Managerial Leadership and Motivation in an International Context

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Chapter Outline

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Effective managers lead and motivate their followers to perform their jobs successfully. The ability of a manager to lead and motivate affects his/her ability to manage. Organizational performance is based on the collective contribution of all members. Organizations could suffer without an effective leader to increase and combine these contributions. To attain an organization's goals, managers must be able to guide and direct its members to perform to the best of their abilities.

While leadership and motivation are not easy tasks, they are much easier in domestic firms than in an international enterprise. Providing direction and purpose for a culturally diverse workforce in an MNC is very challenging. Although there are many similarities between MNCs and their domestic counterparts, the operational requirements of MNCs are different in many ways. In a domestic firm, because managers and workers share the same cultural values and heritage, many issues do not require much elaboration and explanation by the managers. Cultural norms provide a basic framework for the fulfillment of duties and a simple means for control. Such a vehicle is not available to an international manager who works with a culturally diverse workforce. In this chapter, we will learn about the difficulties that international managers may experience in leading and motivating such a workforce. Also, we review leadership practices in Europe and Japan.

Like domestic companies, global companies rely on leadership and motivation to energize their employees toward reaching the organization's goals. Companies engaged in international business need to develop extra sensitivity to cultural variations in order to satisfy and motivate their employees. The cultural relativity of major leadership and motivation theories is reviewed in this chapter. The success of Japanese firms in competition with American companies has been attributed to their unique management style. Whether what motivates a Japanese worker will work in other cultures, including American culture, is a question worth investigating. According to some scholars, the fall of the Soviet Union and major developments in communication technology have fostered a trend toward a global culture. These developments, along with the influence of culture on leadership and motivation and their implications for international management, are examined in this chapter.

Overview

Chapter Vignette: Inspiring Leaders

South Africa has seen two world-renowned leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela, who used different means to achieve a broad common end—freeing their people from oppression and injustice. The means used by both of them to promote their cause included business and economic actions aimed at hurting the purses of their tyrant rulers.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869, in Porbandar, a city in the present state of Gujarat, in India. While he was a legal advisor for an Indian firm in South Africa, he witnessed the widespread denial of human rights to Indian immigrants. It was in South Africa that Gandhi propounded his philosophy of passive resistance and noncooperation as a strategy for opposing tyranny and

human rights abuses. When he returned to India, Gandhi began teaching and practicing passive resistance and civil disobedience, which Indians called "ahimsa" (a Sanskrit word meaning nonviolence). He led Indians in a long and difficult struggle against British rule. Knowing the importance of economic pressure, he ordered the complete boycott of all British goods. Finally, under his leadership, India gained its independence in 1947.

Gandhi lived a spiritual and ascetic life. He wore only a loincloth and a shawl, which was how the lowliest Indians dressed. He responded to the abuses, beatings, and jail sentences that British authorities inflicted on him with fasting, prayers, and meditation and urged his followers to do the same. Gandhi was revered by Indians as a saint; they call him Mahatma ("great-souled"). He is the symbol of free India and the spiritual leader of the nonviolence movement globally. His teachings and philosophy have influenced and inspired nonviolence movements everywhere.

Rolihlahla Nelson Dalibhunga Mandela, who was elected as the first black president of South Africa in 1994, was born on July 18, 1918, at Mbhashe in Umtata District. His father was a chief, and his mother was one of his father's four wives. In 1942, Nelson obtained his B.A. degree and became a student at the Witwatersrand University in the Faculty of Law. In 1944, Mandela joined the African National Congress (ANC), the political party that aimed at eradicating the segregationist practices of the South African government. In 1947, he was elected the ANC's secretary, and in 1951, he became its president. At first, he followed the path of nonviolent resistance against the apartheid policy of South Africa, but dismayed by its apparent failure, he soon joined the armed struggle.

In 1960, police fired at unarmed pass-law protestors, massacring thousands. Consequently, civil strikes ensued, and the government declared a state of emergency. Thousands were arrested, and the ANC was banned. Mandela was forced to go underground in April 1961. He organized military training for armed operations against the apartheid regime. Soon, he was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for 5 years. In 1963, following the arrest of the other ANC leaders, Mandela, while still in jail, was sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage and attempting to overthrow the state. While in prison, he received many awards, honorary degrees, and even honorary citizenship from other nations. To force the dismantling of the apartheid regime, he pleaded with Western governments to impose economic sanctions against the South African government and urged MNCs to withdraw their investment from South Africa. Finally, the economic measures and worldwide condemnation forced the abandonment of apartheid practices.

When Mandela was released on February 11, 1990, some wondered whether he would be ready for compromise after spending more than a quarter of a century in prison. Some have argued that if he had been bent on vengeance, he could have caused mass riots and massive civil strife. But he, as the leader of South African blacks, set aside his personal feelings. He concluded his first speech after his release from the prison by saying, "I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the idea of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." [1–5]

Introduction

Many business failures can be traced to functional deficiencies, such as poor planning or marketing. Many more are due to managers' inability to lead and motivate employees. Effective managers are those who can lead their subordinates toward the accomplishment of organizational goals. This is a feat not easily managed. Among the managerial skills, leadership competency and the ability to motivate are two of the most difficult to master. While managers can rely on assistance from others in technical matters, they have to resolve leadership problems and motivation issues through personal initiatives. Leadership and motivation skills, therefore, are critical to a manager's success.

If leading and motivating are important determinants of success in a domestic business, they are much more important in an international operation. What constitutes a good leader in one culture may not necessarily be the case in other cultures. Also, what motivates people varies among cultures. Most Americans, for example, prefer democratic leaders who seek inputs from their subordinates. In other cultures, such a leader may be regarded as naive or incompetent. In some cultures, a leader should always know how to take charge and lead the subordinates without needing much assistance from them. Any failure to take charge would be interpreted as a sign of incompetence. For Americans, motivation is mostly an individual, personal issue. In some other cultures, however, personal factors are subordinated to the group's benefit.

Besides having technical expertise, international managers must possess the ability to organize and lead a workforce of diverse cultures and to achieve cross-cultural collaboration in spite of multicultural difficulties. They need to be proficient in motivating, coaching, mentoring, and assessing the performance of people with different values, beliefs, and attitudes. The requirements for managerial leadership in international contexts extend well beyond functional management practices and encompass a sensitivity to, and empathy with, cultural diversity. The task of leading under demanding conditions requires an understanding of leadership concepts and the ability to apply them to different cultural circumstances.

Major leadership theories, which have shaped Western managerial thinking and philosophies, have been developed and tested almost exclusively in the West. While these theories are based on Western cultural values and assumptions, they are often implicitly presented as universal theories. Consequently, practicing managers have applied them, along with other Western managerial concepts, to international situations without considering the need to modify them according to the context. Not surprisingly, the results have been less than stellar.

In the following section, we discuss the shortcomings of these theories and examine their applicability to different cultural situations.

The Shortcomings of Leadership Theories

The following discussion is based on the assumption that readers are familiar with the leadership theories presented in Appendix A.

Popular leadership theories assume that the leaders and followers have a lot in common within their value systems and culture and that the roles of leader and followers are universal. These theories, implicitly if not explicitly, advocate democratic, participative leadership behavior as the preferred choice. Almost all theories are developed in the United States and are based on American cultural values. As Reitz [6] asserted:

> the American culture has traditionally placed higher values on democratic than on authoritarian leadership, certain biases can be detected in the research on the effects of these leadership styles. A great deal of research is designed to prove that democracy is superior to autocracy, rather than to test that proportion. (p. 524)

Recent research is questioning the validity of these assumptions. We could claim that democratic behavior is "nicer" than authoritarian behavior, but it is not necessarily more productive [6]. Other kinds of leadership behavior, under different circumstances and in different cultures, may be more productive. "A single normative leadership style does not take into consideration cultural differences, particularly customs and traditions as well as the level of education and the standard of living" (p. 79) [7]. In developing countries, for example, where most people are preoccupied with scratching out a livelihood, there is less concern for participation in decision-making.

Modern leadership theories ushered in by studies at Ohio State University and the University of Michigan established a consensus that leadership skills can be learned. Also, these theories, implicitly or explicitly, assume a democratic environment, where participation in decision-making by all involved, including the workers, is favored and expected. They also assume that most of the physiological, lower-level needs of employees are reasonably satisfied. Such an environment provides a fertile ground for participative/democratic leadership practices. For example, Likert proposed that participative management is an effective managerial leadership approach characterized by open channels of communication and the inclusion of inputs by lower-level employees in the decision-making process. He proposed that participative management results in higher productivity and higher job satisfaction.

Other theorists expressed similar views. Tannenbaum and Schmidt, for example, suggested that there is no one best way to lead but made other assumptions pertinent to the work environment in the United States. They suggested that leaders use their power according to the situational demands. To them, the situational demands implicitly took place within an individualistic society and did not involve a multicultural environment. A combination of situational requirements may dictate the full use of power by leaders or involvement of subordinates in the decision-making

process. Situational demands include the personalities of subordinates, their willingness to accept responsibility, their expectation about the leader's behavior, and the group ability to accomplish the given tasks. If individual subordinates are not self-directed and require close supervision, if the workgroup does not have the ability to solve problems, if they are not willing to take responsibility, and if they expect the leader to take charge, then a directive leadership style may be more productive. In situations contrary to the one described above, a relationship-oriented leadership style would be more appropriate. Situational factors, such as time pressure, the nature and scope of the problem, and organizational circumstances also have an impact on the manager's behavior. All these situational demands are related to work and a work environment that is implicitly American. Tannenbaum and Schmidt assumed that both managers and workers share the same cultural values. They assumed that both have the same perspective regarding work, authority, social interaction, risk-taking, and individual-group relationships.

A more recent concept seen in the leadership literature is self-leadership. It advocates the development of individual attributes that could lead to self-control and self-motivation. In effect, according to this theory, instead of managers acting as leaders, they should lead others to lead themselves [8]. It encourages empowering employees to identify with work and exercise self-direction and self-motivation. Consequently, through self-leadership, employee and organizational performance are enhanced.

Self-leadership assumes that organizations support self-control and personal initiatives and that the individual is self-directed and self-motivated. It also assumes that employees' value systems and cultural norms accept subordinates taking the roles that belong to superiors (see the discussion on "self" in the section on motivation). We know, however, that managerial leadership differences among nations may be the result of people's implicit assumptions regarding leadership qualities [9]. In most cultures, individuals believe that leaders should have certain personality characteristics, skills, and behaviors. These belief systems are referred to as cognitive categories, mental models, and stereotypes, as well as by other names, and could affect an individual's response to and acceptance of another, or oneself, as a leader. For example, in cultures that rank high on uncertainty avoidance, employees are very reluctant to take personal initiatives and look up to managers/leaders for instructions, encouragement, guidance, and support. Participative management is not popular in these cultures. As De Mente asserts (as cited in Ref. [10]):

> In China, the primary qualities expected in a leader or executive is someone who is good at establishing and nurturing personal relationships, who practices benevolence towards his or her subordinates, who is dignified and aloof but sympathetic and puts the interests of his or her employees above his or her own.

It is not practical to expect self-leadership in cultures where people have certain assumptions about leadership that preclude subordinates in leadership roles. Also, self-leadership may not be applicable where subordinates are not comfortable in situations that call for self-direction and self-motivation.

Among the theories of leadership, situational theories have the best potential for application in cross-cultural settings. While these theories do not specifically consider national cultures as a situational variable, the underlying theoretical framework allows for such an inclusion. Moreover, since they do not advocate a particular leadership style for all situations, situational leadership theories accept that different leadership styles can be effective in different cultures. They also indicate that leadership effectiveness can be improved by modifying the contingent situational variables, such as the group, the task, the followers' skills, and the organizational policies. Still, certain assumptions are embedded in all these theories. By learning about these assumptions, the managers of MNCs will be able to modify them to fit the work environment in different cultures.

The Cultural Relativity of Leadership

Cultural differences have a major influence on the effectiveness of various leadership behaviors. Norms, role expectations, and traditions governing relations between various members of society are strong determinants of effective leadership behavior. These differences are manifested in MNCs whose employees come from different cultural backgrounds. The challenge for international managers working with multicultural employees is to recognize these differences and adapt their relationships accordingly. To learn about these differences, we will review two cultural dimensions: acceptance of authority and dealing with uncertainty. While all cultural values influence the behavior of leaders, these two are of particular importance. Here, we will focus on their influence on leader-follower relationships. Using these two dimensions as a reference, we will discuss the predominant leadership practices in Europe and Japan.

Acceptance of Power and Authority

The use of power and authority is central to managing and leading. Power and authority are universal to all cultures. Hierarchical relations are the mainstay of social interactions. The importance, emphasis, scope, and application of power and authority, however, vary among societies. Hofstede called this variation the *power distance* [11]. In societies where power is more evenly distributed among the members, there is only a small gap between the most powerful members and the least powerful. In others, there is a wide variation in power distribution, and the difference between the most powerful and the least powerful is large. In such societies, the large differences in power are legitimate and acceptable to all members. Members often feel uncomfortable if the distance is knowingly violated. For example, if a superior in a large-power-distance society attempts to reduce the distance by acting more accessible and friendly, his/her subordinates may not willingly accept such openness. They may attribute some ulterior motives to this overture.

Matrilineal Leadership

Mosuo women and Khasi society are among the few surviving female bastions in the world. Mosuo women come from a small village in China called Yongning, and Khasi people live in northeastern India.

Mosuo women lead most of the businesses, head the households, control the family finances, and inherit their clan's assets. They are also the pursuers in relationships. Some of these women are married, and some of them have a lover who visits them at night and is sent home in the morning; this is called *zouhun* or "walking marriage." It is unbelievable that in a society like China, where female babies are often abandoned, women can be in charge of homes, businesses, and relationships.

According to Sunami Anna, who is a Mosuo woman, to run a family well, a woman must be in charge. Sunami has the power of choosing her successor, but it is obvious that her daughter will get the privilege. Men who work in Sunami's clan have to give her all the earnings, and she decides what to do with the money.

The situation is the same in Khasi society, where the youngest daughter inherits the property, and after marriage, her husband moves into the family house. Men have no line of succession, no land, and no business. According to one Khasi man, they play the role of breeding bulls and babysitters [12, 13]. (The article in Ref. [13] originally appeared in *The Times of India*, January 28, 1994.)

In small-power-distance societies, people believe in equality and will attempt to minimize inequality. Superiors do not see themselves as being very different from subordinates and vice versa. With minimum distance among them, superiors are accessible to subordinates. Powerful people do not flaunt their power, and they try to appear less powerful. Changes in small-power-distance societies take place incrementally through the redistribution of power.

People in large-power-distance societies believe in a hierarchical power distribution, where everyone has a rightful place and everyone is protected by this order. Superiors consider themselves different from subordinates and vice versa. The large power difference between superiors and subordinate leads to superiors being inaccessible. Power entitles people to certain privileges, which include obedience and respect from others. Powerful people will not hide their powers and, in fact, use various trappings to signal their power. Officeholders can be identified by their mode of dress, type of office, and entourage. Meaningful changes take place only through dethroning of the powerful. Since other people are seen as a potential threat to one's power, they can rarely be trusted.

Where power distance is large, subordinates may not feel quite comfortable with closer relationships between themselves and the managers. Since leadership is an interactive process that requires subordinateship, the followers' expectation of an ideal leader greatly influences the feasibility of certain leadership practices. To most subordinates in large-power-distance cultures, for example, a benevolent autocrat or

paternalist is an ideal superior. Hofstede's research indicates that subordinates in larger-power-distance countries tend to accept authoritarian leadership more readily.

Managers moving to large-power-distance cultures learn that they can be more effective by behaving autocratically. This is borne out by the colonial history of most Western countries. Interestingly enough, among the ex-colonial powers, France, with a larger power distance, enjoys a much better relationship with its old colonies (p. 57) [14]. Among the European countries, it was in France, too, that the application of management by objectives (MBO) failed [15]. MBO requires an agreement between managers and subordinates on a set of objectives and the means of achieving them. This means that subordinates must have sufficient independence and autonomy to negotiate with their superiors. Low-power-distance cultures more readily meet these requirements. Both managers and subordinates of high-power-distance cultures, however, have difficulty coping with such arrangements. Hofstede [14] quotes French management scholars asserting that DPO (*direction par objectifs*, the French equivalent of MBO) does not work in France because:

> French blue- and white-collar workers, lower-level and higher-level managers, and "patrons" all belong to the same cultural system which maintains dependency relations from level to level. Only the deviants really dislike this system. The Hierarchical structure protects against anxiety; DPO, however, generates anxiety. (pp. 57–59)

Cultures high on power distance and uncertainty avoidance are not fertile ground for participative management. Underlining this point is the French experience with MBO. During the 1980s, the French government implemented laws that were designed to promote workplace democratization from the bottom up. The goal was to promote a new citizenship in the workplace and to make the worker the agent of change. It mandated the creation of "direct expression groups," where employees could freely express their concern and raise questions about the operation of the firm. The government said that French management needed reform because they had lagged behind managers elsewhere in developing productive relations with employees. Neither management nor workers showed much interest in the reforms, however, and the French business community adamantly opposed the reform. It saw the expression groups as a potential threat to their authority. Likewise, employees were not interested in the democratization of their workplace. They were more concerned with job security, higher wages, and shorter work weeks [16]. As Hofstede [14] noted, where both power distance and uncertainty avoidance are high, having a powerful superior whom we can both praise and blame is one way of satisfying a strong need for avoiding uncertainty (p. 53).

Managers from low-power-distance cultures find it easy to act and manage autocratically when working in a large-power-distance culture. However, they have difficulty operating in an environment with a power distance lower than their own. US managers, for example, have difficulty in fully accepting industrial democracy as it is practiced in Sweden or Germany. Power sharing and participation in decision-making take on a whole new dimension in an industrial

democracy. From the American perspective, industrial democracy impinges on the prerogatives of management. American managers do not accept a power-sharing scheme that cuts across all levels of the organization and in which the lower levels have a major role [17].

Until recently, most leadership research in the West focused on transactional leadership. Transactional leaders use organizational resources to elicit employees' performance in a transaction/exchange process. "Transactional leaders do not generate passion and excitement, and they do not empower or inspire individuals to transcend their own self-interest for the good of the organization" (pp. 559–560) [18]. Today, transformational leadership is the most prominent among the theories of leadership [19]. There are four components of transformational leadership: **charisma**, **inspirational motivation**, **intellectual stimulation**, and **individualized consideration** [20]. Gifted people who are able to gain the respect, pride, trust, and confidence of their followers by conveying a sense of vision are considered **charismatic**. Through **inspirational motivation**, these leaders communicate high expectations and use symbols to focus efforts on important objectives in a simple way. **Intellectually stimulating** leaders encourage followers to think critically and use careful rationality in problem-solving. **Individualized consideration** refers to helping followers grow through personal attention and coaching, with each employee being considered individually.

Walumbwa and Lawler [21] found that in emerging economies such as China, India, and Kenya, collectivist orientation had a positive impact on the relationship between transformational leadership and work-related outcomes. On that basis, one could speculate that in collectivist cultures, transformational leaders may be more effective.

Avoiding Uncertainty

To live is to deal with uncertainty. Uncertainty is part of life, and all managers deal with uncertainty in running organizations. A critical aspect of managing and leading is dealing with uncertainty by giving subordinates enough direction and instruction to adequately perform their tasks. Society's orientation toward the handling of uncertainty is reflected in the management of its institutions and organizations.

Uncertainty avoidance is:

> the extent to which a society feels threatened by uncertain and ambiguous situations and tries to avoid these situations by providing greater career stability, establishing more formal rules, not tolerating deviant ideas and behavior, and believing in absolute truths and the attainment of expertise [14]. (pp. 42–63)

Cultures placing a strong emphasis on uncertainty avoidance consider life's uncertainties a continuous threat that must be fought. They avoid conflict and competition and strive for consensus. Security in life is valued greatly, which leads them to search for ultimate truth and values. People in these countries take less risk, worry more about the future, and rely on seniority for advancement in organizations. To avoid uncertainty, there is a heavy reliance on written rules and regulations. Matters of importance are left to the authorities, which relieves subordinates

from assuming the responsibility. Hofstede [11] found that in countries high on uncertainty avoidance, loyalty to employers is considered a virtue.

People in cultures with low emphasis on uncertainty avoidance accept uncertainty as an inherent aspect of life and take it in their stride. They are contemplative and less aggressive, avoid expressing their emotions, and are tolerant of dissent and deviant behavior. There is less emphasis on rules and regulations, and people are more willing to take risks. They believe that a certain amount of conflict and competition is constructive for society and devise various mechanisms to promote competition. Authorities are there to serve the people, and if rules cannot be kept, they should be changed. Loyalty to employers is not seen as a virtue, and people do not hesitate to change their jobs if there is an opportunity for advancement.

A clustering of 40 countries according to their position on these two dimensions of power distance and uncertainty avoidance is depicted in Fig. 5.1. As can be seen from Fig. 5.1, the United States, Canada, and most northern European countries are low on power distance and low on uncertainty avoidance. Asians, people from the Mediterranean, and South Americans are high on both dimensions. A few Asian countries are high on power distance and low on uncertainty avoidance (upper left-hand-side quadrant), and a few European countries are low on power distance and high on uncertainty avoidance (lower right-hand-side quadrant).

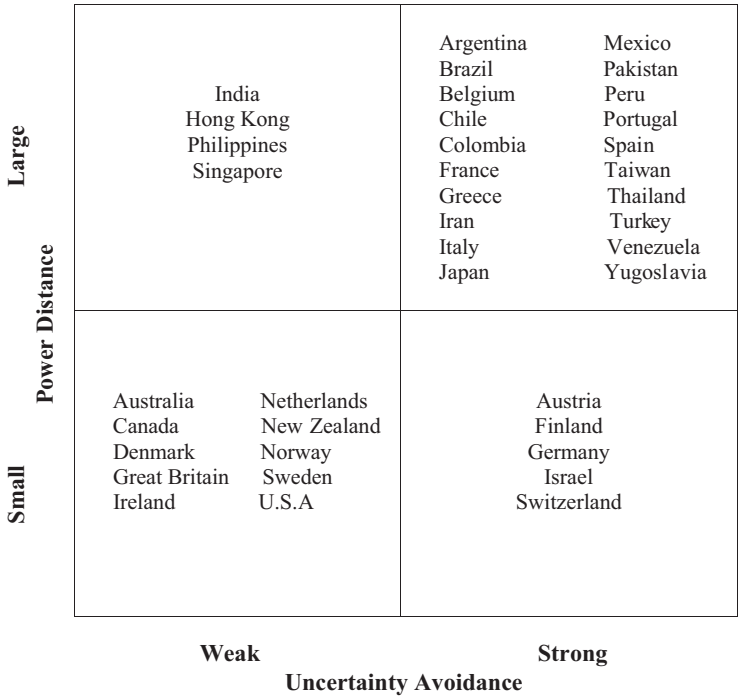

Fig. 5.1 Country clusters based on power distance and uncertainty avoidance

It is important to recognize that the leadership theories referred to in this chapter were all developed in countries that are low on power distance and low on uncertainty avoidance. Both superiors and subordinates in these countries value power sharing. These cultures have a more receptive environment for the practice of democratic-participative management. Therefore, it is not surprising that these theories generally advocate democratic-participative management. Subordinates gain more autonomy and freedom due to their participation in the decision-making process. Those who are low on uncertainty avoidance are better suited to deal with the autonomy thus gained. In these cultures, superiors are comfortable with the subsequent uncertainty associated with granting autonomy to their subordinates. Similarly, subordinates are not uncomfortable with assuming the risk and uncertainty associated with participation in decision-making. The lower power distance between members of these societies allows for a closer relationship between leaders and followers.

An essential aspect of leadership is the role and behavior of subordinates. Subordinate employees use various strategies to influence their superiors. Table 5.1 summarizes subordinateships for the two levels of power distance. At each level of power distance, both subordinates and superiors expect certain appropriate behaviors from the leader, and a mismatch poses problems. Which strategy is chosen depends on its perceived appropriateness in a given culture. What an American subordinate may find appropriate may not be viewed similarly by an Asian. This difference was observed in research among Chinese and Americans working in Hong Kong and Americans working in the United States. It was found that a difference exists between the Eastern and Western styles of upward influence. Americans preferred overt tactics involving image management that permit them to showcase their individual skills and abilities. They preferred, for example, to manage an independent project or make sure that important people in the organization hear of their accomplishments. In contrast, Hong Kong Chinese preferred a more covert approach that works behind the scenes, one that may involve using their family and trusted friends to obtain information and influence that may help them to succeed [22].

Table 5.1 Subordinateship for the two levels of power distance

Small power distance	Large power distance
Subordinates have weak dependence needs	Subordinates have strong dependence needs
Superiors have weak dependence needs toward their superiors	Superiors have strong dependence needs toward their superiors
Subordinates expect superiors to consult them and may rebel or strike if superiors are not seen as staying within their legitimate role	Subordinates expect superiors to act autocratically
Ideal superior to most is a loyal democrat	Ideal superior to most is a benevolent autocrat or paternalist
Laws and rules apply to all and privileges for superiors are not considered acceptable	Everybody expects superiors to enjoy privileges; laws and rules differ for superiors and subordinates
Status symbols are frowned on and will easily come under attack from subordinates	Status symbols are very important and contribute strongly to the superior's authority with the subordinates

Source: Ref. 11, p., 259

Managerial Leadership in Europe

Managerial leadership centers on the relationship between the manager and the followers. The manner of relating to employees, the style of projecting and using power, and the method of dealing with conflicts and crises set the stage for managerial leadership. The boundaries within which these issues are dealt with vary among cultures. Americans prefer informality and a moderate use of power. They are pragmatic and practical. While they are conscious of projecting a proper image, they do not sacrifice results for a proper appearance. They allow participation by the lower levels of organization when such participation can lead to improved performance and productivity. Assuming that Europeans, due to a shared cultural heritage, have the same preferences can lead to disappointment.

Cultural Prism: Authority and Leadership

"The respect of subordinates depends on the appearance of strength and competence, but what comes across as strong and competent is not the same everywhere. In Mexico, machismo is important. In Germany, polish, decisiveness, and breadth of knowledge give a manager stature. . . . The point is, you should behave appropriately for your role, or your employees may be confused."

"Americans are peculiar in their concentration of interest and effort into a few activities. With few exceptions, industrial leaders in the United States are known only for their corporate identity. Latin American management emphasizes the total person. Leaders are respected as multidimensional social beings who are a family leader, business leader, intellectual and patron of the arts. . . . French and Italian industry leaders are social leaders. . . . In Germany, power can be financial, political, entrepreneurial, managerial, or intellectual; of the five, intellectual power seems to rank highest. Many of the heads of German firms have doctoral degrees and are always addressed as 'Herr Doktor'."

"To communicate rank or to estimate the power of a foreigner you have to know the local accouterments of success or position. . . . Appearance and clothing are extremely important to the Latin Americans. Arabs and American businessmen seem to value large offices. . . . Ostentatious displays of power are considered bad form by the Germans." [23] (p. 120).

Britain

On the two dimensions of uncertainty avoidance and power distance, the British are very similar to the Americans. Their high tolerance for ambiguity and low power distance is reflected in their industrial relations practices. Labor-management relations are less codified in England than in any other Western European country, which is not surprising in a country that does not even have a written constitution.

While French managers believe in a rigid separation of professional and private life, British executives perceive a fluid and much more obscure boundary between the two spheres. The British are more passive and empathetic, spending time relaxing, doing chores, and simply being together. While the career strategy of the French executive is more defensive, that of the British counterpart is more aggressive and risk-taking. The British see the most positive characteristics of the boss as persuasive-paternalistic or consultative [11].

Probably due to a high tolerance for ambiguity, the British prefer a generalized, nonspecialized education for managers. A British manager was quoted as saying, "the more difficult it is to plan, the less you need full-time professional planners" (Refs. [11], p., 118; [24]). Centuries of class conflict have left its mark on the workplace. Often, British workers consider their employers to be exploitative, since employers have exploited their ancestors for centuries. Over the years, British labor has developed a socialistic attitude that at times even advocates public ownership of corporations. It has produced a class-war outlook in which workers are not enthusiastic about toiling for the "boss class" (p. 458) [25]. The elitist and hierarchical organizational systems prevalent in Britain are not much concerned with nurturing the people in the factories. By and large, the workers carry out what they are told to do [26].

The British

An American executive advising a young manager who was being assigned to England: "Remember, the United Kingdom is a polyglot of ancient cultural influence—Angles, Saxons, Normans, Vikings, Celts, Picts, Romans, and others. Today this so-called homogeneous isle is becoming more pluralistic with the influx of immigrants from the commonwealth nations. . . . Normally, you will find them reserved, polite, and often friendly, but don't take them for granted. For all their simulated modesty, the British can be tough and blandly ruthless when necessary. They are masters at intelligence gathering, political blackmail, and chicanery, as a reading of book *Intrepid* will illustrate. Despite how quaint and eccentric they may appear to you at times, don't sell them short. They are a game people who built an empire with a handful of men and women. Although England and Wales are only the size of Alabama, and the population density is close to the size of France, the British once ruled 14 million square miles and more than 500 million souls. I remember reading once: 'Because their Union Jack once flew over a good portion of the globe, the people have an empire ethos that gave meaning to those who served it.'. . . . It explains their effortless superiority in world affairs, and their inward, invisible grace as a people. It produced a tradition of public service and an education and class system that was dedicated to the needs of the Empire. It also spawned a credo that natural leaders, not low-born self-made men and women, should rule among the multitude." [25] (p. 458)

The British are very protective of their "space." Outdoor cafes common in some parts of Europe are absent in Britain. Phillips [26] attributes this to the dislike of the British for being in close proximity to other people. "The worst thing that can happen to a Briton on holiday is for someone else to come and sit next to them on the beach."

France

The French tend to favor formal and ritual activities over informal activities (p. 95) [15]. They are idealistic and concerned with the essence of values. While the motto of the French republic is *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* ("Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"), the importance of social classes cannot be ignored. The French social classes are the aristocracy, the upper bourgeoisie, the upper-middle bourgeoisie, and the middle, lower-middle, and lower classes. The French are very status conscious. Social status depends on one's social origin. While Americans can aspire to the highest level of society through their own accomplishments and hard work, the best that the French can do is climb one or two stages of the social ladder. Education, a knowledge of literature and the fine arts, a tastefully decorated beautiful house, and the proper ancestral social origins are outward signs of social status (pp. 465–471) [25].

The top French managers are an elite group, very much aware of their *grandes écoles* (great schools/universities) roots. *Grandes écoles* supply almost all the top positions of the well-known and large public and private organizations. Military influence and tradition are very much in evidence in these schools, and therefore, they have maintained their strong male tradition. Mostly engineers by background, the graduates of *grandes écoles* excel in quantitative thought and expression and in the numerical dimensions of strategy. They have a great affinity for written communication, which reinforces a formality that permeates their relationships. To them, the manager should be able to grasp complex problems, dissect and synthesize them, manipulate ideas, and appraise solutions. They would rather be considered intellectuals than practicals, and they are obsessed with grammatical rectitude. French managers tend to have a bias for thought and intellect rather than action. In this vein, the witty detractors of the French inclination for theory have a caricature of one French civil servant telling the other, "That's fine in practice, but it'll never work in theory" (pp. 12–13) [26]. French organizations are highly centralized and hierarchical, and decisions are made at the very apex. Educational credentials are the basis of a finely graded distribution of positions and offices. Unlike in US companies, the highly credentialed managers in French organizations are allowed to accumulate all the responsibilities they feel capable of handling [27].

Managerial Leadership in France

"French managers see their work as an intellectual challenge, requiring the remorseless application of individual brainpower. They do not share the Anglo-Saxon view of management as an interpersonally demanding exercise, where plans have to be constantly 'sold' upward and downward using personal skills. . . . The design of French organizations reflects and reinforces the cerebral manager. France has a long tradition of centralization, of hierarchical rigidity, and individual respect for authority. French company law resembles the country's constitution in conferring power on a single person. . . . the *president-directeur-general* (PDG) . . . is chairman of the board and chief executive rolled into one. . . . The PDG is not answerable to anyone." [27]

French workers are very much concerned with the quality of life. Very seldom are they willing to sacrifice their free time and vacation for the sake of work. They cherish their 2–4 weeks of annual vacation, one of the longest in Europe. The French managers' leadership style is predominantly autocratic [28]. However, they tend to avoid face-to-face confrontation and conflict in organizations. Perhaps the social class distinction that separates the workers from the ruling executives leaves less room for face-to-face relationships. Therefore, impersonal rules are devised to protect both the superiors and the subordinates. "From below, one obeys the rules and thus does not submit to the absolute authority of an individual and as a result protects one's independence. From the top, editing the rules affirms the capacity of sovereign power" (p. 95) [15].

Germany

Small power distance and strong uncertainty avoidance are two characteristics of German society. According to Hofstede [11], societies that are strong on uncertainty avoidance are intolerant of deviant persons and ideas and consider them dangerous. People of these societies are nationalistic, aggressive, and consensus seeking, have an inner urge to work hard, are concerned with security, and are strong advocates of law and order. Almost all these characteristics are stereotypical of Germans. Germans are known for their industriousness and efficiency. They are an inward people who tend to be very private. They perform better when they are given clear instructions and know what is expected of them [28]. Compared with Americans, Germans seem to take a long time to develop friendly relations with others. Germans are status conscious and idealistic. They are reserved, and to outsiders, they appear to be cold. They are detail oriented and meticulous. When Ford Motor Company started its *world car* concept, integrating the worldwide production of automobiles, they learned firsthand about German precision. The Germans made components that required very fine fitting. Other countries, however, were not accustomed to producing, for example, doors and body parts with the precision of a few millimeters. The result was incompatibility of parts and components produced in Germany with those produced in other countries.

While Americans are satisfied with partial models that leave many questions unanswered, such as various motivational models, control mechanisms, and delegation, Germans have tried to develop more systematic models. This approach to management has produced the "Harzburger model." In this model managing is done by defining the tasks to be performed, creating job descriptions for the tasks, and defining behavioral roles for their performance [29]. Such a bureaucratic model approaches leadership and motivation from a logical, institutional, and economic perspective. It views the firm as operating in an economic free-enterprise system that "motivates" it to seek profit. Within such a system, individuals are considered as rational persons who seek to maximize their personal profit or utility in a manner consistent with the firm's objectives [30]. Viewed from an institutional perspective, leadership is, therefore, considered as a phenomenon comprising the acquisition, possession, and use of power. This view of leadership, however, is tempered with the institutional participation of employees in the management of the firm through *codetermination*. Additionally, it considers leadership's responsibility to improve employer-employee relationships on the basis of voluntary socio-ethical obligations. The aim is to develop a new relationship between capital and labor on a voluntary rather than a legal basis. It advocates consensus-based partnership between unions and management (p. 1390) [29].

Leadership Succession in a German Company

"I look carefully at the young people who are brought to my attention by my colleagues. I spend a lot of thought on these people. . . . I invite these young men to my home for dinner. Often I give garden parties for perhaps for 60 or 90 people in honor of some visiting foreigners. Then I can see how they behave, how their wives behave, how well they get along with foreign people, the quality of their education. . . . We don't like people who can't behave properly. . . .

We invest a lot in these people. If they have language deficiencies, we train them. If they are to work in Latin America, we send them to Spain for three months so they speak really good Spanish.

At the moment, I do not know that there is a member of corporate management whom I could propose as my successor. So I look (around) the world a bit, and we have identified two or three people who could qualify. So I might arrange a golf game with some of my fellow chief executives.. .. As we play, I might say to one chief executive: 'There is a chap in your organization who, we think, can do things for us. What are his chances with you?' He might respond: 'Well, his boss is only three years older, so I can't offer him anything like your opportunity. You can have him.'" [31] (p. 10)

German managers are predominantly from the engineering disciplines. With very few exceptions, these managers have middle- or upper-class backgrounds [32]. German workers are among the highest paid and best treated in the world. They have one of the shortest work weeks and among the longest paid vacations. While the majority of the German workforce is not unionized, contracts negotiated by labor unions cover both unionized and nonunionized employees. This is due to the

fact that about 90% of employers are members of an employers' association, and collective agreements are on regional and industry levels.

Managerial Leadership in Japan Versus the United States

The nature of the decision-making process at the higher levels of organizational hierarchy influences the type of leadership employed throughout the organization. In the United States, of the two components of the decision-making process, decision formulation is the domain of top management, and implementation of those decisions is relegated to the lower levels. In the American system of decision-making, fewer levels and smaller numbers of people are involved. Therefore, a shorter time period is needed to formulate a decision. To implement these decisions, however, organizations are compelled to secure the commitment and support of the lower levels and a larger number of people. When successful, this method produces quick results. Securing the commitment and support of the lower levels in implementing these decisions requires certain leadership characteristics and skills that are very akin to those required in selling and marketing. To produce results, leaders have to be very persuasive and have to command resources that the subordinates desire, or they need to have the personal traits (charisma) that would make subordinates follow their directions.

***Ringisei*: Japanese Decision–Making**

"When an important decision needs to be made in a Japanese organization, everyone who will feel its impact is involved in making it. In the case of a decision where to put a new plant . . . (for example) will often mean sixty to eighty people directly involved in making the decision. A team of three will be assigned the duty of talking to all sixty to eighty people and, each time a significant modification arises, contacting all the people involved again. The team will repeat this process until a true consensus has been achieved. Understanding and support may supersede the actual content of the decision, since the five or six competing alternatives may be equally good or bad. . . .

When a major decision is to be made, a written proposal lays out one 'best' alternative for consideration. The task of writing the proposal goes to the youngest and newest member of the department involved. Of course, the president or vice-president knows the acceptable alternatives, and the young person tries like heck to figure out what those are. He talks to everyone, soliciting their opinions, paying special attention to those who know the top man best. In so doing he is seeking a common ground. Fortunately, the young person cannot completely figure out from others what the boss wants, and must add his own thoughts. This is how variety enters the decision process in a Japanese company." [33] (pp. 44–45)

In contrast to the US decision-making process, the Japanese employ a consensus-building method known as *ringisei*, or *ringi* for short. In fact, the Japanese have no equivalent for *decision-making* (p. 27) [11]. *Ringiseido* literally means "a system of reverential inquiry about a superior's intentions." In this context, the term means

obtaining approval on a proposed matter through the vertical, and sometimes horizontal, circulation of documents to concerned members in the organization (p. 34) [34]. In the *ringi* system, everyone who will feel the impact of a decision will be involved in making it.

The system originated in government offices and national enterprises at the beginning of industrialization. In a *ringi* system, the business plan or proposal about important problems that require a budget must be sent from the lower- to the higher-positioned staff and finally decided on by the president. The business plan or proposal must be sent from the lower group head to the head of the next level and, finally, to the department head. If at each succeeding level, the superior cannot consent to the plan, it must be sent back to the original lower-level manager for modification or total revision and then sent to the upper level again [35].

In a *ringi* system, the demand for information pulls the decision down toward the implementation level. At the same time, the need for decisions to match the corporate strategies pulls it upward. The equilibrium of these two conflicting demands usually takes place at the middle level. The success of the system depends on the competency and leadership skills of middle-level management, which serves as a bridge between the upper and lower levels of the organization. The effectiveness of middle managers depends on their personal relations with other managers. Unless they can obtain the required information from all corners of the organization, they will not be able to perform their job successfully (p. 39) [34]. Under the *ringi* system, managerial leadership at the top entails coping with crisis situations or charting new directions for the organization. The chief executive does not alter or disapprove of the decisions reached through *ringi*. The lower levels work hard to make sure that no *ringi* decision reaches the top that will not be approved. After the general direction and strategy of the firm are communicated to the middle and lower levels, operational decisions and methods of implementing those decisions are entrusted to them. In Japanese firms, chief executives spend most of their time in establishing and maintaining close relationships with government officers and other corporate heads (p. 41) [34].

High on both power distance and uncertainty avoidance, Japanese culture favors consensus and shuns deviant behavior. Japanese tend to favor authoritarian-paternalistic leaders. Respect for authority is central to Japanese society. From an outsider's point of view, the *ringi* system of decision-making appears to connote an egalitarian practice. Taken in the context of Japanese culture, however, it is another way of removing uncertainty and abiding by the power of authorities. As Prakash Sethi and his associates [34] assert, "The controlling and motivating mechanism in Japanese organizations are not humanism and egalitarianism, but hierarchy, authority, power, and domination. . . . egalitarianism as a cultural trait does not exist in Japan" (p. 267). Hierarchical authority relationships are not confined to the corporation but extend to all aspects of Japanese society. The use of authority and submission governs all interactions. Managers rely on the use of authority and its by-product, discipline, to achieve what American managers try to achieve by using other techniques, such as power sharing and MBO. As Bruce-Briggs [36] asserts, Japanese labor discipline was not created by skillful corporate management. Of course, discipline and hierarchy are Western terms. The Japanese speak of expected behavior and

"harmonious relations" (pp. 41–44). Discipline and respect for authority have been there all along as part of the Japanese cultural character. Japanese do what is expected of them. They are expected to respect authority, work hard, work right, and not block productivity improvement. Consider the ordinary observation of the visitor to Japan:

> Early in the morning in Tokyo: Along the curb sanitation men carefully polish their tiny Isuzu garbage truck. Imagine the response of American garbage men to such a directive. . . . Just before opening time at a little middle-class shop in Kyoto: Before the main counter stands a young man in a business suit—obviously the manager. To his left and two steps to his rear, a slightly younger man—the assistant manager—listening intently. Lined up before them, in better formation than . . . (any) Army squad, the uniformed shopgirls, the No. 1 girl one pace forward, all in "respect" position—hands clasped before them, head slightly bowed, eyes fixed on the managers, receiving the orders of the day [36]. (p. 41)

While the use of authority is at the center of Japanese leadership, the desire for consensus and the subordination of the individuals to the group minimize its abuse.

Motivation

Motivation has long been a major concern for management because it is linked to productivity, creativity, job turnover, absenteeism, etc. Motivation is defined as the process through which behavior is mobilized to reach certain goals, which in turn satisfies individual and/or organizational needs. Motivation is the total of all forces within individuals that account for the effort he or she applies to the job at hand. Motivation begins with the search to satisfy needs. Figure 5.2 shows the three main phases a person undergoes during the need satisfaction process.

Although in their daily activities, managers primarily focus on accomplishing business objectives and satisfying organizational needs, to accomplish this, they must also see that their employees' needs are satisfied. An effective motivational program uses the individual's needs to generate internal energy and to direct energized behavior toward achieving organizational and individual goals. The individual's satisfaction with the job, and ultimately with his or her life, plays an important role in sustaining the desired behavior and achieving the much-needed predictability necessary for planning organizational activities.

Job satisfaction is a part of the overall satisfaction with life and, in turn, is affected by it. Employee dissatisfaction can lead to absenteeism, poor-quality products, accidents, family problems, and deterioration of mental health. Effective managers closely monitor both employee job satisfaction and work performance because they know that job satisfaction can lead to a better working relationship with

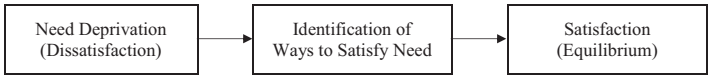

Fig. 5.2 Need satisfaction process

superiors, peers, and subordinates. A satisfied employee working in a less disruptive work environment will be a more productive worker. For most people of many cultures, work attributes are among the most important motivating factors. In a survey of more than 8000 randomly selected employees from Belgium, Great Britain, West Germany, Israel, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States, Harpaz found that the paramount work goal, by a wide margin, was "interesting work." For these workers "good pay" and "good interpersonal relations" were second and third in degree of importance [38].

Motivation and Culture

Human motivation is the product of the interaction between people and the physical and social environment. It is important to recognize, however, that most of the management literature on motivation is psychologically oriented and is based on psychological models developed and tested almost exclusively in the United States. These theories are presented in Appendix B. While psychological models of motivation are very useful for the management of US businesses, they are inadequate for international management. We all accept, in principle, that there are differences among people of different cultures. In studying human motivation, however, United States-based researchers have taken a simplistic view by ignoring the cultural influences on people's behavior. To understand human motivation, we need to understand not only the people themselves but also their environment and their culture. More specifically, as D'Andrade [39] puts it, "to understand why people do what they do, we have to understand the cultural constructs by which they interpret the world" (p. 4).

Culture plays an important role in the formation of many of our needs, their relative importance, and the way we attempt to satisfy them. Many human needs, such as security, love, and esteem, are learned through cultural influences. Through socialization with others, people learn acceptable ways of satisfying their needs and follow these norms in pursuit of need satisfaction.

The importance and priorities that people assign to their needs are also determined by their cultures. Americans place a particular importance on individual needs, such as personal comfort and self-actualization. In contrast, Japanese may sacrifice individual comfort to achieve social acceptance. Middle Easterners often sacrifice personal comfort, and even encounter financial hardship, to offer hospitality to their guests. Cultural values are the foundation of socially acquired needs and define the acceptable methods of need satisfaction. Americans, for example, value individualism very much, and it is the basis of many other American values. Even the declaration of independence speaks of individualism, where it reads "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." [40] To Americans, freedom of choice and expression is the basis for many individual needs and need satisfaction. Very few Americans, for example, would tolerate interference by others in their choice of a mate. In contrast, in many traditional families in India, China, and the Middle East, such decisions are made by parents, often with little or no consideration of the

individual's opinion. Often, respect for parents inhibits children from even expressing their opposition.

In Chap. 3, we learned that culture influences people's perceptions of time and space, as well as attitudes toward work and authority. In turn, the perception of time and space and the attitudes toward work and authority influence people's motivation. Even among subcultures—various groups of the same culture—these differences are noticeable. Nord [41], for example, identified age, rural versus urban background, ethnicity, and sex as important factors that influence an individual's behavior in work organizations. Research in the United States has found that younger employees are more motivated by money, while for older employees, job security and fringe benefits are more important. In a comparative study of attitudes toward work in China and Taiwan, Derakhshan and Khan [42] found a generation gap in both cultures between younger and older workers, which influenced their work attitudes. There was also a difference between the attitudes of the two samples, with the Taiwanese sample reflecting attitudes closer to Western values.

In a case study, Whyte and Braun [43] identified a group of patterns in socialization and education that appear in less developed economies. Autocratic teachers, glorification of military heroes, and disrespect for businesspersons were among the factors that led to the lack of independence training and, therefore, the lack of motivation. However, in a study of similarities among 14 countries, Haire et al. discovered that countries cluster along ethnic rather than industrial lines [44]. Black and Porter [45] studied the managerial behaviors and job performances of Americans, Hong Kong Chinese, and American expatriates in Hong Kong. They found that those managerial behaviors that were significantly related to job performance in the United States did not seem to be relevant to job performance in Hong Kong. In short, the effect of culture on behavior is complex and cannot be discounted.

Cultural Influences on Motivation

Organizational performance is a function of employees' work contributions to organizational goals. The efforts exerted by employees at work are influenced by their motivation. A motivated worker is a more productive worker. If we consider motivation as a psychological state that compels a person to expend a certain amount of effort to accomplish a job, we are dealing with two main concepts: work and the person or "self." In studying cross-cultural motivation, we should be careful not to assume that these concepts have a universal meaning. There is a growing body of research that indicates that people of different cultures have different views about these two concepts. The perception of "self" is a product of cultural upbringing, and so is the meaning of work.

Cultural Definitions of Work

Throughout the history of Western civilization, work has been regarded variously as drudgery, a necessary evil, an obligation, a duty, and a way to salvation. To engage in physical work has been considered undignified and demeaning, on one extreme,

and honorable, glorified, and exemplifying piety, on the other. According to Max Weber, a contributing factor to the emergence of modern capitalism, characterized by large organizations, was the value and importance that the Protestant religion accorded to work and the accumulation of wealth.

> Perhaps because of our Puritan work ethic and the basic belief in cause and effect, we take pride in our work; we conduct business at social functions and we take work home with us. . . . Work gives us identity; we often define ourselves and others by what we do; elsewhere identity often stems from religion, family, and village [23]. (p. 13)

Thus, personal introductions vary among Americans and the Japanese. In the United States, most individuals will typically talk about *what* they do—that is, the content of their work: "I'm a doctor" or "I'm a machinist." In contrast, in Japan, most people identify themselves by referring to their employer: "Morio of Mitsubishi" or "Tanaka of Toyota."

Regardless of the kind of work a person does, Americans expect the person to be willing to do whatever it takes to do the job. A common expression indicating such an attitude is that "we must be willing to get our hands dirty." Of course, the positive attitudes that many Americans have toward work is not universal. In some cultures, a negative attitude toward work is more pervasive. In some South American cultures, involvement in physical work is regarded as demeaning and beneath the dignity of a well-respected person. Work is classified as low or high status depending on what it involves. In extreme cases, college-educated people will not concern themselves with the problems on the shop floor. They consider that type of work degrading. They think that their college degrees should raise them above such low-status jobs [46]. The same is true in some Middle Eastern countries. Kuwaitis, for example, regularly hire non-Kuwaitis to perform most jobs that require physical labor, even the sensitive security tasks. Most, and particularly the educated, Kuwaitis consider physical work demeaning and undignified.

Americans' Faith in Hard Work

William H. Newman [46] has suggested that anyone contemplating a transfer of US management practices to other cultures should understand the premises of these practices. The American faith in rewards for persistent hard work and the value of hard work, for example, is not a universal belief.

"Both our lore and our experience underscore the necessity for hard work if objectives are to be achieved. Even among those who do not accept the Puritan ethic that hard work is a virtue in itself, there is a strong belief that persistent, purposeful effort is necessary to achieve high goals. Hard work is not considered to be the only requisite for success; wisdom and luck are also needed. Nevertheless, the feeling is that, without hard work, a person is neither likely to achieve, nor justified in expecting to achieve, his objectives.

This belief in the efficacy of hard work is by no means common worldwide. Sometimes a fatalistic viewpoint makes hard work seem futile. In other instances, it is more important to curry the favor of the right man; and in still other situations, hard work is considered unmanly."

People work for many reasons. The first reason that immediately comes to mind is the instrumentality of work, a term that means that to live a comfortable and dignified life, most of us need to work. Therefore, work is an important vehicle for obtaining what we need to live. To have a comfortable life, we are motivated to work. Taking only this meaning of work into account, organizations devise a variety of techniques, such as pay and fringe benefits, to motivate their employees.

However, work has other meanings. In addition to being a necessity, work can be an attractive activity by itself. It may also provide people with an opportunity to socialize and interact with others and satisfy their gregariousness. Many people will continue to work even if they are financially secure. It is the interesting nature of the activity itself that draws them to work. For others, work is a very important aspect of their life. Without work, they feel that something is missing in their lives. For these people, work assumes a very central position in their lives. We have learned that the centrality of work (its importance) in people's lives varies from culture to culture. In a seven-country study of the meaning of work, for example, researchers found a wide variation in work centrality among the countries studied. They found work centrality to be highest for Japan and lowest for the United Kingdom. The sequence of rank ordering was Japan, Yugoslavia, Israel, the United States, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, and the United Kingdom [47]. Jyuji Misumi's [48] research has confirmed that the Japanese consider work to be highly important in their lives. Among the four countries studied, Misumi found that work importance was highest among the Japanese, followed by Americans, Germans, and Belgians.

The cultural differences in the meaning of work have practical implications for international managers. Since there are variations in the meaning that people of different cultures attach to work, differentiated motivational programs need to be applied. To motivate those who consider physical work undignified, for example, we may have to rely more on the monetary outcomes of the work. For others, making the work more interesting or socially rewarding may be a better choice.

Although there are cultural differences in the meaning of work, cross-cultural research also suggests that there is a substantial commonality among cultures about certain facets of work. Among the major features of work that people of many cultures value are "good pay" and "interesting work." [38] The implication for international management is that if the pay is good and if the jobs are interesting, managers will have an easier time motivating people from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Cultural Definitions of Self

Many consider individualism as the most salient feature of American culture. Many American ideals, such as equality and objectivity in treating people based on their own merits and not on their social standing or political connections, are anchored to individualism. To describe Americans as individualistic does not fully explain the cultural differences between Americans and the people of other nations. Individualism only tells us about the societal and external view of an "individual," the view that the society holds with regard to a person and his or her relationship with other members of society. To fully comprehend the difference between

Americans and the people of other cultures, we need to explore the concept of "individualism" from the personal aspect of "self."

The concept of self has many facets. Westerners view the individual as a self-contained, autonomous, and independent entity. Based on this understanding, the individual comprises a unique configuration of attributes, such as traits, abilities, motives, and values. These attributes constitute the basis for the individual's behavior [49].

The three major facets of self are:

1. Physiological-ecological [50]
2. Inner-private
3. Public-relational [51]

We assume that people everywhere are likely to develop an understanding of themselves as physically distinct and separate from others. This is the **physiological-ecological** self—the self that is referred to as "I."

The **inner-private** self is the sense of awareness that each person has about internal aspects such as dreams, feelings, and the continuous flow of thoughts, which are private and cannot be directly known by others. Some aspects of the inner-private self are probably universal, but many other aspects may be culturally determined.

As we relate to others, we develop an understanding of the **public-relational** self, which is defined by social relationships. People of different cultures see the public-relational self as either *separate from and independent of* others or as *connected to and interdependent on* others.

For most Westerners, the self is an impermeable, free agent, with attributes that are independent of circumstances or a particular relationship, which can move from group to group and situation to situation without significant alterations. In effect, the self can be abstracted from its surroundings. For Easterners (and many other people), the person is connected, fluid, and conditional. The person exists in a web of relationships, such as the family and society. The person is mostly identified in terms of these relationships, and purely independent behavior is impossible. For example, in Chinese, there is no equivalent term for the word individualism. An American may describe himself/herself as a "fun-loving and hardworking person," whereas a Japanese, a Chinese, or a Korean may say, "I am fun loving with my friends" or "I am serious at work," which puts the person in relation to others and in a context (pp. 49–51) [52].

Many Westerners, including Americans, believe in the inherent separateness of distinct persons. It is the norm, and people are expected to become independent from others and discover and express their unique attributes. Markus and Kitayama [51] describe the attempt at developing such a self as follows:

> Achieving the cultural goal of independence requires constructing oneself as an individual whose behavior is organized and made meaningful primarily by reference to one's own internal repertoire of thoughts, feeling, and action, rather than by reference to the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others. . . . This view of the self-derives from a belief in the wholeness and uniqueness of each person's configuration of internal attributes. (p. 226)

The independent view of the self gives rise to concepts such as "self-actualization," "self-esteem," "realizing one's potentials," "being true to one's self," and many other expressions describing and canonizing the self and self-centered activities and concepts.

In contrast to the Western view, many Eastern cultures have maintained an **interdependent** view of the self. These cultures believe in the fundamental **connectedness** of humans to each other. Examples of common American expressions relating to the independent self are "stand up and be counted" and "do your own thing." In contrast, the Japanese saying that "the nail that stands up gets hammered down" represents the concept of the interdependent self. To experience the "interdependent self," one should see oneself as part of an encompassing social relationship. It also involves recognizing that one's behavior is determined by, contingent on, and to a large extent organized by what the person perceives to be the thoughts, feelings, and actions of *others* in the relationship [51].

An interdependent self is not separate from the social context. It is more connected to and less differentiated from others. Such a connectedness motivates people to fit in and become a part of the social context and to fulfill the obligation of belongingness with relevance to others. As Hernandez and Iyengar [53] put it, the crucial point for such a person is not the inner self but rather the relationships the person has with others. Experiencing interdependence entails seeing the self as a part of an all-encompassing social relationship. Therefore, interdependent persons are more motivated by those contexts that allow them to perceive themselves as fitting in with a social group, which in turn enables them to enhance their relationships with others.

The internal attributes of an **interdependent** self are less fixed and concrete and more situation specific, and they are sometimes elusive and unreliable. In such a case, the attitudes will not directly regulate overt behavior, especially if the behavior implicates significant others. In many social contexts, the interdependent self must constantly control and regulate its opinion, abilities, and characteristics to come to terms with the primary task of interdependence. In an interdependent, collectivist culture, an independent behavior, such as expressing an opinion, is likely to be influenced and somewhat determined by the forces of interdependence. Such behavior has a significance that is different from the one exhibited by an independent self in an independent culture [51]. The contrast between the external source of what Westerners consider inner attributes, such as conscience, and the external source of such attributes for the Japanese is described by Dore [54]:

> The Christian who believes that his conscience is the voice of God within him feels that it is a duty to God to obey its dictates and that he has sinned in the sight of the Lord if he fails to do so. The Japanese who conceives of the voice of his conscience as the voice of his parents and teachers feels it to be a duty towards them to obey it, and if he fails to do so it is they whom he has let down. Even after their death his feelings of guilt may take the form of imagining how displeased these honored parents and teachers would be (p. 385)

Parsons et al. [55] have suggested that **self-orientation** (independent self) versus **collectivity orientation** is an important variable that determines human action. Giving priority to one's own "private interests, independently of their bearings on

the interests or values of a given collectivity" is self-orientation. Taking into account the values and interests of collectivity before any action is taken is collectivity orientation.

Interdependent cultures assume that a person is mostly defined by situations and by the presence of others. Therefore, a person is inseparable from the situations of others. This interconnectedness, for example, is the basis for the Chinese culture's emphasis on synthesizing the constituent parts of any situation or problem into a harmonious whole. The Japanese word *jibun*, for self, more accurately describes "one's share of the shared living space." [51] For the Japanese, according to Hamaguchi (as cited in Ref. [51]),

> a sense of identification with others (sometimes including conflict) pre-exists and selfness is confirmed only through interpersonal relationships. . . . Selfness is not constant like the ego but denotes a fluid concept which changes through time and situation according to interpersonal relationships. (p. 228)

In contrast to **independent** cultures, in **interdependent** cultures, relationships are often valued for and by themselves, not as a means of achieving personal objectives. People are constantly aware of others and will try to account for others' goals and desires in the pursuit of their personal goals. A reciprocal arrangement exists within which people passively monitor their contributions to others' goals and vice versa. The importance of others to one's life and the resultant relationships and social obligations are limited to persons belonging to "in-groups," such as family members or members of social group or workgroups. The following excerpt from Dore [54] illuminates this:

> The individual surrenders a part of himself not to a group of which he is a member, but to particular individuals whose leadership he accepts, with whose fortunes he identifies himself, on whose help he depends for securing his own advancement or happiness, on whose goodwill he depends for his emotional security, and whose approval he depends on for his self-respect. (p. 389)

A summary of the key differences between the independent and interdependent selves is presented in Table 5.2. The two different concepts of self have various implications for motivation. An independent self takes pride in its own attributes and accomplishments. In contrast, an interdependent self may be motivated to avoid such a selfish expression. Instead, the overt expression of pride may often be directed at a collective of which the self is a part (p. 237) [51]. The following is an example of how Japanese feel proud of the accomplishments of their superiors and how every member of the group experiences a shared pride in those accomplishments.

> In a Tokyo office, a company employee let me witness a gesture of devotion to his office superior which I had never experienced in the Western world. We were at the end of an interview in his office which, being that of a lower-middle ranking officer, was small and sparsely furnished. But the size and nature of his office were never part of our conversation. As I was preparing to take my leave, he said, "Let me show you the office of my Section Chief." He took me to an office three times as big as his, very well furnished, pointed to the empty chair behind the big desk ornamented with lots of bric-a-brac and proudly said: "This is the desk of my Section Chief." [56] (p. 215)

Table 5.2 Summary of key differences between independent and interdependent concepts of self

Feature compared	Independent	Interdependent
Definition	Separate from social context	Connected with social context
Structure	Bounded, unitary, stable	Flexible, variable
Important features	Internal, private (abilities, thoughts, feelings)	External, public (statuses, roles, relationships)
Tasks	Be unique	Belong, fit in
	Express self	Occupy one's proper place
	Realize internal attributes	Engage in appropriate action
	Promote own goals	Promote others' goals
	Be direct; say what's on your mind	Be indirect; read other's mind
Role of others	*Self-evaluation:* Others important for social comparison, reflected appraisal	*Self-definition*: relationships with others in specific contexts define the self
Basis of self-esteem[a]	Ability to express self, validate internal attributes	Ability to adjust, restrain self, maintain harmony with social context

Source: Ref. 51. Copyright 1991 by the American Psychological Association. Reprinted with permission

[a]Esteeming the self may be primarily a Western phenomenon, and the concept of self-esteem should perhaps be replaced by self-satisfaction, or by a term that reflects the realization that one is fulfilling the culturally mandated task.

According to most Western theories, motivation is more a personal phenomenon, and others indirectly influence the process as a means of contributing to individual goal accomplishments. The concept of an **interdependent** self implies a more fundamental and vital role for significant others in shaping and directing the behavior of a person.

In the preceding discussion, we have implied that in **interdependent** cultures, most of the motives of an individual are shaped by the group. Therefore, there are a number of motives that have more relevance to an **interdependent** self than to an **independent** self. Murray [57] presented a list of such motives, including **affiliation**, **avoidance of blame**, **similance** (the need to imitate others), **deference** (the need to willingly follow superiors and those we admire), **nurturance** (the need to nurture, protect, and aid others), **abasement** (acceptance of self-deprecation), and **succorance** (the need to seek aid, sympathy, and dependence).

Since for an **interdependent** self, it is imperative to socially integrate, seek harmony with others, and immerse the self in the collectivist whole, all these needs would be more relevant and even desirable to the **interdependent** self (p. 240) [51]. For the interdependent Chinese, for example, the achievement need is more socially oriented. Their achievement goal is to meet the expectations of others who are important and close to the individual [58].

Cognitive consistency has also been considered as a motivating force. Individuals seek to establish consistency in their cognition. Cognitive inconsistency creates dissonance [59], an unpleasant anxiety producing a psychological state that motivates the individual to take an action. An example of cognitive inconsistency is the case

of a person who smokes cigarettes and believes that smoking is detrimental to his or her health. In this example, the individual can pursue a number of alternatives to eliminate the dissonance. An **interdependent** person whose internal attributes are more flexible is less likely to quit smoking as long as his or her reference group smokes. For this individual, the confirmation of self-harm comes from the group. In this case, the situational requirements regulate the private feelings of **interdependent** persons. Therefore, there is less room for experiencing inconsistency and dissonance.

Applicability of Major Motivation Theories

One major obstacle in the effective motivation of employees in MNCs is the assumption that the available motivation theories are universal. These theories erroneously assume that human needs are the same everywhere and that people will respond similarly to a motivation program. Of course, the assumption that "one size fits all" is faulty. There are culturally based differences in people's needs and the means they use to satisfy them. Because of the difficulties in understanding other cultures, and perhaps due to ethnocentric tendencies, many studies on motivation have, either explicitly or implicitly, ignored cultural differences. In fact, until recently, most management literature paid little attention to the effect of culture on motivation.

Stereotyping and Ethnocentrism

The roots of the universality assumption can be traced to stereotyping, oversimplified conceptions or beliefs about others, and ethnocentrism, which is the belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group. When faced with an unfamiliar situation, we rely on stereotypes to simplify our perception of the environment. Stereotypes may be correct or incorrect. When confronted with an unfamiliar culture, people assume similarity with their own culture unless other stereotypes are present. Ethnocentrism leads to the belief that "our way is the best way of doing things." Ethnocentrism is an attitude found in almost any culture. Studies have found that people usually think of their country as disproportionately important in the world. In most countries, maps used in the classrooms usually illustrate that country as the center of the world. In Chinese writings, the character for China means the "center of the earth." [60]

Ethnocentrism often leads to prejudiced behavior. Many people of industrialized countries equate lack of industrialization with lack of culture. Equally erroneous is the tendency to equate the materialism of industrial societies with spiritual corruption. As Kolde [61] puts it:

> A widely propounded fallacy in the advanced industrial countries holds that all nations evolve in a series of evolutionary steps in a unilinear path. The Americans, British, and French are likely to place their own respective countries at the pinnacle of this path and look upon all other peoples' cultures as backward and inferior to theirs. Cultural maturity, thus, is rationalized to be a correlate of economic progress. The claim for cultural superiority by

> members of subindustrial societies, who regard the relatively greater reliance on materialistic considerations in industrial societies as evidence of moral and spiritual degeneration, is similarly irrational. (pp. 78–79)

Incorrect stereotypes and ethnocentric attitudes are often harmful. They can be changed, however, by training and exposure to other cultures. To be effective in motivating an international workforce, managers need to understand the influence of stereotyping and ethnocentrism, and MNC management development and educational programs should attempt to reduce ethnocentrism and stereotyping.

The Shortcomings of Motivation Theories

A detailed review of major motivation theories is presented in Appendix B. These include Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Herzberg's two-factor theory, McClelland's three motives, expectancy theory, equity theory, and reinforcement theory (learning theory).

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow identified five categories of human needs, which follow a hierarchical order of importance. Ranging from the lowest to the highest, these need categories are physiological, security, social (affection), esteem (self-esteem and esteem of others), and self-actualization. Each level of need is activated only after the preceding lower-level need has been sufficiently satisfied. The most potent need is self-actualization.

Maslow's need hierarchy has been criticized on the ground that it is only applicable to American culture. Hofstede [62] questioned the applicability of North American motivation theories, including McClelland's (discussed later) and Maslow's. He asserted:

> The ordering of needs in Maslow's hierarchy represents a value choice—Maslow's value choice. This choice was based on his mid-twentieth century U.S. middle-class values. First, Maslow's hierarchy reflects individualistic values, putting self-actualization and autonomy on top. Values prevalent in collectivist cultures, such as "harmony" or "family support," do not even appear in the hierarchy. Second, the cultural map suggests that even if just the needs Maslow used in his hierarchy are considered—the needs will have to be ordered differently in different cultural areas.

Most of the interpretations of the need hierarchy theory are made within the individualistic framework of Western cultures, which overemphasize needs such as self-esteem and self-actualization. Redding [63] suggested that it is questionable to apply Western "ego-centered paradigms," which focus on individual needs, to cultures that emphasize relationships. Similarly, Nevis [64, 65], in a comparison of Chinese and American cultures, suggested that society, rather than the individual,

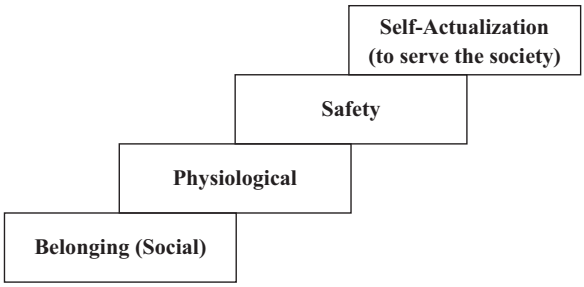

Fig. 5.3 Chinese need hierarchy

determines the four-level hierarchy of needs for Chinese. Ranging from the lowest to the highest, these needs are belonging, physiological, safety, and self-actualization in the service of society. As depicted in Fig. 5.3, there are three major differences between Maslow's hierarchy and the Chinese need hierarchy as suggested by Nevis.

First, belonging (social) need has replaced physiological need as the most basic need. Second, self-esteem is not included in the hierarchy. Self-esteem, according to Nevis, as a driving force makes sense for cultures that emphasize individualism. It is not a necessary, universal requirement that is found in all cultures. In particular, as F.L.K. Hsu (as cited in Ref. [64]) has pointed out, in the collectivist Chinese culture, the concept of self is quite different from the Western concept:

> The Chinese use a concept of "jen" (man), which is defined as the person plus the salient, intimate societal and cultural environment that makes her or his life meaningful. This implies much less differentiation in the self-concept of individuals and stresses identity as a *social* phenomenon. (p. 261)

Third, although self-esteem is considered unimportant, self-actualization is still present. In China, self-actualization is defined as a moral imperative and a social confluence: "My country needs me to be the best." [64] Therefore, it becomes a duty for the individual Chinese to fully develop the self. Failure in self-development could bring severe shame and loss of face. For the Chinese, achieving the goal of the extended family is more motivating than trying for individualized self-fulfillment [66]. In many cultures, social needs are much more prominent. It is common to mix business dealings with a heavy dose of socializing.

Within a given culture, ethnic and individual differences also complicate the applicability of Maslow's theory. To remedy this problem, Hofstede has suggested using work-related culture and job levels and categories to map need satisfaction hierarchies. Based on his study, he recommends using physical rewards for lower-level employees, while using challenge, autonomy, and cooperation as motivators for middle and upper managers [14]. Cross-cultural studies have found that managers and professionals are more responsive to higher-order needs in Maslow's hierarchy [67].

Andean Preference
An American company developing a copper mine in Chile experienced difficulty getting workers. Although it offered good meals, hot water, housing, movies, etc., the workers flocked to the French company. The workers who were employed by the French had the roughest housing and none of the comforts offered by the Americans. Baffled, the American company studied the situation and figured out what was happening. The French offered no perks but paid workers by the hour. The people of the Andes cared more about their time off. It was important for them to be able to come and go without question [68].

Although there is some support for the universality of the need hierarchy, the support is inconclusive. In an early study of 14 industrial countries, including Japan, Haire et al. [44] found some support for Maslow's theory. Later, in a study of eight countries selected from different parts of the world, Reitz [69] also found some support for the order of satisfaction as suggested by Maslow. The failure to find evidence supporting a universal hierarchy of needs has led critics to argue that the theory may be good only for European, and more specifically Anglo, cultures. They argue that, in studies that found support for Maslow's theory, the research samples were mainly taken from these cultures.

Some studies have shown that there may be a consistent rank ordering of needs in each culture, however. In his study of clusters of needs in several countries, Ronen [70] concluded that there is support for Maslow's contention that groups of needs appear in a sequence rather than simultaneously. Adler [71] suggested similar support for the existence of a need hierarchy in developing countries but one that emphasizes security and self-esteem needs (pp. 152–153). Recently, other writers have used the two clusters of developing and developed countries to study motivation. They suggest that while higher-order needs (like achievement) are more valued in developed countries, lower-order needs (security and affiliation) are more important in developing nations. Some have gone as far as to suggest that this gap is responsible for differences in economic prosperity (see the discussion later on McClelland's theory).

Finally, according to Maslow, lower-level needs have to be "reasonably satisfied" before the higher level is activated. While the idea of "reasonable satisfaction" and of what it comprises has been the subject of virtually no study to date, it seems logical to expect that what constitutes a reasonable level of satisfaction varies across cultures as well.

Motivators and Hygiene Factors

Herzberg [72, 73] identified two groups of factors, hygiene and motivators, that influence individual performance in work organizations. Hygiene factors could only

create discomfort if they were not met, but they have no effect on motivation. Hygiene factors are external to the job (extrinsic), such as working conditions, pay, and relations with peers. Motivators include job-related (intrinsic) factors, such as the work itself, achievement, responsibility, and recognition. Herzberg emphasizes achievement as a strong motivator; therefore, the problems associated with its cross-cultural validity become shortcomings of this theory. (See also the discussion of this issue with McClelland's theory.) Additionally, studies have found little evidence in support of a universal list of hygiene factors or motivators. In a study in the Panama Canal Zone, Crabbs [74] found that some hygiene factors satisfied employees. Hines tested the theory in New Zealand and found that interpersonal relationships and supervision, both considered hygiene factors by Herzberg [75], contributed to employee satisfaction.

Hofstede [62] has suggested that although achievement may be a strong motivator in some cultures, security is more important in countries with a low tolerance for uncertainty. He argued that the word *achievement* does not even translate into many other languages.

> The consequence of country differences along these two dimensions is that management conceptions about the motivation of employees, common in North America, do not necessarily apply abroad. . . . [for example] the countries in which McClelland's nAch [Achievement need] is strong are characterized by weak uncertainty avoidance [personal risk taking] and strong masculinity. McClelland's nAch may represent one particular combination of cultural choices. (p. 396)

Research findings from several countries, including New Zealand [76], Israel [77], Zambia [78], and the United Kingdom [79], suggest that although there may be a clustering of two distinct groups of factors with functions similar to what Herzberg suggests (hygiene and motivators), their components vary across cultures.

McClelland's Three Motives

McClelland [67] identified three important individual drives (needs): achievement, power, and affiliation. He suggested that the need for achievement was the most important factor leading to economic success. He proposed that at the national level, the aggregate level of this need was related to the rate of economic development. McClelland believed that the need for achievement, and related attributes, could be taught.

Cross-cultural studies of McClelland's theory have produced conflicting results. Early support for this theory came from a study by McClelland in which he trained a group of entrepreneurs in India and later measured their achievement in terms of increased profits, starting new businesses, and investigating new products. He reported that as a result of his training, the rate of achievement-oriented activities among this group almost doubled [80]. Bhagat and McQuaid [81] have cited a number of studies in both developed and developing countries that support this theory. Hofstede found a positive correlation between the need for achievement and the

need to produce and willingness to accept the risk. A number of researchers since that time have questioned McClelland's findings. Many studies have not found a link between this need and the rate of economic growth. For instance, Iwawaki and Lynn [82] found similar levels of need for achievement in their Japanese and English samples, despite a higher rate of economic growth for Japan. Two studies found unusually low levels of this need among Chinese and Czechoslovakian managers, which was inconsistent with the level of economic growth (p. 153) [60].

While McClelland's idea does permit cross-cultural theorizing, it assumes only one path to economic development manifested through a high need for achievement, which is characteristic of Western individualistic societies. Recent economic progress in some Asian countries indicates the existence of alternative paths. Moreover, the lack of a common definition for "achievement" restricts research on McClelland's theory. While achievement is measured in financial terms in American culture, in Japan it is determined by other factors, such as affiliation. As stated earlier, some argue that the word *achievement* does not even translate to some languages. Moreover, Bond's [58] summary of several studies leads to the conclusion that for the Chinese, achievement need is socially defined, with the ultimate goal being to meet the expectations of in-group members (p. 5).

The implications of the conflicting findings are clear. Many training and organization development programs exported to other countries to boost employees' achievement needs prove useless. In a study in India, McClelland and Winter [83] reported that their achievement training program had little effect. A follow-up study [84] revealed that the program had instead increased the participants' need for status, which is highly important in that culture. For a program to be successful, it should be designed for the importing culture. Moreover, the link between the increase in need for achievement and performance has to be established in that environment. Furthermore, these characteristics and motives are the results of cultural conditioning *early* in a person's life and, probably, cannot be changed in a brief training course.

Expectancy Theory

This theory proposes that motivation is a deliberate and conscious choice to engage in a certain activity for achieving a certain outcome or reward. Mathematically expressed, motivation (M) is the product of three variables (p. 6) [85]: (1) valence (V), the value (attractiveness) of the potential reward or outcome; (2) instrumentality (I), the expectation that performance will lead to receiving the reward; and (3) expectancy (E), the belief by the individual that exerting a certain amount of effort will lead to accomplishment of the task. This theory can be expressed mathematically by the eq. $M = V \times I \times E$.

Cross-cultural research on the expectancy theory involves answering two questions. First, does the multiplicative relationship between the three determining variables ($V \times I \times E$) hold for various cultures? Second, what effect does a given culture have on these variables?

There are very few cross-cultural studies that have tested the validity of the relationships among the various variables of the expectancy theory. The limited research on the issue, however, provides support for the first question. Eden [86] analyzed data collected from 375 male members of an Israeli kibbutz with regard to the relationship among intrinsic, status-oriented, and material rewards and motives. He concluded that the effect of externally mediated rewards on intrinsic motivation was explained on the basis of the expectancy theory.

To answer the second question, we need to examine variables individually for cultural effects. Valence, the value of the reward, varies across different cultures. In collectivist societies, social groups play an important role in determining the value of the reward and the expectation of achieving it. It should not be surprising when people in these societies prefer spending more time with family and friends over an increase in pay. To them, work is not the central point in life. Using Adler's [71] terms, "Expectancy theories are universal to the extent that they do not specify the type of reward that motivates a group of workers" (p. 159). Instrumentality and expectancy are based on an individual's evaluation of his or her abilities, past experiences with supervisors and the organization, and belief about what role he or she can play in determining his or her destiny. While Protestant cultures promote the belief that an individual is in charge of his or her destiny, Catholic and Muslim cultures encourage submission to the will of God. The belief that the individual does not have much control over his or her life should lead to lower expectancy scores in these cultures. In Hindu and Buddhist cultures, the emphasis on social relationships and harmony, instead of materialism and competition, is probably the reason for the lower value of individual achievement and the belief in luck.

Equity Theory

According to Adams [87], the individual's perception of inequity is a motivating force. More specifically, a person compares the ratio of his or her compensation, what he or she gets from the job (outcomes), to his or her contributions to the job (input) with that of others in a similar situation. Compensation comes in many different forms, including pay, job security, opportunity for advancement and promotion, good working relationships, and a safe and pleasant work environment. Inequity in either direction generates tension.

Culture influences our perception of the value of the job outcomes as well as our contributions to the organization. Culture also provides the frame of reference for a comparison of ratios. The sensitivity of people to inequity, and the avenues they use to remedy the problem, is also influenced by culture. For instance, if a less qualified peer receives a pay raise, a Japanese employee is more likely to reevaluate his or her perception of his or her outcome/input ratio compared with that of peers (refer to our earlier discussion on the cultural definition of self). Conformity to the group and organizational norms would inhibit more severe action. In a similar situation, an American employee would be more willing to file a formal complaint or even leave the organization.

In their research in an Israeli kibbutz, Yuchtman and Seachore [88] found support for the equity theory. More research is needed, however, to establish its cross-cultural validity. One practical bit of evidence for the validity of this theory is the worldwide practice of pay secrecy. Many organizations follow this policy to avoid unwanted comparisons and unnecessary complaints.

Motivation and Learning

B.F. Skinner and other learning theorists assert that behavior is a function of its consequences. Behavior that is followed by desirable consequences (reinforced behavior) tends to be repeated. In contrast, undesirable consequences have the opposite effect. In this way, we learn to change our behavior to experience desirable consequences and avoid the undesirable ones (e.g., punishment) [89–91]. (Also, for a description of the conditioning process, see Ref. [92].)

Like motivation, the two major concerns in learning are finding the right incentives and the correct way, or schedule, to administer them. The values and attractions of rewards vary across cultures. Similarly, cultural factors influence the undesirability of negative incentives. Also, culture is a major determinant of the types of reinforcement and the methods used for their application. Although all cultures use a combination of positive reinforcements and punishment, some tend to use more positive incentives, while others make more use of punishment. Positive reinforcement leads to longer-lasting and more predictable results, but the only effect it has is to make the behavior continue. Punishments cause the behavior to stop, but the effect usually lasts only a short time if the punishment is removed. Also, there are dysfunctional consequences to punishment, such as low self-esteem. While these ideas appear to be universal—consistent laboratory results have been obtained with animals using food as a reward and electric shocks as punishments—the challenge for us in a cross-cultural setting is to find out which rewards *really* reward in a given culture and which punishments *really* punish.

Motivation and Japanese Employees

In recent years, Japanese management and motivation practices have received worldwide attention. The success of the Japanese companies, particularly the auto industry, has spotlighted the way Japanese businesses work. According to William Ouchi [33], there are three fundamental properties of Japanese organizations that distinguish them from American firms: lifetime employment, internal promotion, and nonspecialized career paths. Many large Japanese companies offer lifetime jobs to their employees. While the recent downturn in the Japanese economy has eroded the foundation of this practice, fundamentally, the relationship between employees and employers remains long term. Lifetime employment, although desired by workers and a goal of employers, covers perhaps 35% of Japan's workforce. Promotions are entirely from within the firm. The process of evaluation is very slow and

long-term oriented. Because of lifetime employment and internal promotions, employees receive broad-based training. They are moved between functions, offices, and geographical locations so that they become familiar with the whole organization (pp. 11–38).

Not only are there differences between American and Japanese companies, but there are differences between employees of the two nations as well. Americans emphasize individualism, nonconformity, and competition, while Japanese promote collectivism, conformity, and cooperation. Japanese employees are under more pressure to conform and work long hours. Long hours and job stress create health-related problems. Recent increases in the rates of heart attacks and suicides among Japanese employees are attributed to increased job stress. There is even a word for death from hard work and stress, *karoshi*, which means sudden death by a heart attack or stroke triggered by overwork. According to some estimates, more than 10,000 Japanese fall victim annually to *karoshi* [93]. The international expansion of Japanese industries has created additional demands on some employees' time and energy.

Global Trends and Motivation

Dramatic technological changes and political restructuring around the world have created new problems as well as opportunities. Acceleration of the rate of change in recent years has made it difficult to predict global trends in motivation. Two major questions have been raised regarding the changes in the management of motivation and human resources.

First, would the collapse of the Soviet system result in the integration of the socialist cultures into the Western cultures? Would this integration lead to more emphasis on social needs in Western organizations (i.e., make them more employee centered)? Some scholars of international management believe that this will happen. They argue that there will be more emphasis on relationships in Western companies and more attention paid to work and production in Eastern societies. So far, there is little evidence to support this contention. American companies have been reducing their staff and lowering employees' benefits despite increases in reported profits. Traditionally, increased profits have led to more hiring and increases in employee benefits. Recent practices, however, have been contrary to historical trends. This "getting lean and mean" strategy has left unemployment and the employee benefit problems for the individual or the government to solve. On the other hand, with the easing of restrictions on businesses in the former communist states, there is a noticeable rise in entrepreneurial attitudes and behaviors. Freed from the communist yoke, these societies have witnessed an explosion of emerging small businesses and privatization of government-controlled industries. Transformation to a market economy, however, has caused new political and economic problems that have yet to be resolved.

Second, will the expansion of global business, advancements in telecommunication technology, and widespread use of the Internet lead to more uniformity among cultures? There are some signs of this development. The popularity of American

culture overseas and Americans' rising interest in learning about other cultures are early indications of such a trend. There are some indications to the contrary as well. For example, in a study of the macro-environmental characteristics of 18 industrialized nations over the 1960–1988 period, Craig et al. [94] found a diverging pattern. Contrary to the popular assumption, they found that countries were diverging rather than converging. Global economic problems and the resulting protectionist attitudes are major obstacles in the road to a global culture.

Adler [71] believes that employees bring their ethnicity into the workplace and promote or enhance their culture in their work organizations. In her words, Germans become more German, Americans become more American, Swedes become more Swedish, and so forth (p. 58). If the tendency to emphasize one's ethnicity and heritage are on the rise, the future may hold more problems for international managers, who are already burdened with problems and difficulties. An example is the experience of Bridgestone, the Japanese tire company, which bought Firestone of Akron, Ohio, to gain a foothold in the US market. Soon after the purchase, cultural differences between Akron and Tokyo surfaced. Besides the language difficulty, adjusting to styles of work proved to be an obstacle to smooth operations. "The Japanese, who work until 9 p.m. or later, won't fathom why their American colleagues won't stay that late, too. And the Americans complain about Japanese arrangements such as open offices and desks facing each other." [68]

The convergence or divergence of cultures will have a significant impact on how cross-cultural motivation is managed. Research findings are pointing in both directions [95]. Today's rapid changes call for continuous monitoring of cultural differences for effectively managing motivation.

Chapter Summary

Leadership A critical factor that determines the success of an organization is the leadership ability of its management. A review of leadership theories reveals that there is no one best way of leading. Many situational factors contribute to the effectiveness of managerial leadership. These factors include the leader's characteristics, the followers' characteristics and expectations, the task, organizational policies, and the top management's values and philosophies. An ever-present factor that influences other situational factors is the national culture. Most leadership theories have ignored the influence of national culture on the effectiveness of managerial leadership. The reason for this oversight is researchers' ethnocentric tendencies. The major leadership theories in use today have all been developed in the United States, to be used by American managers. These theories have avoided any discussion of the national culture yet have implicitly assumed American middle-class cultural values as a framework. Based on American values, most of these theories have advocated a participative-democratic leadership style. While the application of these theories could be effective in the United States, it is doubtful that they

(continued)

would be equally effective abroad. If cultural differences are not taken into account, the application of all leadership theories will be limited to their original home culture. Therefore, international managers should consider cultural differences while leading the multicultural workforce of MNCs.

While there are cultural differences among various regions of the world, such as Asia, Europe, and North America, there is diversity within each region as well. Some of the differences are very subtle yet can significantly affect behavioral responses and the leader-follower relationship. Although we certainly appreciate the cultural differences between the British, French, and Germans, we may neglect the differences among some smaller nations. Similarly, it would be a big mistake if we label all Asian cultures as Oriental cultures. The difference between Indonesia and Korea, for example, is greater than that between Japan and the United States. According to Maruyama [37], for example, Danish culture is closer to Indonesian culture than to Swedish culture in terms of the way people organize their thoughts and behavior. In Danish culture, the main purpose of communication is to maintain affection and a familiar atmosphere. In contrast, in Sweden, the purpose of daily interpersonal communication is the transmission of new information or frank feelings.

At present, there is no leadership theory broad enough to cover the values of different cultures. The existing theories, however, can be useful to international managers if they take into account cultural differences. Armed with an understanding of cultural differences, we may be able to chart a safe passage in the sea of international management. From such a perspective, we ask international managers to remember a few caveats. First, the use of authority is regarded differently in different cultures. The conspicuous use of power and authority is frowned on in some cultures and encouraged in others. Second, cultures vary in their practice of delegating authority and responsibility. Subordinates in some cultures are not comfortable with participating in decision-making. Third, the meaning of work varies according to the culture. For some, work is a necessary evil; for others, it is a source of pride and purpose. A different leadership approach is required for dealing with each of these attitudes. Finally, when abroad, observe the native management practices for cues as to what works well.

Motivation Culture plays an important role in managing motivation in work organizations. Culture affects employee perceptions and the way employees respond to rewards or punishments. For managers who plan to work overseas or have employees from other cultures, cultural understanding is a prerequisite to success. Motivating people without knowledge of their culture is an impossible task. For example, when followers of Herzberg suggest that money is not a motivator, it may be because in Western societies most of the basic

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needs are reasonably satisfied. In some developing countries where most people are less prosperous by Western standards, money is still an important motivating factor. Money, however, may not be a motivating factor in other cultures for a different reason.

> Money is not an incentive everywhere—it may be accepted gladly, but will not automatically improve performance. Honor, dignity and family may be much more important. Imposing the American style of merit system may be an outrageous blow to a respected and established seniority system. Merit which must be defined: "May the best person win" can mean "the most popular person" or "the person from the most aristocratic family." [23] (p. 14)

The cultural diversity of MNCs poses a problem for the universal application of motivation theories. Studies suggest that the need to belong and associate is a strong motivator in societies that emphasize the value of social relationships. In these cultures, the American concept of individualism is not a strong basis for motivation. Although individuals follow a hierarchical order to satisfy needs, this hierarchical order apparently varies across cultures. Unfortunately, the grouping of countries into large categories, such as developed and underdeveloped, without paying attention to cultural attributes, does not provide a good solution to understanding motivation. Understanding important needs and their rank order in a given society requires research designed for that specific culture. To be applicable in international settings, the traditional psychologically based motivation models should also take an anthropological orientation, whereby cultural influences on motivation are taken into account. This would provide international managers with an additional tool for understanding the idiosyncrasies of human behavior.

Discussion Questions

1. Discuss the way in which ethnocentric tendencies affect our lives as well as the way in which we run businesses in the United States.
2. Explain how variation in the concept of self could affect a person's motivation.
3. Individualism is a well-known attribute of Americans. Americans are also known to help their neighbors in times of need. Are these two traits in conflict?
4. Work by itself could be a motivating factor for Americans. Do other cultures consider work as a motivator or a necessity? Discuss the meaning of work from the perspective of another culture.
5. Do you know any examples of ethnocentrism in another country? If yes, describe it.

(continued)

6. Why is Maslow's hierarchy of needs considered ethnocentric? Is there a universal hierarchy of human needs?
7. Are motivators and hygiene factors universal? Explain.
8. Compared with the people of other countries, the Japanese tend to work longer hours. What cultural characteristics of the Japanese could you use to explain this tendency?
9. In your opinion, what are the reasons for the Japanese younger generation's interest in more leisure time?
10. What are the cultural implications of the expectancy theory of motivation? Does individual willingness to take risks make a difference in a person's motivation?
11. What leadership characteristics of Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela do you consider to be similar?
12. Why should international managers learn about the leadership theories that are developed in the United States?
13. Tannenbaum and Schmidt suggested that there are four forces influencing a manager's actions. Describe these forces.
14. How could a leader's philosophy regarding human nature affect his/her relationship with the followers?
15. By using Fiedler's contingency model, elaborate on the contention that leadership effectiveness depends on a match between the leader's behavioral inclinations and favorableness of the situation.
16. What is the meaning of the phrase "the cultural relativity of leadership"?
17. The leadership theories reviewed in this chapter favor a democratic leadership style. Do you think that these theories are valid for non-Western cultures?
18. What are the differences between managerial leadership practices in the United States and France?
19. This chapter refers to the difficulties that the Ford Motor Company experienced when it integrated its European operation of car manufacturing. What were the cultural differences causing those problems?
20. Briefly explain the Japanese decision-making process called *ringi*. In your opinion, why is *ringi* effective in Japan?
21. Elaborate on the statement "there is a functionality in the host country managerial practices."

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