Chapter 5 – CULTURAL PREDISPOSITIONS AND PSYCHOSOCIAL ASPECTS

by

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses the cultural predispositions involved in culturally diverse multinational military operations. The core of cultural predispositions is composed of explicit and tacit assumptions and understandings, as well as other cognitive processes, including ways of thinking commonly held by a group of people, or a particular configuration of assumptions and understandings that is distinctive to a group. These assumptions and understandings serve as guides to acceptable and unacceptable perceptions, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. They are learned and passed on to new members of the group through psychosocial processes and interactions.

Cultural differences present barriers to successful coalition command and control. This challenge is compounded by the distributed decision making that characterizes many operations. If nations are to work effectively in multinational operations, then the complexities presented by differences in national cultural predispositions must be understood. These differences are reflected at the individual and psychosocial level of analysis in terms of differences in "personality, cognitions, attitudes and values, power distance, dialectical reasoning, counterfactual thinking, risk assessment and uncertainty management, activity orientation, trust, and ethics" (Sachman, 1997, p. 25).

Before looking specifically at cultural predispositions and psychosocial aspects of multinational military operations, it would be informative to take a look at the general literature on the relationship between culture and personality. Reviewed in the following section of this chapter are some of the key research studies conducted in this area at the theoretical and empirical level. This review will then provide the basis for a discussion of the implications of this literature on multinational military operations.

5.2 CULTURE, PERSONALITY AND COGNITIVE PROCESSES

5.2.1 Hofstede's Definition of Culture

Geert Hofstede defined culture as the "collective programming of the mind" (Hofstede, 1980, p.16). This collective programming lies between the universal nature of each person and an individual's unique personality. Hofstede states that the mind has three elements that make up the human mental program:

1) *Biological:* All humans have a universal reaction to biological stimuli, such as fatigue and hunger.
2) *Personality*: Personality is that which makes each human an individual. Although cultural socialization will teach individuals that certain modes of behavior are or are not generally acceptable, individual responses will vary. In any given instance, it is not possible to judge precisely how an individual from another culture will react to a set of circumstances. Individual experiences are unique and learned reactions and therefore differ across a spectrum of responses.
3) *Culture:* Cultures are not universally applicable. So, for example, eye contact is not a universal sign of respect. Most Anglo-Saxon children in the United Kingdom are taught to look their parents in the eye when they are being chastised and as a sign of respect. In many parts of Africa it is considered extremely rude to look someone in the eye and in the same circumstances children will be encouraged to cast their eyes to the ground as a sign of respect.

Elements of biology (human nature), personality and culture combine to provide the mental programming that defines each person. There is disagreement about whether the boundaries among the three elements are as distinct as shown in Figure 5.1. However, Hofstede's (1980) theory provides an analytical conceptualization upon which to base an understanding of the cultural values that are examined in this study.

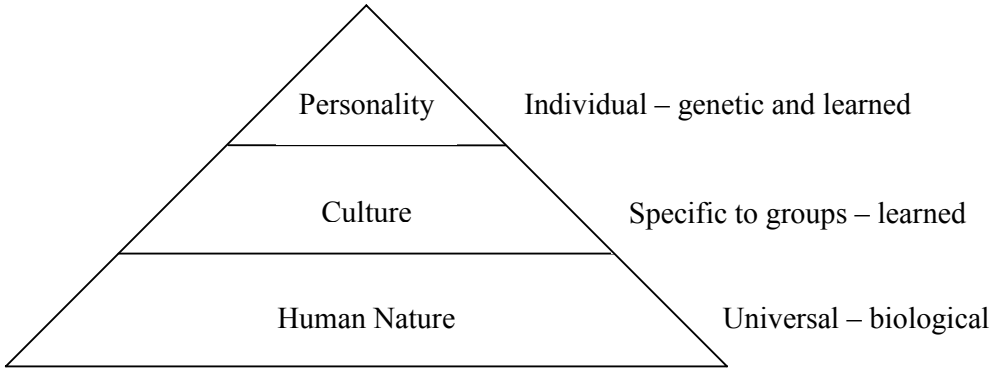

Figure 5.1: Three Levels of Mental Programming (adapted from Hofstede, 1980).

5.2.2 Cross-Cultural Studies on Personality Traits

Probably the first empirical attempt to determine dimensions of culture at the societal level was made by psychologist Raymond Cattell who applied the factor-analytical approach he had used in the development of individual personality tests to data about various countries (see Cattell, Graham, & Woliver, 1979). Cattell analyzed more than 48 country-level variables for over 40 countries; his variables were a set of geographical and demographic data. Cattell looked for dimensions among nations of what he labelled "syntality," a concept parallel, in nations, to the "personality" of individuals. The only obvious underlying influence found was economic development. Others continued Cattell's approach, but the only common factors that were found were level of economic development, country size, and political allegiance to one of the two power blocs at the time (i.e., the United States and the Soviet Union).

Other taxonomies of national cultures from a psychological perspective were described by Georgas and Berry (1995). A breakthrough in the study of national cultures was Richard Lynn's (1971) book, *Personality and National Character*. This book reported the results of a factor-analytic study of national medical and related indicators. These included the frequency of chronic psychosis, average caloric intake, suicide rates, and cigarette consumption in 18 developed countries, and identified a dimension of "anxiety." Lynn and Hampson (1975) extended this to two dimensions: "neuroticism" and "extraversion." Lynn (1981) then added "psychoticism." These three dimensions corresponded to items from the personality trait dimensions in Eysenck's (1978) system. Mean national scores on personality scales measuring these three dimensions for 37 countries were published by Lynn and Martin (1995). Earlier, Lynn (1991) had focused on a new potential dimension: "competitiveness."

The term personality has been used in many ways, but most personality psychologists claim to be concerned about the whole individual and those features of psychology unique to that person. Psychoanalysis, with its emphasis on the unconscious determination of behavior and the origins of personality in early experience, was the dominant school in personality psychology in the first half of the 20th century. It had a tremendous influence on personality and culture studies and was itself influenced by them (e.g., Erikson, 1950). In the second half of the 20th century, however, critiques of psychoanalysis (Eysenck, 1952) and the projective techniques used to assess its personality constructs (Lilienfeld, Wood, & Garb, 2000) have dramatically reduced its influence, particularly in North America.

The crucial event in the revival of trait psychology was the emergence of the five-factor model of personality (Digman, 1990). Although there are thousands of trait-descriptive adjectives in English (e.g., nervous, enthusiastic, original, appreciative, and controlled), it was obvious that there were far fewer major groups of traits, or factors. Competing systems argued for 3, 10, or 16 main factors, but the work of Tupes and Christal (1992), replicated by other researchers (Goldberg, 1981), supported the superiority of five main factors. The same factors were consistently found in adults and adolescents, men and women, and self-reports and observer ratings. Although many instruments have now been developed to measure the five-factor model, the Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO-PI-R; Costa & McCrae, 1992) is the most widely used and researched. The factors have been given somewhat different names and interpretations by different investigators. In the NEO-PI-R, they are called neuroticism (N), extraversion (E), openness to experience (O), agreeableness (A), and conscientiousness (C). Six specific traits, or facets, define each factor. For example, conscientiousness is represented by subscales measuring competence, order, dutifulness, achievement striving, self-discipline, and deliberation.

In a study by Hofstede, Bond, and Luk (1993), similar descriptions by individuals of the culture of their organizations reflected very similar personality factors. Hofstede et al. (1993) correlated the five personality factors with at least one dimension of culture, and all four culture dimensions were related to at least one personality factor. As detailed in Chapter 1 of this report, these dimensions included power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity-femininity, and individualism-collectivism. However, the fifth Hofstede dimension, long-term orientation, was omitted from this analysis. First, long-term orientation scores were available for only 24 of the 33 countries (Hofstede, 2001). Second, among these 24 countries, long-term orientation was strongly correlated with individualism. Long-term orientation's only correlation with personality was with extraversion, but the correlation between extraversion and individualism was stronger. Long-term orientation, therefore, added nothing unique to the analysis. The correlations between the four cultural dimensions and the five personality factors revealed a distinct pattern of associations between two sets of data of entirely different origins. On the one hand were country-level scores on five personality factors collected from very diverse samples, each answering in their local language, and mostly collected in the 1990s. On the other hand were country scores on four culture dimensions, mostly based on survey responses by employees of local subsidiaries of the IBM Corporation, most of whom responded in their local language, and which were collected around 1970. The use of local languages in both sources could lead to the inference that the correlations were due to language effects, but the IBM data were also replicated in international populations in which everyone answered in English, and the culture patterns were found to cross language families (Hofstede, 2001, pp. 49, 62-65). The correlations between the two sets of data (on the five personality factors and the four cultural dimensions) demonstrate that national levels of personality factor scores are not random but correspond to established and reasonably stable differences in national value systems, held to be expressions of national cultures. This means that self-report measurements of the five personality factors, besides reflecting individual differences in personality, contain a collective component common to respondents from the same country.

From the NEO-PI-R factor scores, neuroticism showed the closest relationship with the culture dimensions (55% of variance in country levels explained); neuroticism scores were higher in uncertainty avoiding, masculine cultures. The relationship of neuroticism score levels with uncertainty avoidance explained 31% of the variance. One of the earliest validations of the uncertainty avoidance dimension was a 0.73 Spearman rank correlation ($p < .001$) with the neuroticism factor identified by Lynn and Hampson (1975) in medical and related statistics for 18 countries (Hofstede, 1980, pp. 168-170). Hofstede (2001, pp. 155-157) reviewed a number of other studies linking stronger uncertainty avoidance to stress, anxiety, and the expression of emotions. For example, across 25 countries, uncertainty avoidance rank-correlated 0.44 ($p < .05$) with national means for the neuroticism scale of the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (Lynn & Martin, 1995). Using data from the International Survey on Emotion Antecedents and Reactions (Scherer & Wallbott, 1994), significant correlations were found across 14 countries between uncertainty avoidance and the self-reported expression of anger by men and of guilt by women and by men.

The expression of emotions, related to national personality or other predispositions, may have important implications for multinational military cooperation and relationships.

5.2.3 Hofstede's Interpretation: Culture's Consequences for Traits

As mentioned earlier, the correlations between the two sets of data (cultural factors and personality factors) demonstrated that national levels of personality factor scores correspond to established, stable differences in national value systems and national cultures. They also demonstrated that self-report measures of the five personality factors contain a collective component common to respondents from the same country. This common component can be explained by one or more of the following three causes:

1) Between national populations, the distribution of genetically determined personality factors differs systematically.
2) Children growing up in a country acquire or learn common personality characteristics in the process of their development.
3) National cultures affect the way in which people respond to a personality test. Respondents will measure themselves against a social norm: they will compare themselves to others around them. In addition, respondents will describe themselves as they would like to be seen: answers will contain a component of social desirability. Further, how others are perceived and what is socially desirable differ between cultures (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004).

5.2.4 McCrae's Interpretation: Personality's Consequences for Value Systems

A radically different interpretation of the associations between cultural and personality factors is suggested by the five-factor theory of personality (McCrae & Costa, 1996, 1999). In that theory, personality traits are construed as basic tendencies that are rooted in biology and interact with external influences, including culture, in shaping the skills, habits, tastes, and values—the characteristic adaptations—of the individual. It is not unusual for personality theories to recognize the contribution of biological influences in shaping traits; often the word temperament is used to describe this part of personality (see Figure 5.2). Five-factor theory is unique in asserting that traits have *only* biological bases. Accordingly, cultures shape the expression of traits, but not their levels (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004).

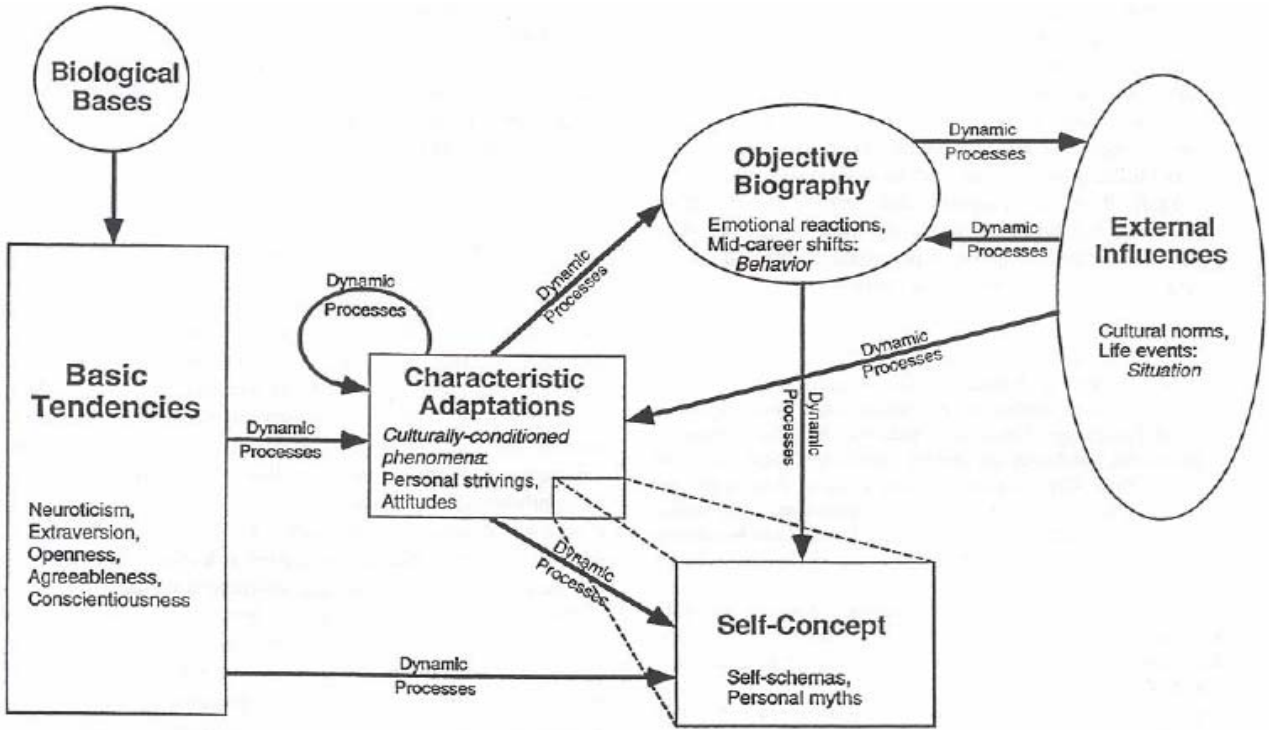

Figure 5.2: A Representation of the Personality System, with Categories of Variables, Specific Examples, and Arrows Indicating Causal Pathways (adapted from McCrae & Costa, 1999).

5.2.5 Cross-Cultural Personality Predispositions

Another study on cross-cultural personality predispositions, which was carried out by Dzvonik, Retzlaff, and Popa (2004), used the Armstrong Laboratory Aviation Personality Survey (ALAPS) as a method of comparison between American, Romanian and Slovak aviators.

As shown in Table 5.1, significant differences were found in the following ALAPS scales:

Confidence: The Slovak and Romanian respondents were similar but in this scale scored significantly higher than the American sample. This may be due to the varying socio-economic status of the aviator group in each society.

Socialness: The Slovak and Romanian respondents tended to be more outgoing and were friendlier than the American respondents. This could be due to culturally specific patterns and preferences pertaining to collectivism-individualism (e.g., found in Western European vs. Central, Eastern or Southern European countries).

Aggressiveness: The Slovak and American respondents expressed similar tendencies on this scale. Compared to the Slovak and American respondents, the Romanian sample showed a higher level of aggressiveness.

Orderliness: All samples (Slovak, American and Romanian) expressed a high sense of orderliness. This may be due to the nature of the aviator profession, where being methodical and disciplined is an essential component of a safe work environment.

Negativity: Most similar in this scale were the American and Slovak respondents. A greater tendency to be negative was expressed by the Romanian respondents. If this finding is not the result of a cultural mentality then it could also be caused by job and/or life satisfaction.

Affective Lability, Anxiety, Depression and Alcohol Abuse: As clinical (psychopathology) scales, these should be and were low in general. Similar results were found in the Slovak and American samples, except in regard to attitudes to alcohol consumption. Romanian and Slovak respondents seemed to have a more positive attitude to and tolerance of alcohol consumption, possibly related to culture. Higher anxiety and depression scores among the Romanians surveyed may be related to social transformation, social-economic situations and work satisfaction.

Dogmatism: The scores in all samples were generally low. The Slovak and Romanian participants were the most similar and showed a higher dogmatism score than the American sample. This may be due to cultural patterns of "power distance" in terms of organizational culture.

Deference: This score tended to show low values and all samples were quite similar, but the Romanian respondents seemed to be more deferential than the Slovak and American samples. This finding could be affected by culturally determined factors.

Team-Oriented: The highest score in this scale was achieved by the Romanian sample, followed by the Slovak sample. American respondents showed a significantly lower team orientation. It is presumed that this finding is due to the culturally conditioned individualism-collectivism factor impact. Romanian and Slovak respondents tended to be more collectivistic than the American respondents, as an individualistic orientation is culturally more typical of the United States (US).

Organization: The Slovak and Romanian samples tended to be highly systematic and organized, while the American respondents scored significantly lower on this factor.

Impulsiveness: The level of impulsiveness was low in all samples. A higher score was recorded by the Romanian sample than by the American sample. The lowest impulsiveness score was for the Slovak sample. Impulsiveness is related to age and could also be culturally conditioned.

Risk Taking: The highest risk-taking behavioral tendency was shown by the American sample and the lowest by the Slovak sample. Regarding these differences, the Slovak subjects seem to be more "conservative" in terms of risk-taking than the American and Romanian subjects.

Table 5.1: ANOVA-Paired Comparison of Cross-Cultural Personality Predispositions in US, Romanian and Slovak Aviators (Dzvonik et al., 2004)

ALAPS Scale	Cross-Cultural Result
Confidence	SL=RO>US
Socialness	RO>SL>US
Aggressiveness	RO>SL=US
Orderliness	SL=RO>US
Negativity	RO>SL=US
Affective Lability	RO>SL=US
Anxiety	RO>SL=US
Depression	RO>SL=US
Alcohol Abuse	SL=RO>US
Dogmatism	SL=RO>US
Deference	RO=US=SL but RO>SL
Team Oriented	RO>SL>US
Organization	RO>SL>US
Impulsiveness	RO=US>SL
Risk Taking	US=RO=SL but US>SL

Note. SL = Slovak. RO = Romanian. US = American (United States).

As can be seen in Table 5.1, the Slovak participants seemed to be most similar to their American counterparts on the following scales: aggressiveness, negativity, affective lability, anxiety and depression. The Slovak and Romanian participants were approximately similar on these scales: confidence, orderliness, alcohol abuse and dogmatism. The Romanian and American respondents were similar on the scale of impulsiveness. Cross-congruence was found between the Slovak, Romanian and American sample on these scales: deference and risk taking. These findings should be seen as the result of a comparison of personality in different cultures using one method and as only relevant to aviation personnel. Therefore, it would be incorrect to make wider generalizations. It is not possible to know how these participants would accept each other in real work and life situations. In fact, an acceptance of differences by individuals or groups is dependent on experience, prejudice and subjective level of tolerance, in general, and also on tolerance for intercultural differences in particular (see Febbraro, Chapter 3).

5.2.6 The Interaction of Personality Traits with Culture: Consequences for Multinational Operations

Personality may interact with the process of cultural adaptation and acculturation. Ward and Chang (1997) addressed the issue of cultural fit and sojourner adjustment, and found that sojourners whose personality profiles resembled that of the host culture aggregate had lower levels of depression (although this effect was not replicated in a second study; Ward, Leong, & Low, 2004). Similar analyses might, of course, be done for native members of the culture. Berry and Sam (1997) identified four strategies of psychological acculturation: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Characteristics of both individual immigrants and the host culture might affect the strategy chosen. Immigrants who are highly open to experience are likely to seek integration, because they can appreciate the values and

perspectives of both the original and the acquired culture. But if the nation that they find themselves in is high in uncertainty avoidance, where deviations from the prescribed norm are perceived as threatening, then they may be forced to assimilate or face marginalization. In such ways are human lives shaped by the interaction of culture and personality (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004).

5.2.7 Activity Orientation

Activity orientation refers to the way in which a culture's members think about life, work, and relationships (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). Two basic activity orientations include the "doing" and the "being" orientations. National groups characterized by the doing orientation view work and achievement-related activities as the desirable focus of their activity. Groups characterized by the being orientation, on the other hand, view relationships and enjoyment of life as the desirable focus of activity. Do-ers are most concerned with accomplishing a task in the most practical and efficient manner, whereas be-ers are most concerned with accomplishing a task in a manner that is enjoyable and that benefits the interpersonal dynamics of the situation.

These differences in activity orientation generate obstacles to the effectiveness of decision making and planning. Do-ers opt for a pragmatic approach to decision making, with little concern for the relational aspects of a situation. The decision making of be-ers, on the other hand, tends to be tied to relationships and based on emotion. Pragmatics may be sacrificed for positive interpersonal outcomes. Differences in activity orientation are also likely to affect the critical problem identification and situational assessment aspects of multinational operations. National groups that focus on work and goal achievement are likely to identify different problems and to assess situations quite differently from those that focus primarily on relationships.

5.2.8 Dialectical Reasoning

In complex missions marked by unexpected challenges, commanders will be faced with tough choices. In famine relief, for example, a commander might have to decide between using resources to provide massive infusions of food and water, or to use those resources to attack the cause of the famine by rebuilding an infrastructure (roads, bridges, wells) destroyed in a civil war. According to the Greek and Roman tradition of logical discussion, the best course is selected by debating alternatives. Discussion helps to sharpen distinctions between and highlight strengths and weaknesses of each possible action, maximizing the quality of solutions. This "dialectical reasoning," is not, however, the universal mode of thinking.

Dialectical reasoning research has found national differences in reasoning about contradiction (Peng & Nisbett, 1999). Some non-Western groups deal with seeming contradictions by seeking compromise, retaining elements of both perspectives. Rather than sharpen distinctions, the goal is to blur them. These groups may view polarizing discussions as divisive and unpleasant. They may not contribute to discussions because criticism of one's perspective may be perceived as criticism of the person or as a personal attack. Some non-Westerners may also see such discussions as closing out the option of learning from a broad range of positions. Why choose between short-term and long-term goals? In the example above, why not focus on helping the distant villages, airlifting relief to remote stations, and rebuilding infrastructure? The regional authorities can collaborate by building roads to these distribution centers, doing the bulk of the work and preparing to take over the burden of development. Allies who seem slow and indecisive may frustrate Western-style thinkers. In contrast, some find the rush to judgment of Westerners to be impulsive, inconsiderate, and intimidating.

5.2.9 Hypothetical vs. Concrete Thinking

An initial phase of an operation has ended and it is time to re-examine the course of action. All participants are committed to improving subsequent action but here the similarity ends. Some cultures

are comfortable thinking about hypothetical scenarios, and others are baffled by it. Some participants are comfortable exploring not only what happened but also an array of "what if's." "What if the air strip had been closed by a flood?" "What if the neighboring border had not been sealed but had allowed hostile forces to enter?" They want to project the consequences of non-occurrence and even unlikely events. This process of counterfactual thinking (a form of hypothetical thinking) considers the implications of hypothetical occurrences. Counterfactual thinking uses mental representations of alternatives to past or future events (Tetlock, 1998). Lessons-learned exercises use counterfactual thinking to identify ways in which future performance might be enhanced by changing communication processes, modes of activity, and so on (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Cultures differ in the extent to which reasoning and notions of causality are separated from context and are abstract, hypothesis-driven, or are contextually grounded in personal experience (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Context-bound thinkers improve planning by remaining within the realm of context-grounded, personal experience. They believe that improvement comes from a careful review of past events as they occurred rather than an attempt to imagine what they may see as unlikely scenarios. These two reasoning styles are often not obvious, even in face-to-face discourse. They are even more difficult to detect in a virtual organization with distributed operations and functions. National differences in counterfactual thinking present barriers to coalition re-planning when partners use experience differently and lack a common mechanism for improvement. Those engaging in counterfactual reasoning may interpret resistance as lack of intellectual curiosity, or even lack of intelligence. Those who rely on context-bound reasoning may see the counterfactual exercise as a waste of time, showing off to no purpose, or the immature speculations of inexperienced people.

5.3 TRUST AND ETHICS

5.3.1 Trust

Trust is a social expectation. It involves our perception of the integrity, justice, caring, and competence of someone or something that is verified by experience with that person or thing. Trust is a condition of the situation as much as it is of human relationships. The organizational situation also encourages or discourages trust. The expectations and assumptions that members hold about how much risk they can (or should) accept in working with others in situations where knowledge is not present also shapes relationships. Others are trusted when they, or the environment, lead us to believe that what they say they will do, will eventually come to pass. We can define trust, then, as confidence in the authenticity of the words or actions of a person, or similar qualities or attributes about an organizational symbol or ritual. Defined this way, trust becomes a central element in culture formation and leadership. To trust another person or thing means that we have confidence that the person or thing will prove to be trustworthy and that what we see or hope for, in or about that person or thing, is the truth about them. Trust is a hope in reality, based on the characteristics and behavior of a person and the situational context. Thus, trust is a logical, thoughtful hope or expectation (Fairholm, 1994).

In many ways, trust is a socio-cognitive process. Trust theorists argue that the process of developing trust involves the creation of expectations and beliefs about others. More specifically, trust is seen as developing as we become increasingly able to predict the actions of others. These expectations derive from our experiences and interactions with others. Such interactions provide information and knowledge about what a person is likely to do in specific situations, and this information becomes increasingly elaborated into views of what people are likely to do on a consistent basis (Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985).

5.3.2 The Antecedents of Trust

Interdependence is a necessary antecedent to trust. Interdependence is necessary when the interests of one party in a relationship cannot be realized without the other. Without being connected with another person,

and without having one's outcomes in some way dependent on another person, there is no need to trust (Lewis & Weingert, 1985).

Risk is a critical antecedent to trust. Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, and Camerer (1998) define risk as the perceived probability of loss, as interpreted by a decision maker. Risk is seen as a critical antecedent to trust because in trusting another person, positive outcomes are not assured. The reason to trust, however, is that choosing to incur the risk may yield positive outcomes.

Uncertainty is seen as occurring because the motives, goals, and future actions of others are usually not fully known. Lewis and Weingert (1985), for example, argue that uncertainty is an important precursor to trust because if one were omniscient, actions could be undertaken with complete certainty, leaving no need, or even possibility, for trust to develop. Uncertainty is a critical antecedent to trust.

Vulnerability is also seen as a critical antecedent to trust. As Luhmann (1988) argues, a fundamental condition of trust is that it must be possible for the partner to abuse the trust. Unless one is vulnerable to potentially negative outcomes, there is little reason to take the risk of trusting another person.

Institutions provide one dimension through which trust is defined (Paparone, 2002). The institutional dimension of trust includes the habitual rules, structures, and reputation-building aspects that establish conditions for trust within an institution. Trust relationships within and among institutions depend on leadership and management, professionalism, organizational design, technology, and time. Each one of these is discussed below.

Leadership and management play a key role in initiating or setting conditions for institutional trust. Setting conditions for trust include building competence (the extent to which members see the institution as effective), openness (seeing others as approachable and honest), concern (a climate of sincerity and caring), reliability (behavioral consistency and congruence), and identification (perception of fairness in how the paradox of individual interests versus group interests are managed).

Professionalism, another key ingredient to building trust in institutions, normally implies a shared ethos and is a function of expertise or specialized knowledge and skill, responsibility, performance in a social context, and esprit de corps, which derives from a sense of unity and from consciousness of being set apart from others. Professionals would rather change an untrustworthy organization or even exit it than participate in it. In that regard, professionals are the theoretical antithesis of bureaucrats, who are characterized by loyalty and blind obedience, regardless of the professional climate or culture of trust. Professionally based trust, then, is the essence of social capital – the accumulated collective trust of the institution gained through engagement and reciprocity.

Organizational design. A third ingredient in building trust in institutions concerns organizational design. Organizational designs are diverse and can include an owner-managed clan, an entrepreneurial adhocracy, a divisionalized hierarchy (typical of US Army organizations), cross-functional or matrixed teams, or a postmodern network. Often, formal controls or constraints are used to build trust in owner-managed or divisionalized bureaucracies. These formal mechanisms are often counterproductive and inefficient, however.

Organizational design refers not only to an organization's internal design but also to its external design, or how it fits with and builds trust with other agencies or organizations. Organizations sometimes combine to form networks, such as strategically allied organizations. These networks often use legalistic measures such as formal contracts to build trust, but these, too, are usually inadequate. Trust becomes the only way to conduct affairs effectively. In these more loosely coupled designs the most important antecedents for trust are top leader involvement, harmony or equality among partners, and security by reducing uncertainty. Trust in the postmodern network organization is the conceptual converse of formal rules and becomes the effective way to conduct affairs.

Technology is a fourth part of the institutional dimension of trust. Technology becomes a substitute for trust. Technical control obviates the need for the more uncertain trust. For example, an organization might introduce robotics, automation, or rule-based technology to monitor production quality. Such technology takes quality control from people and gives it to machines. Technology becomes the arbiter of quality. At the end of the day, however, humans will still regulate the machines and technical processes to some degree; hence, trust will continue to be an important component of the institution.

Time. The last ingredient in forming trust relationships in institutions is time, specifically, the amount of time available to form trust relationships. The robustness of the initial formation of trust depends on the predisposition of the trustee or trustor. This predisposition rests on factors such as a trusting stance (the personal belief that things will turn out satisfactorily regardless of others' trustworthiness), faith in humanity (the personal belief that strangers are trustworthy in ambiguous and novel situations), categorization (how parties stereotype or perceive in-group and out-group identity), structural assurance (how the situation is bounded by legal safeguards, institutional rules, and regulations), and situational normalcy (how familiar parties are in a given context).

During a crisis, there is little time to form trust relationships. Crises often demand the establishment of swift trust relationships among individuals, teams, agencies, organizations, or institutions that are strangers to one another (Elron, Shamir, & Ben-Ari, 1999). For example, when ad hoc state and local disaster-relief activities are organized, responders must often work together for the first time. Swift trust is built on a number of variables, including reputation, conversation, health, safety, investments, hierarchical position, perceptions of adaptability, cognitive illusion of mastery, presumption of trustworthiness, prospect of future interaction, and role clarity. Time, as a dimension of trust, increases in importance as vulnerability increases. Professional institutions use slow activity periods to develop methods to increase the chances of forming swift initial trust relationships when a crisis hits.

5.3.3 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness simply means being worthy of trust. There are no easy paths for leaders or managers to be worthy of trust. Some observers are rather prescriptive and argue that trustworthiness should be built through:

1) Living by genuinely shared values and operating principles.
2) Sharing a common vision or view of the world.
3) Enhancing familiarity across groups.
4) Encouraging experience with risk-taking and experimentation.
5) Making signs of trust and collaboration visible.

While there is much to commend in the list above, some items might not translate easily into action. Nevertheless, trustworthiness has three subsets: building trust, sustaining trust, and rebuilding trust. Furthermore, trust building seems to rest on three foundational cornerstones: ethics, culture, and organization development.

5.3.4 Effects of Trust on Military Operations

Cox (1996) argues that trust played a critical role in the high performance and achievement of the most highly decorated combat unit in US history. The 442nd regiment was composed mostly of Japanese-American soldiers who fought during World War II. Despite facing obstacles both on the battlefield and at home due to prejudice against Japanese people, the White leaders of this regiment were able to create a command climate that promoted cohesion, morale and trust. Cox argues that this climate was due in no

small part to the fact that the 442nd soldiers believed that their leaders would do what was right for them and for the mission. Trust, in combination with morale and cohesion, is argued to have played an important role in combat success.

5.3.5 Ethics

Ethics and individual trustworthiness may be somewhat parallel concepts. In the academic community, social scientists build constructs to discuss and test ethics and individual trustworthiness separately. These constructs usually describe what unethical behavior is, establish norms to restrict such behavior, and then articulate formal ethical standards or policies into some form of code. The ethical component seeks at each level of analysis to answer questions like "what *should* officers and soldiers do?" and "what kind of leaders *should* the armed forces have?" The answers to these questions establish norms of individual and collective behavior, what courses of action, and what outcomes the officer is obligated to seek; in sum, they constitute a professional military ethic. The term *ethic* can refer to the body of moral principles or values governing a particular culture or group. Just as with the military-technical component, this ethical component can be analyzed from the perspectives of society, the military institution, or the individual soldier.

The relationship between military culture and ethos is complex and as yet unresolved. But differences between the ethos of militaries can be explained by a number of factors. First of all, national cultures exert a strong influence on any military force. Next the relationship between the military force and the society that supports it determines many facets of military culture. As indicated earlier, large differences, based on fundamentally different interpretations of the proper role of the military in society, exist between many Eastern and Western military cultures. Even among democracies, such as Israel and Canada, different civil-military relationships have produced vastly different military forces. Furthermore, as Soeters and Recht (2001) have demonstrated, there are measurable differences between Western military forces based on the tension between the vocational and the occupational approach to military service which has been influenced by differing national cultures (see Browne, Chapter 8). These differences in military culture have yet to be investigated in depth, but theories that purport to explain differences among international and/or multicultural organizations may prove useful to guide future research (English, 2001).

5.4 CONCLUSION

The understanding of how cultural predispositions affect personality and teamwork provides critical information for the development of selection and training tools to help leaders and teams overcome cultural barriers. In accordance with Klein, Pongonis and Klein (2000) the dimensions of personality, values and attitudes, cognition (e.g., power distance, counterfactual thinking, dialectical reasoning, uncertainty avoidance, activity orientation) and trust have each been linked to the task demands faced during multinational operations. These differences influence situational awareness, planning, judgment, and decision making. They are vital for the successful accomplishment of complex missions. They vary among national groups. If national military units assume that their coalition partners are the same as they are, then they will make serious errors. Differences on each dimension can reduce situational awareness, interfere with coordination, and detract from effectiveness. Individuals can have significantly different culturally based personality and cognitive biases that influence their behavior. In concert with the personality and cognitive biases of others, these behaviors will either enhance or undermine team performance. Leaders and team members who recognize these biases and understand the implication of culture's impact on situation assessment, coordination, assigning of roles and responsibilities, and support behavior are better prepared to adapt as needed, to ensure mission success.

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