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MANAGERIAL BEHAVIOR
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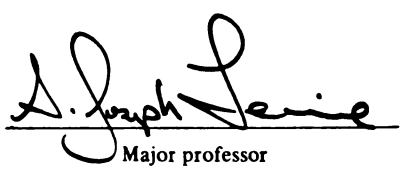

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MANAGERIAL BEHAVIOR IN CROSS-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENTS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR TRAINING

By

Robert Crane Morris

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ABSTRACT

MANAGERIAL BEHAVIOR
IN CROSS-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENTS
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This study sought a better understanding of the expatriate managerial experience, especially the cross-cultural dynamics of that experience. The exploratory study was thought useful because of the increasing global nature and interdependence of commerce throughout the world, the human and financial costs of expatriate representation and the general lack of study in the area.

Variables studied were: the managerial behaviors most common to the expatriate role, the most common host country cultural characteristics influencing these behaviors, the approaches most commonly taken to coping with cross-cultural stress, and the type of training for working abroad received and suggested by repondents. Further, the potential application of a culture analysis tool, the myth/ritual/social drama framework, was considered for its potential to further understanding of the cross-cultual encounters described.

The population studied was former expatriate managers from five multinational corporations headquartered in

southern Michigan. The study was a census of those available for interview. An in-depth interview was selected as the most desirable approach for exploration of an arwa of inquiry in a formative stage.

The findings are based upon the perceptions of the respondents in describing and interpreting their experience. Expatriate managerial behaviors were found to fall principally into eight management function categories and were perceived by the respondents as more supportive and facilitative than directive in comparison to their actions at home. They perceived this to be increasingly the functional direction of the expatriate role in generally.

Comments on host country cultural characteristics were organized into categories of those seen as most helping and those most hindering the expatriates' managerial activities. Several characteristics were nominated to both categories. Coping behaviors were found to be along a continuum from avoidance of cultural interaction to adaptation to cultural influences.

Cross-cultural episodes related to each of the managerial behavior categories were found to be usefully interpreted by the myth/ritual/social drama framework. The training received by the respondents was categorized in nine areas but was generally very limited in amounts received; respondents generally felt their own preparation very inadequate and held strong views on the nature of such preparation that should be provided.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although acknowledgements are proforma, I am pleased to have the opportunity to express my sincere appreciation for the instruction, support, inspiration and direction which has contributed so importantly to my education and this dissertation. Foremost in this have been the chairman of my dissertation committee Dr. George Axinn (Education and Agricultural Economics), present acting chairman Dr. S. Joseph Levine (Education) and the other committee members: Dr. Richard Farace (Communication), Dean Ralph Smuckler (International Programs and Studies, and Political Science) and Dr. John Useem (Sociology).

Further, I feel fortunate to have done this work at a university which gives such recognition and emphasis to the role and responsibilities of education in an increasingly interdependent and interactive world. The interdisciplinary collegial atmosphere created by those with interests in international relationships and development in many departments has made my work and life here a very fulfilling experience.

I am also indebted to the Department of Communication for the opportunity provided me to direct its Management Communication Workshops for foreign participants for several years. Among other benefits, it provided a chance to come to know and exchange views with

more than a thousand participants from throughout the world. Through that experience, I owe thanks to many of those participants for opening my mind to many points of view and, in the present case, for insights that have helped me to better understand and interpret the comments and observations of the respondents in this study.

A special thanks is due the persons and firms which participated in this study. The generosity of time and information given and the interest shown in the subject were plentiful and crucial to the study.

I wish to also thank my wife, Susanne. Words, however, are inadequate to express that appreciation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

A. PURPOSE

This study explores the experience of a group of former expatriate managers of overseas branches of U.S. multinational firms. Its purpose is to better understand some of the dynamics of performing the managerial role in other cultural environments. Further, it considers the implications for the preparation and training of future expatriates.

Many factors besides the host culture affect how individuals perform their roles abroad. Among these are training, logistics, compensation agreements and other aspects of preparation. All of these may affect the individuals' implementation of their training, their morale and their reaction to the overseas environment.

The expatriates' expectations of the effect of an overseas assignment on their career advancement and of probable utilization upon their return to the United States of the skills and experience gained, have also been shown to have a substantial effect on performance abroad, e.g., Teague (1982) and Korn-Ferry International (1981). Further, organizational, resource and political factors influence the expatriate manager's options and actions.

The central focus of the present study is on the perceived effect of cultural dimensions as expressed in attitudes, behaviors, values and traditions of the local culture upon the performance of managerial tasks. However, it is also within the purpose of this inquiry to consider some of the other factors mentioned above as they are encountered in relation to cross-cultural interactions.

Managerial functions abroad, as in domestic operations, are central to the conduct of commerce and other relationships. Effective managerial relationships in cross-cultural environments are of particular significance in an era of increasing global interaction and economic and political interdependency (Osgood, 1974; Hofstede, 1980).

Knowledge of cultural and non-cultural influences on managerial behavior is important to understanding the needs, approaches and issues related to preparation of persons to live and work effectively overseas. Information on the nature of these cultural influences and the behavioral adjustments they stimulate may contribute to several areas of inquiry including communication, education, psychology, business and others.

Concern with culture in the business environment is receiving increasing attention. The cultural dimension of organizations, for example, often figures in discussions of areas such as 'Organizational Development' in domestic

as well as international contexts. Schein (1983) and Deal and Kennedy (1982) for instance stress the existence and importance of cultural differences in organizations and their implications for resistance to change and approaches to organizational development efforts. There is also an active debate between those who view 'Organizational Development' as culture bound to U.S. models (e.g. Brown, 1982) and those who feel it is a broad ranging activity that has not been developed within one culture alone and has demonstrated broad applicability across cultures (e.g. Rigby, 1983; and Blake and Mouton, 1983).

The present study focuses on managerial behavior. The theoretical conceptualizations of such activity rarely have been specifically considered in the cross-cultural setting. The nature and evolution of managerial and organizational theory, however, is central to a better understanding this activity in the more complex context of the cross-cultural environment and is treated in the literature review (chapter II).

B. NEED FOR STUDY

There is a dearth of information dealing specifically with the impact of culture on management behavior. Ajiferuke and Boddewyn lamented this absence in their 1974 review of the research in the newly developing field of 'comparative management.' More recent research and overviews (e.g. Krupnick, 1983; Tung, 1981) suggests that situation has improved but is still very limited. The

following are some reasons more information and understanding in the area of cultural influence on management are needed.

1. The requirement of international enterprise in an increasingly global, if diverse, economy and society

The "shrinking globe" concept is more than a tired cliche. It is one of the important characteristics of our era.

Trade is one of the principle engines driving this phenomenon and requires effective communication and interaction to be successful. Not only for the major industrial countries but for the 60 middle-income countries, international trade has been a major source of growth of real per capita gross national product, though this has been less so for the low-income countries (Economic Report of the President, 1982). Some observers see more interaction and recognition of global political and economic interdependency by all nations as nothing less than an imperative for the future existence of mankind (e.g. Hofstede, 1980).

2. The importance of effective international commercial relationships to the United States.

The United States early in its history became an important international political and economic force. Its economy, however, in the period of its dramatic expansion in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th, was driven largely by its enormous domestic market

and commerce, though the international dimension was of significance. The relative importance of international and domestic economic relationships more recently have come to approximate the relative importance of its international and domestic political characteristics.

Since World War II, the world has truly emerged as a global marketplace and the United States as its largest and most pervasive trader. One in five U.S. citizens employed in industrial production now have jobs substantially dependent on export markets. Two in five farmed acres produce for export. Exports and imports account for twelve percent of the country's gross national product (Economic Report of the President, 1982), twice the figure for the early 1960s. Projections for the future suggest even greater integration of the U.S. economy with that of an increasingly interdependent world economy (Naisbitt, 1982).

There is far broader participation and competition today by many nations in international trade and substantial decentralization of trade predominance among nations than was the case only a few years ago. Lawrence Franko (1978, p.94) notes, for example that:

> "In 1959 an American company was the largest in the world in 11 out of 13 major industries (aerospace, automotive, chemicals, electrical equipment, food products, general machinery, iron and steel, metal and commercial banking) ...by 1976, the U.S. was leading in only seven of the 13."

Therefore, world and national pressures and interests are requiring more and closer relationships across cultures. More information is needed on the dynamics of these interactions.

3. The changing power conditions in international relationships

Changes in established political and economic power and structures have required increasing equity in interpersonal relationships. This has important implications for management activities in cross-cultural environments.

Cross-cultural interaction is rarely a balanced exchange in which all parties make an equitable effort at understanding and accommodation. It is more frequently a reflection of the power relationships that exist. It is usually characterized by an interface imposed on the terms of a dominant participant. The more diffuse character of power today has necessitated some movement in the direction of increased equity in these relationships in commerce as in other areas.

4. The growing relative importance of cross-cultural effectiveness

The importance of international trade, the growing interdependence of nations, and changing power relationships have made it increasingly incumbent on international firms and their personnel to give due regard to the cultures and systems overseas within which they work.

Cross-cultural interaction has joined economic, political and social factors as a central concern in commerce, development strategies and intersocietal relationships (see, for example, Kumar, 1979). Cross-cultural relationship capabilities have, in turn, become increasingly important attributes of the expatriate manager.

In addition to international contact, corporations engaged in international trade are increasingly multicultural in the makeup of their own managerial personnel. Some firms are expanding the use of host country executives in their overseas operations. This trend, however, is seen as increasing, rather than decreasing, the need for cross-cultural relationship capabilities among those Americans who are sent abroad.

There are also increasing demands in this regard upon U.S. based staff who are in contact with the international arena. This suggests that greater attention to cross-cultural factors in selection criteria and training may contribute importantly to an organization's profit and competitive position.

There is broad recognition expressed by business leaders (Patico, 1979), that failure of employees to adapt to new cultural environments is a major and growing problem. Lanier (1979) reports, for example, that about one-third of all personnel transferred abroad return prematurely, usually because of maladjustment.

The modern expatriate must be a diplomat, world

citizen and mediator of many forces that uniquely enter his managerial environment because he is abroad. Some of these are obvious. Others are less anticipated, such as the need to deal with the evolving extraterritoriality of governmental efforts to "apply some of their economic laws to regulate conduct beyond their national boundaries." (Samuels, 1982. ff).

5. The limited information and research on expatriate managers and the influence of the cultural environment on their behaviors

There appear to be many persons who strongly believe in the importance of the influence of cultural factors on the managerial behavior of the expatriate. Their opinions, however, must more often be based upon impression and faith than on information acquired through planned inquiry as it is very limited.

The explosion of theory and research on management in the last quarter century has focused increasingly on what managers "do". There is, however, a comparative dearth of exploration of the impact of cross-cultural interaction on these managerial activities.

Given the focus on relationships in much of the research on management behavior in domestic organizations, a surprisingly small amount of the substantial literature on international business and management deals with cross-cultural dimensions.

There are differences in viewpoint on whether

cross-cultural interaction in the world is inevitable or desirable. Some of the opposing views are given in the literature review in the following chapter. This controversy in itself argues the need for more understanding of the nature of such encounters.

Some observers feel that while there has been substantial study of the economic and political consequences of the emergence of the multinationals, there has been inadequate attention to their cultural impact (Kumar, 1975). The amount of comment taking place in this regard, however, does suggest an increasing relationships and skills in the international trade arena.

The types of cross-cultural encounters in the expatriate's environment are more complex than might first come to mind. There are those of the expatriate with nationals of the country of assignment, or with several of the subcultures within these, or even with the special cultures of the international community or the multinational organization itself. To these are added such considerations as dealing not just with persons and organizations of the host or client countries but with special entities such as the increasingly important intermediary organizations that themselves operate across national and cultural boundaries (Simmonds, 1977).

These perceptions suggest the increasing and broad-based demands on the cross-cultural relationship

skills of the expatriate. They indicate a need for better understanding of managerial behavior in these conditions and for the development of culture-general as well as culture-specific expertise in preparation for overseas assignments.

6. The importance and relative rarity of training and other preparation of managers for living and working in cross-cultural environments

Most often the expression of concern that something needs to be done about preparation for cross-cultural management assignments comes from sources other than the business community. These sources include the reports of research organizations serving industry (e.g. The Conference Board, Inc.; and Korn-Ferry International, Inc.) and academic and training literature (e.g., Brislin, 1981; Hofstede, 1980; and Lee, 1983). Other studies, e.g. Korzenny (1979), indicate that substantial programs and specific policies related to such preparation are still the exception. This suggests that dealing with cultural factors in training is not part of the experience of most executives nor the great majority of corporate training divisions and that such activity may often not even be considered as a possibility.

C. GENERAL DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This exploratory study uses a structured interview questionnaire as a guide to the conduct of in-depth interviews with fifteen former expatriate managers. The

process and instrument are discussed in chapter III, Methodology.

The responses were collected and several sets of categories generated that relate to the demographics of the group, managerial behaviors practiced, cultural influences on behavior, adaptation, and training and other preparation received. Behavioral classifications are reported with a definition of the action described and examples given of representative statements from participants that help to specify each category. These categories and comments are reported in chapter IV, Findings.

Analysis of the information gathered is treated in interrelated sections. These deal primarily with managerial behaviors and adaptation and with training.

The responses generated a number of classifications. Some of these are further interpreted using a framework of cultural myth, ritual and social drama. The final section explores training designs experienced or suggested by the respondents.

Implications are noted for organizational policy, for training and for further research. These are discussed in chapter V, 'Discussion and Implications.'

Chapter II

LITERATURE

The central thrust of this research is upon how cultural environments affect managerial behaviors. Hence the literature review focuses upon:

--The theory and perception of the practice of managment,

--Research and theory on the nature of the cross-cultural encounter experience in general;

--The practice of management in cross-cultural environments,

--The training that has been attempted to prepare persons to live and work in other cultural environments and deal effectively with cross-cultural encounters.

--The nature of, and controversies surrounding multinational corporations, the organizational entities within which the activities studied took place;

A. THEORY AND RESEARCH ON CROSS-CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS.

1. Benefits and disadvantages of cross-cultural relationships.

Before discussing the international business milieu, consideration should be given the spectrum of opinion on the potential benefits and costs of this or other kinds of cross-cultural interaction. While a number of writers start from the assumption of the inevitability and benefit of such interaction, others question this strongly.

There appear to be three interrelated types of opposition to greater cross-cultural contact and exchange. One is based on a concern that these interactions are most often unidirectional, furthering and maintaining the predominant influence of one culture over another and fostering cultural dependency (e.g., Dagnino, 1980). A second derives from a belief that greater interaction results in a loss of cultural identity and reduces a plurality that should be valued, e.g., Lomax, 1977; Osgood, 1974. A third holds that ethnocentrism and racism characterize most such interactions and find expression in humiliating avoidance or in increased interaction for the purposes of cultural extinction, e.g., Stauffer, 1979; de Cardona, 1975; Mazrui, 1979.

A number of writers express these concerns but few suggest courses of action. One exception is Stauffer (1979) who exhorts Third World countries to break the ties between their elites and the external forces threatening their cultural character. He suggests cultural disengagement until more egalitarian structures of relationship are attained. Specific elements to be attacked are also suggested by the concerns of some for the influence of external media on local culture, e.g., Matta, 1980.

Another exception is Dagnino (1980) who promotes resistance to cultural dependence by identification of "elements in the dominated culture... to put to use for development of a critical consciousness ...(as)...Paulo

Freire has tried to do." (Dagnino, 1980, p. 318). The strategy suggested incorporates using cultural manifestations that are very close to the individual to encourage a perception of national culture, nationalism and resistance to alien concepts.

Most writers, whatever their view of the benefits or dangers in greater interaction, assume its inevitability. Their concern is more often its control and attainment of beneficial aspects with minimal sacrifice of independence and national and cultural character. Some express mixed feelings, for example, viewing multinationals as an important potential source of expertise and investment capital while warning against exploitation and subtle infusion of unwanted values, consumption patterns and lifestyles.

2. State of cross-cultural theory development

Theoretical frameworks relating to cross-cultural interaction in general are only beginning to evolve. Gudykunst (1983), for example, observes that there is a wide consensus among cross-cultural communication researchers that their field is in an embryonic state of theoretical and methodological development. He concludes from his perusal of current perspectives on theory that, to use Kuhn's terminology, this area is in an 'aparadigmatic' stage. That is, there are few of the emerging paradigms struggling for dominance described as required for a 'pre-paradigmatic' stage.

Concern was expressed some time ago regarding our

understanding of cross-cultural relationships. Useem, Donoghue and Useem (1963, p.169) noted:

> "...we are without an existing language for making summaries of that which is experienced."

Some feel that cross-cultural research suffers from inadequate exchange among those involved (Jahoda, 1980; Brislin, 1981a). Gorden (1974) describes the state of the art as "backward." Terms such as "underdeveloped" and "lacking direction" are commonly encountered. Brislin, Bochner, and Lonner (1975) describe the environment as one struggling to integrate heterogeneous aims, methods, conceptual frameworks, substantive areas, and theoretical learning into a more precise conceptualization of cross-cultural psychology.

The initiative and research in the area of cross-cultural studies has largely come from sources in anthropology and sociology. More recently this has expanded to include psychology and communication. There is also increasing reference to cross-cultural dimensions in a broad span of literature dealing with the individual's affairs and functions in the world, for example, in research on political socialization (e.g. Renson, 1977).

There have been recent steps towards categorizing types of cross-cultural encounters (e.g., Brislin, 1981a) and evolving systems for more precisely exploring such encounters and describing them taxonomically. Sarbaugh (1979) organized variables that affect cross-cultural communication into

categories of perceived relationship and intent, code systems, normative beliefs and values, and world view. People are placed in relation to one another along a continuum of homogeneity or heterogeneity. The purpose in this is to provide an indication of the probable degree of communication and problem-solving facility in the relationship.

Sarbaugh's framework permits more specific definition of the extent and nature of similarities and differences in a given cross-cultural relationship. He contends that through such awareness, adjustment will come more quickly, greater tolerance will be shown, and self-esteem will be increased. In this way the point of view of others is to be more clearly understood and workable relationships established.

Cross-cultural situations are often conceptualized from the viewpoint of problems inhibiting effective communication. These are sometimes related to language, nonverbal misunderstanding, preconception and stereotypes, the tendency to quick evaluation, and high anxiety. Herskovits (1972) stresses that the problems of awareness of one's own and new cultures and its reflection in ethnocentrism are elements central to this whose power tends to be overlooked. Pusch (1979) views the development of cross-cultural competencies as moving along a continuum from ethnocentrism, to awareness, to understanding, to acceptance, to respect, to appreciation/ valuing, and selective adoption, to assimilation, to biculturalism, and finally multiculturalism.

Some writers question the advisability of some of the more advanced theoretical work being carried out before there is a sounder research base from which to proceed. They feel more exploratory work needs to be accomplished before there is need for very sophisticated elaboration. For example, Brislin, Bochner, and Lonner (1975) laud Triandis' many important contributions to our understanding of the interplay between culture and learning and to cross-culture research in general. However, they also express concern that his mathmatically based paradigm of behavioral intentions is unnecessarily complex at this stage of the art. They feel it may, in fact, be stultifying rather than a stimulus to expansion of the horizons of research.

Commonly numbered among the problems inhibiting the sharing of information are diverse semantic and philosophical directions being taken. Aside from the vocabulary difficulties of working across disciplines, Gudykunst, Hammer and Wiseman (1977) lament that the use of terms such as 'models,' 'methods,' and 'techniques' has been inconsistent and interchangeable.

Philosophical differences are evident in such orientations as the psychologist's tendency to treat culture as a dependent variable and the sociologist's inclination to treat culture as an independent variable. Price-Williams (1975) suggests that we must consider whether there is one basic universal epistemological mode expressed in cultural variation or several different epistomologies. Brislin

(1975) questions the tendency in his own field of psychology to focus on discovery of a universal key to all behavior everywhere.

Despite greater interest in the field in recent years, there remain substantial problems of exchange and communication. Brislin (1981a), for example, felt compelled to ask his readers to bear with him as he wove back and forth among the various types of cross-cultural contact groups and situations described in the literature to draw together general implications. Renwick's 'state of the art' study (in part edited into volumes I, II and III of Hoopes, Pedersen, and Renwick, 1977 and 1978) and the collections of university syllabi for cross-cultural programs collected by Prosser (1974) and Hoopes (1977), illustrate broad differences of conceptualization and direction.

Jahoda (1980) suggests that an inadequate operationalization of the concept of culture is the major weakness of current cross-cultural theories. That some difficulty and confusion in dealing with the concept of culture can be expected is evident from the fact that in 1952 Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963) collected more than 100 definitions of culture from the literature. Their conceptualization, which focused on explicit and implicit patterns of behavior, was expanded by Osgood (1974).

Osgood used the concepts of Sapir and Whorf to add the dimension of "subjective culture" in terms of affective and connotative aspects of language into the definition.

Triandis further expanded the concept of subjective culture to encompass values, beliefs and attitudes. His view rounds out what seems to be the most widely accepted conceptualization at present.

Triandis (1977) refers primarily to evaluation when he expresses the hope that his work on the subject will initiate some convergence towards a paradigm on the effects of training on interpersonal relationships. However, that hope is applicable as well to the whole phenomenon of cross-cultural training. His discussion is a contribution to clarification of the nature of cross-cultural training in general.

An important source for improving the amount of exchange among the interested disciplines has been the collections that have brought their work together, e.g., Smith, 1966; Samovar and Porter, 1976; Hoopes, Pedersen, and Renwick, 1977, 1978; and Aron, 1979. The work of the latter on non-verbal behavior illustrates the new direction for interdisciplinary cooperation in more specialized topic areas related to cross-cultural interaction.

Samovar and Porter (1976) suggest that domestic intercultural conflicts and remedial programs of the 1960s and early 1970s were a major stimulus to the development of cross-cultural communication as a field of study. They see this as having been an impetus to cross-cultural training development as well.

With the general agreement noted early in this section

that these efforts thus far are in an initial stage of creating a field, it is not surprising that the more specialized and limited area of adaptation of managerial behavior is not further developed. There is no well established theory as to how, or why, managers adjust their behaviors in the ways they do under cross-cultural conditions.

3. Myth, ritual and social drama in the cross-cultural context

The framework of myth, ritual and social drama is a tool used first by anthopologists and later by sociologists and others to conceptualize some of the dynamics of specific cultures. It is not generally used in relation to cross-cultural encounters.

The present study, however, includes consideration of the potential of this framework as a possible approach for better understanding the nature of cross-cultural interactions and for preparing persons for them. In this case the focus is upon managerial activities in such environments.

Some of those who have been leaders in the characterization of what culture is, e.g. Edward Sapir, have urged caution against the tendency to commit 'cultural over-determinism' (Sapir, 1934, p. 412). Yet given that and Turner's contention that we never cease to learn our own ever-changing cultures, to say nothing of other cultures (Turner, 1980), the codes that are established and acted out are available to some degree for interpretation and help in

our understanding interactive events.

Malinowski (1944) explains cultural universals as deriving from universal human needs. He and others, e.g., Bidney (1962), contend that variations in culture content beyond universals vary with social and geographic context. Cultural institutions are explained in terms of meeting the requirements of social functions to promote the existence and welfare of the given society.

Some scholars seem to have considered myths, for example, largely as primitive man's intellectual philosophy of nature, often restricting their comments to religious contexts. Malinowski (1948), however, maintained that myths were better understood as motivated by practical concern with dealing with the crises of life. Bidney (1962) noted that Pareto, Sorel and other sociologists have argued that social myths are indispensable to social action.

This broader and more pragmatic viewpoint is reflected in more recent treatments of myths and the rituals and social dramas they engender. Such approaches are found in writings in a number of disciplines now, e.g., by Turner in social psychology (1980) and Philipsen in communication (1981).

The 1980 Speech Communication Association's colloquium on intercultural communication suggested that there be more focus on ritual and myth in future research. Asante (1983) asserts that as myths and rituals introduce us to a people's thinking about themselves and others, intercultural communication as a discipline must come to better understand

these dimensions if it is to mature as a field. It is this broader functional conceptualization of the myth/ritual/social drama framework that is assumed in the discussion of the findings in the present study.

B. MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS AS CROSS-CULTURAL ENTITIES

1. The multinational corporation

Multinationals may be broadly defined as a home organization with foreign affiliates engaged in producing and marketing in more than two countries. In recent years they have increasingly been characterized as a source of dynamic growth and controversy in international trade.

Some see them as the most promising vehicle available for global prosperity and stability. Others address them with a level of vilification that suggests they are major threats to mankind.

The majority of writers seem to be positively inclined to the potential of the multinational to contribute to world economic development. But many hold reservations about the potential for excess and exploitation without adequate international control and regulation.

The expansion and impact of U.S. multinational corporations has been dramatic and important to the economies of the U.S. and other countries. Their assets abroad tripled between 1966 and 1977. The growth rates of their foreign affiliates have been even greater than that of the U.S. parent organizations (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1982b).

These corporations have also come to be an important

source of employment in world labor markets, especially in modern sectors. U.S. multinationals employ over twenty-six million persons. Twenty-eight percent of these are employed in foreign affiliates, a third of these persons being in developing countries (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1982a). Only a small proportion of these overseas personnel are U.S. nationals but still amounts to several tens of thousands of individuals.

2. Positive and negative perceptions of multinational corporations

There are sizable groups of adherents in the United States and abroad to views of U.S. multinational commerce as a major source of exploitation or as a major engine for development throughout the world. They may generally be seen as falling into one or another of three categories:

a. There are those who see private sector investment abroad as an essential factor in development. This is reflected in such pronouncements as one finds in the 1982 Economic Report of the President previously mentioned, and in many of the reports issued by the World Bank, the regional development banks and other sources. Some argue that developing countries and that the multinational firm is the most important transmitter of technical knowledge (e.g. Quinn, 1969).

b. A second group are strongly oriented in a very different direction. They have strong suspicions of outside private investment and often of the role of private invest-

ment at all. This category includes many of the dependency theorists who document their assertions with a variety of case studies (e.g., Cockcroft, Frank and Johnson, 1972).

The concern of the dependency theorists grows out of their critique of capitalism. Their conceptualization of power centers in 'metropoles' controlling 'periphery' centers and nations often includes a view of multinationals as important tools of the former for the supression and exploitation of the latter. Some writers focus primarily on illustrating the excesses and crimes various firms have perpetrated (e.g. Barnet and Muller, 1974). Others focus on the impact on cultural institutions such as education as, for example, "the pinnacle of the structure of dependency" (Mazrui, 1979, p. 156).

Whereas the dependency theorists have focused upon the nation state, Wallerstein (1979) argues that this is too narrow a basis on which to understand the dynamics of influence and change in social systems. His conceptualization poises that "world systems" are the scale on which these dynamics must be considered, e.g., the world captitalist economy. From such a perspective, the multinationals are seen as important not as elements of nation based control, but as actors in a world ecomomy that transcends nation states in importance.

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Dependency and world systems positions would presuppose that expatriate managerial roles would include functions of maintenance of core/periphery relationships and dominance.

Thus training for such positions would also be presumed to be so oriented.

c. Members of a third grouping, through conviction or pragmatism, appear less strident in their opposition to the multinationals. Some recognize possible benefits from participation by such organizations to the economies of developing countries. At the same time they counsel wariness of the abuse of power and influence perceived as common in the past. This group includes a number of Third World leaders such as Soedjatmoko (1977).

Some authorities such as Raul Prebisch do not seem as much against foreign investment as advocating stricter control of its nature and distribution of its benefits. Prebisch demonstrated that economic nationalism could not simply be dismissed as Marxist rhetorical positions as many were want to do. His concerns with changing terms of trade seem more a reform today than the revolution they appeared to many in the 1950s (see Prebisch, 1971).

A number of international forums have taken up consideration of the problem of control of supranational economic entities such as some of the multinationals are perceived as being. One example is the 'Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy.' This declaration by the governing body of the International Labor Organization of the United Nations (1977) set forth principles in the field of employment, training, working condition and industrial relations which governments,

employers' and workers' organizations and multinationals are recommended to observe. The ILO is only one of the most active of the organizations concerned in this area and a major source of literature and study reports on the activities and impact of these corporations.

C. MANAGEMENT IN CROSS-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENTS

The central theoretical perspectives to which this study relates are general management and organizational climate conceptualizations. The body of literature in this area is substantial, though that which considers cross-cultural conditions is very limited.

This section of the literature review will deal first with the evolution of our understanding of, and speculation on the character of the managerial role. It will then focus upon the less defined and developed theoretical areas concerning cultural interaction dimensions.

1. Managerial theory development

Taking this discussion to its rudiments, note should first be made of the contributions of Marx, Weber and Freud. These three gave us the intellectual statements that most influenced our early conceptualization of the nature of modern industrial society. They thus provided the basis for its exploration.

Marx first initiated exploration of the restrictions of modern institutions on human potentials and emphasized the impact of economic conditions on social change. Weber perceived a sociology that struggled for a better

understanding of human action in organizations, proposed the 'ideal type' of some organizational structures and gave added emphasis to the role of such factors as tradition and belief in propelling social change. Freud, though best known for enlarging our grasp of the nature of the mind and thought, also introduced new realms in our understanding of the life of groups, organizations and societies.

These theoretical perspectives demonstrate how our perceived realities influence how we organize and behave. The discussion of managerial behavior in cross-cultural environments rests on consideration of the influences and problems related to managerial behavior in a condition of heightened culture-based variance in the realities perceived.

In the early decades of the present century, the great interest in researching the nature of the management process emerged. Major variables, structures and features of organizations and bureaucracies were analyzed at the beginning of the century by Weber (1922). However, his work did not have its greatest impact on the United States, which was to become the center of this activity, until several decades later when his writings became widely available in English (Weber, 1930, 1947).

Central to early directions in the study of management were attempts to derive 'scientific principles' that could explain and guide the actions of managers. This was led by Frederick Taylor (1923) who focused primarily upon the behavior of individual workers and defining relatively rigid

parameters of the 'one best way' for accomplishing productive activity. In this effort, however, he established a tradition of looking at what was actually being done by the actors involved.

Insights into the dynamics of organizations were coming from within industry as well as from the academic community. James Mooney and Alan Reiley (1939), former executives of General Motors, introduced a set of principles for organizational structure, including concepts of 'unity of command,' specialization and grouping of labor and functions, and line and staff relationships. These had an important influence on managerial thought and behavior.

Luther Gulick (1937) focused attention further upon what managers 'do'. He defined systems of coordination and control, explored 'roles' of management and proposed the work of the executive as planning, organizing, staffing, directing, reporting and budgeting. He gave high importance to the criterion of efficiency and sought structures for this that keep him with Weber and Taylor within the 'rational model' or 'orthodox' tradition.

This tradition continues as one of the influential theoretical bases for managerial activity. It is especially evident in the work of Herbert Simon in the 1950s. While challenging the search for 'principles' of administration and the assumptions of earlier forms of the 'rational model', Simon provided a revised conceptualization, still based on efficiency, which focused on the rationality of decision-

making (Simon, 1957). He saw decision-making as the core of administration.

After Simon's elaboration on the rational model, there appears greater attention in this branch of the literature to the role of the environment on organizational and individual behavior. Thompson (1967), for example, describes organizational research as generally taking one of two approaches. One focuses on the efficiency with which an organization accomplishes its objectives and is referred to as a closed-system strategy. The other strategy assumes we have less knowledge than needed about all the factors that can influence the organization, particularly from the larger environment, and that we must expect to have to act with uncertainty. The latter Thompson calls an open-system strategy, which has obvious special relevance to a discussion of management in the cross-cultural context.

Organizational humanism is the other important direction in theoretical development besides the rational model of organization that is having a substantial impact on current managerial thinking. The rational model largely presumes that individuals working within organizations make choices within a range of choice largely determined by higher levels of the organization. The organizational humanists, however, give greater emphasis to the individual as an integral part of the broader social world and hence to a broader range of factors influencing their choosing.

The organizational humanists' view of the individual's

role in developing that social world, including their work, and their broader needs and perceptions concerning that must be given specific attention in management activities. This perception implies that managers need to see their employees as whole persons contributing to the organization rather than as mere instruments serving organizational purposes. The concept suggests a more democratic view of organizations is required than the more authoritarian hierarchy implied by the 'orthodox' model.

Among the theoreticians in this area, Mary Follett was one of the earliest to consider motivational factors of the individual and the group. She emphasized participatory management and the exercising of 'power with' rather than 'power over' co-workers (e.g., Follett, 1926). Follet's work, however, like that of Weber, became most influential only at a later time than the period in which it was written.

Shortly before World War II, this orientation gained importance in part through the work of Chester Barnard. He popularized several of Follett's major themes in a more comprehensive theory of executive function (Barnard, 1938).

Barnard focused on coordinated activities rather than on formal mechanisms and gave emphasis to considerations of the quality of organizational life. His work is seen as incorporating both rational model and humanistic qualities (Denhardt, 1984).

Douglas McGregor is more closely related to what has

sometimes been called the 'human relations' school of management Most central to the purposes of this study, is his contention that successful management depends on the ability to predict and influence human behavior (McGregor, 1960). Perceiving and predicting accurately in cultural environments different from the manager's own offers obvious addtitional challenges to the expatriate manager.

Chris Argyris (1957) has focused upon the interchange between the individual personality and the demands of the organization. To the degree that the personality reflects the culture rather than the unique individual, the dynamics and behaviors he discusses will be more complex within cross-cultural environments. Further, Argyris (1972) perceives, as does social psychologist Kurt Lewin, that for basic changes to occur in an organization there must be an unfreezing of older patterns before new ones may be established. Clearly this will likely be a more difficult task in the cross-cultural environment since the patterns will be based to differing degrees upon differing cultural traditions.

The organizational humanist writers have given increasing attention to the effects of broader environmental influences upon the organization and its personnel. The present study thus derives from both the rational model and organizational humanist approaches in exploring what managers 'do' and the cross-cultural context of the environments within and outside of the organizational structures in which

they do it.

2. Culture and management

a. Culture as a 'tyrannizing image'

Weaver (1964) suggests that we know little about the process by which a variety of ideas and actions become integrated into an individual's cultural reality. He notes we can certainly see, however, the power of the result and dramatizes this by referring to the core effect as a 'tyrannizing image.' This, he feels, is a unifying element which establishes the ideals of excellence for the cultural group. It is one by which the individual then judges his behavior and that of others.

An example of the use of this concept is found in Cushman's discussion (in press, 1984) of the Japanese vision of excellence in 'harmony with nature', of 'rugged individualism' in the United States and 'collective obedience' in China. The behavior and rationalization such imagery directs or influences provides for a relative homogeneity of expression in the activities of members of the culture, which include, of course, those related to management functions.

As with all other institutions and functions, the corporation and the processes of commerce and management are reflections of the persons who design and act in them. They are, therefore, subject to the standards and influences of the "tyrannizing images" of those individuals.

b. Culture and socialization.

A useful system for considering the source and expression of cultural influence on behavior is that of myth, ritual and social drama. Philipsen (1981) writing in the area of communication in culture, demonstrates this utility in characterizing socialization and institution building by considering these in terms of instances of ritual built upon myth and acted out in social drama.

Strauss (1969) saw myth as a symbolic narrative capturing a culture's central values. Turner (1980) described ritual as a patterned sequence of symbolic action which gives homage to a culture's sacred objects and concepts. He perceived social drama as the process of dealing with challenge to cultural values and reaffirmation or adjustment in group consensus

Myth and ritual then reflect patterns that have become relatively homogeneous for a given culture. This generates commonalities of behavior and rationality in a given functional circumstance, such as in a decision-making situation. In the context of the present study this would relate to establishment of the operating codes that influence how the expatriate and those he relates to will tend to carry out their managerial activities.

c. Examples

The Japanese concept of 'Nemawashi' is a form of interpersonal communication which gives great emphasis to involving all relevant parties in decision-making processes

(Saito, 1982). The term means 'root building' and is a response to the need created by Japanese images for building group consensus to the greatest extent possible.

Repeated person-to-person consultations are made before an action is brought up for group action. This allows each individual to become aware of any building consensus and adjust to it or contribute to its modification prior to its consideration and disposition in open meeting. Thus, the myth of the manager as coordinator of consensus is acted upon by the ritual actions just described, to perform a necessary social drama, the managerial handling of conflict or potential conflict.

Other related examples are described by Yoshikawa (1982). He juxtaposes a Japanese 'holistic world view' with an 'atomistic' one for western countries and considers the influence of these upon managerial behavior and organizational structure. He discusses two additional variations of decision-making processes, 'ringi' and 'go-betweens' illustrate the concept of social drama in achieving managerial functions.

'Ringi' provides for the circulation of a document stating major considerations and sides of a topic for consideration and approval or amendment. Neutral 'go-betweens' negotiate between persons who may have different positions on a topic and arrange a solution. Both of these provide for maintenance of a major cultural myth, the avoidance of direct confrontation and conflict.

3. Cross-cultural management

Domestic operations involve certain cross-cultural management circumstances because of the variety of cultural currents present in societies. International and multi-national operations present a multiple of these concerns in terms of complexity and degrees of difference involved.

The problem is proportionately greater with greater difference in homogeneity of myth, ritual and social drama systems among the cultures of the individuals involved. In any situation of interaction among such individuals, the dissimilarities in their guiding 'tyrannizing images' will present a cross-cultural management challenge.

The range of difference may be from being of minor importance and requiring little, if any, adjustment by the parties, to being of critical importance. The latter may require substantial adjustment by one or all parties for an effective social process to continue. This range is reflected in the pressures and options facing expatriate managers as they perform their tasks in different cultural environments.

D. CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING

1. Present activity

Most programs of training for cross-cultural skills aim at preparing individuals to function well in the context of general relationships. This is commonly referred to as 'culture general' training.

Other programs focus on learning the traits of a given

group and are referred to as being 'culture specific'. A number mix these but give emphasis to one approach or the other.

Less common are programs that focus on a specific function or problem. Doob (1975), for example, focused on the special demands in getting representatives from cultural groups that are in conflict together to discuss their problems, e.g., Turks and Greeks; Irish Catholics and Protestants. His conflict reduction techniques, such as involving the participants in tasks where they can identify subordinate goals they both agree upon, has implications for less stressful cross-cultural relationship situations as well.

The following discussion reflects the broad variety of cross-cultural training. The actual amount of such activity is not great. The programs described are usually the exceptional incident. Often they are only intermittently offered or appear as pilot or short serial efforts. Most reach only a small proportion of the various audiences for whom they are appropriate (Brislin and Pedersen, 1976; Gudykunst, 1983).

Training for development of cross-cultural skills is often only to a limited degree based upon cross-cultural research. It most frequently seems based primarily on what appears right to the designers at the time.

Differences in approach to training exist not only between organizations, but within them over time. Some

organizations have frequently made quite dramatic changes of policy regarding such preparation. Perhaps more accurately the lack of policy leads to the great variety of approaches and the limited retention in the organizations of what is learned from one training experience for application to later ones.

Also, those developing training for one type of cross-cultural sojourner (e.g., technical assistant or foreign student, or missionary, or diplomat, or businessman) tend to think of their situation as unique (Brislin, 1981b). They therefore tend not to learn from, nor share with, one another. A contribution of Brislin's book is in pointing out the commonalities in the training and in the situational experience of these various groups. It suggests a mutual relevance in much of their experience and methodology not presently utilized.

Often foreign officials and the counterparts of expatriates appear more cognizant of the need and importance of cross-cultural preparation for those persons being sent abroad than are the sending countries, institutions or organizations. This impression is based upon a variety of sources, including the work of Kerr (1976) and others on counterpart relationships, of Hawes and Kealey (1979) on overseas technical personnel and on the experience of the author in working with host officials in several countries who were using foreign personnel in their projects.

Military organizations, the Peace Corps, and missionary

groups have given more attention to cross-cultural training than have other institutions such as business concerns. The tourist industry has been among the least involved, probably because the short-term nature of such interaction by their clients. However, American Express in the past few years has offered some cross-cultural preparation in a few special programs specifically designed for clients with an interest in this.

Since World War II, the military has been a leading institution in recognizing the importance of cross-cultural skills, supporting research into their nature and implementing training aimed at improving those skills among its members. Although all of the services have been involved in this area, the Naval Amphibious School has been one of the most influential outside, as well as within the military. This is because the research it has supported and the training activities and simulations it has developed have been broadly used in civilian programs.

The Peace Corps has provided an even broader impetus to cross-cultural research and training. This organization is somewhat unique in the emphasis it has given to cross-cultural relations in its activities and preparation for them.

The organization has contributed to the cross-cultural interest and activity of a number of institutions. Many universities which developed language and area studies programs for Peace Corps training contracts continued these

programs as new academic areas of activity. At least one national organization was born out of the interactions of professionals brought together to develop Peace Corps training who shared special interests in cross-cultural interaction, i.e., the Society for International Education, Training and Research (SIETAR), (Wight, 1984).

In recent years preparation of missionaries has increasingly included a broadened spectrum of subjects and increased emphasis on cultural awareness and crosscultural interaction (National Council of Churches, 1983). This activity often takes the form of institutes of a week to several months.

The broad base of topic areas often blend theology, sociology, anthropology, economics, spirituality and others. However, the rise in recognition of the centrality of the cross-cultural dimension to this work is reflected not only in the increase in numbers of such institutes but in the terminology used. For example, increasing numbers of seminars appear with such titles as "Missionaries in Transition, a Program in Transcultural Transition," and, "A Call for a Cross-cultural Ministry."

Many of these institutes and seminars are organized and participated in on a broadly ecumenical basis. This in itself involves some cross-cultural interactions at the domestic level. Among the organizations providing such training with a substantial cross-cultural component are Missionary International Agencies, Missionary Internships, The Link Care Foundation, the Fuller Theological Seminary,

and others. Some of these, such as the Union Theological Seminary maintain extensive research libraries which often are utilized in developing cross-cultural preparation programs. Several publications are also important sources for such efforts including Missiology (formerly Applied Anthropology) and the International Bulletin of Missionary Research.

2. Categories of cross-cultural education

One manner of sorting out the various types of cross-cultural training programs is to consider parallels to broad categories of education. "Nonformal," "formal" and "informal" education designations provide a helpful framework to separate and consider a variety of programs.

a. The most common example of formal cross-cultural education is the "university" or "intellectual" model. In this, cross-cultural theory is presented in regularly scheduled and ongoing courses in traditional schooling systems. The great diversity within this form is evident in the collections of syllabi published by Prosser (1974) and Hoopes (1977).

In addition to separate courses are entire formal academic programs with this focus. These programs incorporate significant amounts of cross-cultural input such as the graduate programs in cross-cultural communication, international relations or international business offered at various universities or specialized institutions. Examples include the Experiment in International Living and the

American Graduate School of International Management.

b. Informal cross-cultural education is acquired through general contact with, and function in, a cross-cultural environment. Whether this consists of interaction with a person or a society, it is the only cross-cultural learning process most persons experience. Examples include the tourist, the dependent child abroad, and the suburbanite working in the inner city. The debate over the value of simple contact in cross-cultural training will be taken up in discussing training design.

Informal cross-cultural education experiences fit Tough's (1971) definition of adult learning projects. For example, a person deciding to read extensively on, or visit persons from, an area preparatory to going to it would be participating in an informal cross-cultural educational experience.

Attending a course in which the group, but not the topic, is bi- or multicultural is an example of an informal cross-cultural educational experience in a formal educational setting. The informal cross-cultural education provided by the mass media is the subject of a great deal of international debate and concern, especially as a source generating cultural dependency. For example, see de Cordona (1975).

c. Most programs preparing persons to function effectively in other cultures fall into the realm of non-formal cross-cultural education. The cross-cultural

orientation programs of the military, the Peace Corps, missionary institute, business, entry and reentry programs for foreign students, and other such programs which are short, structured, terminal and directed to immediate application needs are in this category.

Frequently, non-formal cross-cultural training programs are given within a formal educational institution. Two examples of this are the Peace Corps training programs conducted at a number of universities and occasional specialized programs. One of the latter is the International Extension Training Program at Michigan State University designed to prepare state extension agents for possible overseas assignment.

Occasionally a program will cut across formal and non-formal definitions. A few universities have, for instance, provided degree programs integrated with Peace Corps service during which the individual receives both formal and non-formal cross-cultural preparation.

3. Purposes of cross-cultural training

Among the predominant motivations of organizations wanting to improve the cross-cultural capabilities of those they send abroad are:

- to allow their personnel to function well abroad,
- to develop persuasion and motivation skills of utility in the host culture,
- to increase their ability to determine the needs of others and provide assistance,

- to be able to cooperate and encourage cooperation,
- to come to know and understand others,
- to improve efficiency and success in their work and,
- to enhance abilities to effectively identify and deal with conflicts.

All of the approaches under review reflect some combination of these intentions. Expression of intention varies from a desire that the trainee be able to exist in another culture long enough and functionally enough to complete a task, to objectives of the trainee becoming as fully integrated and functional within the other culture as possible.

An issue related to training approaches largely unaddressed by the literature is the question of potential conflict between the goals and orientations of:
(a) the trainee sponsoring organizations--often foreign,
(b) the authorizing organization--often local, and
(c) the individual being trained. The individual's new facility to empathize well and relate more effectively to the local population may, in fact, result in his or her acquiring attitudes divergent from those of the sponsoring or authorizing organizations.

This may, in part, explain the enclave or "golden ghetto" character of many living situations abroad. Although these arrangements are insisted upon by some expatriates, the organizations themselves seem often more encouraging and insistent on this system than the individual. There have

been strong objections by some organizations to efforts of individuals to live and work more closely with the host country environment.

The extent of this concern is also seen in the policies of diplomatic services and others in their rotation of personnel. Frequent transfers often appear aimed at moving persons out of a region before they begin to identify too strongly with it and its people. The importance given this factor is evident in the willingness to sacrifice the expertise and contacts the individual has acquired in the area. This suggests that the informal cross-cultural education gained from living at length in another culture is a powerful and influential one.

4. Cross-cultural training approaches

A wide array of approaches are employed in cross-cultural training, (e.g., see Brislin and Pedersen, 1976; Warren and Adler, 1977; Kraemer, 1973; Gudykunst, Hammer and Wiseman, 1977; and Harris and Moran, 1979.) Unfortunately, the approaches do not fit easily into a framework for discussion. This is in part because they are complex and in part because a given technique becomes something different depending on the intent and manner in which it is used.

For example, the method of handing out a flier on the tradition of wearing the burka in the Middle East might be a cognitive training activity for cloth salesmen. It may, however, be an affective device if presented as a discussion paper at a women's rights meeting. It could be both to a

woman preparing to go to Saudi Arabia.

Although the methods will be considered individually in the following discussion, in nearly any program one can find evidence of some combination of approaches. Gukdykunst, Hammer and Wiseman (1977) argue for the benefits of an integrated approach from their studies of a number of programs.

One of the several efforts to categorize different approaches to cross-cultural training was made by Warren and Adler (1977). They divided these into four types: 1) a "practical-functional approach" that prepares persons for specific tasks such as community development, health or family planning, and ties cultural considerations directly to these functions; 2) a "cognitive-didactic approach" which emphasizes lectures and readings about the culture; 3) an "affective-personal approach"; and 4) an "experiential approach."

The most satisfactory attempt to organize cross-cultural preparation methodologies is that of Downs (1969) which provides four broad categories. Brislin and Pedersen (1976) suggest two additions. One further category might be suggested; that of no training at all.

On occasion, writers in the area ascribe their own, sometimes conflicting, interpretations to what the categories mean, as will be discussed. Keeping in mind the caveat on fit, the following categories will be used to facilitate conceptualization and discussion: a) No Training, b) Intel-

lectual, c) Area Simulation, d) Self-Awareness, e) Cultural Awareness, f) Behavioral (added from David, 1972), g) Interaction, and h) Integrated Approaches.

a. The no training approach

Although writing on intercultural relationships in a domestic context, Goodman (1972) argues that the real life situation provides all the skills necessary to function well in a society. He suggests that considering cross-cultural problems outside the real environment can inhibit real learning about culture.

This bears a possible relationship to Hawes and Kealey's (1979) finding among international assistance technicians that accurate and realistic expectations before departure were strongly associated with success. Perhaps the danger in training lies in its potential to generate unrealistic expectations.

Morris (1973) found considerable questioning of the need and utility of cross-cultural training by a number of administrators in newly formed international volunteer organizations headquartered in Europe. Their primary focus was on the presence of previously acquired technical skills which they felt would principally determine success abroad. These organizations soon substantially increased their attention in training to cross-cultural interactions as a result of the experiences of the first groups they put in the field.

One argument offered in support of no training, i.e.,

total reliance on informal cross-cultural education as the best training method, comes from studies of host country persons themselves. Brislin (1981a) indicates that a number interviewed preferred receiving untrained sojourners. These, they felt, did not have so high an anxiety level as those who had been through some type of orientation training. This brings into question the generally accepted utility of Janis and Mann's (1977) assertion that the "work of worrying" is a benefit of training.

These findings may have several interpretations. For instance, the training may not have been appropriate nor well-conducted. Some trained individuals will not relate well in any case. Some hosts may have preferred less adjustment and a more dependent relationship than encountered. Further, the training may have more of a positive effect when measured on a long-term experience rather than a short one. There are other explanations including the view that training not only has no value but is deleterious to relationship capabilities because it convinces the trainee that he now has all the answers.

The evidence of adjustment problems, however, including such unobtrusive measures as early return rates, suggests that the sink-or-swim approach may not be the most desirable training method. Preference for no training does not seem to be widely shared. The primary reasons for choosing this option appear to be lack of time and resources (i.e., training is expensive) and a low priority <u>for</u> training

(rather than an attitude against training.)

At the same time, the contention that training is a necessity (Brislin and Pedersen, 1976) may be challenged. It is evident that many persons do not adjust well even after extensive training and there are many who adjust very well with no training at all.

Indeed, the state of the art in providing such preparation is such that a defensible case can be made on both sides of the argument. This writer believes that evidence and experience support the value of training but that the amount provided is commonly so minimal that high expectations are unfounded. Training is probably most useful in its enhancement of the individual's ability to make better use of the informal cross-cultural education experiences encountered after entering the new environment.

b. The intellectual approach

The primary focus of this approach is on cognitive understanding of another culture or cultures. It is thus usually culture-specific and relies heavily on readings, lectures and films.

A common mode using this approach is course work at higher education institutions. This has led some to call it the university model.

There has been considerable criticism of this traditional classroom approach for teaching cross-cultural communication or related subjects (Harrison and Hopkins, 1967). Warren and Adler (1977) stress the value that

experiential activities could contribute to classroom instruction, especially in stimulating interest and changing attitudes. Some university model programs have begun to incorporate other methodologies. The diversity in programming has been mentioned in the discussion of formal cross-cultural education in this chapter.

Among other disadvantages of the intellectual approach is that it puts the responsibility for interpreting and relating cognitive information to affective relationship situations entirely upon the trainee. Further, there is a tendency to declare anything relevant because it is cultural and to load up a program with random anecdotes. Seelye (in Gorden, 1974) suggests that trainers should consider three tests for deciding whether it is academically defensible to include a given cultural fact in training:

- will knowing the fact help one predict behavior?
- will manipulating the fact help one develop skill in perceiving other patterns?
- will demonstrating knowledge of the fact enable one to avoid hostility in cross-cultural encounters?

Among the advantages of the intellectual approach is that a great deal of information can be provided quickly (since time for extensive processing is usually not included in the program). Also the lecture format is a relatively inexpensive one compared, for example, to many simulations and other experiential approaches.

Another advantage is that the intellectual approach has a tradition which is well understood by trainees. Further, it can provide the content emphasis needed to balance and give substance to experiential and other approaches. It can thus make other approaches more meaningful. Brislin and Pedersen (1976) suggest that the criticism by Harrison and Hopkins (1967) of the university model did the field a disservice by contrasting the intellectual and experiential approaches so strongly along what they consider a somewhat artificial division.

c. The area simulation approach

This approach is based on the assumption that the trainee will be helped in assimilating into a culture if he or she has experience in an environment very similar to it. This includes finding geographic and climatic similarities or job situations or cultural similarities in some other area than that to which the individual is going.

Gudykunst, Hammer and Wiseman (1977) suggest that the Outward Bound program which the Peace Corps conducted in Puerto Rico was an example of the physical nature of this approach. Actually that rigorous program was not related to whether the location or activity was similar to that which the volunteers would encounter in the field. Rather it was intended to provide challenges the trainees had not encountered before. The intention was that in learning they could handle these challenges, the volunteers would gain self-confidence in themselves and improve their skills in

dealing with the unfamiliar and stressful.

d. The self-awareness approach

Sensitivity training, encounter groups and T-group sessions are commonly employed methods in this approach. Warren and Adler (1977) speculate that the self-awareness model may have limitations related to its growing out of cultural identity needs that may be unique to Americans.

However, it may be less likely that American identity needs are unique than that these methods, especially in their extreme ("touchy-feely") form, are an affront to the values and tastes of many people of other cultures. This would especially be the case for those from areas where reserve and privacy of emotion are strong traditions.

Sensitivity training, T-groups and encounter groups have come into considerable disrepute in recent years. While seen as effective by many trainers and participants, they apparently require considerable professional skill to be conducted effectively and without the emotional stress aspects that are seen as their biggest problem. The vehemence of the negative reaction to them is the strongest one finds for a technique proposed for cross-cultural training. Jack Vaughan, former Director of the Peace Corps, for example, referred to sensitivity training as an especially bad training approach and lamented that consultants kept reintroducing it under other names (Gorden, 1974). The U.S. Agency for International Development specifically forbade its use in some training contracts, even

where sensitivity training had not been proposed.

When a major training procedure generates such intense dispute, it suggests there is a particular need for further research both on its nature and results. In his categorization of training approaches, this is the only one that Downs (1969) specifies as not effective for cross-cultural training.

There was a strong retreat from sensitivity training in the mid-1960s. Then milder forms of experiential learning gradually worked their way back into the programs in response to the recognized need for them. Hoopes and Ventura (1979) perused a number of these, including such tools as self-awareness inventories.

In an informal survey of training directors, Hoopes and Ventura found that virtually all of the directors who had moved from the university model to a sensitivity training model had encountered intense negative reaction to this approach. All had moved back to more integrated training models. The models developed usually involved cognitive and experiential learning and exploration of the trainees' feelings and subconscious cultural attitudes and values. However, they avoided attempts to delve into the depths of the trainees' emotions and personality structures.

Hofstede (1980) feels that techniques derived from sensitivity training and centered on culturally-sensitive issues generated by the participants themselves can be very useful. One important difference in his approach is

exemplified by changing the question, "How do I come through to you?" to "How would a person from my country behaving like me be perceived by most people in your country?" The latter is perhaps a little less threatening.

Kraemer (1973) discusses the self-awareness approach inspired by the work of Stewart. Although culture specific in terms of learning to recognize "culture" by becoming better acquainted with the characteristics of the American culture, it thus has as its goal an improved capability to recognize cultural dimensions of any group.

Self-knowledge as an objective in training has been sought primarily with one of two goals in mind. One is that of having a strong self-concept and knowledge of the traditions of one's own group. This is seen as providing one with the psychological strength to be self-confident under the stress of new cultural environments.

This is strongly emphasized in the training of the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (Morris, 1973). The strategy is that if one has a strong self-concept as a Japanese then the inevitable confusion in interacting with other value systems will not be so traumatic.

There is an interesting distinction between the self-awareness approaches of Kraemer (1973) and Stewart (1966) and those used in training the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers. The former sees the value of training as promoting the general awareness of culture as a phenomenon. The latter sees the important value as helping

Japanese trainees become psychologically stronger through better knowledge of their own traditions.

Pusch (1979) supports the usefulness of keeping diaries or logs as a means of encouraging trainees to thoroughly consider what has happened to them during training and their sojourn. However, the technique must take into account political considerations if carried into the field. Although it is a useful tool for learning about another culture, host country persons may resent being overtly "studied" or may attribute the action to intelligence-gathering activities.

The use of videotape replays of trainees in a role-play situation with a person from another culture allows participants to discuss the relationship between verbal and nonverbal behaviors and their cultural and cross-cultural significance. This was extensively developed by the Air Force as the "self-confrontation technique."

Based on the principle of stimulated recall, replays permit trainees to relive the scene and recall their feelings. However, there is some question about the retention of the material over periods longer than a few weeks (Brislin and Pedersen, 1976).

e. The cultural awareness approach

In the cultural awareness approach, discussions and experience are aimed at making the concept of culture and the fact of differences between cultures real and meaningful. It is seen as helpful in stimulating trainees to begin to accept the notion of differences as "normal." Considering the

universals as well as the differences is also insightful for the trainees.

Seeing the dimensions of difference is sometimes sought. For example, consideration is sometimes given such evidence as Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum's (1957) measurement of the affective qualities of human communication that was tested across many cultures and languages. These tests suggest that all cultural groups explain concepts along the same three dimensions of meaning--evaluation, potency and activity. Such information helps encourage an analytical orientation on the part of the trainee.

A number of writers, including Sarbaugh (1979) and Brislin (1981a) put an emphasis on seeking commonality in experience such as birth, death and family relationships as a focus of cross-cultural training. Developmental educators would support such an approach. Much of the research in this area looks for cross-cultural similarities and draws upon broadly accepted systems such as Piaget's four stages of cognitive development, Kohlberg's three levels of moral judgment and Maslow's hierarchy of human needs.

Hanvey (1979) developed a conceptualization of four levels of awareness about other cultures and one's relation to them. In his system, the individual processes different types of information and goes progressively deeper beneath the surface characteristics of each level. He also identifies the dominant modes of encounter at each level and the characteristic interpretations that are made by the

individual at those levels. Since expectations are shown to be very important in success overseas (Hawes and Kealey, 1979), a discussion of these levels can help trainees to understand and expect what they experience as they move through them.

The work of Janis and Mann (1977) also substantiates that improving the accuracy of expectations by working through possible positive and negative scenarios in one's mind, results in the actual events being less traumatic. The lack of involvement is probably the greatest weakness of the lecture-oriented formats seen in many programs.

The Janis and Mann (1977) and Hawes and Kealey (1979) research also supports the value of discussions of the W-curve concept (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1960) for preparing trainees for future encounters. The study of Klineberg and Hull (1979) of foreign students and sojourning professors, however, showed no evidence of the Gullahorns' W-curve. They found the satisfaction curves to be very individual and unrelated to the stage of the period abroad, including the "U" portion of the curve.

This finding goes directly against the experience of the author and many others who work with foreign sojourners. Brislin (1981a) suggests the "U" and "W" curves may be drawn because the sojourners have been told this is a common pattern. However, the author has had hundreds of foreign students near completion of their stay abroad draw, without reference to any suggestion or expectation about the curve, a

graph of their feelings of satisfaction during their overseas experience. The "U" curve is almost always there. When asked what they expect it might be on return, most complete the "W" curve.

Samovar and Porter (1976) used dyads of compared national cultures along a continuum as examples of minimal to maximal difference between cultures. Discussion of the concept can help trainees to begin to think in terms of comparative relationships. It is also an introductory step towards understanding new tools of cross-cultural situation analysis such as those provided by Sarbaugh (1979) and Hofstede (1980).

Still another approach emphasizes the ability to recognize aspects of cultures such as their patterns and elements in those patterns that may result in conflict in relationship situations. Stewart (1966) proposes first developing the ability to recognize such patterns within one's own culture. He suggests that the inability of advisors and counterparts to recognize one another's cultural patterns is the biggest source of conflict among such persons. Recent training within the U.S. Information Agency has also given increased attention to coming to know one's own culture as a basis for cross-cultural training (Prosser, 1978).

Most cross-cultural training programs stress, to one degree or another, the need to be more consciously aware and analytical of the patterns in which one is immersed. However,

Gorden (1974) and others caution against the tendency to mimic, noting that while it might be correct for someone of the culture, or of a certain age or status, to do something, it may not be correct for the visitor to perform that action. Trainees also need to acquire the ability to recognize status indicators in order to help avoid insulting their hosts, regardless of how democratic their personal values may be.

Some training also encourages trainees to be politically as well as socially and culturally aware. Although some trainees will profess that they are not interested in politics, they are helped to recognize that the political situation reflects the culture and that its realities are likely to have an important bearing on their own experience abroad.

The middle class with whom so many sojourners abroad interact are frequently more politically attuned and active than the American sojourner. Host country nationals sometimes express incredulity at the lack of knowledge American sojourners exhibit about political realities in their own country and the world, to say nothing about their ignorance of the host country. Learning about politics can help trainees understand the behavior, values and pressures of those with whom they come into contact.

A major problem for cross-cultural training is how to deal with the common belief that the cross-cultural experience is necessarily unpleasant, stressful and rife with

potential danger to one's psyche. In part, this has arisen from the treatment of normal reactions as though they were an illness. For example, Oberg's introduction (1960) of the term "cultural shock," which though useful as a concept, sounds like an affliction.

Brislin and and Pedersen (1976) contend that the greatest impact of cultural shock occurs when participants learn about and confront their own culture. This may well differ among individuals. Some persons seem already well aware of the "cultural" nature of their societies. Others probably never will recognize this well, regardless of their training and experience.

David (1972) suggests that the application of reinforcement theory to cultural shock can help alleviate the problem. Adler (1972) finds there are positive values to cultural shock and discusses the utility of training which provides an opportunity to experience such stress. He notes such training goes beyond just helping the individual become accustomed to a sense of disorientation. It can, he believes, give a feeling of special significance to the cross-cultural experience and generate greater introspection and self-examination. It requires dealing with relationships and processes as an outsider and forces behavioral experimentation.

One of the most widely used and tested approaches to cultural specific training is Edward Stewart's "Contrast American" (Stewart, 1966; Kraemer, 1973). This role-play

uses an accomplished actor to present characteristics that are not necessarily of any one culture but that are in opposition to those that Stewart identifies as dominant American characteristics. It has been used in a wide variety of video-taped forms by the military and other groups. The trainees view and then react to and discuss the situations presented.

Many authors have noted that stereotyping and categorizing cannot be avoided in making our world manageable. An objective early in cross-cultural training, therefore, should be helping individuals to recognize that they tend to stereotype and to be more questioning of their own assumptions about individuals and behaviors.

One approach to this is simply to ask trainees to develop categories of characteristics that they think encompass one's own and another culture and those which are more unique to each. They then are asked to discuss these and the exceptions they recall.

A problem with the cultural awareness approach is that it may, in fact, perpetuate stereotypes. For example, there may be many references in training to Latin Americans and Latin American cultures as if these were not very unique from location to location. Materials such as Shuter's (1976) discussion of proxemics and tactility in Latin America are useful in contradicting such an image of Latinos as members of one large culture.

Persons in orientation programs apparently are rarely

told that they are likely to be judged by at least some criteria that are different from those used in their own culture. Trainers seem to assume trainees will draw this conclusion after discussing the fact that others do things differently. Talking with many persons who have been through some kind of cross-cultural training and experience about the things that surprised them most suggests that participants need to be told something more explicit about what to expect in their reactions when they encounter what appear to be cultural anomalies. One advantage of the cultural assimilator technique discussed below is that it is very specific.

Simulations are in growing use in cross-cultural training. The most widely used simulation is Bafa'Bafa' (Shirts, 1974). In this simulation, two groups role-play two hypothetical cultures and in visiting one another have an opportunity to experience the sensations of dealing with new cultural characteristics.

Harris and Moran (1979) found case studies and critical incidents useful. Many persons feel these are among the most effective means of conveying culture-specific information.

The Cultural Assimilator is a programmed instructional tool based on incidents with cultural information significance. The response of the user results in further direction for self-corrected reading or moving on to the next set of questions. It is specifically designed for the trainees' culture and for that to which they are being sent.

The model helps prepare participants to respond to specific situations in a specific country by exposing learners to major themes characterizing and contrasting their own and the host culture.

The model assists learners to identify distinctive features of their own and other cultures and to more accurately predict behavior. Fiedler (1971) found that persons who have had some cross-cultural experience tend to benefit more from the use of the model. The device may, therefore, be of particular utility in in-country training, especially after the individuals have had some experiences that the device can help them to clarify. In addition, their motivation to learn from it should then be heightened.

This assimilator model is one of the few approaches on which much empirical research has been carried out. Researchers have found that it is useful in lessening interpersonal and adjustment problems in the host culture. The model has not, however, been subjected to long-term follow-up research.

One problem with the model is that it is ethnocentric. That is, it focuses upon the host culture in terms of its peculiar characteristics and differences.

Another drawback of this method is the enormous amount of time, and hence, expense required to develop and test each critical incident. The cultural assimilator model has also been criticized by those who suggest that it encourages participants to oversimplify complex issues. The contention

is that the model works against efforts to help participants recognize that there is no one answer for many problems.

f. The behavioral approach

Some writers suggest a behavioral approach to cross-cultural training. For example, Guthrie (1975) suggests that trainees should:

> Be able to recognize that reinforcements in a new social environment will be different. Secondly, they need to realize the reinforcement may be important in maintaining effective behavior (e.g., setting personal goals and congratulating oneself upon their attainment). Thirdly, the trainee should develop analytic skills for identifying reinforcement patterns so they may respond properly to the host's efforts as well."

Guthrie suggests that a variety of differing reinforcement behaviors are at work in different cultures. Identifying these for a given culture has informational value. Perhaps more importantly, it creates an awareness that will encourage attention to finding reinforcement patterns in interrelationships observed and experienced after arrival in the host culture.

Another approach to categorizing behaviors in the cultural situation is that of Sarbaugh's (1979) "Normative Patterns of Belief and Overt Behavior." These are analyzed and organized on five levels of attitudes and actions: must do, ought to do, is allowed to do, ought not to do; and must not do (i.e., taboo). A discussion of such categorization in training provides a framework that encourages conscious analysis and classification in the new environment.

Cross-cultural training frequently fails to mention one of the important barriers to developing effective relationships in a new culture. This is the tendency of sojourners to group closely together, maintaining their own norms to the exclusion and frequent deprecation of others. There is also usually an exaggeration of those norms beyond their character or importance back home.

One the other hand, some trainers carry a concern with this problem to an extreme. They try to instill a feeling of guilt about such activities. However, a moderate amount of such interaction within one's group seems an importance source of release and a learning opportunity for shared experience and analysis.

Training for cross-cultural competence from the perspective of non-verbal behavior generally uses both informational and experiential approaches. Most commonly it amounts to a reference to Hall's (1959, 1966) books or those of others (e.g., Harrison 1974) on the subject. Examples of a few non-verbal behaviors in the trainees' own culture establish the meaning of the concept. A few vignettes about exotic aspects or humorous anecdotes related to other cultures are then typically given.

A more serious and comprehensive treatment, with case studies for example, is less frequently found. Activities such as participation in a demonstration of proxemics and invasion of personal space can provide more lasting impressions of the discomforts and seriousness of these

factors in cross-cultural relationships. More subtle aspects, such as paralinguistic cues are rarely dealt with despite their importance.

Gorden (1974) notes that with global interaction and interdependence increasing, interaction can result in either communication or miscommunication. He feels that of three major links to international communication: linguistic, technological and nonlinguistic culture patterns, that the latter is weakest and least considered.

g. The interaction approach

The interaction approach simply involves various ways of bringing together trainees and host country nationals in such a manner that trainees become somewhat acquainted with the cultural background, values and learned behavior of the other group. The intent is to enhance cross-cultural understanding and provide the trainees with information and experience in interacting with persons from the area. Some authors take a very broad view, while others, such as Hall (1959, 1966) consider the culture and cross-cultural interaction on a very personalistic level.

One of the most extensive examples of use of this approach occurs at the University of Pittsburg. Its Intercultural Communication Workshops are attended by all newly arrived foreign students. The focus is on the communication process.

U.S. and foreign students exchange their views and feelings. The intention is that sharing on a cognitive and

emotional level will help foreign students better understand the different values and behavior they will encounter and the U.S. students better understand these persons and their own culture.

The program has many goals that are similar to those of T-group methods. It seeks to stimulate self-insight, awareness of others, awareness of one's impact on others, and interpersonal competencies. An important difference is that the traditional forms of sensitivity training generally ignore cultural differences between participants and focus primarily on personal reactions. Also, the facilitator in an International Communication Workshop plays more of a leadership role than the sensitivity group leader. This is one of the rare cross-cultural programs on which some research has been conducted. The most extensive (Gudykunst, 1979) suggested mixed results. He found that the general assumption that intercultural contacts will influence attitudes is not fully supported by the data received.

h. The integrated approach

Gukdykunst, Hammer and Wiseman (1977) suggest that the use of any of the various approaches to cross-cultural training will rarely alone be sufficient to prepare the trainee to function effectively in the cross-cultural situation. They also note the general lack of research on the effectiveness of any of the current approaches except for a limited amount on the cultural assimilator technique. They propose that this is one reason most programs should be

integrated, combining approaches.

The research just cited focused on an integrated approach using the U.S. Navy's intercultural relations institute program in Japan. It indicated that the basic six-hour programs integrating only intellectual and behavioral approaches were not helpful in increasing tour satisfaction of the trainee. A longer three-day program, which integrated intellectual, behavioral, cross-cultural awareness and interaction approaches was effective in increasing this variable. Although the investigators felt greater integration had a positive effect, the results were confounded by the greater length of time involved. Studies based on behavioral indicators of adjustment or function and more in-depth case studies would lead to better insights into the nature of cross-cultural interaction and the effect of different preparedness training approaches.

Certain methods such as experiential simulations and exercises lend themselves to an integrated approach. The experiential model's popularity seems to stem from the fact that it gives attention to some of the best aspects of other methods. It usually involves both affective and cognitive dimensions. It also stresses an aspect strongly championed in the adult education literature (e.g., Knowles, 1970) that individuals need to take responsibility for their own learning.

A variety of experiential methods are available in collections with discussion of their use (e.g., Batchelder

and Warner, 1977; Hoopes and Ventura, 1979). Some are designed to stimulate the feelings common in experiencing another culture.

Other experiential methods aim at improving skills as listening or gaining awareness that others may perceive the world differently than the trainee does. These are useful in any environment but may be of particular value to the cross-cultural sojourner.

Among the examples of exercises for experiential cross-cultural training given by Warren and Adler (1977) is "cooperation squares." This is a rich exercise which makes a number of points about cooperative communication and other factors which they suggest might be discussed in terms of their expression in various cultures. This shows that materials developed for general training and based on Western research and experience can be very relevant to cross-cultural training.

The rare, more extensive, preparation programs include some language training and occasionally integrate language with experiential training. Fantini (1977), for example, used a program design in language training which gave great attention to the social context in which it was to be used. Given the sociolinguistic research (Whorf, 1956) this would seem to be the strongest possible approach to achieving both linguistic and cross-cultural competence.

In summary, this section has presented a system of eight broad categories of approaches to preparation for

functioning in a cross-cultural milieu. While noting that there are sometimes a variety of interpretations of some of these, the prominent characteristics of each were noted. Finally, a case was made that there may be advantages to different approaches under different circumstances. Integration of training strategies was suggested as often the most appropriate design. This provides a background to be considered with responses and observations of the population observations of the population studied in determining possible training designs for preparation for overseas assignments.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

A. APPROACH

Chapter I established the need, background and perspective for the study. In chapter II literature relevant to this undertaking was reviewed. Chapter III presents the methodology used to conduct the study.

1. Exploratory study

The purpose of this study is exploratory in nature. The intent of the dissertation is not to present evidence from the testing of one or more models. Rather, it is the identification of sets of categories that help to characterize the phenomena being studied.

The information derived from this study may contribute to development of theory related to cross-cultural encounters and managerial behaviors. The study focused on behavioral dimensions of the expatriate manager's experience abroad. The instruments chosen included preliminary interviews, the study of documents related to pertinent aspects of participating multinational organizations and in-depth interviews.

2. Interview development and process

a. Preliminary interviews

Preliminary interviews with knowledgeable business,

governmental and university sources provided background information for the study. These discussions also suggested areas that should be explored and helped to identify potential organizational participants.

b. Documents

A limited number of materials relevant to the study were available on the selected organizations. These included annual reports, information sheets and newspaper and magazine reports. They were useful in several ways including providing information on the extent of international operations and establishing that these firms met the definition of multinational previously stated. Also, in a few cases, they provided specific information on the nature of policy and activity in preparation of employees for overseas assignments. Some of these materials served to generate additional questions and discussion points.

c. In-depth interview

The principal approach in this study was the use of the in-depth interview. This form provided considerably more depth of findings than would have been possible with other instruments such as mailed or closed-end questionnaires. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, it was important to use instrumentation that encouraged the most depth of response.

The interview schedule offers distinct advantages over the questionnaire in studies such as this one. It is especially appropriate where the researcher is not certain

of all the dimensions of a subject he or she wishes to explore (Dexter, 1970). An expectation of the present study was that unanticipated dimensions of the expatriate experience would be encountered.

Other researchers note additional advantages to the use of the interview. Gorden (1980), for example, stresses that the interviewer usually has more of an opportunity to control the setting for its administration. He also notes an enhanced ability to interpret and clarify complex questions, to probe for clarification of response and example, to evaluate the validity of responses and to insure to a greater extent than is possible through the questionnaire that the interviewee takes the questions seriously.

In the study, a process similar to analytic description (McCall and Simmons, 1969) was sought, though interviews rather than participant observation of the interactive events were used. This involved a combination of methods including observation of the respondent's demeanor, some formal and informal interviewing, some systematic counting, and a guided but open-ended questioning process.

Opportunities were provided which encouraged interviewees to identify and define for themselves those characteristics and factors that they perceived as being most important in their cross-cultural experience. For example, rather than asking if the individual encountered

certain types of common interaction problems, they were asked to relate an instance in their office situation that they saw as deriving from different cultural backgrounds of the persons involved.

At the same time, the interviewer attempted in questioning, to balance the needs of reducing interview variations with not wishing to stifle broader responses. This was done by steering the respondent back to the topic of the question if the discussion tended to stray completely away from it. All of the interviews were conducted by one person, the writer.

The opportunity to respond to followup questions helped respondents in several ways. In reconsidering, restating and expanding upon their initial comments, they gave more conscious form and greater meaning to, and indicated more relational understanding of, many ideas they had not previously fully conceptualized from their experience. Several made particular note of this in commenting on their responses and the interview experience.

There was increased interest and enthusiasm shown for the interview as it progressed. The increasingly thoughtfulness of the responses led some to bring the discussion back to earlier topics they felt they had treated in too cursory a manner. Some of the weaknesses of the interview approach are discussed in the 'limitations' section of this chapter.

The interviews ran approximately two and a half hours. The variation between the longest and shortest was forty minutes. The time differences among the interviews did not noticeably affect the amounts of information gathered. In all cases there seemed to be sufficient and equitable opportunity for responses on the topics covered. The longer interviews generally involved the persons who required more drawing out or were more leisurely in expressing themselves.

To allay concerns of respondents, it was stressed that the purpose of this research was for development of a doctoral dissertation. Respondents were assured that neither the identities of themselves or their organizations would be included in the finished work.

d. Interview schedule

Restricted questions facilitate more exact comparisons and statistical processing. More open-ended questioning may generate a broadened basis of understanding. A combination of these approaches was taken by Byrnes (1965) in exploring the perceptions of returned technical assistance personnel regarding their cross-cultural experience abroad.

Byrnes'study provided important insights and called for further and broader exploration of such encounters. However, there was not extensive follow-up by others, especially not regarding the potential applicability to international business of the insights gained. There was

enough similarity between the Byrnes' study and the present study to support the use of a similar combined approach for collecting data.

Most of the studies that concern themselves with cross-cultural interaction in business and industry or preparation for such activity, report the results of mailed survey questionnaires, e.g., Wight and Tucker (1981) and Korzenny (1979). This precludes the immediate follow-up questioning perceived as important for the current study. Review of the actual responses to some of these surveys also suggests that most are responded to by training directors or heads of international offices rather than by the expatriates themselves.

Some of the dimensions of the present study are based upon such earlier work as the Byrnes study, and that of Gonzalez and Negandhi (1966) in the international business field, as well as later sources mentioned in the literature review. The questions also stemmed from discussions with persons from academic institutions, governmental organizations and private industry knowledgeable regarding the topics of the study. In addition, the interviewer's experience with various categories of persons in, and returned from, cross-cultural work situations was drawn upon.

The interview schedule is attached as Appendix A. Perceptions of the respondents were sought in several

broad categories related to their international experience, including:

i. Recruitment and selection.

ii. Training.

iii. Overseas situation, relationships and experience.

iv. Reentry and reintegration.

Items 'ii.' and 'iii.' are given emphasis as most directly relevant to the purpose of the study.

Pretesting of the schedule suggested that general questions dealing with managerial functions that left the specification of functions to respondents elicited very limited replies. Those interviewed spoke much more effectively regarding their functions and related behaviors when a stimulus list of functions was provided. These terms, common to the management literature, are given in Appendix B.

Though respondents were encouraged to add any other functions to the list that they thought had been important abroad, few did. None of those added were mentioned often enough to qualify for categorization under the decision rule used (see item '6.b.' in the following pages). Also, there were no additional functional terms introduced by respondents that were not closely related to some term on the stimulus list.

e. Taping of interviews.

Tape recordings were made of each interview. These

were particularly useful given the exploratory orientation of the study. Though more tedious in review, transcription and analysis than a written questionnaire, there were important advantages for this study. Among these were the ability to note meanings in voice inflection, to capture rapid and complex responses and comment in total and to review and reconsider these as often as necessary.

There are a number of disadvantages to taping. These include complications from mechanical malfunction, disruption of the flow of an interview to change tapes or adjust the recorder, filing and security problems and respondent resistance or reticence to being taped.

The latter was anticipated as the most probable problem. This turned out not to be the case, except for one respondent, who initially said he preferred not to be taped but later suggested doing so if it would be of help. All respondents appeared to soon ignore the machine's presence and to be very open and candid in their comments, including material quite critical of their organizations.

The interruptions caused by the need to occasionally attend to the recorder proved more of an annoyance. Slower speeds and foot controls decrease the frequency of tape change requirement but the use of the latter also results in some missed comments. A sensitive slow speed voice actuated recorder is the most satisfactory for the

purpose. Also, transcribers that allow faster than normal speed perusal of taped material are useful.

3. Analysis

a. The analysis performed has both qualitative and quantitative dimensions. Qualitative approaches were used in reviewing the processes by which managerial behavior was adapted to cross-cultural situations. Quantitative reporting of frequencies were used in the definition of categories.

b. A rank order rule is used in presentation of categories. The behaviors listed and considered appear in descending order of frequency reported. The material is grouped into two broad types of representation, demographics and frequencies.

For each category a brief definition is stated to indicate the basis on which any observation is included. This is followed by one or more representative statements of respondents which reflect the category.

c. A decision rule determines what is to be counted as a sufficient enough incidence to be designated a category. Meaningful counting of this nature is particularly difficult in an exploratory study. There is a tendency to wish to explore each report that seems to provide insight into the general phenomena about which one wants to learn.

To give greater substance to the findings, however, a decision rule of an instance of six occurrences was

selected. That is, one more than one third of the number of respondents was required. In listing managerial functions, for example, only those mentioned by six or more of the former expatriates are reported and analyzed.

d. The framework of myth, ritual and social drama, sometimes used as a tool for considering the nature and dynamics of cultures, is explored here for its possible utility in facilitating an understanding of the cross-cultural encounters reported. For this purpose, the incidents used to categorize each of the managerial behaviors identified are also considered for indications of perceptions of differing values, their attendant rituals and the social dramas generated.

The approach outlined endeavors to increase understanding of these expatriates, their environment and their managerial behaviors. It is an attempt to find and report stable and recurring modes of activity and interaction and to observe how these are related to the expatriates' organizations and the outside world.

B. POPULATION

The former expatriates interviewed in this study meet the criteria described below and were taken on a non-random basis. They are a census coming from five multinational corporations that participated in this study.

1. The multinational corporations

A list of multinational corporations with

headquarters in Michigan was put together based on discussions with a number of sources including government, business and university personnel. From this list firms were taken on the basis of the following criteria and accessibility:

a. Multinational by the common definition of having both manufacturing and marketing functions in several countries.

b. Operations located in the Third World as well as in industrialized countries.

c. Overseas subsidiaries or joint ventures with managerial positions for Americans in the areas of production, purchasing or marketing.

d. International headquarters located within southern Michigan.

e. Former expatriate managers working in the U.S. headquarters.

The initial round of contacts with candidate corporations regarding their possible interest in participation met with positive responses. Based upon the decision to conduct in-depth interviews with a limited number of respondents, the first five organizations that could be identified as meeting the criteria listed above were taken for the census.

2. The former expatriate managers

The five multinational corporations participating provided a total census of fifteen persons who met the

following criteria for the study population:

a. Employed abroad by American owned multinational firms.

b. Previously assigned abroad with managerial responsibilities.

c. Resided overseas, i.e., were not traveling representatives primarily living in the United States.

d. Remained abroad for at least one year, but not excluding persons who might have returned to the United States briefly for business or personal reasons during that period.

The number of persons interviewed is compatible with the approach and exploratory nature of the study. No generalizations are claimed beyond the study population.

C. LIMITATIONS

There are a number of limitations to this study. Some are inherent in the selection of the purpose and methodology.

The exploratory approach by definition is a broad assessment. It resists the close delineation that might be appropriate for more definitive statements about more restricted areas of focus. Among the limitations in this inquiry are the following:

1. The size of the population considered, even taking a census rather than a sampling, is small. The potential for obtaining a biased group of interviewees is of particular concern with limited numbers.

2. All of the participants were perceived to have been largely successful overseas in the general subjective estimation of their organizations and themselves. No effort was made to make the amorphous concept of success a factor in this study. However, a stratified selection of participants providing a broader range of apparent degrees of success among respondents in the study population might have provided insights into more areas and problems of the expatriate experience.

There was no selection by the interviewer or by the firms, as far as can be determined, of persons to participate on the basis of any criterion of apparent success. There was no indication that these organizations had not identified all of the persons available with the experience sought.

There are several likely explanations for the apparent uniformity of the participants in regards to apparent general level of success. One is the current trend to cutbacks in overseas expatriate American staffs. Another is the domestic personnel cutbacks due to the economy. Both of these contribute to the probability that those still available to be interviewed were most likely survivors with some proven level of ability. Future studies might specifically seek to include persons who can be identified by company, self, others and/or unobtrusive measures, as having been relatively unsuccessful in their expatriate roles

according to organizational and personal goals.

3. The exploratory approach as a research tool is most frequently questioned on the basis that the studies do not lead to tested generalizations (Miles, 1979). Campbell and Stanley (1963) note various ways in which such methods are weakened by factors of internal and external validity but grant them value in hypothesis generation.

Qualitative methods have been criticized because they are seen by some as predominately descriptive and involving subjective participation in data collection (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). Others, e.g. Asante, Newmark and Blake (1979), argue that given the dearth of theory in the field of cross-cultural communication, a great deal more emphasis should be given descriptive research before there is additional focus on theory building.

Stewart (1978) expresses concern that premature formulation of theoretical frameworks may stifle the wide-ranging exploration needed at this stage in our understanding. Gudykunst (1983) appears to be calling for both broader descriptive exploration and for researchers to get on with the process of constructing theories of intercultural communication.

A number of persons see increasing use of complementary qualitative and quantitative research approaches (Lijphart, 1971; Lucas, 1974). Blackman (1983) questions in general the utility of emphasizing

the one activity over the other. Exploratory examinations of the phenomena are seen as more readily used as a source of categories and hypotheses for statistical analysis. Significant relationships identified through statistical analysis are seen as raising questions that serve as the stimulus for further exploratory activity.

4. The study was dependent upon self-report which is always suspect to some extent. In no instance was there available in the organization persons who could comment on the former expatriates from direct experience with them 'in-country'. There was no opportunity for the perhaps even more useful observations on them from host country national co-workers.

5. Some of the respondents, having been back in the United States for a substantial period, have had an opportunity to perhaps reflect more thoroughly on their past experience than others. That period, however, also affords the opportunity for memory loss and distortion.

6. The interviewer is also a major weakness in the data gathering process. There are many errors that that person may make in asking, probing and recording.

Hyman (1975) proposes that the most important problems are related to potential sources of bias. The interviewer's political orientation and beliefs about the true opinions of the population being studied are one source. The respondent's perceptions of the

interviewer's true intentions, the personality interactions and the effects of group membership differences between the interviewer and respondent (e.g., ethnic group, sex and age) are others.

The investigator is reporting from the midst of his or her own cultural apparatus. While an attempt is made to minimize that influence, to deny it would be naive.

Chapter IV

DATA AND FINDINGS

This chapter is divided into three main topic sections:

- Findings which describe the organizations and the expatriate managers.

- Findings related to the managerial behaviors performed and the influence of the cultural environment on those behaviors--the latter including perceived helping and hindering characteristics of the cultures, coping behaviors of the expatriates and values, rituals and social drama demonstrated in cross-cultural encounters, and

- Findings specifically related to training and preparation for overseas assignments.

A. THE ORGANIZATIONS AND THE EXPATRIATE MANAGERS.

1. Organizational demographic information

The five firms participating in this study meet the operational definition presented in chapter II for a U.S. multinational corporation. All of the firms have operations in the Third World as well as in industrialized countries.

Each firm employs more than one hundred persons, nationals and Americans, abroad and some employ several thousand. Four have only five to fifteen Americans in resident assignments abroad and might be defined as having small-scale American expatriate involvement. One

has between fifty and one hundred resident Americans abroad at any one time.

The most recent of these organizations to become multinational in operations has had such activity for nine years. All of the others have been so involved for more than twenty years.

All of these firms are engaged to varying degrees in manufacture abroad for both U.S. and overseas markets. One, however, leaves most of the manufacturing to local suppliers and non-controlled joint ventures (i.e., no American direction other than specifying the product and some quality control activity) and focuses on international wholesale and retail marketing.

2. Expatriate manager demographic information

To understand better the observations of the respondents, data was collected on nine variables pertinent to their background and experience. These included: age, places of birth and rearing, education, cross-cultural experience not related to work assignments, previous assignment in the United States prior to work abroad, present position within their company, period since return from last overseas assignment, amount of prior work abroad, and the manner in which they became involved in work abroad.

These nine variables were selected because they were factors probably conditioning the expatriate's experience abroad. They would also influence on the individual's

subsequent view of that experience.

a. Age

The respondents' average age was 38.5 years. The range was from 30 to 56 years.

b. Places of birth and rearing

Almost all of the respondents were born and raised in the United States. Of the 15, 14 had been born in the United States and one had been born in Greece.

Thirteen respondents had been raised entirely in the United States. One had lived two years in Brazil with his family. One other had spent ten years in his native Greece and six years, including attending high school, in the United States. All college training was received in the United States.

c. Education

The expatriates interviewed had a mixture of educational backgrounds. One respondent had no education beyond high school. Of the rest, seven had bachelors degrees and seven had master's degrees. All of the graduate degrees were in business administration except for one degree in accounting and one in industrial engineering.

The mixture of master-degree and bachelor-degree graduates was about equally distributed among those holding middle and senior level management positions. Two-thirds had gone through a management training program of their organization of between eight and eighteen

months. Several commented they felt this latter training added reality to what they had gained in college.

None of the respondents reported having received training they considered especially related to working abroad. Further, when posted to headquarters positions in the international division, they did not perceive they had received any special training for this either, with the exception of some informal orientation and learning the job by doing it. All volunteered that more formal preparation for working abroad would be very desirable and had ideas regarding what its nature should be.

In area of specialization, three of the group had been trained in industrial engineering, three in accounting, six in management, and three in marketing. Most were working in the general area of their academic preparation or in some broader responsibility that encompassed it.

One exception was the person trained in marketing. He had become the director of production first in a large plant overseas and then of one in the United States. He said he had always thought he wanted to be a salesman until his overseas stint required he "get right down on the plant floor with the men and machines and solve problems." After that he was enthralled with production and rose rapidly along career lines usually followed by persons with engineering degrees.

d. Non-work related cross-cultural experience

Slightly more than half the respondents had little cross-cultural experience outside of their work overseas. Based on responses regarding type and extent of non-work related cross-cultural experience, the respondents were assigned to the following experience category ratings: 'high' (e.g., more than two years' residence abroad or foreign spouse); 'medium' (e.g., six months through two years residence abroad); or 'low' (e.g., not more than one might expect of a person who had taken one or two brief tourist trips abroad). The results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Rating of Respondents on Level of Non-work Related Cross-cultural Experience. (n=15)

Rating:	High (5)	(4)	Medium: (3)	(2)	Low (1)
Persons:	2	2	3	0	8

Average rating: 2.33

Mode rating: 1

e. Previous assignment in the United States

The position held prior to the last overseas assignment was considered in terms of the extent of its relation to the international operations of the organization. The previous U.S. assignment had given two-thirds

(10) of the respondents some contact with international operations. Of these, one-half (5) had duties in some manner related to operations in the country to which they where eventually sent. A more detailed consideration of the extent of international contact in these assignments is given in Table 2.

Table 2

Assignment in the United States Previous to Most Recent Assignment Abroad: Relation to International Operations and Amount of International Travel Involved. (N=15)

Relation of Job to International Operations	Job Related Travel Abroad	Number of Persons
Principal activity	Frequent	2
Principal activity	Little or none	3
Partial activity	Occasional	3
Partial activity	Little or none	2
Not related	None	5

f. Present position

The positions presently held by the respondents provide several types of information. They give some indication of the individuals' progress in their organization. They provide information on such concerns as reintegration of expatriates back into the home operation. They also indicate something of the utilization of personnel with international experience.

All of the interviewees were in middle and u per-

middle managerial levels. That is, none of the positions held were entry-level nor of very junior status. Also, though some had very substantial responsibilities, none were at the very highest executive levels of their respective multinational firms or major independent divisions.

Each person in one manner or another had been given at least one promotion since his return home. About one-third of the group had moved up quite dramatically in in their organizations during and since their sojourn abroad.

Twelve said they found fitting back into the home office operation had been difficult. Ten mentioned missing the breadth of responsibilities and challenges they had had overseas. Six expressed some form of the analogy of having liked being, "a big fish in a small pond."

Three respondents had been caught in the apparently common situation of returning to the home office at a time when a position for them was not readily available. This resulted in their going into jobs they considered artificial to varying degrees, even when presented as promotions.

One, the most recent returnee, was still in this perceived state of limbo and unhappy but resigned to it. He was mollified by a substantial increase in salary and status in the organization.

Most of the expatriate managers had returned to some involvement with the international operations of their companies. It is indicative of the situation of many organizations today, however, that one person with the title of 'Director of Latin American Operations' was completely occupied with closing down plants in the United States. The extent of continued involvement in international operations after return home is given in Table 3.

Table 3

Present Assignment: Relation to International Operations and International Travel Involved. (N=15)

Relation of Job to International Operations	Job Related Travel Abroad	Number of Persons
Principal activity	Frequent	4
Principal activity	Little or none	6
Partial activity	Occasional	2
Partial activity	Little or none	1
Not related	None	2

g. Period of time since completion of last assignment abroad

Two of the respondents could be described as having just returned, i.e. within six months, including one within three weeks. Another had been back for a lengthy period, i.e., four years. The other twelve had been back between six months and two years.

h. Time spent in overseas assignments prior to last assignment

The amount of previous overseas work experience represented by the members of the group ranged from none to five years. The large majority of persons (10) had not previously worked abroad. Four had been abroad for between six months and two years. Only one had worked abroad for more than two years.

i. Manner of becoming involved in international work

All the respondents indicated they were pleased they had been given international assignments both when they received them and after they had experienced them. Two-thirds (10) of the respondents, however, had not sought an international assignment; they came to it through some turn in their career progression. Five persons had actively sought such assignments.

Of the latter five, four had had some form of substantial previous international experience. One had decided upon such a career in his teens after living abroad with this family for several years.

Two others had gained their international interests from Peace Corps experience. Neither had had any international experience prior to that. They both report they returned to the United States looking for opportunities to again work abroad.

One other respondent had been part of an interna-

tionally involved family all of his life. His father had been an overseas distributor in several countries for the same firm for which he now worked. It had never occurred to him that he would ever be involved in pursuits that were not internationally related.

The one person who had no previous international experience but sought it within the organization said that both he and his wife had always wanted to live abroad. He credited having vicariously lived the experience of his brother-in-law's tours with the Peace Corps and the U.S. Foreign Service with motivating him to seek such opportunities within his organization. This individual's rise within his company after obtaining an overseas assignment as compared to his previous career can only be described as spectacular.

For most individuals, their involvement stemmed from happenstance. Among the examples given was an immediate need for a person to fill a position abroad, a trouble-shooting assignment that evolved into a longer run assignment and a special need for an individual's skills. One individual went because he was the only person in the office not involved on a crucial project when a need abroad arose.

Another said that a vice-president of international operations who was very frustrated with the storage and movement of products overseas happened to come into the warehouse he ran one day. Ten days later the respondent

was in Asia.

One firm had established a specific policy of staffing its overseas operations from within the international division. The persons interviewed there had spent several years in the division handling the U.S. end before being sent abroad. Such an internship followed by a three-year assignment abroad was almost routine. These respondents did not think this a very common approach among multinationals.

All of the individuals interviewed indicated that they believed there was little real consideration of probable cultural adaptation abilities involved with their appointment. Exceptions might be suspected for those who had some language capabilities for the areas to which they were being sent. These individuals, however, indicated that they thought whatever importance might have been given to their abilities with the language was seen from the viewpoint of facilitating communication in a narrow sense, not with concern for intercultural relationships.

B. MANAGERIAL BEHAVIORS AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE CULTURE ON THOSE BEHAVIORS

This section focuses directly on the main theme of the study. It explores how local cultural characteristics help or hinder the expatriate manager and how managers adapt their behaviors to these conditions.

First considered are the expatriates' perceptions of

the nature and importance of various categories of managerial behaviors in their work abroad. Secondly, the aspects of the culture perceived as particularly helpful to the manager are listed. Thirdly, aspects of the culture perceived as particularly hindering the manager are considered. Finally, coping behaviors most frequently mentioned by the expatriates are given.

1. Nature and importance of various managerial behaviors in work abroad

The respondents had difficulty categorizing their managerial activities. They were most comfortable and confident in relating their actions and feelings in descriptive episodes.

The data for the categories, therefore, combines information taken from several sources. One was the responses to a direct question on what managerial functions were most important to the expatriates in their work abroad. A second was the responses received when they were then handed a stimulus card listing common managerial behavior terms.* The third was the interpretation by the interviewer of descriptions the expatriates gave of their managerial activities.

Managerial behaviors reported by the former expatriates fell into eight categorical groups mentioned six or more times. These are listed in Table 4.

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* The stimulus card is attached as Appendix B. Respondents were also encouraged to add any terms they felt had been omitted; none were suggested.

Table 4

Managerial Behavior Categories Perceived by Six or More Expatriates as Important in Their Most Recent Assignments Overseas. (N=15; respondents could designate any number of choices as 'important'.)

Behaviors	No. of Persons
Planning	10
Controlling	9
Investigating (gathering information)	9
Negotiating	8
Innovating	7
Motivating	6
Budgeting	6
Reporting (providing information)	6

To further clarify and operationalize these categories, a brief definition followed by representative statements from respondents is given for each behavior.

a. By 'PLANNING' here is meant the process of establishing the steps to be taken for attainment of goals and objectives.

Representative statements in the planning category were:

i. "Planning was interesting. I went over having been given the idea that my function was to keep on-going operations humming. They were doing that fine. What I had to do mostly was help them systematically consider all the things they had to bring together and project to the future."

ii. "These guys were very intuitive. They came up with some nice stuff and ideas. What they needed to do was plan more effectively and long range. I helped them a lot in that. That is, not just with what we were working on at the moment but with the process and habit of planning."

iii. "The planning was abominable. Things worked thus far because of the personal direction of one elderly man. I found my greatest use was to help institute planning at different levels that didn't require him. He did not object; in fact, later encouraged it, though it was not the traditional way of doing things."

b. By 'CONTROLLING' here is meant those processes by which the progress of planned functions is monitored and changes and adjustments implemented as needed.

Representative statements in this category were:

i. "I could sense I was expected to give direction, yet I could tell there was some hostility towards my trying to do so. I had to direct and get specific things done yet not being seen as forcing myself on them. I got things done but had to be much more careful about feelings and interpretations of what I was doing than at home. I think that was the main reason for the problems of the person I replaced, an American."

ii. "Never have I had to make so many things work together as out there. Everything about 'span of control' was in a cocked hat. Eventually, I was able to control through others but it took a while to convince them that that's really what I wanted to do."

c. By 'INVESTIGATING' is meant the seeking of information and establishment of systems for the acquisition of information needed for the accomplishment of the individual's managerial goals.

Representative statements in this category were:

i. "I still bitch about the flood of reports I'm inundated with or producing here. But at least you can get information and you can generally trust it. I thought I'd largely be making decisions but I didn't realize my main function would be to establish systems for getting information--information for any of us to make decisions on."

ii. "'Flying by the seat of your pants' is SOP in the countries I have been in. I finally decided it was often a practice (there) rather than a necessity. Some of my subordinates resented the work I put them to to produce data but I think I finally convinced a number that we were doing a better job for it."

iii. "Whether it was politeness or fear or what, my biggest problem was getting the information I needed from what would be (the equivalent of) my natural sources back here."

iv. "I don't know what bothered me the most, the lack of good information or the lack of recognition of how important it was to have it."

d. By 'NEGOTIATING' here is meant reconciling differences in objectives of individuals and organizations.

Representative statements in this category were:

i. "There were a number of conflicting groups within the subsidiary, in part because they were sometimes given conflicting tasks. I spent a lot of time trying to find out why all the wrangling and inefficiency and getting them to cooperate. Sometimes I wondered if there were cultural reasons I couldn't grasp. But often as not it was something stupid the company was doing or not doing."

ii. "It's autocratic there but companies can't get away with running on that system the way they used to. My hardest task was getting some give and take going between some of the levels of the organization. It meant getting them to cross some social lines sometimes."

iii. "Sometimes the status and sometimes the neutrality of a foreigner allowed me to work out problems and agreements between individuals and groups that wouldn't have been possible for them to do."

e. By 'MOTIVATING' here is meant those actions by the manager that stimulate behaviors by others consistent with managerial and organizational objectives.

Representative statements in this category were:

i. "I'm very good at getting others to be enthusiastic about their work. I wasn't sure how well this would work abroad but it did. It was a much more important part of what I did than I thought it would be. If anything, my gregarious nature stood me in better stead there than here. They like a social person."

ii. "It took me a while to realize it but building morale and motivating people was a far more important need in our subsidiary than I had expected. Everyone is motivated by different things, but it took me a while to also recognize that as a group there were differences in what was really rewarding to them. Hell, it took me a six months to figure out that just making it clear that a man had job security if he did a good job got us a long way. They were used to very arbitrary dismissal; everybody walked on eggs."

f. By 'BUDGETING' here is meant the structuring of financial resource allocation to harmonize the functional plans for marketing, production and finance.

Representative statements in this category were:

i. "We took over a very successful business. Our assumption was that therefore budgeting operations were at least adequate. They turned out to be almost non-existent. They were getting by so well because the whole economy and the business was booming and there was no competition. This was overwhelming the budgeting blunders. With the expanded operation we envisioned, though, and moving into competitive areas, we had to get a handle on it. This became a major unintended task of mine.

ii. "Budgeting is always important but I saw two extremes. In one country the big job was to convince our people that it had any importance. In another, everybody seemed to think it (the budget) was cast in concrete and would adhere to it in the face of common sense that it needed some changing or to be temporarily disregarded."

g. By 'INNOVATING' here is meant the process of introducing new or changed concepts or procedures.

Representative statements in this category were:

i. "Introducing a change in any organization is a pain. There are always rumors and knee-jerk resistance

to deal with.

We pride ourselves on being innovative in the marketplace. Our performance is not so good internally. It's a problem abroad and took a lot of my time."

ii. "We had to change a lot both in product and procedures. That's kind of my specialty. I expected a lot of special problems being abroad but found it easier than at home. I got much more action and input from our local supervisors than I had been led to expect."

h. By 'REPORTING' here is meant providing information and establishing the channels for providing information among the individuals and units involved in the activities relevant to the person's managerial responsibilities.

Representative statements in this category were:

i. "One thing I've learned at some cost is that people want to know what's going on; and you find that at all levels. I went to our subsidiary abroad because we had production and labor problems. A good part of both were improved just by instituting better communication among units."

ii. "You look at so many problems. It's because people aren't getting information that's readily available. That's a big part of my job whether I'm in the U.S. or overseas. But over there it was even more critical. They (the local personnel) didn't know what to expect and the whole place seemed to run on rumor; I think that was in part because people weren't supposed to ask."

The following two sections deal with the impact of cultural characteristics on the expatriate's managerial functions. The first considers those characteristics which were perceived as particularly helpful and the second those perceived as particularly inhibiting to these activities. The observations pertain to various cultures and are reported from different situations but help to identify general categories for discussing some

of the relationships and dynamics involved.

2. Local cultural characteristics perceived by expatriate managers as HELPFUL to their managerial activities

In discussing aspects of the local culture helpful to their work, the expatriate managers were asked to give special attention to those that made management activities easier to perform abroad than in the United States. The data allowed creation of a set of discrete preliminary categories. The responses were then analyzed for specific number of references to each category. Using the decision criteria of mention by six or more respondents, the five categories presented in Table 5 were identified. Following the table, a defining statement and sample responses for each category are provided for clarification.

Table 5

Local Cultural Characteristics Perceived by Six or More Former Expatriate Managers as Particularly HELPFUL to Their Work Abroad. (N=15)

Cultural Aspect	Number of Persons Mentioning
a. Friendship and social relationships	15
b. High value given to education	8
c. Loyalty	7
d. Authoritarian traditions	6
e. Nationalism and pride in country	6

Definitions and representative statements for the categories given in Table 5 include:

a. By 'FRIENDSHIP AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS' here is meant the manner in which close interactions and relationships among individuals affected their managerial behaviors in their organizations.

Representative statements include:

i. "I found our national managers would do things for you as a friend that it was sometimes difficult to get them to do for you as a employee even though it might be part of their job. Taking initiative beyond what was safe and necessary for example.

"Some of our American directors would never accept that personal relationships and friendships were important to business so they never got very far. That's simple but a lot of expatriates overlook it. I don't mean to be cynical about friendship or suggest you should fake it; its just that some executives believe personal relationships should be avoided in business and there (overseas) it was an essential part of it. Handled right it could help you a great deal, ignored it could ruin you."

ii. "Establishing good personal relationships that were like friendships was essential. The strictly functional, 'I'll do my job, you do yours' works to a much greater extent in the U.S. than here. I never realized before how much of that we have at home (less personal working relationships)."

iii. "If they do not feel good about you as a person, you are going to get minimal performance no matter what you do or what you pay. My lunches and outside interaction was as important as any meetings I attended."

b. By 'HIGH VALUE GIVEN TO EDUCATION' here is meant a tradition of perceiving education as a major goal in life, a source of opportunity, and an element for social progress and recognition.

Representative statements include:

i. "The perception they had of outsiders being highly educated and their respect for that made getting initial cooperation easier."

ii. "We never had problems getting people at any level to attend workshops or training sessions. Their society has more confidence than I have that learning cures all ills."

iii. "We made good housing and medical care available but it turned out the schooling for the kids and some for staff was among the most popular benefits provided. Its potential to recruit, keep and motivate people I hadn't thought much about before.

c. By 'LOYALTY' here is meant an attitude of fidelity felt due a person, cause or idea.

Representative statements include:

i. "I guess we get used to an adversarial relationship with personnel in the U.S. that, even when mild, precludes the kind of loyalty we had (overseas). Whatever the reason, I was impressed by the way they felt about the company. It also gave rise to a sense of competitiveness towards other companies that was productive."

ii. "You sure wouldn't have gotten the kind of

overtime and extra effort (abroad) we had to call upon from time to time without a great amount of griping (in the U.S. office). They took the company's problems as their personal problems."

iii. "I never had a group I worked with more loyal to me or the group. Perhaps because of that I think I put more trust in them."

d. By 'AUTHORITARIAN TRADITIONS' here is meant habitual acceptance of established authority and direction in power and status relationships and structures.

Representative statements include:

i. "The deference to prestige and status given the upper classes and foreigners made us a little uncomfortable. It also had its advantages though, especially in the first stages of establishing functions and relationships. We could get things done before we had really gained the (nationality)s' support or motivated their interest."

ii. "It was a mildly hostile climate but their tradition of 'doing as one is told' by superiors allowed me to get things done until we could establish better working relationships. Even after that it helped where I wanted to introduce something very different in approach. Safety, for example, was terrible in the plant. Lots of lost hands and fingers over the years. Still my efforts to convince lower management and workers to use available safety equipment didn't lead to much. Then I just gave a direct order to use it and it was implemented without comment or attitude change, but it did improve our injury problem."

iii. "I was surprised to find the prestige of my firm was higher abroad than it was in the United States. Any large corporation seems to automatically have a lot of status and authority. Ours was also well-known and being its representative opened a lot of doors and gave me considerable influence and impact--more than I'd have at home."

e. By 'NATIONALISM AND PRIDE IN COUNTRY' here is meant local attitudes regarding the host country that affect managerial behaviors of the expatriate.

Representative statements include:

i. "The operation was very successful and run entirely by nationals and they were highly motivated to keep it that way. Local managers seemed to like having a foreigner about to demonstrate this to. I was smart enough to see this was a good role for me to assume."

ii. "There was a lot of pride here. You couldn't just order people about. If you showed some respect and appreciation for local capabilities and shared control, though, there was a tremendously productive response."

iii. "More than in the U.S., you could call on the individual's pride in showing how well (nationality)s could do it. By keeping this in mind and showing confidence I was able to delegate more responsibility than my predecessors had thought possible."

iv. "I think the people felt less defensive because the country was moving ahead under national leadership and it was easier for nationals to accept outside participation. More than ever you have to work with and through people abroad."

3. Local cultural characteristics perceived by expatriate managers as HINDERING their managerial activities

In discussing aspects of the local culture that hindered their work, the expatriate managers were asked to give special attention to those that made management activities more difficult to perform abroad than in the United States. The data suggested a set of discrete preliminary categories. The responses were then analyzed for specific number of references to each category. Using the decision criteria of mention by six or more respondents, the eight categories presented in Table 6 were identified. Following the table, a defining statement and sample responses for each category are provided for clarification.

Table 6

Local Cultural Aspects Perceived by Six or More Former Expatriate Managers as Particularly HINDERING to Their Work Abroad. (N=15).

Cultural Aspect	No. of Persons Mentioning
a. Friendship and social relationships	15
b. Language	13
c. Attitudes toward time and schedules	12
d. Status and class consciousness	11
e. Rigidity of role and rule	10
f. Nationalism and pride in country	9
g. Authoritarian tradition	8
h. Attitudes towards women	6

Definitions and representative statements for the categories given in Table 7 as derived from the data of this study are:

a. By 'FRIENDSHIP AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS CHARACTERISTICS' here is meant the manner in which close interactions and relationships among individuals affected their actions in their organizations.

Representative statements include:

i. "The need to get many things done through establishing personal relationships sometimes slowed things down. This was irritating, especially when time was short and I believe neither the person I was dealing with nor I really expected any kind of continuing contact."

ii. "The importance given to social interaction in business could help you if you were good at it. Even then it could get to be a problem. You soon learned that even just friendly relationships were seen as establishing obligations for preferential treatment. I even had to back off some relationships with some persons because of this because part of my job was to be a negotiator among local staff."

iii. "You could get a lot of things done through your personal relationships but they kept even closer score of 'what I owe you and you owe me' than I think we do in the United States. You had to be careful about accepting favors just to be polite or you could find yourself with a lot of assumed debt."

iv. "I believe even our local managers felt the social manners you go through to get things done was inefficient. At least they seemed to use the excuse of policies of the crazy American or the organization to avoid a fair amount of it in their own dealings."

v. "There was a tendency to take everything more personally. There was more of a 'If you were my friend you would not question my work--or be promoting someone else' sense. American managers sometimes cause problems for themselves by not taking social relationships seriously enough early in their assignments."

b. By 'LANGUAGE' here is meant the vernacular and attitudes towards its use.

Representative statements include:

i. "I could have been more effective with some command of the local language even though it was not critical to my work. I didn't believe that for a long time as I worked with fluent English speakers. But when I did learn some late in my stay it gave me some important insights into what was going on and how people felt."

ii. "Getting information is central to our organization's functioning. Not being able to get it direct just added the opportunity to lose and distort it. On paper our regional manager did not need to speak (the local language) but when we got one that did, it made a big difference."

iii. "Since virtually no foreigners in my area spoke the language my few phrases helped me considerably in terms of relationships if not understanding. You

don't have to know a lot but if you make no attempt it will be noticed; it took a while for me to come to understand this. The company still doesn't understand this; they don't give language training because they don't feel anyone has the time before or during to adequately learn it."

iv. "My (language) was good but I always tried to have an interpreter present for negotiations. Probably knowing as much as I did was why I knew not to trust my understanding. The guys with the most confidence are usually those who pick up less than they think they do. The big advantage of my language was being able to pick up that the interpretations were not going accurately."

c. By 'ATTITUDES TOWARDS TIME AND SCHEDULES' here is meant the cultural orientation towards the nature and importance of temporal considerations in activities."

Representative statements include:

i. "They just couldn't believe that I was serious about sticking to any schedule. It seemed malicious at first but I finally saw that they really just did not see the need. I've come to be more questioning of these myself, now."

ii. "A lot of the foreigners there did not appreciate that the lack of infrastructure had a lot to do with the lack of punctuality in deliveries, et cetera. However, there was also a cultural casualness (on the part of local nationals) about these problems that irritated most Westerners."

iii. "Yes, they seemed less attuned to the constant crisis style we seem to employ at (company). But I sometimes felt the grousing and excessive concern by some Americans on the punctuality point was related to some adjustment problem of their own."

d. By 'STATUS AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS' here is meant the degree of importance generally given within the culture to status and class of others in determining conduct.

Representative statements include:

i. "The attitudes of some persons of different classes in the work force sometimes just could not be bent to the needs for cooperation in the organization. Usually our upper class managers were making an effort but found it difficult to relate easily with lower class persons on a more egalitarian basis. An unexpected, but essential part of my work was to help and encourage them to work together."

ii. "That (class friction) was a problem in bringing local organizations, even very well run ones, into the organization (multinational) as subsidiaries. It (the local firm) can't operate effectively in the larger organization on the old order of command and control their top management is accustomed to. There is an immediate conflict of their traditional criteria with the competency and performance evaluation systems we use."

iii. "The strength of that feeling (class consciousness) had some people who had advanced further in our organization than they could possibly move in a local firm then make every effort to keep others lower on the (society's) pecking order from also advancing. It also made getting people to delegate even harder than it is in the U.S."

iv. "Like I mentioned with socializing, new expatriates often fail to take (local) feelings about social standing seriously enough. Missing correct titles and treatment can cost you a lot abroad. Treating everybody equal is sometimes the worst possible thing to do."

e. By 'RIGIDITY OF ROLE AND RULE' here is meant how culturally characteristic is resistance to change in establishing appropriate behavioral patterns and codes for carrying out activities.

Representative statements include:

i. "I found in general a much greater reluctance (than in the United States) to undertake anything that was substantially different from the established policy, especially if that's the way it is done in the country not just in the organization. I'm talking about when the individual is fully in agreement with the logic and desirability of the change."

ii. "I've redefined jobs in many of our plants to increase efficiency but I've never had the

problems at home that I had universally in (country). They understood and largely agreed to the value of the new activity divisions but when they came to performance, they often stuck to, or barely modified, the old system. What did work was giving more attention to presenting the changes so that they were, or seemed to be, a progression in the evolution of the traditional position. That is rather than a rejection or drastic departure from it."

iii. "It may sound somewhat contradictory but at the same time I complain of their following established policies and rules too strictly which suggests a desire for control, there was also often a lack of work discipline or appreciation of the need to keep adequate records."

iv. "The pervasive control of the government contributed to the rigidity of policies. This was also cultural as well as political, though. This style of central control by a ruling elite was long established.

f. By 'NATIONALISM AND PRIDE IN COUNTRY' here is meant local attitudes regarding the host country that affect managerial behaviors of the expatriate.

Representative statements include:

i. "The patterns for doing business are so ingrained they are referred to as 'the (nationality) way of doing business.' Even changing something like the number of levels of wholesalers was seen as offensive and somehow anti-(nationality). You gained a feeling there are more things tied to national pride than you usually think about and that they are of great importance."

ii. "If you had to bargain you needed to pay a lot of attention to national pride. Our more direct manner of negotiation (in the U.S.) lets you know when you are stepping on someone's feelings, which they often take as an affront to their national pride. There you are expected to know when you are getting too near the limit of real negotiating."

iii. "There were unexplainable delays that I believe stemmed from small unintentional slights. The home office, however, would never accept that so important a project could fail for subtle reasons of pride."

g. By 'AUTHORITARIAN TRADITION' here is meant

habitual acceptance of established leadership patterns and direction in power and status relationships and structures.

Representative statements include:

i. "There was a strong pronounced deference to persons considered in authority. Those persons exerted a controlling influence whether they had the rank within the organization or not. It was a real problem in some cases not from the arbitrary power of that person --which I had been concerned about--but from persons of lower standing hesitating to perform to the level of their skills.

ii. "We had to adapt that (an authoritarian style) initially and then move away from it. I'm fairly authoritarian anyway. But that type of behavior in others over there was so much a problem that I think I'm less so back here now."

iii. "I think we all became more authoritarian because that was what was expected of us, it was the system. Some of us liked it, others didn't, but I think it hurt us most by limiting the contact between levels of the company."

h. By 'ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN' here is meant those cultural orientations towards the proper role and demeanor of females that affect managerial behavior.

Representative statements include:

i. "Women executives could probably function because of the influence of the company and probably O.K. in management within it. But it would be rough for them to be taken seriously outside."

ii. "I think a woman can be effective anywhere but in many countries she would have to be exceptional just to be as effective as an ordinary man. Do you want to waste the talent?"

iii. "The pressures on the female members of my family were great, they also had less to do and fewer places of escape. Distraction with such family problems is probably the greatest problem for the manager related to women abroad. There are just too few women managers abroad for their problems to be of much notice as yet."

4. Categories of COPING behavior

The responses of the expatriates regarding adaptations of their behaviors to cope with working in another cultural environment suggested a set of discrete preliminary categories. The responses were then analyzed for specific number of references to each category. Using the decision criteria of mention by six or more respondents, the eight categories presented in Table 7 were identified.

Table 7

Methods Reported by Former Expatriate Managers as Commonly Used by Them in COPING with the Complexities of Performing Their Work in Another Cultural Environment. (N=15).

Coping activities	No. of respondents
a. By providing oneself with one or more havens for escape from the local culture.	13
b. By accommodation to contrary cultural behavior patterns.	11
c. By adopting the local prevailing mode of managerial behavior.	8
d. By training others.	8
e. By continuing to perform in the same manner as was their practice at home.	7
f. By emphasizing indirect leadership and direction in own behavior.	7
g. By consulting with others for help in interpreting cross-cultural experiences.	6
h. By development and use of knowledge of the history (recent and ancient), geography, politics, sports, and other interests and dynamics of the country to build relationships and/or stimulate one's own interests.	6

1. The categories in Table 7 were not mutually exclusive. The respondents did not use just one approach in all instances. Each respondent may have mentioned several in the course of the interview. The only criterion was that the type of coping behavior be mentioned by six or more individuals for inclusion as a category.

   The categories of coping behavior identified followed a continuum from primary emphasis upon avoidance of the getting to know, and adapting to, the culture, e.g., 'c' and 'g'. A mixture of both is involved in most of the approaches described.

C. MYTH, RITUAL, AND SOCIAL DRAMA IN THE EXPATRIATE EXPERIENCE

Additional analysis was given the expatriate managerial behaviors and experiences reported in order to consider the possible utility of the myth/ritual/social drama framework for better understanding these cross-cultural encounters. Findings related to the use of this framework are reported for each of the managerial behavior categories identified in section B.1 of chapter IV and Table 4.

1. Planning

The comments of three expatriates described local planning procedures that were more focused on what had been past practice and what met immediate needs and current forces than was customary in the expatriates' own practice and attitudes. Distant projections, probabilities and consequences were seen as being of much less importance to their local colleagues. This was described as a source of irritation and disagreement between the cultural representatives. It demonstrated a stronger mythic value orientation towards the significance of the past relative to the present than the expatriates perceived in their own orientation to planning.

There were several examples of differences in ritual related to this. In two, repeated requests for long-term planning generated reworded plans and proposals that, while using future-tense terminology, were mainly analyses of past procedures and traditions with some

alterations suggested in view of present circumstances and immediate demands.

While there can be many valid reasons for conservative approaches to planning, the respondents who brought this up felt it went beyond this. They believed there were distinct differences from the general American orientation in perception of the value in looking far ahead. Their examples especially related to the differences given the importance of conceptualizing major change in operations in the distant future and the degree of concern far in advance for future delivery of resources needed for production.

Social dramas reflecting the above have just been partially described. There were a range of resolutions. At one extreme was absolute insistence on the American approach, e.g., "I had them make the studies and base their activities on the projections, whether they saw the sense to it or not."

One respondent never seemed to have reached a resolution. He kept pushing for his own orientation and could only express frustration that it never caught on the way he thought it should.

At the other extreme was the expatriate who decided that his local colleagues were doing well enough with their "flying blind" approach and there were more important problem areas for him to attend to than fighting for the longer-range strategy development with

which he felt most comfortable.

Another reflection of this was the respondent who was nonplussed by the fact that, "Our local plant manager was very skilled, highly productive. He figured out future markets and trends and activities we should be doing very well when pressed. But he never would do it on his own. He always thought it much less important than the Americans did. He never did it with enthusiasm, even though he knew it was the way to get ahead in our organization. It wasn't just him. It was a continuing problem. I never saw this at home among senior management."

Others fell more in the middle of this range of responses to different orientations. A respondent finally decided it was not necessary that the subsidiary's form of long-term planning look just like that of the home office operation. He thought he got more effective involvement by local management when he tied long-term planning to a process which gave more importance to analysis of established procedures and experience than he would normally do. He was probably also encouraged in this by finding early on in this process that there was more validity to some of their present and past traditional procedures than he had realized.

Other instances of conflicting cultural orientations affecting planning included problems where more authoritative traditions held sway. These were seen, for

example, as often precluding the input of more junior management into such decision-making processes regardless of their expertise.

2. Control

An important mythic value recurring in instances relating to control involved acceptable levels and form of challenge to pride or 'face'. Some ritual expression of this involved elaborate behavioral codes to avoid direct confrontation. Others found form in extended indirect discussions in which criticism and discipline were accomplished without direct or personified rebuke.

A high value for directness and impatience with indirect approaches is common on lists of American cultural attributes. In the instances described this resulted in several examples of social drama being related.

As in the case with many of the value differences discussed, problems here were as often generated by the inability of the expatriates to accept that local personnel were serious about these attitudes as by the differences themselves or failure to recognize them.

Expatriates accustomed to using a "normal amount" of direct criticism and discipline generated responses of "volatility" or withdrawal that they found surprising and felt the response was, e.g., "totally inappropriate for the mild chastisement intended." However, those commenting encountered it often enough to perceive it as

culturally characteristic rather than merely descriptive of individuals.

The situation for the expatriate was sometimes compounded by the conflict being generated elsewhere. The home office, for example, could be insensitive in that, "They would never believe a project so important could get hung up or fail because of pride" and, "When they sent a rocket (a critical cable) they expected compliance or rebuttal but not irrational behavior."

The range of resolutions included persistence in direct styles, with acceptance of the negative reactions and costs generated. Other actions were withdrawal in confusion with abdication of control to others more skilled in dealing with the local situation, and moderating the directness of approach with emphasis on group discussion of the problems that had arisen without identification of culpability.

3. Investigating (gathering information)

Differing mythic values related to privacy and propriety of contacts affected the information gathering activities of some expatriates. Proper forms of exchange of information differed substantially among cultural groups. These were usually predicated on the relationship of those involved in an exchange and the situation in which it took place.

Among the rituals reported was one in which conver-

sations were avoided that dealt with personal and family topics except with intimates. This was especially the case regarding information relating to female family members.

In other cases the respondents found themselves in conflict with very different orientations towards privacy. In these the respondents were defensive and irritated by local expectations that they make broad disclosure of personal information including the cost of their possessions and their income.

Again, social drama in conflict of rituals is not always direct. A respondent caught in the middle trying to interpret the subsidiary to the home office and the home office to the subsidiary illustrates that that can often be a "no-win" situation.

He reported that his failure to generate sufficient amounts of various types of personal data on the local community--a standard operating procedure in the United States--was interpreted by his home office as indicating he was not active and perceptive in analyzing the local situation. His position was that it was just his sensitivity to local feelings and practices that suggested acquisition of the information was not worth the cost in relationships and image for the organization.

No resolution was attained. The company moved out of the country before either obtaining its information or altering its policy. This also occurred before the local

community either became more cooperative or resentful. That is, the company was not there long enough to learn from this experience and, in the opinion of the respondent, is most likely to repeat it.

Where directness was considered abrasive, one respondent successfully met requirements for information by adopting the ritual of using intermediaries. Another adaptation was to speak in the third person when dealing with sensitive questions. Also, some facility was learned in the local practice of discussing a subject and then leaving an unspoken understanding of the situation to be interpreted without its declaration.

A common conflict of values in gathering information was reflected in differences in perceptions of the importance of accuracy in data. The rituals of the Americans entering the situations were based upon assumptions that data is available, that everyone concerned with it is concerned about its accuracy and that managers want data for their decision-making activities.

Often attitudes of local counterparts do not approximate this. Social dramas engendered included giving more emphasis to rewards, recognition and other motivating factors to achieve accuracy of data received rather than depending on changing convictions on the worth or utility of such data. Some expatriates became convinced from their experiences that perhaps as much data

as they were accustomed to having was not as essential as they had previously thought.

4. Negotiation

Among mythic values affecting negotiation behaviors was the importance given socialization in this process. Ritual expressions included prolonged conversation and interaction seemingly unrelated to the business at hand but very determinant in its outcome. Much such activity was spent in non-business social environments.

Related social dramas often centered on the impatience of American managers with the seeming "lack of willingness to come to the point." Both high value for indirect processes and for social relationships in business appear to have been important in these instances.

One respondent said he felt he had been particularly effective in such environments because he had realized early that much more was going on in these seemingly non-negotiating negotiation encounters. He perceived that he was being 'sized-up' as someone with whom to work and relate. He came to realize that persons in other cultures sometimes put much greater business confidence in the relationships that are established than in contracts and honor them accordingly.

He found adjusting to this difficult but a reason for his perception that he was much more successful than others who he felt focused too much on written agreements and too little on relationship development. He often

got the former, he felt, because he gave more time to the latter, treating contracts as a necessary bother and secondary to personal relationships.

Another mythic value of a broad social nature affecting negotiations was that of the importance given to maintenance of the established forms of interaction in the social order. In some cases this meant being careful about proceeding correctly through the hierarchy by which understandings are traditionally reached. In others it more reflected the need for respect of values of group harmony over individual advantage.

An example of the expression of the latter in the rituals of business practice is seen in one instance given of wholesaling activity. In this situation there was a tradition of having many wholesaler levels with an elaborate system of interaction and patterns of steps in negotiation that eventually determined the price to the consumer. The respondent's organization assumed that their newly introduced system of discount distributorships, which would avoid many of these levels, would be competitive and well received.

Instead a social drama ensued in which the new practices were seen as gross, offensive and threatening. It appears this stemmed from the new system upsetting an established one which incorporated traditional and social aspects as well as economic ones. The new system was rejected even by potential clients who stood to gain

significant economic benefit. The organization retreated to a position of supplier to a joint venture with a national partner who introduced some discounting techniques but incorporated them into more traditional channels and practices.

5. Innovation

A number of mythic values affected efforts at innovation. Differing perceptions of the degrees to which the path of life is preordained and persons can have an influence on the future is evident in some of the comments made.

Some other respondents, however, suggested that too much importance had been made of this factor. They felt people were less fatalistic in many cultures than is often popularly assumed by outsiders. Though they recognized the differences in this respect, they thought that local personnel would respond to opportunity and contribute to change when conditions allowed. The implication was that opportunity and resource constraints often contributed to both rituals and social dramas that were attributed to fatalistic attitudes.

Values related to present and past orientations, were discussed in the 'planning' portion, 'a', of this section. Those rituals mentioned also presented problems in introducing change. These were reflected in social dramas such as expatriate efforts to generate interest and enthusiasm for innovations which envisioned

returns substantially in the future. The resolution in most cases was to incorporate short-term benefits where possible while encouraging appreciation of long-term benefits.

In three instances, strong values for proper roles related to class structure were evident in vignettes regarding innovation. By traditional ritual, certain persons were not considered for certain levels of work, regardless of their demonstrated capabilities.

The social drama in the situations evolved where contemplated innovations required broadening the opportunities and responsibilities of persons of lower social class than was predominant in local management.

Resistance was seen as stemming from several sources. These included problems in role changes which were upsetting to both higher and lower class individuals, especially where categories were relatively rigid and based upon long established traditions. Further, higher level individuals often perceived some threat in the broadened opportunies being offered persons from other groups that traditionally would be ineligible for them.

Resolution in one case was to forgo the innovation as the conflict engendered was not worth the disruption to operations. In another, it was possible to introduce the innovation and attendant position changes by stressing the enhancement of the higher class individual's position represented in the progress of those under him. Also,

there is the factor of general acceptance that foreign organizations did not always do things in the correct manner.

Values reflecting the propriety of authoritarian behaviors were described in the sections on local cultural characteristics helpful or hindering to the expatriate managers. The rituals of compliance described assisted in social drama situations where innovation required immediate implementation. There was, however, general skepticism of its utility maintaining lasting impact without continued authoritarian supervision or action to change attitudes.

6. Motivation

Some findings which illustrated values affecting motivation center on different perceptions of quality of life. They reflect both major schools of thought regarding sources of human values, that which emphasizes value derivation from universal biological and psychological needs, e.g., Maslow (1954), and that which gives emphasis to societal generation, e.g., Kluckhohn (1951) and Condon and Yousef (1976).

Mythic value differences of more communalistic or individualistic self-identification were described. These appeared to provide examples of motivational rituals wherein communalistic honor was more rewarding to some and personal honor and dignity more rewarding to others.

Some respondents described social dramas in which

direct praise was received with embarrassment. The respondents found this more counterproductive than motivating and requiring modification of their normal practices to combine individual reward with group recognition. This appears to have been an attempt to either make both groups relatively comfortable with the reward system or to foster new, more competitive values while causing as little disruption as possible.

Other respondents indicated experiences in cultural settings in which group recognition had little motivational value. Stimulating teamwork and commitment to goals requiring joint efforts were described as difficult and perceived local attitudes as very individualistic. Group efforts required strategies that provided competitive opportunities for these persons and for individual recognition and reward for group accomplishment.

Sometimes values assumed as motivational for a group were not so for environmental reasons that encouraged placing other more basic values first. In one social drama situation the expatriate reported frustration at lack of response to his efforts at making more opportunities for advancement available for lower-level local managers. He initially interpreted this as lack of ambition.

Later the expatriate found that arbitrary dismissal characterized personnel practices in the area. Without

some job security employees were not primarily interested in advancement. In fact, it was their strategy to keep as low a profile as possible. Any perception of effort at status advancement through positional rise in the organization was usually cut short by the elites present.

Steps to require discussion of cause for dismissal and some appeal process increased morale and promotion. Perhaps of more importance was giving credit and reward to senior managers whose junior managers moved up the ranks based on performance.

7. Budgeting

Mythic values related to past, present or future time orientations of a culture as a 'proper' guide to one's actions, have been mentioned in the discussion of planning behavior (item 'a.' above). These have application to the budgeting process as well as, in part, being a planning device itself.

The rituals described often included minimal budgeting, by American standards, where it existed, and it was often characterized as limited to meeting short-term needs. Given such attitudes, gathering information for this purpose was also reported as being seen locally to be of little importance.

The budgeting process had a high value in the perception of American managers. Therefore the social dramas reported tended to resolutions closer to their ideal to the extent they had the power to require it.

Another mythic value affecting budgeting was was the acceptability and morality of profit derived from money itself. That is, interest was not perceived as honorable gain and, in some instances, was subject to religious proscription.

Rituals, in such cases, included credit-less transactions and avoiding the charging of interest. This encouraged such social drama solutions as ignoring the proscriptions, changing the terminology applied and/or converting interest payments into more acceptable forms.

Mythic values restricting the gathering and accuracy of information, as described in item 'c' above, of course, also were of great importance to the budgeting process. The rituals and social dramas described there also generally arose in discussion of the budgeting activities of the expatriate managers.

8. Reporting (Providing information)

This functional behavior of the expatriate obviously often involved values affecting their 'Investigating' behavior ('c' above) to the extent that the information being reported was collected in the overseas assignment. To the extent they were reporting technical, home office or other outside information, a major function for a number of the respondents, other mythic values became important.

One example was difference in degree of trust one generally extended to persons and sources outside one's group. In some such cases, as shown in the data from table 5, rituals of acceptance by virtue of authority assisted at early stages.

However, some respondents described social dramas related to their attempts to provide information to individuals and operating units that suggest they found they were more effective in the long run by passing information through respected individuals from the group. In some cases, however, social dramas were generated because of conflicts individuals most suited for this function sometimes had with their traditions. For example, while some resisted because sharing information other than orders with persons lower in the heirarchy was deemed degrading, some at lower levels were perceived as taking their boss' new openness as a sign of weakness or trickery.

Another strategy was to introduce information by means of such group consideration techniques as delphi or brainstorming sessions. There the source of information is generally blurred and becomes identified with the group itself. In either case, the more successful episodes described indicated the importance of a willingness by the expatriates to accept and adapt to a need to allow more time for functions they saw as much simpler and direct at home.

A final example illustrates that traditions and values even recently established can come into conflict with an expatriate's, which may have changed only recently themselves. In this instance the ritual for handling all overseas information from the home office arriving electronically, i.e., via phone or cable, was to treat it with great urgency.

With changing cost and availability, the home office had come to use these channels casually. Local management and staff, however, tended to attach crisis importance to even general inquiries so received.

Misperceptions led to unfortunate precipitous decisions and excessive attention and time given to minor matters. In the resulting social dramas, general assurances did not sufficiently change attitudes until some local personnel were sent to the home office to work on that end of the teletype for a period. This allowed them to become directly related to the intent of the senders and the senders to come to understand how they themselves were understood and misunderstood.

D. POST-ASSIGNMENT EFFECTS OF EXPATRIATE EXPERIENCE

1. The impact of overseas experience on managerial styles used after return home

Statements made by the respondents on how they felt their experience abroad affected the managerial style they used back home suggested organization into three

broad categories that, in one manner or another, were mentioned six or more times. Vignettes describing behavioral change and indications of conviction of a change in philosophy on specific managerial questions were accepted as evidence.

On this basis, twelve of the fifteen respondents were judged to have changed their managerial behaviors and attitudes substantially. The following comments are representative of statements that helped to establish the categories of people orientation changes, of personality trait changes, and of authority and responsibility changes.

a. Representative statements indicating 'people orientation' changes were:

i. "We are management training happy around here. I've attended a number of sessions discussing the importance of giving personal attention to my staff. It was only my overseas experience, however, where I really had to focus on that and consciously...I don't know how to say it but understand and be understood, that I really became aware of real extent and importance of the people interacting dynamics of management and seeing them as individuals."

ii. "Not really understanding what was going on many times (abroad) made me much more attentive to the people involved and I think that has carried over to my benefit in handling people here."

iii. "All the socializing irritated me at first and I never did get used to the lack of privacy. But I came to like the 'people first' orientation and find myself being a little negative about the impersonality of much of the way we operate back here."

b. Representative statements indicating 'personality trait' changes were:

i. "I was a real terror before I went abroad. They never should send someone like I was. I was totally focused on the job. I'm a perfectionist and I nearly blew up over delays. It is a wonder it didn't kill me but I took the other direction and became much more laid back. That is probably the most lasting impact of my time over there and I'm thankful for it."

ii. "Well, I just think I'm a nicer person. I don't take things so seriously and I don't take personal afront at little things like I once did."

iii. "I certainly became more mature while abroad. I even think my sense of humor has improved."

c. Representative statements indicating 'authority and responsibility' changes were:

i. "You know, 'big fish/small pond', it helped my confidence. I know I can do a lot more now but have had to tone down my free-wheeling to fit in better back here."

ii. "I'm glad to be home but I do miss the latitude and variety of challenges. Makes me seek more responsibility. I'm not as bashful about assuming it as I once was."

iii. "Others seem less aggressive than I remembered them. Perhaps it's because I take less crap myself (than I did before). I also create less for others. (Further examples suggested the latter remark referred both to his feeling he is now less concerned with petty status questions and that he is more likely to get out of the way once he delegates responsibility.)

2. Career advancement relationship to overseas assignment

All of the respondents indicated that they had, in one way or another, been given promotions since their return. One-third (5) thought they had accelerated their careers dramatically by going overseas. None indicated they thought such involvement had hurt their careers.

E. PREPARATION AND TRAINING RECEIVED AND SUGGESTED BY RESPONDENTS

This section focuses upon training acquired through formal, nonformal or informal educational activities. The broader term "preparation" is included because of the close integration of training with other activities of the individual and the organization in preparing persons to go abroad.

1. Training received

The following table, Table 8, provides information on the type and extent of planned training experienced by the study's population. By "planned" is meant that, whether organized by the individual or his firm, some program was intentionally undertaken and some thought given to its objectives and dimensions. That is, the respondent perceived it as something less haphazard than happening to pick up a book on the country of assignment.

The table is organized into nine categories of training content. These are considered in terms of where the initiative and sponsorship of the training came from, previous experience of the expatriate with such training and the expatriate's evaluation of each type of training content from several perspectives.

TABLE 8

Planned Training Received by Expatriates in Preparation for Their Last Residential Assignment Abroad

(N=15)

I	II	III		IV		V	VI		VII			VIII		
		Source of initiative		Source of sponsorship (costs)			Perceived as adequate for predeparture preparation[2]		Perceived utility of whatever training received			Perceived importance of this type of training (whether or not received)		
Training activity categories[1]	Number of persons receiving	Organi-zation	Self	Organi-zation	Self	Received previous training of this type	Amount	Quality	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low
1. Readings/discussions on geography, economy, history and politics	12	3	9	3	9	2	6	0	4	5	3	9	6	0
2. Readings/discussions of host country cultural attitudes, values and mores	10	2	8	2	8	0	0	0	7	3	0	15	0	0
3. Logistics of living abroad	9	6	3	6	3	5	0	0	2	5	2	12	3	0
4. Interaction with Americans having host country or other overseas experience	8	2	6	--	--	3	0	0	4	3	1	15	0	0
5. Language	8	6	2	7	1	3	1	7	4	3	1	13	1	1
6. Pre-assignment site visit	6	6	0	6	0	0	2	4	5	0	1	12	3	0
7. Interaction with host country nationals (other than instructors) in the U.S.	4	1	3	--	--	2	0	0	4	0	0	7	8	0
8. Cross-cultural interaction (readings and experiential)	3	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	15	0	0
9. Job to be done abroad (i.e., skills or specialization)	3	3	0	3	0	2	11	11	0	3	0	2	2	11

1. Any planned training perceived as such by respondents was counted for this table without consideration of duration or depth.

2. By those who received the training.

Other respondent comments help to put these categories of training activity into perspective. None of these individuals felt they had had what they would perceive as a substantial 'program' of preparation for going overseas. They considered this standard for most of the multinational corporations with which they were acquainted. All viewed what they received as pieces of such activity that, whether provided by the organization or themselves, most often resulted from their own initiatives to acquire some preparation.

All of the respondents recalled that before departure they had, to varying degrees, felt they would like to have had more preparation. After their experience, however, they felt this more strongly. One noted that he felt even more so after returning home and having time to reflect on his experience.

There were also indications of such changes in attitude related to topic area emphasis. They felt there was a shift to greater concern for learning more about the specific culture, for better understanding and strategies of relating to cross-cultural stress in general, and for more language training.

Twelve respondents reported they thought cross-cultural adjustment was a major problem overseas. Three thought it was a moderate problem. None felt it was a minor problem or not a problem.

All of the respondents felt that there were a number

of persons in their organizations who returned home early because of adjustment problems. Neither they, nor others in their organizations who were met in the course of the study, thought there was any organizational knowledge or analysis of actual or estimated early return rates.

All fifteen respondents indicated a belief that their companies gave inadequate time and attention to the preparation of persons sent abroad. Five respondents described such preparation as existed as sporadic. Three noted that even when provided it was often not widely known within the organization in which it took place, i.e., it was frequently arranged solely within the office or division directly concerned and the experience gained was not shared or preserved.

Six of the expatriate managers described preparation efforts in their companies as arising primarily from an occasional resurrection of recognition that there was a problem. Whatever activity was then undertaken, however, was not seen as involving systematic determination of the problem's nature or extent. The following discussion expands more specifically on comments related to content in some of the training categories.

None of the respondents received more than a few weeks of language training in the United States. One reported that the last executive sent to Mexico had been given six weeks of intensive Spanish at an institute but this was considered a striking and rare incident rather

than a continuing policy.

One person received language training before departure by the immersion approach where only the language was spoken during the sessions. He questioned the effectiveness of this where the time available for instruction, e.g., two weeks before departure, was short. It took too long, he suggested, to figure out what the instructor was trying to communicate so little material was covered.

Several persons believed their predeparture language training would have been more useful if focused on learning greetings, pleasantries and phrases to assist in functioning immediately on arrival. They felt the more academic approaches they had experienced were more suitable to longer programs and might be better integrated as part of continued training in-country. However, they also noted that they did not appreciate the importance of such continued training when they first arrived and, except in two instances, had no encouragement or assistance from their firms to do so.

Another respondent gave his predeparture-departure language preparation a high 'utility' rating more for its experiential content than for the start it gave him on the language. He feels he did become quite proficient in the language eventually but saw his interaction with host national teachers as giving him a "feel for the people and their outlook" that he found particularly valuable to

him later in handling his managerial responsibilities. He did not believe he would have had the time and conditions to gain those same useful insights had he just been thrown into the job, "as most were."

One respondent felt that if known far enough in advance, at least a year of part-time instruction would be desirable before going abroad. More than half the group commented on the need to provide other members of the family with such preparation, especially spouses. The family was seen as often needing such preparation more than the manager if they were not be be isolated in their new environment.

A major value to the pre-assignment site visit reported by the expatriates was its motivational effect on persons to study language. "Even if your job can be done in English, once or twice being caught where you can't speak a word and no one speaks English, and you really want to learn."

Six of the fifteen respondents were given an opportunity to visit the overseas post before assignment. A major purpose of these trips was to give the individual an initial feeling for the site and situation and to begin to take care of logistical matters such as housing.

None of the respondents thought the company considered these trips as part of the selection process or intended for them to consider it as an opportunity to

decide whether to accept or reject the offer. They felt it would be a good policy to encourage such self-selection but, if it were intended, the firms were not communicating this purpose to their personnel.

It was thought by several that such visits would have prevented several early returns they knew of in their divisions. They felt that the individuals referred to and their spouses, given any exposure and option at all, would have avoided taking the assignment. This, they believed, would have saved the corporation a lot of trouble and money and the individuals a great deal of anguish.

Only one individual did not think the trip worth-worthwhile. He thought it could have been but the short whirlwind character of it did not provide anything he could not have accomplished in the first week of permanent assignment.

All of the respondents thought such a trip should be for longer than the three to seven days that seems to be common. Several who had made the trip thought they would have gained more by not being constantly moved about. With more time in the community of assignment, they believed they could have resolved a number of problems they later had to deal with when they were preoccupied with their new jobs.

All of the respondents thought that spouses should be included on site visits but only two had. The group

was very aware that the spouse often has a more difficult time abroad but several added they did not believe this was well appreciated by their companies.

One expatriate noted that when his wife was not permitted to go on the site visit, he spent a lot of time visiting markets to see what was available, taking photographs of the environment and potential living quarters and making copious tape-recorded notes on things that he thought would be of interest to his family. He saw this not only as having practical logistical value but as a great aid in encouraging the family to focus on the fact of the move and to enhance their interest and enthusiasm about it.

Readings on various general topics about the country of assignment, e.g., geography, economy, history and politics and other general topic areas was the most commonly mentioned type of planned training experienced. It was seen as the easiest to organize and acquire information for, e.g., from libraries, consulates, the firm's archives, commercial sources and other institutions. It was also the least expensive and the easiest for which to find time and gain organizational support. Three respondents, however, did not make any planned effort to acquire such information.

About half the group mentioned that general personal interest areas that they had before they went abroad, such as politics, history or sports, came to be of great

and largely unexpected assistance to them overseas. These interests provided them with commonalities of interest in relations with local persons and often were an important means of escaping the pressures of the job.

Several persons mentioned they had assumed that these interests would have to be put aside once they were abroad. They felt that organizations should point out the utility of planning how to continue these avocations and encourage expatriates to do so.

As an extreme case, one respondent noted that taking his ice hockey equipment with him to an Asian country was, "a crazy happenstance, and not well thought out." But it led him and his family to form a national ice hockey league. As a result, he felt they were among the happiest and best received expatriates in the country.

This individual and others repeatedly mentioned that these broader social and community activities were very helpful to their acceptance in business circles as well. Involvement in such activities were also cited as an important resource for maintaining the well-being of the family.

In each instance where they expatriates promoted the virtues of community involvement, they qualified their observations by saying that they wre referring to opportunities to interact with the local community, not to opportunities to isolate oneself with the American or expatriate community. The latter was also seen by some

as important as well, and by others as something to be avoided.

Materials related to host country culture, mores, attitudes and values were more limited in availability according to the respondents. Three had received handouts on these topics from their organization. These were commercially prepared materials for the orientation of expatriates. They were not discussed, only provided.

Those few individuals who did receive some preparation for working in another specific culture found the training useful but inadequate in quantity and quality. None spent more than 15 hours in either planned reading or discussion. Most mentioned a few hours of reading.

Two individuals identified the need for more training about "small things." That is, they saw much of the limited cultural information received as too broad and general. They wanted more information on the specific mores that were likely to help them both enjoy the culture and avoid mistakes and embarrassment.

Several individuals said it had been obvious to them that they needed to be aware of something about the politics and economy of the country and how these might affect their life and business activities there. Now, however, they suggest the added nuance of knowing more about these factors in the broader geographic region as well, e.g., West Africa or South Asia, and the role of the country within it. Only one individual felt that he

had received a substantial briefing on this and felt even that had been inadequate.

All of the respondents mentioned in one manner or other that there was a need for much more informational material on the countries, people and cultures with which they were going to be involved. They were also critical of their organizations for not stressing beforehand, when they had the time and the access, how useful such information could be. Most in one manner or other suggested that more information be gathered from expatriates who had worked extensively in the host country.

One added that this should be in written form as the occasional opportunities to have verbal exchanges with such persons, while useful, allowed "too much to get lost that you can't reconsider in the field. That's when you can better use and understand it." The individual recognized there were also liabilities to putting information into writing that might be seen as controversial.

Two respondents had been moved during their preparation for an overseas assignment through each of several divisions to gain knowledge of the products they would be dealing with abroad. In the course of this, one encountered several former expatriates who had been in the area of his assignment whom he would not have otherwise met as the company did not keep track of its former expatriates as an aid to those going abroad later. He found the cultural and general information acquired

through these casual encounters very useful and wondered how many other such resources he was missing.

Logistics was one area in which the organizations more generally provided information. However, respondents in all cases perceived it as inadequate. Several noted that unnecessary shortages, discomforts and miscues could have been avoided with more attention to this element in the orientation process.

Some of the expatriates were particularly critical because they found overseas that logistical information they should have had was readily available if the firm had consulted their own subsidiaries and other in-country sources. They further noted that they had to deal with the resultant avoidable stress just at a time of initial adjustment when this should be minimized to the extent possible. In addition they observed that their utility as managers was hampered by the time they had to spend learning to cope with logistical problems on their own.

This lack of prior preparation of the expatriates is also frequently seen as a major problem by the subsidiaries (Noer, 1975). They frequently have not been brought into the process of arranging either the work or the logistics for the individual until he arrives on their doorstep. The expatriate reasonably often assumes they have been and the relationships have a poor beginning.

2. Respondents' suggestions for training

Some suggestions have already been mentioned in the

the previous section. The respondents suggested a number of activities and sources of information in addition to, or as expansion of, those previously discussed. Other than in an occasional instance, however, in none of the organizations were any of these activities perceived by the respondents to be implemented as a regular policy. Among the frequently made suggestions were the following:

a. The organizations should seek information on a systematic basis from experienced returned expatriate personnel for later use, e.g., debrief all returning expatriates. This was mentioned in one way or another by all respondents. The expatriates indicated repeatedly that they felt there was a great need for the kind of information they felt they were being asked for in this study and were being asked to discuss for the first time in any depth. Several added that such information also would provide a valuable resource to improving business decisions in international commerce.

b. Experienced personnel should be used to a much greater degree in preparation of persons to be sent abroad, e.g., in training sessions, materials preparation and casual office visits. This was mentioned by thirteen respondents. Several commented that this was something that should be a standard function rather than the after-thought they perceived it to be at present.

c. Information should be sought from host

nationals of subsidiaries, client organizations or other business contacts, e.g., through interviews with subsidiary or client visitors to home office. This was mentioned by eight respondents.

d. Organizations should make more use of outside consultants in selection, training and evaluation. The use of such persons in the selection process was suggested by three respondents, in training by twelve and in evaluation by two. All twelve of the respondents commenting knew of some training involvement of this type. None knew of any such use for selection or evaluation.

e. The firms should make more use of nationals from the area of the overseas assignment who are living in the vicinity of the home office. This was mentioned by eight respondents; four reported knowing of some actual use of this resource.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Findings from interviews with a populations of fifteen former expatriate managers were reported. Demographics on the respondents included age, places of birth and rearing, education, cross-cultural experience not related to their work assignments, work assignment in the United States prior to last assignment abroad, present position, period since return from abroad, prior work abroad, and manner of becoming involved in work abroad.

The principal managerial behaviors of these respondents were identified. Eight were categorized (see Table 4). 'Planning' was the most frequently mentioned activity followed by 'controlling', 'investigating' (gathering information), 'motivating', 'budgeting' and 'reporting' (providing information).

Local cultural characteristics were identified that respondents perceived as particularly helpful or hindering to their work abroad (see Tables 5 and 6). Five aspects were identified in the former category and eight in the latter. Three general classifications were nominated to both categories, including 'friendship and social relationship patterns,' 'authoritarian traditions' and 'nationalism and pride in country.' Nine categories of coping behavior were identified (see Table 7).

Descriptions of expatriate experience were considered for indication of the possible utility of the myth/ritual/social drama framework as an analytic tool in these cross-cultural encounters. Results were reported for each of the managerial behavior categories listed above.

The principal effects of the expatriate experience reported for present managerial styles centered upon perceived changes in 'people orientation', 'personality traits' and 'capabilities of authority and responsibility.' Perceived effects of the experience upon career development and advance were also reported and were very

predominately positive.

Findings were reported for training received and that suggested by the expatriates. Nine training categories were identified. The training received was considered in terms of several factors including initiative, sponsorship, adequacy, utility and importance.

Chapter V

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study of fifteen former expatriate managers employed by major multinational corporations explored their managerial behaviors in new cultural environments. It identified categories of managerial activity, host cultural characteristics that helped performance of those activities and host cultural characteristics that hindered such performance. The backgrounds of the expatriates were surveyed as was training for living and working abroad they received and/or would suggest for future expatriates. The present chapter discusses these findings, the possible utility to the myth/ritual/social drama structure for studying the dynamics of such cross-cultural encounters, and implications for future training of expatriate managers.

A. DISCUSSION

1. The multinational corporations

This is a study of a population of former expatriate managers of multinational firms not of the firms themselves. The observations of the expatriates, however, invite comment and interpretation relating to the common, generally negative, image of the multinational as exemplified in much of what was presented in chapter II,

the literature review. Their membership in these organizations, of course, raises questions of possible bias, though they were generally quite frank in their criticisms of their firms in a number of respects. The respondents did not generally perceive their organizations to have had a particularly strong influence in the host countries where they worded.

The conflicting evidence and opinion regarding the influence of multinationals suggests more study is needed to better understand the nature and extent of their activities and the need for greater control by national and international bodies of such activity.

2. Demographics of the expatriate managers studied

The background information provided has the useful function of providing the investigator and reader with some feeling for the group studied. No wider generalizations are asserted or assumed for this data. It may be, however, that these observations and interpretations will suggest areas for further exploration and study.

a. Age

The age of the respondents did not appear to have had an important effect upon the nature of their comments. The younger respondents who had most recently been overseas were the most outspoken in support of the need for more and better preparation of personnel sent abroad.

The comments suggested that the latter may be

explained, at least in part, by the fact that older, higher level individuals in general interacted with the local culture abroad at a somewhat more "internationalized" level than did most of the younger managers. All of the respondents gave evidence of being sensitive to cultural nuance and conviction of the necessity of cultural adaptability to function effectively abroad.

b. Places of birth and rearing

This appeared to have little discernable influence on the nature of the responses. After the interviews were arranged, however, it was discovered that one of the respondents was Greek by birth. The initial inclination was to remove that interview from this study in the interest of maintaining homogeneity in the factor of location of birth. This was not done because there appeared to be no more major difference in this individual's responses than one might expect from a person born in the United States. He did appear to have a more analytical grasp of what is culturally characteristic about Americans than did the Americans.

The respondent had been raised and educated in several parts of the world including long periods spent in the United States. Other than by his attempts to ensure that one knew that he was not American, one would not know he was not American.

This individual was the most international in background and experience of any of the persons

interviewed. He demonstrated great awareness of the influence of culture on the managerial style and process a person practiced abroad. He was also quite cosmopolitan as one might expect of an individual raised with such a background. His observations regarding his third-country assignment, however, were not different in any particular way from those of the other respondents regarding their overseas experience. Somewhat more surprising was that the observations of others with far less cross-cultural experience were so similarly insightful regarding the nature of their experiences after one substantial overseas exposure.

This apparent anomaly may have been due to selective processes at work prior to the study. Due to the current economic situation, all of the companies participating reported substantial staffing cutbacks and this included reductions in American expatriate staff. Those remaining, therefore, were survivors whose performance abroad most probably was a factor in their retention. This unobtrusive measure suggests they may by nature have been particularly adaptive and comfortable in another cultural milieu.

c. Education

The educational backgrounds of the group were not generally oriented to preparing them to work abroad, i.e., none had given particular attention to area studies or languages with this application in mind. Beyond the need

for a college degree to gain entry levels in their organizations, it was the perception of the respondents that assignments and promotion were more related to performance than was advanced education. This observation received support from the distribution of bachelors and advanced degrees among botn middle level and more senior respondents.

The one person witn no college education held one of the most senior positions. Though he did not think that a lack of a college degree hurt him when he was coming up through the company ranks, he thought this lack would be an important hindrance for anyone entering today.

This individual noted, however, that beyond the general need for a college degree for selection, virtually all higher management promotion was from within the company with little attention given academic preparation. The pattern seemed to be success in regional domestic management, shift to central office, and then to receive an offer of an assignment to the international division or overseas.

There were some basic qualification requirements for some specializations such as marketing and finance. Most of the group suggested, however, that the the differences in the training and experience received within their organizations had more influence on their current capabilities than differences in their formal education.

d. Non-work related cross-cultural experience

The respondents did feel non-work related cross-cultural experience had some but not a predominant influence on their involvement in work abroad. No particular patterns in the respondents' reports of their attitudes or behavior overseas could be suggested as differentiating them relative to their previous non-work related cross-cultural experience. There were, however, two distinct groups in that background measure (see Table 1), those who had a moderate or greater amount of such experience and those with very little that was identifiable. There was nothing in the responses that suggested that persons with extensive non-work related cross-cultural experience demonstrate a greater awareness of the cross-cultural dynamics in their experience abroad.

One response in particular illustrates the care needed in judging circumstances as subjectively indicating a certain type and degree of experience. A former expatriate indicated that his mother was from abroad and the interviewer was inclined to assume a considerable cross-cultural experience in this. Later discussions, however, revealed that the mother had come from Europe as a teenager, never spoke her native tongue and rarely mentioned her homeland. She reportedly also spoke accentless English and had no interaction with her ethnic community in the United States. As a result, the

respondent had only vaguely been conscious of his mother's or his own roots at all.

The interviewer's rating did not attempt to indicate how influential the respondents thought the events they identified were in shaping their attitudes or behaviors. However, the event just described illustrates the peril of common assumptions regarding certain relationships.

e. Previous assignment in the United States

The majority of the group indicated this was of importance to their attitudes and management behaviors abroad. The two-thirds of the group who had had some involvement with the international operations of their firm before being sent abroad (see Table 2) all said that they found the experience valuable, usually adding that it was more so than they had anticipated. This was the case whether this was a principal or partial assignment or whether there was international travel involved. All five of the respondents who had not had international division contact indicated in one manner or another that they thought such an assignment was very desirable preparation.

In none of the cases was the domestic assignment reported as purposefully made in preparation for overseas assignment. This would appear to be a major training and selection opportunity that is overlooked by many corporations. It may also be that such assignments are used for those purposes to a greater extent than the

respondents are aware of but they did not give their organizations credit for that intent in making most of their assignments.

f. Present positions

These positions and their attitudes towards them were illustrative of several dimensions of the effect of the overseas experience upon the individual. One of these was the effect on their careers, another involved changes in attitudes and orientations they described and a third, deriving from the latter, was what they perceived to be changes in their managerial styles.

Several respondents mentioned that they had some concern initially with accepting overseas assignments because at one time there was a perception that overseas is where the company sent the 'dead wood' and that it also took one out of the mainstream for corporate advancement. All fifteen of the respondents, however, felt the assignments had helped their careers. Some had advanced much faster than before they had entered into this activity.

This changed perception of the value of international assignments to corporate advancement may reflect several factors. One is the increasing importance of international trade in the activities of many organizations. Also, there appears from these reports to be a greater realization of the importance, uniqueness and expense of the expatriate managerial role. Further, the

trend to filling more managerial positions with host country nationals has meant that those home office country nationals who are sent abroad are even more critical to communication among home organizations and subsidiaries.

The majority of the group in some manner or other, indicated that they had gained greatly in confidence in handling responsibility. A decrease in breadth and degree of responsibility on return, in fact, was repeatedly lamented.

In general, the respondents felt the experience generated a greater 'people orientation' in their managerial styles. They felt more relaxed in their roles. They perceived themselves as better at determining the motivations and concerns of those they worked with now because they had to deal with even more ambiguous and stressful situations abroad. The comments indicated that there was new consciousness of the nature and importance of such skills as listening and the development of new approaches to other activities such as discipline and reward.

Overall, the impression was that the companies gained more mature and effective managers in the home operation from providing an international management experience to these persons. The respondents seemed aware that overseas assignments contributed to development of managerial skills of value to their domestic activities, but only two indicated that they

thought such a value was given any consideration by their organizations in sending persons abroad.

g. Length of time since last overseas assignment

It was anticipated that this might create some problems in the interview. Those recently back would, to varying degrees, be dealing with readjustment to the home environment. Those who had been back for several years would have forgotten many of the details of their actions and attitudes.

Neither of these conditions seemed to have been a great problem as far as could be discerned. For example, one persons who had been back for several years expressed a similar concern that he might have forgotten much that was important about his overseas experience. After a few minutes of discussion, however, he became deeply involved and his observations appeared to be among the most insightful and detailed obtained.

The person who was most recently returned to the United States (a few weeks past), was by his account having some problems fitting back into his organization. Again, however, once he was involved in describing and discussing his experience, his replies to questions did not seem particularly unique from those of the others. He had, however, been overseas previously and had obviously given his experiences a good deal of thought.

h. Process of involvement in international management

Various directions and channels were illustrated. These provide some information and insights into the motivations of the individuals and also indicate something about the dynamics and policies of the organizations involved.

Most members of the group studied become involved in international operations by chance of career development rather than through intent. About two-thirds did not have other international experience or family backgrounds that would suggest such future involvement.

The respondents generally believed their companies were moderately concerned with cross-cultural capabilities of their overseas staff. Tnere was little indication from their reports of their own experience, however, that such criteria were of substantial importance to the companies in their actual selection or training of persons for overseas assignment.

Technical background, product knowledge, knowledge of parent company operations in the U.S., and availability appeared to be of considerably greater importance. Probable cross-cultural relationship capabilities seemed relatively ignored. The lack of effort to prepare staff for overseas assignments, documented earlier, also underscores the substantial gulf between rhetoric and action in this area.

3. Expatriate managerial behaviors

Some of the problems that the respondents had in discussing their managerial behaviors were discussed in the methodology chapter. Several commented on the difficulty of isolating actions and motivations in considering complex activities.

In the course of describing what they "do", however, their managerial behaviors became more clearly defined and recognizable. The eight behavioral categories identified in Table 4 suggest the broad responsibilities the group perceived in their management activities abroad.

The general consensus that job responsibilities abroad were more expansive than in the domestic setting is a common finding as noted in the literature review. It suggests that some of the managerial style and behavior adaptations described are, in part at least, prescribed by the demands of handling a greater breadth of responsibility abroad.

The observations by the respondents on the extent of their managerial responsibilities were most often expressed with a great deal of satisfaction. The counter reflection of this is the frustration noted in comments related to reentry back home and coming to terms with operations in a much narrower realm of responsibility and influence. This, again, is in agreement with other findings in the literature, e.g., Byrnes (1965) and Hawes

and Kealey (1979).

The managerial behaviors most frequently identified in this study were planning, controlling, investigating (information gathering), negotiating, motivating, budgeting and reporting (providing information). The following are some interpretations related to each.

Planning was the most commonly identified managerial behavior. As it appears in most lists of managerial behaviors, it is not unexpected that it would be commonly mentioned. However, some respondents indicated that it came as some surprise to them that this was such an important part of their work abroad. They considered it a standard activity in their work at home but found it treated abroad more as a specialization and skill area for which their input was actively sought.

One factor in this may stem from the increased local character of the management of the subsidiaries of multinationals, the heightened sensitivity to national identity and national pride, and the occasional resentment of direct foreign leadership that is increasingly noted. Participation in planning sometimes offered a channel for input and influence without the necessity of taking over direction.

The special stature of the foreigner also sometimes facilitated introducing plans that went against traditional patterns, e.g., of combining resources and personnel that are usually not put together in the manner

chosen. For these reasons planning, as a less overt activity, may become an increasingly major aspect of the expatriate role.

Controlling, some respondents suggest, may for many of the same reasons given in the discussion of the planning function, be more effective when conducted indirectly through local persons. This presented some ego and style adjustments to some respondents.

This was especially the case for some senior personnel who were used to exerting the power of their positions in domestic operations. This is not to say that they gave the impression by their statements that they were, or thought they were, usually autocratic but that they recognized that their actions were much more likely to be misinterpreted in another culture.

Gaining respect and loyalty of personnel underlay several of the techniques described. The respondents emphasized the need to go out of one's way abroad to show respect for individuals and established customs, even as one adopts or changes some ways of doing things. Several stressed the importance of attention to small things such as proper terms of address and correct nonverbal demeanor.

Comments related to investigating (gathering information gathering) indicate this was one of the most difficult areas of activity for the expatriates. There were two principal dimensions of problems in information

gathering behavior.

The first of these was the adjustment to cultural practices, described in the findings which closed certain avenues of information gathering. In particular, these were related to the difficulties of coming to know which of the practices and approaches standard in the expatriate's domestic experience required adjustment or abandonment under local conditions.

The other principal area of difficulty was the lack of sufficient and accurate information and the limited means of acquiring either. The descriptions of this in the last chapter indicated differing local attitudes towards the need, value and importance of such information.

Persons schooled in decision-making based upon copious data either learned to operate with more limited resources or often were incapacitated, judging from the observations of the respondents. Adjusting to functioning with insufficient information preoccupied expatriates on the one hand. The need to inculcate greater appreciation in local personnel for the utility of such information and skills in its acquisition demanded their attention on the other. This all contributed to make investigating a more important managerial behavior in the expatriate role than was commonly the case for them at home.

Negotiation activities described suggest several

patterns of interpretation. These generally relate to differences in how cultural perspectives affect the process of discussing the subject under negotiation. For example, what norms need to be considered in bringing forth the relevant positions and how directly or obliquely may topics be broached? Further, how do the processes of reconciling these differ in coming to a mutually understood agreement, i.e., in carrying out the actions usually associated with this activity.

Another aspect is related to the added dimensions of the role not generally predominant in the domestic situation. This is the importance given the role the expatriate as arbitrator and decision-making catalyst both among elements within his subsidiary and between it and other organizations with which it negotiated agreements. The incidents described usually involved the ability of the outsider to cut across status and social conflicts to bring about agreements where those dynamics were inhibited.

Respondents, not unexpectedly, sometimes found their behaviors that were motivating to those they worked with abroad often were substantially different from those behaviors which were motivating to those they worked with at home. The encounters described support the need for the expatriate to strive for a better understanding of the local cultural value base in selecting motivational actions and rewards.

As difficult as this may be, all of the respondents demonstrated an awareness of the culture-based source of difference in motivational factors. Of added importance perhaps, because they did not seem to have been as readily recognized by the respondents or were ascribed to different cultural orientations, were non-culturally based differences in reactions to motivational efforts of the expatriate. By this is meant awareness of the importance of the influence of economic, political, security and other conditions upon motivational efforts.

Such non-culturally derived factors may dictate a much different set of priorities. For example, if an individual absolutely cannot afford to lose his or her job for fear of utter destitution, this may overshadow expatriate motivational efforts in less critical areas. The lack of response may be misperceived as evidence of some cultural difference in orientation to the stimulus.

The responses of the expatriates also reflected a general awareness of the dangers inherent in the probable lack of complete understanding of comments and actions occurring between negotiating parties from different cultures. The vignettes described suggest a preferred approach of letting others from the local culture conduct these negotiations.

Where this is not possible, inclusion of local personnel on the negotiating team provides several advantages related to this. Not only is their direct

input into the negotiations important but also their ability to interpret to the expatriate the positive and negative connotations of the actions and reactions of all the parties, including the nuances of when a point of conclusion has been reached.

Budgeting was another area where the respondents indicated a function unexpectedly became a major focus of their managerial activities abroad. All of the expatriates who mentioned the topic indicated disbelief that major operations such as those they encountered could be conducted with such loose budgeting and budget monitoring. Their comments suggest several sources for this condition.

One of these was based on growth of local economies and scale of operation of the subsidiary. In some cases growth was so rapid that traditions of minimal budgeting and financial control in small firms had been carried over into the larger operations.

Another source was the absence in some cases of the expertise and equipment for the type of budgeting the Americans might have preferred. Still another was the occasional encounter with conflicting system orientations deriving from the host country's colonial period. Finally, there are differences in attitudes towards the value and need for the degree of discipline and monitoring implied in the budgeting process.

That more limited budgeting systems were effective

also raised some questions in respondent minds. Some from the experience abroad came to question the need for the degree of stringency they used in the domestic budgeting practices.

Descriptions of events in locations where systems are traditionally more rigid than in the United States suggest some additional concerns. Where established policy is closely followed, introducing new budgeting or other systems may be more difficult to do than the need warrants and a poor policy implementation very difficult to change or adjust once achieved.

This kind of problem is apparently also a source of friction for the expatriate and the home office. This occurs where the expatriate is trying to communicate to the home office that the system preferred at the home office may, or may not, be better than the one in practice abroad but that its implementation will cause more disruption and conflict than it is worth.

Innovating appears to be the category of action which the expatriates generally expect before departure will be a primary area of their activity abroad. However, they often find this becomes secondary to some of the perhaps more mundane but essential functions that have been discussed.

Expatriates are frequently given to understand that they are going abroad to introduce specific new methods or technologies only to find those presently in place are

adequate or less critically in need of change than general administrative conditions and practices.

Some comments indicated that the expatriates inferred from their preparation that the host culture would be resistant to change. They further indicated that this condition was rarely the case or, when encountered, as irrational and difficult to deal with as they had been led to expect. The experiences related by several suggest that the expectancy is an impediment to expatriates beginning to deal with the realities of the situation.

The providing of information, reporting behavior, was perceived by the respondents to be an increasingly important function of the expatriate. Several noted that poor information flow was a chronic problem in their home offices as well as abroad. Overseas this was complicated by language and cultural translation problems and the greater inadequacy of channels and established communication systems.

The growing emphasis on the function of providing information further reflects the tendencies noted earlier for expatriates to increasingly act as resources and facilitators in subsidiaries. This is part of the increasing shift in leadership and direction roles from expatriates to local personnel.

The trend to facilitation over direction is also prominent in the orientation of the current managerial theory literature in general. However, it is given added

significance abroad and in the cross-cultural setting. The perceptions of these respondents would suggest this is due to the growing influence of egalitarian concepts, national and ethnic pride, increased local technical capabilities and changing power relationships as influences on international commerce.

4. Local cultural characteristics most affecting expatriate managerial behaviors

The list of local cultural characteristics seen by the respondents as hindering their work (see Table 6) is several items longer than those they saw as helping their work (see Table 5). One reason for this is expressed in a respondent's observation that problems are what are foremost in our minds. He noted he was focusing most of his comments on problems though he thought he had no more abroad than he had to deal with in the home office, only different and often more interesting ones.

Some individuals were less able than others to describe, or indicate awareness of, cultural differences and influences. One, for example, commented:

> "I have trouble thinking in terms of cultural differences. I felt at home abroad from day one. I never felt like I was somewhere else."

This individual, however, had already made comments that indicated recognition of a number of cultural differences encountered. He and others were far more able to recognize and act upon cultural influences than they seemed willing or able to directly declare. This should be given consideration in assumptions made and semantics

used with such groups in research and training.

Some respondents showed initial concern that admitting to perceptions of cultural differences would somehow be interpreted as showing bias or suggesting that they somehow did not fit in or adjust well. After the interviews got underway, however, all indicated that they had given considerable thought to the cross-cultural aspects of their overseas assignments. Usually, however, they said they had not, previous to participation in this study, given much conscious consideration to how specific cultural aspects had helped or hindered their managerial activities. The following are considerations of the findings related to these influences.

Local cultural characteristics reflected in friendship and social relationships were perceived as the most predominant in both categories for helping and hindering the work of the expatriate managers. In several cases nomination was to both categories by the same person.

The findings suggest that respondents perceived coming to terms with local friendship and social relationship patterns was the most important element in their personal adjustment and managerial effectiveness abroad. In the few instances in which they discussed other expatriates and the reasons they thought they had had a particularly difficult time abroad, this area also figured prominently.

The expatriates sometimes found the same characteristics to be both enviable and frustrating. Socializing with business colleagues, for example, was found enjoyable and informative and to have helped them to fit into the local organization, to learn something of its dynamics, to establish working as well as social relationships, and to resolve some problems informally. However, the need to participate in such activities also generated irritation at the time required, the exclusion of family from such activity and the lack of privacy by American standards. The influence one could generate by calling upon social relationships both rankled and served some persons.

Authoritarian tradition was another characteristic nominated to both helping and hindering categories. Examples of aiding principally centered on help during early stages of the expatriate's assignment. The influence provided by these traditions permitted getting things done even before effective working relationships were established. This was particularly important in its short-term utility where mild hostitility towards foreigners, or Americans in particular, had to be overcome. Deference to authority was helpful as well where innovative changes had to be implemented quickly without the time available to persuade others or effectively demonstrate the value of the new practice.

The principal manner in which authoritarian traditions hindered the expatriates' activities centered

on its effects upon persons at more junior levels in the subsidiary. These persons are often hesitant to express critical information and contribute suggestions and other outputs of value to the organization. Further, it is difficult to promote able personnel if there is an associated difference in class or to organize team efforts where team membership cuts across such distinctions. An advantage noted for the foreigner was that such initiatives sometimes could be successfully implemented by such persons that would be impossible for a member of the class structure to accomplish.

Nationalism and pride in country was a third nominee to both helping and hindering categories. The manner in which these attitudes proved helpful included serving as a source of motivation. Local personnel strongly welcomed opportunities to demonstrate local capability in running operations. This should encourage more delegation of authority if the expatriate is willing to make use of this factor.

There was a general perception among respondents that these attitudes and pressures for local direction would continue to grow as would already underutilized local managerial capabilities. Expatriates will need to focus even more of their attention upon working with and through local personnel and viewing their role increasingly as facilitator.

One hindering aspect that related to several of the

situations described related to resistance to innovation. Sometimes pride was seen as the primary influence in maintaining some inefficient methodologies over others respondents felt were conceded by all to need improvement. Pride and nationalism are also seen as adding an additional dimension to negotiation. Where it is a factor, particular consideration and caution is required regarding sensitivities and unintended slights.

A high value for education was a local cultural orientation which helped the respondents in several ways. As the expatriates were relatively well educated themselves, this attitude conveyed a status upon them which was particularly helpful in obtaining initial cooperation.

The attitude also served as a motivating factor. Offering good schooling opportunities to the the children of local management has become a popular feature of benefit packages in some countries. Further, the opportunity to acquire more training themselves was seen by some respondents as more highly valued in some other countries than in the U.S. It served as a motivator as well as a means of raising the technical productivity of employees.

A sense of loyalty was a local characteristic noted both in terms of the attitudes of local employees towards their organizations and towards the persons for whom they directly worked. Within the company it was seen as a

factor encouraging teamwork and minimizing discord. In relationships of the company with the outside environment, loyalty was seen as a source of motivation and enthusiasm in competition with other firms.

Several vignettes, however, suggested some possible caution due the possible impact of loyalty. These generally centered on the possibility that overly zealous employee loyalty sometimes hampers expression of needed criticism and negative information that the manager needs. In a similar manner, instances were described in which problems of excessive homogeneity of thinking appeared to stem from loyalty and other group dynamics characteristic of 'group think' (Janis and Mann, 1977).

Language as a cultural characteristic was most often described in terms of its role as a barrier to performance. The responses indicate that those who acquired some facility in the local language felt they had a decided advantage over persons who did not. Both in adaptation to the environment in general and in effectiveness as a manager, some facility in the language was considered more important than most respondents had thought before having the overses experience would be the case.

There was an indication of some original reluctance to study the language at all because of disbelief by individuals that they would be able to master it. This attitude was substantially changed by the overseas

experience and a broader view of the value of some language ability became predominant. Some minimal facility was stressed by all as important for purposes of rapport if not repartee. Even among those respondents who felt they had gained a working facility in the language, the relationship aspects were considered as important as communication capability.

Some cases suggested that a degree of language facility sometimes brings its own problems. It may, for example, encourage assumptions on the part of host nationals of greater understanding than is the case.

On the other hand, it may generate overconfidence on the part of the expatriate. This can lead to mistaken assumptions and interpretations.

The expatriates who indicated they thought they had some competence in the language were often those who mentioned the care needed and demonstrated recognition of the broader dimensions of language beyond verbal aspects. An example were comments on the importance of having a trusted local person involved for the company in negotiating sessions regardless of the language used.

The comments of respondents dealing with the effect of local attitudes towards time and schedules suggests the cultures were seen as being less concerned with both than the expatriates perceived was the norm in the United States. American frustrations with perceived lack of concern with time requirements and schedules was commonly

noted in the literature reviewed.

While noted among the group studied, however, this seemed to be a major problem for only a few individuals. Others remarked that the less hectic pace and less schedule-directed styles they experienced in some areas abroad provided a more reasonable and healthy approach to management and life than they thought had been characteristic of their own habits.

This was an area, though, in which there was a common recognition of cultural difference as such. It was also one in which efforts were most commonly mentioned at changing the practices and orientations of others or of themselves.

There was some evidence, however, that differing time orientations were sometimes responsible for attitudes mis-ascribed to culture. Some of the encounters indicated that only after being in a situation for awhile did expatriates come to appreciate that some inexactitudes in scheduling orientation, for example, were more the product of accurate local understanding of communication and infrastructure problems than of culture. That is, if shipping, roads and telephone service are inadequate, leaving broader scope for schedule variations is a realistic attitude.

Respondents' indicated that though they now saw local attitudes towards women as sometimes hindering their managerial activities abroad, they had not given much

thought to this dimension previously. It was a topic that rarely was brought up by the company in the course of preparing the individual for his assignment, which respondents generally felt was unfortunate.

The comments centered on two roles of expatriate women abroad, as manager and as spouse. The former was rare and, therefore, the observations of most respondents were largely speculative. There appeared no particular personal opposition to the concept of using more women in managment positions abroad.

There was reservation in the minds of some of the value to the company of putting women into situations where they would have to deal with cultural discrimination when men of relatively equal ability could carry out the function with less stress and greater probable success. That is, they questioned if it were worth the cost and effort unless the object was to make a social and philosophical rather than a business statement.

Respondents who had had experience abroad with female expatriate managers were the most positive about the ability of women to handle their work effectively in these environments. They did have some reservations about a few extreme cases where they thought the cultures were just too restrictive for them to work if they had to have much contact with national personnel. A major factor in acceptance was seen as the identification they had as representatives of the company which, in a manner,

depersonified them to some extent as women.

The role of women as spouses is one which had a great deal more direct personal meaning to the expatriates interviewed. There was a strong consensus that the effectiveness of male expatriates is very much affected by the wife and hence by the pressures upon her. Her role was seen to be the most difficult one in the institution of the overseas couple. All of the respondents, in one way or another, indicated a belief that the woman's needs and support, especially in the latter role, were inadequately appreciated and looked after in preparation for, and carrying out, the overseas assignment.

Most of the group saw attitudes towards women in managerial positions abroad changing as they were in the United States. The pressures from the ranks of women executives themselves for greater participation in overseas assignments comes from several sources. One of these is the intention to work against systematic exclusion wherever it exists in the organization. Another is the growing perception by both men and women that the overseas assignment is increasingly a path to career advancement--a recent change from earlier perceptions as noted in the literature review. Finally, there is the general appeal for many of living and working abroad.

5. Coping behaviors of expatriate managers

Some specific adaptations have been described in considering the influence of differing cultural

orientations upon expatriate managerial behaviors. Some general approaches to coping with the stresses involved were noted. These suggested the eight categories provided in Table 7. These activities further suggest organization of general coping activities along a dimension from avoidance to adoption of local behavioral characteristics.

At one end of the spectrum are found examples from categories 'a' and 'e' of the table. The first emphasizes avoidance by seeking havens of escape from the local culture such as in expatriate clubs, the family and in planned isolation. The second, category 'e', emphasizes deciding to perform in accustomed patterns despite cultural pressures or even when there is recognition of the counterproductive impact of such a policy.

Towards the other end of the spectrum are activities which generally fall within category 'c', of adopting prevailing codes of behavior, and 'b', of accomodating to other culturally influenced managerial practices, if not necessarily adopting them. The remaining categories, 'd', 'f', 'g' and 'h' included activities which tended to illustrate varying degrees of compromise and incorporation.

By training others (category 'd') and emphasizing indirect leadership and direction ('f'), expatriates often accomplished their objectives through others who could relate more effectively to the cultural factors involved

in the broader community. By consultation ('g'), and building one's own knowledge of the community and the cultural environment ('h'), some individuals come to find both strategies for relating more effectively to the culture and interests that encourage them to do so.

A possible area for further study is the special circumstance of women expatriate managers. While many of the observations above would apply to them as well, the special pressures affecting them in various cultures, as discussed in the previous section, suggest additional consideration be given additional and/or different coping activities.

The respondents did not seem to place themselves at any particular point along the continuum described. Each person provided comments that suggested general tendencies but most used different coping behaviors depending on the situation, their needs of the moment and their previous experience. This continuum of coping behaviors, however, may help to conceptualize these activities in relation to one another and also deserves further consideration and study.

6. Myth, ritual and social drama as a framework facilitating understanding of the expatriate experience

The statements of the respondents were also considered to explore the possible utility of the framework of myth, ritual and social drama to help clarify and organize understanding of the situations and behaviors

described by the expatriates. Examples were encountered for each of the managerial behavior categories identified. These are presented in section 'c' of the findings (Chapter IV).

For each managerial behavior, myth generated values were described. Then the rituals by which these values were expressed and social dramas related to conflicts of the managerial behavior with myth and ritual were given.

As discussed in chapter II, the literature review, a myth provides a basis by which a group may know the 'correct' attitudes or actions from deep-seated beliefs of their culture. It provides direction without the requirement of further rationale. It sets a vision for excellence and normative standards by which the person is related to, and judged by, others of their group.

The myth is a symbolic narrative that may have changed in many ways from its early forms. It may be a hazy memory or have completely disappeared into the group's history. But even in the latter event, its legacy of values may continue as an important force and be strongly ingrained in the cultural character of the people.

The ritual is the established recurrent behavior by which an attempt is made to put the ideals of the myth into the life and actions of the individual, organization and community. It is the codification in activities and attitudes that produce traditions honoring the "tyranniz-

ing image", to use Weaver's (1964) term, of its mythic values.

The process of social drama brings persons whose attitudes or actions are deviant or have tested the boundaries of their group's mythic values, back to some form of resolution of the conflict with the group's beliefs. The reintegration may be a reaffirmation or reflect some degree of adjustment in the greater consensus depending on the strength of the particular mythic concept in the society involved and the pressures acting upon that society.

In the cross-cultural instance, the individual is struggling with two or more sets of mythic systems and all of the related rituals to be respected. This suggests that, to the degree these systems are in conflict themselves, the situation is even more complex and resolution is more difficult and stressful.

The interaction of myths and rituals from different cultural systems creates a new dimension in social drama. Efforts at assertion and reintegration are in several directions, each with the power of righteous conviction based in deep-seated cultural beliefs.

Complete resolution via conformance and reintegration into one system or the other is highly unlikely. A resolution which provides mutually acceptable functional relationships among the individuals involved may also contain substantial levels of stress. The process is a

progenitor of various levels of 'culture shock' that may or may not be alleviated.

The descriptions provided in the findings of the expatriates' experience illustrate a number of situations and individual and mutual adjustments. The expatriate managers in this study were reporting on experiences in a variety of cultures, however, and it is not suggested that a given myth or ritual applies to the experience of all the interview group. The intent was to determine if the information acquired from individual expatriate managers demonstrates a possible utility for the myth/ritual/social drama framework as a tool for analysis in the managerial context.

The data from this exploratory study with this population did not extensively or evenly fill in the myth/ritual/social drama framework. It did do so, however, to an extent that provides support for the system's potential value for analysis of cross-cultural encounters and argues for its further consideration and testing.

7. Post-expatriate effects of expatriate experience

This topic was not a central focus of this exploratory study. However, the perceptions of the respondents of the effect of their overseas experience upon later activities provides information further defining that experience. It also provides some insights into how the respondents might approach future overseas assignments.

Both of these areas of information are related to the main topic of cultural influence on expatriate managerial behavior and hence are discussed here.

A major area of effect noted was in managerial style changes. The comments generally were related to changes in how the individual now relates to people with whom he works, how he sees his personality affected and how his self image and confidence regarding authority and responsibility changed.

The latter was the most commonly noted. Respondents often lamented that back home they held less individual authority and influence and dealt with less demanding challenges than they had abroad, even though they had all received promotions since return.

Several indicated that the greater authority and responsibility abroad had been somewhat unexpected and somewhat frightening initially, but was later perceived as personally highly rewarding and satisfying. The enhanced self-confidence the experience had generated was mentioned by several respondents but they felt it was less evident to, or properly valued by, their companies.

The personality changes described were varied. Greater maturity, more patience and improved ability to be calm under stress were the most commonly mentioned. Several persons said they felt they learned how to relax and enjoy life a little more, i.e., were more 'easy going', from participating in less intensively work ethic-

oriented situations. Others mentioned that they thought a good sense of humor was a prime requisite for anyone working abroad and perceived that the experience had broadened their own which helped them to take themselves and events a little less seriously now.

The changes noted in orientation to other persons were uniformly towards more humanistic attitudes, expressed both in terms of managerial and personal behavior. The overseas experience apparently helps to make some persons both more introspective and analytical about motives and motivation, judging from the number of comments about why they thought they and others acted in one manner or another.

8. Training and preparation of expatriate managers

One purpose of this study was to explore implications for training future expatriates that could be drawn from the experience and opinion of the former expatriates interviewed and the literature reviewed. Some discussion of the broader area of 'preparation,' is included because of the integration and overlap with training of other activities of the individual and the organization in preparing the person to function abroad.

It was anticipated that the training received before departure reported by the former expatriates would be limited. This was based on several sources including the interviewer's knowledge of several multinationals, personal communication with management consultants

specializing in such preparation, literature on the subject and perusal of correspondence related to two studies of more than 30 other major multinational corporations (Korzenny, 1979 and Morrel, in process).

This indicated that a broad spectrum of companies consider that they provide little or no training for the personnel they send abroad. The low level of such activity for the five organizations participating, as reported in Table 8, therefore, appears to be somewhat typical of the current situation in this area of activity.

If various training program models had been encountered in the course of this study, the intention was to have made note of these and discuss them in relation to one another and those mentioned in the literature review. There was, however, not a substantial training program identified for any member of the population of expatriates studied. There were examples of a number of training activities identified but whether of the formal, non-formal or informal types mentioned in Chapter I, they were usually isolated, implemented sporadically, and were efforts provided uniquely for the individual rather than parts of ongoing programs or policies. Often such preparation was only provided at the suggestion or insistance of the respondent.

This lack of training activity was also noted in chapters I and II. In those discussions were also noted

the many assertions from sources within international commerce itself of the substantial need for more and better preparation of the persons being sent abroad. Again, the opinions of the respondents in this study, as indicated in columns II, VI and VII or Table 8, mirror this assessment.

The respondents also had strong feelings and thoughtful perceptions as to what should go into such preparation. These will be considered along with training content, strategy and policy implications suggested by the respondent data and the literature.

a. Policy

Both literature and findings suggest that a central problem in the area of preparation is the lack or inadequacy of policy. As great a concern to the respondents as was the policy regarding the quality of the training they received, is its absence or lack of continuity or consistency from the longer-term organizational standpoint.

Often bits and portions of needed training activities were carried out to some extent. However, it was not seen as comprehensive or a well conceptualized approach. It was usually provided without reference to past experience, either that from previous training or that of earlier expatriates.

In all of the interviews, the lack of corporate memory and underutilization of corporate experience in

preparation of expatriates was brought up by respondents. A major implication is that corporations, regardless of how large or small their expatriate representation abroad, can benefit from a more structured conception of how they wish their expatriates to perform, what the expatriate cross-cultural interaction problems are likely to be, and what they have learned from past experience. These then would provide the basis for determining the kind of preparation that should be provided individuals or groups given whatever limitations there are on time and human and financial resources.

The constraints mentioned determine the feasibility of the extent of preparation. The impression from the findings, however, suggest that, for whatever extent, a more consistent policy of preparation and preservation of company experience would be an important improvement in all of the cases considered.

The first major decision suggested is to have a policy, however general and flexible, and to make it known. The impression implicit in many of the comments was one of frustration in not knowing what, if anything, the company expected the respondent to do in preparation and what, if any, support or facilitation for this was possible or they could expect from the company.

Another implication was that this support and facilitation should include some centralization of responsibility within the organization to keep track of

the experience and materials relevant to overseas assignments that might be available within it. This would not necessarily mean conducting or coordinating training, though it might. But it would help avoid the problem mentioned several times of preparation being provided in one division that might have been of use to persons in others had they known of the existence of the resources.

Such a coordinating point was also seen as valuable for accumulation of information with implications for international operations and policy. Such information could serve recruitment and selection policy needs as well.

b. Training activities and resources

In reporting the training received by the expatriates, it was not possible to have complete confidence that a common understanding of the nature and comparability of different types of preparation was achieved. For example, it was only after an extended conversation that it became evident that the "immersion" language training reported by one respondent meant only that his tutor spoke no English during the several hours per week that they were together. A more common usage of that term is to indicate the person is in the language environment full-time for an extended and continuous period.

For the purposes of identifying and discussing the various types of training, more time and consideration is given here than their significance to the preparation of

these particular individuals going abroad might justify. The extent of discussion is not related to the relatively brief exposure these individuals had with most of the types and approaches considered. The insights they provide on training appear more based upon their experience abroad than upon their experience in training.

In discussing the various training content areas (see Table 8, column I) those most often rated as highly important were also those that the respondents identified as sources of information on cultural differences. Three of these, items numbered 2, 4 and 5, gave emphasis to three different types of sources of information, i.e., reading, experienced Americans, and language training. They also related primarily to specific cultures.

Item 8, was more cultural general and focused specifically on cross-cultural interaction. It was also one of three areas rated as highly important by all the respondents and most infrequently received. Several persons commented they would not have given it such prominence as a subject area before their overseas experience.

Few had encountered cross-cultural interaction information of a general nature. Only one person had been provided such material by his organization. The two others noted in Table 8, column II, as having received such preparation, had identified this material on their own initiative.

Of the four areas judged most important, only in the case of language training was the amount or quality of the training considered adequate at all. The eight receiving some language training generally thought the quality was adequate for the length of time they had but that the amount was inadequate. Since there is so little importance apparently given preparation when it is known that the individual is going abroad and where, it is not surprising that Pincus (1980) has found that there is not a demand seen by industry for more preparation in languages and area studies at the college level as preparation for international employment.

Even so, language is at least an area that has received greater acceptance by organizations than other categories, as measured in terms of their willingness to provide some minimal time and financial support for it. In no case was a respondent turned down when he wished to take some or more language training than the company had offered.

Language training was given high importance by the respondents. Several mentioned coming to appreciate much more its value in establishing rapport whereas before they had considered it only in terms of facilitating understanding and being understood. All the respondents thought it deserved more emphasis than presently provided.

Logistical information on living in the country was one of the few topics on which the initiative taken by the

organization coincided with the relatively high importance assigned to the subject by respondents. The material needs abroad are concerns that can be quickly grasped by the whole family. This is the case even if they have not yet begun to deal with coming to terms with the reality of leaving comfortable and known personal relationships at home for others that are vague abstractions at this stage. Logistics is also a topic with which the organization feels more comfortable and confident to handle.

All fifteen respondents indicated that more information on the logistics of living abroad in general and in their country of assignment in particular, were needed. Even those who indicated they did receive such information described it as hardly more than a couple of handouts only minimally more informative than tourist brochures.

Two did receive extensive 'post report' type packages, both of which were commercially prepared and therefore not designed specifically for their firm nor incorporating its experience in the area. The longest anyone remembered spending discussing such topics as housing, goods available, local transportation, health, education, recreational facilities and similar topics formally with company representatives was a total of two hours.

Although some observers have minimized the importance of more than basic logistical information, others

with considerable experience, e.g., Noer (1975), feel that some of the mundane aspects of preparation are too often overlooked. This, from the evidence given by some of the respondents, can result in such distraction that other critical activities such as adjusting to the new job and cultural environments are severely hampered.

One strong suggestion, for example, is that the company carefully review with the employee and spouse all of the terms and conditions of the assignment and the reasons and philosophy behind the policies. This has the potential for short-circuiting the conflicts that arise when expatriates abroad are surprised when they start comparing notes on compensation and benefits in their various companies. For some reason persons abroad are surprised to find differences in these policies abroad although they are common at home. For example, companies differ substantially in their viewpoints on overseas assignments. Some see them all as extreme hardship positions; others regard the overseas assignment as an opportunity and reward. This divergence in perspective is reflected in their policies.

The findings suggest that on the question of the value of interaction with host country nationals residing in the United States there was considerable difference of opinion. All thought such interaction during the preparation period was desirable. Some lamented strongly that they had not made a greater effort to locate persons,

both nationals of the country and former expatriates to consult with before departure. They were also critical of their organizations not only for not facilitating such interaction but for not stressing the value of such interaction to them.

On the other hand, a few felt that when there was only a brief time for preparation for going overseas, interaction with persons from the host country was not of great importance. A reason given for this was that in brief encounters host country nationals tended to be too polite and social. One noted that at that stage he had been too naive to ask useful questions. These persons felt that when only a brief time for interaction was available, more would be learned from experienced Americans, or host nationals who were in fact trainers, who would more immediately and analytically come to the topic of cultural characteristics and differences.

The pre-assignment site visit is a preparation approach that appears to be increasing in use according to the respondents, though only about a third of them had this opportunity. Such a trip offers both an informational and experiential training opportunity for the individual.

This is one of the more expensive approaches to preparation. The expense question, however, was not brought up in discussions of it, though expense was considered in discussions of another expensive training

element, language training. It has the great advantage, besides its pedagogic value, of being an accepted form by some business organizations even if they do not normally provide other culturally oriented preparation.

In part this may be due to some organizations seeing the visit primarily a means of promoting the assignment to the individual. In one firm the trip was described as a grand tour of the country and surrounding countries for a team and their spouses in which they were feted in the best restaurants and greeted by local officials. They spent very little time in the town of their future assignment.

One respondent who had taken such a trip did think it valuable for building morale and a team feeling among the group being sent. Further, it was seen as serving as a means of introducing the spouses to one another as the location was somewhat isolated from other Americans and they were seen as their own support group.

The important potential for such trips as steps in self- and organizational selection, for introduction to the culture, as a stimulus to language training and other such contributions to training is apparently better appreciated by the former expatriates interviewed than by their companies.

The 'job to be done' content area, number 9, was given the rating of least importance by the respondents. Most indicated that before they left they felt they knew

their technical capabilities well enough, the general nature of the position, and what the organization wanted to accom- plish. None of these persons, however, went into areas where a specific technical training was more obviously needed, e.g., where an accountant would need to deal with a completely different accounting system.

They felt the same way after their return about the importance of training on the nature of the job abroad, but for somewhat different reasons. Some noted they had not been ready before departure to learn about the nuances of the differences in their jobs and did not feel there was anyone around who could help them with those in any event.

In discussing training on the nature of the job, several persons suggested the time would have been best spent on learning more about the characteristics of the culture that would most probably affect their job and their life abroad. Use of the job as a focus for cultural training input provides the means for discussing culturally different characteristics in a context that has considerable meaning and interest for the person being prepared.

c. General considerations in training

Respondents noted a number of experiences and some of the training they had received, which support the need for both cultural general and culture specific approaches in preparation of expatriates. For example, comments were

made about the value some other cultural interaction had been in helping them to recognize their inititial confusion and discomfort abroad as something that could be dealt with, even though it was now a much different cross-cultural experience. Another was that learning about differing viewpoints from the perspective of specific cultures added a persuasive reality that added motivation to training regardless of whether the culture was that of the assignment.

Even when the overseas assignment is certain, culture general activities help the individuals to recognize cultural attributes in general, to be more aware of their own actions and attitudes as culture based and to be more culturally analytical in judging situations and events. Case studies and simulations can be particularly useful in support of such training.

It appears that one of the most useful things that can be accomplished in the predeparture period is to help individuals gain a better comprehension of the concept of culture. The tendency is to stress the exotic as a means of stimulating interest and awareness in culture. It may be more useful to build stepwise upon recognizable cultural characteristics close by. Also of some help may be current popular perceptions such as organizational culture, e.g., in such works as In Search of Excellence (Peters and Waterman, 1982) and many of the books on Japanese management such as The Mind of the Strategist

(Ohmae, 1982).

Further, in the findings it was possible to consider many of the events which the respondents describe as having been important in their experience abroad in terms of the myth, ritual and social drama framework. This then offers a tool for helping the individual to be more culturally aware, i.e., more sensitive in a culture general sense, while enhancing their understanding of specific culture experience.

The respondents indicated that most of their preparation was undertaken on their own initiative (Table 8, column III). Even if organizations gave more opportunity and support to training programs, a good deal of preparation responsibility would still lay with the individual. An advantageous company policy would be to provide materials, bibliographic lists, information acquired from previous company experience and other material, personnel and financial resources in support of self-directed efforts of the individuals and their families in preparing to go abroad.

Many of the comments of respondents regarding the categories of training included in Table 8, indicated a need for more input from overseas into the training process. They saw the company's subsidiaries or clients and visitors from abroad and host government agencies, among others, as valuable and underutilized resources for material, information and interaction of value in the

preparation of expatriates. They complained that they only came to recognize these after being abroad for some time and wished some of these had been brought to their attention during orientation and their use encouraged.

The overseas site visit descriptions indicated that this opportunity to utilize input from the subsidiary is often not taken advantage of. Examples indicated that these trips are often so planned from the home office that overseas staff are hardly aware of the visit and rarely have much input into its planning or contribute to its content.

The examples of host national staff having some input into the training process were infrequent. Their participation in selection of expatriates was even more unusual. Instances, such as described by Teague (1976), of subsidiaries making the final selection decisions on expatriates was entirely unheard of by these respondents and is a rare occurrence even according to that study. Substantial utilization of these overseas resources, however, will probably first require more recognition of the need for more substantial preparation of expatriates and that a higher priority be given this than is common today.

B. IMPLICATIONS

1. For organizational policy

Among the principal areas of organizational policy for which this study has implications are those for

recruitment, selection, career development, preparation and training, field support, role of subsidiaries, expatriate family and reentry. The following are some of the more important implications for each of these.

Recruitment and selection for expatriate managerial assignments based largely upon previous intercultural experience may be as invalid an emphasis as the present predominant practice of largely ignoring such experience or other indications of potential cross-cultural performance capability. The backgrounds of the group studied were quite varied in terms of such previous experience. A more balanced consideration including previous demonstration of ability to deal with uncertainty and ambiguity in domestic circumstances may provide more productive results.

Skilled and ambitious personnel are interested in assignments abroad but not at the cost of career advancement. The lingering, though apparently declining, perception of such assignments as diversions from career goals can be reduced by credit, recognition, reward and promotional systems that make clear the value the company puts on such assignments.

Further, when possible, an overseas stint might be given more emphasis as a normal option in career progression. Another implication in such instances, is that rotation into home office international operations positions would not be seen as diversions and would also

be an important source of preparation for persons who may later be sent abroad.

Implications for specific types of training are discussed in the following section. There are, however, important general policy implications for training that derive from the study. The most important of these is the need for policy itself. Ad hoc policy making in relation to the preparation and support of expatriates and the lack of systematic preservation and use of institutional memory and communication networking of relevance to overseas assignments require much greater attention. Further, the evidence from the the perceptions of the respondents suggests policy is needed which gives more attention to the preparation, welfare and adaptation of the family abroad as critically important to the effectiveness of the expatriate.

A policy stressing greater input from overseas into the preparation process, especially from national and expatriate subsidiary personnel, would respond to many of the suggestions of the respondents. It was implied that the level of such participation in selection, in preparation in the United States and in overseas orientation illustrate that this is among the most under-utilized of organizational resources.

The difficulty in communicating meaningfully to the home office about culturally based considerations affecting managerial behaviors and actions were illustra-

ed. This suggests greater emphasis in policy for enhancing channels of communication for information of this type. It also calls for recognition of the need of flexibility in policy in these conditions. Greater input into home office international operations from personnel experienced in the area concerned could help in interpreting the conditions reported.

Policy improvement related to reentry is an area of substantial opportunity. The comments of the respondents inimply, for example, that more longer-term planning in utilization and reintegration of returning expatriates and improvement of opportunities to have input into those plans is much more possible than is currently the practice. They also indicate that simply better communication of the considerations and decisions being made would greatly improve many reentry situations and reduce anxieties.

Another implication is that a policy of regular debriefing of returning personnel would be a strongly motivating experience for the expatriate. It would demonstrate interest and concern on the part of the organization. It would also be an important source of information and experience identification for further utilization in international operations.

In general, organizational policies described by the respondents for their respective multinational firms reflect a predominant 'closed system' perceptual

orientation as opposed to that of an 'open system' organization (Thompson, 1967). That is, they focus on the organization's internal dynamics, e.g. in assessing tasks, roles, problems and structures, and give limited consideration to influences of the wider environment, at least as far as cultural factors are concerned. This suggests organizational policy might beneficially shift more towards an open system orientation in which cultural influences would be given greater consideration.

2. Implications for training

Some general policy implications in this area were just mentioned. The study provides further implications for specific training strategies, topics, materials and activities.

The evidence from both the respondents and the literature suggest training policies in the area of preparation for overseas assignment are usually seen as inadequate in virtually all of the areas of training activity the respondents identified. An underlying implication of many comments was that policy relative to providing cross-cultural interaction preparation is the aspect of the various training categories most often found deficient.

The respondents were surprised to find their managerial activities and the behavioral approaches they adopted often were substantially different from what they had envisioned. This suggests that attention to the

influence of local cultural characteristics upon the managers and their approaches to their work are important areas for expansion in training design.

The respondents recognized that shortage of time, lack of priority for training and limited funds for such activity will make extensive programs of such preparation slow to become common. However, their responses also suggest that much can still be done even before these conditions change significantly. These include institution of policies that make what information the orgnization does have more available to trainees.

Even a moderate increase in effort at acquiring and organizing such available information was seen as having the potential for providing substantial improvement in preparation activities. Their experience also implies that providing even modest amounts of material and financial support, along with encouragement, for whatever self-directed training the expatriates may wish to undertake would substantially increase and improve such activity.

The framework of myth, ritual and social drama was found to be a helpful conceptual tool in helping to analyzing the cross-cultural encounters described. Its implications for training include potential assistance in providing knowledge and understanding of specific cultures. Perhaps more importantly, it provides a tool that can help trainees to be more conscious of culture

--their own as well as those of others, and to be more effectively analytical regarding the dynamics of their future cross-cultural encounters.

3. Implications for research

This exploratory study generated findings in a number of areas that suggest implications for further research. These include the questions which follow.

The five multinational corporations participating were not themselves a major focus of the study. Their different characteristics, however, offer implications for further research. For example, each of these firms had a relatively different general area of activity, such as manufacturing, marketing or service orientation. Would the managerial behaviors for the general functions identified by the respondents be substantially different if compared within groups of firms representing these different types of corporate interest?

All of the companies participating were major organizations with sizable overseas subsidiary operations. Does the size of firm affect managerial behavior or coping behavior? The extent of subsidiary operations?

A number of problems encountered by the respondents were perceived by them to result from problems of communication and understanding between the home office and the overseas subsidiary. What is the nature, scope and impact of these problems? How does the type of organizational relationship abroad, e.g., in a

wholly-owned subsidiary or a joint venture affect managerial behaviors? How does the degree of independence or flexibility in policies affect home office/subsidiary communication and relationships?

Most of the respondents became involved in international assignments by happenstance. Is the performance of such persons qualitatively different from those who purposefully pursue a career in international commerce? Do companies find their purposes are more effectively met by persons specializing in overseas assignments or by such assignments being an occasional assignment option within the general career path milieu?

In few cases did respondents have a clear idea of how they were selected. This is also an area of particular confusion and debate in the literature. A study of selection practices would be a useful early step. Relating forms of selection to such indicators as early return rates would be others.

Some respondents noted that higher management (the interviewer's interpretation of references to 'the organization's policy) seemed resistant to consideration of the influence of cultural factors upon their expatriates and overseas operations. To what extent are these perceptions accurate? If they are accurate, what is the nature of these attitudes and what are the reasons behind them?

Respondents also proposed more of a role in selection

for former expatriates and expatriate and host national staff. Does such input improve the validity of the selection process?

The behavioral dimensions identified by the respondents suggest areas for further research regarding the influence of the cross-cultural context. In what manner do different cultural environments affect the relative rankings of importance of managerial behavior categories; the local cultural characteristics that most help or hinder the manager; or the frequency of use of various coping behaviors? Are some of the traits identified as helping or hindering more universal in these affects across cultures or groups of cultures than others?

The myth/ritual/social drama framework was seen as a useful tool of analysis in this study. If this is an accurate perception, are there approaches that will help in identification of mythic value expressions? For example, can further categorization of areas of value expression such as orientations to time, be useful in this regard?

There is a great increase in interest in researching the cultural dimensions of organizations (e.g., Schein 1983, Pettigrew 1979, Miles 1980 and Ouchi 1981). What additional understanding of expatriate behaviors can be gained from considering organizational culture in the context of operations in cross-cultural environments.

Thompson (1967) and other organizational theorists

have suggested that uncertainty is the principal problem for organizations. Examples in the present study suggest that further research would be useful on how managerial behaviors are selected, adapted and influenced in environments where uncertainty and ambiguity are compounded, such as in cross-cultural situations. Indeed, this study could be set in a larger theoretical framework of organizational, and hence managerial, response to uncertainty. Further, are certain types of stress generated by uncertainty in cross-cultural environments more effectively handled by some of the coping practices identified than by others?

Of the several approches to training discussed, which are more effective in preparing persons to operate effectively in other cultures than their own? What kinds of criteria are used or could be used in defining 'effective'? (Low early return rates? Sales? Host coworker perceptions?)

The study implied preferences of respondents for different training approaches. Would other groups make similar ratings? Are some types of training more useful at some stages of the expatriate experience than others, i.e., pre-departure, arrival orientation, field support, pre-reentry, or reentry? Given different amounts of time and money available for the purpose, how do various allocations of different training approaches affect the efficiency of preparing persons for cross-cultural

encounters?

How do expatriate experiences in different cultural environments affect reentry? Are their identifiable types of experience that will lead to certain types of changes in managerial style on return home? How long do such changes persist?

The absence of women available for the group of former expatriates studied and their general rarity in the expatriate managerial ranks was noted. Research on women expatriates is very limited. The spouse role is more commonly considered. Indeed, virtually every dimension of the expatriate role as it may have particular concern for women managers is largely unexplored.

The overseas experience was valued by the respondents. All felt that it had enhanced and accelerated their careers. In general they also felt the experience was under valued by their organizations. What is the accuracy of these various perceptions of difference in attitudes between former expatriates in middle management and the attitudes of senior management?

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. PRELIMINARY

A. Present position

__ 1. Present position:

__ 2. Nature of work:

__ 3. Main activities of organization or division:

__ 4. Period since last overseas assignment:

B. Previous U.S. position

__ 1. Position in United States before taking last assignment abroad:

__ 2. Relationship of position to international operations of the organization:

II. OVERSEAS ASSIGNMENTS

A. Most recent assignment

__ 1. Country:

__ 2. Approximate dates:

__ 3. Position or title:

__ 4. Nature of work:

B. Other overseas assignments

__ 1. Countries:

__ 2. Approximate dates:

__ 3. Positions or titles:

__ 4. Nature of work:

C. Backgound to assignment

__ 1. How did you become involved in international work?

__ 2. What major non-work related experience have you had with other cultures (e.g., military__, study abroad__, Peace Corps__, extensive travel__, foreign spouse__, foreign-born parents__, with parents employed abroad__)?

__ 3. What were your organization's principal activites in your last overseas assignment (e.g., manufacturing__, purchasing__, material resource acquisition__, marketing__, service__)?

__ 4. Was the operation largely under host national or American direction and management?

__ 5. Was the operation a joint venture, a wholly-owned subsidiary or other arrangement?

D. MANAGEMENT BEHAVIORS AND CULTURAL INTERACTION

__ 1. What were your most important activities abroad? (After initial response, show stimulous list of common managerial function terms.)

2. Considering the host culture in which you worked, e.g., the attitudes, values and traditional practices you encountered:

__ a. How did any local cultural characteristics particularly help you as a manager?

__ b. How did any local cultural characteristics particularly hinder you as a manager?

__ c. How did you cope with these hinderances and other culture-based stress you may have felt?

__ 3. How did characteristics of any of the other cultures you worked in before affect your managerial behavior any differently?

__ 4. How did interaction with Americans and other expatriates abroad affect your work (e.g., family__, expatriate community__, coworkers__)?

5. How would an 'effective manager' in the host culture be characterized any differently bv host nationals than by Americans?

6. Are there any particular considerations that you can think of that need to be taken into account in sending women expatriate managers to (country of assignment)?

7. In what ways did the relationship between the home office and the overseas office affect managerial activities?

E. POST OVERSEAS ASSIGNMENT

1. In what ways were you satisfied or dissatisfied with your overall experience abroad?

2. If offered another assignment abroad:

   a. Would you accept it, and why?

   b. If offered soon?

   c. If offered in the country of your last assignment?

3. In what manner, if any, has your overseas experience affected how you carry out your managerial responsibilities here.

4. In what manner does an overseas assignment affect one's career advancement? (Yours?)

F. FURTHER BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Year born: 2. Place born:

3. Areas where raised:

4. Education

   a. Field (degree):

   b. Any overseas:

G. PREPARATION/TRAINING FOR OVERSEAS ASSIGNMENT

1. What kind of preparation or training did you participate in before departure? (For each activity identified, check:)

a. The source of initiative (e.g., self__, organization__)?

b. The type of education (e.g., formal__, non-formal__, informal__)?

c. The nature of information obtained (e.g., mainly cultural__, cross-cultural__, other__)?

d. The form (e.g., informational__, experiential__)?

e. The source of information, materials and activities (organization__, library__, colleagues__, friends__, other__)?

f. The time given to this preparation?

g. Previous experience with training of this type?

h. How important is this type of preparation, whether you received it or not? (5-1)

i. Was the amount of this type of preparation you received before departure adequate:

i. Amount

ii. Quality

j. If you received any of this type of training, how useful was it to you? (5-1)

2. Considering what you now think is needed and feasible, how would you rate overall the adequacy of the preparation you received for your assignment abroad?

3. Given the responsibility to design a program for the preparation of persons going abroad, what would you put in it?

4. What is your organization's present policy regarding preparation and training for overseas assignments?

H. CONSIDERING ALL WE HAVE DISCUSSED, WHAT ELSE SHOULD I HAVE ASKED ABOUT THE TOPICS COVERED OR OTHER TOPICS WE SHOULD HAVE COVERED?

APPENDIX B

TERMS ON STIMULUS CARD USED WITH INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTION NUMBER II. D. 1.

Budgeting

Controlling

Coordinating

Decision making

Delegating

Directing

Disciplining

Evaluating

Innovating

Investigating

Leading

Morale building

Motivating

Negotiating

Organizing

Planning

Problem solving

Reporting/informing

Representing

Staffing

Team building

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