSTWORTHINESS IN A CULTURALLY DIVERSE CONTEXT

Various antecedents of trustworthiness were identified by the respondents which confirm those factors previously determined in the literature (i.e. Ability, Benevolence and Integrity) and covered in Chapter 2 (Mayer et al., 1995). In addition to those antecedents of trustworthiness however, there has been the prevalence of other features which may be attributable to the context in which the respondents were making references to, as well the

characteristics and experiences of the respondents themselves. Thus, findings suggest that individuals who have been exposed to a high degree of diversity by operating in a culturally diverse context may seek additional criteria when assessing another individual's trustworthiness. This may be due to the fact that from a personality theory perspective, trust and its various dimensions-including how it is assessed -is a psychological construct that varies among individuals based on their past experiences (i.e. operating in other cultures) and prior socialisations (i.e. interacting with individuals from different cultures) (Lewis and Wiegert, 2001).

Interaction

Interaction was the most frequently mentioned antecedent of trustworthiness. 11 out of 34 respondents expressed that their assessment of trustworthiness is dependent upon the particular interaction they have with a trustee and the inferences they make based on those interactions. Interpretations relating to other's trustworthiness were made from attributions such as facial expressions, eye contact, intonation and body language. This may be due to what studies have identified as the humans' adaptive cognitive ability to assess trustworthiness under evolved complex social environments (Bickart et al., 2011, Bzdok et al., 2011, Szalavitz, 2010), meaning that since judgment about trustworthiness is derived from individuals' past experiences, and considering that they have been interacting with individuals from discrepant cultural backgrounds, it may well be that the conditions under which trustworthiness is assessed have evolved in order to meet the demands of such complex social environment and therefore the criteria of assessment are not always generalizable across individuals.

"I think the way someone talks to you, if the person has eye contact, body language even, if they're not looking straight at you, you know something is wrong". (Claire)

"This is hard to tell, I mean if you're talking and looking at the other person, you create your image about the other person. It would be the conversation; I would not think that these are hard factors like nationality or something. It's also looking at the other person how he's dealing with other people, how he's working, what other people say about the person but it's very specific to the person". (Joseph)

“There is also the emotional side when you say OK this person looks truthful. You know you have some signals but I could not say exactly what, sometimes with experiences or the way they would react and I will mix the two, I use both types of information, the rational side, their interaction with others and then my personal interaction with them. What is my feeling about them? And I think trust feeling is very important. Then over time if your feeling is going in the right direction and if it’s confirming your first impression or not and over few weeks, you know...” (Vicki)

“So basically you give that person the benefit of the doubt. I don’t know you and you don’t know me, we could be from completely different backgrounds, we got together in a working environment and everybody is here to work for their families and all sort of things, and we get an opportunity to engage and discuss. Then you say something, I say something, and if from a different culture, I won’t even try to understand it on one occasion, it’s something that’s going to build on for quite some time...” (Bheki)

Where Claire refers to physical and observable features of the trustee, Vicki mentions ‘appearing truthful’ but on a deeper subconscious level, meaning that when the observable features or behaviours of the trustee triggered a positive or negative emotion in her (the trustor), then an initial judgment regarding the trustworthiness of the trustee was made. This is why for these respondents it was not a particular characteristic but rather the emotions that the interaction induced in them that determined the basis of their assessment. Joseph in addition to his reference to third party confirmation and dimensions of ability, benevolence and integrity confirms the notion that “it’s not hard factors like nationality” but rather the impression that he (the trustor) gets from the particular interaction with the trustee and his/her interaction with others. It is not clear in these scenarios which behaviour results in positive or negative assessments but considering their references to impressions, it can be inferred that it is rather dependent on the trustor’s interpretation of those behaviours.

Thus, these individuals did not have predetermined criteria by which they would assess others’ trustworthiness, but stated that in order to make such judgments they needed to have an initial interaction with the specific individual. Differences in cultural schemas can influence

assessments of trustworthiness given how an interpretation of trustee's behaviour from the trustor's perspective can be highly subjective. Therefore where a trustee can have the intention to behave in a trusting way, the trustor may not interpret that behaviour as trustworthy. Cultural intelligence was ranked high among all 11 respondents that referred to interaction which also enabled the act of suspended judgments.

Past experience in encountering individuals from different national cultural backgrounds

Following interaction, assessment based on past experience was the second most frequently (7 out of 34) referred to criteria for assessment of trustworthiness. Past experience can have a positive or negative effect on the assessment of trustworthiness depending on the most salient trust related experiences the respondents previously made. When respondents had made positive experiences when dealing with individuals from other cultural backgrounds, they tended to disregard the differences and focus on the commonalities they may have shared with the trustee. When these experiences were negative, meaning that when there was a breach of trust due to discrepant expectations regarding behavioural manifestations of trust or their expectations regarding certain tasks or performances had not been met, they tended to associate the trustee's untrustworthiness to their national differences. This may be due to the fact that a number of respondents expressed that, given their numerous interactions with co-workers from different national backgrounds, they have been able to identify certain patterns of behaviour that are attributable to a particular 'nationality' (stereotyping) (Hambrick et al., 1998). Therefore discrepant behaviour was associated with observable discrepant attributes such as nationality.

Considering that individuals tend to reduce complexity through prediction, and that prediction via categorisation is one of the cognitive processes that induce trusting beliefs (McKnight et al., 1998), this can shed light on why certain respondents expressed that national categorisation enables them to assess another individual's trustworthiness. The following are examples of respondents who considered nationality to be a predictor of behaviour and to a certain extent, base their trust initial related judgments on the trustee's nationality.

"I have to say nationality. Because I have met over a hundred nationalities in the last 10 years and I've worked with so many nationalities and when I say we shouldn't stereotype but you

can stereotype to a certain extent if you know a bit...”(Stine, cultural intelligence = 5.5)

“Maybe it’s not OK but you tend to judge people because of their country. For instance let’s take Thailand, if you made the experience that they look at you and laugh and always friendly and they say yes yes everything is OK and you think everything is OK, everyone has understood everything and then in the end it turns out that nothing is OK and you know you made this experience a few times then you know OK this is very different here, then if you meet a Thai then you think OK since you have made that experience several times so you have to be more cautious”. (Franz, cultural intelligence = 4)

“No it’s different in a diverse team, you can link it down to nationalities, they are different, I wouldn’t trust a French guy, I never had a French guy in my team, sure there’s a difference between nationalities but let me go to...I had Belgians, I had Russians I had Americans I had Australians, I had different ones”. (Chris, cultural intelligence = 4.9)

“My problem is that I trust people quite easily, that’s the thing but it’s definitely kind of nationality, where he comes from, how you’re getting along with each other, that has major impact”. (Edwin, cultural intelligence = 5.1)

These respondents, though varying in their degree of disposition to trust and their cultural intelligence, have all referred to how a trustee’s nationality, although not in isolation, initially influences their assessment of his/her trustworthiness based on their past experiences. Where for Franz and Chris, their past experience with a particular nationality has caused them to be more cautious and in Chris’s case distrusting, for Stine and Edwin it appears to be more a matter of guidance of judgment rather than assessment, nevertheless appearing to be strongly influential.

All 7 respondents who referred to past experience as a determinant of initial assessment of trustworthiness had ranked Nationality as their dominant tile on their own cultural identity, meaning that they perceived their behaviour which derived from their culture to be influenced by their nationality. This suggests that individuals who consider nationality to be a predictor of trustworthiness based on their prior experiences also believed nationality to be one of the strong determinants of their own cultural identity. The contrary however does not hold true, meaning that not all respondents who ranked Nationality as their dominant tile on their

cultural identity believed nationality to be a predictor of trustworthiness. This supports Chao and Moon's (2005) proposition that the activation of particular patterns of cultural identities is influenced by the strength of the pattern and situational factors. In this scenario, the activation of respondents' dominant National tile in assessing the trustworthiness of others was due to the respondents' past experiences in dealing with individuals from various national backgrounds and it is expected that these individuals when confronted with a nationally diverse context will tend to base their assessment of trustworthiness on nationality, although whether their past experience with certain nationalities induce positive or negative expectations remain unclear and are dependent on the individual.

CONCLUSION

In sum, findings generated from within case analysis support the application of the cultural mosaic metatheory to the study of cross cultural encounters (Chao and Moon, 2005). Through the exploration of each case and their accounts regarding the influence of culture on trust development, this chapter has identified the below findings.

Firstly, findings revealed that individuals draw from their various cultural tiles in the process of trust development. The tile(s), which they draw from, depend on the dominance of the tile(s) in relation to their cultural identity, their work behaviour and their willingness to trust. Whilst the ranked dominant tiles on cultural identity are Family, Nationality and Urban/Rural background, dominant tiles on work behaviour are Organisation, Profession, Age and Family, and dominant tiles on disposition to trust are Family, Organisation and Age.

Secondly, it became apparent that concordant tiles within an individual positively influence work behaviour and disposition to trust. When the dominant tiles on individuals' work behaviour were congruent, individuals tended to display behaviour that is in accordance with the organisation which in turn impacts their perceived trustworthiness. Similarly, harmonious dominant tiles on disposition to trust resulted in relatively higher levels of disposition to trust within the individuals. Conversely, discordant tiles within an individual can hinder the development of trust by resulting in behaviour that is not in line with the organisation therefore causing the individual to be perceived as untrustworthy, as well as reducing the individual's disposition to trust by

altering the facets that in aggregate can cause an individual to hold generally high disposition to trust (Wasti et al., 2010, McKnight et al., 1998, Nooteboom and Six, 2003).

Thirdly, in addition to previously identified antecedents of trustworthiness such as ability, benevolence, integrity, reliability, openness and etc., within a culturally diverse context, individuals identified interaction and past experience as influential on how they generally assess a trustee's trustworthiness (Mayer et al., 1995, Rousseau et al., 1998). Overall respondents perceived themselves as having a higher disposition to trust than what their rankings had revealed. Meaning that during the interview, respondents stated that they believed to be very trusting, though their corresponding questionnaire indicated lower levels of disposition to trust. This supports the notion that trust as a construct can be considered simultaneously as a subjective construction and as an objective reality depending on which dimension of trust is being examined and under what conditions.

CHAPTER 7 : FINDINGS- PATTERNS OF DYADIC TRUST DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Having discussed the formation of multiple cultural identities and the influence of dominant tiles on these identities *within an individual* in the previous chapter (Chao and Moon, 2005), this chapter presents the findings generated from cross-case analysis and examines how respondents drew from their cultural tiles in order to develop trust with their counterpart, therefore looking at the five-stage trust development process *across individuals* (Dietz et al., 2010).

The cross-case examination of all 34 cases led to the identification of four patterns of trust development, namely high-trust, mid-level trust, working-level trust and distrust, which were discussed in the exemplary cases 1-4 in Chapter Six. This chapter is structured in accordance with these emergent patterns and reveals the level of declared trust as an outcome of this process and how the development of each stage (i.e. opening stance, early encounter, breakthrough/breakdown) resulted in the particular level of trust. Taking into account the interplay between the multiple cultural tiles across the dyads in each stage of the process, where shared tiles showed to enhance the process and conflicting tiles inhibited the development of trust. Subsequently, given that dyadic interaction does not occur in isolation from governing contextual factors, this chapter will also discuss the factors revealed by the respondents as positively or negatively influencing the various stages of the process.

Lastly it suggests that the moderating role of individuals' cultural intelligence and its four dimensions can-according to respondents' account- enhance the trust development process, particularly in the initial stages of interaction. Overall this chapter will address the findings pertaining to the second and third research objectives which are *individuals' disposition to trust, their assessment of their counterpart's trustworthiness, factors leading to the decision to trust/distrust as well as behavioural manifestations of trust and the role of contextual factors and individual's cultural intelligence on the trust development process.*

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

In contrast to within-case analysis discussed in Chapter Six where the focus of analysis was on one case (one participant), cross-case analysis refers to the comparison and contrast of multiple cases across all participants where the focus of analysis is on the ‘trust development process’. Conducting cross-case analysis allowed for the identification of patterns that emerged across these processes, and by comparison, allowed for the distinction of those desirable and undesirable processes which in turn either led to a breakthrough hence the presence of a certain level of trust or alternatively resulted in the breakdown of the trust development process. Overall, this chapter will discuss the five elements pertaining to the cross-cultural trust development process (as shown in Figure 4.3). These elements comprise of 1) Opening stance, 2) Early encounter, 3) Breakthrough/Breakdown, 4) Contextual factors and 5) Individual’s Cultural Intelligence.

THE TRUST DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The case-level descriptions provided in the Chapter Six exemplified four levels of trust that emerged as an outcome of the individual’s activation of their multiple ranked dominant tiles, where the variation among the levels of obtained trust were subject to the alignment and sharedness of tiles across dyads. *High trust* was achieved when multiple tiles such as Family, Hobbies, Organisation and Profession were shared between the respondent and their counterpart, *mid-level* trust was achieved when Organisation and Profession tiles were shared among the dyads, *working-level* trust was an outcome of shared Organisation tile and *distrust* was due to the absence of shared tiles and the presence of conflicting tiles among the dyads. This section will identify how each process was achieved given the activation of cultural tiles, and the factors that came into play in each stage of the trust development process (i.e. opening stance, early encounter, consequence).

Table 7.1 provides an overview of the four levels of obtained trust across cases. The Outcome column refers to the level of trust that was developed as a result of the dyad’s interactions (trust development process). The Trustworthiness column refers to the respondents’ rankings in relation to their counterpart’s trustworthiness (Ability, Benevolence, Integrity) as well as their degree of Reliance and Disclosure towards their counterparts. The Opening Stance and Early Encounter columns refer to those elements that came into play in each stage of the trust development process. The Consequence column shows whether the Opening Stance and the Early Encounter stages resulted in a

breakthrough or a breakdown of trust between the two parties. The Shared Tile column refers to tiles that were shared among the dyads and finally, Conflicting Tile column refers to those tiles that were influential on respondents' behaviour but incompatible with their counterpart.

The first row of Table 7.1 for example illustrates how High Trust was developed among respondents such as Allen, Hammond, etc. where their assessment of their counterpart's trustworthiness was relatively high (i.e. 5.3, 6, 5.9, etc.) and correspondingly, so was their willingness to rely on and disclose information to their respective counterparts. Where disclosure in some cases was ranked higher than reliance (i.e. disclosure= 7 > reliance= 6.2). This was due to respondents' degree of motivation and metacognitive cultural intelligence, their degree of openness and their high disposition to trust in the Opening Stance stage. Upon initial interaction (Early Encounter) respondents made judgments based on the visible traits and seniority of their counterparts and identified commonalities and similar behaviour between them. They were also able to recognise their counterpart's abilities. These factors allowed these respondents to achieve a breakthrough in their trust development process. In the development of high trust, there were a number of identified shared tiles (i.e. Family, Hobbies, Organisation and Profession), and the absence of conflicting tiles. Shared tiles were predominantly identified in the Early Encounter stage of the trust development process given that recognising shared values that derived from those tiles required a certain degree of interaction and socialisation between the two parties.

Table 7.1: Levels and Processes of Trust Development

Outcome	Trustworthiness/ Reliance, disclosure	Respondents	Opening Stance	Early Encounter	Consequence	Shared Tiles	Conflicting Tiles
High Trust (Reliance& Disclosure=high)	5.37/ 5.4 = 5.4 6.07/ 6.2 = 6.2 5.3/ 4.8 < 6.2 5.4/ 5.2 < 5.6 6.06/ 6.2 < 7 5.9/ 6.4 > 6.2 5.5/ 4.8 < 7 6/ 6.4 = 6.4 5.6/ 6.8 > 6.6 5.8/ 5.6 > 5.2	Allen Edward Dan Edwin Albert Pearl Ela Frederick Nicole Ruth Bheki Hammond	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Openness • Motivation/ metacognitive CQ • Disposition to trust 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visible traits • Commonalities • Seniority • Recognising abilities • Similar behaviour • Cognitive/ behaviour CQ 	Breakthrough	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family • Hobbies • Organisation • Profession 	None
Mid-level Trust (Reliance>Disclosure)	5.5/ 5.8 > 2.2 5.3/ 5.8 > 5.6 4.3/ 4.4 > 3.8 5.2/ 4.6 > 2 4.7/ 4.8 > 3.6 5.1/ 5.4 > 3.6 5.3/ 5.6 > 4.6 5.1/ 5.8 > 5	Birgit Jan Chris Stine Claire Siegfried George Valerie Helen Sabrina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disposition to trust • Suspended judgment • Motivation/ metacognitive CQ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Similar/aligned work behaviour • Adopting organisational culture 	Breakthrough	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisation • Profession 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age (experience)
Working-level Trust (Reliance= mid-level, Disclosure=low)	5.2/ 4.6 > 2 4.3/ 4.8 > 2.4 3.7/ 5.2 > 1.6 5.4/ 3 > 1.2 4.1/ 4.8 > 3 4.9/ 5 > 3.6	Gregor Franz Victoria Dave Thabo Henry Joseph	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unwillingness to trust 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National differences • Modifying expectations • Cognitive/behaviour CQ 	Breakthrough	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family • Profession • Age (experience) • Nationality
Distrust (Reliance& Disclosure=Low)	4.1/ 4.6 > 3 5.2/ 5.2 > 3.6 4.6/ 4.2 = 4.2 5.4/ 3 > 1.2	Steve Gale Jakob Claudio Simon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflicting (National) tiles • Low disposition to trust 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confirmation bias • Monitoring and control 	Breakdown	None	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Profession • Organisation • Nationality • Ethnicity

The development of high trust

12 out of 34 respondents considered the level of trust developed between them and their counterpart to be high (akin to identification-based) and referred to high trust as a “*friendship*”. In these cases respondents ranked both reliance and disclosure high and in some cases disclosure was ranked even higher than reliance (i.e. Albert, Frederick, Nicole, Dan, Hammond), suggesting that respondents were able to share personal information with their counterpart despite the fact that they may not have necessarily considered relying on a range of their task related abilities in the workplace. These respondents all had frequent encounters with their counterpart seeing as they were either sharing an office or reporting directly to their counterpart hence interacting with each other on a daily basis. However, as shown in Table 7.1, the achievement of high level of trust was due to the occurrence of various factors in the opening stance and the early encounter stage, in addition to the activation of multiple shared tiles between these respondents. Each stage occurred as follow.

1. Opening Stance: In this scenario, respondents displayed a degree of openness towards their counterpart where this openness was a personality trait pertaining to the respondent and therefore was independent from-but can be influenced by- the particular interaction. Some respondents also displayed the willingness to draw from their relatively high disposition to trust when making initial judgments regarding the assessment of their counterpart’s trustworthiness. Both openness and high disposition to trust can positively influence the opening stance stage.

1.1 Openness

Within a culturally diverse context, openness was identified by respondents as a trait that when displayed by either or both parties, could result in suspended judgment regarding the assessment of trustworthiness in the initial stages of interaction and induce positive emotions regarding the other party. Those individuals who regarded openness as a facilitator of initial trust development also ranked high on disposition to trust and high on cultural intelligence. This implies that Individuals who are generally willing to trust the other and acquire cognitive awareness of cultural differences may display behaviour that is associated with openness and suspended judgment, hence when coming into encounters with individuals of similar mind-set, they are enabled to form initial trust in the early

stages of development earlier than those dyads that do not acquire these characteristics.

Frederick explains how quickly he was able to develop trust with his chosen counterpart. Given that they were sitting in the same office, and had more frequent interactions, he considers that as an additional facilitator of this process. Nonetheless, he describes his first impression of her in the below manner:

“From the beginning it was, it took only two months that the trust was there...if there’s somebody who’s also open minded it’s much easier for myself to be open minded, and how do you say, it’s growing up open minded and it’s good feedback...I think to invite colleagues is no problem, I think it’s a good thing to do because in the future we will have more this way of work-life balance, I think its very important. If they cannot have the chance to see into the family then they only see the work life but not the private life then they won’t have the whole picture. ”. (Frederick)

This statement uncovers several contributors to swift trust formation not frequently mentioned across respondents. Firstly the fact that Frederick accounted for cultural differences within the country itself, therefore identifying with his local environment in which he was brought up, hence ranking Nationality alongside Background as dominant tiles on his culture. This itself can be considered as a sign of cultural awareness and sensitivity. Furthermore, he raises awareness regarding the importance of maintaining a work/life balance between a professional and personal relationship. Whilst in contrast to Frederick, the majority of respondents stated that for them it was important to separate the work relationship from personal relationships, therefore limiting the exchange of information with their counterparts regarding personal issues. It could be proposed that both parties degree of openness enabled them to identify with each other’s commonalities in the early stages of interaction.

He further refers to the importance of mutual openness which can result in positive expectations regarding each other and further reinforce the degree of receptiveness regarding the other party. For Frederick, this open mind-set is derived from his family upbringing and his exposure to international environments in the workplace. This is also reflected in his rankings where he has ranked his Family and Ethnicity as dominant tiles on his willingness to trust and his Organisation and Age (experience) has his dominant tiles on his work behaviour.

On a similar note, Nicole states how mutual degree of openness, which allowed for the

early identification of shared family values, resulted in initial positive assessments of trustworthiness. Nicole had ranked Family as a dominant tile on her culture and disposition to trust which is why its sharedness resulted in positive assessments of her counterpart's trustworthiness as well.

"I had a colleague from Singapore I was sitting together with for two years so of course we chatted together in the office and talked about each other's family and she also told stories about her parents and about her niece and how she's embedded in her family and somehow when you hear these stories and you know she also has a family...I think both of us were open, and over time we talked and we got to know each other better and better and we worked together and then it really developed from there so we started on a very good basis because both of us were open and then we opened up and then we shared also a lot of feelings and thoughts" (Nicole, reliance = 6.2 ; disclosure = 7)

1.2 High Disposition to trust

The influence of high disposition to trust on initial positive assessments were based on the extent to which individuals had drawn from their cultural tiles influencing their disposition to trust in order to assess their counterpart's trustworthiness. While some respondents (i.e. Albert, Edwin and Edward), despite having a relatively lower disposition to trust were able to develop a high trust with their particular counterpart, others generally displayed higher levels of disposition to trust and provided evidence for considering their disposition as being influential on their initial assessments. Although their claimed high disposition to trust such as the case of Pearl was higher than their ranked disposition to trust. This discrepancy was also discussed in Chapter Six. Nevertheless, Ela, Pearl and Bheki state how they were initially willing to show trust related behaviours to their counterparts due to their high disposition to trust.

Ela, stating that her relatively high disposition to trust (5.1) comes from her family upbringing, in relation to her counterpart states that:

"As usual, initially I trust people so that doesn't change and he never lost any points to say so I still trust him. The only thing I trust him a lot but you get to know where he's strong and where he's not..." (Ela)

Bheki (disposition to trust = 5.8) states:

"I'm a trusting person, I'm a stupidly trusting person and it has nothing to do with

anything, I approach everybody with a positive outlook... I mean obviously being new in the company one of the interesting things was that it was almost like chemistry, but for some reason things just fell into place for us naturally...” (Bheki)

Pearl describes her initial encounter with her counterpart in the following way:

“In general I don’t have any issues with trust because I believe in giving people a chance, so I don’t go into anything not trusting... So I began by trusting her, I never distrusted her but I think what played a role was that we were in a small department, our approach to work was quite similar compared to the others, we’re not similar but we deal with things in a similar way so besides being my boss she was kind of a mentor”. (Pearl)

Pearl’s initial positive assessment is not only influenced by her stated high disposition to trust (4.8), but also the similarity and the seniority of her counterpart, suggesting that while high disposition to trust may not directly result in positive assessment, it can indirectly allow for the identification of other features (i.e. similarity) to have positive influence on this stage of the trust development process.

In sum, it is apparent that a number of elements that are drawn from individual’s cultural tiles, in aggregate can result in positive judgments regarding counterparts’ trustworthiness in the opening stance stage. While each element was discussed separately, it should be noted that their influence does not occur in isolation but rather, each factor influences another. High disposition to trust and high metacognitive and motivational cultural intelligence can result in individuals degree of openness towards the culturally dissimilar other, this in turn can allow for the identification of commonalities between the dyads which positively influences assessments of ability, benevolence and integrity.

2. Early Encounter: In the scenario where high trust has been developed as an outcome of various stages and the opening stance has resulted in positive assessments of trustworthiness it can thus be expected that the early encounter stage consists of interaction which further confirms initial positive assessments. However, as it will be discussed in further processes, this is not always the case. Judgment based on visible traits, the identification of commonalities, counterpart’s seniority, similar work behaviour and the trustor’s ability to recognise the trustee’s task-related competencies are factors that resulted in the reinforcement of initial positive assessments and led to the enhancement of trust between the dyads. Given that the influence of culture on behaviour occurs in patterns (as discussed in chapter three), in this stage it can be seen that similarity in behaviour which

also results in increased delegation and is itself derived from shared cultural tiles, is a result of common patterns of behaviour rather than exact manifestation of behaviour.

2.1 Visible traits

Visible traits such as ethnicity, language and accent appeared to initially result in negative and positive assessments of trustworthiness depending on the trustor's interpretation of those features. For example in Allen's case, it induced a positive association given that both parties used English as their second language:

"I saw a middle age white SA person walking into the room and having his Afrikaans accent which is pretty sympatic for a German native speaker because it makes it pretty easy to understand and I was assuming he would be an ex racist of course because if you're White then you are a racist". (Allen)

In the case of Dan and Ruth it appears to negatively impact their initial judgment. Dan, as a British expatriate working in Johannesburg states that:

"When I first met this guy you get the impression that he's fairly dim witted and that was my first assumption mainly because he would get his tenses wrong but that was because Afrikaans was his first language it's a Germanic language so the literal translation does sound slightly bizarre but I knew after time as you work with him more closely he's actually incredibly intelligent and it's actually the fact that there's a language barrier". (Dan)

Ruth says:

"I usually trust people even if they look different or sound different, she was culturally very different and with her I was quite prejudice. I tried to overcome that, I tried to listen and find out what she can do..." (Ruth)

Influence of assessments made based on observable features is derived from what the features induce in the trustor. Visible differences can result in unpredictable outcomes in the opening stance stage, however these factors were not considered in isolation and in fact, features such as perceived commonalities, degree of openness towards differences and disposition to trust which relate to the trustor are better determinants of this stage. Therefore it appears that the initial stage of trust development is to a large extent based on the trustor rather than the trustee. For example as shown in the cases of Allen and Dan, while both respondents encounter a trustee with language deficiency, Allen considered this

as a positive attribute while Dan regarded it as negative.

2.2 Commonalities

Commonalities refer to general, face value judgments made by the respondents regarding aspects of their counterpart. When commonalities are identified, they can further lead to a positive expectation regarding their counterpart's trustworthiness. Although, individuals may not be consciously interpreting the trustworthiness of their counterpart based on their behaviours but rather as a reflection of their own value system (Campbell, 1967). This may be due to the fact that individuals' cultural identities influence their perception, suggesting that individuals will differ in terms of the schemas that are available to them at the time of the encounter (Norenzayan et al., 2007). Respondents varied in terms of the commonalities they identified as facilitating the assessment of trustworthiness. Where some participants mentioned similarity in work behaviours, others declared shared hobbies or holding strong family values as contributors. Regardless of which factors were identified as being common, they appeared to derive from the trustor's ranked dominant tiles hence resulting in shared tiles across the dyad.

Edward describes how shared perceptions towards professionalism resulted in Edward's positive assessment of his counterpart's trustworthiness despite his relatively low disposition to trust. Edward ranked Age and Profession as his dominant tiles on his disposition to trust and Organisation and Profession as his dominant tile on his work behaviour. Since the influence of dominant tiles have been discussed in chapter 6, I will refrain from repeating them here, however it is important to note that this case reveals the predictability of the dominant tile on future interpretations, indicating that Profession as a ranked dominant tile on work behaviour and willingness to trust, in the case of Edward, has guided his interpretation of what constitutes as being important to share among him and his counterpart. Edward states:

"That's a difficult question, a very difficult question and I think it comes first off from the professional situation where we were both very good at our jobs in an environment where there were people who clearly were underperforming, and so some part of it that brought us together was this notion of doing things right and making a difference where we could both see what could make a difference, that's something that definitely drives him".
(Edward)

Interviewer: Is that something you knew before you hired him?

“All I knew was that he was a very strong candidate in the interview then it turned out that what was also in the interview was coming through as well when he joined, I would second guess for him, in his case he would respect people better who, he would more likely talk to people who he respects professionally”. (Edward)

Edward later reveals how his first interpretation regarding his counterpart was later confirmed via increased interactions though it is evident from his statement that the ‘shared notion of doing a good job’ was what resulted in Edwards’s positive expectations regarding the trustworthiness of his counterpart, albeit in the realms of his abilities.

Common hobbies can also be a source of positive assessments, more effectively when they are considered as a dominant trait by the individuals. However the conditions under which hobbies were influential were when respondents were either expatriates or foreign nationals working outside their home country. Shared hobbies provided a sense of identification for the respondents though it seemed to have a stronger influence on the trust development process in the early encounter stage. Nonetheless, the ability to identify common interests in the early stages of trust development can accelerate the identification of shared mind-sets among dyads.

Edwin describes his first encounter with his counterpart (which was his boss), having met for the first time in South Africa both as foreign nationals there are as follow:

“I didn’t know him at all, I just got to know him through soccer, we had a soccer team built up afterwards and then we started having conversations, I had never seen him before, through my studies. He said, OK we make a soccer team and do you want to join? Then it started like this. I learned a lot from him and given the opportunity as a youngster quite a bit from him so that’s the reason why I rate him quite high. Through soccer you get to know, soccer connects people and you get this flair and you know who you can trust and who you can’t...” (Edwin)

Frederick describes how having common family values, or in his case, being in a similar familial situation enabled him to initially assess his counterpart’s trustworthiness as quite high, considering that he perceives this similarity as increasing his counterpart’s benevolence towards him, where this has also transferred to the work environment. In relation this he states:

“It’s because she understands my way of life, that I have 3 children and she also, that’s why can give me some experience from her side, in our work environment she could give a hint or tips and the other way around”

2.3 Seniority

An additional observable attribute which influenced impressions formed at this stage was seniority in conjunction with Age, meaning that when respondents described their initial encounters they made reference to the fact that their counterpart was senior to them and in all cases older than them. As shown in chapter six, Age was ranked as one of the dominant tiles on individuals’ disposition to trust. The manifestation of this becomes more evident in the early stages of trust development as individuals draw from their disposition to trust in order to decide to trust their particular counterpart. Since age and seniority is interpreted as experience and experience corresponded with ability, it resulted in positive expectations regarding the trustee. However, where level of seniority in relation to the trustor (participant) does not coincide with the trustee being older than the trustor, different outcomes may be expected. Considering the scenario where a trustee is senior to a trustor and is younger in age, and the trustor ascribes age to seniority and is more in line with a hierarchical organisational structure, this discrepancy between seniority and age can conversely result in negative expectations regarding trustworthiness of the trustee.

Hammond and Pearl both refer to their counterparts’ seniority in terms of age and organisation level as contributing to their positive assessments of trustworthiness, causing them to be willing to rely on their counterpart’s abilities as well as disclosing personal information to them. With regards to the initial interaction between Hammond and his counterpart he states that:

“The colleague I’ve been working here since we started, I always saw him as not a role model but a mentor in terms whether that person has been in the same department as me but due to his experience in the trade. I could always approach and ask for advice and he was always willing to make time, to listen to one and give advice at any given time, so very approachable but also give constructive feedback as well. He’s a different race, also higher in the company, like I said approachable, doesn’t look at the colour of my skin, etc. and always willing to help”. (Hammond)

Although, seniority is not the sole contributor of the positive assessment at this stage, but rather the fact that for Hammond, having ranked Ethnicity as one of his dominant tiles on

his culture and disposition to trust, it is apparent that the lack of racial stereotyping by his superior has further induced positive interpretation of not just his ability but benevolence and integrity, causing Hammond to positively assess his counterpart's trustworthiness at this stage.

2.4 Recognising abilities

It is not surprising that one of the factors referred to in the early encounter stage that influenced the trust development were counterpart's abilities, given that ability is one of the central dimensions of assessment of trustworthiness (Mayer et al., 1995). Inquiring about counterpart's abilities through interviews in conjunction with surveys revealed that the recognition, display and expectation of what constitutes as ability in completing tasks did not appear to be a straight forward process and one that is independent from contextual influences. Overall findings reveal that recognising counterpart's abilities facilitated the development of trust and correspondingly resulted in the trustor's reliance on the trustee.

The case of Albert exemplifies a situation where, despite his low disposition to trust (3.63), through Albert's influence of Family and Age tile on his cultural identity and work behaviour which resulted in his degree of openness, he was able to develop trust with his colleague. He did so through the identification of complementing abilities. Having worked together for one and a half years, Albert says they have managed to develop 'sort of a friendship'.

The complexity of identifying not similar but complementary abilities lies in the fact that abilities are domain specific and more often than not this domain is known by the trustor, yet considering that the criteria of assessment is taking place against these domains, it becomes easier to determine if the trustee is able in that domain. However, when the domain of the tasks being completed differs between the trustor and the trustee, there is a need for an initial positive expectation to be present prior to the interpretation of trustworthiness (Mayer et al., 1995). Interestingly, Albert's disposition to trust was rather low (3.63) meaning that this positive expectation was not likely to be present and furthermore, Albert specifically referred to the fact that he did not initially trust his counterpart. Albert describes this identification as:

"He did a few things were I thought whoa, I never would have done that, during his probation time, but he evolved a bit and got better, really responsible and now he's really a great colleague actually. So I really value him as well because he can also do a few

things which I can't, and I can do a few things he can't, so basically we work well with each other. Now I trust him definitely. It was a long way but we're getting there. 1.5 years now. Basically the way he started to get responsibility on the job, the way he asked questions, like certain tasks that were given to us from the top he started asking why do they have to be done like that and started to say OK we can change that a bit and I thought the same thing. All these small things basically added up to a big picture and that's how it really started. I saw that it's someone I can work with". (Albert)

Prior to this statement, Albert had expressed that through the influence of his Family tile on his culture he had learned to question the way things were done and to always express his views if he did not agree with an occurring issue, even if it came from authority. However being born and raised in Germany and having always worked in the German context he states that this approach is uncommon and often not appreciated. This interplay of Albert's Family and Age (experience) enabled Albert to appreciate this quality about his counterpart as well, despite initially being sceptical of his work behaviour and approach towards task completions. This identified commonality had increased Albert's positive expectations which further enabled him to identify his counterparts complementing abilities, and together with Albert, made them a good team. Hence, the recognition of complementing abilities can enhance the trust development process by increasing interdependence and creating a cyclical learning process across dyads by which the attainment of a goal is equally perceived as beneficial by both parties involved.

Dan-as an expatriate from the UK operating in Johannesburg-states how despite his initial lack of willingness to trust his counterpart, which was due to language barriers and his relatively low disposition to trust (4.9), after having realised his counterpart's abilities, was able to develop a good level of trust with him.

"I knew after time as you work with him more closely he's actually incredibly intelligent and it's actually the fact that there's a language barrier, you know English is his second language, and the trust was born in the fact that I was willing to allocate him various tasks and workloads and I know that he'd do an excellent job and get it back, worst case scenario I have to check some of the grammar before the emails are fired off but that's about it. And that's where the trust has come from, he's proven himself and I've proven myself with him, so there's that mutual level of trust so there's a good working relationship". (Dan)

It can be inferred from the statement above that the frequency of interaction as well as Dan's willingness to overcome his low disposition to trust have enabled him to identify his counterpart's abilities which allowed Dan to increase his assessment of trustworthiness. This identification however was facilitated by what Dan considers as 'similarities between their working style' and will be discussed in the following section.

2.5 Similar behaviour

Similarities identified at this stage are an outcome of an exchange of interaction, and active interpretation of behaviour conducted by both parties and is less based on previously held assumptions and prior experiences. In general, the similarities which were considered as conducive were those that related to, or were an outcome of the influence of individual's dominant tile(s) on their work behaviour. When conditions allowed for the identification of similarities between dyads' cultural identities, the degree of reliance and disclosure displayed by the participants towards their counterpart was rather high, although these conditions were seldom met.

Ruth-having ranked Organisation and Profession as dominant tiles on her work behaviour-provides an account of how, despite her initial prejudice towards her counterpart (who according to her was from a completely different cultural background), she was able to overcome this initial lack of perceived trust and display trust related behaviours towards her counterpart. She was able to do this through the identification of similar frame of mind regarding working styles and acceptable work behaviour. Having mentioned this, it is important to note that Ruth ranked relatively high on disposition to trust (5.25) and cultural intelligence (5.42) which is likely to influence her ability to overcome initial judgments to an extent. She describes this encounter as follows:

"My first reaction was very prejudice and then I knew that this doesn't work because if you build a wall you're going to have to work together and so I just tried to take out all the prejudice stuff and tried to listen and find out what she can do, and what her strengths are, and what drives her mad and what doesn't, and so we very quickly could even talk about things like job opportunities, career challenges etc. so..." (Ruth)

With Ruth overcoming her prejudice, the relationship progressed in the below fashion:

"In that respect [judgmental] she is pretty much like me, I mean her window of

opportunity for people to gain her trust was well placed and it's much smaller than mine, I do have much more patience and she's much more, short tempered when it comes to it so I'd say she's much more judgmental. More on pure deliverables and sometimes not really appreciating backgrounds or needs of the other person and this is actually one of sparring topics. So basically if there was something, we talked about it like "did you mean that"? Or "why did you do that?" so if one felt that the other was offended we'd go back and say I'm sorry about that and we talked about it. We worked closely together and we talked about our feelings, we were both open". (Ruth)

There is a present tension between Ruth's admitted prejudice towards her counterpart and her conscious effort to overcome this prejudice. There are clearly a number of contributing factors that enable this process. Similar-albeit critical-approaches towards trust formation is what Ruth identifies as bringing them closer. Her counterpart's similar degree of scepticism towards the work relationship is understood by Ruth as she shares a similar thought process. Arguably this process is derived from Ruth's Organisational and Professional tiles and becomes evident through her references to 'opening up through her career' and 'adhering to the company skill set'. Whether or not these sentiments are shared among Ruth and her counterpart are unknown however, it is the similarity in their work behaviour-which in Ruth's case is an outcome of the interplay of ranked dominant tiles-that has brought them to develop a certain degree of trust.

For Dan, there is an initial unwillingness to trust his counterpart due to language barriers and his low disposition to trust, however the similarity that he identified between the working styles enabled him to be willing to withdraw his initial judgment and allow for the identification of his counterpart's abilities. In relation to this he states:

"We work for the same group, in all fairness there's not a huge difference between any Anglophile country in my personal opinion, that is SA is predominantly Anglophile and even though it's Anglo fall within the minority of the other Zulu, Xhosa and the other 11 national language where English is the common denominator, so from that perspective the first interaction was very friendly". (Dan)

The identification of similarities can not only overcome initial barriers but further enhance a trust relationship that is based on initial positive expectations. Bheki- ranking his Profession and Organisation as dominant tiles on his work behaviour- provides his account of how in the context of South Africa, he was able to develop a high degree of trust with

his counterpart based on what he refers to as ‘opposites attracting’. Initially their interaction was describes as:

“...As you get to know them as an individual, where they come from, their cultural background and how they went about getting to the current day, it’s then when you get to appreciate them”. (Bheki)

Prior to this encounter, Bheki had the expectation that in an organisational context, one does not develop a close friendship with a colleague as he mentions that in the working environment one has to be ‘professional’. Nevertheless through increased interaction and the overcoming of stereotypes, Bheki and his counterpart, who according to him came from a completely different cultural background (which in the South African context would mean that since Bheki is Black South African his counterpart was White South African), they were able to discover that they had ‘similar stories’, which ultimately resulted in Bheki’s high trust in his counterpart.

“Family, it’s something that really takes preference, our passion with the careers that we do because both of us have a similar story in terms of how we built our career to where it is right now. Even though we had completely different careers, he pretty much started where I started and those are really the true things that we had in common. Also another thing was our hobbies. We both like sports, soccer, and it just happened by coincidence that we both support Liverpool, we both support similar types of sport which is something that brought us even closer”. (Bheki)

Bheki’s references to commonalities such as Family values, Hobbies and Profession are related to the influence of his ranked dominant tiles. Family was ranked as Bheki’s dominant tile on his cultural identity and was discussed as having a strong influence on his ability to overcome stereotypes and deal with people on an individual basis. Organisation strongly influenced his work behaviour by providing a culture of unity among its employees and directing them to common goals, and Hobbies were ranked as the dominant tile on his trustworthiness. It should be noted however that in the context of South Africa, referring to a preference for a type of sport also carries political connotations. Considering that during Apartheid, Football was played by Black South Africans, Rugby by White South Africans and Cricket was played by the Indian population in South Africa, Bheki’s reference to ‘we both like similar type of sports’ suggests that even though his counterpart was White South African, he liked Football. Thus his preference for football conveyed his

lack of prejudice. Supporting this statement, an empirical study has shown that post-apartheid, sports was used as a tool for social integration (Keim, 2003). Consequently, it can be suggested that an additional similarity between Bheki and his counterpart is their lack of preconceptions regarding ethnicity or race, and although Bheki does not directly refer to this shared mind-set, his statement suggests that this also played an important role in their trust development. Bheki's assessment of trust in his counterpart is (5.92) with reliance (6.4) and disclosure (6.2) both ranked high.

Although evidence suggests that identified similarities facilitate and enhance the trust development process at this stage, this recognition is not without its difficulties and barriers. It is apparent that across dyads from dissimilar backgrounds, there is a need for a certain degree of conscious effort made by both parties in to overcome initial judgments and barriers. However this is subject to the influence of the individuals' ranked dominant tiles on their behaviour, and moderated by individual's cultural intelligence and organisational factors which will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

In sum, in the early encounter stage of high trust development process, either respondents' initial positive assessments were reinforced or their negative judgments were overcome through the identification of similar patterns of behaviour and shared cultural tiles (i.e. Family, Organisation, Hobbies, Profession) where this in turn led to the recognition of trustee's abilities. However given that dyads come from different cultural backgrounds, these recognitions were not easily identifiable and required a certain degree of cultural awareness openness.

3. Breakthrough

In this scenario, given that dyads have been able to develop a good level of trust with each other until this stage, and they have been able to identify shared tiles and behaviours and displayed a relatively high degree of openness, breakthrough consisted of talking about their misunderstandings openly. When discussing how they overcame any misunderstandings that may have risen throughout their interaction, they responded in the following way:

"We worked together on common tasks, we either won together or lost together, trust developed more and more and we discussed our misunderstandings openly. If you can't communicate it's a real problem, but otherwise it doesn't make a difference where the

other person was from.” (Alex)

“We talked about our differences openly and he was more careful later and things are OK now” (Albert)

“I know where I can rely on him, delivers on his promise, always tells what he does, he’s very direct and very brave in his thinking what he believes in. And so I trusted that he would tell me if there was an issue, and also he really tells you what he can do and does what he tells you”. (Ela)

“There were no misunderstandings because we would always discuss things openly” (Nicole)

“We would talk about our misunderstandings openly, this is also apart of the Company’s competency profile skill set”. (Ruth)

“We talk about everything openly, so there is nothing that we don’t know about each other, we have had countless conversations...” (Bheki)

In the high trust development process respondents are less conscious of the breakthrough stage seeing as there are no apparent misunderstandings that hinder the process or reduce the level of trust, and differences have been overcome, accepted or did not come into play at all. Although this is rather a snapshot of their interaction and it may well be that misunderstandings can arise at any point in the future during their interaction or perhaps in other interactions where high trust is present.

In sum, high trust was developed when respondents initially displayed a degree of openness and were willing to draw from their high disposition to trust in the opening stance stage. This allowed for the identification of similarities (i.e. work behaviour, hobbies, mind-sets), the recognition of abilities and multiple shared cultural tiles (i.e. Family, Organisation, Profession, Hobbies) between the respondents which in turn resulted in positive assessments of their counterparts’ trustworthiness in the early encounter stage of the process. High assessments of trust and the absence of conflicting tiles across dyads allowed for these respondents to display a high degree of reliance and disclosure towards their counterpart which appeared to be reciprocated given that in the breakthrough stage, they had not encountered any unresolved misunderstandings or conflicts.

The development of mid-level trust

10 out of 34 respondents displayed the development of mid-level (akin to knowledge-based) trust in relation to their counterpart. The trust that was developed was on the basis of shared Organisation and Profession tile and positive assessments of trustworthiness were a result of aligned work behaviour and shared organisation values. In this scenario reliance was ranked higher than disclosure (i.e. Birgit, Chris, Franz, George, etc.),⁷ and respondents considered their level of dyadic trust as being 'high'. However, given that sharedness in this scenario was confined within the organisation context, sharing personal information was seldom considered as being appropriate and that is why disclosure was ranked lower. This may be due to the fact that the dyads in this scenario did not have interactions as frequent as the previous process, consequently their domain of interpretation of behaviour and trustworthiness tended to be more limited.

1. Opening Stance: In this scenario, respondents drew from their disposition to trust to initially examine whether they should trust their counterpart or not. While the rankings reveal that these respondent' disposition to trust was not lower than those in the previous stage, they discuss how they took caution in the early stages of interaction in relation to displaying trusting behaviours. However, suspended judgment which allowed for the later identification of aligned work behaviour was a factor that enabled these dyads to develop a relatively good level of trust with each other. As the final section of this chapter will show, suspended judgment would appear to be significantly moderated by individuals' cultural intelligence, in particular, motivational and metacognitive cultural intelligence. Respondents' rankings also reveal that their ranked cultural intelligence was relatively high.

1.1 Disposition to trust

8 out of the 10 respondents referred to their disposition to trust in the opening stance stage and generally stated that they were trusting⁸ and believed that employees should be able to trust each other within the organisation context, hence providing an indication to the context under which they were willing to act on their disposition to trust. The criteria respondents regarded as a necessity in order for them to be willing to trust their counterpart varied based on the influence of the respondents ranked dominant tile on their work

⁷ See Appendix 1 for respondents' case display.

⁸ Average disposition to trust among respondents in this category = 4.8

behaviour. For example where for Helen and Sabrina, knowledge sharing was an important feature that enabled them to initially be willing to trust their counterpart, Valerie considered third party information (reputation) as well as 'appearing truthful' as important features. For Siegfried, it was the fact that they were both employed by the same company.

Helen, having ranked her Age, Profession and Organisation as dominant tiles on her work behaviour stated that she is more willing to trust someone who's older, has more experience and is able and willing to share that experience with her. In relation to her counterpart she states that initially:

"First of all I tend to trust everybody, I've got a positive kind of expectation of other people and I think it's very important to believe that the other person is in general interested in doing something good, so that's why you have to offer trust in order to get good results...Also because he was my senior, he had much more knowledge than I had and he was willing share the knowledge to a certain point and was also able to help me to develop myself within the business area which was important for me too, not every time easy but very interesting to work with." (Helen)

Helen is more willing to act on the basis of her high disposition to trust given that her counterpart meets the criteria which she considers as important for trust development such as the importance of displaying an ability and benevolence in the initial stages of interaction.

Valerie's case provides an example where she draws from both the cognitive and affective facets of predisposition to trust in order to determine other's trustworthiness in the early stages of interaction. Her ranked dominant tiles on her work behaviour include Profession and Organisation and in relation to this she states that she would be more willing to trust someone who was operating in the same organisation as her. In relation to her willingness to trust she states that:

"The reputation of the person on the market, if it's a colleague in the company I would ask a bit around about his/her reputation professionally of course and how their behaviour was in past, and what they achieved in the past with other people. That would be the rational side. But there is also the emotional side, when you say OK this person looks truthful. You know you have some signals but I could not say exactly what. Sometimes with experiences or the way they would react and I will mix the two. I use both types of information, the rational side, his interaction with others, and then my personal interaction

with him, what is my feeling about him and I think trust feeling is very important. Trusting depends on the situation. Outside of the company I would be cautious, I would not say I'm somebody that trusts everybody, no. At the beginning I would be a little bit cautious, healthy cautious, you have to first understand the person and then I try to make a complete image then I'm quite trusting, then I can be less cautious and open". (Valerie)

While Valerie presents evidence for the criteria under which she is more willing to trust, she provides the below statement regarding her particular counterpart whom she considered as being trustworthy:

"I think it may have something to do with working in the same sector, oh but no that's not true because there are others working in that sector that I don't trust. I don't know... It's just the way of behaviour; just a feeling that when you talk to that person you feel it's OK. But why? Maybe because she's near to you, same value maybe, same culture maybe too much, I guess when you understand the culture then you trust them but it takes more time, and maybe it's not because they are not trustworthy but you just have to understand why they behave this way. So that's why you have to be open and then when you learn you can trust but before you decide if you want to trust or not you have to try to understand". (Valerie)

Her statement depicts the complexity associated with behaving in accordance to one's general disposition to trust, particularly when encountering an individual from a different cultural background. Although despite this, there is a link between the criteria she discusses earlier and the factors she considered in relation to her counterpart. However, other factors (i.e. working closely together, appearing to share values), which lie on a more subconscious level, come into play in the early stages of interaction. It thus becomes apparent that firstly, disposition to trust cannot become a predictor of whether or not dyadic trust will develop and secondly, trust development is not in fact a linear process and can be, to a large extent, dependent on the particular interaction and how initial preconceived ideas are manifested. Valerie's reference to 'understanding the behaviour of others' posits the need for suspended judgment in order to better determine the trustworthiness of a trustee.

The final example of how drawing from one's disposition to trust, in conjunction with the dominant tiles can influence the individual's work behaviour, is Siegfried. Having also ranked Profession and Organisation as dominant tiles on his work behaviour, he considers

himself a generally trusting person (disposition to trust = 4.3), particularly in the organisational setting, due to the influence of his Profession tile.

“I’m a person who generally trusts everyone; I’m an optimist, so I normally trust until I see I have to be careful. I haven’t had a bad experience until now so perhaps I chose Profession because under this profession I only had good experiences. I think in the company I have to trust them, if you can’t trust your partner that’s not good for your work. I hope that my work is so professional that others can trust me. Everyone in the Company knows me and I hope they can trust me, I’m known for that. That is also what I expect from others, to do a good job”. (Siegfried)

In relation to his impression regarding his counterpart he states that:

“I thought about a colleague who comes from a different country, I think his religion and his family are a large part of his life... Normally we just meet here at work, we don’t socialize outside, we don’t have similar hobbies or anything so it’s just work. His work and the trustworthiness are different, I think I can trust him but the performance could be better”. (Siegfried)

His high disposition to trust is reflected in his statement about making a distinction between his counterpart’s trustworthiness and his performance at work, although this did not result in high rankings regarding his counterpart’s trustworthiness (5.1). Due to his dominant tiles, he considers ‘doing a good job’ a determinant of trustworthiness which in this case has not been established. In addition, he refers to the fact that the lack of interaction outside the workplace has prevented the identification of other shared tiles such as Hobbies, which could have otherwise increased the level of trust, while as shown in the previous scenario, this identification enabled the establishment of high trust.

1.2 Suspended judgment

Respondents such as Jan, Claire, Valerie and George provide examples of how despite their varying degree of disposition to trust (Jan= 5; Claire= 5.3; Valerie= 4.2; George= 4.3), they considered initial caution and suspended judgment as an appropriate method of initial assessment of their counterpart’s trustworthiness. Considering that their ranked disposition to trust is not high, and yet they were able to develop a relatively high level of trust with their counterpart’s (Jan= 5.1; Claire= 5.5; Valerie=5.3; George= 5.9), in line with what Dietz et al., (2010) argue, it can be inferred that initial suspension of judgment

can positively influence the opening stance stage of the trust development process. Although this does not necessarily determine how the early encounter stage will develop, it can provide a conduit in which positive or the absence of negative inferences are made.

Jan, having ranked Profession and Organisation as dominant tiles on work behaviour states their initial encounter in the following:

“It’s a woman colleague of mine and she is from Dominican Republic origin but working in Ghana in a regional office, whereas I was working in a sub regional office in Africa and the working relationship brought us together. So we corresponded almost daily because she was supervising my work. When we got to know each other, you always start a bit more careful, evaluating, elaborating on the actions taken by your colleague also here and finally you can build trust and cooperate more closely and at the end you can become even friends. From both sides a big amount of respect for each other in our responsibilities and our particular area and region and we kept our relation on working issues first, so professional kind of”. (Jan)

Although Jan does not directly state ‘suspending judgment’, it can be inferred from his lack of reference to any judgment made in relation to his counterpart which is from a different national background, as well as his reference to ‘starting careful’, ‘evaluating’ and ‘elaborating on actions’ suggests that inferences were made but not necessarily acted upon until later stages of interaction. ‘Respect for each other’ also implies that although there may have been differences, these were rather accepted. Having worked for multinational companies in developing countries for over 20 years, he states that tolerance for different cultural backgrounds is something he had to learn in his work environment, hence showing evidence of drawing from his Profession and Organisation tile in suspending judgment in the opening stance stage. Furthermore, seeing as Profession was essential for Jan, their shared Professional tile appears to be a factor that enabled further positive assessments, although this identification may have occurred in the early encounter stage of the process.

George considers himself a trusting person in the organisation context although his rankings reveal that he has a relatively low disposition to trust. Having ranked Organisation and Urban/Rural background as dominating tiles on his work behaviour he states how important it is for him to be able to develop trust with his colleagues in the workplace. This is influenced by the fact that he considers the German workplace to be a

trusting environment (Background and Organisation tile). In relation to this he states:

“I have a lot of trust actually in the people I work with, I prefer to have people around me that I can trust instead of being cautious all the time because I think it’s very helpful for your productivity and for your working conditions to have a trusting environment. It’s somehow coming from superiors maybe, if they trust you that helps already, if they don’t control then you feel more comfortable...”

“This is a German company although it’s an international company but we still have the HQ here in Munich and the company has been founded in Germany so working behaviour is very much German, a lot of trust”. (George)

Given that this identification does not occur in the early stages of encounter he considers suspended judgment as an appropriate approach.

“I couldn’t express it in the questionnaire but the fact that I have trust in one person does not necessarily mean that I have trust in every person. I tend to be cautious if I don’t know how to classify someone, and once I have good experience I’m happy to trust. In the beginning it was like test the waters, you want to know each other so you want to find out what are the values of the other person, how does the other person trust you, how much confidence is there to really work with each other, we were both initially cautious but its about openness and mutual respect. It’s my superior but we work very often together like colleagues more than superior and subordinate...” (George)

The statement above firstly confirms that trust is conditional and is very much based on the interaction and that one’s disposition to trust does not necessarily determine the outcome of this process, as also discussed in the previous examples. Secondly, it depicts how the organisational context can positively influence the initial stages of trust development process where it is considered by the individual as a dominant tile that positively influences behaviour, as mentioned above regarding George’s perceived presence of trust in the German workplace. Thirdly, he refers to the fact that when encountering an individual which he cannot classify (culturally), he prefers to remain open to understanding the other person, whilst simultaneously withdrawing from the enactment of trust (i.e. sharing information). His indication to ‘classifying’ shows that categorisation can occur in the early stages of interaction where this can lead to bias. This can negatively influence interpretation of behaviour if the categorisation made by the observer (trustor) does not meet their expectation. This conveys an implicit paradox where on the one hand, behaving

in accordance with stereotypes can in fact enhance assessment of trustworthiness due to the fact that behaviour becomes predictable, while on the other hand, it may be that the association with a specific stereotypical behaviour is itself considered as distrusting behaviour and would be detrimental to the initial assessments of trust made by the trustor in relation to the trustee. This phenomenon has also been previously referred to by Francis (1989) where they discussed the negative impact of substantial adaptation in the workplace.

In sum, in the opening stage of the mid-level trust development process there were two factors that came into play alongside the ranked dominant tiles on work behaviour. Seeing as these respondents only shared Organisation and/or Profession tile with their counterparts implies that trust was developed within the organisation context whereby interaction was confined within that domain. Disposition to trust and suspended judgment were factors that these respondents considered as conducive to the opening stance stage. Where respondents' criteria regarding trustworthiness were initially observed in the trustee, they were more willing to act in accordance with their disposition to trust. Suspending judgment and postponing inferences made regarding initial encounters were factors that allowed for the overcoming of relatively low disposition to trust, albeit within the organisation context.

The following section will discuss how these interactions developed in the early encounter stage of the process.

2. Early Encounter

Given that in the previous stage, judgment was suspended and respondents tended to draw from their own disposition to trust, the early encounter stage of this scenario can result in either positive or negative interpretation, in contrast to the previous trust development process whereby respondents entered that stage with a more positive outlook towards their counterpart. Hence the identification of shared tiles, which in this scenario is restricted to Organisation and Profession becomes imperative in order for this process to result in positive assessments. Factors that respondents considered as conducive in this stage of the process were adherence to the organisation norms and aligned work behaviour which in their terms meant 'delivering based on expectations' and the 'quality of output'. Therefore sharing Professional tile meant that both parties' standards for completing the relevant tasks were aligned. Sharing Organisational tile implied that both parties were willing to act

in accordance with the corporate culture and therefore their conduct in the workplace was also aligned.

2.1 Aligned work behaviour

6 out of the 10 respondents in this scenario considered aligned work behaviour as positively influencing the early encounter stage of their dyadic trust development process. Aligned work behaviour implied that these respondents, after observing their counterpart's behaviour in the workplace-which they considered as appropriate-would positively assess their trustworthiness and be more inclined to rely on their counterpart. Although in some cases disclosure was also ranked relatively high (Joseph, Claire and Chris). However, given that these criteria set out by the trustor are not always transmitted to the trustee, aligning work behaviour becomes a difficult task. The examples below show that these expectations are not discussed even though they are perceived as conducive. This gives rise to the important role of organisational functions such as team allocations and recruitment process and will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Claire, who was initially cautious about trusting her counterpart and decided to suspend judgment, states that increased interaction, which allowed her to observe her counterpart's work behaviour, resulted in her positive assessment of her counterpart's trustworthiness.

"Yeah we share values, I think specially in business style, how we deal with information, how it goes around and also a little bit a personal way, his behaviour itself. I know that I can trust my counterpart but I haven't had any situations with my counterpart relating to him showing his benevolence towards me, but I still think I can that's why it's [the rankings] still more than the middle". (Claire)

Her statement exemplifies how aligned work behaviour has enabled her to positively assess her counterpart's trustworthiness, to an extent where she considers his intentions towards her as also positive despite the fact that apparently the context in which they collaborate under has not provided a situation for her to experience his intentions (benevolence) towards her. Nevertheless she regards him as trustworthy (5.6) and is willing to rely on (6.2) and to an extent disclose (5.6) information to.

Sabrina having ranked Family as a dominant tile on her work behaviour states that due to that influence, she considers openness, honesty, teamwork and personal and professional information sharing as important characteristics and behaviours in the workplace.

Although expressing that she is a very trusting person, her ranked disposition to trust was not high (4.9). In relation to the factors that allowed her to positively assess her counterpart's trustworthiness (5.3) she provides the following statement:

"I thought of one particular colleague and he's the only coloured person in our department so I thought this is a good example. He's a great guy, very funny, very open and the whole department love him because of his nice behaviour. I think that people from another country or background are sometimes more open or open-minded than people from Germany. What let me trust him was... I mean if you're open and you tell for example something about you either private or work related, or if you say I have a problem with that, if you show some weaknesses for example, show that I'm not super girl or superman and I'm just an ordinary person. We have to work together so we will try to find a solution and work in a team then this really helps to build up trust". (Sabrina)

While Claire in the previous example was more concerned with ability-related dimensions of trustworthiness such as 'dealing with information', Sabrina is concerned with benevolence and integrity dimensions such as 'showing weakness' which refers to making oneself vulnerable under the assumption that the other person will not misuse the vulnerability, and 'openness' and 'honesty' and 'sharing personal information'. The identification of these behaviours allowed her to assess him as trustworthy, although reliance (5.6) is still ranked higher than disclosure (4.6). Her rankings regarding disclosure is associated with the 'competitiveness of the department' and the fact that 'they need to get to know each other better'. So although she considers personal information sharing as an important determinant of trust building, she is not willing to act in accordance with this due to governing contextual factors.

Two factors should be taken into consideration regarding aligned work behaviour. Firstly, that these expectations and criteria although held, don't seem to be explicitly discussed in the early encounter stage. Secondly that these factors are influenced by the individual's dominant tiles and guide the individual's perception regarding what constitutes as trustworthiness. Thus, aligned work behaviour was one of the outcomes of shared Organisation and/or Profession tile in the scenario which resulted in positive assessments of trustworthiness.

2.2 Adopting organisational culture

While in the previous section, cases such as Sabrina and Claire represented how aligned work behaviour between the dyads can result in positive assessments of trustworthiness in the early encounter stage, this section depicts how both parties' adherence to organisation's goals and values can be perceived as trustworthy behaviour. Given that, to a certain extent, it allows for the determination of the quality of output which corresponds to ability, and in some instances, benevolence dimension of trustworthiness. Hence in this scenario even though the work behaviours may not be aligned, the fact that the trustor believes that the trustee will behave in accordance with certain criteria is conducive to assessments of trustworthiness. It can also be inferred that being employed by the same organisation does not necessarily result in shared organisation tile but it is rather the adoption of organisation culture and values that enables this sharedness.

Having discussed Jan and George's opening stance stage, it became apparent that suspended judgment in both cases allowed for acceptance of differences and absence of negative interpretation of behaviour. George discussed that he was more willing to trust within the organisation context and Jan mentioned that his Organisation culture demands a certain degree of tolerance and openness towards cultural diversity, and this acceptance which was later followed by mutual reliance, enabled trust to develop.

Followed through to the early encounter stage, George and Jan provide accounts of how shared organisational culture allowed them to positively assess their counterpart's trustworthiness and further state that they considered themselves as also being trust by their counterparts.

While Jan states how increased interaction (via email and telephone given that they were operating in different regions in Africa) led to the identification of shared Organisation values. He considers the below factors as facilitating the transition from suspended judgment to mutual trust development.

"I think the most important thing is that we can share responsibilities and we know that it works, each one takes care of their particular part. You have to rely on one another and this reliance causes you to know that this person takes responsibilities for their part of the work and I'm taking part for my inputs, and if this works over the years, and you think you're getting somewhere, than this relationship was successful work wise then the trust

building follows”. (Jan)

Although Jan does not directly refer to their mutual adherence to organisation norms or codes of practice, his expression regarding ‘having to rely’ suggests that there is an implicit bond or agreement that allows them to rely on each other and have a positive expectation that the other party will deliver. These positive expectations are derived from each party’s perception that the other will behave in accordance with certain guidelines and rules. Considering that he only refers to organisational functions such as independently completing tasks with a successful outcome, this suggests that these guidelines pertain to the organisation.

Helen’s case is an example of how shared Organisation and Profession tile, and their mutual adoption to the organisational culture allowed them to overcome their conflicting tile (Age) which for Helen, became apparent in the early encounter stage. Helen’s statement below depicts how the relationship developed and the factors that allowed them to develop trust despite their differences.

“He was my senior so as I said I was able to get a lot of experience and knowledge, however he tended to be very explosive at some situations. So it could be that he just yelled at you and you had to deal with the situation because he was there yelling at you and you didn’t know why ...After we came over across this yelling thing it worked totally perfect between us. My solution was to yell back at him. We both worked abroad so we were both used to dealing with different cultural mind-sets and we were both able to quickly analyse a situation and react to the situation and make the best out of that. And because it was a working relationship, it was important for us to get the best out of it for the company in every situation, and also that we were able to offer our clients the best possible solution for their problem, we tended to work towards those goals”. (Helen)

In addition to sharing a certain degree of cultural awareness, Helen and her counterpart shared a sense of responsibility towards achieving the organisational goals even though their approach towards achieving those goals may have been different. Her reference to their ‘ability to analyse the situation and make the best of it’ also implies that they were mutually motivated to overcome their differences and focus on their shared Organisational tile. For Helen this was derived from the fact that Organisation and Profession were ranked as dominant tiles on her work behaviour. As a result she considered adherence to the organisational values an important determinant of her behaviour in the workplace.

In sum, the early encounter stage of the mid-level trust development process consisted of two factors. First factor is aligned work behaviour which when observed, was interpreted as conducive to the assessment of trustworthiness. Although this association was based on the conditions that the trustee did not have to modify their behaviour in order to align their work behaviour, where this similarity appeared to be already in place. The second factor that was identified in this stage was the adoption of Organisational values which implied that dyads share Organisational tile despite the fact that they may not share a similar work behaviour.

3. Breakthrough

Given that the identification of either aligned work behaviour and/or shared organisational values were factors that allowed for positive assessments of trustworthiness and the development of mutual trust-with reliance ranked higher than disclosure-, it can thus be inferred that breakthrough is in fact associated with this identification. This supports Dietz et al. (2010) proposition that in positive relationships, breakthrough can be achieved when parties recognise commonalities. In the case of Helen, misunderstandings occurred due to their conflicting Age tile, and in Siegfried's case there was a conflict between their Profession tile, while all other respondents in this scenario regarded their relationship as progressing without conflict or misunderstandings. However, even in the case of Helen and Siegfried, adherence to the organisational values overcame their stated differences.

In comparison to the previous scenario where the outcome of the opening stance stage resulted in positive inclinations towards the trustee's, in this scenario, this outcome was rather neutral. Given that the trustor either had to associate observed behaviours with their disposition to trust in order to act on their disposition to trust, or tended to postpone judgment and allow for the direction of the relationship to go in either a positive or a negative way based on subsequent interactions. Hence, breakthrough in this scenario becomes contingent on identified commonalities.

The development of working-level trust

7 out of 34 cases represent a scenario where the developed level of trust was just enough to allow the dyads to be able to work together within the organisation context, and with the presence of monitoring and control. This type of trust can be associated with calculus-based trust where the benefits of developing trust, or in this case a limited degree of

reliance outweigh the costs of absence of trust or present distrust. This may be due to the fact that despite the presence of their conflicting tiles, their shared organisational tile facilitated or encouraged the respondents to make efforts in order to maintain a certain degree of trust between each other. Similar to the previous scenario where interaction was confined within the organisation domain, disclosure was also ranked low (i.e. Thabo= 3.6; Vicki= 2.4 and Dave= 1.6). Furthermore, considering that these respondents varied in their level of disposition to trust (Vicki= 5.5; Franz= 3.6; Joseph= 5.3; Henry= 5.2; Thabo= 4.8; Gregor= 4.5; Dave= 4.1), the development of working-level trust cannot be ascribed to respondents' low disposition to trust given that respondents didn't provide evidence of drawing from their disposition to trust in order to develop trust with their counterpart.

1. Opening Stance: In this scenario respondents displayed evidence of placing certain barriers between them and their particular counterpart, Vicki, Henry, Gregor and Dave associate this with holding managerial positions in their relevant Companies. For this reason they showed an unwillingness to initially display trust related behaviours towards their counterparts. For Joseph, Franz and Thabo, the opening stance was driven by the national cultural difference between them and their counterparts which later resulted in their counterpart's observed dissimilar work behaviour. The lack of suspended judgment and the presence of barriers to initial positive assessments caused respondents to refrain from positive intentions to initially trust their counterparts.

1.1 Unwillingness to trust

In the previous chapter, it became apparent that a number of respondents perceived their culture to be detached from their work behaviour. Stating that in fact allowing your culture to influence your behaviour in the workplace is 'unprofessional'. Vicki, Gregor, Henry and Dave fall within the category of respondents who preferred to separate culture and work behaviour. As a result, in the opening stance stage of their encounters, they did not identify similarities or provide evidence of an inclination to trust despite the fact that their disposition to trust was not particularly lower than those respondents in the previous two scenarios.

Dave is currently operating as an expatriate in Cape Town and his counterpart comes from the acquired company that is now owned by Company D. Having a relatively low disposition to trust (4.1) which comes from his position in the Company, he makes the following statement in relation to his initial encounter with his counterpart.

“I think the first impression was that both of us needed to understand where the other person was coming from, me understanding what is the South African culture and he understanding first of all where I was coming from and which culture is the Company bringing. I mean I have my own style [of working] so I think the first impression was neutral and we had to start working...” (Dave)

Dave is not initially willing to display trust related behaviours given that there are a number of contextual variables in this situation which he is unfamiliar with. His initial impression of his counterpart is not particularly positive though he associates this with the fact that they not only have different work behaviours but also, Dave coming from the acquired company, has to guide his counterparts behaviour so that he can also behave in accordance with the corporate culture. Nevertheless, he shows awareness regarding acknowledging their apparent differences and believes that as a result he should suspend judgment. This may be facilitated by Dave’s ranked cultural intelligence (CQ = 5.6)⁹. This statement is also an example of how governing contextual factors (i.e. acquisition) can influence the trust development process or in this case, the opening stance stage.

Vicki, in comparison to Dave ranks higher on disposition to trust but states that due to organisational factors, she is less willing to trust within the organisation context. Similar to Dave, Vicki also remained neutral in her perception regarding her counterpart’s trustworthiness in the opening stance stage seeing as she makes no reference to her initial perception.

“Yeah I thought about someone that was not an easy relationship because it was not only a cultural thing but also it took some time to find out how much ability there is on his side. That is I think the same problem even with your own culture...I think it takes longer to find out because you have the language barrier and sometimes it’s difficult when people cannot properly express themselves”. (Vicki)

Although she makes no direct reference to her initial perception, it can be inferred that she remained open to ‘finding out’ or determining whether her counterpart acquired the relevant ability. She associates the difficulty of initial identification to national and in particular, to language difference.

An unwillingness or a reservation to positively perceive their counterparts’ trustworthiness in the opening stance stage appears to stem from apparent cultural differences which can

⁹ The moderating role of cultural intelligence will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

play out in various ways, such as the inability to show competence or a discrepancy between their work behaviour. This is derived from respondents' distinction between their working-selves and their cultural-selves where certain task related abilities appear to be more conducive to assessments of trustworthiness. For example in the previous scenario, Siegfried stated that he was still willing to trust his counterpart despite remarking that his counterpart's performance 'could be better', whereas in this scenario, there was no evidence of this willingness. Meaning that the dichotomy between work behaviour and culture resulted in respondents' association of task-related abilities to positive assessments of trustworthiness. In addition, governing contextual factors appeared to influence respondents' initial willingness to trust by altering the risk they associated with when facing uncertainty.

In sum the opening stance stage of the working-level trust development process contained an unwillingness to trust. This was either due to respondents' position in the organisation, which prevented them from initially making themselves vulnerable to their counterpart, or the absence of identified similarities. However, despite the absence of positive inclinations towards perceiving their counterpart as trustworthy, these respondents displayed a willingness to accept and overcome differences. Subsequently, the early encounter stage progressed as follows.

2. Early Encounter

Given that in the previous stage, were unwilling to initially display trust related behaviours, it can be assumed that the early encounter stage would consist of misunderstandings and an attempt to test assumptions. These assumptions however tended to hold more negative bearings. To this end further interaction between the dyads simultaneously resulted in confirmation of initial assumptions and identification of counterparts' task-related abilities which in turn allowed for positive assessments of trustworthiness in relation to the 'ability' dimension. Organisation as the only shared tile became evident as interaction between the dyads increased. This in turn permitted respondents to achieve breakthrough despite cultural differences. Evidence based on accounts provided by these respondents show that when there is a motivation to overcome differences in order to work together, respondents tended to modify their expectations and were willing to identify determinants of trustworthy behaviour which in this scenario was limited to ability dimension of trustworthiness.

2.1 National differences

Where initial identification of similarities in the high trust development process allowed for positive interpretations of trustworthiness in the early encounter stage, apparent differences caused respondents to not only withhold positive assessments, but also perceive their counterpart as untrustworthy. Respondents Franz, Joseph and Thabo associated these to national cultural differences which they believed caused differences in work behaviour. These respondents also considered Nationality as a dominant tile on their own cultural behaviour. The four cases provide insight as to how individuals draw from their dominant tiles on their work behaviour, in conjunction with their disposition to trust, in order to determine whether identified differences that result in initial absence of positive assessments of trustworthiness can be associated with differences in nationality. Hence depicting the interconnectedness of individual's dominant tiles and its influence on initial assessments.

Franz, having ranked Family as his dominant tile on work behaviour and disposition to trust, discussed how given this influence he has learned to be cautious when trusting others in order to prevent himself from being disappointed or let down. Based on this influence he states that these factors also guided his expectation in the workplace in relation to his counterpart.

“In the beginning I was very performance oriented, I thought the reason we are all here is working, giving a good performance, because we are getting money for it. So for me, I thought because I myself am like this, the main reason for me to be here is to work, a lot, and earn money and I thought everyone is like this but this is not the case, other people need more”. (Franz)

Franz-having worked with individuals from different national cultures- identifies differences across individuals in their orientation towards work and he associates these behavioural and motivational discrepancies towards work with national differences. Therefore allowing for nationality to guide his initial expectations.

“If you met 30 Italians in your life and 28 of them were very relaxed, then you say OK well this is the way they are, I need to be a bit more careful. I don't know but it just happens because of the experiences but of course it's not for everyone the same. I think the highest impact is how often have you been there and how many people do you know [from that culture]. If there is a broad sample then there is a possibility then you think OK, ‘The

Italians or 'The Thais. I mean let's take the Iranian or Persian people, I just know a handful so I cannot say anything about them but in countries and cultures where I know a lot of people and they all have something in common, then it implants in your brain that OK maybe everyone is like this'. (Franz)

Thabo's case also exemplifies how discrepant work behaviour associated with national differences can cause initial caution in relation to positive assessments of trustworthiness. Thabo was based in Johannesburg and his counterpart-who was his superior- was operating in Munich. According to Thabo, the initial impression led to misunderstandings and absence of clear communication which he associated with his colleague coming from a different national background and operating in a different country.

"So I think probably the biggest differences early on were reading around expectations in terms of deliverance. So we did have some miscommunication about what is expected by him and what I was able to deliver and very often the expectation seemed to be a lot more than what I was able to deliver which led to some conflicts at the time...What you pick up after a while is that somebody working in a foreign office tends to be quite negative about the place they're working in. So there will always be comments about 'this is better in Germany' or 'why do South Africans behave like this'. And if you allow such things to work on you they can be quite upsetting. But sometimes you just have to understand that this is how people are". (Thabo)

Thabo had ranked Profession and Organisation as dominant on his work behaviour and perceived this influence as allowing him to adhere to organisational values. His efforts to behave in accordance to these values can also be inferred from his statement above regarding 'meeting expectations'. Nevertheless, he perceives this discrepancy as deriving from their national differences and believes that his counterpart has the same perception. However, in both cases (Franz and Thabo) initial differences although resulting in the absence of positive interpretations or the presence of negative assessments did not necessarily result in the lack of perceived trustworthiness. Frank states 'I thought everyone else is like this', the use of past tense here suggests that he later considers otherwise and Thabo states that 'you have to understand that this is how people are' therefore showing a willingness to accept these differences.

Considering that the number of respondents who associated behaviour differences in the Early Encounter stage to national cultural different are limited to three, and that their

accounts do not provide evidence of where this association is derived from, it can be inferred that the influence of national cultural differences in the early stages of trust development can be overcome or may not come into play given the prevalence of other factors such as suspended judgment or identification of similarities, as shown in the previous trust development processes. Moreover, although respondents perceived their nationality as influencing their culture (as also shown in the previous chapter), they do not necessarily perceive it as directly influencing the trust development. This finding is in line with what Dietz et al. (2010) suggest as a cautionary approach towards identifying cultural influences on trust development, stating that researchers may overestimate the impact of culture on trust and trust development.

2.2 Modifying expectations

All seven respondents in this scenario referred to how they attempted to modify their expectations regarding their counterpart and identify the limits and boundaries of their counterpart's trustworthiness. Considering that trust by definition is activity-bound, meaning that party A can trust party B with a certain task X, in this scenario it becomes evident that identifying the tasks that the trustee (counterpart) can be trusted with requires a modification and adjustment of expectations from the trustor's (respondent's) perspective if trust is to be developed.

All seven respondents in this scenario consider modification of expectations as an approach to develop trust. For example while Franz and Henry stated that due to their past experience and position in their organisations, they modified their expectations by limiting their expectations to task-based abilities, Dave, Vicki, Thabo and Gregor stated that they adjusted their expectations based on the behaviours they observed from their counterparts which enabled them to assess the boundaries of their counterpart's abilities. It appears that modifying expectation can either occur prior to interaction or upon interaction. Their accounts of how modification can result in the development of task-based trust are provided below.

Henry, having ranked Profession and Organisation as dominant tiles on his work behaviour and a relatively high disposition to trust (5.2) mentions how given his position as the head of Human Resource department in the organisation, he needs to be trusted but tries not to rely on others. Therefore in relation to his counterpart, who was an employee he hired he states that:

“First I try to rely on myself, and if I have to rely on people I’m always a little bit careful. Maybe you know I’m 58 now, I experienced a lot so naturally I’m a bit careful, but it depends on the task. For example she’s responsible for the Company’s activities abroad and we’re thinking about having a training programme in Dubai and we have to share this task. So in this case I rely on her because I don’t really know this company abroad and the people in Dubai as good as she does so that’s OK, and we share this problems and we talk about it and we try to find solutions. This is a special case that I have a lot of trust that she will do and find the right people there and would do a good job. She’s a woman, 20 years younger, she has another religion, she has another passport and culture and believe it or not, none of these mattered. The only thing that mattered is how she reacts to me, working with me”. (Henry)

While in the opening stance stage, Henry was placed in the category of respondents who was initially unwilling to trust and his statement above confirms this, it becomes apparent that in the early encounter stage, by adjusting his expectations to his counterpart’s task-based abilities (i.e. her familiarity with the company in Dubai), he becomes more willing to trust her, albeit limited to ‘this particular situation’. It seems that a minimum degree of trust is developed in order for Henry and his counterpart to be able to complete the relevant tasks together or as Henry states, ‘finding a solution’. His rankings regarding the assessment of her trustworthiness also support this task-based trust seeing as her ability is ranked 5.6, benevolence is 4.2 and integrity is 4.5. Correspondingly, reliance is ranked 4.8 and disclosure is ranked 3.6.

Henry’s statement above regarding ‘the only thing that mattered was her reaction towards him’ also reveals how despite their multiple discrepant cultural tiles such as Age, Nationality, Profession and Religion, the sharedness of Organisation tile which allowed them to trust each other’s task-based abilities, facilitated the development of trust and resulted in a breakthrough. Although it should be noted that implicit in the identification of shared tiles is parties’ motivation to develop trust and overcome other cultural differences.

Vicki’s case represents how modified expectations in relation to counterpart’s observed behaviour can allow for task-based trust to be developed. Vicki, having ranked Family, Age, Religion, Profession and Organisation as dominant tiles on her work behaviour with a relatively high disposition to trust (5.5) states that due to her Family and Religion she was raised to be trusting however due to her Organisation, Profession and Age (experience) she

has learned to be more cautious and reserved when trusting others. While in the opening stance stage it became clear that Vicki was initially unwilling to trust her counterpart, her statement below describes how the adjustment of her expectations of her counterpart's abilities allowed for a minimum level of trust to be developed in order for them to be able to work together.

"Then you get closer and you understand more what the other person knows or doesn't but it took a very long time in that case but I think it also had cultural reasons. Well you adapt, you change the way you formulate requests, you also find ways of not just talking to one person but two persons because you soon discover that the person who actually does the work is someone else. It's different ways to get around it because I cannot change the person, I can just have the plan B, C or D versions. In this case it's not so much the issue that the person has the wrong character, it's more the experience from working with that person. But you make your experience and you find out OK this didn't work out, so next time around you're more cautious which is basically the same as being less trusting. You have to check more is that really happening, but that doesn't change the character, it's just the work behaviour that is different. To a certain extent you could also say that today I have more trust because I know where I am with this person, my expectation is much lower and with this, I can be much surer than before. Because I got disappointed that I didn't get the result I wanted so I have adjusted my expectations to the ability of that person, and I can now more realistically formulate my request and I can trust more in that it's getting done". (Vicki)

Vicki's statement above exemplifies how despite cultural differences, which in this case appear to derive from National and Professional tiles, Vicki is able to trust her counterpart's task-based abilities after having adjusted her expectations and modifying her own behaviour as a result of this adjustment (i.e. changing the way she formulates requests and having alternative plans). Her rankings regarding his trustworthiness also confirm that the developed trust is based on his abilities, given that ability is ranked 5.5, benevolence = 4 and integrity = 3.6. And as a result, her degree of reliance is ranked 4.8 and her disclosure is 2.4.

Despite Vicki's low trust in her counterpart, she refers to the distinction between his characteristics and his trustworthiness. Suggesting that an individual's trustworthiness may not necessarily be seen as a stable trait they acquire, but rather a state of being which is

influenced by contextual (i.e. organisation) and cultural factors, hence subject to change. This implies that cultural differences and initial absence of trust can be overcome by modifications and adjustments of expectations and behaviours, based on the premise that the trustee's trustworthiness is subject to change and its assessment derives from the criteria held by the trustor.

Thabo, with a relatively low disposition to trust (4.9), similarly shows how despite national differences he was able to develop a working-level trust with his counterpart after adjusting his expectation. Increased interaction led to the following adjustments.

"The way they behave around you it's not necessarily a way you would expect someone working with you to behave, so the trust probably started OK but for the next year it was going down. I think once I got to appreciate this kind of working and also his approach to work than I could also gain a bit more confidence in his ability, and not just that but also accept that we are different. You just have to understand OK this is just how they speak. But after some time you have more confidence in yourself so comments from other people are much less effective, the behaviour still exists but I see more of a personality type of thing and it doesn't bother me as much I suppose. I think it's clear now that there's also a lot more confidence from him in me which means that there's less of a need to double check everything I do". (Thabo)

Thabo's statement clearly depicts how he adjusted his expectations by accepting their apparently different approaches towards work and work behaviour and associating his counterpart's behaviour to his personality trait (a consistent and stable characteristic) rather than his preferred or chosen mode of behaviour. This association allowed Thabo to recognise, or to a certain extent appreciate his counterpart's abilities. His statement regarding 'appreciating this kind of working' also confirms that although certain observed behaviours jeopardised his assessment of his counterpart's trustworthiness, Thabo chose to identify the task-based abilities of his counterpart which in turn allowed him to consider his counterpart as being trustworthy across the ability dimension. As a result, he was able to develop a working-level trust with his counterpart (gaining confidence in his abilities). His rankings also confirm this development seeing as ability is ranked 5.6, benevolence is ranked 3.2 and integrity is ranked 4.3. Consequently, similar to the previous cases in this scenario, his reliance towards his counterpart is higher (5) than his disclosure (3.6).

In sum, in the early encounter stage of the working-level trust development process,

respondents displayed how the modification of expectations can allow for a minimum level of trust to be developed that is based on task-related abilities. The identification of shared Organisation tile with the presence of other conflicting tiles such as Nationality, Age and Profession allowed these dyads to rank their counterpart's ability higher than benevolence and integrity dimensions of trustworthiness. As a result of this assessment, the respondents were more willing to rely on their counterpart's task-related abilities than to disclose personal information to them. This is also reflected in their rankings where reliance is ranked higher than disclosure.

3. Breakthrough

Considering that the opening stance and the early encounter stage were comprised of apparent differences and occasional conflicts due to the presence of conflicting cultural tiles, breakthrough is to a large extent dependent on the parties willingness and motivation to overcome their differences. Proactive modification of behaviour, acceptance of differences and accommodation towards the other party are factors that appeared to enable the achievement of breakthrough in this scenario. This finding supports Dietz et al.'s, (2010) proposition that modification of behaviour occurs in the breakthrough stage of trust development in order for dyads to overcome their cultural differences. Similar to the previous scenario, the identification of a shared tile facilitate the development of trust as it provides dyads with a perception of a shared cultural identity which in this case was limited to Organisation. Thus comparing the breakthrough stage across the three scenarios indicate that 'breakthrough' is subject to the identification of shared cultural tiles, where these tiles are considered as being dominant on the respondents trust-related behaviours. The next and final scenario depicts how distrust prevailed as respondents not only failed to identify shared cultural tiles, but with the presence of conflicting tiles, the process led to the breakdown of trust.

The development of distrust

5 out of 34 respondents provide accounts of how their interaction with their counterparts had ultimately resulted in the absence of trust and the presence of distrust. Gale, Simon, Claudio and Jakob had low disposition to trust (Gale= 4.5; Simon= 3.1; Claudio= 3.9; Jakob= 3.7) while Steve ranked higher in relation to his disposition to trust (Steve= 5.1). In this scenario respondents proved unable and in some cases unwilling to overcome their apparent differences, either due to their low disposition to trust or the absence of shared

tiles and the presence of conflicting tiles across these dyads. It could thus be inferred that while high disposition to trust may not necessarily result in the development of trust, low disposition to trust in conjunction with the absence of shared tiles can result in distrust.

1. Opening Stance: In this scenario, respondents perceived their counterparts as untrustworthy. This assessment, which was to a large extent influenced by governing situational factors (i.e. organisational structure), combined with respondents' low disposition to trust resulted in their negative interpretation of observed behaviour. Unlike the previous scenario where despite an initial unwillingness to trust, respondents tended to suspend initial judgment.

Evidence from the respondents' accounts show that the activation of conflicting tiles from the early stages of interaction not only prevented positive assessments or suspended judgment but also invoked proactive distrust. While for Gale (American) and Simon (Iranian), the discrepancy between the National, Organisational, and Professional culture contributed to negative assessments of trustworthiness, for Claudio (German/Italian) it was the conflicting Professional tile, for Steve (Zimbabwe) it was the conflicting Ethnicity tile and for Jakob (White South African), his low disposition to trust.

1.1 Conflicting tiles

In the previous chapter it became apparent that discordant dominant tiles can alter the stability of an individual's disposition to trust, and this in turn can decrease their willingness to positively assess their counterpart's trustworthiness. Drawing from these discordant tiles when interacting with an individual (counterpart) with dissimilar cultural tiles can activate conflicting tiles. Therefore the conflict does not derive from being different (considering that in the previous scenarios tiles were different but not necessarily in conflict), but rather from inducing dissimilar behaviours which convey that these dyads hold different values. Gale's case depicts how conflicting tiles can inhibit positive assessments of trustworthiness and result in initial active distrust despite her efforts to reconcile differences.

Gale's conflicting National and Organisation tiles have caused her to be less trusting in the workplace and in relation to her counterpart. She provides the below statement regarding her conflicting tiles:

"When I came here because I thought this is strange, I need help, I'm going to my peers

and asking for help and no one's there to be on my team like I'm used to. If I go to my boss and I don't structure my email in a very formal way then he's getting offended. So I thought OK I can't trust these people because in my eyes I thought I'm being personal and friendly and they're not being friendly back. And that's an indication to you saying look I'm not here to help you. Its very task focused here. I'm used to it being sort of a team environment and people looking out for each other. In the States from my experience, if someone is new we introduce ourselves and offer our assistance. We know they're new, we sort of try and help that person and include them in what we're doing. When I came here, like I said it's very task focused and I would be given something to do but everyone stays within their square, and they say this is my job, this is what I want to do and get home as quickly as possible. It's not about working as a group. In his mind he might be thinking well you're capable of doing it and you're doing fine and if you need help you'll ask, for me though it just wasn't that extra offer of assistance that I'm used to". (Gale)

The discrepant working style between Gale's home country (United States) and the country she is currently operating in (Germany) is an indication of her conflicting Organisation and Nationality tiles. Her statement above depicts how the assumptions she held regarding determinants of trustworthy behaviour such as offering assistance and help and working together in a team were not met. This invoked immediate distrust in her in relation to her environment as well as her counterpart. Although it can be inferred that this active distrust in the opening stance stage is to a large extent derived from her assumptions and interpretation of the work behaviour in her environment, not from the discrepant tiles between her and her counterpart given that she makes little reference to his tiles.

Gale's statement regarding 'here its very task focused' also shows how individuals coming from different national and organisational background can place different emphasis on the various dimensions of trustworthiness. While in her previous workplace (in the States), relationships and interactions were apart of the trust development process among team members, the focus was also on the benevolence and integrity dimension of trustworthiness. In this context (Germany), the emphasis appears to be more on ability dimension of trustworthiness, which for Gale, does not contribute to positive assessments of trustworthiness.

Steve's case provides another example of how conflicting Ethnicity tiles can result in immediate distrust in the opening stance stage. Having ranked Profession and Organisation

as dominant tiles on his work behaviour, and Ethnicity, Religion, Age and Background as dominant tiles on his culture, Steve tries to separate his culture from his work behaviour, therefore adopting the Organisation culture when operating in the workplace. He discusses the early stages of interaction with his counterpart in the following statement.

“When you interact you can actually tell when there’s an effort to understand each other and also in trying to hide the fact...For example if I had a negative attitude towards you, if I were to communicate with you on a face-to-face basis, I will try by all means not to show that I have an attitude towards you. Say for example you’re discussing matters of general interest and then I end up making a statement like: “you people who come from black communities, you simply have these”... But I would try my best to hide it. But along the way as you go along and we discuss it, I might then get carried away and forget what I have said before, then to give you an example which might not be consistent with what I’m trying to portray, and you actually pick that up. This person has given me a relevant example. So I think in general, we try our best not to be seen to be people who or this counterpart of mine, not to be seen as somebody who is making decisions to trust only those people of certain backgrounds”. (Steve)

Steve, unlike Gale does not refer to the context in which the interaction is taking place but rather the particular observed behaviours of his counterpart, which according to Steve derives from their ‘discrepant ethnic backgrounds’. Inconsistencies in his counterpart’s remarks in relation to Steve, the absence of his counterpart’s openness towards Steve, and his assumptions regarding his counterpart’s implicit prejudices are factors that resulted in Steve’s negative assessments of his counterpart’s trustworthiness across all dimensions. In this case, Steve does not refer to, or account for his counterpart’s task-related abilities either. It can be inferred that the activation of conflicting tiles across dyads in the early stages of interaction prevent the trustor from postponing judgment or positively assessing behaviour and rather taints their interpretation of future interactions. Hence it can be assumed that further interaction among these dyads will provide them with opportunities to confirm their assumptions held in this stage.

1.2 Low disposition to trust

Comparing the four scenarios of the trust development process showed that while high disposition to trust does not necessarily result in trusting behaviour, low disposition to trust also does not necessarily result in distrust. The case of Allen in the first scenario depicted

how low disposition to trust can be overcome given the activation and presence of shared cultural tiles and their identification in the early stages of interaction. However, the case of Jakob shows how low disposition to trust with the presence of high risks associated with governing contextual factors (which pertain to the organisation context) can even overcome positive assessments of trustworthiness and ultimately result in active distrust. Jakob provides the only case of how low disposition to trust (3.7) can overcome high assessments of trustworthiness and result in distrust.

Jakob, having ranked Family as the only dominant tile on his work behaviour states how being raised in a white South African family who were against the Apartheid strongly influenced his behaviour in the workplace and allowed him to become open towards working with individuals from various ethnicities. However, in relation to his first encounter with his counterpart he states that:

“In the beginning, because it was my first time working in a corporate environment I was sceptical with anybody, it didn’t matter which race or anything. Working with him, we became quite close and we began discussing anything from work to personal things so there wasn’t really any tension or issue ever. We met when I was still a young employee working for a different company. So he was quite an energetic sort of guy with clear goals...I’m generally a more cautious person, trust don’t come easy. That goes both ways, personal life and professional. Trust does not come naturally easy to me ”. (Jakob)

His statement above illustrates how he was influenced by his low disposition to trust whilst simultaneously acknowledging his counterpart’s trustworthiness hence displaying behaviours that could be associated with his initial trust in his counterpart. ‘Becoming close’ and ‘discussing anything’ shows his willingness to disclose personal information to his counterpart. Although this conveys that he initially trust his counterpart, later stages of interaction and his rankings reveal the contrary.

Overall, the opening stance stage of the distrust scenario consists of absence of perceived trustworthiness, conflicting cultural tiles that result in negative assessments and held assumptions regarding the context and behaviours pertaining to the trustee, as well as the influence of the trustor’s low disposition to trust.

2. Early Encounter

Given that in the previous stage respondents are left with a negative impression and do not

display signs of suspended judgment (unlike the previous scenario), it can be understood how this stage is contaminated with a form of confirmation bias. While further interaction in this scenario provided respondents with opportunities to test their assumptions and interpret observed behaviour in such way that it confirms their counterpart's untrustworthiness, in the case of Simon and Gale, this occurred despite their efforts to adapt to their environment and to the expectations of their counterpart. Jakob's case however provides interesting insight as to how *distrust* prevailed despite *positive* assessments of his counterpart's trustworthiness. Nevertheless, regardless of why respondents failed to develop trust, all cases provided evidence of the presence of monitoring, control and suspicion in this process.

2.1 Confirmation bias

Further interaction led to the respondents' confirmation of their previously held assumptions regarding the untrustworthiness of their counterparts. As shown in the previous scenario, Gale perceived the context and the behaviours occurring in that context as negatively influencing her willingness to trust not only her counterpart, but also her fellow team members. In relation to her further interaction with her counterpart she mentions the following.

"I've stopped sharing personal stuff and it's also because I don't get the sense that they understand the values that I have. I'm trying to understand their [German] values and how they do things and how they interact with people. OK I'm trying to do that but you can try to put yourself in someone else's culture for a while but it still doesn't take away the fact that I still have needs that I'm used to, and so I never got the sense that anyone was willing to see things from my [American] culture. So when you realize that, I said, OK well then I can't be as close to these people than I can with someone that shares the same values. We've worked together for a year, he's a hard worker, very intelligent, he does a good job and cares about providing good quality, so we have similar values there. But when it comes to building a rapport with this person I think no, we have very different ideas about that. I think, as I said, for me it's more about getting there together as a team so it's strange for me that's its so much more individual, he doesn't allow me to help him, he doesn't share what he's working on. There's no real tie, we don't need each other so there is no.... I think because for me he's only concerned about his tasks and getting where he needs to go and that's it". (Gale)

‘Not getting the sense that they understand’ or ‘I’m trying but it doesn’t take away the fact that I have needs’, shows that her initial perceptions regarding the fact that she cannot trust her counterpart are being confirmed. Her unmet expectations further strengthen this bias given that it provides Gale with the impression that there is in fact a lack of willingness from her counterpart’s side to reconcile their apparent value differences. Confirming her opening stance statement it can also be inferred that Gale does not place importance on her counterpart’s ability dimension of trustworthiness despite recognizing it, but rather his inability to show benevolence towards her (i.e. establishing rapport), and their discrepant values regarding teamwork, which undermines his integrity, are dimensions that have prevented Gale from positively assessing her counterpart’s trustworthiness.

Simon’s case reveals a similar situation. Due to the presence of competition between him and his counterpart, he not only doesn’t feel trusted by his counterpart, but also is convinced that he cannot trust his counterpart despite their efforts to overcome their differences.

“This is one of my colleagues who I worked with for a very long time and we’ve always had only work-based encounters, nothing private. The usual prevention of trust at work is competition, each person wants to show that they are better, so it’s competition. I say if I have any issues and if there is something they don’t like about me they would tell me and we try to come to a solution. Now to what extent these solutions actually work is something that needs consideration. But through time we learned more about each other and we were better able to work with each other and both of us were ready to accept the other person for the way he is so from both sides. Either it’s from the heart, or just because of work, we still try to do this. People that have never lived outside their birthplace never had to change themselves and adapt and they don’t think they need to, and when they meet another person they expect you to change yourself because in their view they are the local and they match 100% to the situation. The person that has to change is the person who is new to the environment. So very rarely you see a local person trying to adapt and change, 90% you have to change yourself and maybe 10% they will change. But my colleague tries to show that he cares about what is important for me and he tries to take my needs into consideration or at least that’s what he wants me to believe and maybe here and there he might do something that is beneficial for me so that I can trust him”. (Simon)

Simon perceives the efforts being undertaken by both sides as ineffective and insincere and

shows evidence of interpreting the situation and the behaviours observed from their interaction with scepticism. His reference to ‘at least that’s what he wants me to believe’ and ‘either it’s from the heart or not’ reveals that accommodations and modifications in this stage are not conducive to this process because they are not perceived as being genuine.

His statement also exposes the importance of mutual accommodation and adaptation. While in this stage, Simon who is originally from Iran and has been living in Germany for the past 30 years claims that he has made efforts to adapt to the local environment and meet the relevant expectations, believes that his counterpart, who is German, is not willing to accommodate him. This imbalance-which also occurred in Gale’s case-further hinders the possibility of reconciling their differences. These finding provide insight into the importance of *mutual adaptation* as oppose to the acculturation of the foreign individual to the local environment which, thus far, has not been given much attention to in the literature (Molinsky, 2007, Shapiro et al., 2008, MacNab and Worthley, 2012).

2.2 Monitoring and Control

While in the cases provided in the previous section respondents held negative impressions regarding their counterparts, in this case Jakob illustrates how despite his positive assessments of his counterpart’s trustworthiness across ability (6), benevolence (4.9) and integrity (5.6) dimensions, he is still not willing to display trust related behaviours towards his counterpart. In relation to his counterpart, who was his subordinate, he posits the following.

“I think that both of us sort of had similar backgrounds, in terms of the way we were raised and the way we were taught, and in terms of working together. I think these helped the relationship start off easier...But I check everything specifically at the end, I’m quite pedantic when it comes to handing in information, because that information that I hand in, is me saying that this is the best work I can do. So when I hand out more important tasks to certain counterparts, I will always check it but I would always prefer to do things myself. That’s why I don’t like to rely on other people doing things for me, it’s not that I don’t trust them enough it’s just a more personal thing that I don’t like to hand out work to other people”. (Jakob)

While there are various factors that contribute to his counterpart’s trustworthiness such as their similar backgrounds, similar value orientation (i.e. being humble) and lack of

preconceived bias towards individuals from a different ethnic background, as shown in the previous section, the existence of other factors that influence the risks associated with trust have strengthened Jakob's low disposition to trust and have caused him to draw from his low disposition to trust in the stages of the trust development process. Jakob perceives the risks associated with delegation and reduction of control as being too high, although he makes no reference to the Company's sanction or rewards. His rankings regarding his degree of reliance and disclosure towards his counterpart further confirm his unwillingness to trust him (reliance = 3; disclosure = 1).

The discrepancy between Jakob's statement regarding his trust in his counterpart and his rankings in relation to his trustworthiness and Jakob's willingness to actively trust his counterpart further confirm the fact that trust as an assessment differs to trust as an action. It is evident that positive assessments of trustworthiness may not necessarily result in manifestations of trust (trust as an action), and therefore these two constructs should be measured separately as suggested by Gillespie (2003) and Dietz and Den Hartog (2006). This case also provides insight as to how low disposition to trust can overcome high assessments of trustworthiness and shared cultural ties when the risks associated with trusting are perceived as being high.

3. Breakdown

Respondents in this scenario claimed that they were unable or unwilling to trust their counterpart due to the influence of their conflicting ties which resulted in negative assessments of trustworthiness, absence of acceptance of differences and mutual adjustments and accommodations and in the case of Jakob, the prevalence of low disposition to trust. However given that these dyads were required to continue to work together, they had developed a relationship based on the presence of monitoring, control and suspicion (Doney et al., 1998; Zaheer and Zaheer, 2006). When asked how they dealt with this situation they provided the following responses.

"I'm more cautious, working here has caused me to be more cynical, I think the trust has decreased, not unless people prove themselves. I don't think that they have necessarily negative intentions but I'm also learning that what they're saying doesn't necessarily mean what their true intentions are so it just takes a little bit longer for me to understand that".
(Gale)

"You can't trust them because they don't trust you, there is no private relationship, only

work". (Simon)

"He trusts that I do my job but he controls and he wants to have power. It's not important to trust him but I can't trust him". (Claudio)

"You know, when you work together you don't want to be seen as not wanting to go to work because there's somebody you don't trust, you want to be seen to be working together so I will also try to prove that I'm working on the relationship". (Steve)

While Gale's statement refer to the presence of suspicion, Claudio's statement refers to the presence of monitoring and control, Simon and Steve's case presents the possibility of future trust repair efforts seeing as they acknowledge the need for cooperation.

In sum, the distrust scenario consisted of negative impressions in the opening stance stage which resulted in respondents' confirmation of bias when interaction increased. The presence of conflicting tiles, unwillingness to overcome differences and lack of mutual adaptation and prevalence of low disposition to trust in the early encounter stage led to the breakdown of trust.

THE ROLE OF CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

From the examination of the four scenarios of trust development it became evident that there are 'other factors' that have influenced this process in its various stages of development. The previous sections showed how the level of trust as an outcome can vary given the similarities of shared/conflicting tiles across dyads combined with the assessment of counterparts' trustworthiness. Yet, adhering to the view that culture is simultaneously internal and external to the process (Smircich, 1983), meaning that some cultural aspects (namely individual cultural tiles) are held by the individuals and some are created among them and result from the interaction, contextual factors thus are meant to account for those factors that are created or emerge as a result of interaction. Where these factors may or may not be directly cultural, their influence is a result of how the individuals perceive and consider their role as influential.

For example, although Organisation was considered as a cultural tile and showed to be influential on individuals' trust relating behaviours, respondents differed on how and the extent to which they perceived Organisation to influence the trust process. Furthermore, respondents referred to different organisational features such as team composition, management, sub-culture of the department, nature of the job, recruitment process and

degree of competition as having a positive or negative impact on the trust development process. Thus, it could be argued that organisation on the one hand -if considered as a dominant tile- provides a system of shared meaning and on the other hand is an organism that exists through the process of members exchange with the environment (Smircich, 1983).

Organisational factors

Evidence from the accounts provided by the respondents suggests that the organisation and its various features can enhance or hinder the trust development process. Considering that the impact of organisation as a cultural tile on individuals trust-related behaviours have already been discussed in the previous chapter, this section will examine its role as external to the process. Overall the organisation seemed to provide a filter by which its members were perceived as acquiring a certain level of trustworthiness.

“Being part of a really well working company makes you works much better, and if the organisation is fine, work not happens by itself but at least major mistakes can be avoided and since avoiding mistakes for us is more important than contributing in a positive way, it’s of major importance then to have a really smoothly running organisation, otherwise that organisation would be disastrous for my trustworthiness”. (Gregor)

This varied based on the extent to which the organisational norms, values and acceptable codes of conduct were transmitted to and enforced upon its members. For example Company D, operating in South Africa and encompassing a multifaceted degree of diversity due to its acquisitions in the region (organisational) and not to mention the nature of diversity of the country (ethnicity, nationality, religion, etc.) had to enforce unity through implicit (recruitment) and explicit (displaying banners around the offices, dispersing mugs with the Company’s unifying motto on it) means, whereas in Company A, this was done in a less visible way and mostly through their recruitment process.

Within the organisation context, participants referred to various organisational factors which they perceived as positively or negatively influencing the trust development process between them and their counterpart.

Nature of the work

The nature of respondents’ work, which refers to those factors they perceived as being

inherent in the job description and what its deployment entailed, appeared to enhance and prohibit the trust development process. On the one hand it increased perceived trustworthiness by altering the dimensions of what constitutes as trustworthiness. As demonstrated in Jan's case, despite the presence of monitoring and control on his work, he still believed his counterpart trusted him and correspondingly ranked his counterpart as being trustworthy.

"Work wise, we develop our plans and we do rely on others, around our own office and in this case between me and her in regional and sub-regional issues so it must be a 100% trust between the two, I take care of the part that I'm put in charge and she takes care of the overall supervision and control and management monitoring". (Jan)

Interviewer: So the fact that she had to monitor the outcome was that OK for you?

Absolutely, I never had any issues, if you work in this office, there is no other way otherwise you won't succeed or you're left alone. (Jan)

However in the case of Dave, he states how the presence of monitoring and control are a result of his lack of trust in his counterpart. He ascribes his low willingness to trust to his role as a human resource director and what the nature of that entails.

"I'm sometimes a little suspicious. You know when you work in HR sometimes you have to balance your own interest with the interest of the company, when it comes to defining certain benefits and basically where I sometimes have some concerns is being able to make this balance between "OK how can it benefit the company"? Versus "how can it benefit myself"? I think that now we are on the track but it took some time and this is the difficulty when you are in HR that you must be able to say OK I'm part of this population, I'm the one who will receive a salary increase or bonus but I have also to think of what is the Company's best interest, what is the company's budget, what is the company's rule and as I said in the beginning, a multinational like us has a very very big number of rules". (Dave)

Therefore, where in the first scenario the presence of control was interpreted as conducive to the assessment of trustworthiness given the nature of the work in that particular organisation; in the latter case it can be perceived as a sign of absence of trust due to the assumed inherent nature of a human resource director.

Recruitment process

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the similarity in work behaviour among the dyads strongly influenced perception of trustworthiness seeing as cultural tiles influenced work behaviour and aligned work behaviour is consequently an alignment between cultural tiles. However considering that organisational members do not choose with whom they wish to work, matched work behaviour becomes very much dependent on the recruitment process. As a Human Resource director, Henry refers to the importance of the recruitment process in the below statement.

“People we need are sometimes quite different [based on the department] but more or less we’re looking for people who are more open and relaxed, not so formal and which are willing to be motivated and to do everything that is necessary to reach the goals... This is an example of which people are the right people, we’re looking for people who are able to adapt very quickly to our culture”. (Henry)

Nicole who ranked her counterpart as highly trustworthy and stating how trust was developed in the early stages due to various shared cultural tiles, relates this alignment to her superior’s careful consideration given to the recruitment process when assembling their team.

“My boss took really great care about the selection process. He would really look at people and see if they fit, he would not only look at their skills but would they fit into the team? Would they make the team better? And in that way he made a lot of effort”. (Nicole).

Ruth states “So maybe not sharing all the same values but there is a minimum as a common denominator to feel comfortable working with each other because the cases where I felt someone was hired who turned out to have an entirely different set of values that usually went really rough in the working relationship.

Thus it can be inferred from the above statements that measures can be taken in the process of recruitment which can implicitly align cultural tiles and result in similar work behaviours, this consequently leads to positive assessments of trustworthiness which when reciprocated, can increase the level of trust among the parties involved.

Department/Team

Findings show that the trust developed across dyads was influenced by the organisational

sub-culture. Meaning that in a given organisational setting, it was easier for dyads to develop trust in a close-knit team or within a particular department. Therefore, although the basis for assessment of trustworthiness will be the same, organisational subcultures (i.e. teams, departments)-through their localised norms and practices- can influence the conditions under which assessment takes place or alter the level of risk associated with trust development.

Helen-who was born and raised in Germany but worked in the US and Spain- describes how the degree of formality among organisational members in Germany is generally higher than those in the United States and Spain and that this degree of formality can hinder trust development. However, despite the formality present in the organisation referenced in her account, she was still able to develop a good level of trust within her particular team.

“For me it was very difficult to come from an informal background then I have to be in this very strict and regulated situation and try to figure out who is related with whom and that takes a while. It also depends always on not only the department but the team you are working with, for example in the HQ in the bank we were as a team on a first name basis. After I started there it took me 3 months to be accepted as one of the team members”. (Helen)

George makes reference to how given the practice in his department, which he regards as quite rare in the organisation, he was able to develop a good level of trust with his counterpart.

“We work very often together like colleagues rather than superior and subordinate which is not common as sometimes [in the Company] it’s more hierarchical relationships, so it’s a very productive way and very flexible. It is quite rare, there’s not so many departments working like that and it’s also a very specific niche we’re working in so we’re somehow specialist for topic in the Company. There’s not so many people who know what we’re doing, if we did something that everybody could do then it would be different, you could easier replace people and there would be more turnover”. (George)

Where hierarchy, turnover and formality would have prohibited positive assessments of trustworthiness by preventing a display of openness and reduced the degree of interaction, which have been shown to enhance trustworthiness in the opening stance stage, accounts provided by Helen and George reveal that their occurrence, despite their contrast to the

overall prevailing organisational culture enhanced trust development.

THE MODERATING ROLE OF CULTURAL INTELLIGENCE

The four scenarios of the trust development process revealed how respondents displayed evidence of adjustment and modification of behaviour in various stages of the process. In the majority of cases, such as Albert, Helen and Dave, these adjustments facilitated the trust development and led to breakthrough although there were instances of breakdown despite attempts being made to modify behaviour, such as Gale's case.

The examination of each case exposed how respondents' different degrees of motivational, cognitive and behavioural cultural intelligence influenced the various stages of the trust development process. Where motivational cultural intelligence was predominantly demonstrated in the opening stance stage of trust development, the manifestation of cognitive and behavioural cultural intelligence prevailed in the early encounter stage. Overall respondents' cultural awareness was a result of their family upbringing, early exposure to multicultural environment or educational institutions. The influence of individuals' cultural intelligence on the stages of the process varied based on the degree of acculturation and modification of behaviour given that an individual may acquire the motivation to adapt yet not necessarily display behavioural adaptation. To this end, the ways in which various dimensions of cultural intelligence influenced the stages of the trust development process will be subsequently discussed.

Motivational cultural intelligence

Respondents' cultural awareness and motivation to be in a diverse setting played an important role in the early stages of encounter given that it resulted in suspended judgments regarding their counterparts. This may be due to the fact that individuals with high cultural intelligence are also aware of different assumptions being held by the culturally different other, therefore allow for an alignment of these assumptions before coming to a conclusion (Chua et al., 2008).

Motivational cultural intelligence influenced the extent to which respondents displayed an interest in getting to know their counterpart in the earlier stages therefore increasing their openness towards the other party (Oolders et al., 2008). The displayed openness in return was interpreted as benevolent intentions and therefore enhanced the initial assessment of counterpart's trustworthiness. However, evidence based on respondents' accounts suggest

that motivational cultural intelligence did not necessarily result in cognitive or behaviour cultural intelligence and therefore even though it may have enhanced initial assessments of trustworthiness it did not necessarily result in the development of trust.

Allen's case (CQ= 4.5)¹⁰ is an example of how his early exposure to diversity has increased his motivational cultural intelligence and how this influences his behaviour in the workplace.

"My family is not really diverse, however where I grew up was very diverse and I felt that was a very intense time for me and also how we got along with each other with different cultures. It was not a theoretical thing it was a day-by-day thing. So that's why I would say it helped me a lot in trying to understand other cultures and interacting with other cultures... [In the company], I first try to see the mission. I always wanted to work in an international environment to be honest, where things like different cultures are important so for me. It was very attractive to work for this company because we are very international. But there are colleagues who are constantly complaining that someone couldn't speak German over the phone or they had difficulties interacting with people from another country because of how they behave and how they do their trade or whatever, or not being open. You ask questions and in Germany, you expect people to straight away give you the right answer, but if you talk to someone from Asia you wouldn't expect them to answer the question directly. (Allen)

The motivation to operate in a culturally diverse context in Allen's case has increased his degree of understanding towards different styles of work behaviour and has resulted in a positive attitude towards the culturally different other. Although it cannot be concluded from this statement that Allen will necessarily develop trust with a culturally different other, based on his account regarding his initial encounter with his counterpart, it can be inferred however, that his degree of openness and positive attitude enabled him to overcome their differences. This also supports findings from Oolders et al., (2008) who report that openness appears to be most relevant to performance when situations are novel, transitional, or complex.

On the contrary, although it has been suggested that motivational cultural intelligence increases individuals self-efficacy, which in turn allows them to adapt to a different environment (Ang and Dyne, 2008, Templer, 2006), evidence from Gale's account (CQ=4)

¹⁰ Average score for CQ= 5.3 and Mean score = 5. (See Appendix 3)

suggests that the motivation to adapt may not necessarily lead to behavioural adaptation and ultimately the development of trust.

“I mean personally the reason I decided to work for this company was because it was international and that was a huge motivation for me. So I wanted to experience something that was different. I said OK even though I don’t agree with the way the workplace is set up and that’s very important for me but I’m here to understand how people are working, so that for me was the motivation. OK this is learning...I read a lot of books about the way Germans see things, that were a huge eye opener, but it still wasn’t enough though. Because for me, I still need that personal connection in order to gain trust. I thought, OK this is the way Germans are and I can’t get offended by it, but to be honest, I understand that that’s the way they are but for me it doesn’t cause me to trust them more because it’s still unfamiliar to me and I think if I was to choose to work with an American or a German I would work with an American because it’s more familiar.” (Gale)

Complexity theorists posit that within a complex system, the collection of diverse entities may or may not adapt depending on the type of variation of entities within and across the elements of that system (Page, 2011). Adopting the view that Gale’s culture is a complex system, it can thus be inferred from her statement that the conflict within her cultural tiles and the conflict across her culture and what appears to be the culture of the organisation (her American style work behaviour and the organisation’s German style work behaviour) has prevented her from efficiently adapting to the local work behaviour which could enable her to develop trust with her counterpart (Molinsky, 2007).

Simon’s case (CQ=4.4.) exemplifies how motivational cultural intelligence can be context-specific. Meaning that just because an individual, at a certain point in time, is willing to adapt to a certain novel situation, it does not imply that he/she is willing, at any point in time, to adapt to all novel situations.

“Until I was 35 it was very important for me and it was very easy for me to adapt to other cultures and to interact with people from various cultures but as you get older you are not willing to compromise a lot, that’s why I avoid things that I don’t like until I’m in an environment that is familiar to me and comfortable for me, that’s why I try to avoid pointless things that occupy too much of my time and mind”. (Simon)

The distinction that should be taken into account when examining respondent’s motivation to adapt is that Allen for instance is in fact operating in his home country and his

motivational cultural intelligence is a reflection of his acceptance towards the foreign other whereas Gale and Simon are operating in a foreign country and their motivational cultural intelligence is a reflection of their willingness to discard old routines and display behaviour that is regarded suitable by the 'native' (Molinsky, 2007). As shown earlier, this type of awareness allowed for expectations to be met in the early encounter stage. Hence adaption can imply acceptance of novel behaviour or display of novel behaviour.

Cognitive and metacognitive cultural intelligence

Cognitive and metacognitive cultural intelligence influenced the extent to which individuals were willing to accept different assumptions being held and the discrepancy in work behaviour. This dimension of cultural intelligence has been suggested to influence individual's awareness of other's cultural preferences (Ang et al., 2007). In the early encounter stage, where individuals would interpret behaviour and modify their previously held assumptions regarding the other party, high level of cognitive and metacognitive cultural intelligence resulted in positive interpretations of trustworthiness where there was a presence of at least one shared tile among the dyads, or the absence of negative interpretations of trustworthiness in the cases where the cultural gap had resulted in discrepant work behaviour.

Breakthrough was achieved when Ruth (CQ=5.4) was able to overcome her initial prejudice regarding her counterpart in order to identify her strengths and weaknesses. She explains how her exposure to different professional and national cultures has enabled this considering that this exposure increased her ability to filter out the cultural specific behaviour from behaviour that is conducive for the attainment of organisational goals.

"I studied in the UK and the US and I did a fair share of travelling. That laid the foundation, then I'm a strong believer that if you want to do business and if you want to build long-term standing relationships, you need to really at least try to understand whom you're dealing with. That goes as well for if I'm talking to an IT person and, I've talked a lot to IT persons, you do have to have at least a certain level of understanding about their interests, their understanding of the world and their objectives. And if you once try to discuss something with an Australian you have to be direct, if you do the same thing with an Asian person that person will never ever talk to you and if you're serious about trying to build that type of relationship where people are really willing to go the extra mile and people really do trust too. How are you supposed to trust someone that you don't really

understand? So this is where basically I have a strong view". (Ruth)

Ruth's reference to the 'difference in discussing with an Australian or Asian' or 'trying to understand the world of an IT person' is an indication of her degree of cognitive and metacognitive cultural intelligence. Her association between 'understanding' and 'trust' exposes how cognitive and metacognitive cultural intelligence can enhance the trust development in the case where dyads do not share many cultural tiles given that high metacognitive and cognitive cultural intelligence results in effective cultural judgment and decision making, therefore enabling individual's to assess trustworthy behaviour even though its manifestation may be different to what they may expect (Ang et al., 2007).

Bheki's case (CQ= 5.1) provides an example of how these high dimensions can also prevent negative assessments of trustworthiness, despite the discrepancy in dyads' work behaviour which could otherwise result in the absence of trust. This allowed him to adjust and align his interpretation of his counterpart's behaviour after each interaction which in turn led to the identification of shared cultural tiles among them, although, the influence of his Age (experience) tile can also be inferred from his statement below.

"You can find a pair with someone that's completely the opposite of what you are, cultural background and personality. Sometimes you have misconceptions and you judge people by looking at them and then you would be proven wrong along the line and it teaches you a life lesson that you take with you forever and that's pretty much when you see things for what they are. You learn to crush a lot of stereotypes and misconceptions about a certain group, a certain class, a certain culture and you get to see things for what they are and you learn that people are just individuals, even within the same culture people will still give you completely different reactions". (Bheki)

Bheki's statement regarding 'you learn that people are just individuals' not only clearly supports the mosaic conceptualisation of culture (Chao and Moon, 2005), and refutes the use of stereotyping or categorising, but also shows that adhering to this view can increase the identification of shared tiles among individuals who according to Bheki 'are completely opposite', hence coming from an apparently different cultural background.

Behavioural cultural intelligence

Behavioural cultural intelligence was generally displayed by those respondents who were either at the time operating in a foreign country or had previously been required to do so.

Considering that adaptation can occur at various personal, organisational and/or environmental levels and evidence from cases such as Dave, Edward or Dan further support this notion (Shaffer and Miller, 2008), the intent here is to exemplify the level of adaptation that influenced the particular interaction and as a result, the trust development.

For example, Dave displayed a high level of organisational-level adaptation which did not result in high levels of dyadic trust, whereas Ela displayed a high level of personal adaptation towards her counterpart which enabled her to develop a trusting relationship with him. Nonetheless behavioural cultural intelligence, when displayed, tended to occur in the early encounter stage of the trust development process seeing as this dimension of cultural intelligence comes about during cross cultural interactions (Ang and Dyne, 2008). This was done in order for the respondent (trustor) to be seen by their counterpart (trustee) as consciously making an effort to develop trust (Molinsky, 2007).

Dave (CQ= 5.2) having come from the acquiring company to the acquired company operating in Cape Town was required to bridge the corporate and national cultural gap in order to function effectively as an expatriate in the Company. He describes how this was done for the purpose of creating an environment where his subordinate would be able to trust him through the creation of a new, shared cultural identities.

“Well what I didn’t want was to arrive here and say: “look guys this is the way you have played in the last years but you have to change radically”, what I wanted to do was to firstly try to understand where the company we acquired was coming from, trying to understand the business environment, trying to understand the people and also the way the people were functioning, while together trying to keep the best practices. After the acquisition we went through a culture definition and trying to find the best match between the two of them, it takes years, we started early last year and you cannot decide these are our new culture, these are our new behaviours, these are our visions, these are our new values. It’s something that on a monthly basis we are repeating. We tried to make the culture come by a lot of different actions, I mean we have mugs that reflect our culture, we have conferences, we have posters in the factory, it’s something that doesn’t change over time, it has to be embraced by people and understood. So I think it comes from both, SA and also the Company being what it is”. (Dave)

Dave, who was able to develop a working-level trust with his counterpart due to his modification of expectations, reveals the importance of behavioural manifestations of

cultural intelligence, given that the acquisition itself poses various threats to the trust development process. In this case, behavioural manifestations of cultural intelligence are being used in order to create a new and common culture that when ‘embraced by the people’ can ultimately enable the development of trust, albeit at a working level.

Ela (CQ= 6), on the other hand, makes references to individual level adjustments which also influenced how she dealt with her counterpart when encountering a behaviour that was unfamiliar to her. Given that she was able to develop a high level of trust with her counterpart, she demonstrates the following behavioural manifestations of cultural intelligence.

“What you learn is that there is no right or wrong, there are just different ways of doing things. In Thailand nobody will come to the meetings on time and I had an assistant to collect people whenever I had a meeting, which in the beginning I thought this is because they don’t take me serious or they don’t want to come, I thought they want to react to something but I realized this is very normal, nothing to be upset about, this is how it is. The thing is that none of these is a right way or wrong way, just different; you have to understand and accept. Most of the things we tend to take personal are not personal, that’s what I also learned. It is different. But it starts with understanding their culture and you have to understand what is important for them, if you want to gain their trust”. (Ela)

Overall, it can be concluded that although dimensions of cultural intelligence can influence various stages of trust developed, in order for it to lead to adaptation and therefore result in trust development, individuals are required to display a high level of cultural intelligence across all dimensions of the construct. Where motivational cultural intelligence in conjunction with behavioural cultural intelligence can result in adaptation thus enabling suitable displays of trustworthy behaviour, and metacognitive and cognitive cultural intelligence can result in the formation of culturally appropriate judgment therefore allow for relevant assessments of trustworthy behaviour, it can be inferred that in order for dyadic trust to be developed, judgment and decision needs to coincide with physical adaptation (Ang et al., 2007). Table 7.2 provides an overview of how respondents scored on each dimension of cultural intelligence. Evidence suggests that on average, respondents displayed a higher degree of motivational cultural intelligence than behavioural and cognitive cultural intelligence. This implies that even though respondents had the motivation to adapt and operate in a culturally diverse environment, they may not have had

the know-how or the ability to implement behaviour in accordance with their willingness. Hence, even though their cultural awareness may have influenced their willingness to trust, it may not have necessarily led to trusting behaviour.

Table 7.2: Dimensions of cultural intelligence

C. Q	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Motivation C.Q	37	3.25	7.00	5.6757	.93516
(Meta)Cognitive C.Q	37	3.00	6.50	4.6284	.91215
Behaviour C.Q	37	3.25	6.25	4.8581	.69107

CONCLUSION

This chapter revealed the findings generated from cross-case analysis across all respondents. The findings addressed the research objectives pertaining to the influence of cultural tiles on the trust development process and the patterns that emerged across the dyads as a result of the influence of respondents' ranked dominant tiles on the various stages of the trust development process. It also addressed the role of governing contextual factors and the moderating role of cultural intelligence. The analysis across the 34 cases resulted in the emergence of four trust development processes, each containing the elements mentioned, and each element consisting of various factors identified by the respondents.

The first trust development process that was discussed was when respondents declared that they had achieved a 'high level of trust' (corresponds to identification-based trust) with their counterparts. This was an outcome of observed visible traits, identified commonalities, degree of counterpart's seniority, openness, a high disposition to trust and motivational and metacognitive cultural intelligence in the opening stance stage, followed by recognising abilities, similar work behaviour and cognitive and behavioural cultural intelligence in the early encounter stage. Interaction based on these factors resulted in breakthrough although in this scenario breakthrough was a result of the recognition of shared cultural tiles.

The second trust development process was 'mid-level trust' (corresponds to knowledge-based trust) that was developed given the respondents' motivation to suspend judgment, draw from their disposition to trust and display evidence of motivational and metacognitive

cultural intelligence in the opening stance stage. Similarity and alignment of work behaviour between them as well as their adoption of the organisational culture in the early encounter stage led to the achievement of breakthrough, where in this scenario was a result of active alignment of shared cultural tiles (i.e. aligning Organisation or Profession tile).

The third process was identified by the respondents as the development of a 'working-level trust' (corresponds to calculative trust). This type of trust was an outcome of respondents' unwillingness to initially display trust-related behaviours towards their counterpart and identified their national differences as negatively influencing the opening stance stage. Following this initial impression, the early encounter stage consisted of respondents' modification of their expectations in relation to their counterpart in order to be able to develop trust that is confined to the domains of completion of tasks. In this scenario breakthrough was achieved by respondents' willingness to accept their differences and adhere to a common tile (Organisation).

The fourth and final process discussed was 'distrust'. Respondents' inability to achieve trust was a result of the absence of identified or created shared cultural tiles and the presence of conflicting tiles, in conjunction with respondents' low disposition to trust which they drew from in the opening stance stage. The early encounter stage consisted of the presence of monitoring, control and suspicion given that respondents were required to continue working together despite the lack of trust and the prevalence of distrust. Breakdown was an outcome of conflicting tiles and absence of mutual adaptation and accommodation to cultural differences. Table 7.1 provided an overview of the particular tiles that came into play throughout these processes. Interestingly out of the 11 tiles that composed the respondents' cultural mosaic, Family, Organisation, Nationality, Profession, Hobbies, Age and Ethnicity tile were considered as being influential while Political affiliation, Urban/Rural and Coastal/Inland Background and Religion maintained their independence, hence illustrating the dominance of associative tiles over demographic and geographic tiles. When these tiles are activated and act in concordance with each other, they can induce values within an individual that facilitate the trust development process by enabling predictable behaviour that would be interpreted as trustworthy (Chao and Moon, 2005).

The second section of this chapter demonstrated the role that governing contextual factors can play on the hindrance or facilitation of the trust development process. These factors

pertained to the organisation settings such as the nature of the work, the recruitment process of the organisation and the particular team composition or department that the respondents were operating in.

The third and final section of this chapter examined the role of individuals' cultural intelligence and revealed how respondents displayed a certain degree of cultural intelligence across its various dimensions in order to overcome their cultural differences or identify shared tiles with their counterparts. Evidence suggested that while the deployment of motivational and metacognitive cultural intelligence influenced the opening stance stage, cognitive and behavioural cultural intelligence prevailed in the early encounter stage, and in the majority of cases, enabled dyads to achieve breakthrough.

CHAPTER 8 : DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

Research on trust in organisational settings has received a great deal of attention in the recent years. This is due to the fact that trust held within and across organisational members has been identified as leading to universal and situation specific consequences by directly or indirectly influencing attitudes, perceptions, behaviours, and performance outcomes within organisational settings (Ferrin and Gillespie, 2010, Dirks and Ferrin, 2001). Trust can facilitate collaborations given the increasingly competitive global markets (Child, 2001), and increase social sustainability and foster innovation by allowing for the acceptance of risk and reduction of monitoring and control (Bachmann and Zaheer, 2006, Sackmann et al., 2009).

On the other hand, the opening vignettes in the Introduction reveal how globalisation, cross-national collaborations (i.e. strategic alliance and joint ventures), integration of the emergent economies in the global market as well as the mobility of talent has caused a significant degree of educational, national and professional cultural diversity among organisation workforce which hinders the trust development process (Ferrin and Gillespie, 2010). Thus, this research set out to examine how trust can be developed across cultures within a culturally diverse organisation setting given that, to date, the gap in the literature pertaining to the extent to which culture influences trust and the ways in which various dimensions of culture influence the trust development process remains (Dietz et al., 2010, Saunders et al., 2010b).

In so doing, this research extended three main streams in the literature regarding cross-cultural trust development. Firstly, in Chapter Six, it examined whether culture is perceived by individuals as a composite of dimensions (tiles) rather than equating culture with nationality, and whether their behaviour is a result of the influence of these dimensions, either in isolation or in aggregate. Given that since the proposition of the cultural mosaic metatheory by Chao and Moon (2005), its applicability had been acknowledged, but not used and examined. Secondly, Chapter Seven addressed the gap in the literature regarding the exposure of the cultural dimensions that influenced each stage of the trust development process, therefore disentangling cultural effects from dispositional

effects and determining which dimensions of culture can be more predictive of trust-related behaviours and how trust can be developed and increased given the interaction (i.e. alignment or sharedness) of cultural tiles across dyads. Thirdly, Chapter Seven also shed light on the contextual factors that moderated this process, namely organisation factors and individuals' cultural intelligence. Hence extending the literature on the conditions that enhance trust-building on an organisation level (Mollering and Stache, 2010), as well as individual level (MacNab and Worthley, 2012, Rockstuhl and Ng, 2008).

The main findings of this research which address the three objectives set out in Chapter Five are discussed in three categories: 1) Cultural mosaic. 2) The trust development process. 3) The role of contextual factors in the following. *Firstly*, findings discussed in Chapter Six revealed that individuals' culture is like a complex system, which is a composite of multiple tiles (i.e. Family, Age, Profession, etc.) with certain tiles dominating others in specific situations (i.e. Family values overriding Organisation values), therefore inducing values that become stronger determinants of behaviour (Chao and Moon, 2005). Individual's adoption of multiple cultural tiles confirm the notion that nationality should not be equated with culture given that it was not considered as a sole dominant tile that determined their behaviour. The activation of multiple, yet different, dominant tiles in different settings showed that respondents were able to adopt different cultural identities.

Supporting the proposition by Chao and Moon (2005), findings revealed that concordant tiles-those tiles that in conjunction induce similar value-sets- positively influence trust-related behaviours (i.e. work behaviour that is in line with the organisation and increasing an individual's willingness to trust the general other). Whereas discordant tiles result in unpredictable behaviour that is not in line with the organisation, hence interpreted as untrustworthy, and reduce an individual's disposition to trust. Additionally, a finding that emerged from the examination of the influence of cultural tiles on behaviour was that respondents' demonstrated adopting an 'organisational identity' which was separate from their 'cultural identity'. Therefore separating those tiles that influenced their culture from those that influenced their work behaviour (see Table 6.7). This implied that the extent to which individual's work behaviour is influenced by their cultural identity appears to be a result of the extent to which they draw from their cultural values in order to display behaviour in the workplace. For example respondents revealed that while their National or Family values influence their cultural identity, these tiles did not come into play when the individual was at the workplace, where in fact, Organisation and Profession values became

stronger determinants of their work behaviour.

Secondly, findings pertaining to trust-related behaviours and the trust development process discussed in Chapters Six and Seven show that in addition to the previously identified determinants of trustworthiness (i.e. ability, benevolence and integrity), features pertaining to the particular interaction (i.e. appearing truthful, body language, eye contact) and the individual's past trust-related experiences influenced their assessment of the other's trustworthiness. Findings also confirm that trust develops in a five-staged process proposed by Dietz et al., (2010), and illustrates that this process is in fact cyclical and should consist of a feedback loop. It also revealed that trust development is a dynamic process, meaning that it evolves in multiple stages where the outcome of each stage influences the following.

Respondents provided evidence of initially drawing from their previously held assumptions and cultural backgrounds in order to assess their counterparts' trustworthiness. As a result, trust was obtained on the basis of modification of behaviour, acceptance of differences, identified shared tiles and through the alignment of tiles.

Adopting the five-stage trust development framework whilst conceptualising culture from the mosaic theory perspective also resulted in the identification of four patterns of dyadic trust development processes, namely high trust, mid-level trust, working-level trust and distrust. Each process comprised of the individual's activation of certain cultural tiles and their identification of shared or conflicting tiles across dyads. Table 7.1 provided an overview of these identified patterns.

Thirdly, in support of the proposition by Chao and Moon (2005), findings reveal that in cross-cultural interactions factors such as sub-cultures that exist within the department or teams, the recruitment process in the organisations and the nature of the job are those that have been identified by the respondents as influencing their trust development (Karam and Kwantes, 2011). On an individual level, cultural intelligence also appeared to positively enhance cross-cultural trust development process as it facilitated modification and adjustments of behaviour and allowed for the identification of shared cultural tiles.

Finally, adhering to the epistemological perspective of the paradigm interplay when examining culture's influences on trust showed that while Family tile could be considered as an etic determinant of culture on behaviour given that it was ranked among the majority of respondents as the most significant tile on their cultural identity, Hobbies can be considered as emic determinants given that its influence was subjective and based on the

respondents' willingness to draw from this tiles.

In relation to the construct of trust, findings also showed that trust as an objective reality (rankings across its dimensions shown in the four scenarios in Table 7.1 did not differ greatly, whereas trust as a subjective perception, led to different outcomes (i.e. high trust, working-level trust, etc.). It could thus be suggested that different levels of obtained trust as an outcome is relative to the process, meaning that high trust that is developed from initial distrust may be ranked similarly to a process where mid-level trust is developed from initial suspended judgment. Therefore quantified rankings regarding assessment of other's trustworthiness or a trustor's willingness to trust may not be an exact projection of the perceived level of these dimensions.

The following section will discuss the abovementioned findings in relation to the objectives that were set out by this research in more detail. This will be followed by the presentation of the key contributions that these three streams of findings make to the understanding of the impact of culture on the trust development process and how it's developed across dyads from different cultural backgrounds. Subsequent to this, it will explore the practical implications of these findings and recommend a point of departure for future research.

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overall aim of this research was to examine how trust is developed across dyads from different cultural backgrounds whilst taking into account the role that governing contextual factors play in this process. In order to address this aim, three objectives were developed (presented in Chapter One, Page 7), and examined, and will be reviewed in turn.

The Examination of Chao and Moon's (2005) Mosaic Metatheory

Findings generated from within case analysis discussed in Chapter Six revealed that respondents consider multiple cultural tiles as determinants of their cultural identity and they draw from these multiple tiles in order to display behaviour. In support of Chao and Moon's (2005) proposition, some tiles were considered as being dominant (more influential) on individuals' identity while others maintained their independence and were not activated in cross-cultural interactions. The domination of tiles was subject to situational factors, meaning that respondents activated different tiles when considering

their cultural identity, their behaviour in the workplace and their general disposition to trust. The multiplicity of ranked dominant tiles implies that an observed behaviour is a result of the values induced by various cultural facets such as Family, Background, Nationality and/or Organisation (depending on those tiles that respondents considered as being influential).

The most commonly identified patterns across respondents were Family & Urban/Rural background and Family & Nationality, with Family tile as the common tile among the majority of compositions (see Table 6.6). This revealed that Family was considered as the most influential tile on their cultural identity, and the values induced by the Family played a much stronger role in determining cultural behaviour. It can be concluded that Family values can overcome or reinforce National values, which is why using nationality as a proxy for culture can obscure the interpretation of behavioural manifestations of culture.

Findings also revealed that individuals' display of behaviour in the workplace is, to a large extent, a result of the influence of their Organisation and Profession. This suggests that individuals are strongly motivated to adopt the values induced by their organisation and their profession and these values can be predictive of behaviour within the organisation boundaries. However, this appeared to be dependent on the extent to which individuals separated their cultural identity from their organisational identity. Meaning that while some respondents were willing to adopt an organisational identity and behave in accordance with the organisational culture, others were drawing from their Family tile, or Age (experience) tile in conjunction with their Organisation and Profession tile, thus combining the values induced by their cultural identity and their organisational identity (refer to Table 6.7 for overview). This may be due to the range of activities that the individual's cultural values are able to influence. For example while some Families may grant autonomy to their children when it comes to choosing a career path, others may get more involved and encourage certain disciplines. It can be understood how in the latter, family values may be stronger determinants of these individuals' work behaviour.

Additionally, in contrast to prior findings pertaining to the influence of nationality on work behaviour (Chevrier, 2009), findings from this research revealed that the majority of respondents (31 out of 34) did not consider their nationality as being influential on their work behaviour. This implies that organisation studies may tend to overestimate the role of national culture on behaviour in the workplace, in particular when examining or comparing

cross-cultural interactions (Hofstede, 1991, Pothukuchi, 2002, Child, 1998).

Moreover, the examination of the influence of multiple cultural tiles on respondents' willingness to trust showed that their Family tile had the strongest influence on their general willingness to trust. Family, being the first social group that the individuals belonged to, provided them with the first reference point of behaviours that constitute as (un) trustworthy. It also formed their expectations about others, meaning that while some respondents had learned from their families that they should generally be more optimistic regarding the intention of others and therefore should initially trust, others had learned to be cautious and refrain from initial displays of trusting behaviour.

Subsequent to Family tile, Organisation and Age (experience) were the most influential tiles on respondents' disposition to trust whilst nationality, was considered as the least influential tile. Thus providing contrasting evidence to research that assumes nationality can be a predictor of general willingness to trust (Yamagishi and Yamagishi, 1994, Delhey and Newton, 2005, Doney et al., 1998). The strong influence of Organisation may be due to the fact that trust takes place within a context and in relation to certain activities, meaning that Party A will trust Party B with X, which is why Organisation-by providing the context in which trust was developed-played an important role. Age, as a reflection of respondents' past experiences regarding trust development, if positive, can reinforce their disposition to trust others, and if negative, can reduce their disposition. The weak role of nationality on individuals' disposition to trust however may suggest that while nationality may in some cases, be used as a predictor for other's trustworthiness (as shown in the case of Franz), in comparison to other cultural tiles, it is considered to be distant from the interpersonal trust development dynamics. This is not to suggest that nationality is not influential as Fukuyama (1995) claims it to be, but on an individual level, it has shown to be *less* influential than other cultural tiles.

Findings from the examination of the multiple ranked tiles on respondents' disposition to trust also revealed that while these tiles in concordance enhanced respondents' disposition to trust, discordant tiles reduced their disposition. This was due to the fact that concordant tiles reinforce similar values and allow for behaviour that-in line with those values-is consistent and a mind-set which assumes consistency from the others. Whilst discordant tiles activate values that may contradict each other, thus result in conflicting, unpredictable behaviour, and a mind-set that assumes unpredictability from others as well. This finding

supports the proposition by Chao and Moon (2005) that concordant tiles result in predictable behaviour whilst discordant tiles result in unpredictable behaviour. The following section addresses the second research objective pertaining to the various patterns of trust development across from different cultural backgrounds.

Examination of the trust development process between dyads who come from different (mosaic) cultural backgrounds

Findings generated from cross-case analysis revealed that four patterns of high-trust, mid-level trust, working-level trust and distrust were developed across dyads, where the variation of the level of trust as an outcome was subject to the alignment or identification of shared cultural tiles between dyads. Dietz et al., (2010) proposed that trust can emerge from 1) Recognition and promotion of shared tiles. 2) The alignment of tiles. 3) One party's acceptance of other's dominant tiles. 4) The creation of new, shared cultural identities. While findings confirm that the identification of shared tiles in the early stages of interaction and the alignment of tiles throughout interaction can result in high trust, and mutual acceptance of dominant tiles can result in mid-level or working-level trust, there was no evidence of one party's acceptance of other's dominant tile or the creation of a new, shared cultural identity resulting in trust. This suggests that firstly, the acknowledgment of shared tiles is of great importance for cross-cultural trust development process, also confirming the proposition by Chao and Moon (2005) which states that shared cultural identities can facilitate cross-cultural interactions. Secondly, that *mutual* acceptance of dominant tiles and values induced by those tiles can significantly enhance, or allow for dyadic trust development.

Each process of trust development (i.e. high, mid-level, working-level, distrust) was formed with respect to the following shared/aligned cultural tiles. Shared tiles such as Family, Organisation, Profession and Hobbies and the absence of conflicting tiles led to positive assessments of counterpart's trustworthiness across all dimensions (ability, benevolence and integrity) and resulted in high reliance and disclosure. The role of shared Family tile appeared to be highly significant in the development of high trust given that it was the most influential tile on respondents' cultural identity, thus its sharedness resulted in shared values that exceeded beyond the organisation boundaries and provided respondents (trustor) with the perception that they can identify with their counterpart (trustee). Identification-based trust however, has been regarded as the highest level of trust

that can be obtained on an interpersonal level (Lewicki et al., 2006). Thus, it can be expected that those individuals that share Family values are able to develop a high level of trust with each other, given their ability and willingness to identify this sharedness.

Mid-level trust was confined to the domain of the organisation where counterpart's trustworthiness was considered to be higher across the ability dimension than benevolence and integrity dimensions. In this process respondents showed higher willingness to rely on their counterpart's task-based abilities while they were less willing to disclose personal information to them. This implies that when interaction is confined to a specific domain (in this case the organisation), and individuals are not able to identify common experiences, either due to their own unwillingness or the constraints placed on them by the situational factors, trust cannot exceed beyond a certain degree.

Trust that was developed on the basis of shared Organisation tile alone, with the presence of conflicting Family, Profession, Age and Nationality tiles was the weakest level of trust (working-level trust). Where assessments of counterpart's trustworthiness were generally lower, with ability ranked relatively higher than benevolence and integrity. Under these conditions respondents were less willing to rely or disclose personal information to their counterparts. This process illustrated how conflicting tiles which activated conflicting values across dyads restricted the boundaries of interaction and exchange between them, thus resulting in a trust that appeared to be developed on the basis of dyads' mutual need to cooperate with each other in order to obtain common organisational tasks. Therefore, in this scenario, the benefits of trust exceeded the cost of distrust. This process also revealed that discrepant cultural values don't necessarily come from different National culture, but can also derive from different Professional or Family culture.

Finally, the absence of shared tiles and the prevalence of conflicting tiles resulted in distrust. Under these conditions, respondents did not consider their counterpart's as being trustworthy, where all dimensions (ability, benevolence and integrity) were ranked relatively low. Despite the fact that dyads were working in the same organisation, they did not share the Organisation tile given that they had not adopted the Organisation values. This was due to the fact that either those values conflicted with their previously held values (as shown in the case of Gale) or they considered their efforts to adopt the organisation values in vain (as shown in the case of Simon).

Findings from the examination of these processes also revealed that Nationality as a

cultural tile was seldom (3 out of 34) activated across dyads as influencing the trust development process. When considered as influential by these respondents, its influence emerged in the early encounter stage of the working-level trust process and was associated with the differences observed in counterpart's work behaviour. This implies that according to individuals, nationality and their different national cultures play a weaker role on trust development than what researchers who adhere to Hofstede's (1991) conceptualisation of culture posit when examining trust development across cultures (Doney et al., 1998, Johnson and Cullen, 2002, Zaheer and Zaheer, 2006).

Uncovering the role of contextual factors

The third and final set of findings pertain to the role of governing contextual factors, such as the organisational sub-culture (i.e. department or team), the recruitment process in the organisation that implicitly aligns Organisation and Professional tiles among its employees as well as the nature of the work (i.e. Human Resource Manager Vs. Head of IT) that indirectly influence the risk associated with the development of trust. This in turn influences the individual's willingness to accept vulnerability and display trust related behaviours. It can be inferred that macro-level factors (Organisation) can in fact influence micro-level interactions by providing the context under which these interactions take place, therefore organisational research conducted on a specific level should account for this overlap. However, despite the fact that scholars have referred to the importance of taking contextual factors into account (Dietz et al., 2010, Sackmann and Phillips, 2004), they had not accounted for the ways in which these governing contextual factors can-positively or negatively-influence the trust development process. These findings address this gap and validate their call for taking contextual factors into account.

Consideration for role of individual's adaptation and acculturation abilities in facilitating their cross-cultural encounters had been suggested by various scholars (Berry, 2008, Molinsky, 2007, Ang et al., 2007, Shaffer and Miller, 2008), its role on various dimensions of trust development has been examined by only a few (Rockstuhl and Ng, 2008, MacNab and Worthley, 2012, Oolders et al., 2008). In line with these attempts, findings revealed that individual's cultural intelligence, across its various dimensions, can positively influence the trust development process. Motivational and metacognitive cultural intelligence can result in suspended judgment and increased openness in the opening stance stage. Cognitive and behaviour cultural intelligence allows for acceptance of differences

and modification of expectations and behaviour, hence resulting in higher assessments of counterpart's trustworthiness and identification of shared cultural tiles in the early stages of interaction. Thus allowing dyads to achieve breakthrough and ultimately develop trust.

Nevertheless, while the development of trust between parties who come from different cultural backgrounds requires a degree of cultural intelligence (i.e. awareness, openness, adaptation, etc.), parties' acquisition and display of cultural intelligence does not necessarily result in trust development as shown in the distrust scenario, where the influence of conflicting tiles overcame the influence of the respondents' willingness to modify behaviour and adapt.

Having discussed the findings pertaining to the objectives of this research, the following section will examine the key contributions of these findings to the understanding of how dyadic trust is developed across cultures.

KEY CONTRIBUTIONS

The findings from this research contribute to the understanding of cultural effects on dyadic trust development through a mixed-method examination of 34 cases of trust development processes (Ferrin and Gillespie, 2010). These contributions derived from three sources. 1) The adoption of the mosaic conceptualisation of culture. 2) It's application to the five-stage trust development process which takes contextual factors into account. 3) Conducting these examinations through the paradigm interplay perspective (Schultz and Hatch, 1996, Tsoukas and Hatch, 2001). Each will be discussed in the following.

Contributions derived from the adoption of the Cultural Mosaic

Adhering to the mosaic conceptualisation of culture contributes to theory in twofold. Firstly, it illustrates the limitations associated with using nationality as a proxy for culture, and shows how this association can obstruct the understanding of cultural determinants of behaviour. Secondly, it provides evidence for the mosaic metatheory and supports its applicability to cross-cultural studies on an individual level.

In line with prior studies that identified the limitations of adopting Hofstede's (1991) conceptualisation of culture when conducting cross-cultural research (McSweeney, 2002, Williamson, 2002, Tung, 2008), findings from this research extends this line of studies by

depicting how equating culture with nationality can result in the overemphasis of the role of nationality as a perceived difference among individuals from different cultural backgrounds. Given that the rankings regarding individuals' dominant tiles provided evidence that nationality alone was not considered as influencing respondents' cultural identity, and even when it was considered as being influential, its influence was subject to the role of respondents' Family tile. Therefore the values espoused by nationality and their influence on behaviour could be reinforced or contradicted by family values.

Moreover, the role of nationality on behaviour is weakened by situational factors. Hence invalidating the assumption that nationality, equated with culture, determines behavioural manifestations of culture. For example it became evident that adopting the Organisational culture can in fact override National culture, given that only 3 out of 34 respondents considered their nationality as influencing their behaviour in the workplace.

A final validation of why culture should not be equated with nationality is based on evidence that demonstrated how observed behaviour-in the organisation context- is not perceived as necessarily deriving from national culture. Given that only 3 out of 34 respondents considered nationality as being predictive of other's behaviours. Identifying these limitations contribute to the significance of accounting for multiple cultural dimensions when conducting cross-cultural research.

Findings provide a significant contribution towards the validation and applicability of the cultural mosaic metatheory and support the propositions that pertain to research on an individual level. By revealing that individuals consider multiple cultural tiles as influential on their cultural identity, findings support Chao and Moon's (2005) proposition that individual's culture is a composite of multiple tiles. Given that ranked influential tiles on behaviour changed in different settings (i.e. Family was salient on disposition to trust while Organisation was salient on work behaviour), it could be suggested that activation of certain cultural patterns can be influenced by situational factors, thus supporting Chao and Moon's second proposition. This contributes to the understanding of how culture can provide individuals with multiple identities (Sackmann 1992, Hong, 2007, Schneider and Barsoux, 2003), depending on the salience of situational factors that activate these tiles.

In support of Chao and Moon's third proposition (see page 42), findings also contribute to the understanding of how an individual's cultural mosaic can behave like a complex system, with Family, Nationality and Urban/Rural Background tiles dominating their

cultural identity, Organisation and Profession tiles consolidating in order to create a localised structure (allowing for the individual's adoption of the organisational culture), and tiles such as Age (individual's subjective past experiences) and Hobbies maintaining their independence and behaving in unpredictable ways.

Although Family was considered by Chao and Moon (2005) as one of the associative tiles accounting for individual's cultural mosaic, findings provided insight to its fundamental and foundational role on individual's cultural behaviour and disposition to trust. Despite findings that posit values induced by family at an adolescent stage are subject to change given the individual's exposure to different socialisation experiences (Elders, 1975 cited in Chao and Moon, 2005), it became apparent that individuals willingly draw from their family values even in their mature stage of life. In fact, trust-related behaviours such as factors that are constituted as trustworthy and the weight associated to them (where benevolence in some cases appeared to be more important than ability), the display of trustworthy behaviour and their general disposition to trust (their psychological state of mind), is to a large degree influenced by these family values and their upbringing. Family values also operate as micro-level determinants of culture by providing individuals with initial schemas that shape their expectations regarding what 'ought to be'. In sum, by exposing the important role of family on cultural behaviour, these findings draw attention to the need for taking family, as the most influential determinant of cultural identity, into consideration when examining cross-cultural interactions.

Contributions derived from the five-stage trust development process

Turning to the contributions generated from the examination of the five-stage trust development process, findings support Dietz et al.'s (2010) proposition that trust development occurs in multiple stages, where the outcome of each stage provides an input for the following. Thus, extending the line of research pertaining to interpersonal trust development (Lewicki et al., 2006, Doney et al., 1995, Zaheer and Zaheer, 2006), findings show that trust development is a dynamic and non-linear process where the level of trust as outcome can vary at different stages of dyadic interaction depending on the interplay between the two parties' cultural tiles.

Findings also contribute to the understanding of those emic and etic determinants of culture on trust related behaviours (Ferrin and Gillespie, 2010). For example while Family's influence on disposition to trust appeared to be an etic determinant, Age (past

experience) seemed to be an emic determinant given that Age was activated based on the individual's past, positive or negative experiences which correspondingly influenced their disposition to trust. Furthermore, in support of Kramer's (2010) proposition, findings showed that individuals differ in their effectiveness to build trust. Given that while individuals who separated their 'working-selves' from their 'cultural-selves' tended to develop trust that was confined to the domains of the organisation and was based on counterparts' task-related abilities (i.e. working level trust), those who drew from their cultural tiles within the organisation context were able to develop higher levels of trust with their counterparts (i.e. mid-level and high trust).

The application of the cultural mosaic to the trust development process also unravels the variations that exist in each of these processes, depending on the activation of certain cultural tiles and their influence on behaviour, as well as dyads' abilities to identify shared or aligned cultural tiles. Through the illustration of the four emergent patterns of trust developed (i.e. high trust, mid-level, working level and distrust), findings specified those cultural factors that contribute to the enhancement of this process (alignment or sharedness of activated Family, Organisation, Age, etc. tiles) and factors that hinder or obstruct its development (conflict between dyads cultural tiles). Identifying and aligning shared tiles such as Family, Profession and Age strongly influenced the trust development process by allowing the dyads to achieve breakthrough in the later stages of their interaction and increased their willingness to overcome their low disposition to trust or the differences that they may have detected in the Opening Stance stage.

It became evident that 'shared tiles', which strongly influenced the trust development process refers to dyads' identification of shared values induced by those tiles that were regarded as dominant (i.e. Family, Organisation, Profession), hence strongly influence behaviour. The perception of sharing values such as 'family orientation', 'delivering what you promise', 'openness towards a culturally different team member', 'transparency in work behaviour', and 'sharing knowledge' are values that were induced by Family, Organisation and Profession tiles, and when shared, resulted in the perception of a shared cultural identity. However, identifying shared tiles was not considered as an easy task, particularly the less visible tiles such as Family, Age (experience) and in some instances Profession. Given that the identification of shared tiles required increased interaction across different contexts and situations (as discussed in the Early Encounter stages of the

trust development process).

These findings, to a certain extent, address the gap in the literature raised by Möllering and Stache (2010) and their call for the need to identify the individual and institutional conditions that allow for trust building. In line with this, findings indicate that individual conditions involve the identification of shared cultural tiles while institutional conditions pertain to the alignment of cultural tiles (i.e. aligning dyads' Organisation and Profession tiles).

The contributions derived from the examination of the influence of contextual factors on trust development allow for the better understanding of how trust can be, not only built, but maintained, as raised by Saunders et al., (2010). Through the examination of governing contextual factors, findings contribute to the understanding of organisational factors that enhance or hinder trust development, such as recruitment processes that can implicitly align cultural tiles between employees, organisational sub-cultures that reduce formality and foster trust, and the risks associated with certain job titles (i.e. Head of Human Resource Management). They also illustrated the role of individuals' cultural intelligence, and how this individual-level construct, across its various dimensions (metacognitive, cognitive, motivation and behavioural) can result in the overcoming of cultural differences in the early stages of interaction and allow for higher assessments of trustworthiness and the attainment of trust. Considering that very few studies have thus far examined the role of cultural intelligence on the trust development process, these findings can provide insight as to how the different dimensions of cultural intelligence can influence the different stages of the trust development process.

Contributions derived from the application of the paradigm interplay

The final stream of contributions derives from the epistemological stance of the Paradigm Interplay. Adopting a mixed-method approach to the examination of culture's effect on trust addresses the gap in the literature described by Ferrin and Gillespie (2010) as the need for a qualitative and quantitative study in order to induce understanding of the nature and operation of trust in different cultures. Associated with this, findings revealed that while the process by which trust is developed is uniform (Dietz, 2011), the tiles that the individuals draw from, and their influence on individual's trust-related behaviours in different stages of the process will tend to vary. It also became apparent that while quantitative measures (surveys) depicted the degree to which respondents considered their

counterparts as being trustworthy, while qualitative measures (interviews) unravelled the dimensions that respondents gave more weight to (i.e. respondents such as Gale and Ela considered benevolence as a stronger determinant of trustworthiness and took ability dimension for granted when their counterpart was their superior, where this was subject to the influence of their Organisation, Family and Nationality tile).

Findings from a mixed-method approach also exposed, in line with prior research, that disposition to trust is not a predictor of willingness to trust (Gillespie, 2003, Dirks and Ferrin, 2002, Johnson-George and Swap, 1982). Given that despite high scores of respondents' disposition to trust, high trust was not achieved and conversely, despite relatively low scores of disposition to trust, some respondents were able to develop high, or mid-level trust with their counterparts. Thus, disposition to trust appeared to influence the trust development process only when respondents were willing to draw from, and act on their disposition to trust.

Lastly, adhering to the paradigm interplay allowed for organisation to be viewed and examined, on the one hand as a cultural tile which induces certain values and norms in the individual as a culture bearer, which Smircich (1983) refers to as Organisational cognition, and on the other hand, it exposed the various features of the organisation that were external to the process and could positively or negatively influence dyadic trust development (Organisational symbolism). This supports Shultz and Hatch's (1996) proposition that crossing paradigms can allow for inherent paradoxes and complexities within the organisation and its culture to be exposed. Unravelling this complexity would in turn, allow for dyadic management on a micro-level. For example, an individual that considers Organisation as a dominant tile would imply that the individual is likely to adopt the organisation values, simultaneously, if that individual is given a position where the risks associated with trust-related activities (i.e. delegation, decrease of control, etc.) are high and could result in his/her undermining of organisational values, then it could be expected that for this individual, developing trust would be a difficult task. As evident in this scenario, the *organisation* is being viewed simultaneously from a functionalist perspective (cultural tile) and an interpretive perspective (situation factor).

IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Given the important role that trust plays in organisation settings and the degree of diversity

that exists within the workforce, extending the understanding of how trust can be not only developed, but enhanced and maintained across organisational members can have various implications for researchers and practitioners.

Implications for research

As noted in the previous section, adopting the mosaic metatheory of culture allowed for the exposure of micro and macro level as well as etic and emic determinants of culture on behaviour. It also showed that equating culture with nationality is a simplistic approach that undermines other dimensions of culture and can taint data derived from cross-cultural examinations of organisational research. Findings from this research, albeit not generalizable, imply that researchers should take various dimensions of culture into account when considering the examination of culture on behaviour instead of overestimating the role of nationality and its influence on trust-related behaviours (Doney et al., 1998). Furthermore, while the review of the literature showed that there has been little reference to the role of family on individuals' cultural identity, findings revealed that Family tile and values induced by individuals' family had the strongest influence on cultural identity as well as their disposition to trust, and when shared, resulted in high levels of trust. Thus paving the way for future research to further examine the motivational aspects of drawing from family values, or the ways in which family values can be extrapolated from behaviour, and shared between individuals who want to develop a trusting relationship with each other. Moreover, given that respondents referred to how they 'learned to trust' and what they understood by 'trusting behaviour' was shaped firstly by their family and within their family environment, future research should also examine the seemingly repository role of family and it's contextual elements that provide this foundation for individuals.

In addition, while findings revealed that some individuals were willing to draw from their cultural identity in the workplace, others considered it as inappropriate and decided to adopt 'an organisational identity' separate from their 'cultural identity', which showed to be highly influenced by the organisational context and governing situational factors. However, the motivation and reasons underpinning this dichotomy remained unclear. Thus, further research can examine this gap in order to identify the extent to which individuals' previously held cultural values could influence their behaviour in the workplace.

Moreover, adopting the lens of incommensurable paradigms showed to enhance the understanding of the subjective as well as objective perceptions of societal constructs such as culture and trust. Therefore applying this view can enable future research to address the limitations and issues arising from subjective conflicts (i.e. two parties who hold high disposition to trust but cannot trust each other due to conflicting family values, which in turn influences their behaviour) or objective inhibitions (i.e. high risks associated with organisational politics that call for the presence of monitoring and control, hence removing the element of trust as a necessity among their members). Additionally, as also discussed in the previous section, this view also permits the organisation to be simultaneously viewed as a value inducing cultural tile and a context under which interaction takes place.

Lastly, researchers that intend to examine cross-cultural interactions can consider applying the individual-level construct of cultural intelligence to their measurements in order to be able to differentiate between those respondents who show more willingness, motivation and ability to adapt to different cultural settings and are better able to interact with culturally different individuals as oppose to those individuals with lower dispositions (Earley, 2003).

Limitations

In addition to the limitations pertaining to the methodological approach undertaken in the study such as the sample size (a total of 37 participants who were willing to participate in the interview) and the method of sampling which relied on the gatekeeper's selection of the sample, discussed in more detail in Chapter Five, there are a number of limitations that manifested in the results of the study and should be given attention to.

The first limitation relates to the fact that accounts of the dyadic trust development process were only obtained from one of the two parties involved, namely the respondent. The inability to collect data from both parties, although derives from the sensitive nature of the topic and the organisational context under which it was taking place, provides a 'one-way view' of this process.

The second limitation derives from not providing a definition of 'cultural identity' to the respondents and was imposed by the contention that was held between 'culture as a subjective/objective' construct. Considering that in order to meet the objective of the research which was to understand and unravel how culture and cultural identity is

understood and utilised by individuals, no prior definition was provided therefore allowing for various interpretations to impact how culture and cultural identity was perceived. The lack of a unified definition therefore delimits its implication for the relevant findings and analysis.

The third limitation derives from the epistemological stance underpinning this study and pertains to the absence of non-conscious influences which in turn affect the analysis of the data. Not attending to or inquiring about respondents' unconscious influences bounds their statements regarding the trust development process to their particular interaction and the relevant governing contextual factors as opposed to their general underlying assumptions regarding trust and trust development. Thus, in line with this stance, the accounts provided by respondents were analysed in a more descriptive way and reflected the view of the participant, and were less influenced by the researcher's perspective. In line with the Paradigm Interplay, this approach towards the analysis was undertaken in order to maintain the balance between an Interpretivist and Functionalist paradigm.

The final limitation is with regards to the qualitative nature of the research and unavoidable 'researcher's bias' that influence the various stages of the research process (Patton, 1990). From the methodological stance, the interview questions and the probing that was required throughout the interviews, to the way in which the obtained data was analysed has, to a certain extent, been influenced by the researcher's perspective and has gone through the researcher's mind. Thus, despite efforts undertaken in order to comply with the notion of the Paradigm Interplay, and provide an untainted view of the trust development process, it would be an oversimplified statement to claim that the outcome has not been distorted by the researcher's skills, trainings, insight and intellectual capabilities.

Directions for future research

On an extended scope, findings and implications of this research provide a foundation and track for future research. This research examined the cultural mosaic metatheory, and its application to the trust development process on an individual level. However as Chao and Moon (2005) posit, there is potential for the recognition of localised structures within sub-groups in order to help organisations intervene when newcomers arrive and are required to adopt the organisation values. Hence extending its application to group-level and organisational-level. Furthermore, while the activation of multiple ranked tiles were identified, the relationship, hierarchy and structure between the tiles remain unclear and

provide a step for future research.

Considering that trust development is also a phenomenon that occurs on micro, meso and macro levels (i.e. individual, group, within and across organisational level), future research can examine the various types of trust that develop across those levels and the patterns that emerge as a result of their interactions. For example when examining trust across groups, it may be that organisation and profession tiles are shared among all members hence can be kept constant, while the strength and type of influence of other remaining tiles are examined. Though, Bryman (1989) cautions researchers when extending relationships observed at one level to other levels, stating that assuming these relationships are valid on other levels can result in inconsistent findings.

A second area of research would be to examine other organisational features that can, directly or indirectly influence trust development. Considering that findings revealed few of the influential factors on trust development, such as the nature of the respondents' job (Dave and Henry as the head of Human Resource departments), or the particular department they were operating in which some considered as being more conducive to trust building than others. To this end, future research can examine the role of various organisational elements such as the industry, the extent of competition and the degree to which it influences involved risk, or the type of departments in which the individuals or groups are operating in, on the trust development process (Nooteboom and Six, 2003, Burger et al., 2006).

The third direction for research pertains to the examination of the cultural mosaic of all parties involved in the trust development process, be it dyadic, or group-level trust. This enables the identification of how aligned or conflicting tiles interact with each other to facilitate or hinder the trust development process. Although, this identification involves the determinacy of both parties' mosaics and its application to the process where all questions are directed to a known counterpart. Thus, it is worth noting that organisational members may have reservations about disclosing trust-related issues in relation to an identified individual, and this in turn may have an impact on the bias inserted in the data collected (Bryman, 2001).

Implications for practice

The four patterns of trust development (high, mid-level, working-level and distrust) illustrated that the recognition of shared cultural tiles such as Family, Organisation, Profession and even Hobbies, in the very early stages of interaction results in the development of high level of trust. Thus, practitioners in the organisations such as team leaders, project managers or middle managers can direct their efforts towards the facilitation of their subordinates initial encounters in order to encourage discussions around preferred modes of conduct, or the assessment of their value orientation prior to, or at the start of interaction. Considering that findings revealed that Family played the strongest role on individual's culture as well as their disposition to trust, and that aligned Organisation and Family tile induced higher willingness to trust, practitioners should consider undertaking efforts (i.e. Recruitment processes) to facilitate or guide the alignment of these tiles in order to increase the organisational members' willingness to trust their fellow co-workers.

Revealing how respondents adopted an 'organisational identity' which they perceived as discrepant from the 'cultural identity' implies that organisations, through their cultural values, norms and practices can significantly impact behaviour induced within their domain. Hence, they can provide a perception of a shared culture among their members. However given that this was subject to individuals' activation of their Organisation, Profession and Age (experience) tiles, and their willingness to adopt an organisational identity, practitioners should attend to the ways in which they can encourage the activation of these tiles, and work toward enabling the organisation members to align their previously held values with those of their current workplace.

Lastly, acknowledging that nationality is not the strongest determinant of behavioural manifestations of culture can assist multinational organisations or those that wish to operate globally, to direct their cross-cultural training programmes and workshops towards encompassing multiple cultural determinants of behaviour. This can prevent the problems that arise from categorising individuals according to their relevant nationalities in order to predict their behaviour as an outcome of the influence of their 'culture' (Coutant et al., 2011, Osland and Bird, 2000).

CONCLUSION

This chapter initially provided a discussion containing findings that addressed the three objectives of this research, the conceptualisation of culture as composite of multiple tiles and how these tiles influence behaviour, the application of this concept to the five-stage trust development process which led to the emergence of four patterns of trust development with different levels of trust as an outcome, and the moderating role of governing contextual factors (i.e. organisational factors and individuals' cultural intelligence) on the trust development process. Thus providing evidence for the applicability of the mosaic metatheory and how the identification of shared cultural tiles (other than nationality), or the alignment of cultural tiles can facilitate and enhance dyadic trust, whilst depicting how conflicting tiles within and across dyads hinder the process.

This research sheds light on the importance of taking other cultural dimensions into account when conducting cross-cultural research given that in contrast to common practice thus far, which used nationality as a proxy for culture, findings revealed that there are other cultural dimensions which are stronger determinants of cultural behaviour and how the behaviour of others are interpreted. Given the multicultural and interconnected societies we live in, and the increasing need for cross-cultural cooperation and collaboration (i.e. Acquisition case of Ford and Volvo in the opening vignette), and the omnipresence of individuals like Sara (Born in the US, lived in the UK), suspending judgment when encountering an individual who appears to be from a different cultural background, and taking into consideration that although its cognitively easier to categorise and stereotype, these associations may no longer hold true, we can identify common cultural identities with those we come in contact with in different social settings. For we appear to have more in common with each other than we assume, and these commonalities, when identified, can result in higher cooperation, collaboration and trust.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Respondents' Case Display

Respondent	Company	Age	Level Of Education	Nationality	Profession	Gender	Country Of Residence	Disposition To Trust (Out of 7)	C.Q. (Out of 7)	Trustworthiness (A, B, I) (Out of 7)	Reliance/ Disclosure (Out of 7)	Dominant tiles ¹¹
Allen	C	31-35	High School	German	IT-Support	Male	1 Country	5	4.5	6.07 (6.50.6.20, 5.50)	6/ 6.2	1: Family, U/R 2: Prof, Org, Family 3: Family, U/R 4: Family, U/R, Nationality 5: Hobbies, Org 6: Family, U/R
Albert	B	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	German	International Coordinator	Male	Up To 3 Countries	3.63	5.42	5.37 (6.17 4.60 5.33)	5.4/ 5.4	1: Family 2&5: Age 3& 4&6: Family
Birgit	B	36-40	Professional Degree	German	ommercial Clerk	Female	Up To 3 Countries	5.5	5.5	5.51 (6.33 5.20 5.00)	5.8/ 2.2	1: Family, U/R 2: Profession, Organisation 3: Family, Age 4: Family, Age, U/R 5 &6: Family, Organisation
Chris	C	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	German	Freelance	Male	More Than 3 Countries	5.25	4.92	5.32 (6.33 4.80 4.83)	5.8/ 5.6	1: Family, Age, Nationality 2: Age, Organisation 3&4: Organisation, Family 5&6: Age, Ethnicity
Claire	B	26-30	Professional Degree	German	ersonal Assistant	Female	Up To 3 Countries	5.38	5.67	5.56 (6.50 5.00 5.17)	6.2/ 5.6	1: Nationality, U/R 2: Profession, Organisation 3&4 &5: Family, Age 6: Profession, Organisation

¹¹ Elements described in more detail in the Method chapter: 1= cultural identity; 2= work behaviour; 3= general willingness to trust; 4= Assessment of your own trustworthiness; 5= Trustworthiness of the 'other' person; 6= Trustworthiness of the other person (based on your own attributes).

Respondent	Company	Age	Level Of Education	Nationality	Profession	Gender	Country Of Residence	Disposition To Trust	C.Q	Trustworthiness	Reliance/ Disclosure	Dominant tiles
Ela	A	36-40	Bachelor	Turkish	Assistant V.P Executive Consultant	Female	More Than 3 Countries	5.13	6	5.33 (5.50 5.00 5.50)	4.8/ 6.2	1: Family, U/R 2&3&4: Age, Family 5: Family 6: Age
Franz	B	36-40	Bachelor	German	Head Of IT	Male	1 Country	3.63	4	4.32 (4.00 4.80 4.17)	4.4/ 3.8	1: Family, U/R, Nationality, Ethnicity 2&3&4& 5: Age, Family, Nationality, Ethnicity 6: Nationality
Frederick	A	36-40	Diploma Kaufmann	German	Controlling And Organisation Of Projects	Male	1 Country	5.75	5	5.44 (6.00 6.00 4.33)	5.2/ 5.8	1: Family, Urban/Rural 2:Age, Organisation 3 & 4: Family, Ethnicity 5 & 6: Profession, Organisation
Gale	A	31-35	Bachelor	American	Business Development Manager	Female	Up To 3 Countries	4.5	4.08	4.13 (5.33 2.40 4.67)	4.6/ 3	1: Family, Nationality 2:Family, Organisation 3: Family, Religion 4: Family, Organisation 5& 6: Organisation, Family
George	A	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	German	Senior Project Manager	Male	More Than 3 Countries	4.38	4.25	5.97 (6.83 5.40 5.67)	6/ 5.4	1&2: U/R, Organisation 3&4: Family, Organisation 5:Profession, U/R 6: Profession, Organisation, U/R
Gregor	C	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	German	Patent Attorney	Male	Up to 3 countries	4.5	4.5	5.27 (6.83 4.80 4.17)	4.6/ 2	1:Nationaliy, Profession, U/R, Organisation 2: Age, Profession, Organisation 3: Age, Profession 4&5: Organisation, Profession 6: Age, Profession, Organisation
Helen	A	26-30	Postgrad-Doc	German	Staff Operation Qualification Management	Female	Up To 3 Countries	4.63	6.08	5.26 (6.50 4.60 4.67)	6.2/ 4.6	1:Family, Age 2: Age, Profession, Organisation 3: Age, Family, Organisation 4:Family, Organisation, Age, Profession, Hobbies 5: Family, Age, Profession 6: Age, Profession
Henry	B	56-60	High School	German	roup Director HR	Male	1 Country	5.25	4.67	4.79 (5.67 4.20 4.50)	4.8/ 3.6	1:Family, Age, Organisation 2: Organisation 3-6: Profession, Organisation

Respondent	Company	Age	Level Of Education	Nationality	Profession	Gender	Country Of Residence	Disposition To Trust	C.Q	Trustworthiness	Reliance/ Disclosure	Dominant tiles
Jan	C	46-50	Professional Degree	German	Plant Protection Officer For SA	Male	More Than 3 Countries	5	5.17	5.18 (6.00 5.20 4.33)	5.4/ 3.6	1: Ethnicity, Nationality, Hobbies 2: Organisation, Profession 3&4: Family, Profession, Organisation 5: Profession, Age, Organisation 6: Profession, Organisation
Joseph	C	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	German	Software Developer	Male	Up To 3 Countries	5.38	4.83	. (0.0 4.60 4.50)	4.6/ 5.6	1: Family, Nationality 2: Profession 3-6: Family
Nicole	A	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	German	Senior IT Programmer	Female	Up To 3 Countries	5.5	5.75	6.06 (5.50 7.00 5.67)	6.2/ 7	1: Family, Nationality 2: Nationality, Organisation 3: Family, Hobbies, Organisation 4&5: Family 6: Family, Organisation
Ruth	A	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	German	Senior Market Strategy	Female	Up To 3 Countries	5.25	5.42	5.81 (6.17 5.60 5.67)	5.6/ 5.2	1: Family, U/R 2: Profession, Organisation 3: Family, U/R 4: Family, Age 5& 6: Age, Organisation
Simon	B	41-45	Bachelor	Iranian	IT Helpdesk	Male	Up To 3 Countries	3.13	4.42	4.69 (4.67 4.40 5.00)	4.2/ 4.2	1: Family, U/R, Nationality 2: Profession, Age 3: Age, Political affiliation, Organisation 4: Nationality, Religion, Political affiliation, Organisation 5& 6: Ethnicity, Organisation, Nationality
Stine	C	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	Danish	Senior Communication Consultant	Female	More Than 3 Countries	5.13	5.5	5.44 (5.50 6.00 4.83)	6.2/ 6.2	1: Family, Nationality, U/R 2: Profession, Organisation, Age 3&4: Family 5& 6: Age, Profession
Sabrina	A	46-50	Postgrad-Doc	German	Senior Finance Analyst	Female	Up To 3 Countries	4.88	5.08	5.39 (6.00 6.00 4.17)	5.6/ 4.6	1&2: Family 3: Profession, Age 4&5: Age, Profession, Organisation 6: Family, Age, Profession, Organisation

Respondent	Company	Age	Level Of Education	Nationality	Profession	Gender	Country Of Residence	Disposition To Trust	C.Q	Trustworthiness	Reliance/ Disclosure	Dominant tiles
Siegfried	B	36-40	Professional Degree	German-Romanian	IT Helpdesk	Male	Up To 3 Countries	4.38	5.67	5.14 (5.33 4.60 5.50)	5.8/ 5	1:Nationality 2&3: Profession, Organisation 4:Family Organisation 5:Family, Age, Religion 6:Family
Valerie	C	31-35	Postgrad-Doc	ench-German	Controller For Subsidiary	Female	Up To 3 Countries	4.25	5.08	5.37 (6.00 5.60 4.50)	5.2/ 4.6	1:Family, U/R 2: Profession, Organisation 3:Family, Religion 4: Was not ranked 5&6:Profession, Organisation
Vicki	A	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	German	Head Of Portfolio Management	Female	Up To 3 Countries	5.5	5.33	4.39 (5.50 4.00 3.67)	4.8/ 2.4	1:Family 2: Family, Age, Religion, Profession 3:Family, Age, Religion, Organisation 4: Family, Profession, Organisation 5:Organisation 6:Family
Claudio	C	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	German-Italian	Head Of Division	Male	Up To 3 Countries	3.88	4.5	5.29 (5.83 5.20 4.83)	5.2/ 3.6	1:Family, Nationality 2: Nationality, Organisation 3:Family, Profession 4-6:Family, Age
Bheki	D	31-35	Professional Degree	South African-Black	Procurement Manager	Male	1 Country	5.88	5.17	5.92 (6.50 5.60 5.67)	6.4/ 6.20	1:Family, Religion 2: Profession, Organisation 3:Profession, Politics 4:Profession, Age 5: Profession, Hobbies 6: Nationality, Profession
Dave	D	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	Swiss	HR Director	Male	Up To 3 Countries	4.13	5.25	3.76 (5.00 3.60 2.67)	5.2/ 1.60	1:Family, Nationality 2-6: Profession, Organisation
Dan	D	31-35	Postgrad-Doc	British	Associate Director	Male	Up To 3 Countries	4.88	5.17	5.51 (5.33 6.20 5.00)	4.8/ 7.00	1:Family, Hobbies 2: Profession, Family 3: Profession, Hobbies 4: Profession, Organisation 5: Family, Profession 6: Hobbies, Profession

Respondent	Company	Age	Level Of Education	Nationality	Profession	Gender	Country Of Residence	Disposition To Trust	C.Q	Trustworthiness	Reliance/ Disclosure	Dominant tiles
Edwin	B	31-35	High School	Turkish, Swiss	Office Manager	Male	Up To 3 Countries	3.5	5.17	6.03 (6.83 5.60 5.67)	6.4/ 6.40	1&2&6:Family, Hobbies, Nationality, Ethnicity, U/R 3&4: Family, Hobbies, U/R 5: Ethnicity, Organisation
Edward	D	36-40	Postgrad-Doc	British	Manager Of Business Development And Planning	Male	Up To 3 Countries	4.13	4.58	5.56 (6.67 5.00 5.00)	6.8/ 6.60	1: Organisation 2&4: Organisation, Profession 3: Organisation, Age 5: Profession, Organisation, Age 6: Profession
Hammond	D	31-35	Professional Degree	South African	Trade Development Manager	Male	1 Country	5.25	5.92	5.83 (6.00 6.00 5.50)	6.2/ 7.00	1: Family, U/R 2: Organisation, Profession, Religion, Ethnicity 3: Family, Profession, Ethnicity, Religion 4: Ethnicity, Profession, Religion 5&6: Family, Ethnicity, Profession, Organisation
Jakob	D	31-35	High School	South African	Regional Sales Manager	Male	1 Country	3.75	5	5.49 (6.00 4.80 5.67)	3/ 1.20	1: U/R, Profession 2: Family 3&4: Family, Age, Ethnicity, Nationality 5:Profession 6: Organisation, Profession
Pearl	D	31-35	Bachelor	South African (Coloured)	Senior Finance Analyst	Female	1 Country	4.88	4.33	6 (6.33 6.00 5.67)	6.6/ 6.00	1: Family, Religion 2: Organisation, Profession 3&4: Family, Religion 5:Age, Religion 6: Religion
Steve	D	46-50	High School	Zimbabwean	Procurement Manager	Male	Up to 3 Countries	5.13	5.25	4.16 (4.83 3.80 3.83)	4.8/ 3.00	1: Family, Age, Nationality, U/R 2&3::Organisation, Profession 4: Profession 5:Age, Ethnicity, Nationality, U/R 6: Organisation
Thabo	D	31-35	Bachelor	South African	Property Underwriter Manager	Male	Up To 3 Countries	4.88	4.75	4.41 (5.67 3.25 4.33)	5/ 3.60	1:Nationality, Ethnicity 2:Organisation, Profession 3&4: Family, Organisation 5&6: Organisation, Profession

Appendix 2: Spearman's Correlation Matrix

			Reliance	Disclosure	Ability	Benevolence	Integrity	Disposition	Cognitive CQ	Behavioural CQ	Motivational CQ	Total CQ	Trustworthiness
Spearman's rho	Reliance	Correlation Coefficient	1.000										
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.										
		N	37										
	Disclosure	Correlation Coefficient	.646**	1.000									
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.									
		N	37	37									
	Ability	Correlation Coefficient	.630**	.310	1.000								
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.066	.								
		N	36	36	36								
	Benevolence	Correlation Coefficient	.509**	.650**	.363*	1.000							
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.032	.							
		N	36	36	35	36							
	Integrity	Correlation Coefficient	.490**	.563**	.427**	.494**	1.000						
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.009	.002	.						
		N	37	37	36	36	37						
	Disposition	Correlation Coefficient	.229	.228	.106	.201	.078	1.000					
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.179	.181	.544	.246	.649	.					
		N	36	36	35	35	36	36					
	Cognitive CQ	Correlation Coefficient	-.141	-.230	-.202	-.227	-.025	.122	1.000				
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.404	.172	.238	.183	.881	.477	.				
		N	37	37	36	36	37	36	37				
	Physical CQ	Correlation Coefficient	.026	.021	-.173	.049	.120	.310	.215	1.000			
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.879	.904	.314	.778	.478	.066	.202	.			
		N	37	37	36	36	37	36	37	37			
	Emotional CQ	Correlation Coefficient	.333*	.432**	.136	.364*	.197	.596**	-.059	.470**	1.000		
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.044	.008	.430	.029	.242	.000	.730	.003	.		
		N	37	37	36	36	37	36	37	37	37		
	Total CQ	Correlation Coefficient	.148	.109	-.118	.078	.130	.504**	.590**	.760**	.668**	1.000	
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.381	.520	.493	.650	.442	.002	.000	.000	.000	.	
		N	37	37	36	36	37	36	37	37	37	37	
	Trustworthiness	Correlation Coefficient	.663**	.683**	.652**	.833**	.785**	.266	-.220	.008	.369*	.072	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.129	.205	.964	.029	.683	.
		N	35	35	35	35	35	34	35	35	35	35	35

Appendix 3: Reliability Charts of Measurements

1) Assessment of trustworthiness

		N	%
Cases	Valid	35	94.6
	Excluded ^a	2	5.4
	Total	37	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.912	.908	17

Summary Item Statistics

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Item Means	5.212	2.200	6.143	3.943	2.792	.797	17
Item Variances	1.382	.518	2.350	1.832	4.539	.308	17

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
88.60	166.129	12.889	17

2) Disposition to trust

		N	%
Cases	Valid	36	97.3
	Excluded ^a	1	2.7
	Total	37	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.745	.690	8

Summary Item Statistics

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Item Means	4.743	2.639	5.528	2.889	2.095	.783	8
Item Variances	1.235	.523	2.349	1.826	4.492	.388	8

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
37.94	28.397	5.329	8

3) Willingness to trust (reliance and disclosure)

		N	%
Cases	Valid	37	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	37	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.901	.898	10

Summary Item Statistics

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Item Means	5.022	4.378	5.838	1.459	1.333	.248	10
Item Variances	2.475	.973	3.919	2.946	4.028	1.490	10

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
50.22	130.730	11.434	10

4) Cultural Intelligence

		N	%
Cases	Valid	37	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	37	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.658	.714	12

Summary Item Statistics

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Item Means	5.054	3.892	6.027	2.135	1.549	.358	12
Item Variances	1.521	.830	3.155	2.324	3.799	.429	12

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
60.65	46.012	6.783	12

Appendix 4: Consent Form & Pre-interview Questionnaire

Participant Information Sheet

My name is Badri Zolfaghari and I am a PhD candidate in Organisational Behaviour at Durham University in Durham, UK. My research focuses on the development of trust across cultures in multi-national organisations. The research moves one step beyond cultural awareness trainings and focuses on the effect of individual's cultural awareness on their behaviour at the workplace.

With an increasing level of diversity within organisations, this research aims to explore people's personal experiences of cross-cultural relationships at work and ways in which they overcome any obstacles that may occur in order to ensure effective working relationships.

In this respect, the *Cross-Cultural Trust Development* survey below has been designed with the aim to measure:

- Your personal, professional and cultural background.
- Your tendency to trust your professional partner (counterpart) from a different cultural background.
- Your cultural awareness and adaptability.

This questionnaire which takes approximately 20 minutes to complete will be followed up by a 30 minute interview in order for me to gain a more in depth understanding of your experiences.

Your input is highly valued for the completion of my doctorate and the results will be of high value for your organisation as it aims to enhance and facilitate cooperation, knowledge sharing, tolerance of uncertainty and communication in your multi-cultural workplace.

Timeline of the research process:

6th of May- 20th of May 2011: Completing the questionnaires and returning them to the researcher (myself) to the email address provided below.

21st of May-1st of June 2011: Preliminary review of the responses collected and contacting you for an appropriate time for the follow up interview in the timeframe below.

6th of June-27th of June 2011: Conducting interviews with participants at Allianz.

20th of August-15th of September 2011: Providing participants with an executive summary of the findings and results.

The questionnaire has been provided for you to fill out electronically and return by the **20th of May** to the provided email address below.

As a doctoral student in the UK I am fully committed to abide by a signed ethics form provided by Durham University. The statements below have been provided for your consideration regarding all ethical issues that will be taken into account. Future consent will also be sought from you should the work be published

Should you have any questions or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me. I very much appreciate your participation and help and look forward to meeting you.

Ethical Guidelines

- I confirm that I have read and understood the above information.
- I confirm that my participation is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw at any time.
- I understand that my anonymity is granted and any information provided in this research will remain confidential.
- I understand that any data collected is strictly for academic purposes and will remain at the researcher's discretion.

Signature of participant (please type)

Date

Cross-Cultural Trust Development

Section 1: Personal Background

1. Age : 20-25 ☐ 26-30 ☐ 31-35 ☐ 36-40 ☐ 41-45 ☐ 46-50 ☐ 51-55 ☐ 56-60 ☐ 60+ ☐

2. Gender: Male ☐ Female ☐

3. Country of birth -----

4. What do you consider your nationality to be? -----

5. In which country/countries have you lived in? -----

6. What is your current position in the company, and for how long have you been in this position? -----

7. What is your profession? -----

8. Your level of education(tick highest attained) : High School ☐ Bachelors ☐ Postgraduate/Doctorate ☐ Professional Degree ☐

9. Hobbies if any -----

Section 2:

Each of us has a unique 'cultural identity' that has been shaped by our history and experiences, and memberships of different groups. This section aims to look at your unique identity and the factors that may impact your cultural identity, willingness to trust and your trustworthiness. For each component on the left (i.e. Your Culture, work behaviour), please rank the items on the top right (i.e. Age, family, etc) according to their degree of impact: (1= lowest impact; 11= highest impact).

(For example: if you feel that your hobbies/interests have little impact on your work behaviour you would rank it as 2; if none at all, rank it as 1 or if you feel that your nationality has a strong impact on your culture you would rank it as 10).

	Family	Age	Ethnicity	Nationality	Religion	Profession	Hobbies/ Interests	Political affiliation	Organisation / Workplace	Urban/ Rural background (where you grew up)	Coastal/ Inland ¹ background (where you grew up)
1) Your cultural identity											
2) Work behaviour											
3) Your <u>general</u> willingness to trust others											
4) Your assessment of your own trustworthiness											

¹ Coastal refers to living near a coast and inland refers to living towards the centre of the country.

We would now like you to select someone with whom you have had to build a working relationship during your time with [Company] who is, in some respect, culturally different to yourself. This does not need to be a difference based on nationality; it could be based on profession or ethnicity, or even employer (i.e. a partner in another company). Think about that person as you answer the same questions as before; which of the items on the top which in this case refer to your counterpart (i.e. their family, their ethnicity, their nationality, etc) had the weakest and strongest impact on how you assessed that person's trustworthiness?

(For example if you feel that your counterpart's age has a high degree of impact on whether you believe him/her to be trustworthy, you would rank it as 10)

	Their Family	Their Age	Their Ethnicity	Their Nationality	Their Religion	Their Profession	Their Hobbies/ Interests	Their Political affiliation	Their Organization/ Workplace	Their Urban/ Rural background(where you grew up)	Their Coastal/ Inland background(where you grew up)
5) The trustworthiness of your counterpart											

Now considering the same counterpart, please rank the top right tiles according to your own background, to what degree does your family, your age, your ethnicity have an impact on your assessment of your counterparts trustworthiness.

(For example if your age has a high degree of impact on whether you believe your counterpart to be trustworthy you would rank it as 10).

	Your Family	Your Age	Your Ethnicity	Your Nationality	Your Religion	Your Profession	Your Hobbies/ Interests	Your Political affiliation	Your Organization/ Workplace	Your Urban/ Rural background(where you grew up)	Your Coastal/ Inland background(wher you grew up)
6) The trustworthiness of your counterpart											

Please think of the same counterpart you chose in the previous section. In relation to that association indicate the degree to which you agree with each statement. (Underline or colour the appropriate number: 1=not willing at all; 7=very willing)

	Not willing at all	Less willing	Slightly less willing	Neither willing nor unwilling	Slightly Willing	Willing	Very willing
1) How willing are you to rely on your counterpart's task-related skills and abilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) How willing are you to rely on your counterpart's work-related judgment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) How willing are you to follow your counterpart's advice on important issues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) How willing are you to rely on your counterpart's to represent your work accurately to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) How willing are you to share your personal feelings with your counterpart.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) How willing are you to discuss work-related problems/difficulties that could potentially be used to disadvantage you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) How willing are you to rely on your counterpart's people skills at work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) How willing are you to share sensitive work-related information with your counterpart which you would want to remain confidential between the two of you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) How willing are you to share your personal beliefs with your counterpart.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10) How willing are you to reveal your personal issues with your counterpart that is affecting your work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Thinking of the same counterpart in the previous section, please indicate the degree to which you agree with each statement.
(1= strongly disagree; 7=strongly agree)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
11) My counterpart is very capable of performing his/her job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12) My counterpart is known to be successful at the things he/she tries to do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13) My counterpart is knowledgeable regarding the work that needs to be done.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14) I feel very confident about my counterpart's management skills	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15) My counterpart has specialized capabilities that can increase our performance.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16) My counterpart is well qualified.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17) My counterpart is very concerned about my welfare.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18) My needs and desires are very important for my counterpart.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19) My counterpart would not knowingly do anything to hurt me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20) My counterpart really looks out for what is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21) My counterpart will go out of his/her way to help me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
22) My counterpart has a strong sense of justice.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23) I never have to doubt whether my counterpart will stick to his/her word.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24) My counterpart tries hard to be fair in dealing with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25) My counterpart's actions and behaviours are not very consistent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26) I like my counterpart's values.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27) Sound principles seem to guide my counterpart's behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Section 3:

This section contains a series of statements about your disposition to trust as well as your cultural awareness. For each statement below, please indicate the degree to which you agree with each statement: (1= strongly disagree; 7= strongly agree).

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
28) I tend to be cynical and sceptical of others' intentions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29) Before I interact with people from a new culture, I ask myself what I hope to achieve.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30) I believe that most people will take advantage of you if you let them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31) I think most of the people I deal with are honest and trustworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32) It's easy for me to change my body language (for example, eye contact or posture) to suite people from a different culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33) My first reaction is to trust people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34) I have a good deal of faith in human nature.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
35) I believe that most people are basically well-intentioned.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36) If I encounter something unexpected while working in a new culture, I use this experience to figure out new ways to approach <i>other</i> cultures in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37) I plan how I'm going to relate to people from a different culture before I meet them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38) When I come into a new cultural situation, I can immediately sense when something is going well or something is wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39) I'm suspicious when someone does something nice for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40) I can alter my expression when a cultural encounter requires it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41) I easily change the way I act when cross-cultural encounter seems to require it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

42) I tend to assume the best of people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43) I am certain that I can make friends with people whose cultural backgrounds are different from mine.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44) I can adapt to the lifestyle of a different culture with relative ease.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45) I am confident that I can deal with a cultural situation that's unfamiliar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46) I modify my speech style (for example, accent or tone) to suite people from a different culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47) I have confidence that I can deal with people from a different culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Thank you very much for filling in this survey. We hope you found it interesting!!!!.

Should you wish to participate, kindly provide a time and date suitable for you in the email for a follow up interview within the timeframe of **6th-27th of June 2011.**

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