

**Understanding How Voluntary Expatriates  
Working in SMEs in Germany, Perceive,  
Make Sense of and Respond to Their New  
Cultural Context**

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my family, first and foremost to my loving wife Claudia, who supported me in every way possible, keeping my back free, my stomach full and my heart high.

To my children, Charlotte, Victoria and Alexander who understood that this was a journey that I needed to take and were willing to accept the restrictions that this made on them all.

Thank you all for being patient when I came and poured out my thoughts to you, not really expecting an answer, but someone to listen and smile.

Without their love, support, understanding, strength, and personal sacrifices, I would not have completed this journey.

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I would also like to thank all of the people who donated their time to take part in interviews and focus groups. Without them this research would not have been possible. I wish them all great success in the future and hope they are happy wherever they may be.

Further, I would like to thank all those people that helped support me during this time, providing access to staff, friends, clients and contacts that may have represented potential interview partners.

## **PREFACE: REFLEXIVE CRITIQUE - WHO AM I?**

As the research project was born out of my own acculturation experience, I believe that in order to increase its validity, it is necessary to provide the reader with information regarding my person prior to them reading the thesis. My previous experience not only enabled me to better empathise with the interviewees, but may also potentially have influenced the results of the research. Providing an insight into my own adaptation experience provides the reader with the opportunity to estimate its potential effect.

My motivation for the move was complex: in part it had always been my intention to move away from home and gather international experience, to see the world, which as a young civil and structural engineering student in the mid 1980's was a viable intention, representing a career move; in part I was attempting to leave some of the more difficult elements of my past, so in some ways I was trying to escape; the main reason for my decision to select Germany was that I had met a young German woman, who is now my wife of 25 years, and as she was not able to move to the UK at the time I decided to make the move, representing a family move. Before embarking on the move, however, her family insisted that I learn the German language (German was not an option at grammar school) to ensure that I could interact with "the locals" and most importantly find a job.

Learning the language was not easy, but with a good reason to succeed, I completed an evening course in German in the UK and after 18 months could proudly present my 'A'-level. There were many amusing anecdotes on the way surrounding the misuse of the language, but I had decided to forget the "Victorian conservatism" and fear of making mistakes and just try, and this strategy paid off. I had support from my girlfriend, with whom I regularly called and corresponded – this was the pre-internet age. Regular trips to Germany rounded off my inauguration into the German culture.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> May 1989 I officially arrived in Germany to start my first job. I was blessed with very helpful colleagues and an employer who, together with my girlfriend and her family assisted with the bureaucracy, so support mechanisms were in place. I was glad of my German language ability,

because I was working in a company in which the majority of employees could not speak English. That being said, the company was situated in a very small village in Swabia (region in Bavaria) where individuals spoke a very heavy local dialect, which at the time appeared to have only limited resemblance with the German that I had learnt at evening school. This phase of my learning and adaptation is also rich in amusing anecdotes surrounding the (mis)use of the dialect. The local population found me interesting and I was known in the village as "der Engländer" (the Englishman) and typical for a small village, even today, everybody was aware of who I was, and what I did.

From the beginning, I applied an active integration strategy without realising this at the time, as I am very people oriented, and visited the local church, fitness club, and other clubs and associations. This meant that I never had the feeling of being alone. There were no other English people in the village or closer vicinity that I was aware of, and I wasn't inclined to look for them as it was my intention to fit in and "be one of the locals" or at least as far as this is possible in a German village. I was readily accepted by colleagues and locals, and I believe this was due to my language ability, which allowed me to freely interact with them. Additionally, after a relatively short period of time I picked up the dialect and was quietly able to submerge myself in the culture.

In the last 25 years I have remained in Bavaria and was always able to pass off as one of the locals with only my name providing an indication of my not being German.

My professional career during this period involved employment in different areas including more than eight years in international sales management, founding international subsidiaries and rolling out new products across international markets. During this period I had contact with many different cultures and became increasingly aware of the differences in their behaviour and expectations.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Addressing the gap in the literature surrounding the acculturation of expatriates, the research seeks to understand how voluntary expatriates, who work in SMEs in Germany, perceive, make sense of and respond to their new cultural context. Implementing an overarching grounded theory approach, semi-structured interviews supported using additional probing questions, were carried out with 19 individuals from different backgrounds, working for varying companies and of mixed ages and genders. Focus groups were used to investigate the theoretical saturation achieved and the substantive grounded theories obtained through the interviews. The narratives obtained were analysed using a four level inductive analysis framework under implementation of the constant comparative method.

The research provided insights into contextual factors affecting individuals' sensemaking processes and the importance of identity work as a mechanism for palliating cognitive dissonance perceived during the sensemaking process. Further, the research findings indicated a plausible dependency between previous experience accumulated and an individual's expectations of the current assignment.

An overall model was developed that explains how narrative resources, drawn from the contextual factors, are developed by respondents into meaning and identity forming narratives, framed on mythical archetypes, that help build upon, or palliate, their situations, and which in turn contribute to the success or failure of the assignment.

In addition, the research contributed to the extension of research methods, demonstrating the benefit of retrospective narratives to investigate sensemaking activities and the cultural adaptation of individuals in organisations over standard questionnaires and standardised interviews. The rich data obtained provided the researcher with a more holistic understanding of the individual, his or her sensemaking processes and the overarching themes and theories.



## **Chapter 1      Introduction**

The integration into a new cultural environment represents a challenge for immigrant workers and their families around the world. Particularly in the European Union, where the free movement of workers and their families is anchored in the European Treaty (Conference of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States 1957; 2012), they represent both a challenge and an opportunity for organisations. In Germany, the active integration of foreign immigrants into the work environment (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2011, pp. 31-33; OECD 2013, pp. 41-43) forms an important aspect of a five prong strategy to alleviate the reduced availability of skilled labour (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2011, pp. 10-13; OECD 2013, pp. 41-43) resulting from demographic changes. As an important motor for the European economy, SMEs (European Commission 2013b, p. 10) are equally challenged by the negative effects of the demographic development. The maximum benefit from the immigrant workers can only be achieved, however, if they are able to adequately integrate into their new cultural environment.

Previous research mainly investigated the cultural adaptation either of assignees from large multinational organisations (e.g. Caligiuri et al. 1998; Tung 1982) or groups of students (cf. Black and Mendenhall 1991), but generally not for individuals working in SMEs, resulting in a gap in the literature. The SME therefore represents the sample framework for the participants of this exploratory research and its site rather than a variable for the analysis, which would have enabled a comparison of the results obtained with those of other organisational forms.

In contrast to the traditional trait or characteristics based research (Adelman 1988; Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005; Broom et al. 1954; Wang and Kanungo 2004) this research uses retrospective narrative analysis to investigate the influence of these factors on an individual's sensemaking (Louis 1980, p. 233; Weick 1995, pp. 4-6), narrative choices (Riessman 1993), and response to their new cultural contexts.

As the choice of the topic for this research project arose from the

researcher's personal experience as an expatriate in Germany, it was considered important that this experience did not prejudge the research outcomes. A broad grounded theory objective to understand how voluntary expatriates, working in SMEs in Germany, perceive, make sense of and respond to their new cultural context was therefore defined. This approach allowed the conceptual framework and substantive grounded theory to emerge from the research.

The in-depth qualitative research focused on 19 international assignees working for SMEs in Germany. Data was collected using a combination of a standardised, self-administered questionnaire (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, pp. 356-357) to gather generic information regarding the interview partners, and semi-structured interviews (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 474) supported using additional probing questions to gain a deeper understanding of influencing incidents from the respondents (Butterfield et al. 2005; Fitzgerald and Dopson 2009, p. 479; Flanagan 1954) to collect the qualitative narrative data. Focus groups were used to investigate the theoretical saturation achieved (Charmaz 2006, pp. 113-115; Glaser and Strauss 1967, pp. 61-62) and the theories obtained through the interviews.

The collated retrospective narratives were analysed using a four level inductive analysis framework under implementation of the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967):

Level 1: Substantive coding

Level 2: Creation of conceptual framework

Level 3: Narrative analysis

Level 4: Analysis of literature archetypes

Each of the levels of analysis were interlinked and subject to constant reflection and adjustment as concepts emerged from the data. The resulting codes and frameworks were therefore in a constant state of flux.

Three themes were identified from the construction of the conceptual framework:

1. Identify the factors and content that influence sensemaking and

narrative choices

2. Identify potential commonalities and differences in the sensemaking processes used by expatriates
3. Identify the narrative structures and their function in sensemaking

## Chapter 2 Literature Review

In accordance with the interpretive, grounded theory approach employed in this research, the main review of the relevant literature was carried out after completion of the first phase of the theoretical coding (Chapter 6) and during the narrative analysis (Chapter 7) in order to reduce its potential influence on the research outcomes. The results of this broad, theory driven literature review are drawn together in this chapter and illustrated in Fig. 1, which also forms the structure of this chapter.

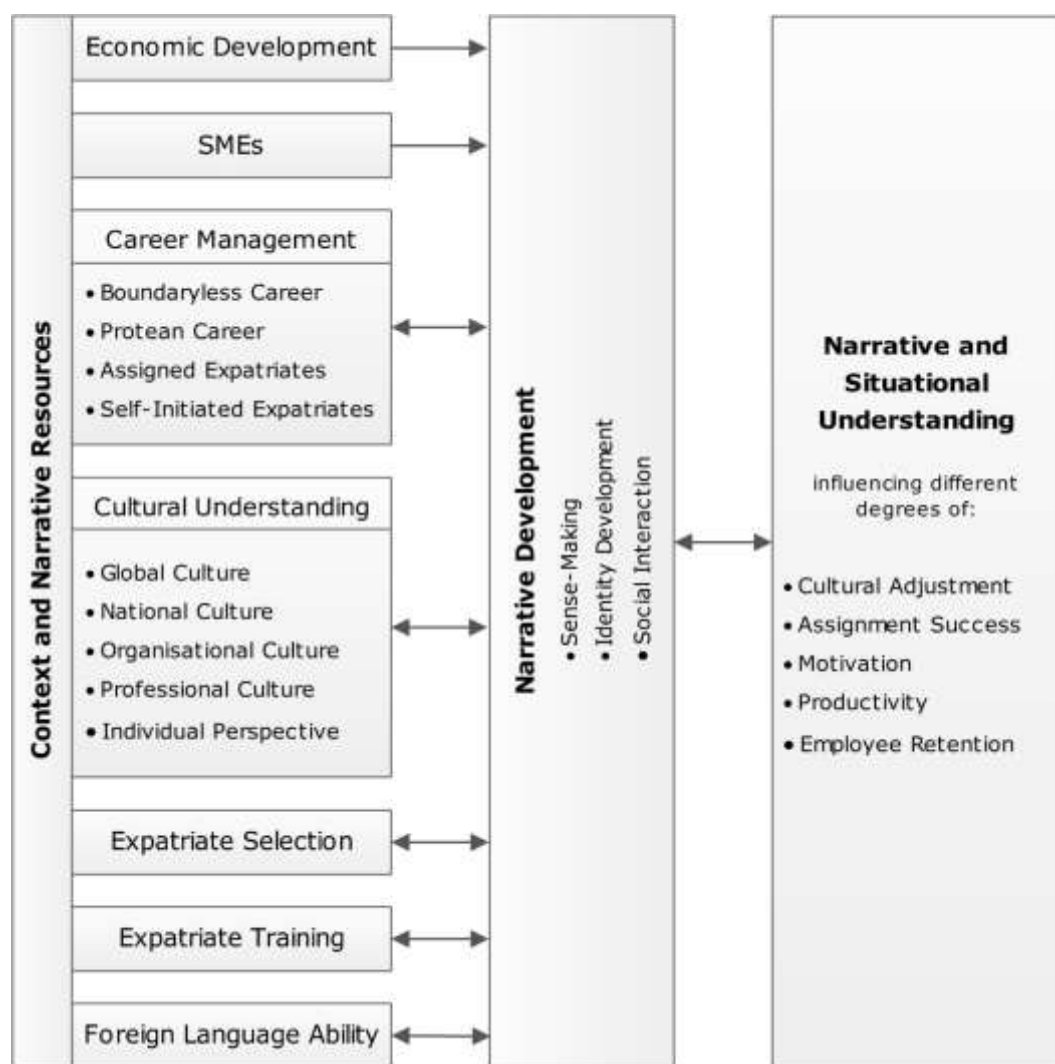


Fig. 1: General Research Considerations

The first section reviews the “Context and Narrative Resources” that form the starting point for the understanding of the context of the individuals and

their wider environments and delivers the resources used by individuals to construct their narratives. The information is structured from the external environment, which an individual is not able to influence, to the internal environment, which he or she can directly or indirectly influence. The general economic environment as an element of the CAGE (culture, administration, geographic, economic) distance framework (Ghemawat 2001, p. 138; 2007, pp. 40-45; 2011, p. 54) and the nature of the company in which the individual currently works (SME, MNE), are both elements that the individual is currently not able to influence in terms of their narrative development, as they are driven by factors to which he or she has no access. The flow of information into and influence on the narrative is, therefore, unidirectional at the time the narrative is formed, as indicated by the single headed arrow in Fig. 1. These elements do not form variables of this exploratory research project, but create the framework within which the research takes place. The literature on economic development provides an insight into the growing importance of international assignments and immigration for economies to alleviate the skilled labour deficit resulting from demographic change, particularly within developed economies such as Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2011, pp. 10-13; OECD 2013, pp. 41-43). The literature on micro-, small, and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) provides insights into the complexity of their definition (Ardic, Mylenko and Saltane 2011, p. 7; Ayyagari, Beck and Demircug-Kunt 2007, p. 416; Kushnir, Mirmulstein and Ramalho 2010, p. 2; OECD 2004, p. 10), and their economic importance in particular for the European economy (de Kok et al. 2011; European Commission 2013b), supporting their selection as the sample framework and site of this exploratory research.

The remaining categories in this section can either be directly or indirectly influenced by the individual, by selecting an appropriate career form (Arthur, Inkson and Pringle 1999; Briscoe, Hall and Frautschy DeMuth 2006; DeFillippi and Arthur 1996; Hall 1996b), personally managing the development of their careers (Arthur 1994; Arthur and Rousseau 1996a; DeFillippi and Arthur 1994; Hall 1976; 1996b; 2004; Inkson 1997; Schein 1978; 1996) and career capital (Dickmann and Harris 2005; Jokinen,

Brewster and Suutari 2008; Suutari and Mäkelä 2007) or improving their language skills to improve host interaction and the acculturation process (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005; Jameson 2007; Peltokorpi 2010; Piekkari 2006) during a current assignment or in preparation for a potential future assignment. The expatriate selection category has been positioned towards the internal environment as the selection of an individual for an assignment is no longer necessarily a one sided decision carried out by the organisation and followed by the individual (Inkson 1997). Taking into account the modern forms of career management, individuals may actively seek international assignments for which they consider themselves suitable (Altman and Baruch 2012; Andresen, Bergdolt and Margenfeld 2013; Andresen et al. 2014). Further, some organisations are also implementing self-selection processes for international assignments (Caligiuri and Phillips 2003; Caligiuri, Tarique and Jacobs 2009) in which individuals are able to determine their own suitability for an assignment based on realistic job previews containing all salient information pertaining to the position (Caligiuri and Phillips 2003; Dickmann and Baruch 2011; Harvey and Moeller 2009; Webb and Wright 1996). Each of these factors, in isolation or in combination demonstrates the growing influence that an individual is able to take on their "selection" for an international assignment.

The second section considers the "Narrative Development" and relates to those elements required by individuals to manipulate the context and resources defined in section one to create the narratives (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008; Riessman 1993) used to explicate their situation and emotions in the new environment narratives (Mason 2004). In order for the individuals to create the narratives, they must first make sense of their situation (Dervin 1999; Louis 1980; Weick 1993), which requires that they first understand who they are and almost more importantly who they are not (Clarke 2008). This will enable them to determine other members of their potential minority ingroups (Tajfel 1974; Williams and O'Reilly 1998) who may be able to provide social support, and to develop a strategy to interact with local host country members and to integrate. This process is considered in the strongly interlinked literature surrounding sensemaking, identity development and social interaction theories.

The final section considers the “Narrative and Situational Understanding” which represents the potential outcomes of the narrative and the social and cultural interaction. The literature reviewed here relates to the acculturation process, the various considerations of expatriate failure and the potential influence of traditional and modern support mechanisms on the assignment outcome, factors that become evident in the narratives created by the individuals and presented in Chapter 7.

Although this research centres on individuals who have moved voluntarily to Germany as part of a self-initiated expatriation, and are currently gainfully employed with an SME in the country, the literature on traditional assigned expatriate assignments as well as general international human resource management literature and literature from specialist areas of sociology and psychology will be considered in addition to the literature on self-initiated expatriation to provide a rounded understanding of the topic.

## **I. Context and Narrative Resources**

The development of the international economic landscape and the effects of increased globalisation (Dicken 2011, p. 7), the interdependence of markets (Osland 2003, p. 139) and the changing economic landscape (Karmarkar 2004; Szirmai 2012) provide the context in which people find themselves and define the themes that they use to form narratives and give meaning to their situation. The literature demonstrates the growing importance of international “arm’s-length” transactions made possible by developments in telecommunications technologies, providing SMEs with improved access to international markets. In a second step, the definition of micro-, small- and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) is investigated together with the growing economic importance of this group of enterprises and the trend towards mini-multinationals (Hill 2004, p. 25) brought about in part by what Cairncross (1995, p. 5) coined the “death of distance”.

Consideration of the literature surrounding changes in career management and the development from the external, organisational career to the internal (Inkson 1997, p. 178; Schein 1978, p. 37; 1996, p. 80) or protean career (Hall 1976; 1996b; 2004), indicates its potential effect on an individual’s

willingness to accept international assignments and the perceived cultural differences. In addition, the increased recognition of the potential benefit of embarking on international assignments to gather international experience and improve career opportunities is discussed (Biemann and Andresen 2010). The culmination of this development in the "boundaryless career" (Arthur 1994; Arthur and Rousseau 1996a; DeFillippi and Arthur 1994, pp. 307-308) provides a potential interface to the literature on self-initiated expatriation (Baruch, Budhwar and Khatri 2007, p. 100; Stahl, Miller and Tung 2002).

The literature on cultural understanding allows an insight into the differences and associations (Erez and Gati 2004; Mathews 2000; Schein 2009) between global, national, organisational and professional culture, as well as the effect of the individual perspective of cultural understanding. A firm understanding of the cultural differences may provide organisations with a clear strategic development advantage or enable them to develop strategies to avoid negative implications for international projects (Schneider, Barsoux and Stahl 2014, p. 14). Cultural awareness may also be of benefit for individuals as it enables them to understand potential deviations between their own cultural programming (Hofstede 1981) and that of others, thus enabling them to make sense of their situation and carry out social identity work (Louis 1980; Weick 1995) to palliate possible dissonance (Festinger 1957) and associated stress. Additional consideration of the effect of general diversity in work groups is also of importance in modern organisations as it enables individuals to understand their position and that of their ingroup (Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 81) within the outgroup environment as well as understand its effect on group functioning.

The selection of the best candidate for an international assignment (Avril and Magnini 2007, p. 54) and the correct training of the expatriate (Bennett, Aston and Coiquhoun 2000, p. 239; Lee and Crocker 2006, p. 1188; Yeaton and Hall 2008, p. 76), the host-country workforce (Vance and Paik 1995, p. 157) and the returning expatriates and families (Bossard and Peterson 2005, p. 11) have been considered important cornerstones for a successful international assignment. The literature reviewed here provides an insight into the potential training requirements of internationally active



individuals and the implications of training on assignment success.

Language, an element of the outer layer of culture or “Artefacts and Products” (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, pp. 21-22), and culture are inseparable as language is cognitively associated with cultural scripts, norms, and practices (Chen and Bond 2010, p. 1515), influencing thought and behaviour by evoking a culturally congruent mindset (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Ng 2014, p. 131). It further influences the acculturation process (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005, p. 268; Broom et al. 1954, p. 994), helps reduce uncertainty and anxiety (Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003, p. 221) and helps overcome culture shock (Oberg 1960, p. 182). As an extension of the simplistic understanding of language and the words it contains (Hall and Hall 1990b, p. 4), the complex process of cross-cultural communication (Weaver 1993, p. 114) represents the cues that help negotiate the daily environment in an acceptable manner (Adler and Gundersen 2008, p. 70) as well as providing a medium for transmitting ideas, thoughts, and opinions along with goals, motives and intentions (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Ng 2014, p. 131).

## **2.1 Economic Development**

Globalisation is not a new concept, (Dicken 2011, p. 2; Osterhammel and Petersson 2007), although opinions on what exactly globalisation is vary depending on the academic perspective of the individual researcher (Clark and Knowles 2003, p. 368). A modern definition of globalisation provided by Osland (2003, p. 139) considered it:

*a process leading to greater economic interdependence and networks and the economic, political, social, cultural, and environmental results of that process*

indicating the increased level of interconnectedness between countries' economies.

Primary drivers for globalisation were and still are the lowering of trade barriers, increased foreign investment and the deregulation of financial markets (Lee 1996, p. 485). Increased globalisation brought with it changes

in the world economic landscape (Dicken 2011, pp. 6-7) as technological innovation reduced the time and cost of transporting materials, products and people (Dicken 2011, p. 86), and expanded the opportunities for international trade (Szirmai 2012, p. 407).

In the early 1980s, developed countries were concerned with the loss of blue-collar jobs as a result of globalisation, and firms outsourcing the manufacture of physical inputs to less expensive countries (Bhagwati, Panagariya and Srinivasan 2004, p. 93). This changed with the introduction of the General Agreement on the Trade of Services (GATS) (World Trade Organization 1994) in 1995. Together with the increased service orientation of less expensive Asian, Latin American and Eastern European countries and the rapid development of telecommunications systems, arm's-length trading of services became possible (Bhagwati, Panagariya and Srinivasan 2004, pp. 93-94) redirecting their concern to the potential loss of jobs for highly trained knowledge workers and service employees (Osland 2003, p. 140). The implementation of the GATS and improved telecommunication systems, also enabled the growth of mini-multinationals (international SMEs) that were able to benefit from the reduced cost of international trade (EIM Business & Policy Research 2010, pp. 45-46; Hill 2004, p. 25).

As a result of demographic change, for example in the form of an increasing percentage of older citizens and the migration from East to West, and the associated reduction in the availability of skilled labour (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2011, pp. 10-13; OECD 2013, pp. 41-43), Germany is currently following a campaign of active integration of foreign immigrants into the work environment (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2011, pp. 31-33; OECD 2013, pp. 41-43). One important source of immigrant workers to Germany is provided by the European Union (EU) with its policy of free movement of workers (Conference of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States 1957; 2012). Since 2008 the number of immigrants to Germany has risen by almost 70% (Fig. 2). Almost 64% of immigrants to Germany in 2012 originated from other European Union countries with 43.1% originating from the 12 mainly eastern European states that joined the EU in 2007 (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2014, p. 16). The second largest group with 13.6% originated from other European

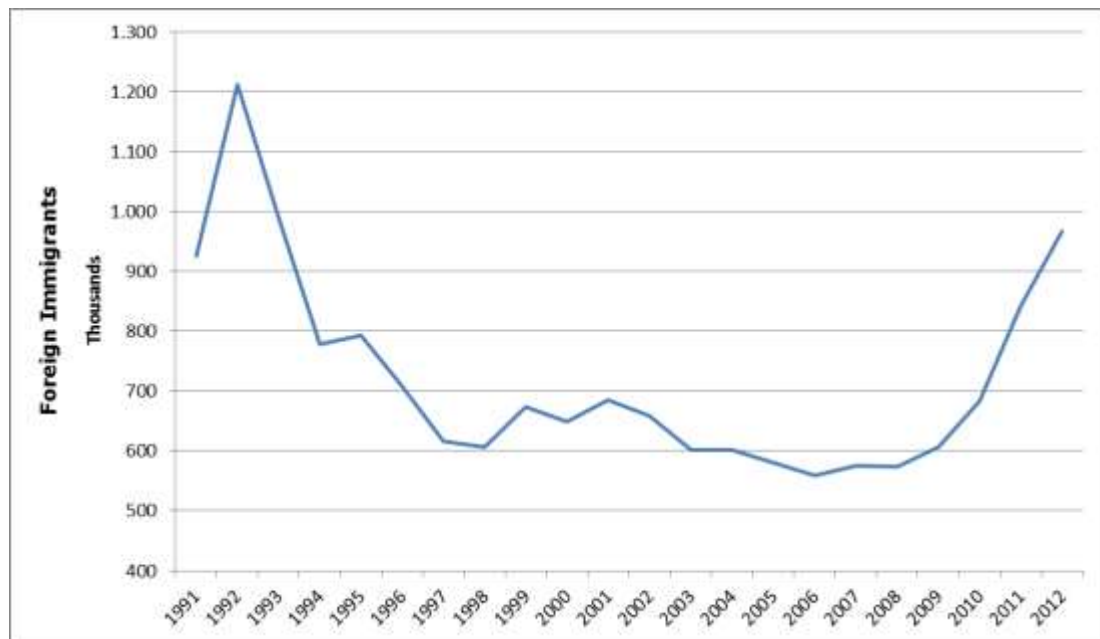


Fig. 2: Foreign Immigration to Germany  
(Adapted from Table 1-1 Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2014, p. 15)

countries and the third largest group with 12.4% originated from Asian countries. Globalisation and the increasing importance of immigrant workers for the German economy, therefore, allows people to see themselves, if they choose, in a positive role as part of a modern trend towards internationalisation rather than in the outdated negative role as a “Gastarbeiter”.

The increasing development of international markets and the increasing diversity of national organisations demonstrate, therefore, the increasing need for organisations to ensure that sufficient cultural understanding and skills are present in their organisations to enable them to operate successfully in the increasingly diverse work environment.

## 2.2 Micro-, Small- and Medium-Sized Enterprises

One of the biggest challenges confronted when embarking on research involving micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) is the absence of a universal definition (Ardic, Mylenko and Saltane 2011, p. 7; Ayyagari, Beck and Demircug-Kunt 2007, p. 416; OECD 2004, p. 10). Definitions of SMEs not only vary across countries, but also time (Kushnir,

Mirmulstein and Ramalho 2010, p. 2). Some of the commonly used limiting criteria include threshold values of one or more factors such as numbers of employees, annual turnover, annual balance-sheet total or asset value (Ayyagari, Demirguc-Kunt and Maksimovic 2011, p. 6; Kushnir 2010; OECD 2004, p. 10), whereby the threshold value of the factors may vary between countries (Ayyagari, Beck and Demirguc-Kunt 2007, p. 416; OECD 2004, p. 11). Further complication arises as some countries such as the USA (U.S. Small Business Administration 2011), Japan (National Association of Trade Promotion for Small and Medium Enterprises 2014, p. x) and Canada (Canada 2012, p. 5) also apply varying thresholds for different sectors, industries or reporting bodies (OECD 2004, p. 11). In addition, studies of SMEs have not implemented consistent definitions, for example: some used varying definitions of SMEs within a single study (Kushnir, Mirmulstein and Ramalho 2010, p. 2); some excluded micro size organisations (Ayyagari, Demirguc-Kunt and Maksimovic 2014, p. 77; de Kok, Deijl and Vedlhuis-Van Essen 2013, p. 10); others used a unique definition of SMEs for the study (Ayyagari, Demirguc-Kunt and Maksimovic 2014, p. 75).

Enterprise Category	Headcount (AWU)		Annual Turnover		Annual Balance Sheet Total
Medium-sized	< 250	and	≤ €50 million	or	≤ €43 million
Small	< 50		≤ €10 million		≤ €10 million
Micro	< 10		≤ €2 million		≤ €2 million

Table 1: EU Definition of SMEs  
(European Union 2005, p. 14)

The European Union (2003) definition of SMEs sets thresholds for the number of annual work units (employees), turnover and balance sheet total (Table 1) of organisations and their dependences (European Union 2003, p. L124/149 Annex, Article 3). Within the EU, this definition forms the basis for national legislation, although deviations can still occur as in some countries, such as Germany (Handelsgesetzbuch 2015, § 267) and Italy the thresholds have been amended (OECD 2004, p. 10) and national labour legislation is

used to define an “employee” (European Union 2005, p. 15), one of the main constituent elements of the calculation.

SMEs have long been considered to play an important role in the economy (Agmon and Drobnick 1994, p. 1; Aharoni 1994, p. 9) and to be involved in international business (Ayyagari, Demirguc-Kunt and Maksimovic 2011; 2014; Kushnir, Mirmulstein and Ramalho 2010). During the period 2002 to 2010, 85% of total employment growth in the EU-27 was attributable to SMEs (de Kok et al. 2011, p. 6).

Recognising the importance and development potential of the SMEs within Europe, the “Small Business Act” for Europe (SBA) (European Union 2008) provided a comprehensive policy framework to promote entrepreneurship and strengthen SMEs’ competitiveness. Built around ten principles and additional policy and legislative actions to implement them (European Union 2008, pp. 4-5; 2011, p. 2), the SBA aimed to tackle the obstacles hampering SMEs’ potential to grow and create jobs.

	Micro	Small	Medium	SMEs
Number of Enterprises				
Number	18,783,480	1,349,730	222,628	20,355,838
Percentage	92.1%	6.6%	1.1%	99.8%
Employment				
Number	37,494,458	26,704,352	22,615,906	86,814,716
Percentage	28.7%	20.4%	17.3%	66.5%
Value Added at Factor Costs				
Million Euros	1,242,724	1,076,388	1,076,270	3,395,382
Percentage	21.1%	18.3%	18.3%	57.6%

Table 2: Enterprises, Employment and GVA of SMEs in the EU-27, 2012  
(Adapted from European Commission 2013b, p. 10, Table 2)

The importance of SMEs for the European Economy (EU-27), was emphasised in the 2012/2013 annual report on European SMEs (European Commission 2013b, p. 10). In 2012 SMEs represented 99.8% of all enterprises (Table 2), provided 66.5% of total employment for that year

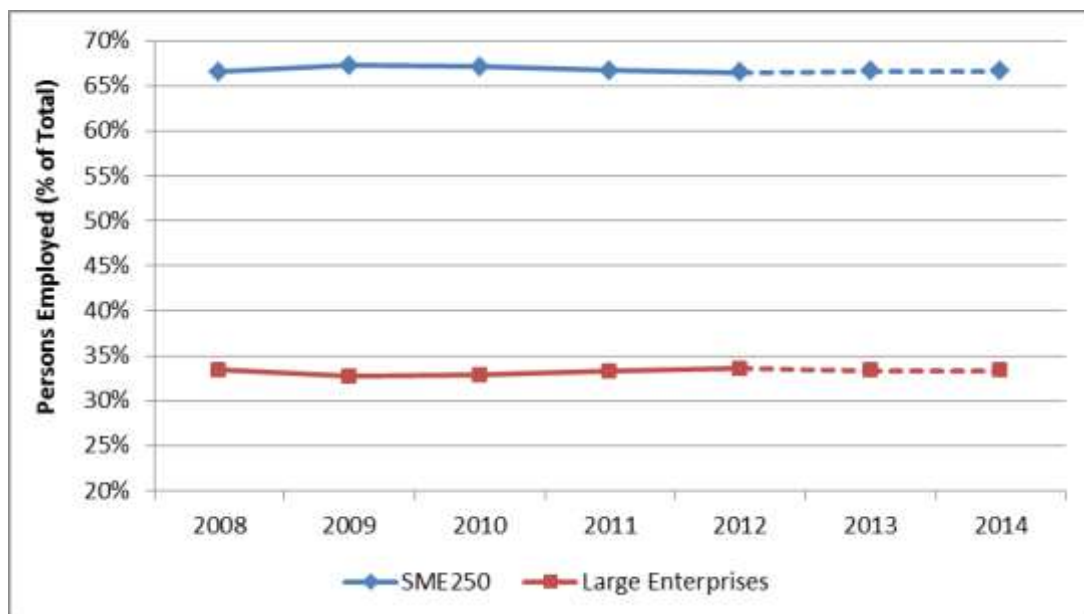


Fig. 3: Percentage Persons Employed, all Categories, EU-27, 2008-2014  
(Adapted from European Commission 2013a)

(Table 2; Fig. 3) and delivered 57.6% of the gross value added (GVA) generated by the private, non-financial economy (Table 2; Fig. 4).

According to a study carried out by EIM Business & Policy Research (2010, p. 28), EU SMEs were internationally more active than their American and Japanese counterparts. Over 40% of EU-27 SMEs were reported to be internationally active (EIM Business & Policy Research 2010, p. 16; 2011, p.

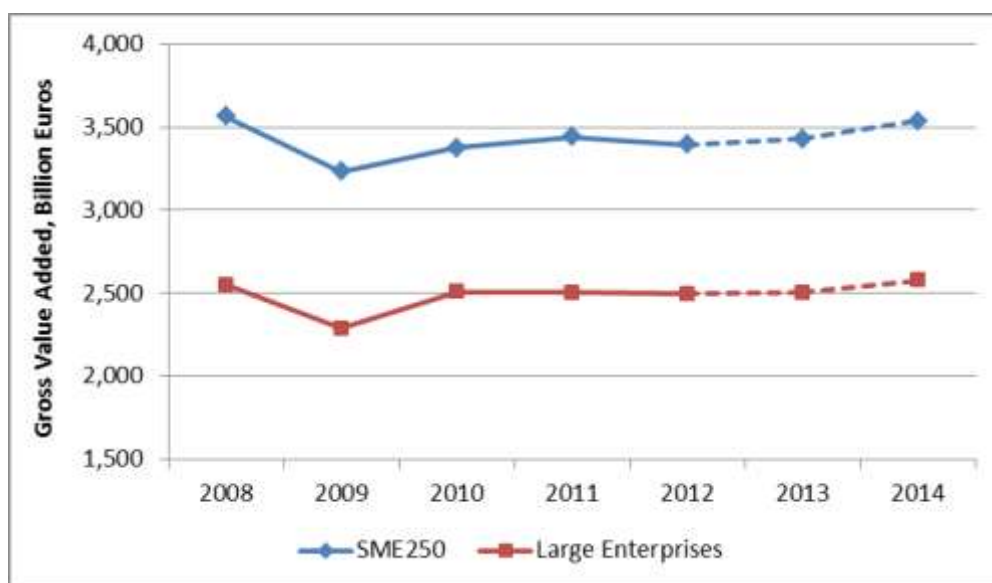


Fig. 4: Gross Value Added, EU-27, 2008-2014  
(Adapted from European Commission 2013a)

44); 39% of EU-SMEs had previously exported or imported (EIM Business & Policy Research 2010, p. 17); 30% cooperated with international partners (EIM Business & Policy Research 2011, p. 45); 54% were active outside the EU-27 (EIM Business & Policy Research 2011, p. 46). At the same time a large untapped market potential was recognised, in particular in the BRIC<sup>1</sup> countries, which were estimated to account for approximately 60% of world GDP by 2030 (European Union 2011, p. 13). In 2010 only 7% to 10% of exporting EU SMEs were reported to serve these markets.

In summary, the European SME sector, represents a major economic factor providing the major share of employment (Fig. 3) and gross value added (Fig. 4), a trend forecast to continue through 2014 (European Commission 2013a). Increased international trade represents an area of potential future growth for the sector. Together with the previously discussed economic and demographic developments these factors indicate the importance of the research for organisations.

In terms of individuals' narrative development, the positive development of the European economy and SMEs may increase individuals' expectations of the expatriation, especially of those embarking upon their move to "escape" from countries suffering negative economic development. This in term may, however, increase the potential for the development of cognitive dissonance and the need to implement identity work to palliate their situation.

## **2.3 Career Management**

One of the developing perspectives on both self-initiated and assigned expatriation is the career perspective (Riusala and Suutari 2000; Stahl and Cerdin 2004; Stahl, Miller and Tung 2002; Suutari, Brewster and Tornikoski 2013). Both groups are engaged in the pursuit of personal and professional international career development (Cerdin and Le Pargneux 2010).

The research on careers can be traced back to the early organisational career studies carried out in the 1970s by Bailyn (1977), Schein (1971), van Maanen (1977) and Hall (1976).

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<sup>1</sup> Brazil, Russia, India, China

In his early research, Schein (1971, pp. 401-402) purported that a career consisted of two complementary and interlinked perspectives: the individual perspective in which the career was defined as a "*set of attributes and experiences of the individual who joins, moves through and finally leaves the organisation*" (Schein 1971, p. 401); and the organisational perspective in which he considered the career as a "*set of expectations held by individuals inside the organisation, which guide their decisions about whom to move, how and at what 'speed'*" (Schein 1971, p. 402). He considered that not only did the organisation have an influence on the individual (acculturation), but that the individual could also influence the organisation (innovation).

In order to explain his career theory, Schein (1971, pp. 403-404; 1978, p. 39) proposed a three-dimensional, vertical, conical model of the organisational structure, in which movement within the organisation was considered to take place on three dimensions (Schein 1971, pp. 403-404; 1978, pp. 37-38; 2010, p. 99):

1. vertically – from one "rank" to another across hierarchical boundaries
2. radially – movement from an "outsider" to an "insider" across inclusion boundaries
3. circumferentially – from one task, function or division to another across functional boundaries

As a result, the dynamics of the career were considered a sequence of boundary passages along and across the boundaries and as consisting of the processes of learning (or socialisation), performance and either of becoming obsolete or learning of new skills, which would lead to further movement (Schein 1971, p. 418).

Developing from the early studies, career research has been carried out across the disciplines of psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, history and geography each of which offered its own definition of this term (Arthur, Hall and Lawrence 1989, p. 10; Bird 1994, p. 326). Definitions of a career by Arthur, Hall and Lawrence (1989), Baruch and Rosenstein (1992, p. 478), Baruch (1996, p. 40) and Shaffer et al.



(2012) considered it in terms of the development of an employee's experience over time.

Bird (1994, p. 326; 1996, p. 150) considered this interpretation of a career to be incomplete, as the experience per se in terms of a chronology of positions held is not the defining factor of a career. He considered careers "repositories of knowledge" (Bird 1994, p. 327; 1996, p. 152), which implied that knowledge can be added to, but also removed, rearranged or replaced (Bird 1994, p. 326). This inferred that not all career moves are directed at attaining increased pay and power, but may also be a direct attempt by individuals to acquire new skills and knowledge or apply previously acquired skills that are not required in the current position (Bird 1996, p. 163) resulting in a move toward the internal, self-managed career (Schein 1978, p. 36).

Following on from his earlier work, Schein (1978, p. 36; 1996, p. 80) considered the career as consisting of two differing elements: the "external career", as the traditional upward progression of job experiences; and the "internal career", involving a subjective sense of where one is going in one's work life. Comparable with the internal career, the protean career was considered to be *"driven by the individual rather than the organisation, and [to] be reinvented by the person from time to time, as the person and the environment change"* (Hall 1996b, p. 8). The goal of the internal or protean career was not the traditional movement through the organisational ranks, but subjective "psychological success" (Hall 1996b, p. 8), described as *"the feeling of pride and personal accomplishment that comes from achieving one's most important goals in life"*. Schein (1978, p. 125) considered the early career as a time of mutual discovery between the new employee and the organisation at a time in which the new employee gradually gained self-knowledge and developed a clearer occupational self-concept. This self-concept was purported to consist of three components that he termed the person's "career anchor" (Schein 1978, p. 125):

1. Self-perceived talents and abilities
2. Self-perceived motives and needs
3. Self-perceived attitudes and values

These anchors formed a source of stability and could be considered as the motives and values that an individual would not give up if forced to make a choice (Schein 1996, p. 80). Schein (1978, p. 129) considered that as a career develops, most individuals recognise that one or more factors will form their career anchor. Organisational development, resulting in changing job and role requirements, however, invoke a change in the emphasis of individual career anchors (Schein 1996, pp. 86-87).

Changes in the economic landscape, corporate downsizing, de-layering, right-sizing, increasing globalisation and competition are some of the factors deemed to result in organisations' reduced reliability to provide a traditional organisational career (Demel and Mayrhofer 2010, pp. 301-302; Higgins, Dobrow and Roloff 2010, p. 750; Suutari and Mäkelä 2007, p. 630) and diminished ties and loyalty to employers (Thomas and Dunkerley 1999). The world has become one large employment pool for professionals, who increasingly initiate and finance their own expatriation to take advantage of potentially lucrative work opportunities created by a shortage of skilled workers (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2011, pp. 10-13; ManpowerGroup 2014; OECD 2013, pp. 41-43; Tharenou and Caulfield 2010, p. 1009) in both developed and developing economies (Kuptsch and Pang 2006; OECD 2008). Employees have embarked on professional and entrepreneurial careers (Kanter 1989) and sought to satisfy their career objectives in and out of the organisation (Hall 2002). The traditional one company, one country model of employment is slowly crumbling (Dickmann and Baruch 2011, p. 5) and as a result, careers are based more on occupations and individuals "cultivating" their occupational careers and developing a self-identity based on specialist skills and interests (Inkson 1997, p. 172) than on organisations (Inkson 1997, p. 171). This development from the external to the internal career (Schein 1978, p. 37; 1996, p. 80) or protean career (Hall 1976; 1996b; 2004) can be considered to have culminated in the boundaryless career (Arthur 1994; Arthur and Rousseau 1996a; DeFillippi and Arthur 1994, pp. 307-308) followed by highly qualified mobile professionals who build their career competencies and labour market value through transfer across both organisational and national boundaries (Banai and Harry 2004; DeFillippi and Arthur 1996;

Feldman and Ng 2007; Hudson and Inkson 2006; Thomas, Lazarova and Inkson 2005). The boundaryless careers they embark upon are, therefore, not tied to a single organisation, not represented by an orderly sequence, and are marked by less vertical coordination and stability (Arthur and Rousseau 1996b, p. 5) inferring them to be the opposite of external organisational careers. Developing the concept further, Sullivan and Arthur (2006, p. 23) considered the boundaryless career a multifaceted phenomenon that *"can be viewed and operationalised by the degree of mobility exhibited by the career actor along both the physical (objective) and psychological (subjective) continua"*. In this case work is arranged in temporary discrete projects, and employees are made accountable for results rather than careers based on long tenure and nine to five presence (Inkson 1997, p. 179). In a similar manner, international assignments are accepted as they are considered to have a positive influence on an individual's internal career irrespective of whether it would positively influence their external career (Peiperl and Jonsen 2007, p. 361). Baruch (2006) questioned whether the extreme version of the new career portrayed by the recent literature may be exceeding the average career experience as most people are neither entirely independent and boundaryless, nor are they held captive to their organisations. According to Dickmann and Baruch (2011, p. 76) the true meaning of boundarylessness in terms of career moves is not a total extinction of older boundaries, but rather about making boundaries more permeable (Gunz, Evans and Jalland 2002, p. 62). In a boundaryless world, people with non-traditional career attitudes, such as the protean career (Hall 2004), will benefit from broader options of career moves, including moving to different cultures (Dickmann and Baruch 2011, p. 76). Thus, although now contested (Pringle and Mallon 2003), the boundaryless career is seen as an increasingly dominant career form (Arthur and Rousseau 1996b; Dickmann et al. 2008; Eby, Butts and Lockwood 2003; Miles and Snow 1996; Sullivan 1999).

Whereas the assigned expatriates may be considered to embark on an organisational career (Inkson et al. 1997; Inkson and Myers 2003) the self-initiated expatriate career concept fits well with the boundaryless career approach (Baruch, Budhwar and Khatri 2007, p. 100; Stahl, Miller and Tung

2002). Comparing the expatriate assignment with overseas experience, Inkson et al. (1997) considered that many young people opt for overseas experience for a variety of reasons, which they associated with the boundaryless career approach (Au and Fukuda 2002). Although the concepts of the boundaryless career and self-initiated expatriation appear to overlap, Dorsch, Suutari and Brewster (2013, p. 45) warn that not all self-initiated expatriates will implement all concepts of the boundaryless career as some will move to another country, speak the language of the country (Vance 2005), have a partner from that country (Thorn 2009), take a job, and remain in that country and job for the rest of their working lives.

Hall and colleagues (Hall 1976; 1996a; 2004; Mirvis and Hall 1996) have focussed primarily upon the subjective perspective of the individual career actor who faces the external career realities of the contemporary business environment. They have characterised the protean career as being driven by the person, not the organisation as a career in which the person is (1) *values driven* in the sense that the person's internal values provide the guidance and measure of success for the individual's career; and (2) *self-directed* in personal career management – having the ability to be adaptive in terms of performance and learning demands (Briscoe and Hall 2006, p. 5; Briscoe, Hall and Frautschy DeMuth 2006, p. 31). It is driven by subjective success rather than objective success (Hall 2002; Yan, Zhu and Hall 2002). In this case, subjective career success is considered as a person's internal reflection on whether he or she has accomplished desirable work-related outcomes over time across any dimension that is important to them such as having a sense of personal fulfilment (Arthur, Khapova and Wilderom 2005, pp. 178-179; Bailyn 2006, p. 31; Cao, Hirschi and Deller 2013, p. 59; Hall 2002, p. 11). In contrast, objective career success involves more external and tangible indicators of an individual's career situation such as being promoted or having a pay rise (Arthur, Khapova and Wilderom 2005; Cao, Hirschi and Deller 2013, p. 59). Although conceptually distinct, objective success and subjective success have been shown to be interdependent (Ng et al. 2005) allowing individuals to constantly adjust their understanding of success and adjust their career planning to optimise their position (Arthur, Khapova and Wilderom 2005, p. 180). A protean

career attitude can promote objective and subjective career success because it is positively related to a proactive disposition and intrinsic motivation for self-career management (Briscoe, Hall and Frautschy DeMuth 2006). Research suggests that proactivity is positively associated with both objective and subjective indicators of career success (Seibert, Crant and Krainer 1999) and that the positive effects of a protean career attitude on career satisfaction are mediated by increased career self-management i.e. employees' efforts to define and realise their personal career objectives (De Vos and Soens 2008). Professional development has been highlighted as a major motivation for many skilled professionals moving across countries (Harvey 2011).

### **2.3.1 *International Mobility***

Due to the previously mentioned shortage of skilled workers in many developed and developing countries and the increasing forces of globalisation there is a resulting increase in demand for interculturally flexible employees with more differentiated skill sets (Deloitte 2010), increasing the strategic importance of self-initiated expatriates for multinational corporations (Cao, Hirschi and Deller 2012, p. 159; Howe-Walsh and Schyns 2010, p. 260; Jokinen, Brewster and Suutari 2008, p. 979) in which employees are often called on to take part in global work experiences (Chen et al. 2010; Stahl, Miller and Tung 2002; Thomas, Lazarova and Inkson 2005). International work experience is considered important to develop the skills employees require to carry out critical business activities (Stroh et al. 2005, p. 6) at all levels of the organisation (Collings and Mellahi 2009, p. 309; Doherty and Dickmann 2013a, p. 234) and develop competitive advantage (Doherty and Dickmann 2013a, p. 235; Welch 2003, p. 166) as an increasing number of careers in contemporary society are evolving across national and regional boundaries (De Cieri et al. 2009, p. 257; Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013b, p. 7; Fitzgerald and Howe-Walsh 2008, p. 158). This increased movement of people and knowledge across international borders is an important manifestation of the internationalisation of professions and professional labour markets (Ackers and Gill 2005; Baruch, Budhwar and Khatri 2007, p. 99; Carr, Inkson and Thorn 2005; Iredale 2001) resulting in "brain drain" (Docquier, Lohest and

Marfouk 2007, p. 194) or in more positive terms "talent flow" (Carr, Inkson and Thorn 2005, p. 387), "brain circulation" (Saxenian 2005, p. 36) or "brain gain" (Tung and Lazarova 2006, p. 1854). These can be seen as "mind-stretching" experiences (Suutari, Brewster and Tornikoski 2013, p. 159) and development opportunities that can influence an individual's identity (Kohonen 2004; 2005) and his or her future career expectations and intentions (Suutari and Brewster 2003).

Although many individuals experience international mobility as part of an organisationally assigned expatriate assignment (Banai and Harry 2004; Cappellen and Janssens 2010; Dickmann and Doherty 2010; Mayerhofer et al. 2011) or through migration (Zikic, Bonache and Cerdin 2010), an increasing number are choosing self-initiated expatriation (Bozionelos 2009; Selmer and Luring 2010; Tharenou 2010; Tharenou and Caulfield 2010) in which the initiative for leaving the home country comes from the individual and not from the employer (Richardson and Mallon 2005). This supports the attempts of large multinational enterprises that have begun to substitute or complement traditional expatriate assignments with other forms of international assignment in an attempt to combat the high costs of staff mobility and challenges posed for example by dual-career couples (Beaverstock 2004; Grainger and Nankervis 2001; McDonnell and Scullion 2013, pp. 137-138; Tahvanainen, Welch and Worm 2005, p. 663).

The international human resource management literature indicates a plethora of forms of international work experiences such as self-initiated work experiences, global management activities, short- and long-term expatriation, international project work, flexpatriate assignments (Baruch et al. 2013; Bonache, Brewster and Suutari 2001; Briscoe, Schuler and Claus 2009; Cappellen and Janssens 2005; Demel and Mayerhofer 2010; Inkson and Myers 2003; Mayerhofer, Hartmann and Herbert 2004; Mayerhofer et al. 2004; Selmer and Luring 2011a; Tharenou 2002, p. 130) or international business travellers (Welch, Welch and Worm 2007; Westman 2004). Whereas the longer term traditional organisationally assigned expatriate assignment was well suited to the era in which it was formed and most prevalent, these new approaches are better suited to the global environment of highly efficient transport systems, growing availability of

skilled local staff, and internet based communication (Bonache and Zárraga-Oberty 2008, p. 1). The function of these new forms of international assignment has become more strategically oriented towards knowledge transfer and project work (Beaverstock 2004; Welch 2003). Vance (2002, pp. B3-B4) proposed a three phase career path model for obtaining foreign work experience: Phase I – Foundation building; Phase II – Specific preparation; and Phase III – Securing Foreign Employment, which was seen to consist of two tracks, Immediate Expatriation Track (consistent with self-initiated expatriates) and MNC Track (consistent with assigned expatriates). Individuals embarking on an immediate expatriation track would generally move to the foreign location after completion of phase II to enable them to be close to the local labour pool and to job opportunities. The advantages of this strategy (Vance 2002, p. B5) lie in the fact that the individual can embark on an international career earlier than via the MNC track, increasing their career capital and providing a foundation from which they can propel their future career if they are able to find suitable employment in the target country. One major negative aspect of this strategy lies in the fact that the individual is not able to benefit from the tangible and intangible support that may be provided on the MNC track (Vance 2002, p. B6).

Independent of the type of international assignment embarked upon, the experience gained by the individuals enables them to gain and develop their career capital (Dickmann and Harris 2005), where considered from a resource perspective (Arthur, Claman and DeFillippi 1995; DeFillippi and Arthur 1996, p. 117; Jokinen, Brewster and Suutari 2008, p. 981), global experience helps to reshape the 'knowing-why', improves and enhances the 'knowing-how' and generates a new network of 'knowing- whom' for the person involved (Baruch et al. 2013, p. 2387; Jokinen, Brewster and Suutari 2008, pp. 988-989).

Shaffer et al. (2012, pp. 1290-1291) considered two groups of factors affecting an individual's choices for global work: external influences (personal agency; country and family considerations); internal influences (intrinsic and extrinsic motivators; personal characteristics). Typical external motives for the individual in accepting an international role have been linked to the job on offer, the opportunity to have new experiences

and learning possibilities, personal interest in international experience, family and domestic issues, the location of the assignment, and the overall assignment offer including the repatriation package and the financial impact of working abroad (Dickmann et al. 2008, pp. 739-742; Miller and Cheng 1978; Stahl, Miller and Tung 2002; Suutari and Brewster 2000; Tung 1998). Researchers (Crowley-Henry 2007; Hippler 2009; Inkson and Myers 2003; Richardson and Mallon 2005; Selmer and Leung 2003a; Stahl, Miller and Tung 2002) have generally found that intrinsic motivators such as personal challenges and development derived from international exploration, and international work or non-work experiences (Biemann and Andresen 2010; Boies and Rothstein 2002; Cerdin and Le Pargneux 2009; Suutari and Taka 2004; Tung 1998), and the associated enjoyment (Chew and Zhu 2002) are important considerations in corporate expatriates' and self-initiated expatriates' choices for global work. If employees have low self-efficacy for living and working in a country with a culture different from their own, they may be less attracted to working abroad than if they have high self-efficacy (Bandura 1997; Betz 2000; Lent, Brown and Hackett 2000; Tharenou 2002, p. 134).

### **Clarity of Definitions**

Each of the types of global work discussed in the extant literature (Baruch et al. 2013, pp. 2374-2386; Dickmann and Baruch 2011, pp. 77-88) results in a different set of expectations and differing psychological contracts (Guzzo, Noonan and Elron 1994). The understanding of the complex nature of these global work forms and the comparison of previous research is, however, impaired by the often unclear terminology and demarcation used (Andresen, Bergdolt and Margenfeld 2013; Andresen et al. 2014; Baruch et al. 2013; Doherty 2013; Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013a).

Typical for a young field of research, the search for appropriate terminology continued as individuals attempted to reach a clear demarcation between the various forms of international assignment that were becoming more popular in business and the traditional organisational expatriate assignment. Moving on from the original concept of the "Overseas Experience (OE)" researched by Inkson et al. (1997) and the concept of



"self-initiated foreign work experience (SFE)" proposed by Suutari and Brewster (2000), the terms "self-initiated expatriate" and "self-initiated expatriation" have become more prevalent in recent literature (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry 2013; Andresen et al. 2014; Cao, Hirschi and Deller 2012; Doherty 2013; Doherty and Dickmann 2013a; Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013a; Doherty and Thorn 2014; Scurry, Rodriguez and Bailouni 2013). These terms are used to describe individuals who have independently elected to relocate across international borders to a country of their choice in order to seek a job or to try an entrepreneurial venture (Jokinen, Brewster and Suutari 2008; Saxenian 2005), often with no definite time frame in mind (Harrison, Shaffer and Bhaskar-Shrinivas 2004; Suutari and Brewster 2000), but generally on a temporary basis (Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013a, p. 99). They are considered to most often expatriate by resigning from their job and moving abroad, finding a job once there; to a lesser extent, they find work before they expatriate (Bozionelos 2009; Napier and Taylor 2002; Suutari and Brewster 2000; Thang, MacLachlan and Goda 2002). Andresen et al. (2014, p. 2308) considered that the expatriate, therefore, has migrant status in the new country of residence. These two extreme forms of expatriate assignment, the assigned expatriate fulfilling the requirements of their organisation and taking up assignments at the organisation's request, rewarded with security, support and benefits at the one end, and the self-initiated expatriate, free in the selection of their target country and organisation, but penalised with no support and a high level of risk at the other end, could, according to Myers and Pringle (2005, p. 422), form the poles of a hypothetical continuum of international career forms. Between these two poles, the various other types of international work experience could then be organised providing a simple form of categorisation.

Although this differentiation initially appeared to offer a clear distinction between organisationally assigned expatriates and self-initiated expatriates, Andresen and colleagues (Andresen, Bergdolt and Margenfeld 2013, p. 11; Andresen et al. 2014, p. 2295) recognised an overlap in the two groups and the use of the terminology in the research. One such overlap was visible in the case of "global self-initiated corporate expatriates" (Altman and Baruch

2012) who had demonstrated initiative to obtain an international assignment fulfilling the basic concept of the self-initiated expatriate, but were still employed within the same organisation and could benefit from the support mechanisms and benefits traditionally assigned to organisationally assigned expatriates. As a partial clarification of this dilemma they offered the concepts of the "global self-initiated corporate expatriate" (Altman and Baruch 2012) and the further differentiation between "intra-organisational self-initiated expatriates (intra-SIEs)", describing individuals who self-initiate an assignment and remain with their employing organisation and "inter-organisational self-initiated expatriates (inter-SIEs)" who change their employers with the new assignment (Andresen, Bergdolt and Margenfeld 2013, p. 11; Andresen et al. 2014, p. 2296).

Further difficulties were encountered when attempting to distinguish between "expatriates" and "immigrants" as well as between "expatriation" and "migration" (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry 2013; Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013a). Reflecting on basic definitions of these terms clarifies the difficulties encountered. According to the UNESCO (2014) a migrant is *"any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country"*. If the consideration of the migrant is narrowed to the migrant worker then Part I, Article 2 §1 of the UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (United Nations 1990) defines him or her as *"a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national"*. Consideration of these definitions brings to light parallels with the definitions of organisational and self-initiated expatriates and additionally indicates that previous attempts at demarcation between migrants and expatriates based mainly on their permanence in the new host country (Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013a) are inadequate. In an attempt to alleviate the difficulties encountered demarcating the numerous potential forms on international work, Baruch et al. (2013) expanded on the framework proposed by Peiperl and Jonsen (2007) and suggested a framework of seven characteristics (intensity of international contacts, the breadth of interaction, legal context, international work instigator, extent of

cultural gap, and the specific position) and two contextual sets of variables (individual variables, organisational context) to differentiate the forms of international assignment. Each of the career forms could then be described in terms of combinations of degrees of each of the factors enabling their uniqueness and similarities to be represented (Baruch et al. 2013, pp. 2375-2376), providing individuals and organisations with a clearer understanding of their properties and potential advantages and disadvantages.

### **Factors Affecting Willingness for Global Work**

In order for organisations to increase the attractiveness of overseas assignments, and decrease the rate of failure it is important for them to understand the motivation underlying managers' willingness to work on international assignments (Boies and Rothstein 2002, p. 234). Armed with this understanding, organisations are better able to adapt the design of their overseas assignments and relocation and reward packages (Noe, Steffy and Barber 1988) to take into account managers' expectations.

The literature proposes a wide selection of factors that may influence an individual's willingness to engage in an international assignment or develop an international career. Individuals' general beliefs and perceptions (Adler 1986a; Aryee, Chay and Chew 1996; Boies and Rothstein 2002, p. 246; Eby and Russell 2000, p. 56), as well as their volition (preferences, personal agency) (Tharenou 2002, p. 131) are proposed to be important when attempting to understand an individual's receptivity to international work. Considerations implementing the social cognitive career theory (SCCT) resulted in proposals that an individual's personal agency, as well as other person factors (e.g. demographic factors), help explain the development of career interests (Bandura 1997; Betz 2000; Lent, Brown and Hackett 1994; 2000). Lent, Brown and Hackett (1994; 2000) proposed that, in addition to person factors, the barriers, opportunities and support perceived by individuals in their environments shape the formation of their career interests. The fewer the barriers such as administrative difficulties, downward career mobility, or discriminatory behaviour (Al Ariss and Özbilgin 2010, pp. 280-281) and the greater opportunities and support the

individual perceives in regard to a particular career, the more likely he or she is to develop an interest in that career (Tharenou 2002, p. 131). An individual's decision to embark on an international assignment may also result from their wish to escape from a situation in which they are no longer satisfied either with their position or the organisation in general (Boies and Rothstein 2002, p. 248). This concept may potentially be expanded to include an individual's dissatisfaction with their general environment including the home labour market, which when coupled with a positive perception of the target country labour market could positively influence an individual's decision to embark on an international assignment (Baruch, Budhwar and Khatri 2007; Jokinen, Brewster and Suutari 2008; Suutari, Brewster and Tornikoski 2013, p. 167; Tharenou 2003).

Recent research (Cerdin 2013, p. 60) has focussed on expatriation motivation through 12 factors: (1) monetary considerations, (2) family considerations (non-job related), (3) normal career advancement pattern, (4) professional development, (5) personal challenge, (6) importance of job itself, (7) future opportunities for advancement, (8) encouragement from colleagues and superiors, (9) encouragement from spouse or partner, (10) geographic location of the assignment, (11) desire to escape from a social or economic environment related to the home country, and (12) desire to escape from personal problems at home. The first 10 items were taken from Stahl, Miller and Tung (2002) and Stahl and Cerdin (2004) and correspond to positive or pull factors. The last two were taken from Borg (1988) and Torbiörn (1976) and represent negative motivation or push factors. One further factor that appears to play a major role in an individual's decision to expatriate is chance or opportunity (Richardson and Mallon 2005, p. 412; Suutari, Brewster and Tornikoski 2013, p. 168), driven by the three dominant motivations: adventure/travel, life change, and family. Irrespective of the categorisation factors or schema used in an attempt to understand expatriates' reasons for embarking on an international assignment, it should be recognised that these factors are not singular and exclusive, but may be considered in combination resulting in different "shades" of the expatriation decision (McDonnell and Scullion 2013, p. 140).

Further, many of these categories have been found to influence both

assigned and self-initiated expatriates decisions to pursue global work experience. Both groups consider the location, including cultural similarity, and security (Aryee, Chay and Chew 1996; Dickmann et al. 2008; Hippler 2009), as well as city-specific factors such as an attractive standard of living (Carr, Inkson and Thorn 2005), the reputation of the global location (Dickmann and Mills 2010; Fitzgerald and Howe-Walsh 2008), the prestige of working in a particular city (Doherty, Dickmann and Mills 2011), and the attitudes and behaviours of the host country citizens (Dickmann and Mills 2010). Personal and familial relationships, as well as work-family balance concerns are also important considerations for corporate expatriates, self-initiated expatriates, and global travellers with those demonstrating stronger familial ties and responsibilities less likely to accept or self-initiate global work (Carr, Inkson and Thorn 2005; Konopaske and Werner 2005; Richardson 2006; Richardson and Mallon 2005; Tharenou 2003). Dickmann et al. (2008) found, however, that spousal career considerations were less important to corporate executives than were their own career considerations when deciding to accept a global employment opportunity. In a similar manner, both corporate expatriates' and self-initiated expatriates' choices for global work are influenced by the perceived opportunity to develop global career competencies (Cappellen and Janssens 2008; Dickmann and Mills 2010; Doherty, Dickmann and Mills 2011; Fish and Wood 1997; Fitzgerald and Howe-Walsh 2008; Richardson and Mallon 2005; Suutari 2003; Tharenou 2008; Thorn 2009), and intrinsic motivators such as personal challenges and development derived from international exploration (Crowley-Henry 2007; Hippler 2009; Inkson and Myers 2003; Richardson and Mallon 2005; Selmer and Leung 2003a; Stahl, Miller and Tung 2002), international work or non-work experiences (Biemann and Andresen 2010; Boies and Rothstein 2002; Cerdin and Le Pargneux 2009; Suutari and Taka 2004; Tung 1998), and the associated enjoyment (Chew and Zhu 2002).

Whether considering the motivations of self-initiated expatriates or assigned expatriates, research (Cerdin and Le Pargneux 2010, pp. 296-297; Suutari, Brewster and Tornikoski 2013, p. 165) indicates that the motivations to expatriate may be similar, but their weighting might differ. This can in part

be the result of the restrictions implemented on the decision by the individuals environment and the degree of free choice available during the decision making process.

In general, the changes in positions and thinking on careers have resulted in individuals implementing different prisms through which they combine the contextual factors and construct their individual narratives. This in turn has implications for their ability to palliate their situations, and the success or failure of their current assignments.

## 2.4 Cultural Understanding

Commonly the term "culture" is used to describe differences in people and their way of life at a national or geographical level (Jameson 2007, p. 204; Mathews 2000, p. 1). In general culture "*serves as a lens through which we perceive the 'other'*" (Schneider, Barsoux and Stahl 2014, p. 16). Since its conception in the cultural anthropology of the early twentieth century

Topical	Culture consists of everything on a list of topics, or categories, such as social organisation, religion and economy
Historical	Culture is social heritage, or tradition, that is passed on to future generations
Behavioural	Culture is shared, learned human behaviour; a way of life
Normative	Culture is ideals, values or rules for living
Functional	Culture is the way humans solve problems of adapting to the environment or living together
Mental	Culture is a complex of ideas, or learned habits that inhibit impulses and distinguish people from animals
Structural	Culture consists of patterned and interrelated ideas, symbols, or behaviours
Symbolic	Culture is based on arbitrarily assigned meanings that are shared by a society

Table 3: Diverse definitions of culture  
(Bodley 1994, p. 9)

(Blumenthal 1940; Haring 1949; Kluckhohn 1951; Mead 1937; Tylor 1924; Young 1939), various research disciplines have developed definitions of culture (Table 3) to support the theories and models resulting from their research (Bodley 1994, p. 9). Although these models were purported to consider conflicting cultural dimensions, authors such as Browaeys and Price (2008, p. 6), and Nardon and Steers (2009, p. 9) postulated that the variables demonstrate convergence and in part provide a means of comparison of the models.

Organisations embarking on international business ventures should understand how cultural differences may be harnessed to drive the business forward, and the potential clashes that may lead to the demise of the venture (Schneider, Barsoux and Stahl 2014, p. 14). Cultural awareness is also an advantage for internationally active individuals as it enables them to understand the potential differences between their own cultural programming (Hofstede 1981) and other cultures helping them to feel comfortable, and make sense of events (Louis 1980, p. 233; Weick 1995, pp. 4-6). The importance of this understanding was stated by Schuetz (1944, p. 504) who considered that:

*[o]nly after having ... collected a certain knowledge of the interpretive function of the new cultural pattern may the stranger start to adopt it as the scheme of his own expression*

As the literature on cultural research does not use a consistent, uniform terminology, it is necessary to clarify the nomenclature used in this thesis. "Levels of culture" is used to describe the development of culture from the global level to the organisational level, the individual perspective, and cultural self-representation (Erez and Gati 2004, p. 588). The cultural levels consider that individuals not only have contact with their national culture, but also standardised behaviour within other discrete "groups" such as the organisation in which they work, or a professional group with a particular ethos (e.g. medical doctors having sworn the Hippocratic Oath). This concept is comparable to Hofstede's "Three Levels of Human Mental Programming" (Hofstede 1981, pp. 17-18; Hofstede and Hofstede 2005, pp.

2-3) and Erez and Gati's "Multi-level Model of Culture" (Erez and Gati 2004, pp. 587-588) in which they purport that *"each cultural level serves as the context of the cultural levels below it"* and that *"reciprocally, processes that reside in the nested levels shape the macro-level cultural entity"*.

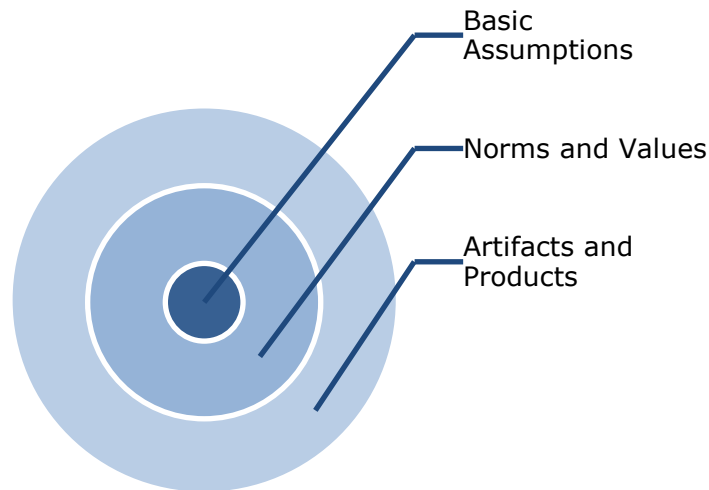


Fig. 5: Cultural Rings Model of Culture  
(Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, p. 22)

The movement from the tangible to the intangible cultural factors considers the movement through the "cultural layers". There are many models of culture, Fig. 5 illustrates the ring model proposed by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997, p. 22). The outer layer of culture labelled "Artefacts and Products" (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, pp. 21-22) consists of explicit culture represented by factors Peterson (2004, p. 20) considered can be *"perceived with your five senses"*. These elements are *"both easy to observe and very difficult to decipher"* (Schein 2010, p. 24). Examples are architecture, language, food, music, clothing, gestures. The explicit culture, reflecting the deeper layers of culture, the "Norms and Values" (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, pp. 21-22) or espoused beliefs and values (Schein 2010, pp. 25-27) of the group, are located in the middle layer of culture. The norms define the group's understanding of "right" and "wrong" while the values describe what they consider as "good" and "bad". Schein (2010, p. 25) considered this level to be concerned with someone's belief of "what should be" as distinct from "what is". The "Basic



Underlying Assumptions” of a culture form the core of the model and refer to the implicit culture (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, pp. 23-24). This level of culture is very difficult to explore as it considers things that people tend to take for granted. *“This deepest meaning has escaped from conscious questioning and become self-evident, because it is a result of routine responses to the environment”* (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, p. 24). These are often elements that cause raised-eyebrows of disbelief when questioned as they are so much a part of daily life that no one really questions them.

The smallest cultural elements used to describe and compare cultures are the “cultural dimensions” such as Power Distance (Hofstede 2001, pp. 79-143) or Context (Hall 1989, pp. 85-116). The cultural dimensions represent tendencies or an average of the population of a culture as a whole and do not consider regional, ethnic or religious sub-cultures, which may demonstrate substantial differences. When entering a new cultural environment one should not expect all host nationals, therefore, to fully comply with the stereotypes implied by the dimensions.

Although many theories regarding the different levels of culture (global, national, organisational, professional) have been developed (see Appendix 1 for their consideration), their detailed discussion is not central to this research. In the context of this research, the central factor lies in the fact that the combination of the different levels of culture create a complex matrix of cultural values, beliefs and basic assumptions that result in individuals’ varied understandings and selection of contextual factors used to create the narratives that help build upon, or palliate their situations and in turn contribute to the success of the assignment.

This position can be considered to be founded on the broader view of “global culture” as consisting of complex connectivity and networking of cultural practices and experiences (Bird and Stevens 2003, p. 397; Tomlinson 1999, p. 71) in which improvements in information and communication technologies provided individuals worldwide with access to news, advertising, movies, music and lifestyle information from the “advanced” western economies (Bird and Stevens 2003, p. 399; Cavusgil,

Knight and Riesenberger 2012, p. 87; Schneider, Barsoux and Stahl 2014, p. 7) and enabled them to negotiate restrictions imposed in the physical world (Bird and Stevens 2003, p. 399). Consistent with this position, the national cultural can also be considered as a dynamic entity in which each cultural level influences the levels above and below it (Erez and Gati 2004, p. 587). This concept of the multicultural paradigm is also present in the global-culture considerations of Arnett (2002, p. 777), and Bird and Stevens (2003, p. 397) who purported that as a result of globalisation individuals have developed bicultural identities consisting in part of their local identity and in part of a global identity resulting from an awareness of their relation to the global culture. These two cultural identities experience significant cultural "*cross-pollination*" (Bird and Stevens 2003, p. 403) as described by the dynamic top-down-bottom-up relationships of Erez and Gati (2004, p. 588), and Arnett (2002, p. 778). The advances in globalisation and international movement, therefore, enable the formation of many new groups and differing levels of both nations and organisations.

In a similar manner to national culture, organisational culture can also be considered a descriptive framework of its members' attitudes, emphasising their shared cognitive approaches to reality enabling one entity to be distinguished from another (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 74). These traditional concepts of organisational culture focused, however, on the inside of an organisation, separated from the societal environment in which it is embedded (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 85) rather than an interactive open system in which the environment, the organisation and its members coexist and interact. Closer consideration of the organisational culture literature indicates three main areas of interest: 1. the effect of the national culture on the organisational culture; 2. the effect of the objective categorisation of the bodies under consideration (etic perspective of cultural research – organisation, department, job category etc.); 3. the effect of the individuals' sensemaking of the situation. The degree of influence of national culture on organisational culture is, however, not conclusive (Gerhart 2009; Nelson and Gopalan 2003), and Gerhart (2009, p. 255) suggested that organisations may "*have more discretion in choosing whether to localise or standardise organisational culture and related*

*management practices*" than is offered by traditional literature. Although organisational studies traditionally considered culture as relating to a specific location, organisation, career level, job or similar, this perspective is problematic, as it ignores the individual involved and their influence (Martin 2002, p. 323); promotions, job-hopping, or border-crossing positions may all influence how an individual may make sense of a situation and how they carry out their job. As globalisation moves countries closer together, workforces become more diverse, forcing organisations to address the accompanying challenges posed by differences in culture, race, nationality and ethnicity (Jackson, Joshi and Erhardt 2003; Stahl et al. 2010; Triandis 2003, p. 486; van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, p. 516; Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 78). In addition, there is a growing need for them to increase the cultural awareness of their domestic employees in an attempt to improve their ability to interact with colleagues and partners from diverse cultural backgrounds (Littrell et al. 2006, p. 236; Ronen 1989, p. 417). A particular case of internationalisation is demonstrated within the European Union with its policy of free movement of workers (Conference of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States 1957; 2012) and increased influx of immigrant workers confronting organisations with increasing diversity challenges (Triandafyllidou 2012). The internationalisation of organisations is not the only source of diversification however, as *"the effects of diversity can result from any attribute people use to tell themselves that another person is different"* (Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 81). This general understanding is important as in order for an individual to demonstrate a negative bias (dislike or discrimination) towards an outgroup or to demonstrate a favourable bias (increased favour, trust, cooperation) towards an ingroup (Brewer 1979, p. 319; Mannix and Neale 2005, p. 41; van Knippenberg, De Dreu and Homan 2004, p. 1009) they first have to understand who they are and have acquired a clear sense of belonging to their own distinct ingroup (Tajfel 1974, p. 66). In diverse work-groups this process may be complicated by the fact that individuals may not only distinguish one main ingroup, but additionally various subgroups (van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, pp. 517-518). A fundamental characteristic of person perception and categorisation is that people react to the first available and meaningful information to categorise

others (Fiske and Neuberg 1990; Rakić, Steffens and Mummendey 2011, p. 16). One way in which social groups may be perceived and categorised is according to their particular distinct language or speech styles (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, pp. 325-327; Rakić, Steffens and Mummendey 2011, pp. 24-25), which in the case of ethnic groups may take the form of distinct separate languages, dialects or "ethnic speech style". Auditory categorisation may in fact take priority over visual category information (Rakić, Steffens and Mummendey 2011, p. 24). Speech styles not only constitute indicators of ethnic identity, but also useful catalysts to enable intergroup comparisons to be made on other non-linguistic dimensions (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, p. 329). Harrison and Klein (2007, p. 1200) considered, however, that an organisational unit may not be diverse per se, but that it may be diverse with regard to specific features.

Lau and Murnighan (1998, p. 325) introduced the concept of diversity "faultlines" or as Thatcher and Patel (2011, p. 1120) considered them, latent or perceived faultlines, to refer to hypothetical dividing lines that subdivide a group based on differing combinations of correlated dimensions of diversity. Diverting from traditional diversity research, the faultline theory considers individuals as a complex collection of differing attributes that allow them to belong to various sub-groups within a particular environment, implying the possibility of both between-group differences and within-group similarity (Bezrukova et al. 2009; Homan et al. 2007; Molleman 2005; Thatcher and Patel 2011; 2012; van Knippenberg et al. 2011). The attributes considered may be more perceivable, less task oriented social attributes such as race, ethnicity, nationality, age, gender or more task related informational attributes such as work and educational experience (Bezrukova et al. 2009, p. 37; Thatcher and Patel 2011, p. 1126). The stronger the diversity faultline, the more likely is the formation of subcategories within the group, which in turn increases the possibility of disruptions to the functioning of the group as a whole (van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, p. 523). Bezrukova et al. (2009, p. 38) considered that not only the faultline strength, but also the faultline distance, the extent to which subgroups diverge, has to be considered to obtain the true effect of faultlines on diverse groups. Their research indicated that greater faultline

distance increased the negative effect of both strong social category faultlines and information-based faultlines in diverse groups (Bezrukova et al. 2009, pp. 44-45). Groups with crosscutting dimensions of diversity (e.g. ethnic minority member in informational majority) were found to benefit from more favourable group processes and to outperform homogeneous and faultline groups (Phillips et al. 2004, p. 507; Sawyer, Houlette and Yeagley 2006, p. 12). The effect of faultlines can potentially be moderated by the strength of the individuals' level of identification with their groups, and may result in groups with a high level of group identification and strong faultlines demonstrating higher levels of performance than compatible groups with a low level of group identification (Bezrukova et al. 2009, p. 46; Jetten, Spears and Postmes 2004, p. 875). Adler and Jelinek (1986, p. 82) differentiated between an organisational culture perspective, in which "*top managers can create, maintain, and change the culture of an organisation*", and a cross-culture perspective of organisational culture, which accepts the importance and influence of cultural differences and assigns them a greater role in affecting beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 83). The organisational culture perspective severs the linkages between the environment, the organisation and the individuals involved, implicating that individuals enter an organisation *tabula rasa* (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 83). Individuals involved in the organisation, including the managers, however, are not isolated from external roles, influences and culture and enter the organisation with much social conditioning and prior culture already in place (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 86), demonstrating a major weakness of this perspective. This does not mean that managers cannot influence organisational culture, but under adequate consideration of the societal culture, can create an organisational culture, which benefits from the multiple cultures involved (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 87).

The context in which the group is perceived may additionally influence an individual's perception of the group member's characteristics (Lickel et al. 2000, pp. 241-242) and which differences are likely to be salient and/or task-related (Triandis 1995a, pp. 225-230; Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 91). Individuals may override attitudes and behaviours they consider to be biased (Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 112), thus improving group

functioning and performance; if the differences are considered valuable to group functioning, individuals may respond more positively to diverse groups than to homogeneous groups (van Knippenberg, De Dreu and Homan 2004, p. 1019). In organisational settings, context is inescapable and important as it is the environment in which organisations exist and provides the purpose, resources, social cues, norms, and meanings that shape behaviour (Jackson, Joshi and Erhardt 2003, p. 813). In such circumstances individual demographic variables may not adequately reflect the full meaning and impact of diversity (Riordan and Shore 1997, p. 342). Combinations of interactions among a person's social context and social identity may result in complex effects (Chatman et al. 1998) resulting in the same individual demographic characteristics yielding different work-related attitudes in different social contexts (Riordan and Shore 1997, p. 342).

Professional culture "*provides a set of cultural values and practices which are accommodated into the culture of organisations*" (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 283). Each professional has a unique culture, including values, beliefs, attitudes, customs and behaviours (Hall 2005, p. p188), which exists nested within the environmental and organisational culture. The possession of unique, socially valued and scarce knowledge and skills together with a common professional code fosters group cohesion (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 283) and provides a point of professional reference for group members. Whether a professional joins an existing professional group or is a lone professional within an organisation, the effects of the organisational culture influence the individuals interpretation and understanding of particular situations (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 287).

The individual, located at the centre of the dynamic cultural model (Erez and Gati 2004), was considered to reflect the "*cultural values as they are represented in the self*". Throughout their lives, individuals accumulate positive and negative experience that, in the form of schemata or cognitive maps (Abelson 1981; Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 277; Fiske and Taylor 1991, p. 98; Harris 1994, p. 310), enable them to make sense of particular events (Weick 1995, pp. 1-16) and select appropriate responses (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 277; Harris 1994, p. 310). The value shaping experiences are not only a result of an individual's nationality, ethnicity, or family

interaction, but also factors such as their religion and perceived socio economic value (social class) (Cohen 2009, p. 195; Saroglou and Cohen 2011, p. 1310; Tarakeshwar, Stanton and Pargament 2003, p. 381), factors that not only influence national culture, but are influenced by it. It can be inferred, therefore, that an individual's psychological functioning at any particular time, consists of a "*pooling of influences of these many forms of cultural identity*" (Cohen 2009, p. 200). This would further imply that due to the individual's membership to these differing contextual groups they can never be considered as mono-cultural (Cohen 2009, p. 197; Snibbe and Markus 2005, p. 704).

Research indicates that variations in group composition can have an effect on group functioning with diverse groups demonstrating lower levels of integration and communication, but higher levels of conflict (Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 115). Riordan and Shore (1997, p. 349) demonstrated that the greater an individual's perceived demographic similarity in terms of race/ethnicity to their work group, the more positive is their perception of group productivity and commitment. In a similar vein, Tsui, Egan and O'Reilly (1992, p. 572) suggested that minority/majority group proportions may matter for the effects of racial diversity as they do for gender effects. Bicultural members of minority cultural groups may use differing norm sets from their different cultural backgrounds depending upon their perception and interpretation of the signs and symbols of the situation resulting in "situational ethnicity" (Cox, Lobel and McLeod 1991, p. 830).

The concept of schemata and experience gathering infers that, although individuals often state that their age influences their values and behaviours, it is not their age per se, but the various socialisation experiences that have influenced the development of their values (Harris 1994, p. 311) in a similar to the concept of the cultural mosaic proposed by Chao and Moon (2005, p. 1132). Experience gathered can also influence an individual's willingness to engage in psychological work (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7) to palliate the cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) between the current schema and situation (Bartunek and Moch 1987, p. 486; Harris 1994, p. 311).

## 2.5 Expatriate Selection

The literature considers the selection of the “right” individual for a particular assignment (Avril and Magnini 2007, p. 54) important for its success.

Caligiuri, Tarique and Jacobs (2009, p. 252) considered the main difference between the selection process for domestic and international positions was that the selection systems for international staffing “*involve a primary focus on predicting to a job context (working internationally) rather than job content (i.e. tasks, duties, position or title)*”.

Organisations originally selected expatriates based on their domestic environment success (Buckley and Brooke 1992, p. 527; Hays 1974, p. 25; McDonald 1993, pp. 23-24; Mendenhall, Dunbar and Oddou 1987, p. 333) and degree of technical ability (Tye and Chen 2005). A case-dependent selection process (Borrmann 1968, p. 24; Tung 1981, p. 69) in which the position and required degree of interaction with host country nationals (Caligiuri and Colakoglu 2007, pp. 394-396; Tung 1981, pp. 72-74) was, however, considered more effective. Researchers have been unable to agree on one set of candidate characteristics that would lead to success (Guion and Gottier 1965, pp. 159-160; Ronen 1989, p. 426), but increasingly the Big Five Personality Traits (Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, Neuroticism) (Costa and McCrae 1986, p. 410) have been the target of interest as supplementary factors to the technical requirements of the position (Caligiuri, Tarique and Jacobs 2009, p. 253). In a similar manner, it has been suggested that in order to be able to “fit in” and interact successfully with host nationals individuals should possess receptivity to working abroad (Tharenou 2003) and good cross-cultural skills prior to starting their new position (Howe-Walsh and Schyns 2010, p. 266). Similar to success and failure in international assignments (Larson 2006), another factor that will influence the success of self-initiated expatriates is prior foreign experience (McDonnell and Scullion 2013, p. 150). As organisations are unable to prepare self-initiated expatriates for their future intercultural work, there is perhaps further need for the consideration of soft skills (Howe-Walsh and Schyns 2010, p. 266; McDonnell and Scullion 2013, p. 150). In addition, knowledge of the local



language, required to enable interaction with the host country environment, support the understanding of the local population/culture and support the flow of information within the organisation was considered to support a successful assignment (Jameson 2007, pp. 214-215; Peltokorpi 2010, pp. 182-186; Piekkari 2006, pp. 540-542). These requirements were substantiated in research carried out by Selmer, Peltokorpi and Froese (Froese and Peltokorpi 2013, p. 1962; Peltokorpi 2008; Peltokorpi and Froese 2013, p. 99; Selmer 2006) whose findings suggested that self-initiated expatriates demonstrated higher host language proficiency and more experience in the host country, enabling them to enjoy an increased understanding of the host-country culture (Froese 2010; Peltokorpi 2008; Selmer 2006; Takeuchi, Yun and Russell 2002), and more effective interaction with home country nationals leading to higher interaction adjustment.

Fontaine (1986, p. 363) purported that in international assignments involving families it was not normally the working partner that had the most intense involvement with the host culture, but the non-working spouse and/or children. Although literature recommends that the family's or at least the spouse's characteristics and ability to adopt should be investigated (Adler 1983, p. 37; Borrmann 1968, p. 35; Ronen 1989, p. 426; Tung 1981, p. 78) it is uncommon for them to be included in the selection procedure. It has been suggested that this may result from legal restrictions or cultural differences (Black et al. 1999, p. 56; Stroh et al. 2005, p. 53), but additionally may result from the reduced willingness of individuals to partake in international assignments and the resulting difficulties organisations were faced with finding suitable candidates (Harvey and Moeller 2009, pp. 276-278; Selmer 2001, p. 1220). As organisations have been forced to use "the best available candidate" (Anderson 2005, p. 568), inclusion of the spouse or family could have been considered to reduce the pool of potential candidates further. Additional factors may lie in an organisation's reluctance to become involved in a candidate's personal life, its reluctance to increase the cost of the selection process or slow down the development of the project by considering individuals who, from the company's perspective, are not directly involved in the project. Research

has indicated, however, that the adjustment of the family and spouse is particularly important (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver 2006, p. 56; Arthur Jr and Bennett Jr 1995, p. 110) and positively and significantly correlated to the candidate's adjustment (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2004, p. A4; 2005, p. 268; Black 1988, pp. 288-289; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, p. 570) as well as being positively related to their work adjustment (spillover effect between work and private areas) (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2004, p. A4; 2005, p. 268; Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003, p. p221; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, p. 570).

As both the demographic profiles and personal situation of candidates, and the requirements of the positions to be filled vary, self-selection and self-assessment have been suggested to lead to a more successful assignment (Caligiuri and Phillips 2003; Caligiuri, Tarique and Jacobs 2009, p. 252). In order for individuals to critically evaluate themselves on all dimensions required to fulfil the assignment and to create more applicable expectations, it was suggested that they should be provided realistic job previews containing all salient information pertaining to the position (Caligiuri and Phillips 2003, pp. 1105-1113; Dickmann and Baruch 2011, p. 185; Harvey and Moeller 2009, p. 287; Webb and Wright 1996, p. 39). An additional benefit of this process was that job expectations could be managed and individuals could go through a process of anticipatory adjustment before they leave their country to work abroad (Black et al. 1999; Caligiuri and Phillips 2003, p. 1105; Takeuchi et al. 2005, p. 134) rather than managing expectation dissonance once the assignment had commenced.

## **2.6 Expatriate Training**

The correct training of the expatriate (Bennett, Aston and Coiquhoun 2000, p. 239; Lee and Crocker 2006, p. 1188; Yeaton and Hall 2008, p. 76), the host-country workforce (Vance and Paik 1995, p. 157) and the returning expatriates and families (Bossard and Peterson 2005, p. 11) have been considered to influence the success of an international assignment, and to benefit each of the parties in a different manner. For the expatriate and their families it may lower anxieties, reduce culture shock, encourage appropriate behaviour, and enable them to cope with unexpected events

(Ali, Van der Zee and Sanders 2003, p. 576; Caligiuri and Tarique 2006, p. 309; Earley 1987, p. 686); host country staff may better understand what to expect from the expatriate, why they behave in a certain manner, and how to effectively cope with these cultural based differences (Vance and Paik 1995, p. 158); returning expatriates and their families would better understand the changes that may have taken place at home during their absence, and the expatriate would obtain information regarding the new position (Black, Gregersen and Mendenhall 1992b, pp. 755-756; Linehan and Scullion 2002, p. 259; Thite et al. 2009, p. 282). In addition, the organisation has been considered to benefit from the improved cross-cultural competencies among international assignees, and improved relational skills, which in turn are central to effective performance in expatriate assignments (Caligiuri and Tarique 2006, p. 309; Tung 1981, p. 70). Cross-cultural training has been additionally purported to reduce the length of the acculturation process, improve assignee productivity, and increase the potential success of the assignment (Black and Mendenhall 1990, p. 132; Brewster 1995, p. 57; Debrah and Rees 2011, p. 392).

The literature does not provide a generally valid description of the aims of cross-cultural training. Many researchers considered it a meta-element (Black et al. 1999; Littrell et al. 2006; Stroh et al. 2005; Triandis 1995b) concerned with the "*training and development of cross national competencies*" (Caligiuri and Tarique 2006, p. 309), which they considered could be achieved by addressing the five areas of intercultural training: cognitive, attributional, experiential, self-awareness, and behavioural (Brislin and Bhawuk 1999, pp. 208-211; Earley and Peterson 2004, pp. 102-103; Tan and Chua 2003, pp. 268-270). As it is not possible to teach individuals everything they need to know to master all situations, however, it was suggested that they are taught how to learn and acquire the information about the culture (Bhawuk 1990, pp. 327-328; Black, Gregersen and Mendenhall 1992a, p. 93; Brislin and Bhawuk 1999, pp. 206-208), and to cope with unexpected events in the new environment (Earley 1987, p. 686), which is comparable to one of the central concepts of cultural intelligence (Earley and Ang 2003, p. 93). Cross-cultural training should, therefore, aim "*to enhance the awareness of differences and*

*similarities between cultures to allow faster learning processes"* (Puck, Kittler and Wright 2008, p. 2183). Moving the concept of cultural intelligence in the domain of multi-faceted conception of intelligence, Thomas et al. (2008, p. 127) defined it as *"a system of interacting knowledge and skills, linked by cultural mega-cognition, that allows people to adapt to, select, and shape the cultural aspects of their environment"* (Cao, Hirschi and Deller 2012, p. 165). In this context 'knowledge' refers to declarative knowledge about the characteristics of cultures and mentally stored general process schemata in specific cultures. Skills, the second component, are the characteristics of individuals that help them to interact in intercultural contexts and are considered to be developmental and dynamic. The third component, cultural metacognition, is defined as *"knowledge of and control over one's thinking and learning activities"* (Thomas et al. 2008, p. 131). It is culturally unspecific and acts as a linking mechanism that regulates interaction of its constituent elements.

Previous research (Richardson and Mallon 2005) showed that self-initiated expatriates' motivation for moving to other countries often includes gathering intercultural knowledge and experiences in a vocational context to increase cultural intelligence as a fundamental form of career capital that benefits their future career development (Jokinen, Brewster and Suutari 2008). This is consistent with the experiential-learning theory (Kolb 1984; Yamazaki and Kayes 2004; 2007) that considers that *"expatriates can learn and consequently better adapt to a foreign country through concrete experience, reflective observations, abstract conceptualization and active experimentation"*. These are aspects that require time, which may provide an explanation for the positive influence of longer host-country experience on self-initiated expatriates' interaction adjustment (Black and Mendenhall 1991; Haslberger and Brewster 2009; Torbiörn 1982).

As the strategic goals and position requirements vary for each assignment (Aycaan 1997, p. 444; Vora 2008, pp. 413-428; Zakaria 2000, p. 496), and individuals bring different abilities, skills, knowledge (Fleishman and Mumford 1989, p. 183) and preferred learning styles (Bennett, Aston and Coiquhoun 2000, p. 243; Charlesworth 2008, p. 125) to the training situation, research has suggested that the training should be designed and

delivered to suit the situation and the individual (Black, Gregersen and Mendenhall 1992a, p. 93; Brewster 1995, p. 58; Stroh et al. 2005, p. 85) to ensure its effectiveness. Caligiuri and Tarique (2006, p. 312) suggested that a cross-cultural needs analysis should be carried out across the organisational, assignment and individual levels to help determine the degree of rigour or mental involvement and effort required for a particular training situation (Black, Gregersen and Mendenhall 1992a, p. 97; Black et al. 1999, p. 92; Stroh et al. 2005, p. 84). As illustrated in Fig. 6, high rigour activities demonstrate an increased involvement of both participants, which also enable a closer understanding of the intended host environment.

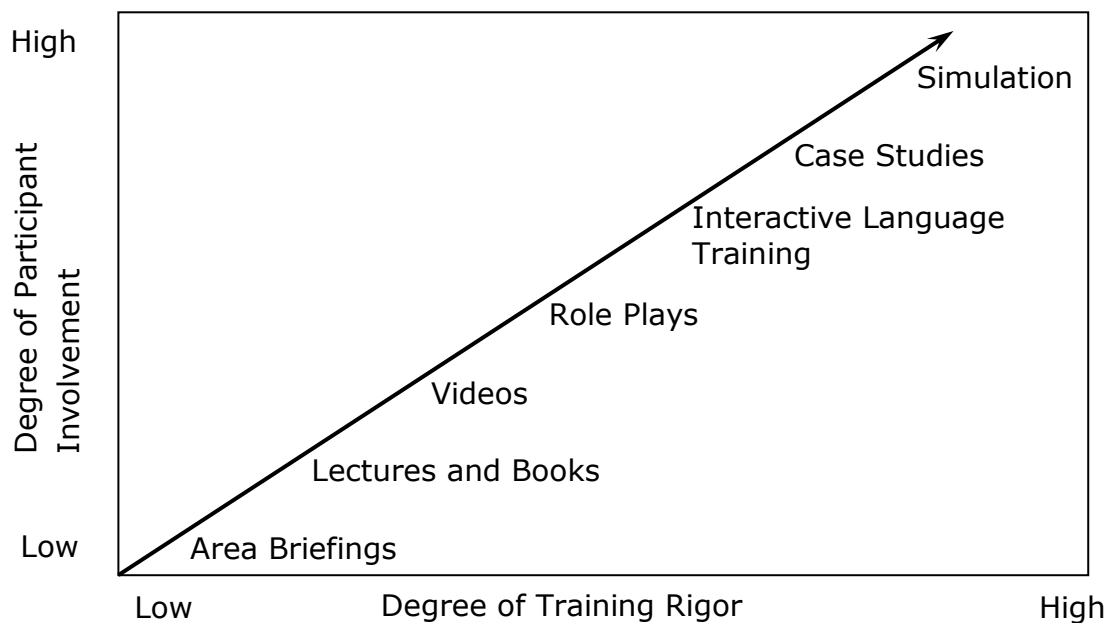


Fig. 6: Degree of Training Rigour  
(Black et al. 1999, p. 93; Stroh et al. 2005, p. 85)

Although the literature does not state conclusively when training is most effective (Littrell et al. 2006, p. 373), the timing will depend on the duration of the assignment and the role requirements (Mendenhall and Oddou 1986, p. 78). For short-term flexpatriate assignments (Demel and Mayerhofer 2010, pp. 301-302; Mayerhofer, Hartmann and Herbert 2004, pp. 648-649; Mayerhofer et al. 2004, p. 1371), training was considered restricted to pre-departure training with no particular support provided during the assignment (Mayerhofer et al. 2004, pp. 1380-1382) as no adjustment to the new environment is required (Debrah and Rees 2011, p. 398). For

longer-term assignments, a sequential combination of pre-departure and in-country training complimented by an in-country support system or mentoring/coaching programme was considered to provide a good basis for successful acculturation, knowledge sharing and assignment completion (Björkman, Evans and Pucik 2011, p. 357; Crocitto, Sullivan and Carraher 2005, pp. 525-526; Selmer, Torbiörn and de Leon 1998, pp. 835-837).

Some of the training schemes provided for assigned expatriates, such as culture seminars which can target cognitive, affective and behavioural competency development (Waxin and Panaccio 2005), could be provided to self-initiated expatriates (Doherty and Dickmann 2013a, p. 243). The use of mentoring, co-working or buddy programs may provide direct learning opportunities and real-time support for the self-initiated expatriates (Bozionelos 2009; Doherty and Dickmann 2013a, p. 243; Howe-Walsh and Schyns 2010, p. 267; McDonnell and Scullion 2013, p. 150; Toh and DeNisi 2007, p. 295; Toh, DeNisi and Leonardelli 2012, p. 236) enabling them to understand and adapt to the local norms, values and behaviours as well as obtaining information to enable them to understand the local organisation, facilitating the avoidance of conflicts (Vance, Vaiman and Andersen 2009). On the other hand the expatriates could be confronted with further stressors if local employees consider them not belonging to the local group (Doherty and Dickmann 2013a, p. 244; Toh and DeNisi 2007) or supervisors succumb to negative stereotypes rather than exhibiting inter-cultural sensitivity, flexibility and trust-inspiring and supportive behaviours (Huang, Chi and Lawler 2005; Tornikoski 2011; Vance, Vaiman and Andersen 2009) indicating potential areas of improvement that may be achieved through host country employee training.

## **2.7 Foreign Language Ability**

Language as an element of the outer layer of culture or "Artefacts and Products" (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, pp. 21-22) is one of the elements that Peterson (2004, p. 20) considered "*can be perceived with your five senses*" although, as relativized by Schein (2010, p. 24), is "*both easy to observe and very difficult to decipher*".

Although language differences are often considered simplistically as a mechanical translation problem (Welch, Welch and Piekari 2005, p. 11), it is important to be aware that cross-cultural communication is deeper and more complex than just the "words" it contains (Hall and Hall 1990b, p. 4). Communication *"involves a complex, multi-layered, dynamic process through which we exchange meaning"* (Weaver 1993, p. 114) and represents the cues that help negotiate the daily environment in an acceptable manner (Adler and Gundersen 2008, p. 70). It is a tool for transmitting ideas, thoughts, and opinions along with goals, motives and intentions (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Ng 2014, p. 131), but it does not necessarily result in understanding (Adler 1986b, p. 53); cross-cultural communication continually involves misunderstanding caused by misperception, misinterpretation, and misevaluation. Language and culture are inseparable as language is cognitively associated with cultural scripts, norms, and practices (Chen and Bond 2010, p. 1515) and influences thought and behaviour by evoking a culturally congruent mindset (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Ng 2014, p. 131).

The influence of the language on the acculturation process (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005, p. 268; Broom et al. 1954, p. 994), as a means of getting over culture shock (Oberg 1960, p. 182) and reducing uncertainty and anxiety (Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003, p. 221) has been discussed in the literature. It is difficult, however, to determine the degree to which individuals actually shift to the host language as the choice of the language will depend on the nature of the relationship in which the language is being used (Berry 1980b, p. 252) and the individual's motivation (Giles and Byrne 1982, p. 34; Skehan 1991, p. 282).

Learning a new language is not only a question of learning ability, but also an individuals' willingness to accept that part of the learning process is achieved through making mistakes. It is not easy for individuals to accept this fact and they demonstrate anxiety or in this particular case, foreign language anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986, p. 128), which then impedes their learning ability (Al-Shboul et al. 2013, p. 32; Horwitz 2001, p. 113; Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986, p. 125; Tsiplakides and Keramida 2009, p. 39).

The literature (Færch, Haastrup and Phillipson 1984, p. 100; Laufer 1998, p. 257; Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369; Lo and Murphy 2010, pp. 217-218) differentiates between three types of vocabulary knowledge positioned on a continuum. At one end of the continuum is the receptive/passive vocabulary, which represents words that can be recognised in written or oral input; the controlled active vocabulary represents words that an individual can recall and implement if a suitable cue is provided; and at the other end of the continuum is the free active productive vocabulary consisting of words that may be used at free will without the need for any cues or prompts. To take into account the fact that learning languages is not a "black or white", "I know" or "I don't know" experience, various more detailed scales have been developed (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 367), but their discussion would exceed the realms of this thesis.

Individuals with no previous knowledge of a foreign language often consider an increase in passive vocabulary as an increase in language ability even if they are unaware of it's meaning and are unable to communicate using this vocabulary (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 366). Individuals may also make use of cognates of their first or another known language to aid understanding before they have actually confronted a word in the current language (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369).

The various levels of ability and motivation may be collated using a consciousness-competence learning model (Adams 2013; Race 2007, pp. 17-20) in which the learner moves through four stages of development starting as unconsciously incompetent, moving on through the phases consciously incompetent, consciously competent and finally unconsciously competent. In the unconsciously incompetent phase the individual "doesn't know what he doesn't know" (Adams 2013; Race 2007, p. 19) as he or she is unaware of the need or relevance of particular skills and therefore their deficit of such. They may appear overconfident or lean to oversimplify problems. In order for these individuals to progress to the next stage of consciously incompetent it is necessary that they recognise their own incompetence and the value of the new skills. At the conscious incompetence stage, the individuals are aware of the gap in their knowledge, but have not yet been able to gain the knowledge required to



bridge it (Adams 2013; Race 2007, p. 18). Although some individuals may give up at this stage, those that accept their inability will work to improve it, but should be aware that making mistakes is an essential element of the learning process. The third stage is the consciously competent stage (Adams 2013; Race 2007, p. 18), when an individual is aware of how to perform a skill at will although they need to concentrate to do so. The final stage of this model is unconscious competence (Adams 2013; Race 2007, p. 19) when the individual is so skilled in a task that they do it automatically, without thinking about how they do it.

The highest level of language ability is represented by the bilingual or multilingual individuals who understand and speak two or more languages fluently, almost as if they were their mother-tongues (Genesee 1994, p. 383), demonstrating a high level of free active vocabulary (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369). As bilinguals differ in the contexts in which they acquire their two languages, the linguistic and social features they respond to in language manipulation may well differ (Chen and Bond 2010, p. 1515; Ervin and Osgood 1954; Macnamara 1967, p. 64; Weinreich 1953). Mono-cultural bilinguals who have acquired their two languages in the same cultural environment do not demonstrate language triggered frame-switching (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 290) as knowing a language is no guarantee to understanding a cultural mindset (Gannon and Pillai 2010, p. 7). Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio (2008, p. 290) demonstrated that in true bicultural, bilingual individuals, who have acquired their first and second languages in the relative cultures, and have internalised both cultures (Hong et al. 2000, p. 710), the use of a particular language “triggered” a change in the identity-related frame, which is a competence that goes beyond the boundaries of the standard conscious complacency model. Another possible explanation of the “triggers” taken from identity theory (Carter 2013, p. 204) could be that an identity becomes activated (or invoked) in a social situation when an individual perceives that the meanings of the situation match the meanings of the identity. This implies that the German context requires the activation of the German oriented identity rather than English as this would not result in the desired level of positive interaction. This is compatible with Arnett’s (2002)

concept of the dual-identity and the alternation model of acculturation proposed by LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993, pp. 399-400), which assumes that it is possible for an individual to know and understand two different cultures and adapt their behaviour to suit a particular social context.

Although bilinguals have a very good command of the foreign language, the findings of Chen, Benet-Martínez and Ng (2014, p. 140) suggested that using one's first language enabled a more precise, expressive presentation of the self and thus more variability. Research carried out by Ramírez-Esparza et al. (2006) examining cultural frame switching (Hong et al. 2000) in the domain of personality of bilinguals indicated that language activated cultural frame switching for the personality dimensions tested in the Big Five Inventory (John 1990; John and Srivastava 1999), not because of translation effects or self-enhancement tendencies, but because of cultural shifts appropriate to the language communities involved. In a study carried out by Dewaele and Nakano (2013, p. 117) multilinguals reported different feelings when switching languages; they reported feeling significantly more authentic, more logical, more emotional and more serious in their first language, with gradually lower values for languages which they had acquired later in life, and in which they felt significantly less proficient. Individuals who had grown up in highly multilingual and ethnically diverse environments reported much more positive attitudes towards code switching (Dewaele and Wei 2013a, p. 247), but high levels of multilingualism was only loosely related to attitudes towards code switching.

Dewaele and Wei (2013b, pp. 236-237) found that multilingualism and aspects of individuals' linguistic histories are linked to tolerance of ambiguity. They argued that exposure to and knowledge of foreign languages forces multilinguals to become more attuned to differences and more aware that interlocutors may not share their values, beliefs, and communicative practices. Their results further suggested that once the threshold of three languages is reached, the effect of knowing additional languages no longer affects the level of tolerance of ambiguity (Dewaele and Wei 2013b, p. 237). Additionally, their findings indicated that those individuals who had never stayed abroad scored significantly lower on

tolerance of ambiguity than those who had stayed abroad for more than three months; the increasing benefit of length of stay on tolerance of ambiguity fades off for stays of over one year.

For culturally very diverse organisations with individuals of differing language abilities the use of a common work language or lingua franca may be implemented. This does not mean, however, that the communication between the parties will necessarily be easier as the lingua franca can result in mother tongue speakers expecting cultural commonalities although these are not given (Gannon 2004, p. 6; Gannon and Pillai 2010, p. 7).

## **II. Narrative Development**

Having a sense of belonging within an environment (culture, organisation, family) is an important necessity raising an individual's self-esteem and enabling them to obtain support from the members of the ingroup.

Individuals are not allotted a particular position within an environment, they have to first make sense of the environment or experiences (Maitlis and Christianson 2014, p. 59; Statt 1977, p. 80). As an individual's situation is progressively clarified (Weick 1995, p. 11) their identity develops (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3) as identity work is carried out to determine their position within the superior outgroup and the inferior ingroup (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3; Tajfel 1974).

### **2.8 Sensemaking**

The literature does not provide a clear unitary nomenclature or singular clear definition of the term used to describe the processes an individual uses when attempting to make sense of their environment. (Brown, Colville and Pye 2015, p. 266). Sensemaking is first and foremost about an individual's attempt to make sense of their environment or experiences (Statt 1977, p. 80), in particular of events that do not fit into their current understanding of the world (Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld 2005, p. 414); it is part of a life-long learning process, in which individuals attempt to understand unknown elements of given situations, which may be in a constantly changing context. Considering the process from a psychological perspective, the raw material used to "make sense" is provided not only by

our sensory apparatus, but also by our emotional and physical status at the time the inputs are received (Statt 1977, pp. 80-85). This is, however, a very simplified consideration of the process.

An early consideration of sensemaking was provided by Louis (1980, p. 241) who suggested that:

*sense making can be viewed as a recurring cycle comprised of a sequence of events occurring over time. The cycle begins as individuals form unconscious and conscious anticipations and assumptions, which serve as predictions about future events. Subsequently, individuals experience events that may be discrepant from predictions ... trigger[ing] a need for explanation, or post-diction, and, correspondingly, for a process through which interpretations of discrepancies are developed. Interpretation, or meaning, is attributed to surprises [and] any necessary behavioural responses to the immediate situation are selected. Also based on attributed meanings, understandings of actors, actions, and settings are updated and predictions about future experiences in the setting are revised. The updated anticipations and revised assumptions are analogous to alterations in cognitive scripts.*

This detailed description of sensemaking provides a basis for interpreting many of the subsequent definitions offered in the literature that have focussed on the three sets of interweaving processes: the perception of cues (noticing), making interpretations, and engaging in action (Maitlis and Christianson 2014, p. 59) such as those of Starbuck and Milliken (1988, p. 51), Thomas, Clark and Gioia (1993, p. 240), Dervin (1999, p. 730) and Weick (1993, p. 635; 1995, p. 6) (see Appendix 1).

Although there is no single agreed definition of "sensemaking" there is an emergent consensus that sensemaking refers generally to those processes by which people seek plausibly to understand ambiguous, equivocal or confusing issues or events (Brown, Colville and Pye 2015, p. 266; Colville,

Brown and Pye 2012; Maitlis 2005; Weick 1995). It involves the ongoing retrospective development of plausible images that rationalise what occurs (Weick 1993, p. 635; 1995; Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld 2005, p. 409), turning circumstances into a situation that is comprehended explicitly in words, and serves as a springboard into action (Taylor and Van Every 2000, p. 40; Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld 2005, p. 409). This perspective requires a move away from viewing reality as "*a collection of static, fixed entities to viewing reality as ever-changing entities*" (Gioia 2006, p. 1711): "*it is about the process of 'becoming' rather than the 'status of being'*". Sensemaking emphasises that people try to make things rationally accountable to themselves and others.

Sensemaking is a balance of making sense through thinking and acting (Colville, Brown and Pye 2012, p. 7) inferring that it is less about discovery than invention (Weick 1995, p. 13); it is "*an issue of language, talk and communication [as] situations, organisations and environments are talked into existence*" (Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld 2005, p. 409) and "*the basis is laid to deal with [them]*" (Taylor and Van Every 2000, p. 58; Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld 2005, p. 413) making communication a central element of sensemaking. In this context, "*sensemaking implicates storytelling and storytelling implicates sensemaking*" (Colville, Brown and Pye 2012, p. 8) and the story then shapes and conveys sensemaking. Sensemaking is then about authoring as well as interpretation, creation as well as discovery (Weick 1995, p. 8). Sensemaking is not about accuracy, the truth and getting it right, but about continued redrafting of an emerging story so that it becomes plausible, more comprehensive, incorporates more of the observed data, and is more resilient in the face of criticism (Kärreman and Alvesson 2001, p. 86; Weick 1995, p. 55; Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld 2005, p. 415); individuals tend to enhance material that is compatible with understandings already considered plausible, thus placing themselves in familiar cognitive terrain where appropriate action can be enabled. Due to the socially constructed nature of social reality, plausible understanding and induced action more or less operate as self-fulfilling prophecies (Weick 1995, p. 147), sometimes converting plausible understandings to accurate understandings (Kärreman and Alvesson 2001,

p. 87). Further, sensemaking may not only result in the progressive clarification of a particular situation, but may also be involved in developing the definition of the situation (Weick 1995, p. 11) in a similar manner to that found in cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger 1957). It is through the vehicle of language that practices, meanings, values and ideologies are taught and learned (Bonache and Zárraga-Oberty 2008, p. 8), therefore, proficiency in the local language by international assignees facilitates the knowledge transfer process. Yet as Brannen (2004) has shown, transnational transfers involve much more than the transfer of linguistic signals. Transferring the linguistic signals alone does not ensure that the meanings attached to them are transferred. Sense making occurs in context, and when context is not shared, meanings are often lost.

As an individual's situation is progressively clarified as part of their sensemaking activities (Weick 1995, p. 11) their identity must also be considered as dynamic and constantly evolving in relation to the context and narrative resources (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3) as identity work is carried out to determine the individual's position within the superior outgroup and the inferior ingroup (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3; Tajfel 1974). A further development of this concept is provided by Ellemers, Spears and Doosje (2002, pp. 164-166) who considered that each person has multiple social identities, which may lead to differential perceptions of self and others depending upon which of the identities is considered more fitting at the time, and the degree of commitment demonstrated to the group in question. Reflecting on the work of Ring and Van de Ven (1989), Weick (1995, p. 23) described five concepts that indicated the importance of identity and identity work in sensemaking: (1) Controlled, intentional sensemaking is triggered by a failure to confirm one's self; (2) sensemaking occurs in the service of maintaining a consistent, positive self-conception; (3) people learn about their identities by projecting them into an environment and observing the consequences; (4) people simultaneously try to shape and react to the environments they face, taking the cue for their identity from the conduct of others, at the same time making an active effort to influence this conduct to begin with; (5) sensemaking is self-referential suggesting that self, rather than the environment, may be the

text in need of interpretation. As stated by Kärreman and Alvesson (2001, p. 86), *"identity work does not occur in the domains of logical reasoning; it can be affected and altered by logical reasoning, but refutation is based more on how well an argument connects to previous identity work than how well it performs in terms of logic"*. Dutton and Dukerich (1991) offered the analogy of a mirror, considering that individuals should keep an eye in the mirror and decide whether they like the reflection they see. In this case, however, the mirror is not necessarily a physical mirror, but may also be a metaphorical / figurative mirror of individuals external to the situation who provide the reflection in their feedback or judgement (Weick 1995, p. 22).

As part of their sensemaking activities, individuals may use schemata or cognitive maps developed from previous experiences and understandings, to enable them to make predictions regarding events and select appropriate responses (Abelson 1981; Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 277; Fiske and Taylor 1991, p. 98; Harris 1994, p. 310). Schemata influence the encoding of new information, memory of old information, and inferences where information is missing (Abelson 1981; Fiske and Taylor 1991, p. 121). People often cue schemata from visually prominent physical features (Fiske and Taylor 1991, p. 121) such as race and gender as they allow individuals to more rapidly categorise other individuals than using more discrete features (McCann et al. 1985, p. 1458). Physical features may have priority over other features of social schemata (Ashmore and Del Boca 1979; Brewer and Lui 1989; Deaux and Lewis 1984), and certain physical characteristics may act almost like schematic labels. Once cued, schemata affect how quickly we perceive, what we notice, how we interpret what we notice, and what we perceive as similar and dissimilar (Fiske and Taylor 1991, p. 122). People especially perceive themselves and their own group to be different from the other group (Allen and Wilder 1979), and they seek information that confirms this perception (Wilder and Allen 1978). Categorisation's effect of reducing perceived variability is even stronger when people are considering groups to which they do not belong (outgroups), inferring that outgroup members are not being recognised as distinct individuals to the same extent they would be if they were perceived as ingroup members (Fiske and Taylor 1991, p. 123). If the person fits an outgroup schema, the fit is seen as particularly

tight, because outgroup schemata are less variable and less complex than ingroup schemata.

If individuals experience situations that deviate from the response prediction, schemata are adapted in one of three ways (Bartunek and Moch 1987, p. 486; Harris 1994, p. 311). If existing schemata are expanded and elaborated to incorporate new information, this is known as "first order" change (Bartunek and Moch 1987, p. 486). If information is confronted that conflicts with existing schemata a conscious decision may be made to "phase out" one schema and to "phase in" another; Bartunek and Moch (1987, pp. 486-487) describe this as "second order" change. In "third order" change, organisational members are trained to understand the schemata they have available and to change the schema they apply as required to best fit the situation they are confronted with (Bartunek and Moch 1987, pp. 487-488). In a similar manner to the cultural mosaic (Chao and Moon 2005, p. 1132), the concept of schemata and experience gathering also infers that, an individual's various socialisation experiences rather than their age influence the development of their values (Harris 1994, p. 311). Experience gathered can also influence an individual's willingness to engage in psychological work (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7) to palliate the cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) between the current schema and situation (Bartunek and Moch 1987, p. 486; Harris 1994, p. 311).

### **Cognitive Dissonance**

A further central factor in sensemaking is cognitive dissonance, which according to Festinger (1957, p. 13) occurs between two elements if, *"considering these two alone, the obverse of one element would follow from the other"*. Two elements may be dissonant because they may be inconsistent or contradictory, culture or group standards may dictate that they do not fit etc. leading to discomfort for the individual. Dissonance may further be aroused whenever a person engages in an unpleasant activity to obtain some desirable outcome (Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 8); the greater the unpleasant effort required to obtain the outcome, the



greater should be the perceived dissonance. The magnitude of the dissonance aroused in regard to a particular focal or generative cognition (Beauvois and Joule 1996; 1999; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 8; Mills 1999) is a function of the number and psychological importance of the cognitions dissonant and consonant with this cognition (Festinger 1957, pp. 16-17; Harmon-Jones 2000b, p. 186). The presence of dissonance motivates individuals to engage in cognitive work to reduce or eliminate the dissonance and its negative effects (Festinger 1957, p. 18; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 9; Harmon-Jones 2000a; 2000b, p. 188; 2000c; 2000d; Zanna and Cooper 1974, p. 708). Not only will individuals try to reduce the dissonance, for example, by exaggerating the desirability of an outcome that would add consonant cognitions, but under certain circumstances may actively avoid situations and information that would likely increase or result in dissonance (Festinger 1957, p. 17). If dissonant information continues to mount, the negative emotion that results may motivate the individual to discontinue supporting the commitment and give in to the dissonant information (Harmon-Jones 2000b, p. 188). The strength of the pressures to reduce the dissonance is a function of the magnitude of the dissonance.

The many theories of cognitive dissonance (see Appendix 1) indicate that dissonance may not only result from inconsistencies between cognitions. The self-consistency theory (Aronson 1968; 1969; 1999a; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 9; Harmon-Jones, Amodio and Harmon-Jones 2009, p. 124) and the self-affirmation theory (Aronson 1999b, p. 128; Sherman and Cohen 2006, pp. 185-186; Steele 1988; Stone and Cooper 2001, p. 230) posit that dissonance may also be aroused when people engage in actions that pose a threat to their self-concept. In a similar manner the self-standards model (Cooper 2007, pp. 104-107; Stone and Cooper 2001, p. 231; 2003, p. 509) considers that dissonance resulting from the comparison of behaviours with personal standards relating to idiosyncratic self-expectancies will cause self-esteem differences in dissonance arousal. Cooper and Fazio (1984, p. 241) proposed that cognitive dissonance may result from *"the perception of having brought about an aversive and irrevocable event"* (Cooper 2007, p. 80) or *"a*

*consequence that is unwanted*" (Cooper and Fazio 1984, p. 234) and represents a violation of societal or normative standards for behavioural conduct (Cooper 1992; Cooper and Fazio 1984; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 11).

Irrespective of the theoretical position taken, it may become apparent that the individual's understanding of a particular event or situation may change over time as the sensemaking process develops and the individual gains distance from the event or situation (Weick 1995, p. 11). Outside of a strict framework of rules to enable them to fix their understanding of the self and themselves results in an aporetic void allowing cognitive dissonance to be resolved and a positive position to be achieved.

## **2.9 Identity Development**

### **Identity Concepts**

Two concepts may be considered when attempting to understand who an individual is and their position in society: the first is their personality, or *"the sum total of the behavioural and mental characteristics that are distinctive of an individual"* (Colman 2009, p. 565); the second is their identity, the characteristics determining who someone is (Stevenson and Waite 2011, p. 707). Both concepts result from an interaction between the individual and society with personality *"shaped by a combination of physiological and enduring social factors"* (Dewaele and Wei 2013b, p. 231; McCrae et al. 2000) and "identity" notionally considered a *"fundamental bridging concept between the individual and society"* (Ybema et al. 2009, p. 300). This perspective is also evident in the concepts of identity definition (Drury and Reicher 2000; Reicher 2004) of social cognition, which Fiske and Taylor (1991, p. 1) defined as *"how ordinary people think about people and how they think they think about people"* a factor forming a central element in identity theory. Identity may, therefore, also be considered in terms of the meanings that individuals attach to themselves (Dutton, Roberts and Bednar 2010, p. 266; Gecas 1982, p. 4) and a changing representation of self-knowledge (Kihlstrom and Klein 1994) and self-understanding that is associated with a broad range of self-relevant feelings and attitudes (Ashmore, Deaux and McLaughlin-Volpe 2004). One manner through which

individuals construct their own identities and make them available to interested others is through the use of narratives (Mason 2004, p. 165), which help negotiate individual diversity and collective similarity.

Deepening the consideration of identity, Goffman (1968) considered three types of identity: social identity relates to the category and attributes that a person is deemed to possess in relation to others; personal identity relates to a person's biography, something that is unique to a person and makes them an individual within the social (biography, accumulated information, fingerprints etc.); ego identity relates to our subjective sense of who we are and how we exist in the world, in other words, how we feel about our self. In the relations between these three senses of identity a constructionist view exists of how the self and identity are both constructed by and maintained in parallel with societal norms (Clarke 2008, p. 513). On the other hand, Jenkins (2014, p. 18) considered that all human identities are, by definition, social identities. Identifying ourselves, or others, is a matter of meaning and meaning always involves interaction (Simon 1997, p. 321): agreement and disagreement, convention and innovation, communication and negotiation. To add the "social" in this context is somewhat redundant (Ashmore, Deaux and McLaughlin-Volpe 2004, p. 81).

Identity is said to be created through the body's interactions with the outside world (Easthope 2004, p. 130), as a function of both external (social) and internal (agentic) factors (Côté and Levine 2002, p. 9).

Personal identity is no longer seen as "*a matter of sheer self-consciousness*" (Casey 2001, p. 406), nor is it seen as defined and expressed only through one's relationship to other people (Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff 1983), but rather it involves an awareness of one's place, an awareness that "*there is no place without self; and no self without place*" (Casey 2001, p. 406).

Taking a broader understanding of place as the context in which the identity is created, Scurry, Rodriguez and Bailouni (2013, p. 15) also purported a dynamic interaction between these two factors to be involved in the shaping of who an individual is and who they can become in any specific context.

Identity can, therefore, be considered "*a dynamic, multi-layered set of meaningful elements deployed to orientate and position one's being-in-the-*

*world*" (Kärreman and Alvesson 2001, p. 64) similar to the concept of a person's identity as a "*display of, or ascription to, membership of some feature-rich category*" proposed by Antaki and Widdicombe (1998, p. 2). A person's social identity can be understood, therefore, as something to be continuously worked on; something to edit, if need be (Kärreman and Alvesson 2001, p. 65). It is considered to be dynamic (Rutherford 1990), positional (Gupta and Ferguson 1997), hybrid (Ang 1998; Bhabha 1994), and constructed within relations of power (Mason 2004), which implies that depending on the situation at hand, the same identity material may result in different life stories, and have a different impact on an individual's social identity, depending on how it is related to other identity material (Kärreman and Alvesson 2001, p. 65). Mead (1934) considered that each individual, therefore, consists of "*a parliament of selves*" (Pratt and Foreman 2000, p. 18; Weick 1995, p. 18). The changing external social, physical, cultural environment has been considered important for identity development, but in order to maintain coherent identities, stability of this same environment has been considered necessary (Easthope 2009, p. 77).

The dynamic nature of identity has been further accentuated in recent times with increased globalisation, and social and political turmoil resulting in higher levels of movement of people, finance and ideas (Bauman 1995; 2001; Easthope 2009, p. 65; Giddens 1991), changing the ways in which people work, experience everyday life, situate meanings, and establish a sense of identity and place (Berry 2008; Conway 2004; Devine-Wright and Clayton 2010; Massey 2007; Scurry, Rodriguez and Bailouni 2013, p. 12) increasing the requirement for flexibility and removing the stable platform for identity construction (Bauman 2001, p. 142; Easthope 2009, p. 65). Individuals are no longer able to rely on previous generations as a template for identity construction, they are now faced with the "*freedom and burden*" of designing and sustaining their own "*coherent, yet continuously revised*" identities (Giddens 1991; White and Wyn 2004, p. 184; Williams and McIntyre 2001, p. 397). The previously mentioned interaction between identity and place also reaches a new dimension in this changing environment as according to Kearney (1995, p. 548), globalisation promotes social dynamics that are "*largely decentred from specific national*

*territories*" strengthening the debate for the reconceptualization of identity to include the relevance of place (Huot and Laliberte Rudman 2010; Massey 2007; Scurry, Rodriguez and Bailouni 2013, p. 15) given the impact of changes in spatiality and temporality on subjectivities, which influence the relationship between identity and identification (Jenkins 2014).

In social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979), identity is defined as "*the tendency to extend the self-concept to include others in one's group, as if one becomes a depersonalised exchangeable unit of others in the society and an expert of its cultural representations*" (Mana, Orr and Mana 2009, p. 453) where "I" becomes "we" (Brewer 1991, p. 476) and the self is no longer considered a unique person (Turner et al. 1987). In order for individuals to determine their social-identity within their dynamic social environment, they have to understand who they are and, perhaps as importantly, who they are not (Clarke 2008, p. 519), which means they require some means of categorising "the other" (Ashforth and Mael 1989; Easthope 2009, p. 68; Said 1979, p. xiv; Turner 1984) and determining those elements defining their alterity (Stevenson and Waite 2011, p. 38) or degree of "otherness" (Blackburn 2008, p. 12). If alterity is recognised, three strategies are available to the individual: it may be attributed (they are different and therefore not like us), incorporated (they are actually very much like us), or affirmed (we are different) (Czarniawska 2004a, p. 124; 2008, p. 51). The categories selected enable individuals not only to make sense of their social environment, but also determine their location within it by means of reflexive identification (Kärreman and Alvesson 2001, p. 64), however, both the identities, and the boundaries created around them, are also understood to be dynamic and constantly changing (Dutton, Roberts and Bednar 2010, p. 271; Easthope 2009, p. 68) as individuals select the boundaries and identities considered most appropriate for a particular situation. The structure of an identity, or the way an individual's identity content or self-concept is organised (Campbell, Assanand and Di Paula 2003, p. 116), constitutes a means through which individuals can construct a positive identity. Given the multifaceted nature of identity, an individual's identity structure is more positive when the multiple facets of the identity are in a balanced and/or complementary relationship with one another

(Dutton, Roberts and Bednar 2010, p. 273).

Reflecting on the work of Fanon (1986) and Žižek (1993), Clarke (2008, p. 525) considered that cultural identities are not only socially constructed, but psychologically constructed; they are filled with passion and emotion, and are multiple. As we construct the identity of others, others construct our identity. The cultural identities are marked by a number of factors such as "race", ethnicity, gender and class, but the very real locus of these factors, however, is the notion of difference (Clarke 2008, p. 510). These differences lead to the ideas about communities, even imagined communities (Anderson 1983) and ethno-national boundaries. As the ethnic and national identities are not created in a social vacuum (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Mähönen 2012, p. 204), but as a result of the reciprocal interaction of social identities, intergroup attitudes, and interactions (Simon 2004; Verkuyten 2005) our understanding of our cultural identity becomes much stronger and firmer when we define our "selves" in relation to a cultural "other" as we are all, in a sense ethnically located, communicating from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture which is specific (Hall 1990, pp. 222-223). Cultural identities are often idealisations that are set in opposition to stigmatised identities (Clarke 2008, p. 512). The previously mentioned increase in globalisation and mobility has increased the dynamism and hybridity of identity, to a point where it is difficult to differentiate between what is "local" and what is "global" (Easthope 2009, p. 78; Scurry, Rodriguez and Bailouni 2013, p. 13) with blurring national boundaries being supported and sustained by social and cultural forces (Ailon-Souday and Kunda 2003, p. 1073). The implicated homogeneity of individuals classed as "global worker" moving seamlessly between nations in a boundaryless world (Vertovec and Cohen 2002) as a result of globalisation, therefore, becomes less probable.

Ethnic minority identities in multicultural societies can be considered to represent subordinate group identities within the national superordinate group (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Mähönen 2012, p. 204). These two cultural identities can be perceived as mutually oppositional or even exclusive (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos 2005). Where cultural discordance is perceived, the outgroup's attitudes and identification patterns are

influenced (Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind 2011; Rohmann, Florack and Piontkowski 2006) and when the holders of ethnic identities perceive their identities to be threatened in some way, these identities may become oppositional to the national identity (Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007). The threatening information or behaviour can be intentionally directed at the ingroup by the outgroup in the form of discrimination (Branscombe et al. 1999, p. 46) or occur indirectly in the form of conflicting motivations and aspirations of majority and minority group members (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Mähönen 2012, p. 204) or the absence of positive sentiments toward the outgroup (Dovidio and Gaertner 1993; Pettigrew and Meertens 1995; Stangor, Sullivan and Ford 1991). Ultimately, many forms of discrimination may develop not because outgroups are hated, but because positive effects such as admiration, sympathy, and trust are reserved for the ingroup and withheld from outgroups (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995).

Migration has a strong impact at psychological, social, structural and contextual levels because it brings to the fore dynamics of displacement, fragmentation, loss, alienation and reconfiguration, which are central to individuals' trans-territorial selves (Scurry, Rodriguez and Bailouni 2013, p. 15) as individuals are exposed to different social expectations, cultural values, and patterns of human interaction shaped by more than one social, economic and political system (Basch, Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994; Levitt 2001, p. 201; Vertovec 2004). When people move, as for example in the case of self-initiated expatriates, they usually experience new interpersonal relations that will impact their understandings of their own identities (Easthope 2009, p. 69) that may become characterised by simultaneous transnationalisation and pluralisation (Morawska 2003, pp. 181-182). Individuals encounter both similarities and differences in relation to their own culture and engage in negotiation and contestation to find their space within the new cultural environment and its dynamics (Scurry, Rodriguez and Bailouni 2013, p. 16). If they believe that their social identity is devalued, this will affect the strategies they employ in the acculturation process and, as a result, the cultural competencies they are willing and/or able to develop (Padilla and Perez 2003, p. 51). Mana, Orr and Mana (2009, p. 462) suggested that the dual identity enhances an individual's bicultural

efficacy (LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton 1993) according to which, immigrants who adopt extended identity are more competent than others to adopt bicultural skills and are better equipped to develop effective support systems in both countries. Extended identity entails the coexistence of two sub-identities such that one tends to experience personal empowerment and cultural enrichment with no need to surrender either one (Horenczyk 1996; Mana, Orr and Mana 2009, p. 462).

A further contextual identity developed is the work or professional identity, which is centred on how individuals construct and project their identities in the work environment (Dutton, Roberts and Bednar 2010, p. 266) to allow them to integrate within the dominant work group and contribute positively to the success of the organisation. As in the construction of all identities the work identity is not constructed in isolation, but under consideration of all of the individual's cognitions and categorisations (Watson 2009, p. 426). It has been purported that individuals who consider their cultural and professional identities benefit from greater psychological health (Bell 1990; Bell and Nkomo 2001; 2003) and that those who are able to reconcile their different social identities are able to access different knowledge structures which enhances their creativity (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks and Lee 2008) allowing them to be more successful at contributing valuable ideas and learning from differences (Ely and Thomas 2001). Despite the removal of boundaries implicated by increased globalisation and international travel, in terms of identity development there are still very real boundaries that are created based on nationality, citizenship and culture (Al Ariss and Syed 2011; Inkson et al. 2012) resulting in unique and potentially fragmented career paths and transient identities (Scurry, Rodriguez and Bailouni 2013, p. 13), which may have implications for the understanding of worker identities (Ibarra and Barbulescu 2010).

The distinctiveness theory proposes that social identity involves a compromise between two opposing needs: the need for assimilation and the need for differentiation (Hewstone, Rubin and Willis 2002, p. 581). People are motivated to identify with groups that provide an optimal balance between these two needs (Brewer 1991, p. 478; 2001, p. 22). Optimal distinctiveness theory puts forward two motivations for intergroup bias.



First, bias is motivated by the need to affirm the satisfaction derived from identification with an optimally distinct group (Leonardelli and Brewer 2001). Second, given a certain degree of identification, intergroup bias is motivated by the need for intergroup differentiation (Brewer 1991). In intergroup bias the ingroup and its members are valued more positively than the outgroup or its members (Brewer 1979; Hewstone, Rubin and Willis 2002), arouse a more positive affect and trust (Insko et al. 1990; Insko, Schopler and Sedikides 1998; Kramer and Brewer 1984), and bring out cooperative behaviour (Schopler and Insko 1992). Bias can encompass behaviour (discrimination), attitude (prejudice), and cognition (stereotyping) (Mackie and Smith 1998; Wilder and Simon 2001). Favourable comparison, however, is not identical to outgroup discrimination, although it can also be misunderstood as discriminative behaviour (Reicher 2004, p. 930) and should be distinguished from bias that entails an active component of aggression and outgroup derogation (Brewer 1999; 2000; Levin and Sidanius 1999; Singh, Choo and Poh 1998).

### **Identity Work**

As recognised by Watson (2008b, p. 125), a growing body of empirical research (Fenwick 2002, p. 708; Musson and Duberley 2007; Storey, Salaman and Platman 2005, p. 1050; Symon and Clegg 2005) indicates the increasing importance of the recognition of the continuous active identity work carried out by individuals in the forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening and revising of their various distinctive identities (Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003, p. 1065) to enable them to determine their position within the superior outgroup and the inferior ingroup (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3; Tajfel 1974). From this position, it can be considered that theoretically, everyone engages in identity work, although there will be considerable variation in how relatively active or passive individuals are in different circumstances at different stages of their lives (Watson 2008b, p. 130). As identity formation might be conceptualized as a complex, multifaceted process involving the processes of "*negotiating between self and others, [...] inside and outside, [...] past and present*" (Ybema et al. 2009, p. 303), identity work may be better understood as a coming together of inward/internal self-reflection and outward/external

engagement, through talk and action, with various discursively available social identities (Alvesson and Willmott 2002, p. 627; Humphreys and Brown 2002; Musson and Duberley 2007, p. 147). Appropriating certain discourses and rejecting others is thus central to identity construction, and identity is always rational, produced within a specific context for a specific purpose, *"partly a temporary outcome of the powers and regulations that the subject encounters"* (Kärreman and Alvesson 2001, p. 63). Musson and Duberley (2007, p. 147) considered identity work as an ongoing cycle; an active and critical process of making sense of and for our "selves" that is not limitless. They consider that individuals are constrained as well as enabled by material conditions, cultural traditions and relations of power, but nevertheless the individual's role in the process of identity construction is active and ongoing. The sense making process includes the interaction between the retrospective understanding of past events to make sense of present and future events and vice versa (Pullen and Linstead 2005, p. 3). In order to recognise that identity work projects "outwardly" as well as "inwardly" Watson (2008b, p. 129) suggested that it *"involves the mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various social-identities which pertain to them in the various milieu in which they live their lives"*. As recognised by Kärreman and Alvesson (2001, p. 86), however, identity work does not occur in the domains of logical reasoning; it can be affected and altered by logical reasoning, but refutation is based more on how well an argument connects to previous identity work than how well it performs in terms of logic. Conscious identity work is thus grounded in at least a minimal amount of self-doubt and self-openness, typically contingent upon a mix of psychological-existential worry and the scepticism or inconsistencies faced in encounters with others or with our images of them (Alvesson and Willmott 2002, p. 626; Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003, p. 1165). Identity work may, therefore, be considered *"comparatively unselfconscious, albeit contingent upon life history and the unchallenged position of the hegemonic discourse(s) through which identity is reproduced"* (Alvesson and Willmott 2002, p. 626).

## 2.10 Social Interaction

In order to understand the concept of social interaction, it is necessary to obtain a basic appreciation of the concepts of emotional intelligence, an expression originally coined by Salovey and Mayer (1990, p. 189) and made popular by Goleman (1995) through his book of the same title.

The ensuing interest in emotional intelligence resulted in the development of a large variety of concepts, frameworks and definitions, including those of Goleman (1995, p. xii), as well as claims regarding its advantages (Matthews, Roberts and Zeidner 2004, p. 179).

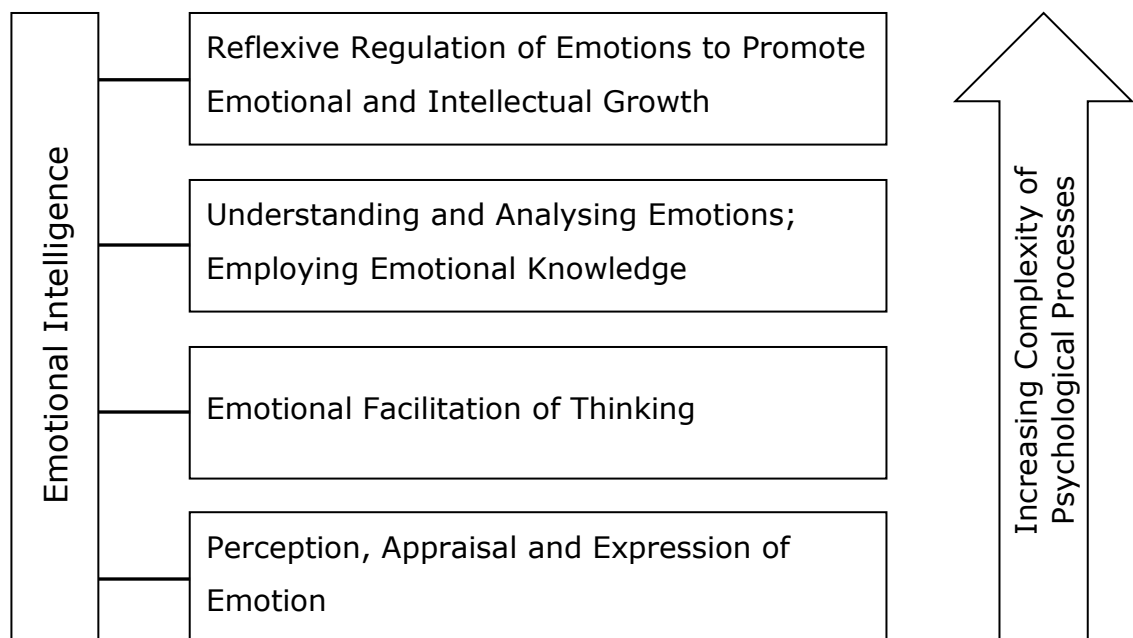


Fig. 7: Four Branch Model of Emotional Intelligence  
(developed from Mayer and Salovey 1997, p. 11)

Considering previous concepts of emotional intelligence too simplistic and restrictive as they only took into account "*perceiving and regulating emotion*", Mayer and Salovey (1997, pp. 10-15) revised their original definition of the term creating the four branch model of emotional intelligence depicted in Fig. 7 in which they considered it involving:

*the ability to perceive accurately, appraise, and express emotion; the ability to access and/or generate feelings when they facilitate thought; the ability to understand emotion*

*and emotional knowledge; and the ability to regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth*

In this model they structured these skills in increasing levels of complexity of the psychological process from the more basic or micro-level psychological process to the higher, more psychologically integrated macro processes.

Mayer, Salovey and Caruso (2000, p. 397) also reacted to the increased theoretical diversity on the topic of emotional intelligence by differentiating between mental ability models of emotional intelligence and mixed models of emotional intelligence which combined mixed mental abilities with personal attributes. Continued development of the emotional intelligence concept (Mayer, Roberts and Barsade 2008, pp. 511-514) culminated in three approaches in which the original mental ability model was further differentiated into the specific ability approach focussed on a particular skill or skills that can be considered fundamental to emotional intelligence, and the integrative-model approaches in which the joining of several specific abilities to obtain an overall sense of emotional intelligence e.g. The Four-Branch Model (Mayer and Salovey 1997, p. 11) is a key element. The third approach, the mixed-model approach, is considered to target mixed qualities, assessing one or more emotional intelligence attribute, and then mixing in other scales to varying degrees (Palmer et al. 2003, p. 1192). Mayer, Roberts and Barsade (2008, p. 517) did not believe, however, that this approach falls within the scope of emotional intelligence as they consider it.

Seal et al. (2009, p. 204) considered the difference between "emotional ability" (specific ability approach and integrative-model approach) and "emotional competence" (mixed-model approach) compatible to the differences between measuring potential abilities and actual behaviours: both are distinct and contribute toward successful performance. Based on the results of research carried out by Offermann et al. (2004, pp. 235-239) they reported that emotional ability may be necessary, but not sufficient to explain human behaviour in complex environments. They were able to demonstrate that emotional intelligence is not a unitary construct (Seal et

al. 2009, p. 212).

Despite the multiplicity of definitions, Ciarrochi, Chan and Caputi (2000, p. 540) considered them to be "*complimentary rather than contradictory*". Zeidner, Roberts and Matthews (2004, pp. 240-241) stated, however, that there are at least two dimensions of conceptual confusion evident in the literature: First there is no agreement on the specific qualities that define emotional intelligence and no decision rules that would allow us to parse personal qualities as emotionally intelligent or not. Second, there is no agreement on the nature of the emotional intelligence construct (temperament, processes, competence, skills). Gohm (2004, p. 222) questioned whether it is actually possible to adequately judge the broader mixed-method models of emotional intelligence as self-perceived reports were commonly used for their measurement leading him to state that "*we are judging self-reported [emotional intelligence] and not actual [emotional intelligence]*". He considered the differences reported in these models could in fact be explained through personality variables and may not in fact constitute emotional intelligence.

Zeidner, Roberts and Matthews (2004, p. 240) questioned the possibility of the "*existence of multiple [emotional intelligences] underlying emotions and their manifestations embedded within specific cultural contexts*". Parallel consideration of the concept of cultural "triggers" such as the language "trigger" (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 290) would then lead to the question whether the "trigger" would not only result in a change in the identity-related frame, but also in different nuances or variants of emotional intelligence depending upon the cultural context that had been triggered. This would imply that multilingual, multicultural individuals could not only demonstrate different cultural behaviour, but also different personalities and emotional intelligence frameworks depending on the language currently "triggered".

The development of emotional intelligence with increasing age was addressed by McCrae et al. (1999, p. 468). They found indications that personality changes with age, but that the rate of change decreases with increased age being at its highest in adolescent and young adult years

(McCrae et al. 1999, p. 471). Neuroticism, extraversion and openness appeared to decline with age and agreeableness and conscientiousness appeared to increase (McCrae et al. 1999, p. 473). Although the rate of change decreased after the age of 30 in their sample the general direction of the change was retained.

In order for an individual to monitor and distinguish between their own and others' emotions it is first necessary for them to understand the other person's current emotional situation, which may be accessed by demonstrating sympathy or empathy. Sympathy has been defined as "*the emotional identification with [another]*" (Coulehan et al. 2001, p. 221) or "*the imaginative placing of ourselves in another person's position*" (Bennett 1998, p. 197). Rather than an attempt to reproduce the emotions perceived in another, it is a response of compassion (Gruen and Mendelsohn 1986, p. 609); we are referencing how we ourselves might think or feel in similar positive or negative circumstances (Bennett 1998, p. 197), we substitute others for ourselves (Wispé 1986, p. 318).

Bennett (1998, pp. 198-199) considered that the general category of projective sympathy can be divided into two sub-categories:

1. Reminiscent sympathy in which we compare our own past experiences with those observed to obtain a reference for the current situation. This is the most common form of sympathy.
2. Imaginative sympathy, which involves referencing our imagination of ourselves in different circumstances that we have not already experienced.

As we are using ourselves as reference for the understanding of the new situation, the biggest disadvantage of sympathy can be considered to be its insensitivity to difference (Bennett 1998, p. 202). This not only poses a potential problem in an international context, but also in a domestic environment where we may be communicating and interacting with individuals of different ethnic or cultural groups as well as of differing political and religious orientations. In these situations a sympathetic understanding is likely to be inaccurate and may even impede effective

communication between the parties (Bennett 1998, p. 202). The fact that the own frame of reference is used to create a generalised understanding of the current situation may result in the projection of a patronising, ethnocentric cultural understanding, which may lead the communication partner to take a defensive stance as they do not feel that their own views and positions are taken seriously. Developing this idea further would mean that the homogeneous perspective of human behaviour and the forming idea of a singular reality would then be replaced with a heterogeneous perspective in which each individual would have their own personal perspective of reality within this multifaceted environment (Bennett 1998, pp. 203-206). The differences would be represented by language, physiology or psychological characteristics, which may form discrete sub-groups within for example one culture, which would again be diffused by the expectations of each individual member of the sub-groups and their own personal expectations.

A further increase in social understanding is demonstrated by an empathic response. Empathy is the communication strategy considered most appropriate to multiple-reality and the assumption of difference (Bennett 1998, p. 207). In comparison to sympathy, in empathy, an attempt is made to substitute ourselves for the others (Wispé 1986, p. 318). Empathy can be considered a complex affective-cognitive activity involving emotional attunement and imagining how it feels to be in another person's situation (Batty and Meaux 2013, p. 112; Halpern 2003, p. 671; 2007, p. 696). Bennett (1998, p. 207) considered that in empathy we "participate" rather than "place", and we are concerned with "experience" and "perspective" rather than "position". In this case, participating in another's experience does not assume essential similarity; the other's experience might be quite alien even if his or her position is similar.

Coulehan et al. (2001, p. 224) considered empathy involving "*drawing on our own range of feelings and experiences and then taking an imaginative leap*". The leap they are referring to is part of a "hypothesis-testing loop", which allows an individual to attempt to understand another's feelings or values and readjust their position throughout the interaction to allow congruence to be achieved.

Empathy may be a central characteristic of emotionally intelligent behaviour (Mayer and Salovey 1993, p. 438; Salovey and Mayer 1990, p. 194) resulting in a better understanding of another's actions, intentions and feelings, which may promote prosocial and helping behaviours (Batty and Meaux 2013, p. 111). The greater the number of supportive intelligent friends, relatives and co-workers present in an individual's social network, the more empathic and supportive a social structure will surround them (Salovey and Mayer 1990, p. 194).

### **III. Narrative and Situational Understanding**

The general outcome of the assignment will result in some degree of success and the individual will hopefully remain with the company providing it with important competitive advantage. In order for this to occur the individual has to be able to adapt to the new situation (Aycan 1997; Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005).

The cultural adaptation of the assignee and his or her family result in long term changes to their behaviour that are of high relevance for their performance and effectiveness in the new environment (Haslberger 2008, p. 132; Shay and Baack 2004, p. 226). Smooth processes would generate positive attitudes towards the host country and its people, an essential factor in an emigration decision (Baruch, Budhwar and Khatri 2007, p. 101).

Whereas the organisationally assigned expatriate may be privy to support from the employing organisation and be provided with time to adapt, the self-initiated expatriate will not and will generally be treated as a new local member of staff with respect to reaching acceptable performance levels (McDonnell and Scullion 2013, p. 144). This situation may add considerable stress and pressure to the self-initiated expatriate and accentuate the adjustment challenge.

#### **2.11 Expatriate Failure**

"Expatriate failure" is the most common term used in the literature considering the success or failure of an international assignment (Teagarden and Gordon 1995, p. 18). No generally applicable definition of failure exists



in the literature, but the most common topics considered for its evaluation have been (Caligiuri 1997, p. 119; Forster 1997, p. 428; Tung 1982, p. 68; Tye and Chen 2005, p. 16): (1) completion of the foreign assignment; (2) cross-cultural adjustment; (3) performance on the foreign assignment; and (4) repatriation problems.

Three main points of contention exist in the literature: The first centres on the tension between the premature end of an assignment and the expatriate's performance. If an assignment is successfully completed ahead of schedule and the assignee returns home prematurely, this can be considered positively (the assignment was successfully completed ahead of time) or negatively (the assignee returned home prematurely) (Hemmasi, Downes and Varner 2010, p. 982). In a similar vein, an expatriate that remains in the position for the duration of the assignment may not have been able to perform adequately during this period, which can be considered as performance failure (Harrison 1994, p. 18; Maurer and Li 2006, pp. 29-30; Pires, Stanton and Ostensfeld 2006, p. 159; Tu and Sullivan 1994, p. 67). On the other hand, the individual remained for the duration of the assignment, which may be considered a success. These conflicts of definition are not adequately considered in the literature.

The second point of contention concerns the performance level of the assignee. There is a potential difference between the individual's perspective and the organisational perspective regarding what constitutes adequate performance or ability to function in the foreign environment. The organisation may compare the individual with previous performance in a different environment, for example, many expatriates were previously high-flyers in the domestic organisation (Mendenhall and Oddou 1985, p. 39; Naumann 1992, p. 506; Tung 1987, p. 117). Within the organisation, there is also potential difference of expectations between the home supervisor, who may consider the assignment as part of the individual's long-term career development, and the local supervisor, who is mainly interested in the short-term success of the assignment (Benson and Pattie 2009, p. 61).

The third point of contention concerns the definition of repatriation failure. Repatriation failure can result from poor repatriation management leading

to the skills and knowledge obtained during the assignment not being used to the full benefit of the organisation (Bossard and Peterson 2005, p. 10; Forster 1997, p. 428; Lazarova and Tarique 2005; Naumann 1992, p. 505). In more extreme cases, poor repatriation management may result in the individual leaving the organisation upon or shortly after repatriation (Kraimer, Shaffer and Bolino 2009, p. 44; Suutari and Brewster 2003, p. 1140; van der Heijden, van Engen and Paauwe 2009, p. 832; Yeaton and Hall 2008, p. 76).

Irrespective of the exact interpretation of expatriate failure, employee turnover results in disruption to the operation and high direct and indirect costs for both the employee and the organisation (Hemmasi, Downes and Varner 2010, p. 982; Templer 2010, p. 1754; Yeaton and Hall 2008, p. 75). In addition, the loss of knowledge may result in a loss of global competence for the organisation (Cassiday 2005, p. 392).

Although failure rates of between 15% and 70% are reported in the literature (Forster 1997, p. 415; Hsieh, Lavoie and Samek 1999, p. 74; Yeaton and Hall 2008, p. 75) the accuracy of these statements is questionable. Concerns arise not only from the unclear definition of failure, but also inaccuracies arising from cross referencing of previous literature (Harzing 2002) and the lack of modern empirical data. It must be considered that the original empirical research findings date back 30 years. Modern telecommunication technologies and affordable international travel have made a profound difference to the opportunities available for employees on international assignments to interact with their home environment. The resulting "death of distance" (Cairncross 1995) requires that we question the current validity of the original research results.

## **2.12 Acculturation / Cultural Adaptation**

The literature does not provide a unified definition of acculturation. From its original roots in anthropology, where it was used to describe the development of societies (McGee 1898, p. 248), it has developed to its current position in social psychology where it is used to provide an understanding of changes resulting from intercultural encounters at the

group or population level, and the individual level (Berry 1980b, pp. 215-216; 1990, pp. 232-233; Berry and Kim 1988, p. 207; Castro 2003, p. 9). This differentiation is important (i) to examine the relationship between the two sets of variables; and (ii) due to the fact that not all individuals participate in the acculturation process to the same degree or in the same manner as the group (Berry 1990; 1997, p. 7; Broom and Kitsuse 1955, pp. 44-45).

Increasing globalisation and cross-border trade coupled with increasing international political relations as exemplified in the European Union and the intended Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) (European Commission 2014; Office of the United States Trade Representatives 2014; United States of America 2014) have led to an increase in cross-cultural encounters reminiscent of the historic development of nations. Three major interlocked areas of contact become visible (Berry 2005, p. 700):

1. indigenous national populations experience neo-colonisation and demonstrate resistance
2. new waves of immigrants, sojourners and refugees flow from these economic and political changes
3. large ethnocultural populations become established in most countries

They indicate that not only the groups and individuals moving to new countries of abode will be faced with acculturation challenges, but increasingly the indigenous people as they attempt to maintain their societies and culture in the face of increasing diversity within the population (Berry 2005, p. 700).

An early and often cited definition of acculturation by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936, p. 149) considered it as:

*comprehend[ing] those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups*

This definition demonstrates three important aspects of acculturation (Sam 2006, pp. 14-17; Trimble 2003, p. 6). First, it states that the contact has to be “continuous”, emphasising that as with any change process, the acculturation process takes time. The question that remains is how long the period of contact must be to qualify as acculturation (Sam 2006, p. 14). If the above definition is treated literally, then sojourners such as students, tourists, expatriates and flexpatriates are implicitly excluded from the acculturation process. The literature does not, however, provide a clear answer to this question (Berry 2004, pp. 27-28; Bochner 2006; Lysgaard 1955, p. 49). The length of time per se, may not be the deciding factor, however, as the different categories of sojourn demonstrate differing lengths of assignment duration, expectations and interaction possibilities (Bochner 2006, pp. 183-184), which will probably result in different degrees of acculturation.

Research carried out by Berry and colleagues classified acculturating groups according to the three factors (i) mobility, (ii) voluntariness, and (iii) permanence, resulting in the identification of five acculturating groups: ethnic or ethnocultural groups, native or indigenous peoples, immigrants, sojourners and refugees (Berry 1990, pp. 242-243; 2006, pp. 29-31; Berry and Kim 1988, pp. 218-233; Berry et al. 1987, pp. 494-495) and later six acculturating groups (Berry and Sam 1997, pp. 295-296) as they added the asylum seekers (Table 4). They purported that groups and individuals who are voluntarily involved in the acculturation process may experience less acculturation difficulty and stress than those such as refugees who are involuntarily involved in the process although the question regarding how

		<b>Voluntariness of Contact</b>	
		<b>Voluntary</b>	<b>Involuntary</b>
<b>Mobility</b>	Sedentary	Ethnocultural groups	Indigenous peoples
	Migrant: Permanent Temporary	Immigrants Sojourners	Refugees Asylum seekers

Table 4: Types of Acculturating Groups

(Adapted from Berry and Sam 1997, Fig. 8-1)

voluntary any move really is (Berry and Kim 1988, p. 220) was not addressed. Consistent with this research, Peltokorpi and Froese (2009) found that self-initiated expatriates tend to be better adjusted to the general environment and to interacting with host country nationals than traditional expatriates. This may be due to self-initiated expatriates being more appreciative of differences in the host country because they have made the decision to live there of their own accord and thus adjust more effectively (McDonnell and Scullion 2013, p. 149).

Ward (2008, p. 111) extended the original model considering that "ethnocultural groups" incorporate all groups within a society and therefore also includes the "majority or dominant group". Further, she considered that tourists should no longer be considered purely as a sub-group of sojourners, but due to their importance as a major source of first-hand intercultural contact, should be included in the table as a separate group.

Second, the contact between the groups has to be direct, indicating that indirect forms of contact such as email, video conference or the consumption of international media broadcasts (Sam 2006, p. 14) would not lead to any degree of acculturation. This is a plausible stance if one considers that the degree of acculturation of tourists and sojourners is also currently questioned. The length of interaction between individuals is one aspect, but the intensity of the contact, which may actually be greater in the case of the sojourner, must also be considered. This would imply that the only way to really know a culture is from the inside (Bodley 1994, p. 9) and that pre-move cross-cultural training in the home environment may be of limited value to the individual. On the other hand, indirect forms of contact may increase an individual's understanding of and ability to interact with members of another culture. This is a fine, but important distinction between the two concepts.

Third, the "*subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups*", indicating that both groups involved in the interaction potentially realise some portion of change (Berry 1980b, p. 217).

When considering the dynamics of acculturation, researchers distinguish

between acculturation as a state and as a process (Berry 1980b, p. 214; Ward 1996, p. 124). Seen as a state, the amount of acculturation is *"defined and measured in relationship to culture-specific cognitive, behavioural and affective markers"* (Ward 1996, p. 124). The broader concept of acculturation as a process, however, explores dimensions of change over time and *"encompasses a range of conceptual frameworks and includes the identification of antecedents and consequences of culture contact and change"* (Ward 1996, p. 124). Here acculturation is considered an on-going process (Broom and Kitsuse 1955, p. 44; Oberg 1960, pp. 179-180; 2006, p. 144) in which the emotions, cognitions and behaviours of persons from one culture are considered to be modified as a result of first-hand contact with persons from other cultures. This view traditionally relied on the simplistic conceptualisation of the home and host cultures consisting of competing and mutually exclusive domains (Ward 1996, p. 129).

Traditionally, a unidimensional model of acculturation was assumed to occur in situations where non-dominant culture(s) interact with a dominant culture (Sam 2006). These models form the basis of many of the constructions for the measurement of acculturation indices. Proponents of the unidimensional model (Lee, Sobal and Frongillo 2003, p. 282; Ryder, Alden and Paulhus 2000, pp. 49-50; Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez 1980, p. 353), assume that immigrants eventually accept the cultural traits of the new society (mainstream culture) and the loss of native cultural traits (heritage culture) with individuals generally located between the two extremes of unacculturated and fully acculturated. This process is considered to continue across many generations until the descendants of the immigrants are culturally indistinguishable from the mainstream culture (Ryder, Alden and Paulhus 2000, p. 50). Bicultural individuals are considered to have given up some of their original characteristics to obtain those of the new culture in a zero-sum trade-off. For individuals living in a bicultural environment, e.g. second generation immigrants required to accept both the host culture and the original culture upheld by the parents, then adjustment in terms of a zero-sum trade-off, would lead to psychosocial maladjustment (Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez 1980, p. 354). On the other hand, a bidimensional or multidimensional model of

acculturation allows individuals to adopt specific traits from the new culture, discard some of the native traits, but retain or even strengthen other traditional cultural values and behaviours allowing them to possess multiple cultural identities, each of which may independently vary in strength (Orozco et al. 1993, p. 150; Ryder, Alden and Paulhus 2000, p. 50; Weinreich 1999, p. 146) allowing individuals to adapt their behaviour to suit a particular social context LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993, pp. 399-400). This can be considered compatible with the polylinguistic framework of language-triggered switching of culture-specific identity frames (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 146).

Lee, Sobal and Frongillo (2003, pp. 292-293) concluded that a unidimensional model could not fully explain acculturation at either the domain or overall level in their sample of Korean Americans and considered the unidimensional model a subset of the bidimensional model. Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000, pp. 51-63) found that the bidimensional model constituted a broader and more valid model for understanding acculturation and that the unidimensional model offered an incomplete and often misleading understanding of the acculturation process (Ryder, Alden and Paulhus 2000, p. 62).

Berry and colleagues (Berry 1980a, pp. 12-17; 2009, pp. 366-367; Berry and Kim 1988, pp. 211-213; Berry et al. 1987, pp. 495-496; Berry and Sam 1997, pp. 296-297) developed a model of acculturation addressing the question whether individuals and groups can accept sociocultural domains of a new culture while retaining elements of their old society. They suggested that the acculturation strategy used depended on the relative preference for two issues (1) maintaining one's heritage culture and identity or (2) having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups (e.g. Berry 2005, p. 704) (Fig. 8a).

In order for this framework to be applied, the non-dominant group and its members have to be able to freely select the acculturation strategy that it wishes to implement, but this is not always the case (Berry 1980a, pp. 13-17), for example, if at the group level a strategy of assimilation is followed, at the individual level none of the other options are available as one is left

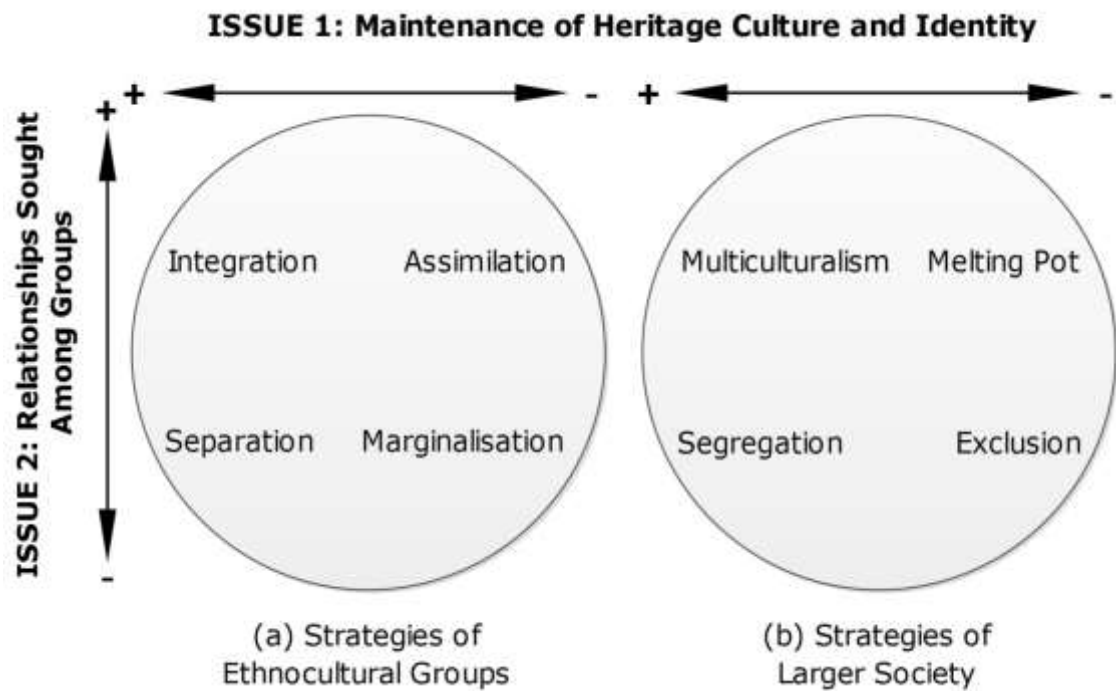


Fig. 8: Acculturation Strategies  
(Berry 2009, p. 366)

with no membership group (Berry 1984, p. 13). In order to take account of this factor, Berry (1980a, p. 13) included a third dimension regarding who determines the strategy that can be followed, resulting in the acculturation strategy framework for the dominant group (Fig. 8b).

In order for an integration strategy to be implemented by the non-dominant group (Fig. 8a), therefore, diversity has to be accepted by the whole of society including all of the various ethnocultural groups (Berry 2003, p. 24). This strategy requires the non-dominant group to adopt the basic values of the dominant group, which at the same time must be prepared to adapt its national institutions to better meet the needs of the pluralistic society. Thus, the integration strategy can only be followed in a truly multicultural society (Fig. 8b). The non-dominant group's assimilation strategy can take place either by means of total absorption into the dominant group or by means of the merging of many different groups to form a new group/society, a process termed the "melting pot" (Berry and Kim 1988, p. 211). When, however, the assimilation is forced by the dominant group, it becomes more like a "pressure cooker" (Berry 1997, p. 10). Acculturation is, therefore, not necessarily a case of the non-dominant culture being assimilated into the



dominant host culture, but the "*selective adaptation*" of the value systems (Berry 1980b, p. 217; Broom et al. 1954, p. 974) on both the individual and group level (Gillin and Raimy 1940, p. 372; Lee, Sobal and Frongillo 2003, p. 282) similar to the concept of the global supermarket (Mathews 2000, pp. 4-6) from which individuals, in a conditioned manner, select the identities they perform in society.

The impact of cultural distance was suggested to be asymmetrical (Selmer, Chiu and Shenkar 2007, p. 156) with the impact of cultural distance contingent on the direction of the assignment i.e. the hurdles faced by a US American in Germany are not the same as those confronted by a German in the US. Further, it was proposed that it could be as difficult for business expatriates to adjust to a similar as to a dissimilar culture (Selmer 2007, p. 194) as it is easy for individuals that are assigned to dissimilar cultures to be aware of the dissimilarity, while those in cultures similar to their own often fail to identify any differences that exist (O'Grady and Lane 1996; Selmer 2007, p. 194). Hence, ensuing problems that occur may not be appropriately attributed to cultural differences, but to other circumstances such as their own or others' abilities. Further, the individuals do not modify their expectations and behaviour as may be required for the new location.

Fisher, Doughty and Mussayeva (2008, p. 316) investigated a dialectic framework of acculturation under consideration of Section IV of Hegel's Phenomenology of the Mind (Phänomenologie des Geistes) (Hegel 1832, pp. 131-173). They considered parallels between the dialectics of self-consciousness (Selbstbewußtsein), master and slave (Herrschaft und Knechtschaft) and unhappy consciousness (unglückliches Bewußtsein), and Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS) (Bennett 1986; 1993). The dialectics were not taken literally but refer to the inner strife that takes place within an individual when the differing aspects of self-consciousness (the master and the slave) meet (Ludwig 2011, p. 91). Fisher, Doughty and Mussayeva (2008) contend that the master and the slave are in fact the dominant and non-dominant cultural influences and considerations within the same individual and that the level of conflict developed through the dialectics from inter-group conflict (dialectic of self-consciousness), to inter-personal conflict (dialectic of master and slave)

finally lying in intra-personal conflict (dialectic of unhappy consciousness). They suggested that the "*dialectic perspective offered a more fluid form of categorisation in which the stages are an aspect of sense making rather than an objectively definable process*" (Fisher, Doughty and Mussayeva 2008, p. 324).

<b>Relationship with Home Country</b>	Weak	Expatriates who see themselves as free agents	Expatriates who "go native"
	Strong	Expatriates who leave their hearts at home	Expatriates who see themselves as dual citizens
		Weak	Strong

**Relationship with Host Country**

Table 5: Forms of Self-Initiated Expatriate Country Allegiance  
(Richardson and McKenna 2006, p. 15)

In an attempt to understand the self-initiated expatriates' relationships with their host and home countries Richardson and McKenna (2006, p. 14) modified the axes of the Black and Gregersen (1992, p. 62) matrix of expatriate allegiance to represent home and host countries rather than the home and local operations (Table 5). The matrix indicates that at one end of the spectrum, individuals with a weak relationship to both their home and host nations would consider themselves as free agents, while individuals at the opposite end demonstrating strong relationships to both nations consider themselves as dual citizens. Between these two extremes are individuals who "go native", demonstrating a strong relationship with the host country and a weak home country relationship; individuals with a strong relationship with the home country and a weak host country relationship would be considered as "leaving their hearts at home". Richardson and McKenna (2006) considered that over time individuals may move between quadrants.

The acculturation process does not always take place smoothly and some individuals may suffer from culture shock (acculturation stress) a condition originally coined by Du Bois (1951), but generally attributed to Oberg (1960, pp. 177-182; 2006, pp. 142-146), who defined it as *"an occupational disease of people who have been suddenly transplanted abroad ... precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all [their] family signs and symbols of social intercourse"*., a definition demonstrating great similarity with Du Bois' original definition.

More recent definitions of acculturation stress (culture shock), no longer use the terminology "occupational disease", but still demonstrate its potential negative effect on the individual as evident in the description by Berry et al. (1987, p. 493) who considered it:

*a reduction in the health status of individuals, and may include physical, psychological and social aspects; to qualify as acculturative stress, these changes should be related in a systematic way to known features of the acculturation process, as experienced by the individual*

Acculturation stress is now considered a possible normal element of the acculturation process. Berry et al. (2011, pp. 314-315) stated that it occurs when one is confronted with serious challenges during the acculturation process, which one is not able to deal with simply by adjusting one's behaviour. Individuals on international assignments are not only confronted with additional stress, resulting from having left behind their family, friends and familiar home environment, but also the continuous requirement to avoid making "cultural errors" (Barna 1998, p. 185).

Berry et al. (1987, pp. 494-495) postulated that there are four main moderating factors that influence the degree and direction of the relationship between the acculturation experience, the stressors and the acculturative stress. The first factor was the nature of the host or larger society (multicultural or assimilation ideology). The second was the nature of the acculturating group (Table 4); they considered that those who are voluntarily involved in the acculturation process may experience less stress

than those involuntarily involved as their initial attitude towards the process may be more positive (Berry 1990, p. 243). In addition, those on short-term assignments and without permanent social support may also experience more mental health problems than those voluntarily taking part in the process (Berry et al. 1987, p. 501). The third moderator was the mode of acculturation (Fig. 8a) (Berry et al. 1987, p. 505); integration produced the lowest amount of social difficulty whereby the highest level of difficulty was associated with separation (Ward and Kennedy 1994, pp. 338-339; Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999, pp. 435-436). The fourth moderator was considered to lie in a variety of demographic, social and psychological characteristics (Berry et al. 1987, p. 495). Berry et al. (1987, p. 504) considered education to be a consistent predictor of low stress postulating that those with more education possibly have more intellectual, economic and social resources with which to deal with the changes.

Although they have voluntarily made the move to the new environment, self-initiated expatriates also face stress although the *"responsibility to overcome these difficulties lies with the individual as they have no "home" organisation providing them with support"* (Shaffer et al. 2012, p. 1292). Despite this, self-initiated expatriates tend to have greater levels of general and interaction adjustment (Peltokorpi and Froese 2009, p. 1106) possibly due to their increased motivation and levels of interaction with the host country culture and nationals (Selmer 1999). When confronted with a positive or negative shock (Holtom et al. 2005, pp. 339-340; Lee et al. 1996, p. 6) either in the foreign country or from the home country, after reappraising their situation, these individuals would, however, be more motivated to repatriate (Tharenou and Caulfield 2010, pp. 1021-1022).

Factors considered to have an influence on the adaptation process were host country language ability (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005, p. 268; Gong et al. 2003, p. 203; Naumann 1992, p. 512; Torrington 1994, p. 93); job/task characteristics (Black and Gregersen 1999, p. 53; Black et al. 1999, p. 118; Stroh et al. 2005, p. 110); organisational factors such as post-arrival cross-cultural training (Bennett, Aston and Coiquhoun 2000, p. 245; Katz and Seifer 1996, pp. 42-43), difference between organisational culture in host and home environment (Black et al. 1999, p. 119; Stroh et

al. 2005, p. 111), provision of logistic support in host country (Aycan 1997, p. 445; Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2004, p. A4; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, pp. 569-570); and effect of family or spouse acculturation (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver 2006, p. 56; Black, Mendenhall and Oddou 1991, p. 295; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, p. 574).

Previous research suggests that the expatriate experience could be both disruptive and demanding for everybody involved and for the accompanying spouse or partner in particular (Caligiuri et al. 1998; Mohr and Klein 2004; van der Zee, Ali and Salomé 2005). This may have a negative impact on the expatriate, which in turn could contribute to a less successful outcome of the foreign assignment (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005; Caligiuri et al. 1998; Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003), however, researchers have also noted that married expatriates tend to fare better than their unmarried colleagues (Selmer 2001; Van Oudenhoven, Stefan and Van der Zee 2003). Evidently an accompanying spouse could also be a great source of support and encouragement for the expatriate (Lauring and Selmer 2010).

Selmer and Lauring (2011b, p. 206) reported that there is no moderating effect of gender on the positive relationship between being married and the work outcomes of self-initiated expatriates. They suggested that this may be the result of the initiative to relocating abroad coming from the individuals and their spouses/families, enabling them to better control the timing and destination of the move than in the case of organisational expatriates. Research carried out by Mohr and Klein (2004, p. 1200) also demonstrated a positive, but not statistically significant, relationship between the degree of participation in the decision-making process perceived by the spouse and the adjustment dimensions.

Even if both spouses were working before the foreign assignment, after arrival in the foreign host location the expatriate may become the sole earner and provider for the family and the expatriate spouse may become a household caretaker and a stay-at-home parent (Selmer and Lauring 2011b, p. 201). For a spouse, that could mean having not only lost a job, but maybe also forgone a career and financial independence. Hence, they could find themselves faced with new tasks and expectations (Punnett

1997; Riusala and Suutari 2000). Also the expatriate needs to adjust to new family roles and responsibilities (Caligiuri et al. 1998; Harris 2002; van der Zee, Ali and Salomé 2005).

McDonnell and Scullion (2013, pp. 144-146) based their conceptualisation of self-initiated expatriate adjustment on the research previously carried out by Black, Mendenhall and Oddou (1991) and Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley (1999) on traditional expatriate adjustment, and contended that there is potential significance among all of the previously identified factors, but that differences may be expected on some factors due to the unique situation of self-initiated expatriates.

Research carried out by Froese and Peltokorpi (2013, p. 1962) comparing the cultural adjustment of organisational and self-initiated expatriates in Japan, confirmed previous studies (Jokinen, Brewster and Suutari 2008; Suutari and Brewster 2000), and indicated that job-related factors differed with organisational expatriates tending to work more often in foreign multinational corporations and frequently occupying higher positions. This partly reflects the fact that organisational expatriates are often sent to control and transfer knowledge to foreign subsidiaries (Edström and Gaibraith 1977). The findings further confirmed prior studies (Biemann and Andresen 2010; Froese and Peltokorpi 2011; Peltokorpi and Froese 2009) suggesting that self-initiated expatriates generally enjoyed higher interaction adjustment, but less positive work attitudes, specifically in terms of job satisfaction, than organisational expatriates. The less positive work attitudes may be the result perceived underemployment resulting from a lack of job autonomy, job suitability and job variety (Feldman 1996, p. 387; Lee 2005, p. 172), wage loss, and the perception of underutilisation relative to their career expectations (Doherty and Dickmann 2013b, p. 126; Khan and Morrow 1991, p. 211).

Nolan and Morley (2014) investigated adjustment using a person–environment (PE) fit perspective, which considers the congruence between individual characteristics e.g. values, beliefs and abilities, and the characteristics of the work environment e.g. job role, job demands and organisational demands (D'Amato and Zijlstra 2008; Edwards and Billsberry

2010; Festing and Maletzky 2011; Howe-Walsh and Schyns 2010; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson 2005; Peltokorpi 2008; Peltokorpi and Froese 2009; Selmer 2005); the main areas of fit considered are person–job fit, person–supervisor fit and “person–organisation fit”. The higher the degree of fit between the individual and the environment the more likely they are to experience positive adjustment (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson 2005), but self-initiated and organisational expatriates may, however, experience the “goodness of fit” differently (Nolan and Morley 2014, p. 1632). The literature (Kristof 1996, p. 3; Nolan and Morley 2014, p. 1632) distinguishes between complementary and supplementary fit and their differing perspectives of the “environment” (Muchinsky and Monahan 1987, p. 272). In complementary fit the environment is defined according to its demands and requirements and not by the people who inhabit it. The basis for a good fit in this case was traditionally considered “*the mutually offsetting pattern of relevant characteristics between the person and the environment*” (demands–abilities fit) (Muchinsky and Monahan 1987, p. 272). Kristof (1996, p. 4) extended this definition to incorporate a needs–supplies perspective where fit is the match between individual’s preferences or needs and organisation’s systems and structure. Supplementary fit describes the environment according to the people in it and is concerned with measuring the similarities between fundamental characteristics of people and organisations. Supplementary fit suggests that individuals fit into the organisational environment context because they supplement or possess characteristics that are similar to the other employees within the organisational environment (Kristof 1996, p. 3; Muchinsky and Monahan 1987, p. 269). The congruence between the individual and the organisational values is the most frequently used operationalization of this perspective (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson 2005). Research carried out by Nolan and Morley (2014, p. 1643) using the person–environment fit model for self-initiated expatriates indicated that person–job needs–supplies fit had no relationship with work adjustment, but an effect on self-initiated expatriates’ interaction adjustment: person–job demands–abilities fit had a relationship with work and general adjustment: person–supervisor fit was found to have a significant relationship with general adjustment and no relationship with interaction or work adjustment

(Nolan and Morley 2014, p. 1644) person–organisation fit had a relationship with work and general adjustment.

Domestic research on job satisfaction has demonstrated that the factors role clarity, role diversity, role conflict, task identity and task significance can have an influence on a workers commitment, involvement and job satisfaction (Naumann 1992, p. 507). Further research carried out by Naumann (1993, pp. 73-74) indicated similar results regarding the job satisfaction of expatriates. Research by Bonache (2005, pp. 120-121) comparing repatriate, expatriate and domestic employees from a Spanish multinational construction company led to the inference that the general level of job satisfaction did not significantly differ between the three groups. An individual's job satisfaction and level of adjustment has been reported to be dependent upon the degree to which their work-related abilities and needs match those of the assignment position (Breiden, Mirza and Mohr 2004, p. 22). It has been suggested that executives and assignees should understand in advance the rationale for and the organisation's expectations of the assignment to enable them to focus on the correct objectives and avoid creating unrealistic expectations (Black and Gregersen 1999, p. 56). This highlights the importance of job-design to the success of the international assignment and the importance organisations should pay to these factors (Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, p. 573).

Commencing a new position in a foreign country, an individual is often confronted with additional stressors resulting from their work and non-work environments (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005, p. 260). In line with previous research (Black and Gregersen 1991), Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. (2005, p. 269) investigated the effect of the four work-environment related stressors: role clarity, role discretion or flexibility, role novelty (Andreason 2003, p. 46; Black, Mendenhall and Oddou 1991, p. 309), and role conflict on work adjustment. Their findings indicated that role clarity and role discretion demonstrate a strong relationship with work adjustment; role conflict has a moderate negative relationship; role novelty has a negligible relationship with work adjustment. These findings have generally found further support in the literature (Black 1988, pp. 286-291; Black and Gregersen 1991, p. 505; Fenner and Selmer 2008, pp. 1246-1247; Hechanova, Beehr and



Christiansen 2003, p. 218; Lii and Wong 2008, p. 304), one exception is, however, the effect of role novelty on work adjustment. A salient point is raised by Zimmermann and Sparrow (2007, p. 83) who considered that mutual adjustment is fundamental for overcoming difficulties associated with differences regarding work practices and communication styles and that it is therefore responsible for achieving better relational and work outcomes. Research carried out by Black (1988, pp. 286-291) additionally reported that previous overseas transfers had a significant and positive impact on work adjustment.

Despite the plethora of theories available to direct researchers addressing diversity, particularly in work environments, it remains important that they approach situations demonstrating differences for example in management style or work preference in an unbiased manner and do not automatically assume that they are the result of cultural differences (Zimmermann and Sparrow 2007, p. 84). A closer investigation of the situation may reveal more operationally related problems such as a lack of knowledge as reported by Zimmermann and Sparrow (2007, p. 84).

This complexity of the research environment surrounding the adaptation and acculturation of the individual are especially applicable within the work or organisational situation where factors such as the pressure of deadlines and the implementation of unknown processes may create additional insecurity for the individual. As previously indicated, the individual may also behave differently in varying situations, a factor which has been considered when categorising the interviews and results in some individuals receiving multiple categorisations. The categorisation considers the individuals in terms of increasing cultural understanding.

### **2.13 Support Mechanisms**

Individuals embarking on a new international assignment are not only confronted with many challenges regarding the roles and tasks to be performed within the new organisation (Nelson and Quick 1991, p. 543), but also resulting from the disruption or loss of their existing social support systems and their familiar means of social support communication (Ong and

Ward 2005, p. 638). The resulting uncertainty creates additional stress which may negatively affect the individual's psychological (Kuo and Tsai 1986, p. 134; Lewandowski et al. 2011, p. 1807; Wang 2002, p. 321; Wang and Kanungo 2004, p. 786) and physiological well-being (Marcelissen et al. 1988, p. 366; Uchino 2006). As self-initiated expatriation is often part of a long-term international career, the repeated change of location may have negative effects on individuals' lives such as in dual-career situations in which the partner's career is repeatedly interrupted (Mäkelä and Suutari 2013, p. 297). The social networks of self-initiated expatriates were often found to be weak and limited (Mäkelä and Suutari 2013, p. 296).

In order for the individual to make sense of and come to terms with the uncertainty arising from their own and others' behaviour, attitudes and actions (Adelman 1988, p. 185), and to be able to cope with the additional stress resulting from this major transition, they will attempt to establish a new social network composed of social ties with others and the ties among them (Gottlieb and Bergen 2010, p. 512) in the local environment (Adelman 1988, p. 193; Baumeister and Leary 1995, p. 520; Kuo and Tsai 1986, p. 134; Wang and Kanungo 2004, p. 786) to help mediate physical and psychological health over time (Fontaine 1986, p. 362; Wang 2002, p. 324). The network ties function by transferring either social support (positive function) consisting of care, love, information, technical assistance, and tangible help, or social strain (negative function) resulting from demanding or conflicting social relationships among partners in the network (Wang 2002, p. 324). Only if individuals are able to build new social networks on their own will they be in a position to access and receive the required emotional, informational and instrumental social support (Stroppa and Spieß 2011, p. 235).

The overall closeness and frequency of ties between the individual and his/her partners will indicate the level of establishment of the social network in the local society (Wang and Kanungo 2004, p. 778). This is an important consideration as social support has been found to reduce uncertainty and stress directly affecting an individual's job satisfaction (Beehr and Drexler 1986, p. 213) and job performance (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002; Wang 2002, p. 321). Although a large social network per se is not a guarantee for

a successful overseas assignment, it does provide an individual with greater access to support, which in turn should reduce the uncertainty and ambiguity surrounding the assignment and reduce the impact of the disruptive event (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002; Lewandowski et al. 2011, p. 1811; Wang 2002). In addition, individuals who demonstrate greater personal initiative on foreign assignments have been found to gain higher levels of access to co-workers, which also positively influences their job performance (Stroppa and Spieß 2011, p. 241; Wang 2002, p. 324). On the other hand, a lack of initiative to re-establish a social network in the local environment will be reflected in social network characteristics, such as small network size that will hinder the maintenance of psychological well-being (Wang 2002, p. 324).

As the majority of stress in an international assignment arises from the unfamiliarity with the local culture and environment, peer expatriates also form an important element of the social network (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002, p. 767). They can provide an important source of emotional and feedback support as individuals are able to exchange experiences possibly reducing levels of frustration (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002, p. 770; Wang and Kanungo 2004, p. 778) as network closeness with peer expatriates will provide trust, communication and emotional social support.

Addressing the question of what social support is, Gottlieb and Bergen (2010, p. 512) defined it as *"the social resources that persons perceive to be available or that are actually provided to them by non-professionals in the context of both formal support groups and informal helping relationships"*. It contrasts between close ties consisting of family, friends, comparable others, and loose ties consisting of non-intimate relationships (Adelman 1988, pp. 190-194) indicating the wide range of possible support providers. This results in an additional challenge for individuals to recognise who constitutes an appropriate support provider and the possible "costs" for receiving support, for example, loss of self-esteem, negative consequences for the relationship, incurring possible obligations (Adelman 1988, p. 186). The individual benefits not only from the received social support, but also from the perceived social support they believe would be available to them should they require it, irrespective of whether it has been previously

provided or not (Vangelisti 2009, p. 40; Weiner and Hannum 2013, p. 664). In an international context, Weiner and Hannum (2013, p. 668) reported that although geographic distance does not affect the amount of perceived support available to an individual, the amount of received support is reduced by geographical distance. This may be considered of particular significance as the local support network in the new country is considered to provide individuals with assistance regarding more critical tangible and intangible instrumental needs (Ong and Ward 2005, pp. 656-657) whereas emotional support and deeper more meaningful ties is considered to be more frequently provided by family, friends or suitable others overseas. The perception that support is available from family or friends overseas is often sufficient to enable an individual to feel capable of coping with the new international environment although one should be aware that there may be a resulting change in the home support network.

The literature demonstrates varying perspectives regarding the forms and functions of social network support. House (1981, p. 23) identified four forms of social support: emotional, appraisal, informational, and instrumental support. Marcelissen et al. (1988, p. 366) reported that support provided by colleagues and superiors may directly reduce certain work stressors while support provided by relationships with others may positively influence an individual's mental and physical health by meeting important human needs for affection, regard, belonging, and understanding.

Ong and Ward (2005, pp. 638-639) in their review of the research of Wellman and Hiscott (1985), and Vaux, Riedel and Stewart (1987) suggested four core functions of social support: emotional support; social companionship; tangible assistance; and informational support. At the core of each of these considerations is the beneficial effect of the social support networks for the individual although individuals' receipt, acceptance, and perception of the type and source of support has been contended to vary across cultures. These results may also have been influenced by cultural factors, however, as reported by Glazer (2006, p. 618), in autonomous cultures, supervisor emotional support is probably more accepted and thus reported more whereas co-worker instrumental support is not the norm and is thus not reported as received. Further support for the cultural influence

on social networks was provided by Manev and Stevenson (2001, p. 294) who reported that expatriate managers of the same nationality formed stronger expressive ties (friendship and social support) than with colleagues from different cultures with whom they were more likely to have strong instrumental ties.

Two models that consider the benefits of social support on individuals' well-being are reported in the literature (Cohen and Wills 1985, p. 310): the main-effect model, proposes that social resources have a beneficial effect irrespective of whether persons are under stress; the buffering model, proposes that support is related to well-being only (or primarily) for persons under stress as support "buffers" (protects) persons from the potentially pathogenic influences of stressful events (Marcelissen et al. 1988, p. 366). Cohen and Wills (1985, pp. 347-348), and Viswesvaran, Sanchez and Fisher (1999, p. 329) consider that there is sufficient evidence to support both models. Cohen and Wills (1985, p. 348), consider that both conceptualisations of social support may be correct in some respects, but that each represents a different process through which social support may affect well-being.

At the organisational level, socialisation is defined as "*the process by which employees are transformed from organisational outsiders to participating and effective members*" (Feldman 1981, p. 309). During this process the newcomer acquires the relevant knowledge, skills and behaviour required to enable them to successfully perform their role in the organisation as expected (Jokisaari 2013, p. 97). The lower a newcomer's network density, the higher his or her job performance (Jokisaari 2013, p. 101) possibly as low-density networks enable the individual to quickly obtain information and feedback regarding how work is carried out, therefore, positively influencing their job performance. Networks demonstrating close ties were considered to offer more social support to a newcomer who in turn "pays back" this support by an increased willingness to contribute to the work group characterised by strong ties (Jokisaari 2013, p. 101; Wellman and Frank 2001). In addition, research has demonstrated that the working relationship with the supervisor via the leader-membership exchange, is related to the individual's occupational identification and perceived organisational fit

(Sluss and Thompson 2012, p. 120) and their performance as a member of the organisation (Jokisaari 2013, p. 101).

### **Spouse / Family**

The literature provides no consistent opinion whether a single or married applicant is the best choice for an international position. Borrmann (1968, p. 35) considered that the single applicant offered the advantages of higher flexibility and lower expatriation costs whereby the married applicant, generally male at the time, offered the benefits of being able to represent the organisation together with the spouse, and benefitting from the expected greater mental balance. To ensure a successful assignment, however, the willingness of both partners to relocate should be taken into account (Brett and Stroh 1995; Dickmann et al. 2008, p. 733; Falkenberg and Monachello 1990; Harvey 1995; Linehan and Walsh 2000; Stahl, Miller and Tung 2002). In the case of self-initiated expatriates who were married or had children, consideration of the partner and/or children were an important element when accounting for the decision to expatriate, with parents, for example, considering the opportunity to enrich the cultural and general life experiences of their children, including linguistic development, broader social networks, and educational opportunities (Richardson 2006, p. 480). Family members were not only considered in taking the decision, but they took an active role in the decision-making process (Richardson 2006, p. 474). Self-initiated expatriates are able to take more account of family issues when planning their assignments, as they are not affected by the corporate needs of an employer (Richardson 2006); accordingly, they have more flexibility in selecting the location, timing and type of job they are interested in. This may in turn create a better starting point for any necessary family adjustment, despite the potential absence of corporate support.

In the case that a married candidate is selected for an international assignment, it has been recommended that the whole family should be considered a team and that at least the spouse's characteristics and ability to adopt should be investigated (Adler 1983, p. 37(Adler 1983, p. 37; Borrmann 1968, p. 35; Ronen 1989, p. 426; Tung 1981, p. 78). In addition,

organisations should put more emphasis on preparing spouses and families for international assignments (Takeuchi, Yun and Tesluk 2002, p. 664), including them in cross-cultural training programs (Arthur Jr and Bennett Jr 1995, p. 110; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, p. 574) and supporting them once in the foreign environment (Dickmann et al. 2008, p. 733; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, p. 574). Research has indicated that the adjustment of the family and spouse are particularly important to (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver 2006, p. 56; Arthur Jr and Bennett Jr 1995, p. 110) and positively and significantly correlated to the candidates' general adjustment (Black 1988, pp. 288-289), cultural adjustment (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2004, p. A4; 2005, p. 268; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, p. 570), interaction adjustment (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2004, p. A4; 2005, p. 268; Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003, p. 221; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, p. 570) as well as being positively related to their work adjustment (spillover effect between work and private areas) (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2004, p. A4; 2005, p. 268; Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003, p. 221; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999, p. 570). Mäkelä and Suutari (2013, p. 296) reported that working in an international context challenged both the self-initiated expatriates and their families as well as causing issues in other spheres of personal life. Conflicts were found to more frequently flow from their working life to their personal life than the other way round and were mainly related to the nature of the tasks performed by the self-initiated expatriates. Their findings also showed that self-initiated expatriates' work and personal lives had many positive influences on each other (enrichment). Self-initiated expatriates with a family described it as a source of emotional or practical support, whereas singles highlighted their independence and decision-making autonomy (Mäkelä and Suutari 2013, p. 298). Research of self-initiated academic expatriates in Asia indicated that a significant percentage of them were married to host-country nationals (Froese 2012; Froese and Peltokorpi 2013, pp. 1954-1955; Vance 2005) and that family ties facilitated their cross-cultural adjustment (Froese 2012) resulting in higher work performance than singles (Selmer and Luring 2011b). This is an important consideration for organisations as depending on the individuals' satisfaction with their current situation and ability to adjust to the foreign culture, the

crossover effects (the influences of a spouse's attitudes and behaviours on those of the expatriate and vice versa) can be either positive (more support is provided by the spouse to the expatriate) or negative (more stress is transmitted by the spouse to the expatriate) (Takeuchi, Yun and Tesluk 2002, p. 664) potentially influencing the outcome of the assignment. Here, organisations should be particularly aware of the fact that in the majority of international assignments involving families, it is generally the non-working spouse and/or children that must interact most frequently and intimately with the host culture while carrying out daily tasks such as shopping, obtaining necessary services, education and recreation (Fontaine 1986, p. 363). The employed spouse on the other hand has the benefit of participating in a structured work organisation that may not differ much from that at home (Fontaine 1986, p. 363). It is important, therefore, that not only the employed spouse is able to attain the skills required to adjust to the new environment, but the whole family possesses these skills to ensure that the assignment is not endangered (Black, Mendenhall and Oddou 1991, p. 295).

Traditionally, the majority of mobile families were nuclear and "headed" by male expatriates who were accompanied by the trailing female spouse (Forster 1992, p. 615). This was mirrored in the expatriate literature that had concentrated on the examination of the experience of "traditional" family structures of married couples or married couples with children (Richardson 2006, p. 477), but the increased diversity in family structure (Eaton and Bailyn 2000) means that other family forms must be considered. In recent years two developments have challenged the traditional notion of the family. The first is the increase in female expatriates resulting in the situation of the trailing male spouse (Brookfield Global Relocation Services 2010, p. 21; 2011, p. 26; Harvey and Wiese 1998, p. 362). The second is the increased number of dual-career / dual-income families in which both partners are involved in full-time employment (Bonache 2005, p. 111; Harvey 1997, pp. 627-628; Harvey and Moeller 2009, p. 280; Harvey and Wiese 1998, pp. 360-362; Moore 2002, p. 62; Munton et al. 1993, p. 56; Petrovic, Harris and Brewster 2000, p. 11; United States of America 2012, p. Table 601; Wierda-Boer, Gerris and Vermulst 2008, p. 1004), which are



common among self-initiated expatriates (Mäkelä and Suutari 2013, p. 285). This development has increased the pressure on the internationally active employee when considering whether to accept an international assignment (Brookfield Global Relocation Services 2010, p. 8; 2011, p. 10; Dowling, Festing and Engle 2008, p. 127; Harvey and Moeller 2009, p. 280; Harvey and Wiese 1998, pp. 363-364) as family interest and having partners may act as a barrier for both males and females to develop interest in overseas work (Tharenou 2003) with self-initiated expatriates in such relationships less willing to accept international assignments within multinational corporations (Selmer and Leung 2003b). Spouse-related job arrangements abroad, repatriation and related future career concerns are among the main challenges that cause stress for dual career couples (Harvey, Novicevic and Breland 2009; Harvey and Buckley 1998; Riusala and Suutari 2000). Should the working spouse agree to accompany the internationally active partner on an international assignment, they are not only faced with the challenges of adapting to the new environment, but also face the added difficulties of finding an adequate position for him/her (Riusala and Suutari 2000, p. 87). In the event that the spouse is unable to find an adequate new position, the individual may not only suffer from a feeling of guilt, built around the denied opportunity of playing a meaningful role in the family, but also from boredom due to the lack of an adequate occupation (Munton et al. 1993, p. 129). This is consistent with other research findings (Meyskens et al. 2009; Wong, Siu and Tsang 1999) that reported that married expatriates were more concerned with family issues and that non-married self-initiated expatriates were more geographically mobile and motivated to expatriate in order to change their lives (Crowley-Henry 2007; Selmer and Luring 2011a, p. 2064).

These are important considerations for organisations not only when selecting employees for international positions, but also when deciding to what degree additional support will be provided for accompanying family members and whether it would be beneficial to additionally provide job search support for spouses (Mäkelä, Käsälä and Suutari 2011, p. 188).

Research carried out by Välimäki, Lämsä and Hiillos (2009) on the male spouses of domestic, female Finnish executives suggested that spouses fall

into one of five roles. (1) The determining spouse is considered to have a guiding effect on the career decisions and moves of the partner, but not necessarily in a positive sense (Välimäki, Lämsä and Hiillos 2009, pp. 602-604). In this case, the work situation of one partner sets the boundaries for and takes priority over that of the other partner. (2) The supporting spouse provides active support to the partner and the relationship between the two parties is considered as equal and supportive (Välimäki, Lämsä and Hiillos 2009, pp. 604-605); work issues and challenges are discussed with the spouse who backs the partner at various career stages or during difficult decisions. (3) The instrumental spouse is used by the partner in some way to benefit their career, whether by providing a certain social image, financial security or a comfortable living environment (Välimäki, Lämsä and Hiillos 2009, pp. 605-606). (4) The flexible spouse is someone willing to put the partner's career before their own, if necessary, at the sacrifice of their own (Välimäki, Lämsä and Hiillos 2009, pp. 606-607). In some cases the spouse and partner made this choice by agreement in others it was made by the spouse of their own fruition. They also reported that some couples actively took it in turns taking on this role as work or career requirements dictated. (5) The counterproductive spouse, who has a negative, dismissive attitude to the partner's career (Välimäki, Lämsä and Hiillos 2009, pp. 607-608). Considering the fact that the project was investigating the behaviour of male spouses, it was suggested that this behaviour could be due to the male spouse being unable to accept the woman's status and income resulting in him feeling inferior to the wife. Rosin (1990, p. 176) had also previously reported that men may consider their sense of masculinity threatened and mentioned the suspicion that their failure as husbands had driven their wives to seek fulfilment in the work environment. Dissatisfaction could also be caused when the "*relationship contract*" consisting of the pre-marital assumptions held by the partners regarding the nature and structure of their future life together was broken (Rosin 1990, p. 177). This situation could occur irrespective of whether the initial assumption was that of a traditional family (e.g. broken by wife wishing to work) or that of a dual career family (e.g. broken by the wife wishing to stop working).

Mäkelä, Käsälä and Suutari (2011) investigated the applicability of these roles to those adopted by the spouses of expatriate dual-career couples. Their research differed from that carried out by Välimäki, Lämsä and Hiillos (2009) as they considered both male expatriates (approximately 60% ) and female expatriates (approximately 40%) (Mäkelä, Käsälä and Suutari 2011, p. 189). In addition, the international context of the assignments under consideration created greater challenges for the couples than the domestic environment of the previous project. They reported that they were able to confirm four of the five roles proposed by Välimäki, Lämsä and Hiillos (2009, pp. 602-608) (determining, supporting, instrumental, flexible), but that their sample did not provide any evidence for the counterproductive spouse role (Mäkelä, Käsälä and Suutari 2011, p. 190), instead, they found evidence of two new expatriate spouse roles. The first was the restricting spouse, who is considered to be similar to the counterproductive spouse, but whereas the counterproductive spousal role is formed at the attitudinal level, the restricting role is formed at a practical level (Mäkelä, Käsälä and Suutari 2011, p. 190). The second was the equal spouse in which the careers of both parties were given equal priority, which in some cases led to the two parties living in different countries (Mäkelä, Käsälä and Suutari 2011, p. 193). The two most common roles resulting from their study were the supporting spouse and the flexible spouse. The supporting spouse role was reported to be important during all phases of the assignment and the individual having been a major support during the relocation phase taking additional responsibility for the home and children and later as a *"friend and companion in the new environment"* (Mäkelä, Käsälä and Suutari 2011, p. 191). A further important extension of the original research was that the expatriates referred to more than one spousal role when talking about their spouse indicating that *"the role of the spouse is not simple, one-dimensional or dichotomic (negative or positive)"* (Mäkelä, Käsälä and Suutari 2011, p. 194).

Lauring and Selmer (2010) investigating the female spouses of Danish business expatriates living in a compound in Saudi Arabia reported that the gender roles of the families within the micro-culture of the compound *"resembled their parents' life in the 1960s"* with the wife tending the

household and looking after the children and the male taking on the role of the bread-winner (Lauring and Selmer 2010, p. 63). Despite the fact that they felt uncomfortable about being unproductive and lacking freedom and challenges, they appeared to enjoy the “perks” of the position and the relaxed lifestyle. Despite the fact that the spouses demonstrated clear supporting behaviour emphasised by their networking and social alliancing skills, they wanted to ensure that their husbands respected the sacrifice they had made by accompanying them (Lauring and Selmer 2010, p. 63) and considered that their husbands would not have been able to function so well in the workplace had they not provided them with their support and the company should be thankful for their effort (Lauring and Selmer 2010, p. 64). They added, however, that the main reason for supporting their husbands was the fact that they were improving their own social and economic position, indicating a more self-aware and almost self-centred interpretation of their involvement.

Companies and spouses can potentially collaborate to reduce the potential problems resulting from the threatened isolation of accompanying and employed spouse on an international assignment (Brown 2008, p. 1030). The spouse can be encouraged to actively re-build social networks, and the company can provide assistance by sponsoring couples’ memberships of local expatriate and social organizations, both of which would enable the spouse to increase the quantity and quality of face-to-face communication.

### **Communication/Internet**

Although face-to-face interactions are generally considered the preferred mode of interaction (Lewandowski et al. 2011, p. 1811; Weiner and Hannum 2013, p. 663) capable of transmitting the most intimacy (Daft and Lengel 1986) and allowing for joint activities to occur most easily, new communication technologies are changing the way people interact (Kline and Liu 2005, p. 368). Expatriates can attempt to remain in contact with their existing home social support network using telephone, fax or computer-mediated communication (Daniels and Insch 1998; Parks and Floyd 1996; Stafford, Kline and Dimmick 1999), although this is not considered helpful in all situations as the extent of received support is

hampered by the long distance (Weiner and Hannum 2013, p. 668; Wellman and Wortley 1990, p. 570). In the absence of face-to-face interaction, telephone, email, mail, instant messenger, and web video services have been reported as communication forms used to remain in contact with family members (Kline and Liu 2005, p. 378) and email and computer-mediated communication considered suitable for social interaction and developing personal relationships (Kline and Liu 2005, p. 372).

Email and computer-mediated communication are considered suitable means to remain in contact with people further afield (Walther and Parks 2002, p. 545) and to maintain social networks (DiMaggio et al. 2001, pp. 318-319). Email has been considered to have a positive effect on people's social networks (Franzen 2000, pp. 434-435) as it is cost efficient, faster than postal mail, and does not require synchronization, as telephone conversations do. An instantaneous response is generally not required allowing individuals to produce a "perfect" reply rather than having to respond "off the cuff" (McKenna and Bargh 2000, p. 60). On the other hand, telephone communication was considered superior to email for sociability gratifications (Dimmick, Kline and Stafford 2000, p. 240) enabling individuals to establish and sustain close personal relationships (Bargh and McKenna 2004, p. 579), a factor that can also be achieved through social media and video-conferencing. Although computer-mediated communication is generally considered more convenient, conscious decisions are made in the selection of the appropriate medium for specific situations.

Weiner and Hannum (2013, p. 669) reported that the level of perceived social support did not differ between long-distance and geographically close friends, and that despite the fact that long-distance friendships have different social support dynamics than geographically close friendships, they can still be valuable, supportive relationships within a larger social network (Weiner and Hannum 2013, p. 669). Their research also indicated that should individuals attempt to access the perceived support available from long-distance network members, they could be confronted with a gap between expectations and available help whereby, informational and instrumental support are more strongly affected than emotional support.

As well as providing possible adaptive support by furnishing the assignee with access to host country information prior to commencing the assignment, and social support by the home support network during the assignment, it can be inferred that the internet and social media sites may also have a negative influence on the acculturation process similar to living in a cultural ghetto (Ward et al. 1998, p. 281). In this case it is purported that individuals retreat into a virtual cultural "bubble" allowing continued contact with the home culture, which reduces the degree of dependency on the local environment and the need to adapt.

## **2.14 Conclusion**

The literature review has set the context of the research, raising important questions for both organisations and academia. Providing an understanding of the "context and narrative resources" it discusses the factors indicted in the substantive and theoretical coding that represent the resources used by individuals to construct the narratives describing their understanding of their position within both the ingroup and the dominant outgroup. The "narrative development" describes those elements that enable the individual to make sense of their position and to come to terms with the potential dissonance and resulting acculturation stress. The factors considered important for the potential outcome of the acculturation process were discussed in the "narrative and situational understanding" providing an understanding of assignment failure and the importance of the social support networks to the positive outcome of the assignment.

## **Chapter 3      Research Methodology**

The methodology chapter serves to explain and justify the methodological approaches employed. The research design process implemented is illustrated in Fig. 9 and serves as a roadmap for this and the following chapters.

This research investigates how individual expatriates, who have chosen to work for SMEs in Germany, perceive, make sense of and respond to their new cultural context. The focus of the research lies, therefore, in the individual's personal understanding of the situation and considers that culture "*is best understood as an interconnected whole or system*" (Morris et al. 1999, p. 782). The underlying requirement to understand the individuals' positions requires an empathetic stance to understand the differences between the positions taken, resulting in an interpretivism epistemology (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, pp. 106-107). As each individual enters their particular situation with a unique combination of knowledge, experience and psychological ability they will make-sense of and react to situations differently, each constructing their own reality, which changes over time as knowledge and experience are added, indicating a social constructivist position of a subjectivist ontology (Crotty 1998, p. 58; Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, pp. 13-14).

### **3.1      Philosophical Research Position**

The research methodology considers the philosophical research position assumed, and the way the world is viewed (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, p. 101). It addresses questions concerning what constitutes acceptable knowledge (epistemology) and the nature of reality (ontology) (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell 2012, pp. 16-18) providing the foundation for the selection of an appropriate research method (see 4.1 for details on the selected Grounded Theory Approach).

Considerations regarding the methodology originate in the aim(s) of the research, which in this case is: to understand how individual expatriates,

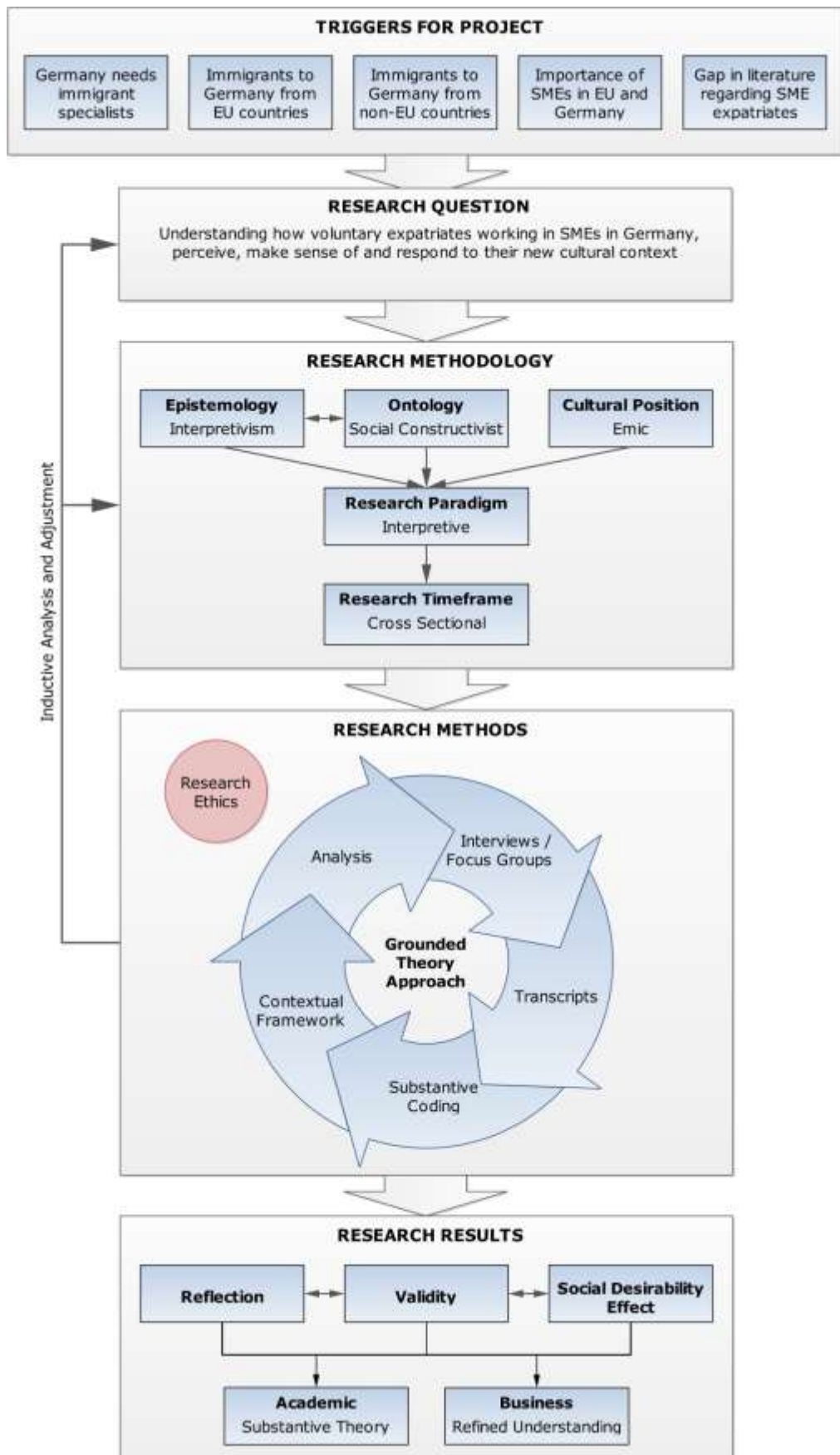


Fig. 9: Research Design



who have made the choice to work in SMEs in Germany, perceive, make sense of and respond to their new cultural context. The first implication of this statement is that each situation is a function of the unique combination of interacting circumstances and individuals. This requires the researcher to understand the differences between the individuals involved and the roles they play as social actors (Schwandt 1994, p. 118), indicating an interpretivism epistemological position (Bryman and Bell 2007, pp. 17-21; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, pp. 106-107). Although critical realism rejects the universal claims to truth proposed by positivism (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p. 11; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, pp. 104-106), its claim that the world is observable and independent of the human consciousness renders it an unsuitable epistemological position for this research as insufficient emphasis is given to the individual's understanding and sensemaking process.

A further implication is that as each individual's understanding is shaped by their own knowledge, experiences and psychological ability, there is no overarching singular understanding of reality. Consequently, multiple understandings of reality are created resulting from each individual's perception and sensemaking of their situation (Guba and Lincoln 1989, p. 86). In addition, the situation is not considered to be final and static, but in constant flux as individuals' understanding, sensemaking ability and reaction to particular situations change with increasing knowledge and experience, indicating a subjectivist ontology (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, pp. 13-14; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, pp. 106-107). Further, it considers that each individual makes-sense of a situation depending on their own unique position and set of characteristics rather than submitting to the constraints of an external overriding culture indicating a social constructivist ontological position rather than a social constructionist position, which would focus on the "*collective generation and transmission of meaning*" (Crotty 1998, p. 58; Patton 2002, pp. 96-101).

Despite the fact that the epistemological and ontological orientations of the research have been considered separately, they are in fact interrelated with the resulting research methods in the concept of research paradigms (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p. 13). Concomitant with the interpretive

epistemology and social constructivist ontology, the research is considered located in the interpretive paradigm (Burrell and Morgan 1979, pp. 28-32). The underlying requirement to understand the world as it is within the frame of reference of the individual as a conscious participant are constituent properties of the previous discussion.

Although the paradigm concept lends itself to the pigeon-holing of research within exclusive theoretical "boxes" it should be remembered that social science research does not automatically lend itself to the corset like restrictions of an individual paradigm. As stated by Deetz (1996, p. 191), rather than the dimensions of the paradigm being used as a means of classification, they should be used as a way of focussing attention on the requirements of the project.

This standpoint releases the research from possible restrictions resulting from current theory and enables it to be approached from a pseudo-neutral perspective enabling the determination of possible new theoretical perspectives.

### **3.2 Research Timeframe**

The aim of the research is to determine the individuals' current understanding of and reaction to their situation as a 'snapshot' rather than accompanying them over a period of time to investigate the development of their understanding and behaviour, therefore, a cross-sectional design is selected (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, p. 148). As the research is exploratory, investigating possible extensions to and deviations from existing theory, it implements a cross-sectional (Bryman and Bell 2007, pp. 55-59) purposive sample (Kumar 2011; Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, pp. 178-180) rather than a statistically representative sample of the whole population.

The study is, therefore, cross-sectional in terms of both the study sample and the time of investigation.

## **Chapter 4      Research Method**

The research method chapter serves to explain and justify the research methods implemented. In line with the research methodology selected, a grounded theory approach (Glaser 1978; Glaser and Strauss 1967) has been chosen as the overarching research method.

Data collection was carried out using a combination of a standardised, self-administered questionnaire (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, pp. 356-357) to gather generic information regarding the interview partners, and semi-structured interviews supported by a general interview guide as a road-map or aide-mémoire (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 474; Patton 2002, pp. 343-344) to collect the qualitative narrative data. The open interview framework was supported using additional probing questions to gain a deeper understanding of influencing incidents from the respondents (Butterfield et al. 2005; Fitzgerald and Dopson 2009, p. 479; Flanagan 1954). This increased the complexity of interpreting the interview results, but also increased the richness of the data obtained. Focus groups were then used to investigate the theoretical saturation achieved (Charmaz 2006, pp. 113-115; Glaser and Strauss 1967, pp. 61-62) and the theories obtained through the interviews.

### **4.1      Grounded Theory Approach**

In order to reflect the interpretivism epistemology and the subjective, social constructivism ontology it follows that an inductive, inclusive research method is required, which will allow theories to emerge from the data rather than being formed by prior knowledge or bias. A grounded theory approach within the social constructivist ontology has, therefore, been selected, which allows the development of theory from the data, and the simultaneous involvement of the data collection and the data analysis in the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The term approach is used deliberately as the method implemented does not adhere strictly to the traditional position formulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) or the later developments proposed by Glaser (1978), Strauss and Corbin (1990) or Charmaz (2006), but uses selected procedures and analysis techniques

form the grounded theory method. The method implemented, however, leans toward the original theory proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and continued by (Glaser 1978) rather than the more systematic, verification oriented approach suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1990; 1998), or that of Charmaz (2006). This position, however, raises the question whether this is still grounded theory or rather qualitative data analysis.

Although much literature has been produced to either support constructivism grounded theory (Bryant 2007; Charmaz 2006; Mills, Bonner and Francis 2006a; 2006b) or to refute its possibility (Glaser 2002; 2007; 2012; Glaser and Holton 2007), no side has been able to convincingly win the debate as yet, possibly because each has their own merits depending on the situation in which grounded theory is used, and the skill of the researcher involved. Rather than enter into this academic confrontation, the discussion here will be restricted to providing an understanding of the position taken.

The original grounded theories were constructed under consideration of the prevailing philosophical research paradigms of their time, and are generally considered to take a post-positivist position with Strauss and Corbin (1990; 1998) also demonstrating constructionism tendencies (Annells 1996, p. 391; Birks and Mills 2011, pp. 7-8; Mills, Bonner and Francis 2006b, p. 28). The post-positive position reforms the traditional version of positivism by taking into account the fact that it is not possible to wholly separate the observer from the observed, and by questioning the idea of a shared, single reality (Crotty 1998, pp. 29-41; Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, pp. 18-19). It accepts the fact that discretionary judgement is unavoidable and infers that "*scientists actively construct knowledge rather than noting laws that are found in nature*" (Crotty 1998, pp. 30-31). That being said, with its roots in positivism, it still considers that it is possible to use empirical evidence to test hypotheses and distinguish plausible claims (Patton 2002, pp. 92-93) retaining the research concerns centred on validity, reliability and objectivity of the data obtained.

In grounded theory, qualitative methods are generally implemented, which result in the interaction of the researcher and the subject. It is not possible

for a researcher to enter a new project and claim they are completely free from the influence of past experience and reading (Heath and Cowley 2004, p. 143) and as stated by Birks and Mills (2011, p. 11) "*researchers are a sum of all they have experienced*". The unaware researcher is also not a prerequisite for embarking on grounded theory research. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 46) considered that "*the sociologist should be sufficiently theoretically sensitive so that he can conceptualise and formulate a theory as it emerges from the data*". Theoretical sensitivity was considered to involve the researchers personal and temperamental "bent" and their "*ability to have theoretical insight into his area of research, combined with an ability to make something of his insights*". They did not expect the researcher to divest themselves of all previous knowledge, but rather to use it to enable them to "*[generate] specific theory if, after study of the data, the fit and relevance to the data are emergent*" (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p. 46). Similar considerations then followed in the work of Glaser who considered that "*sensitivity is necessarily increased by being steeped in the literature that deals with both the kinds of variables and their associated general ideas that will be used*" (Glaser 1978, p. 3). He does, however, place a caveat on this statement explaining that it is acceptable to read generally around the topic prior to emergence, but that "*scholarship in the same area starts after the emerging theory is sufficiently developed so the theory will not be preconceived by pre-empting concepts*" (Glaser 1978, p. 31). These statements indicate that the researcher can use previously obtained knowledge and experience within the realms of the project. This would infer that the potential use of deduction has been accepted and that the categorisation and emergence of theory is not necessarily a purely inductive process. Further, even if the researcher only reads around the subject, this may provide sufficient bias to influence the position the researcher takes when interpreting the data. Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 42) take a more liberal stance regarding the inclusion of the literature in the research process as they consider that theoretical sensitivity comes from the literature, including readings on theory and research of various kinds. Although they provide the caveat that one should not be so steeped in the literature as to be constrained by it as this may impede the discovery process (Strauss and Corbin 1990, pp. 49-50), they consider it a useful tool

to stimulate theoretical sensitivity, as a secondary source of data and to stimulate questions as well as direct the theoretical sampling (Strauss and Corbin 1990, pp. 50-53). This leaves the original grounded theory path and also indicates a deviation from the pure inductive path as the knowledge gained may in fact influence the researchers interpretation of the data gathered. Emerging theories may be adapted by previous knowledge rather than accepting the implications of the data, especially if the data from the current project indicates a deviation from the currently accepted theoretical path. Epistemologically, this would support constructivism, which emphasizes the subjective interrelationship between the researcher and participant, and the co-construction of meaning (Mills, Bonner and Francis 2006b, p. 26).

Guba and Lincoln (1989, p. 43) consider constructivism a research paradigm that denies the existence of an objective reality, asserting instead that "*realities are social constructions of the mind*". Previous consideration of the co-construction of data and theory by the researcher and the researched has been carried out at the concrete level, with deduction being carried out after the data collection has been carried out.

Considering the constructivist concept at a more abstract level, it could be considered that the interviewee and the researcher, even in a passive listening interview, are actually constructing the interview data as part of an unintentional, inert negotiation process in which the interviewee attempts to recount the features deemed pertinent to the interviewer in the current interview context (Riessman 1993, pp. 8-11). Not only could the interviewer potentially enter the interview with bias preconceptions of the project and the interview partner, but also the interviewee may have preconceptions regarding which information they are willing to share and subconsciously how they are willing to present themselves (identity work). The interview would, therefore, be arranged between the positions taken by the two parties. This is again indicative of a social constructivist ontological position, as the two parties are involved in constructing a reality, which each will understand with respect to their own set of knowledge and experience. Even if the resulting interview data is accepted without value or judgment and becomes part of the constant comparative analysis process, further

deduction is carried out during the analysis phases as the researcher attempts to make sense of the information and recognise the theories that "emerge from the data" (Glaser 1978, pp. 37-38; Glaser and Strauss 1967, p. 41).

As the interviews in this research were carried out using a general interview guide, used only to provide a general thematic direction for the interviews, the concern demonstrated by Glaser (2012, p. 30) that the data gathered may be the result of interview bias forcing and forming the interview to suit the guide is no further valid than in the case of the "*passive, non-structured interviewing or listening of the [grounded theory] interview-method*" he recommends.

The consideration that a constructivist position is used to avoid confrontation with researcher bias raised by Glaser (2012, p. 30) also does not apply in this case. The researcher's own position has been described reflexively providing the reader with sufficient insight into possible bias and influencing of research results to enable them to make an educated interpretation of the reported outcomes.

A further point of contention, and reason for leaning toward the original grounded theory of Glaser and Strauss (1967) lies in the coding process. Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 58) adapted the original version of grounded theory to implement a rigid three stage systematic coding process, which has moved the process away from the original concept of emergence (Goulding 2009, p. 384) to a "*process of analysing the data*" (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p. 61). Due to the interpretive, social constructivist nature of the research, the emergent coding process is considered to provide more freedom for theory to emerge and the least possibility for influencing the data, while at the same time accepting that theory creating will take place jointly between the interviewee (providing the raw data) and the researcher who is supporting the emergence process.

The research standpoint selected released it from possible restrictions resulting from current theory and enabled it to be approached from a pseudo-neutral perspective enabling the emergence of possible new

theoretical perspectives. On the other hand, the resulting substantive theories are grounded in the data used to determine them and are not generalizable or universally applicable without further research.

## **4.2 Interviews and Focus Groups**

As previously indicated, data collection was carried out using a combination of a standardised, self-administered questionnaire (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, pp. 356-357) to gather generic information regarding the interview partners, and semi-structured interviews supported by a general interview guide as a road-map or aide-mémoire (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 474; Patton 2002, pp. 343-344) to collect the qualitative, narrative data.

The standardised, self-administered questionnaire (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, pp. 356-357) was used to obtain information relating to the individuals' generic information such as age, nationality, language ability. The questionnaire (Section I of Appendix 3) was sent to the interviewees together with project information and the interview framework (Section II of Appendix 3) once initial interest in taking part in the research had been signalled. The interviewees generally returned the completed questionnaire at the time of the interview. This process was implemented for two reasons: 1. To provide the individuals with information regarding the research and the areas of general interest prior to finally agreeing to take part in the project; 2. To avoid using the precious interview time to obtain general information regarding the interview partners.

There are many definitions of an interview depending on the period in which the definition was developed and the research methodology implemented by the researcher. Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008, p. 78) define qualitative interviews, as *"research vehicles, the purpose of which is to produce empirical materials for the study in question"* indicating an objective, positivistic research position. Czarniawska (2004b, p. 49) provides a more subjective, interpretivistic understanding as she defines an interview as *"an interaction that becomes recorded, or inscribed, and this is what it stands for"* further explaining that *"what people present in the interviews is but the results of their perception, their interpretation of the world, which is of*



*extreme value to the researcher because one may assume that it is the same perception that informs their actions*". This definition forms a basis of understanding for this research.

Qualitative interviews have been categorised in a variety of ways. Alvesson and Ashcraft (2012, pp. 241-244) differentiate between neo-positivism, romanticism, localism and reflexivism; Silverman (2011, pp. 168-186) between positivism, emotionalism and constructionism; Noaks and Wincup (2004, p. 80) structured, semi-structured and open-ended interviews; and Bryman and Bell (2007, pp. 473-481) differentiate between structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. The determining factors for the selection of the most appropriate interview style, however, are the aims of the research and the resulting methodology. The interviewee's perception and sensemaking of their current situation are central to this research; the interpretivist, social constructivist methodology together with the grounded theory approach implemented indicated the requirement for a high degree of flexibility to allow the interview to follow the emergent paths and provide rich, detailed answers (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 474). In order to understand the interviewee's position, it was of advantage to build a rapport with the person to enable them to "*construct their social world*" (Silverman 2011, p. 169) and collaborate with the interviewer to co-construct knowledge in an authentic dialogue (Alvesson and Ashcraft 2012, pp. 142-143). In order to achieve the required flexibility the interviews demonstrated a low degree of structure, allowing new perspectives and areas of interest to emerge and develop (Alvesson and Ashcraft 2012, p. 248). The resulting interview form implemented was the semi-structured interview (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 474) in which a list of topics, themes or general questions are prepared in the form of an interview framework (Part II of Appendix 3). This allows the researcher to retain the flexibility to deviate from the guide and follow the interviewee's conversation resulting in an almost informal, conversational approach (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, p. 82). The open interview framework was supported using additional probing questions to gain a deeper understanding of influencing incidents from the respondents (Butterfield et al. 2005; Fitzgerald and Dopson 2009, p. 479; Flanagan 1954).

This approach also conformed to the requirements of the grounded theory approach taken (Birks and Mills 2011, pp. 74-75; Charmaz 2006, pp. 25-29) as it enabled in-depth interviews, supported the emergent nature of the process and allowed the interview guide or aide-mémoire to develop as the interviews were progressed.

After completion of the interviews, two focus groups were carried out to investigate the theoretical saturation achieved (Charmaz 2006, pp. 113-115; Glaser and Strauss 1967, pp. 61-62), and test the theories obtained through the constant comparative method. Krueger and Casey (2009, p. 6) defined the focus group with respect to its five typical characteristics:

*(1) People, who (2) possess certain characteristics, (3) provide qualitative data, (4) in a focused discussion, (5) to help understand the topic of interest*

The focus groups were considered an extension of the interview process (Birks and Mills 2011, pp. 76-77), requiring the same level of flexibility and rapport between the researcher and participants as the individual interviews. Deep, rich data was obtained by supplementing the focus group interview with additional probing questions to gain a deeper understanding of influencing incidents from the respondents (Kandola 2012, pp. 268-269). The focus group participants were again furnished with the interview framework as a reminder of the potential topics of discussion and as an aide-mémoire for them regarding the content of their individual interviews. Additional effort was required on the part of the moderator to ensure that the participants understood that the focus group was a discussion and not a platform to be dominated by individuals (Krueger 1998, pp. 21-23; Krueger and Casey 2009, pp. 97-98). Additionally, the researcher's role as a facilitator, moderating the discussion and asking provocative, open questions in an attempt to add richness to the data (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, pp. 183-184; Krueger 1998, pp. 5-6) was explained to the participants.

The potential dangers of focus groups are, in many respects, similar to those of interviews, but may be magnified due to the group influence. One

possible danger is that individuals may make up answers rather than provide the truth (Krueger and Casey 2009, p. 14), as individuals do not want to embarrass themselves in front of the group or are busy carrying out identity work. As the focus group members were selected from the previous interview partners, and the moderator of the focus group was the researcher who carried out the interviews, any change in character or direction would have been visible to the researcher and could be questioned during the analysis process.

This research process was intended to release the project from possible restrictions resulting from current theory and to enable deep, rich data to be achieved from a pseudo-neutral perspective.

### **4.3 Sampling Strategy**

Consistent with the aims of the research, the unit of analysis selected was the individual (Patton 2002, p. 228), a fact that together with the research methodology and design, influenced the sampling strategy and sample size required.

In qualitative research, a sample is selected on the premise that it meets the needs of the project and enables the researcher to collect the appropriate data to fulfil its aims (Alvesson and Ashcraft 2012, pp. 246-247; Saunders 2012, pp. 38-39). Generally, qualitative research focusses on collecting deep, rich data to gain in-depth knowledge about a particular situation or characteristic (Kumar 2011, p. 192) from a relatively small sample, selected using non-probabilistic methods of selection purposefully (Patton 2002, p. 230) rather than the probability sampling techniques primarily used in quantitative studies (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009). The strengths of qualitative sampling, therefore, coincide with the 'bias' or 'weakness' considerations in quantitative sampling (Patton 2002, p. 230).

Non-probability sampling techniques can be broadly divided into four groups (Bryman and Bell 2007, pp. 497-502; Saunders 2012, p. 41):

1. Quota sampling: used as a substitute for a probabilistic sample

2. Purposive sampling: participants are chosen on the basis of judgement
3. Snowball or self-selecting sampling: where participants volunteer
4. Haphazard sampling: participants are included for convenience

Qualitative research generally requires that the researcher has closer interaction with the research subjects. Selection of a sample may, therefore, be strongly influenced by a gatekeeper's interest in the project, and willingness to grant access to the organisation (Saunders 2012, pp. 36-37). Other factors that may influence sample selection are availability of individuals deemed to have sufficient experience or knowledge of a particular situation or episode, and how typical or different a particular case is to the category of individuals being investigated (Kumar 2011, p. 192).

In the particular case of the grounded theory approach, the sample selection, coding and initial analysis are carried out concurrently within the constant comparative analysis (Morse 2012, p. 235). This implicates, that it is not possible to select all of the interview candidates in advance as the required profiles of the interviewees' are determined by the ongoing analysis. The original grounded theory research concentrated on the use of theoretical sampling, which was defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 45) and Glaser (1978, p. 36) as:

*the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly, collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges*

Later grounded theory researchers (Charmaz 2006, p. 100; Morse 2012, p. 235) considered that sampling schemes change dynamically with the development of the research. Morse (2012, pp. 235-241) described the sampling strategy moving through a four stage process commencing with convenience sampling of individuals who are available and have experienced the phenomena under investigation. Once the general trajectory or process has been identified, the sampling strategy changes to a purposeful or

purposive strategy in which individuals are selected that fulfil the requirements indicated by the analysis of the initial interviews. In the third stage, theoretical sampling is implemented to enable individuals to be selected that fulfil the needs of the emerging concepts and theories. In the final stage, theoretical group interviews (focus groups) are used to expand on and verify the emerging model.

Although this model diverges from the original grounded theory method, it formed the basis for the sampling strategy implemented in this research. One deviation is, however, that focus group members were not provided with a presentation of the ongoing analysis as suggested by Morse (2012, p. 241), as it was considered important not to influence the conversation and to allow categories and theories to emerge from the data.

In qualitative research there are no general rules stipulating the required sample size for particular project types (Kumar 2011, p. 192; Patton 2002, p. 244). Saunders (2012, p. 45) provided some guidance for sample design based on the aggregated results of previous research projects (Table 6).

<b>Original Source</b>	<b>Nature of Study</b>	<b>Min. Size (Range)</b>
Bertaux (1981)	Qualitative	15
Kvale and Brinkmann (2009)	Interviews	5-25
Bernard (2000); Morse (1994)	Ethnographic	35-36
Creswell (1998); Morse (1994)	Grounded Theory	20-35
Creswell (1998); Morse (1994)	Phenomenological	5-25
Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006); Kuzel (1992); Romney, Weller and Batchelder (1986)	Homogeneous Population	4-12
Creswell (2007); Kuzel (1992)	Heterogeneous Population	12-30

Table 6: Minimum Non-Probability Sample Size  
(Saunders 2012, p. 45)

The sample size depends on the requirements of the project and the quality of the data obtained: in-depth information from a small number of participants can be very valuable, especially if the cases are information rich

(Patton 2002, p. 244); less depth from a larger number of people can be especially helpful in exploring a phenomenon and trying to document diversity or understand variation. Generally, in qualitative research, data collection ceases when either no, or negligible new information is gleaned from additional interviews (Kumar 2011, p. 192). In the grounded theory approach, this is the point where categories are considered 'theoretically saturated' (Charmaz 2006, p. 113; Glaser 1978, p. 71; Glaser and Strauss 1967, pp. 61-62), which was originally defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 61) as when "*no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category*". This infers that if more data is analysed, the emerging theory would not be influenced.

As with the required number of interviews, there are no general recommendations for the number and size of focus groups required for a study. Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008, p. 181) reported that a focus group can consist of between two and 12 people, depending on the topic and goals of the study. Krueger and Casey (2009, p. 67) considered the ideal focus group size to be five to eight participants for non-commercial projects, with larger groups possible for commercial projects. In general, the size of the focus group will, however, depend on factors relating to the nature and complexity of the topic being investigated and the characteristics of the intended participants (Kandola 2012, p. 260; Krueger and Casey 2009) such as: the purpose of the study; the complexity of the topic; participants' level of experience or expertise; participants' level of passion about the topic; the number of questions to be covered. If the topic being investigated is complex, the participants more experienced and passionate, and the aim of the study is to understand a particular purpose or issue, the size of the focus group will be small. This is also reflected in the increasing popularity of small and mini focus groups consisting of four to six participants (Krueger and Casey 2009, p. 67). These groups are considered easier to recruit, and host, but additionally to be more comfortable and familiar for the participants.

The interview sampling strategy implemented in this research centred on its goals, and fulfilled the general requirements of the above grounded theory sampling strategy. The general selection requirements employed were that:

the individuals were non-German; who, rather than being sent by an organisation, made a conscious decision; to work for an SME; in Germany. For this research an SME was defined as a company employing less than 250 full-time equivalent employees. As financial information is not readily obtainable, especially for smaller not publicly registered companies, the financial restrictions included in the EU definition of an SME were not applied. No restrictions were made regarding the age or nationality of the individuals. Nineteen interviews were carried out with participants generally selected from the Munich area of Germany as this location was easily accessible for the researcher. Two interviews were carried out, however, with participants from outside of Munich (one individual in Berlin, and one in Karlsruhe) who demonstrated particularly interesting characteristics. The generic data of the interview participants is provided in Appendix 5. Under consideration of the research aims, and the grounded theory approach taken, the number of interviews carried out is considered to be adequate to provide reliable data.

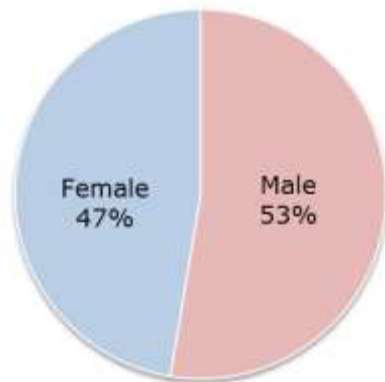


Fig. 10: Interview Partners (Gender)

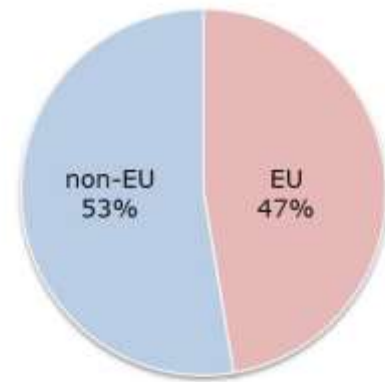


Fig. 11: Interview Partners (EU)

The initial categorisation of the interview partners was by gender (Fig. 10): 47% (9 from 19) of the participants were female and 53% (10 from 19) were male. A further categorisation according to whether the participant's country of origin was an EU-country (Fig. 11) indicated that 47% of the participants originated from EU countries and 53% from non-EU countries.

The co-categorisation of gender and country of origin (Fig. 12) indicated an

apparent imbalance towards non-EU female participants (37%), and EU male participants (37%) within the sample. This resulted from a bias in the sample population and the constant comparative analysis carried out. This imbalance is intended to be addressed in future research projects.

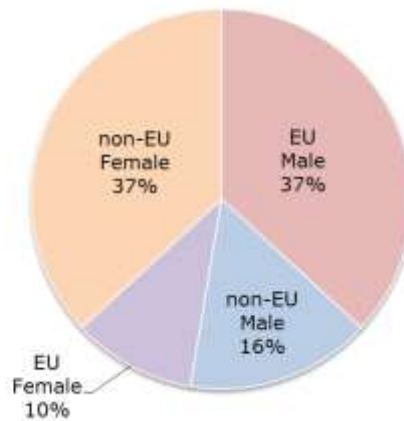


Fig. 12: Interview Participants (Gender - EU)

The initial two interviews were carried out with individuals who generally fulfilled the requirements of the research aims and were personally known to the researcher, demonstrating a convenience sampling strategy. Thereafter, a purposive, theoretical sampling strategy was used to improve the quality of the emerging theories. These interview candidates were sourced, by directly contacting companies known to employ individuals fulfilling the required profile; direct contact with consultants such as tax-advisors, supporting individuals with the required profile; open requests for assistance on internet platforms such as Toytown, Internations, Xing, LinkedIn; direct contact at networking events with international participants carried out in Munich. Despite providing a detailed description of the project requirements, the vast majority of offers of participation received via the internet platforms were not suitable as the individuals were employed in companies exceeding the maximum size set for inclusion. Although a common strategy to obtain larger numbers of interview participants, a snowball sampling strategy (Patton 2002, p. 237) was not implemented due to the nature of the research, and to reduce the possibility of the sample being influenced by a particular group of individuals.



In the final stage, mini-focus groups were used to investigate the theoretical saturation achieved, and to test the theories obtained from the individual interviews. This decision was supported by the requirement to obtain deep rich data from the focus group participants, who were considered to be experienced and generally passionate regarding the topic under investigation.

No.	Group Participants
FG-01	Isabella Emily Leah Logan
FG-02	Vicky Zoe Hannah

Table 7: Focus Group Participants

Two focus groups were carried out (Table 7): FG-01 consisted of four participants plus the moderator (researcher); FG-02 consisted of three participants plus the moderator (researcher) as one individual became sick and it was not possible to obtain a suitable replacement within the available time. This was not considered to negatively impact the quality of the group, as the group members demonstrated varying profiles and its main aims were not negatively influenced. The focus group participants had all previously provided individual interviews. No new individuals were included. This decision has been made as part of a purposeful sampling strategy.

#### **4.4 Data Collection**

Primary data was collected in the form of standard questionnaires to obtain generic interviewee data, and semi-structured individual interviews to obtain the data for the main body of the research. Adequate steps were taken to protect individuals' identities and to protect the data (see 4.6.7 Research Considerations).

Seventeen interviews were carried out face-to-face; two interviews were carried out using the internet conferencing tool Skype. Participants in face-

to-face interviews were allowed to decide whether they would be conducted at their place of work or at a neutral location, to enable them to feel comfortable during the interview process. In all cases, the interviews were carried out in closed rooms and only the researcher and the interviewee were present. The room used was prepared prior to the arrival of the interview candidate to avoid increasing the potential stress for the individual. Distracting material was removed from tables and desks.

The Skype interviews were carried out as audio interviews and the interviewer was alone in a closed office: in both cases the interviewees were alone at home.

Prior to the interviews taking place, the researcher obtained written confirmation from the participants that they were in agreement to the interview taking place and being recorded (Appendix 4). All of the interview participants agreed. Digital recording was selected as the main means of data collection as it enabled the researcher to concentrate fully on the flow of the interview and to react when changes of direction were signalled by the interview participant or particularly interesting points were made, rather than concentrating on taking quality notes of the ensuing conversation (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 489). An alternative would have been to employ a second researcher to concentrate on note-taking, but this would have created a misbalance in the interview, removing the required discussion characteristic, and moving it to an observer-observed situation. A further advantage obtained from recording the interview was that the verbatim interview was available during the whole period of the research project enabling the researcher to revisit the material as required. The use of voice recording devices does not only have advantages. One question that has been raised is whether their use influences the ensuing discussion or behaviour of interview participants (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, p. 334; Warren 2001, p. 91) as they are moved from passive vessels of answers to constructors of reality (Gubrium and Holstein 2001, pp. 13-14), but one could equally question whether the interviewer themselves are affected by the interaction. The literature does not provide a clear answer to these questions, it remains important, therefore, for the interviewer to be aware of these topics and react to accounts that may not appear consistent.

The interviews were recorded using two digital voice recorders; one degree of redundancy was used in an attempt to avoid some of the common problems encountered in this process, such as data loss due to equipment malfunction or empty batteries (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 490; Fisher and Buglear 2010, p. 184). The semi-structured interviews were carried out using open-ended questions and active listening techniques, supported using additional probing questions to gain a deeper understanding of influencing incidents from the respondents as previously discussed.

The audio files of the interviews were labelled with the interviewees' personal codes and saved to an encrypted folder. A backup of the encrypted file was saved to an external disk as a precautionary measure in case of a computer defect. The recordings were then immediately deleted from the audio recorders.

The Skype interviews were treated in the same manner. The only difference was that the two parties were not vis à vis, but communicated via the internet.

The focus groups were carried out at a neutral location that offered sufficient space to facilitate them and enabled the researcher to provide amenities. In both cases the researcher provided refreshments and something to eat for the participants to provide a relaxed atmosphere for the discussion as the individuals did not know each other previously. Prior to the interviews commencing the researcher collected signed consent forms from each of the participants stating they agreed to participate in the focus group and it being recorded. At the start of each of the focus groups, the individuals were informed again regarding the aims of the focus group, the facilitating role of the researcher and the ground rules for progress and discussion. Two different techniques were used for carrying out the focus groups. The initial focus group, FG-01, was carried out in discussion format without the implementation of additional aids such as pictorials or mapping. The second focus group, FG-02, built on the experience gained from the first focus group and additionally included the implementation of pictorial aids, and the mapping and categorising of categories and factors to aid discussion. Large format paper sheets were hung on the walls and the focus

group participants were encouraged to add their suggestions to the various topic areas during the discussion. The results were then photographed to ensure their availability for the duration of the research. Examples of the resulting categorisation of the pictorial aids and mapping of discussion ideas are provided in Appendix 6.

#### **4.5 Social Desirability Effect**

In research centring on self-reports such as surveys, questionnaires and interviews, one common concern of researchers is whether honest responses have been provided or whether respondents have provided responses they consider socially more desirable (Leite and Cooper 2010, p. 271; Uziel 2010, p. 243). Spector and Brannick (2009, p. 350) define social desirability as:

*an individual difference in the tendency to endorse items that are socially acceptable and to fail to endorse items that are socially unacceptable*

The implication is, that individuals may prefer to provide responses which position them favourably with regard to "*culturally derived norms and standards*" (Ganster, Hennessey and Luthans 1982, p. 141; 1983, p. 322) rather than provide an insight into their true beliefs and feelings (Moorman and Podsakoff 1992, p. 132; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, p. 235). Responses manipulated in this manner may potentially result in significant interactions remaining undetected, and the researcher being influenced by false "truths" resulting in misleading and false interpretations of the topic under consideration.

Although social desirability bias has been of concern to researchers for many years, the literature does not provide any clear indication whether scales and responses should be corrected to take this into account (Leite and Cooper 2010, p. 273; Moorman and Podsakoff 1992, pp. 144-146).

Ganster, Hennessey and Luthans (1982; 1983) developed three models for the effects of social desirability. The spuriousness model (Ganster, Hennessey and Luthans 1982, pp. 141-142; 1983, p. 323) suggested that

socially desirable responses would result in spurious correlations occurring between study variables. The suppression model (Ganster, Hennessey and Luthans 1982, p. 142; 1983, pp. 323-324) posited the opposite of the spuriousness model, suggesting that as a result of social desirable responses contaminating independent and dependent variables the real correlation between them may go undetected. The third model, the moderator model (Ganster, Hennessey and Luthans 1982, p. 142; 1983, pp. 324-326), considered that an interaction effect exists between the independent variable and social desirability. This model of social desirability may occur when the research issue involves implicit theory, which a respondent considers "correct", and thus socially desirable to support.

Paulhus (1984) distinguished between individual differences in self-deception (denial) and impression management (faking) (Moorman and Podsakoff 1992, p. 133; Ones, Viswesvaran and Reiss 1996, p. 670; Zerbe and Paulhus 1987, p. 253). Self-deception occurs when an individual creates a socially desirable, positively biased image of themselves, they believe is true. Impression management occurs when an individual deliberately creates and presents a false façade to others in order to create a positive impression. The question is, however, whether social desirability is a response set or a personality trait (Furnham 1986, p. 394). Moorman and Podsakoff (1992, p. 133) considered that this factor does not describe "faking good", but a dispositional tendency to think of oneself in a more favourable light, which represents a personality variable and not contamination. Some people habitually deceive others (Zerbe and Paulhus 1987, p. 253), but in some cases the tendencies to deceive and to manage one's impression may be a situation-induced temporary state.

Summarising the results of previous research (Ganster, Hennessey and Luthans 1982; 1983; Moorman and Podsakoff 1992; Ones, Viswesvaran and Reiss 1996; Spector 2006) it would appear that social desirability bias is not very widespread and where it does occur, its potential effects are limited to a fairly small subset of variables. The most common finding is that of a moderator role for social desirability (Ganster, Hennessey and Luthans 1982, p. 145; 1983, p. 330) implicating that it may be of interest as a variable in its own right. Following this line of thought, Moorman and

Podsakoff (1992, p. 145) recommend that researchers should consider whether social desirable responding is a contamination effect or a variable of theoretical interest forming an integral part of the study considerations.

As concluded by Spector and Brannick (2009, p. 351), it is important to be aware of this effect, but there appears to be no conclusive evidence that it has a major influence on research outcomes.

In this research, social desirable responding is not considered a contaminating effect, but a trait of the individual, which forms an integral part of the research. Social desirable responding is considered in terms of an individual's willingness to implement identity work to produce socially desirable replies in a self-report situation, which may help them come to terms with their current situation. Similar characteristics are also demonstrated by individuals potentially demonstrating narcissistic tendencies (Colman 2009, p. 492) or attempting to overcompensate for a perceived inferiority complex (Colman 2009, p. 375) as they are also attempting to create and portray a façade to hide their true situation.

#### **4.6 Ethical Considerations**

Research ethics concerns the entire research process from the acquisition of suitable research candidates and funding, to the formal execution of the research, ending in the publication of the final research results (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, p. 62; Hammersley 2013, p. 2; Mellick and Fleming 2010, p. 302). Within the myriad of factors researchers should consider to ensure their projects are ethically acceptable, five main overlapping topics crystallise out (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 99; Bryman and Bell 2007, pp. 132-142; DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, p. 319; Diener and Crandall 1978, pp. 17-97; Mellick and Fleming 2010, p. 302) that are of particular concern:

- Voluntary informed consent
- Potential harm to participants
- Invasion of privacy
- Deception

- Conflicts of interest

The operational guidance for researchers is provided in university, research establishment and professional association guidelines (Daly 2002; Huws 2004; Iphofen 2003). This universalist approach to research ethics is strongly challenged from some quarters due to the uniqueness of individual research projects. Baarts (2009, p. 425) argues that *"the type of subject matter determines the nature of the ethically sensitive situations that occur during the research process and the kinds of ethical decisions taken by the researcher"*. In addition to the above factors, it is therefore necessary to consider the ethical requirements of the interview process and the focus groups as specific elements of the research.

#### **4.6.1 Voluntary Informed Consent**

Voluntary informed consent raises two discrete concerns for the researcher:

1. Whether research participants have voluntarily agreed to participate in the project (Christians 2005, p. 144; Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, pp. 70-71) and have been provided with the option to withdraw without providing grounds should they wish.
2. Whether potential participants are aware of the requirements of the project and the potential consequences for them (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 93; Bryman and Bell 2007, pp. 137-139; Christians 2005, p. 144) enabling them to make an educated decision whether to participate or not. The researcher attempts to balance between providing individuals too much detailed information potentially contaminating their responses, and opening themselves for accusations of deception (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 93; Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 139).

If individuals provide voluntary informed consent to participate in a project, it can, therefore, be assumed that they were aware of the project requirements and the potential risks and harms related to their decision (Mellick and Fleming 2010, p. 303).

#### **4.6.2 *Potential Harm to Participants***

Researchers and research participants should be aware of the potential risk or harm that may result from involvement in the project (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, p. 319; Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008), and understand that a potential rest risk is always present.

Unless express permission has been granted to name research participants, records must be anonymised and treated confidentially to reduce the potential risk for individuals. The minimum legal requirement for data protection is achieved by complying with the data-protection legislation in the countries involved in the research (Bryman and Bell 2007, pp. 143-144; Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, pp. 73-74).

Some forms of qualitative research, such as interviews, may entice participants to disclose more information than they would otherwise provide, and may later regret (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, pp. 95-96). Researchers are therefore required to balance their interest in obtaining deep, rich data, with the interests of the participants and the need to protect them from exposing themselves too much (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014), which raises the question of invasion of privacy.

#### **4.6.3 *Invasion of Privacy***

Privacy is linked to informed consent (Bryman and Bell 2007, pp. 139-141), as individuals who provide voluntary informed consent to take part in a research project principally surrender their right to privacy for that limited domain. The individual retains control over the information available, however, by refusing to answer questions they consider encroach too far into their private sphere.

Privacy is linked to anonymity and confidentiality (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, pp. 94-95; Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 141; Christians 2005, p. 145) requiring the researcher to safeguard against unwanted access to or exposure of personal data by hiding personal and organisational associations behind pseudonyms and fictitious associations. When collecting data, the researcher must therefore balance the ethical demand for



confidentiality, the concept of deceit and the requirements of basic research value that would enable the study to be controlled and repeated (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 95).

Although a researcher may employ the principles of good research to protect the participants' anonymity, a degree of risk remains for the individual as insiders may still recognise them or specific locations despite the use of pseudonyms or fictional locations (Christians 2005, p. 145).

#### **4.6.4 Deception**

One form of deception occurs "*when researchers represent their research as something other than what it is*" (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 141). Given researchers need to obtain uncontaminated responses in research situations, they are regularly enticed to restrict the amount of information participants are provided with, resulting in varying levels of deception. The researchers' desire to advance knowledge and the codified unacceptability of deception, therefore, cannot both be satisfied (Christians 2005, p. 145). As a result, a modicum of deception is generally allowed as long as it does not entice the individual to expose themselves to harm (Silverman 2011) and the advantage outweighs the possible harm to the participant.

Other forms of deceit occur when researchers manipulate data by fraudulent actions and omissions (Christians 2005, p. 145) as well as plagiarism of ideas and material.

#### **4.6.5 Conflicts of Interest**

A conflict of interest can occur when researchers receive funding from involved organisations or foster close ties to research participant or target organisations (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 97).

Although receiving funding or sponsoring does not automatically result in bias, the research may be perceived as biased (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, p. 67) and therefore be discredited (Bryman and Bell 2007, pp. 144-145).

When researchers closely identify with participants and do not maintain a

professional distance, they may be enticed to ignore some of the findings resulting in biased results (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 97). Researchers should also not exploit interviewees for personal gain (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, p. 319); they should treat them with respect and acknowledge their contribution to the success of the research.

#### **4.6.6 Ethics in Interviewing**

An interview is a moral enterprise (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 83). Fog (2004; see Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 84) considered the interviewer's fundamental dilemma to be that he/she: *"wants the interview to be as deep and probing as possible, with the risk of trespassing on the person, and on the other hand to be as respectful to the interview person as possible, with the risk of getting empirical material that only scratches the surface"*. Ethical problems in interview research arise particularly because of the complexities of *"researching private lives and placing accounts in the public arena"* (Birch et al. see Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 85).

Interview research demonstrates potential asymmetrical power relations between the researcher and the interviewee (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014, p. 99) where the researcher is generally concerned the more powerful partner. The researcher is responsible for enabling a balance of power to be attained, ensuring that the research is of benefit for both parties (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 144), embodying the concept of reciprocity.

#### **4.6.7 Research Considerations**

Organisations that assisted in sourcing research participants were provided with an introductory research project information sheet for potential individuals, providing a valid description of the project at the time it was made available to the individuals. People interested in taking part in the research were asked to contact the researcher directly either per email or telephone. No feedback mechanism was arranged with the organisations to inform them whether individuals had agreed to take part in the study. This removed any potential danger of coercion to participate in the study.

The researcher was the only person to have direct contact with the potential

research participants. Once compliance with the research requirements, and a general interest of the individual to participate had been determined, individuals were provided with a project information sheet, the standard questionnaire (Section I of Appendix 3), the interview framework (Section II of Appendix 3), and consent form (Appendix 4). The consent form provided written confirmation that the individuals would take part in the interview and consented to the interview being digitally audio recorded. The signed consent form was returned to the researcher prior to completion of the interview.

Before the focus groups were carried out, the participants were also provided with the previously stated documents (except the standard questionnaire) and again asked to return the signed consent form prior to the focus group taking place.

Each interview partner was allocated a ten digit (3.4.3) randomly generated personal code as a first step to anonymising the individual respondents. The questionnaires / interview frameworks were labelled with the personal code; names were only used on the consent forms. Prior to final writing up of the data, interview partners were allocated random pseudonyms. The mapping of the pseudonyms to the personal codes is known only to the researcher; this information was not communicated to the interview partners.

Interviews were carried out in closed rooms and only the researcher and the interview participant were present. Digital audio recordings of the interviews and focus groups were saved to an encrypted folder upon completion of the individual sessions and the audio files were deleted from the recorders.

The audio files of the interview recordings were named using the individuals' personal codes and saved together with other sensitive data to encrypted folders on a password protected computer. Paper documents were stored confidentially. Data was backed to encrypted folders on external devices in an attempt to protect the personal data against loss or unauthorised manipulation.

All data preparation, audio transcriptions and data analysis was carried out by the researcher himself. No additional assistance was employed.

As far as is possible it has been ensured that all sources of ideas and literature have been cited to avoid plagiarism.

No conflicts of interest exist. The researcher did not receive any financing for the research and no individual organisation has been case-studied. Research participants were not remunerated for their assistance. With the exception of the first two interviews, the participants were not known to the researcher prior to arranging the interviews. The first personal contact with the individuals was at the interview.

All interviewees were treated with respect. It was attempted to create a discourse with individuals rather than an interview atmosphere. The interviewer questioned the participants as detailed as possible in an attempt to obtain deep, rich data, but when an individual demonstrated signs of discomfort or stress, the line of questioning was immediately discontinued.

## **Chapter 5      Analysis Framework**

When considering the reasons for the perceived success or failure of expatriate assignments (Arthur, Khapova and Wilderom 2005, pp. 178-179; Bailyn 2006, p. 31; Hall 2002, p. 11) undertaken either as an element of an external organisational career or an internal self-managed career (Schein 1978, p. 37; van Maanen and Schein 1977, pp. 46-54), it is common to consider the influence of the large number of traits described in the literature and their applicability to the case at hand (for example Arthur Jr and Bennett Jr 1995; Avril and Magnini 2007; Peterson 2004; Ronen 1989, p. 426). This method may provide the researcher with the satisfaction of building on known terrain and enable him/her to categorise their research easier, but does not necessarily lead to advancement of knowledge.

The current research considers the individual and the role played by their specific situation on their perception of the assignment and its success (Borrmann 1968; Hays 1974; Tung 1981; 1982). This research position accepts that individuals may react differently to a specific situation depending on their own experience, which may additionally change over time, resulting in varying constructions of reality and a social constructivism position (Patton 2002, pp. 96-103) requiring an analysis method that goes beyond the listing of individual traits. Further, consideration of the requirements of the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967, pp. 101-115), central to the grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2006, pp. 42-71; Patton 2002, pp. 487-492) implemented in this research, and the richness of the data obtained resulted in the implementation of the four level inductive analysis framework shown in Fig. 13.

Although the analysis framework depicts a sequential relationship between the levels of analysis, in practice each of the levels are interlinked and based on the requirements of the grounded theory and constant comparative concepts, underlie constant reflection and adjustment as concepts emerge from the data. The subsequent codes and frameworks are therefore in a constant state of flux.

The input data, consisting of 19 digitally recorded interviews and two

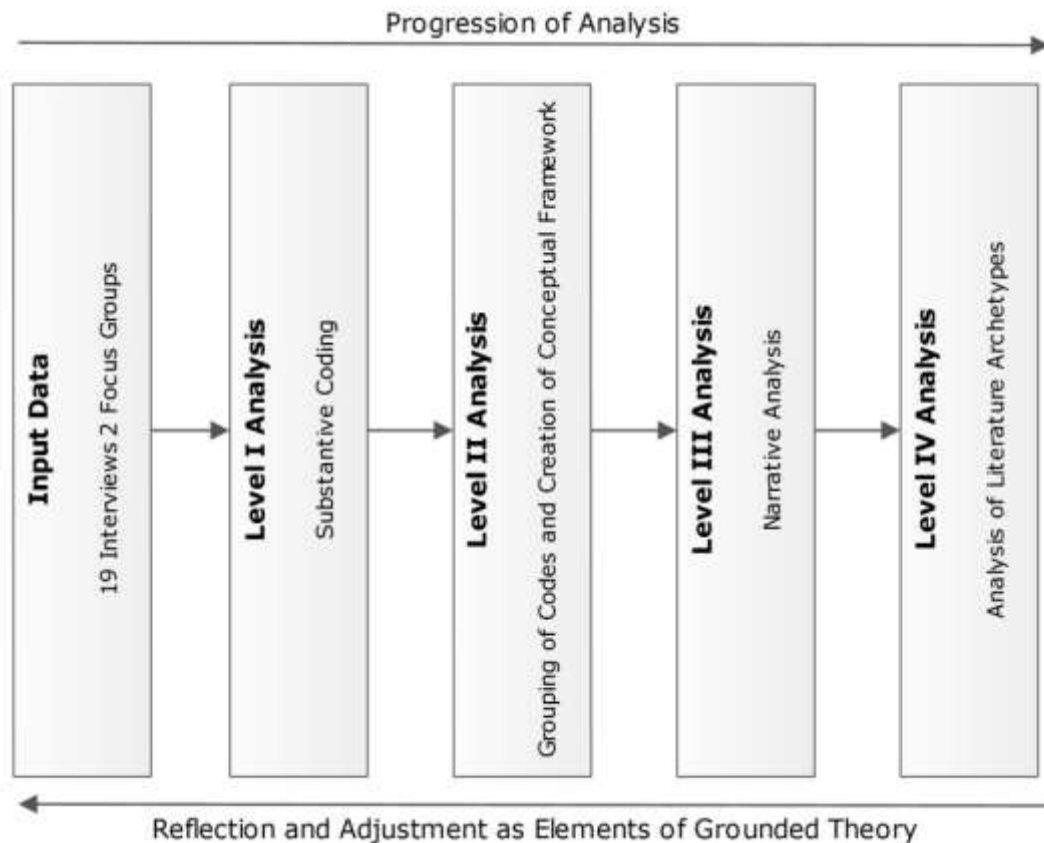


Fig. 13: Analysis Framework

digitally recorded focus groups, was transcribed verbatim by the researcher enabling a better understanding of the material to be analysed without the restrictions of the interview process (Charmaz 2006, pp. 69-70). In addition, this process allowed the researcher to become very familiar with the interview material as the transcription process afforded the repeated hearing of the tape in sections and its entirety enabling him to associate with the interview material during the analysis phase as if he was still in the interview environment.

The transcripts were made available in pdf, rtf, docx and paper formats for discussion and analysis. The input data presented the starting point for the data analysis.

### 5.1 Level I Analysis – Substantive Coding

The level I analysis represents Glaser's (1978, pp. 56-72) substantive coding and commences with the open coding of the interview transcripts. At

this level the hard copies of the interview transcripts were manually coded by the researcher using a word-by-word, in vivo coding method enabling the interviewees' perspectives to be represented (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña 2013, p. 74; Saldaña 2009, pp. 74-77). The detailed coding process further supported the grounded theory's aim to "... *explore [the] basic social process and to understand the multiplicity of interactions that produces variation in that process ...*" (Heath and Cowley 2004, p. 142).

In accordance with the grounded theory perspective, the coding was carried out using the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967, pp. 101-115), resulting in transcripts being revisited and codes adjusted as the process progressed in addition to selectively coding (Glaser 1978, p. 61) for elements that had been coded and determined of interest throughout the coding process. Topic groups developed during the coding process were then used as a basis for further consideration during the next level of analysis.

## **5.2 Level II Analysis – Creation of Conceptual Framework**

The level II analysis builds on and as an element of the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967, pp. 101-115), results in adjustment of the Level I substantive coding and relates to Glaser's (1978, pp. 72-82) theoretical coding. Whereas the substantive code provides the researcher with an insight into the empirical substance of the area of research, "*the theoretical codes conceptualize how the substantive codes may relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into theory*" (Glaser 1978, p. 72; Holton 2010, p. 283). The grounded theory requires that the theoretical codes are not imposed on the data, but as in the case of the substantive codes, are allowed to emerge and develop as the analysis process is progressed and the data fragments reformed (Glaser 1978, p. 72; Holton 2010, pp. 283-284). This theory building process is consistent with Jabareen's (2009, p. 52) understanding of the construction of a conceptual framework, which he describes as "*a network, or 'a plane', of interlinked concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon or phenomena*". His definition of the conceptual framework does not, however, mirror the methodological intention of

creating a grounded theory technique aimed to "... *generate, identify and trace a phenomenon's major concepts ...*" (Jabareen 2009, p. 53) as it implies a level of finality in the definition. This apparent inconsistency is resolved by Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2013, p. 20), who defined conceptual frameworks as "*simply the current version of the researcher's map of the territory being investigated*". This definition implies that the conceptual framework may evolve as the research is progressed and brings it in line with the concept of grounded theory and the inductive research paradigm.

Initial consideration of the results of the substantive coding indicated that factors compatible with previous studies (cf. Arthur Jr and Bennett Jr 1995; Avril and Magnini 2007; Peterson 2004; Ronen 1989, p. 426) for example their language ability, level of training and experiences during the assignment, had been stated by the interviewees and would have enabled simplistic comparisons to be carried out. Consideration of the data at a higher level of abstraction (Holton 2010, p. 272), however, resulted in the development of narratives providing linkages to the context and narrative resources resulting from the aggregation of the substantive codes, and providing insights into the intergroup behaviour that had taken place. In the context of this study, Sherif's (1962, p. 5) definition of intergroup behaviour is applied (see Hogg and Abrams 2003, pp. 407-408; Tajfel 1982, p. 1):

*Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identification, we have an instance of intergroup behavior*

This broad definition allows the consideration of both physical and non-physical interaction, such as electronic and computer-mediated communication between the groups as well as the inclusion of individual member interaction as instances of intergroup behaviour.

Important at this stage is the realisation that as an individual's situation is progressively clarified as part of their sensemaking activities (Weick 1995, p. 11) their identity must also be considered as dynamic and constantly



evolving in relation to the context and narrative resources (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3) as identity work is carried out to determine the individual's position within the superior outgroup and the inferior ingroup (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3; Tajfel 1974). A further development of this concept is provided by Ellemers, Spears and Doosje (2002, pp. 164-166) who considered that each person has multiple social identities, which may lead to differential perceptions of self and others depending upon which of the identities is more fitting at the time, and the degree of commitment demonstrated to the group in question.

Further, as there are situations where it is more or less difficult for an individual to either move between social groups (social mobility) or that require a change in the relationships between the two groups as a whole (social change) (Tajfel 1974, pp. 78-79) they may demonstrate different reactions to a particular situation depending upon their abilities and awareness of the possible barriers to movement or change and their willingness and ability to adapt.

The context and narrative resources, and linkages formed at this stage are visualised in the conceptual framework matrix (Table 9, page 151), which forms the basis for the nominalist interpretative grid implemented (Fisher and Buglear 2010, pp. 257-258) and fulfils the social constructivism position (Patton 2002, pp. 96-103) taken. Although the conceptual framework infers a possible purist understanding of each category, it can be noticed that in many cases this has not been upheld in the allocation of the individual interviews. One explanation lies in the multiple identities previously discussed. A further explanation lies in the fact that the research is based on empirical data and the researcher is trying to make sense of the interview material, taking decisions on how best to combine the "*fragments of lives*" in the context of the narrative, finally creating a text that is something different to the original (Riessman 1993, pp. 13-14). The inherent inability of the researcher to make simple black-or-white decisions regarding the material may lead to varying categorisation of statements depending on the situation in which they had been made. In addition the aporetic behaviour of the interviewees leads to further ambiguities of meaning and meant intentions resulting in possible misunderstandings of

intentions or aporetic behaviour by the researcher when creating the conceptual framework (Weick 1995, p. 92).

### **5.3 Level III Analysis –Narrative Analysis**

The level III narrative analysis uses the context and narrative resources implemented in the conceptual framework to interpret the narratives stories according to the narrative analysis paradigm (Polkinghorne 1995, p. 12).

For the extraction of the narrative elements from the interviews minor simplification of the text was carried out to remove repetitive speech and um's and ah's to make the text easier to read. Where changes have been made to the original transcript these have been made visible in the text using ... or [] for extraction and addition of text respectively.

There is no agreement in the literature on the definition of the narrative (Riessman 1993, p. 17); here it is considered "*the textual actualization of a story at a specific time and context, and to a specific audience*" (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008, p. 212). This definition takes into account that the narrative is not considered static, but dynamic, indicated by the reference to the specificity of time, context and audience. This consideration is also supported by the fact that the narratives have been constructed with the benefit of hindsight or under reflection of the conditions and situation dominant at the time they are told adding another layer to the reflexive narrative analysis (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, pp. 8-10; Haynes 2012; Polkinghorne 1995, p. 12).

This concept is further supported by Riessman (1993, p. 2) who stated that:

*[h]uman agency and imagination determine what gets included and excluded in narrativization, how events are plotted, and what they are supposed to mean. Individuals construct past events and actions in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives*

The so constructed narratives are important not only because they enable us to explain our past experiences, but also because "*they enable us to*

*make sense of the present*" (Watson 2008a, p. 334). They provide an external image of the individual's sensemaking activities (Weick 1995, pp. 1-16) consisting of the comparison of their expectations of the move and the new situation with the actual situation they are confronted with and the resulting differences (Louis 1980, pp. 235-239). As the individuals are recounting the features attended to during the original experiences within the boundaries of the language and under recontextualisation within the current situation and the dialogue of the interview, they are creating a self-image and painting a picture of the events that may differ from the original situation (Riessman 1993, pp. 8-11). This means the narrative is renegotiated each time it is told and adapted to fulfil the assumed requirements of the situation and expectations of those involved. The resulting narrative therefore, does not exist until it is constructed by the participants, resulting in an unknown outcome of the narrative, the explanation of which is then based on what Czarniawska (2004b, p. 13) considers a "*circular teleology*".

Further, it may become apparent that the individual's understanding of a particular event or situation may change over time as the sensemaking process develops and the individual gains distance from the event or situation (Weick 1995, p. 11). Outside of a strict framework of rules to enable them to fix their understanding of the self and themselves results in an aporetic void allowing cognitive dissonance to be resolved and a positive position to be achieved.

This situation was particularly obvious when David was recalling his six month assignment to South Korea. His initial understanding of his situation and feelings was negative:

*... back then I had a really bad ... feeling about the whole thing. When I was there, I was just hoping that I could get out of there as soon as possible ... they just dropped me like ... the Marines get dropped in the middle of the Pacific Ocean to do some job ... after the first six months I just rejected to ... continue ... the whole team not just me ... I start to feel like depressed ... it was really tough really really*

*tough and after six months I couldn't take it anymore ... I didn't have any more ... fun ... going to work so it was like uh like being in ... jail for me ... I was basically burnt out and it took me ... another half a year to recover ...*

His consideration of the same event taken from today's perspective shows a marked re-evaluation of the situation:

*... and today I see it as a very good experience ... I'm very positive about that experience today, but back then when I was in there with the ... tough time that ... I had in Korea ... I was just hoping ... it would end really soon and I could get out of there ...*

The post-decisional effort to revise the evaluation of the original decision to take part in the assignment and its negative consequences is concurrent with the cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), which considers that "*individuals are motivated by the unpleasant state of dissonance to engage in 'psychological work' so as to reduce the inconsistency*" (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7). Cognitive dissonance theory is an important element of sensemaking (Weick 1995, pp. 11-12). The transcription and analysis of the interviews, therefore requires a certain degree of interpretation by the researcher, as the language itself can only provide a simplified account of the multi-faceted interaction between the parties and their environment (Riessman 1993, pp. 11-14).

This maze of interlocking variables may lead to narratives of one individual providing varying possible understandings of their abilities and experiences or changing understandings of a particular event as considered at different points in time resulting in the creation of various possible new narratives (Watson 2008a, pp. 335-336). In addition, the aporetic behaviour of the interviewees leads to further ambiguities resulting in possible aporetic behaviour by the researcher during the narrative analysis.

Building on Bruner's (1986, pp. 11-43) distinction between paradigmatic

and narrative modes of thought, Polkinghorne (1995, p. 12) differentiates between two analysis paradigms:

1. The analysis of narratives, which employs paradigmatic reasoning to analyse the stories collected, resulting in descriptions of themes that hold across the stories or in taxonomies of types of stories, characters, or settings. The analysis of narratives, therefore, moves from stories to common elements.
2. Narrative analysis that uses narrative reasoning to synthesise or configure descriptions of events and happenings collected by means of a plot into a story or stories. The narrative analysis, therefore, moves from elements to stories.

In the previous analysis levels the interviews were first deconstructed to determine the characteristics forming the conceptual framework and then realigned in the specific context to create the narratives. This analysis method, therefore, fulfils the requirements of the narrative analysis paradigm, which will be used in this research.

Rather than representing a tacit set of characteristics requiring inclusion in all narratives, the conceptual framework (Table 9) offers a guideline of inquiry into narratives created, similar to the seven properties of sensemaking proposed by Weick (1995, p. 18). As a result, it is not required that all narratives demonstrate all context and narrative resources of a particular narrative category. The missing, replaced or duplicated characteristics create varying nuances of the individual narratives mirroring possible differences in the sensemaking (Weick 1995) or identity work processes (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974), or levels of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) of the individuals.

#### **5.4 Level IV Analysis – Analysis of Literature Archetypes**

In the level IV analysis, the narratives are aggregated to a higher level and analysed according to the four literature archetypes or mythoi of romance, comedy, tragedy or satire proposed by Frye (1951, pp. 104-105; 1957;

2006, pp. 151-223) with the aim to provide a deeper understanding of the actors feelings and behaviour as well as the structures of the narratives.

According to Denham (2006, p. 331) an archetype is:

*A symbol, usually an image, which recurs often enough in literature to be recognizable as an element of one's literary experience as a whole*

In order to recognise the archetype in the narrative it is necessary to "stand back" from the text, an activity that Frye (1951, p. 100; 2006, pp. 129-130) likened to the analysis of a painting. If we stand close to a painting such as Raphael's Madonna and Child with Book we can see and analyse the technical detail such as brush stokes, which he compared with the rhetorical analysis of the new critics in literature. If we stand back from the painting or from a piece of literature we are able see the archetype: the structure of imagery and the generic narratives or mythoi.

As stated by Frye (2006, pp. 150-151) each of the mythoi awaken certain

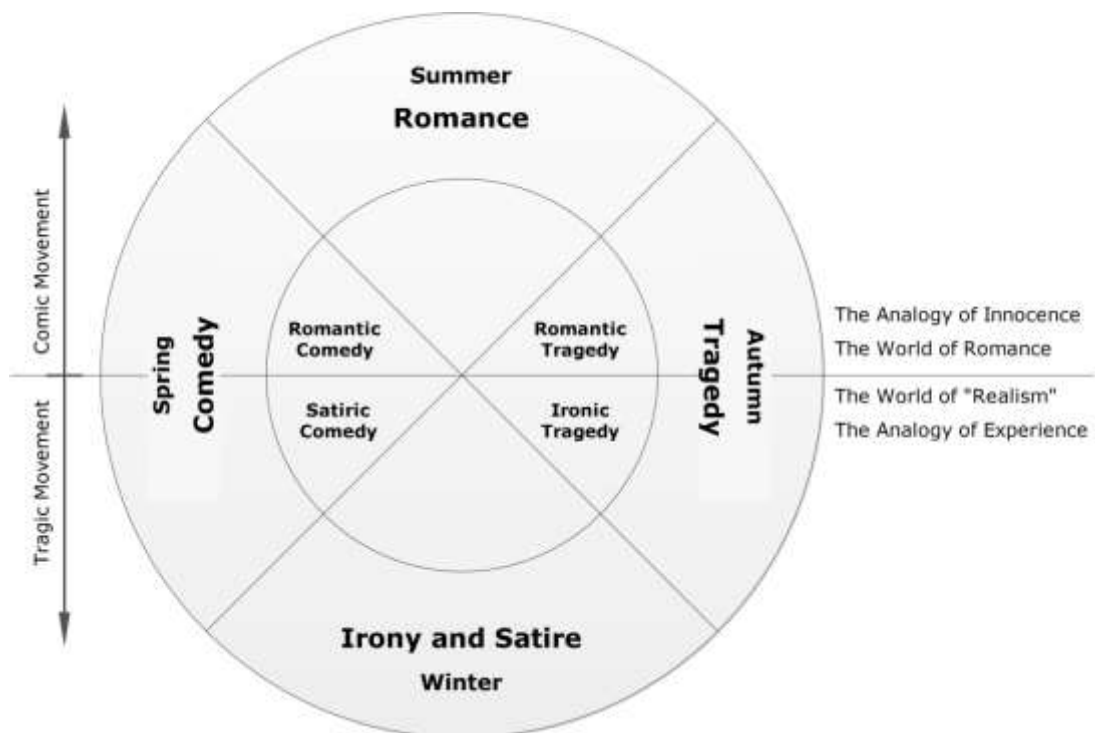


Fig. 14: Frye's Four Mythoi  
(Denham 2006, pp. xxix-xxx; Frye 2006, pp. 147-223)

expectations within individuals. Although Frye's original publication of the *Anatomy of Criticism* (Frye 1957) does not contain any diagrams, Denham's Editor's Introduction (Denham 2006) to the 2006 edition of the book (Frye 2006) does provide reprints of Frye's original notebook sketches of the four mythoi. These sketches together with the accounts of the four mythoi provided within this edition of the book have been used to create the representation in Fig. 14. This figure depicts Frye's understanding of the relationship of the mythoids to the seasons and to one another.

Frye (2006, p. 149) considered that the four main phases, the four seasons of the year correspond not only to the four periods of the day (morning, noon, evening, night), but also to the four aspects of the water cycle (rain, fountains, rivers, sea or snow) and to the four periods of life (youth, maturity, age, death) (Table 8).

Seasons of the year	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
Periods of the day	Morning	Noon	Evening	Night
Aspects of water	Rain	Fountains	Rivers	Sea, Snow
Periods of life	Youth	Maturity	Age	Death

Table 8: Frye's Phases of Cyclical Symbols  
(Frye 2006, pp. 148-149)

In Frye's (2006, p. 151) view, the four seasons, Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter and consideration of the four mythoi resulted in two opposite pairs of literature mythoi. He considered that "... *tragedy and comedy contrast rather than blend, and so do romance and satire*". In addition, he concluded that comedy blends into satire at one extreme and romance at the other; romance may be comic or tragic; tragic extends from high romance to bitter and ironic realism.

Closer brief consideration of Frye's (2006) four mythoids will enable a better understanding of their differing characteristics and help understand how the archetypes or mythoids enable a mood classification to be employed to the narratives and provide a means of association for individuals to the events being described (Frye 2006, pp. 150-151).

The first two forms of literature consider human desire and happiness, whether because we are able to achieve our intended goals directly or through integration of the self into the family or society in general.

### **The Mythos of Spring: Comedy**

Frye (2006, pp. 151-152) described the comedy as:

*... the movement of comedy is usually a movement from one kind of society to another. At the beginning ... the obstructing characters are in charge of the play's society, and the audience recognises that they are usurpers. At the end ... the device in the plot that brings hero and heroine together causes a new society to crystallize around the hero, and the moment when this crystallization occurs is the point of resolution in the action, the comic discovery ... The appearance of this new society is frequently signaled by some kind of party or festival ritual ...*

In comedy the hero or heroine is therefore usually faced with some opposition to smite their attempts to achieve a desired goal; by reconciling themselves with either the family or society the desired goal is achieved although not in the originally intended manner. The action of comedy is the movement from one social centre to another Frye (2006, p. 154). Comedy usually moves toward a happy ending (Frye 2006, p. 155).

Depending on whether the blocking parties or the reconciliation are centred upon, the comedy can developed in one of two directions (Frye 2006, p. 155): if the blocking parties and the associated conflict are central the main centre of interest then ironic, satiric, realistic or mannered forms of comedy will generally result; if the reconciliation is the central theme then romantic comedy will generally result. Comedy ranges therefore from the most savage irony to the most dreamy wish-fulfilled romance (Frye 2006, p. 163).

### **The Mythos of Summer: Romance**

Frye (2006, p. 173) described the romance as:



*The romance is nearest ... to the wish-fulfilment dream, and for that reason it has socially a curiously paradoxical role. In every age the ruling social or intellectual class tends to project its ideals in some form of romance, where the virtuous heroes and beautiful heroines represent the ideals and the villains the threats to their ascendancy ... The perennially childlike quality of romance is marked by its extraordinarily persistent nostalgia, its search for some kind of imaginative golden age in time or space.*

In romance the hero or heroine achieve their desired goal without further adaptation or reconciliation (Frye 2006, p. 173). An essential element of the plot is adventure and the complete form of the romance is the successful quest (Frye 2006, p. 174).

### **The Mythos of Autumn: Tragedy**

Frye (2006, pp. 192-194) described the tragedy as:

*... [tragedy] is not confined to drama, nor to actions that end in disaster ... tragedies end in serenity ... The source of tragic effect must be sought ... in the tragic mythos or plot structure ... tragedy is more concentrated on a single individual ... the typical tragic hero is somewhere between the divine and the "all too human" ... is very great as compared with us, but there is something else ... compared to which he is small ... the centre of tragedy is in the hero's isolation ... in its most elementary form, the vision of law (dike) operates as lex talionis or revenge The hero provokes enmity, or inherits a situation of enmity, and the return of the avenger constitutes the catastrophe.*

The tragedy is the opposite of comedy as it does not deal with reintegration, but rather with disintegration. According to Frye (2006, pp. 195-196), there are two reductive formulas which have often been used to explain tragedy each of which represent the extreme or limiting views of tragedy. "One of these is the theory that all tragedy exhibits the omnipotence of an external

*fate ... The other is that the act which sets the tragic process going must be primarily a violation of moral law, whether human or divine". Pity and terror are moral feelings considered to be relevant to the tragic situation. Frye (2006, p. 200) considers that tragedy is a "... paradoxical combination of a fearful sense of rightness (the hero must fall) and a pitying sense of wrongness (it is too bad that he falls)".*

### **The Mythos of Winter: Irony and Satire**

Frye (2006, p. 208) introduced the mythos of winter with emphasis on the complexity to be encountered:

*We come now to the mythical patterns of experience, the attempts to give form to the shifting ambiguities and complexities of unidealized existence ... As structure, the central principle of ironic myth is ... a parody of romance: the application of romantic mythical forms to a more realistic content which fits them in unexpected ways.*

The mythos of winter is more complex than the previous three seasons as it considers two forms, irony and satire. The main distinction between these two forms is that (Frye 2006, pp. 208-209):

*... satire is militant irony: and it assumes standards against which the grotesque and absurd are measured ... Satire demands at least a token fantasy, a content which the reader recognizes as grotesque, and at least an implicit moral standard, the latter being essential in a militant attitude to experience*

Frye (2006, p. 209) considered "satire to be irony which is structurally close to the comic" and that there are "... two essential elements of a satire: one is wit or humour founded on fantasy or a sense of the grotesque or absurd, the other is an object of attack."

## **Chapter 6      Creation of Conceptual Framework**

The construction of the conceptual framework (Jabareen 2009, p. 52; Miles, Huberman and Saldaña 2013, p. 20) represents the level II analysis (Fig. 13 and 5.2, p. 136), which results in adjustment of the Level I substantive coding and relates to Glaser's (1978, pp. 72-82) theoretical coding.

Consideration of the data at a higher level of abstraction (Holton 2010, p. 272) resulted in the development of narratives providing linkages to the context and narrative resources resulting from the aggregation of the substantive codes, and providing insights into the intergroup behaviour that had taken place.

An individual's situation is progressively clarified as part of their sensemaking activities (Weick 1995, p. 11); their identity must be considered as dynamic and constantly evolving in relation to the context and narrative resources (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3) as identity work is carried out to determine their position within the superior outgroup and the inferior ingroup (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3; Tajfel 1974). As individuals may demonstrate multiple social identities (Ellemers, Spears and Doosje 2002, pp. 164-166), depending upon which identity appears more fitting in a particular situation, they may also appear to demonstrate different understandings of the self.

The context and narrative resources, and linkages formed at this stage are visualised in the conceptual framework (Table 9), which forms the basis for the nominalist interpretative grid implemented (Fisher and Buglear 2010, pp. 257-258) and fulfils the social constructivism position (Patton 2002, pp. 96-103) taken. The emergent nature of the theoretical coding process (Glaser 1978, p. 72; Holton 2010, p. 283) was supported by the implementation of multiple methods of analysis. The substantive codes were first grouped using extensive MindMaps to develop an initial understanding of the commonalities and inferences of the subjective codes. An excerpt from the MindMap providing an initial understanding of the company environment is provided in Appendix 7.

In a second phase the commonalities and inferences of the data groups were investigated, regrouped and presented in the form of a matrix. In compliance with the constant comparative method, the initial draft of the conceptual framework was again compared not only with the substantive coding of the initial interviews and focus groups, but with the original transcripts to ensure conformity of the data. The context and narrative resources determined were then compared with the literature to provide a comparison with previous knowledge. The resulting conceptual framework (Table 9), forming the interpretive grid for the narrative analysis, will be shown to consist of three main elements identified from the analysis. These three elements seek to explain how people make sense of their situation through narrative development and identity work. The three elements are:

1. The eight resources or contexts used by the individuals to create the narratives
2. A seven point progression of each of the eight resources or contexts. A higher position in the progression does not automatically result in a reduction in perceived cognitive dissonance, identity work and acculturation stress. A condition of "blissful ignorance" may exist at the lowest end of the progression in some categories, such as understanding of culture, resulting in low levels of dissonance, identity work required and acculturation stress, and an inverted U-form. The overall acculturation stress experienced is dependent on the varying combinations of context and narrative resources owned by individuals and implemented in the development of their narratives. These resources and contexts are discussed in this Chapter 6.
3. Different people create their sense of identity by constructing personal narratives that are formed from the "raw materials" of the context and narrative resources. As each individual brings different previous experiences and abilities to a particular situation, each will create their personal narratives from differing combinations and progressions of the eight narrative and contextual resources. Some individuals may also demonstrate different progressions of particular context and narrative resources in different situations or as they gain experience

resulting in the allocation of multiple positions within the conceptual framework as illustrated in Table 10 and the development of different personal narratives. In Chapter 7 it will be discussed how the narratives represent different stances taken towards the host culture.

## **6.1 Narrative Development**

Analysis of the substantive coding provided insight into not only the experiences of the individuals during previous international assignments and the levels of attained psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Searle and Ward 1990, p. 457; Ward et al. 1998, p. 279; Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999, p. 438), but also their personal situations. The individuals' accounts of their experiences gave rise to linkages and patterns in the narratives that were not apparent in a simple comparison of the context and narrative resources. The interviewees varied backgrounds together with their differing degrees of cross-cultural experience, language ability and willingness to adapt for example, resulted in discretely varied narratives. Further, it could be recognised that some of the individuals demonstrated differing positions on some context and narrative resources as their sensemaking of the situation progressed (Watson 2006, pp. 335-336). This supports the theoretical positions that acculturation is an on-going process (Broom and Kitsuse 1955, p. 44; Oberg 1960, pp. 179-180; 2006, p. 144) and that cultural competence is a multilevel continuum of social skills and personality development (LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton 1993, p. 396).

The following sections provide a discussion of the empirical data and the possible positions that may be taken by individuals. These positions are additionally represented on horizontal scales providing a subjective indication of perceived increase in the factors based on the researcher's academic judgement, with the aim of assisting understanding and theory development rather than an objective, quantitative measure of the factors.

### **6.1.1 Personal Context**

The personal context considers an individual's previous experience in the home environment or accumulated through previous international interaction. As indicated in the interviews, this positive and/or negative

Context and Narrative Resources								Narrative and Situational Understanding	
Personal Context	Reason for Move / Stay	Language Competence	Host Interaction	Understanding of Culture	Adaptability	Support Mechanisms	Work/ Organisational Context	Response	Identity / Narrative
Forced	Family	Unmotivated	Self-Oriented	Unware	Incognisant	Castaway	Outsider	Resignation	The family story
Traumatic	Job search	Unconsciously incompetent	Detached / Fatalistic	Indifference	Conditional acceptance	Domestic orientation	Stranger	Critical of host	The interloper
Paradoxical	Runaway	Consciously incompetent	Complex (Multiple-Self)	Negative host	Fatalist	Language orientation	Creator	Fatalistic	The story teller
None	Took advantage of situation	Consciously competent	Reminiscent Sympathy	Superficial	Negotiator	Selective socialisation	Ethnocentric	Critical of home	The adopter
Differentiated	Coincidence / Element of chance	Unconsciously competent	Imaginative Sympathy	Theorist	Pragmatist	Local-centric	Apprentice	Adjust self understanding	The escapist
Touristical	Wish for something better	Complacency	Empathetic	Realist	Mediator	International	Relativist	Bracketing	The transformer
Positive	Career management	Bilingual / Multilingual	Redefined self	Bicultural / Multicultural	"Build a nest"	Networker	Integrator	Going native	The mover
Cognitive and Behavioural Progression									

Table 9: Development of Narrative and Situational Understanding

experience, can influence an individual's expectations of their current assignment, which in turn may affect their ability to make sense of the current situation (Weick 1995, pp. 1-16) and their willingness to engage in psychological identity work to palliate any dissonance confronted between the expectations and the situation lived (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7) (see also Section 2.8 and Appendix 2).

When interpreting the narratives presented in the interviews it became apparent that not all individuals were able to distinguish between their increased experience as a function of time spent in a particular environment and the resulting change in their values and increased socialisation (Chao and Moon 2005, p. 1130), and their increase in age per se. These two terms were often used synonymously in the interviews as demonstrated by Sophia when describing her perceived loss of the courage or naiveté she had when she was younger:

*... once you get older you see the things differently ... you lose a lot of the courage, or naiveté that you have when you are young ... I'm, I think ... more critical ... I'm more cautious ... than I used to be. ... I think I'm still open-minded, but I would consider twice ... things that I wouldn't have when I was younger.*

In a similar manner, Emily considered that things were easier when she was younger:

*When I was younger it was a lot easier for me to move around and I was always really passionate about new places and I was never afraid.*

Deeper analysis of these interviews leads to the understanding that the determining factor in both cases is their increased experience and not their increased age per se. Both the loss of naiveté reported by Sophia and the lack of passion inferred by Emily could be the result of experience gathered through different socialisation experiences and their resulting changed values and expectations (Chao and Moon 2005, p. 1130; Harris 1994, p. 311). When they were younger, neither had the experience of previous

international moves or of living and working in an international environment. This may have led to increased excitement and passion regarding the move and the experience in general, and provided a feeling of naiveté as many things now taken for granted were not known.

An understanding of this effect was provided by Logan, who had previously lived in two countries outside of his country of birth and experienced differentiated cross-cultural experiences:

*... in terms of being older I think ... it's easier because I've done it before I guess, but whether being older generally ... makes it easier I don't know ... for me ... just simply because I have more ... general life experience and these other experiences from other countries ... it's really subtle, but ... be aware that there will be differences. It sounds ... so simple, but I know that I've had exactly the same experience having moved more than once that you come to expect the ... differences and ... I think that's ... very useful ... I think the first time ... you just kind of ... go through it ... you don't know ... that there's another problem coming tomorrow or the day after and they just kind of hit you ... it's like something you can't learn ... you gotta experience it ...*

Here he indicates that not his increased age per se, but the experience gained over time has led him to expect differences to occur and has increased his willingness to accept them, an understanding he considers useful for him. In addition, he implies that it is necessary to make this experience and that it cannot be learnt.

The substantive coding also provided interesting insights into the effect of the perceived quality of previous assignments on the expectations, sensemaking ability and willingness to apply psychological work in the current assignment. During the interviews, the participants indicated that if their previous experience was not considered to have been positive, they would more positively approach potential difficulties during the current assignment. This appeared to be independent of whether the individual was



escaping / leaving a difficult situation at home such as an economic crisis or comparing it with a previous negative / traumatic assignment. Despite the fact that some of the interview partners considered traits such as open-mindedness to be important for international assignments, they did not appear to override the effect of the previous experience.

A comparison with a previous positively perceived experience was provided by Vicky, a Chinese female, whose initial expatriate experience in Germany was obtained during a company assignment in 2003:

*... I was always with the whole team, so it was ... quite nice and ... there was not too much difference ... they were all Chinese ... I was not alone, because I have colleagues ... surrounding me ... so it was quite a nice experience. That's why ... I decided ... to come back to Germany to study. I think that ... was also important reason for that.*

She indicates that her reason for returning to Germany was based on her previous positively perceived assignment. During the initial assignment she was a member of a team of home country nationals, representing a co-national support system, which could result in increased psychological security and feelings of belonging and decreased levels of stress and feelings of alienation (Church 1982, p. 543; Gudykunst and Hammer 1988, p. 133; Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001, p. 86). On her return to Germany to study, the structure of the move and the support mechanisms had changed, a factor she did not anticipate or recognise, leading her to expect the same positive experience as encountered during the initial assignment.

The effect of a previous negatively perceived experience was described by David, who after an initial positive assignment in Germany moved to the USA, where he accepted a short term assignment in South Korea. At the time, he perceived the assignment as an extremely negative and traumatic experience as demonstrated by the following statement:

*... back then I had a really bad ... feeling about the whole thing. When I was there, I was just hoping that I could get*

*out of there as soon as possible ... they just dropped me like ... the Marines get dropped in the middle of the Pacific Ocean to do some job ... after the first six months I just rejected to ... continue ... the whole team not just me ... I start to feel like depressed ... it was really tough really really tough and after six months I couldn't take it anymore ... I didn't have any more ... fun ... going to work so it was like ... like being in ... jail for me ... I was basically burnt out and it took me ... another half a year to recover ...*

In this description he provides an indication of the severity of the situation and his negative feelings regarding the lack of training, which is implied in his comparison with the Marines. The cultural distance (Cao, Hirschi and Deller 2012, p. 167; Church 1982, p. 547; Manev and Stevenson 2001, pp. 287-288) between Spain and South Korea is great, an additional fact that may have increased the difficulty of acculturation and the level of acculturative stress experienced (Du Bois 1951, p. 22; 1970, p. 52; Searle and Ward 1990, p. 459) and expressed in the description of his reduced health status (Berry et al. 1987, p. 493) and desperation to leave the assignment. If David had such a "bad feeling" when embarking on the assignment, however, should this "bad feeling" not have been the initiating expectation for the assignment? In terms of the cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), the question is then raised whether the experienced distress is the result of the confronted situation being worse than the anticipated situation or the "bad feeling" stated being a post-decisional effort to relativize the initial situation and demonstrate foresight that may not have been present? Although it is not possible to provide a conclusive answer to this question, the result for David was the same painful experience. The subsequent moves back to the USA and thereafter to Germany were then perceived as very positive experiences for him. His consideration of the same event taken from today's perspective demonstrates a marked re-evaluation of the situation, and a post-decisional effort to revise his initial evaluation of the assignment and its negative consequences in line with the cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson 1992;

Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d):

*... and today I see it as a very good experience ... I'm very positive about that experience today, but back then when I was in there with the ... tough time that ... I had in Korea ... I was just hoping ... it would end really soon and I could get out of there ...*

These statements also demonstrate that the cross-cultural experience is not always clear-cut "positive" or "negative". Each assignment has to be considered on its own merits as circumstances and the environment change. David based his expectations of his return to Munich on his earlier assignment and the positive experience he had, but the return from the USA was also accompanied by a change of circumstances as he is now married and living in the country with his family. Further, he is no longer living in the city of Munich, but a small village outside, where a very traditional environment is still prevalent. The effects of this situation are evident in the following statement:

*... in German especially if you go to small towns, so something like that where I live today ... if I go out with my daughter and we start talking Spanish then people turn around looking at us like in horror "oh my God, they are foreigners" like they've never seen one ... It's ... not the same in Munich because it's a very international city, but ... I would say, here in Germany it's very difficult to get integrated because basically ... you are like a ... weirdo, you are a stranger ...*

This paradoxical cross-cultural experience does not comply with his previous experience or his expectations, and the negative reception that he has experienced in his new village community has resulted in increased cognitive dissonance and a higher level of acculturation stress.

Other forms of international engagement offered by the interview candidates as evidence of international cross-cultural experience were

previous international travel, holidays to foreign countries and short-term assignments. The consideration that these events provide a representative impression of the country and culture, however, was questioned by some of the interview partners.

Logan provided an example of the possible dangers of basing the expectations for an international assignment on the tourist's view of a culture, when describing his earlier preconceptions of Greece:

*... because it ... came from holidays on the islands in Greece.  
That was ... what I knew of Greece and I ... love the islands,  
they're beautiful and they're relaxing and the ... people ...  
I've found to be very friendly and I ... found it very very  
different when I lived in [Greece] ...*

This indicates his realisation of a large discrepancy between his perceptions of Greece whilst on holiday and whilst living in the country over a longer period of time, and being confronted with the culture on a daily basis. This may result from the fact that "[t]ourism is often represented as being an enjoyable, desirable and pleasurable experience ..." (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001, p. 130), which makes it a poor comparison for either a goal oriented foreign work assignment or a permanent residency in a country with the potential for irritations within both the private and work environment. Further, short-term forms of sojourner such as international travel (tourism) and short-term assignments do not enable an individual to acculturate as this is considered to only take place if the contact between the groups is "continuous" (Trimble 2003, p. 6). In this case, the result for Logan was that the perceived cognitive dissonance and stress experienced were greater than anticipated and his stay not as positive as he had originally expected.

In a similar vein Adrian considered that travelling for business and for private reasons is also different:

*the travel for ... work it's different than actually experiencing  
different places for a ... personal reason ... [b]ecause the  
lifestyle you live when you're doing it for a profession is*

*different than when it's personal as it's your own time, you can do what you like, you can see what you like, but when it's professional then it's limited what you can experience in different places ...*

Adrian makes a clear distinction between the two types of travel. Whereas travelling for business is usually associated with the achievement of a particular goal and the fulfilment of obligations, which limits the degree of interaction with the local environment, travelling for private reasons usually reverses this situation and the achievement of a pleasurable experience such as a holiday becomes the centre of attraction. (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001, p. 130). In this case the positive experiences are, especially with hindsight, emphasised and the negative experiences are relativized.

Although overlapping with section 6.1.2, the reason for making the move, a further category of negative experience was indicated in the interviews of Layla and Grace. Both are Asian females, who were both happy in their previous environments, but moved to Germany as the result of marriage and the decision/requirement to follow their husbands. Analysis of the interviews indicated that the decision to move was not an active decision on their part, but was embedded in tradition and has resulted in a negative experience as indicated in the statements made by Layla:

*... once in a while I'm still thinking if I have a ... chance or if there is a good moment for me to return back to China, I will ... but I think ... I don't know whether that's the ... confliction, but ... if I'm not married, if I'm not having child here ... staying in the Kindergarten ... in which he's enjoying his time, then I might just go back to my own country ... I'm okay, I mean ... I am a family person. I would stay with the big family if I can ... but now all these element ... also practical reasons together, then I choose to stay here.*

The above statement indicates that if she did not have a child in Germany, she would probably not stay, at the same time she is attempting to provide vindicating reasons for her decision to stay, as this is apparently against her

natural judgement of the situation. This negative situation outweighs any previous positive experience and results in a high level of cognitive dissonance and difficulties making sense of the environment. This high level of insecurity and feeling of loss results in an inability to impart sufficient motivation to apply the psychological identity work required to palliate the situation, resulting in a high level of acculturation stress and discomfort. The following statement made later in the interview emphasises her unhappiness as she again attempts to provide a reason for her situation.

*... before I come to Germany I don't have exact picture of what means ... what is the most important thing in my life ... what I care most ... I'm not like totally happy ... I'm here I'm will be continued stay here this is what exactly what I want. I'm still in a bit ... contradicting myself to some ... point ...*

Here she explains that she did not have any clear understanding of what she was expecting to achieve in life and what was important for her. Now she projects the image that she is trapped and doesn't know how to relieve the stress she is experiencing.

When considered in terms of the acculturating groups proposed by Berry and Sam (1997, pp. 295-296), both Layla and Grace can be considered similar to "asylum seekers" as in both cases the degree of permanency of the move to Germany is questionable. Berry and Sam (1997, pp. 295-296) considered that individuals that are involuntarily involved in the acculturation process may experience more acculturation difficulty and stress than those voluntarily involved, a factor that is apparent in both of these interviews.

The context and narrative resources resulting from the theoretical coding within the Personal Context and contained in the conceptual framework (Table 9) are illustrated in Fig. 15 as a scalar representation. The narrative resources are organised in terms of the individual's increasing positive perception of the previous experience based on the above discussion.

The scale commences on the left with the forced move. Individuals in this category have not actively taken part in the decision to move to the new

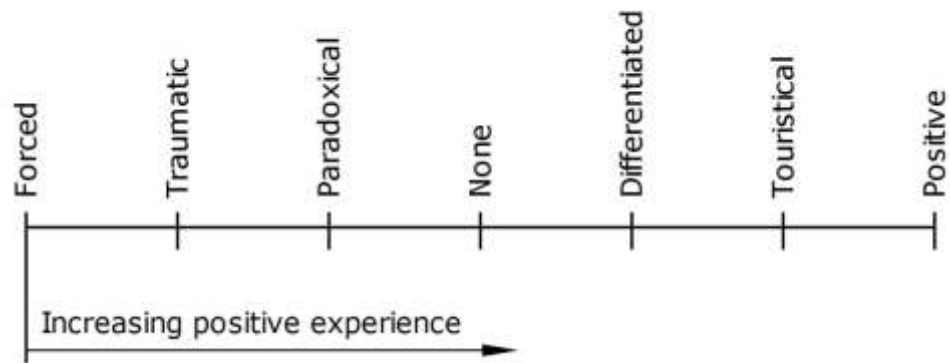


Fig. 15: Personal Context Scale

environment, a situation that has greater influence on their current situation than any previous positive experience attained. They have difficulties making sense not only of their new environment, but also their position within the new environment. Due to this uncertainty they suffer high levels of cognitive dissonance, but are not able to impart sufficient motivation to apply the psychological identity work required to palliate the situation. As such they suffer high levels of acculturation stress.

The traumatic group have previous negative experience either in their home environment or in previous international environments. This implies that the individuals are already negatively predisposed toward the new situation, but at the same time are hoping the new situation will be better than the previous. They demonstrate a higher level of awareness of their environment and appear to accept that problems may occur. If the new assignment exceeds their expectations the individuals experience positive cognitive dissonance and are satisfied with their situation. As they demonstrate an underlying desire to improve their situation in comparison to their previous experience, these individuals demonstrate a higher level of uncertainty acceptance and are willing to implement higher levels of psychological identity work to palliate their situation should negative deviations be recognised.

At the midpoint on the scale are individuals who did not report on or demonstrate any recognisable previous positive or negative influencing situations. This position may be taken up by individuals that have had rather sheltered lives in small mono-cultural environments such as a small

country village and have not previously travelled outside of their own country. One interview participant, Mason, demonstrated this position. His neutral position was apparent at many stages during the interview and resulted in an almost laissez faire approach to the assignment. Although it is not possible to generalise from one individual's behaviour, he did demonstrate interesting characteristics that are worthy of investigation in future projects. On the one hand he was not stressed by his environment, on the other hand it appeared at times questionable whether he actively participated in it and realised the potential implications of his situation. This almost naïve position enabled him, however, to apply sufficient psychological identity work to palliate his situation, resulting in a low level of acculturation stress.

The touristical group have short-term international experience at differing levels, but this does not provide them with the experience necessary to live in a foreign environment. They consider themselves experienced and prepared for the new assignment and approach the assignment in a positive manner. These individuals may suffer higher levels of cognitive dissonance if the new situation does not fulfil their expectations, which will result in high levels of acculturation stress. Higher levels of psychological identity work may then be necessary for them to palliate their situation.

The final group has had positive previous experience. The experience may enable them to enter the new assignment in a positive manner, but at the same time it may lower their threshold for cognitive dissonance as they have no experience of dealing with negative situations. If the assignment develops according to their expectations they will be successful, but if problems arise they are vulnerable for acculturation stress.

### **6.1.2 Reason for Move or Stay**

The substantive codes in this contextual category were grouped around themes indicating their reasons for the move to and for staying in Germany. This category additionally provides an insight into the degree of willingness and voluntariness of the individual to partake in the assignment and to remain in the country. Additional factors surrounding the reasons for the



move and the degree of urgency involved also appeared to influence the individuals' perception of their situation.

In contrast to the personal context category (Section 6.1.1), which considered the individual's general past and present experiences, this contextual category only represents the individuals' current situations in Germany.

Three interview participants indicated that either their move to Germany or their reason to stay in the country was not completely voluntary.

Layla reported that she married her Chinese husband and then followed him to Germany, where he had been living for approximately five years:

*It's because ... husband ... he's a Chinese and he's been studying and ... later got a job in ... Germany ... we get married in ... January and I come to Germany in ... July, so it's about half a ... year ...*

Grace described a similar situation in which she had met a German whilst working in Canada and when he decided to move back to Germany they got married and she moved with him:

*... I married a German citizen ... we met in Canada ... but he wanted to move back to Germany because he is German and his family, parents and friends are all here so he preferred to come back to Germany and I followed ...*

The third person, a South Korean male, Jack, had moved to Germany of his own volition as part of a career move, but now appears to be fighting with his own doubts whether he should stay in the country:

*... my feeling is a little bit ... uncomfortable, always think about my Eltern ((parents)) ... try to visit once a year, but my parents age is almost 70 ... every times when I visit to Korea I count it on my hands ... something countdown ... how many times I can meet them more in the future ... my feeling is very uncomfortable actually. Something I ... feel*

*like ... some kind of a duty as a son ...*

Indicating his worries for his family and the duty he feels he has to his parents. Later in the interview this concern is again indicated, but not directly verbalised in his statement:

*... This could be also one of the reason why I'm here,  
because of my wife ... if I don't have a wife then this can  
be ... I will be back to Korea*

One important question raised by these three situations is how voluntary any move really is, a question still not adequately addressed in the literature (Berry and Kim 1988, p. 220). The literature (Baruch, Budhwar and Khatri 2007, p. 100; Doherty 2013, pp. 449-450; Suutari 2003, p. 190) acknowledges that push and pull factors influence an individual's decision to embark on an international assignment, but are they just influencing factors that are used by the individual to support a prior decision to take on the assignment or does an individual's "escape" career design (push-factor) or search for something "better" (pull-factor) actually remove the voluntary context from the move resulting in an involuntary act driven by external factors? A further consideration is whether push and pull factors influence an individual's reasons for staying in the country to the degree that this decision may not be voluntary. This differentiation is important as an individual may have decided to move to Germany of their own volition, for example as part of a career move, but may now find themselves "trapped" in the country due to their current situation. Although no answer is provided for these considerations, they are considered when attempting to determine an individual's behaviour in a particular situation.

All three individuals indicated elements of Berry and Sam (1997, pp. 295-296) "asylum seekers" indicating a level of involuntariness in the context and temporary understanding of the move. Additionally they demonstrate raised levels of stress in comparison to the other members of the group, a fact that is recognisable in the above statement by Jack and the previously discussed comment made by Layla (p. 158) in which she provides an indication of the inner struggle that she is fighting for the good of her family

here in Germany, herself and her family and friends in China. Her position demonstrates many parallels with the inner conflict and perceived duty to support the family reported by Jack. The increased stress indicated by these statements supports the theory that individuals who are involuntarily involved in the acculturation process may demonstrate higher levels of acculturation difficulties and stress (Berry and Sam 1997, pp. 295-296).

Moving the emphasis for the move, Isabella and Hannah acknowledged that their home countries were going through a difficult time and saw this as a problem, but they explicitly stated the search for a job as one of their main reasons for moving to or staying in Germany. Isabella demonstrates a complex situation in her statement:

*My country is not in a good condition at the moment politically, economically ... so I needed to do something for myself, it was a dream for me to come to Europe and work here, so I just did it ... I have these roots in my family from Italy ... they went to Argentina after the war ... my grandparents and ... I grew up with this idea of Europe in my heart ... and it felt right somehow ... and I couldn't get a job, I was getting depressed ... so then I started applying for jobs in Germany and in Austria too and I started to get answers, which I didn't in Argentina and they were ... asking me to come here and have interviews with them, so I just one day decided to come because I thought okay if they are answering me I have to go, I have to try it out, if it doesn't work, okay, I come back. But that was like my mental process ...*

Although the need for employment is indicated as being central to this move, packaged in her wish to fulfil her dream to work in Europe, she also demonstrates elements of the "runaway" category. She is obviously aware of her country's difficulties and is trying to leave them behind as they were causing her distress, making the initial flight decision easier. In addition she states an explicit wish to revisit her grandparents' European roots. In terms of the Berry and Sam (1997, pp. 295-296) acculturation groups, she is

demonstrating elements of a sojourner, the possible temporary nature of the initial decision being indicated by the statement "... *I have to try it out, if it doesn't work, okay, I come back ...*". If the economic and employment difficulties in her home country are considered to remove the voluntary nature of the move her position would change to that of an "Asylum Seeker". Although in her case there is no danger of her being deported, the categorisation involuntary, temporary, migrant, would apply.

In addition to the "runaway" properties demonstrated by Isabella, the purist "runaway" situation describes individuals whose foremost goal is to escape from a current negative situation, which supports previous research (Boies and Rothstein 2002, p. 248; Cerdin 2013, p. 60). The negative situation can take on varying forms from personal distress coupled with cultural adaptation difficulties (Logan), difficult personal circumstances (Adrian), escaping from difficult economic and political situation (Hannah) or general dissatisfaction with their current positions or organisation. Logan, a British male, had moved to Greece together with his Greek female partner. He experienced major difficulties integrating into the local culture an experience that ended in divorce and him having to leave their daughter in the foreign environment. He explains his previous situation as:

*... looking back it was ... kind of a mistake really going to Greece ... I got married to this women and divorced whilst in Greece ... it didn't go too well in the end, but ... I should have thought a little more about what it would mean to go to Greece, to ... live in Greece, but I think ... I was just a bit more relaxed about it than ... maybe I should have been ... came across something talking about the four stages of um culture shock ... I never really got passed the depressed stage in Greece, but I think ... I've acceptance in Germany*

His comment that he "... *never really got passed the depressed stage in Greece ...*" provides an indication of his perception of the situation he was confronted with in Greece and the impression it left on him. Further, he does not provide any indication that with time, the situation had been palliated and the dissonance reduced (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957;

Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) providing an additional indication of the level of cross-cultural and personal stress that had been achieved at the time.

Although the initial move to Greece had been made voluntarily his move to Germany appeared to be influenced by the need to leave the difficult situation he found himself in.

*... it didn't feel at all as if I was moving to Germany ... being with a ... Greek partner, moving to Greece feels like you're moving to Greece and it felt like I was moving to Greece, but ... in the process of ... being divorced and everything kind of up in the air and all a bit crazy ... I was just going to Germany and I wasn't moving here ... I didn't have that frame of mind ... when I came to Germany ...*

The statement indicates that whether consciously or not, Logan was taking a tourist approach (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001, pp. 130-135) to the move to Germany, a situation that infers less stress and is generally considered to be a positive experience. It must also be considered that he chose this approach to reduce the danger of experiencing the same problems he had previously encountered in Greece and to “protect” himself from the potential pain. As he wasn’t planning on his stay being a long-term situation similar to that created by the marriage and move to Greece, an early exit from Germany would not have been a “failure”, reducing the element of disappointment that may have otherwise accompanied this decision. In accordance with the cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), this approach would therefore create lower expectations of the outcome of the experience and reduce the possible dissonance that he would experience, resulting in a lower stress level. Although Logan was not able or willing to revise his original evaluation of the move to Greece, he was able to reduce the possible negative outcome of the following move.

Adrian also described a “runaway” behaviour from a difficult personal situation, with the danger of a negative future:

*... I thought where I'm livin' in Dublin was a particularly bad area so I thought well you never know I might enjoy it, it looks like a nice place at least so I might as well try it out ... where my focus comes from is living in a really bad area to thinking okay I'm not going to end up here, I'm not going to end up like 99% of my friends that are all junkies and in jail and you know stuff like that ...*

Although he took advantage of a job opportunity to facilitate the move to Germany, the central aspect of the move was the chance to escape from the home environment and the poor perspectives, combined with the chance to develop a positive future in the new environment. There was no initial decision made on the duration of the assignment and he reassesses the situation regularly, stating "*... I think it's like a yearly review I do in my head and then you know see how it goes from there ...*" indicating an initial position of a sojourner according to Berry and Sam (1997, pp. 295-296). Again, the question has to be considered whether the fear and potential consequences of remaining in the difficult home environment was the deciding factor that pushed him out of the home environment and enticed him to accept the position offered and the move to the new environment. If this was the case, it may be argued that this could have reduced the level of voluntariness involved and increased the level of potential acculturation stress experienced by him.

Other interviewees also took advantage of job offers to facilitate their move although not foremost as planned career moves. Luke described his reason for the move as follows:

*I had developed a technology ... my German company had ... come to look at it ... they were impressed with my abilities and ... made me an offer to come to Germany ... it would just be a great opportunity to do ... something international. So, from a resume perspective it's fantastic and from a travel perspective it's great for my family.*

In a similar vein Emily stated:

*... I met AAAA who's my colleague ... here at the moment ... one day she just approach me saying ... are you interested in working for my company. I mean we looking for someone who speaks English and Chinese. You might be perfect for this job? So I thought why not and then I sent my CV through and ... I had an interview ... and I got the job and then came.*

In both cases the individuals demonstrated high levels of voluntariness, but they added a further category of spontaneity to the considerations for the application for and acceptance of the position. Both individuals have taken the position of sojourners (Berry and Sam 1997, pp. 295-296) resulting in an expected lower level of acculturation stress. They also indicated that they were prepared to accept failure of the assignment a factor that can also be considered to reduce the level of stress that may be perceived.

A behavioural category that is closely related to advantage taking is coincidence. In this case the degree of element of chance is increased and accepted as such for example Lucas who states:

*... whether I got the job or not it's didn't really matter, I was kind of like okay if I didn't get the job probably wouldn't have came, I probably would have taken another similar offer I had in Ireland. It was kind of the element of chance to it as well ...*

The wish for something better than currently offered in the home country demonstrates a higher level of voluntariness than in the runaway, as the level of external pressure exerted on the individual to move is reduced as is the perceived level of urgency. This factor was not only recognisable in some of the individuals' reasons for moving to Germany, but also in their reasons for staying, as stated by Hannah when discussing her continued stay in Germany and her mother's wish for her to return home:

*... [my mother] understands that I stay here because we have a really hard problem with finding a job in Ukraine first of all. Then she understands that I would earn less there and*

*my expenses would be more in Kiev so ... I have better conditions here at the moment ...*

In this statement, she not only explains that her decision to stay in Germany is centred around its perceived better economic situation and strong job market, but also indicates her recognition of the fact that this may be a temporary advantage that requires monitoring and reassessment. This individual demonstrates a sojourner position (Berry and Sam 1997, pp. 295-296) with, in comparison to the "runaway", the additional potentially stress reducing element that the move is voluntary and that a failure in the assignment does not have such negative consequences for the individual.

If we consider careers as "repositories of knowledge" (Bird 1994, p. 326; 1996, p. 150), each of the individuals involved in this research have built their career competencies and labour market value through their transfer across both organisational and national boundaries (Thomas, Lazarova and Inkson 2005, p. 341) as elements of the internal career (Schein 1978, p. 37; 1996, p. 80) or protean career (Hall 1976; 1996b; 2004), elements most apparent in the concept of the boundaryless career (Inkson 1997, p. 178). In the final behavioural category of career management the career development and the active collection of knowledge have been central to the decisions made to select, accept and develop positions in Germany. If the extended question of voluntary selection and decisions is not addressed here, career management can be considered a voluntary, planned action as indicated by James:

*... back then I still had an idea of building a career in management consulting ... that's why I definitely, once I got the offer, I decided to move ...*

Fig. 16 illustrates a scalar representation of the contextual factor shown in the conceptual framework in terms of the individual's increasing voluntariness and willingness either to embark on the move or to remain in the host country based on the above discussion. The scale commences with the "family" as reason for the move or decision to stay. The "search for a new job" and the "runaway" categories are escapist driven categories where



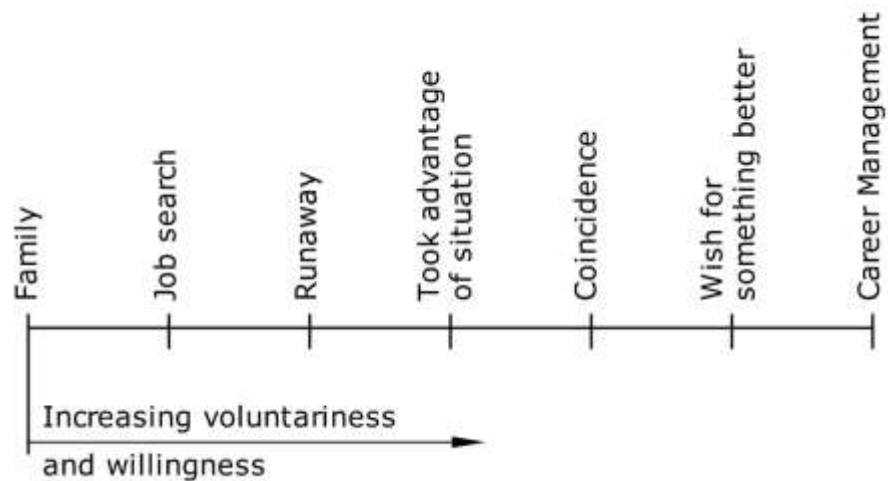


Fig. 16: Reason for Move / Stay Scale

the initial perceived voluntariness is negated by the pressure implied by the home environment to make or retain the move. The category with the highest level of perceived voluntariness and willingness is the "career management" category in which active internal career development is carried out.

Increasing voluntariness and active participation (willingness) in the decision to move to the new environment resulted in an increased willingness to accept uncertainty and dissonance. As a result the level of identity work required to palliate the dissonance reduces and the level of acculturation stress perceived decreases.

### **6.1.3 Language Competence**

Language, as previously considered in section 2.7, is one of the components of the complex process of cross-cultural communication (Hall and Hall 1990b, p. 4). Logan considered it "... *the funnel through which you have to express yourself*". In this context it represents part of the complex process through which we exchange meaning (Weaver 1993, p. 114) and the cues that help negotiate the daily environment in an acceptable manner (Adler and Gundersen 2008, p. 70). Language differences are, therefore, much more than a mechanical translation process (Welch, Welch and Piekkari 2005, p. 11), they also infer a difference in situational understanding.

The interview partners in this research project demonstrated not only different degrees of language ability, but also of willingness to and understanding for learning the host country language, German. This influenced their ability to access the host culture and the amount of psychological identity work required to palliate the dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) and discomfort perceived.

At the lower end of the scale, the unmotivated individuals demonstrated a lack of willingness to learn the host language, especially in the local international, multilingual environment, although in general they were attempting to learn the language with varying degrees of success. Jack, a South Korean male, demonstrates psychological identity work to justify his lack of German language ability and his lack of motivation to learn the language:

*... always I have on mind ... someday have to ... learn German ... also, my wife is German, she can help me ...but I made ... excuse ... why not now. ... The whole western languages are quite hard for Asian people, exactly the same ... the western people also very hard to learn Chinese or Japanese and Korean, but they are easy to learn some French or Spanish and Italienisch ((Italian)) 'cause the root is difference ...*

Jack demonstrates awareness that he should learn German, but as he says, has made excuses not to learn the language and why it didn't work. This "recognition" of the need has not resulted in him applying himself to the problem; instead, he immediately applies psychological identity work to palliate and justify his situation. The argument that he cannot learn the language as western languages have a different root is not valid as this would imply that all Asians would have difficulties learning western languages, but this is not the case as evidenced by other interview partners. Potential reasons for his lack of motivation may lie in his German wife who can help him outside of the work environment, and his working in an organisation implementing an English lingua franca.

Grace also indicates a negative position regarding learning German:

*... I wasn't really into ... learning German because it's a very difficult language and very boring so I was ... get into it really slow and then ... I had the kid and ... I had to take care of my kid all of the time and I really don't have the time ... for learning any language until I step into the school*

Not only does she make clear her unwillingness and failing motivation to learn the language, but also uses her child as an excuse for not progressing. This may be an attempt to justify her decision and the lack of progress to both herself and her surroundings in order to reduce the pressure and stress that may otherwise have been applied.

Mason demonstrated a better understanding of the benefits of local language skills:

*... here in Munich ... I don't think it is necessary, but ... it would probably make your life easier ... make you feel part of it as opposed to an outsider, so I think it is ... probably better off to learn the language*

Although he does not consider it necessary to learn the language in Munich, as it is possible to interact with others using English, he understands that local language skills would assist his adaptation as it would provide a feeling of belonging, which would reduce the potential acculturation stress he may perceive.

Ryan also considered that "... only speaking English isn't such a barrier ..." and "... my socialising in Germany has been entirely in English ..." indicating a willingness to rely on the international environment. On the other hand he demonstrates limited German language ability and a general understanding of the advantages of learning the language:

*... most human kind of communication at some point is going to require you to reproduce the language as well as understand it and only understanding the language is not a massively useful skill I've found ...*

He indicates a latent understanding of the difference between language knowledge and communication, possessing passive and active language ability. In this context, "*understanding of the language*" infers that knowledge of passive vocabulary (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 368), but as this does not include the ability to communicate, would infer that he possesses a low level of active vocabulary (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369). This he recognises is insufficient to be able to communicate.

Mason demonstrates a lack of motivation to learn the language to a level that would enable him to communicate fluently and states:

*... either I need to put my head down and actually get my German to at least to the level of my Swedish which is sort of enough to kind of have friendships um or I need to go somewhere where I'm more comfortable with the language surroundings ... I ... just don't have the motivation to ... learn German to that level ...*

He also considers that under certain circumstances there is no problem moving to a new country and not learning the language:

*... I don't think there's anything wrong with moving to a particular country if you don't speak the local language for a year or two ... as long as you are not some complete cast-out who doesn't even learn a few words and feels kind of lost the whole time and even disrespectful ... I don't see why you should spend time learning [the local language] ... if you can do your business in English ... it may be worthwhile to give some thought upfront to what your plan is*

Important is that he restricts the applicability of his statement to situations in which the individual is able to avoid being considered as an outcast. This implies the need for an alternative support mechanism using the individual's mother tongue or an acceptable third language to reduce the level of stress confronted. In addition, it implies that Mason is applying high levels of psychological identity work to enable him to come to terms with his lack of language ability.

Ryan additionally infers that the role and function of English, his mother tongue, is so important that:

*... it makes sense for countries to educate their populations in the English language just because of the ... role and the function that the English language now has in the world, which I don't see being displaced for the time being.*

This raises the question whether his opinion has grown out of the wish to reduce his own difficulties learning German and perceived distress, or whether it is a practical consideration on his part. If his suggestion would be implemented, it would not ensure that all recipients of a communication will equally understand (Hall and Hall 1990b, p. 4) and that communication will be easier, as the use of a common work language or lingua franca can result in mother tongue speakers expecting cultural commonalities although these are not given (Gannon 2004, p. 6; Gannon and Pillai 2010, p. 7).

Luke went so far as to use his superior home language ability and lack of host language ability to enable him to assert his position in the German company that he was working in:

*Company language is German ... all the communication with me is in English ... I can ... understand someone when they say something in German, but in order to take control of the situation or the topic, to do this in English ... made it easier for me to be in a position of authority.*

He demonstrated an initial interest in learning German, but has not transferred this adequately to the work environment considering the benefits of continuing to use his mother tongue over the host language. In this case Luke is aware of the effect that his choice of language has on the colleagues and the fact that he is artificially raising their stress levels while hoping to cement his own position within the organisation:

*... obviously I'm taking them out of their comfort zone ... even if everybody else was equal and I take you out of your comfort zone by telling you you have to speak a foreign*

*language, you lose some of your authority, you lose some of your position so it helped me to come in and to ... justify who I am, what I do and ... the experience that I bring ... I could see a lack of confidence ... there were a few people that had a little bit of difficulty with it, but ... we quickly learned to work well together and to ... figure out a way to make everything successful ... I don't think it was a barrier.*

He took into account that the choice of language would influence the way in which decision making and work policies are carried out (Jameson 2007, p. 215).

Ryan not only demonstrated a lack of motivation to learn German, but throughout the interview he adapted and relativized his own understanding of his language ability in a "rhetoric review" (Howard 2000, p. 372) using identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) to adjust the image he projected in an attempt to reduce the level of acculturation stress perceived. Ryan consistently improved his own understanding of his language ability and skills and demonstrated a lack of awareness for his true inability to master the language indicating that he is unconsciously incompetent (Adams 2013; Race 2007, p. 19). This was evidenced throughout the interview; he commences by explaining that on arrival:

*... could sort of navigate my way around the Deutsche Bahn website or something ... of that nature fairly easily, I wouldn't necessarily be able to write ... the language on the Deutsche Bahn website ...*

In a further development, he also indicates the use of cognates of Swedish to aid his understanding in German (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369):

*... while I was in Sweden, learnt about Swedish, which is also obviously a Germanic language ... there's quite a degree of similarity, especially in some of the vocabulary with German ...*

This not only indicates a weak active vocabulary, but also an inadequate

level of passive vocabulary.

At the time of the interview, approximately three years later, he considers:

*... I don't think ... my ... basic ... ability to operate in Germany [is] much different now from what it was ... when I first moved here almost three years ago ... I mean ... my passive vocabulary has become a lot richer so I can now kind of pick up [a newspaper] and make a good stab at reading an article, which I couldn't do when I first arrived, but a lot of that actually tends to be not language that you even need in everyday life ... now I could ... call up a German company for example and I would always start probably the conversation asking them if they speak English, but if they don't I feel that I've then excused myself to speak bad German and then I can muddle through and then speak German whereas probably when I arrived I couldn't do that ...*

On reflection, however, he considers that his abilities are actually better than first stated:

*... my German has definitely improved so ... I'm perhaps not thinking of that properly if I say that almost the same ... when I first came ... yeah sure my German was fairly rudimentary ... but I still kind of felt that it ... was German ... so um I always felt I could survive in Germany, it wasn't a big deal ...*

The true level of his language skills is indicated in the following statement where he inadvertently reduces the level of his ability:

*... German is a language that I'm going to be continuing to work on ... it's not that I'm not interested in improving it at all, but I guess it's more as a hobby, ... I ... quite ... like the idea of being able to maybe pick up a German newspaper when I fly with Lufthansa and be able to read what the German perspective is on what's going on in the world ...*

He not only demonstrates that his active language ability is weak, but also his passive language ability as he likes the idea of being able to read a German newspaper, which infers that he is currently not able to do so. It is clear that Ryan's understanding of his ability is complex, but he demonstrates many of the features of an unconsciously incompetent individual.

The largest group of individuals were aware of their language inabilities or difficulties, demonstrating characteristics of the consciously incompetent (Adams 2013; Race 2007, p. 18). Many of the individuals in this study moved to Germany with little or no knowledge of the host language as indicated by Adrian who stated that "... *I couldn't even count to 10 when I came here in German ...*". In addition the individuals demonstrated various difficulties learning the language some of which could be related to their own willingness as previously mentioned, but also related to their own ability or perceived ability as Emily indicates:

*I ... studied German at university for about one year and after that we didn't ... really practice much so I had a bit of knowledge when I came, very little ... but I had an urge to learn ... but I've been here for three years now it's a shame to say, I still can't really speak German because I realise it's not easy any more for me, not like when I was doing ... English and I was so ... scared of making mistakes, so scared if I say something maybe wrong ... I don't know it just me changed 'cause now I'm over thirty. It's not like when I'm in my early twenties I wasn't afraid. ... but now I'm so afraid of many many things oh 'what if I say that wrong' ...*

She indicates an interest in learning German, but doesn't feel that it is easy for her as she is "*scared of making mistakes*". This indicates anxiety or more particularly, foreign language anxiety, a factor known to impede learning ability in classrooms (Al-Shboul et al. 2013, p. 32; Horwitz 2001, p. 113; Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986, p. 125; Tsiplakides and Keramida 2009, p. 39). This extension of existing theory was also demonstrated by other individuals expected to learn or work in German, such as Luke:



*... when I am here my presence as a manager is extremely important. So ... I can ... understand someone when they say something in German, but in order to take control of the situation or the topic, to do this in English ... made it easier for me to be in a position of authority.*

In this statement he begins by emphasising his passive language ability, but then indicates his concern that he will not be able to control the situation if he has to rely on his weak German ability. The concern rooted in this statement is rather vocalised in the positively worded statement that his use of English made it easier for him to be in a position of authority rather than stating that he is not able to do something. This can be understood in terms of social identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) in which he is attempting to demonstrate a latent belonging or similarity to the outgroup of German speakers while at the same time vocalising his need to be seen in a positive light in the power environment he considers himself to be in (Howard 2000, p. 372) and to obtain verification of the enacted positional identity (Carter 2013, p. 205). In addition, it may be argued that the anxiety demonstrated may be rooted in a fear of negative evaluation by others (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986, p. 128), because the evaluation will take place according to unknown and uncertain linguistic and socio-cultural standards, the outcome of which is uncertain.

Adrian recognises the benefits of having local language capabilities and the situation that he finds himself in:

*... I think Munich is a special case, because the majority of people are pretty good at English ... so it's a little bit easier to fit in and integrate ... I think that in order to really be immersed and really be able to go into any situation and feel comfortable it would be a necessity to know at least a decent level of the language ...*

In the initial phase he demonstrates his relief that Munich allows him a limited level of social interaction without knowledge of German. At the same time he demonstrates self-categorisation, recognising that to become a

member of the local outgroup (Stets and Burke 2000, p. 225) he will need to learn the local language. As the interview progressed, it also became apparent that the language situation was causing him at least a moderate level of distress, as visible in the following statement:

*... there'r still aspects of ... being here that ... I'm not happy with ... there's my progress in the language ... I've made a lot of progress with my housemates and stuff that I can understand German really well, but I just can't speak it. That's due to lack of practice.*

He first considers his improved passive language skills, demonstrating elements of the social comparison process (Stets and Burke 2000, p. 225) in an attempt to improve his identity. Taken together with the previous statement, however, the lack of language skills is resulting in the recognition that he is currently unable to become a member of the outgroup local German community and therefore is consciously aware of his language "incompetence".

It is not easy to determine exactly how good an individual's German language ability is during an interview carried out in English, but the individual's own perception of their ability and a noted positive reaction of their contacts will be considered sufficient evidence for this study. As stated by Logan:

*... I'm capable now of having German conversations just about ... because of my level of German, I'm more likely to be less jokey in ... German because it's too difficult ... I would be more to the point and perhaps that makes ... a bit more serious ... in German ... the way you're perceived is obviously greatly related to your vocabulary and ... how quickly you can respond to things and in what level of detail you can ... do that ... I also feel ... still a little bit disconnected when I'm speaking German, ... for me, um there's always a little bit of processing and thinking about the grammar maybe or ... whatever so that takes something out of the ...*

*communication that ...you use a language for.*

He demonstrates an ability to communicate in the local German language, but also the deliberation in his communication as he states that "... *there's always a bit of processing and thinking ...*" and indicates in the statement "... *how quickly you can respond ...*" that he is not always able to react immediately in all situations. These are indications of the consciously competent individual who is aware of their language competence, but is missing the fluency or competency of details shown at the next level. In linguistic terms, Logan indicates that he is more serious and to the point when speaking German as it is too difficult to be jokey, which indicate that he possesses an acceptable level of passive and controlled active vocabulary (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369), but that his level of free active vocabulary and understanding of linguistic nuances is restricted (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369). Logan also demonstrates an understanding of the importance of attitude and anxiety in the learning process (Horwitz 2001, pp. 114-117; Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986, p. 125):

*... I think that ... attitude is ... very important not to ... worry about making mistakes and that's ... probably one of the harder things I found was ... just talking to people and not worrying that you're making loads of mistakes ... and that's ... I think, when you ... get over that then ... it becomes an easier task*

He describes the difficulty he had accepting that he was going to make mistakes, and needed to make mistakes, in order to learn German. This is in line with the literature and recognises the fact that he had to overcome his communication apprehension and fear of negative evaluation (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986, p. 127) in order to make advances in the language.

Isabella also indicates an understanding of the difficulties of learning the language and the negative effect of anxiety on the learning experience.

*... when I wanted to integrate, that was the point where I started like pushing harder to ... learn the language and ... be part of it ... it's a challenge every day yes, but I ... tend not*

*to get nervous about it because if I get nervous I don't learn ... It is a challenge the language of course, but if you want to learn it you learn it that's the way I see it. ... I was studying German in Argentina for the eight months that I was there since Austria ... now I'm in a B1, B2 level ... I just said 'okay if I really listen I will start to understand' and ... that happened, but I had to commit too ... that was my trigger for example also just to want to do some other things and not be able to do them without the language ...*

In this statement, she indicates an understanding of the importance of the local language in order to integrate into the local environment, which is supported by the literature (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005, p. 268; Gong et al. 2003, p. 203; Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003, p. 221).

Consciously competent individuals are therefore able to communicate with locals in their own language, which will enable them to experience an easier social integration and adjustment.

Leah provides an insight into her understanding of the importance of learning the local language not only to communicate in the local language, but to help her understand what locals are intending to say when they communicate with her in English:

*... I put a lot of value in the language, because I think ... you can't really understand certain things that Germans say in English unless you know how they were thinking in their native language first ... just small things like that um false friends in the language where you'll interpret something completely different if you don't know what they actually mean*

She also provides an indication of the dangers of using cognates of the first (or other known languages) to aid understanding (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369), which may lead to misunderstanding and possible confusion. An example of such a false friend would be the word "gift", which in English means a present, but in German means poison, or "bald", which for a

German would mean “soon”, but for an English person would mean without hair. The use of a foreign language not only to communicate with the locals, but to help understand their communication in her mother tongue indicates a high level of language ability and comfort with the language such that it has become almost “second nature”, providing indications of an unconsciously competent individual (Adams 2013; Race 2007, p. 19).

Vicky provides an indication of some of the finer points of host language ability and also the difficulties of coping with dialects:

*... I was working as a translator ... for the whole team ... I studied ... German language in China ... actually [I felt] comfortable because ... I knew the language. I think it's the most important thing. You come to a new country and you have to deal with different people ... sometimes they make some jokes in German or in Bayerisch ((Bavarian)) I don't get it ...*

The fact that she has studied German at university demonstrates that she should have a good technical understanding of the language and not only a correspondingly large passive vocabulary, but also relatively large controlled and free active vocabulary. The fact that she is not able to understand jokes made in German may be support for the literature position that knowing a language is no guarantee of understanding a cultural mind-set (Gannon and Pillai 2010, p. 7). As her language skills were learnt in China (mono-cultural bilingual) she will not have access to the same language triggers (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 280) as a bicultural bilingual. The fact that she also has problems understanding the local Bavarian dialect is not an indication of her general German language ability as the local Bavarian dialect varies distinctly in many aspects from high-German, but it may have an effect on her ability to interact and integrate with the local environment.

Lucas also demonstrates good language ability and explains some of the perceived and real benefits of this skill:

*... I did German at school ... every summer I used to go to Germany too, we did an exchange at school and I made*

*friends in Cologne ... I did it at University. I got too the opportunity to study in Munich at LMU ((Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich)) ... I think my life has been a lot easier because I could speak German ... I think deep down there's a bit more respect for you if you can speak German ... If you speak German it says a lot ... it says look I'm kind of familiar with this country, I know what goes on here or ... I will speak your language I don't expect you to speak mine and I think that definitely gives you a lot of "brownie points" with the person ...*

He acknowledges the benefits of local language skills not only to aid integration into the local environment (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005, p. 268; Gong et al. 2003, p. 203; Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003, p. 221) but also to help create an identity acceptable to the outgroup locals (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3). Despite his previously stated language ability, he demonstrates continued problems using the formal and informal address:

*One ... of the things I find with German strange is formal situations, you have the Sie ((polite, formal, unfamiliar form of you)) and the Du ((informal, familiar form of you)) and sometimes when you're not sure ... I speak English actually ...*

He indicates that rather than make a mistake, he reverts back to his ingroup identity and mother tongue, which demonstrates anxiety to make mistakes and fear of negative evaluation (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986, p. 127).

James added an interesting dimension to the consideration of second language ability:

*... I don't think that people will really kind of try to disadvantage you ... because you don't speak German ... my impression ... toward ... those people who are not very good in English, they kind of ... try to avoid you or kind of not that*

*active in interactions with you because they be a little bit ashamed of not being able to speak English with you ... once you speak German they kind of all easier relaxed because ... they're not ashamed that they cannot ... support the conversation in English*

He considers the situation from the perspective of the German individuals confronted with someone who doesn't speak their language, requiring them to use their foreign language, English, to communicate. He recognises that the German individuals are not comfortable using English and therefore attempt to avoid the interaction, which as previously suggested, may be interpreted in terms of anxiety to make mistakes and fear of negative evaluation (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986, p. 127). When he demonstrates knowledge of the local language, the emphasis switches and the local retrieves their position of power and can return within their comfort zone and their ingroup (Stets and Burke 2000, p. 225).

Hannah and Sophia (who speaks six languages) stated that they had been learning German for many years and had spent longer periods interacting with Germans in Germany and abroad. They demonstrated bilingual or multilingual tendencies as they were able to speak two or more languages fluently, almost as if they were their mother-tongues, demonstrating a high level of free active vocabulary (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369).

Hannah demonstrates the ability to work in both English and German:

*... [company language is] more English ... although I use both, German as well, because we have English speaking and German speaking people ... I work with also the representatives in different countries so I have to use English and most of my Emails are also in English ... there are still people who are speaking just German and that for me doesn't matter ...*

Sophia not only indicates the ability to work in both languages, but also a polylinguistic framework of language-triggered switching of culture-specific identity frames (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 279):

*... if I think of persons I know in France ... even think of them ... in my head, my thoughts are French. That's why ... I also like read everything that I can in the regional language ... because it sounds always different from ... the translation. It's never the same. If you put yourself in the mind-set of the different culture ... with the help of the language, which is of course very ... important ... then there are a lot of Feinheiten ((subtleties, nuances)) that cannot be translated, or never come through properly unless you really are ... in that different language or in that different culture.*

This is compatible with Arnett's (2002) concept of the dual-identity and the alternation model of acculturation proposed by LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993, pp. 399-400), which assumes that it is possible for an individual to know and understand two different cultures and adapt their behaviour to suit a particular social context, as in the case of bicultural bilinguals (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Harris Bond 2008; Hong et al. 2000, p. 710). Alternatively, an identity could be activated or invoked when an individual perceives that the meanings of the situation match the meanings of the identity (Carter 2013, p. 204). This implies that the German context requires the activation of the German oriented identity as the English identity would not result in the desired level of positive interaction.

Some individuals indicated satisfaction with their language ability before they reached bilingual ability. In general, they considered they had attained sufficient language ability for their current needs, and did not recognise the necessity to actively invest more time and effort in improving their abilities, although possible improvements may take place during normal interactions with local language speakers. In terms of identity theory, it would appear that they have taken on a role such as that of the "foreigner" confirming the reduced expectations and level of language performance (Stets and Burke 2000). In accepting this role, they have reduced the level of dissonance encountered as they have reduced the level of effort required to carry out the possibly unpleasant perceived task of learning the language (Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 8). This increased level of acceptance of and satisfaction with their position in combination with their perceived



understanding that their level of knowledge is sufficient for their requirements is the reason why this group of individuals is positioned between the unconsciously competent and the bilingual individuals in Fig. 17. This category of individuals has been termed "complacent".

Ryan provides an indication of the thought process he applied when deciding not to input further effort into the language learning process:

*... now I could ... call up a German company for example and I would always start probably the conversation asking them if they speak English, but if they don't I feel that I've then excused myself to speak bad German and then I can muddle through and then speak German ... I've kind of got to the point ... where I've kind of thought ... either I need to put my head down and actually get my German ... at least to the level ... to kind of have friendships ... or I need to go somewhere where I'm more comfortable with the language surroundings ... I ... just don't have the motivation to ... learn German to that level ... I have realised I'm just not willing to put in the ... huge amount of effort that would be required to get to that point ...*

He explains that he considers his ability sufficient for his perceived requirements and that he is willing to accept that he is not able to communicate fluently. On the other hand, as previously discussed, he carries out identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) to reduce the dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) and enable him to come to terms with this situation. He has actively considered his position; has carried out self-categorisation (Stets and Burke 2000, pp. 224-225) to enable him to define an acceptable identity and role within the group. He has then made an active decision not to pursue the language further.

Although David demonstrates a different position on his second move to Germany, during his first move he demonstrated complacency as recognisable in the statement:

*... I improve also my German and English ... after work basically ... one year later uh I think, I took Chinese ... as a hobby, but ... that was like a ... few months just to ... get a taste of it ... with German I had already the ... background so ... I only needed to improve my like uh grammar and vocabulary ...*

He demonstrates his positive consideration of his ability and explains why he does not consider any further requirement to actively continue learning the language.

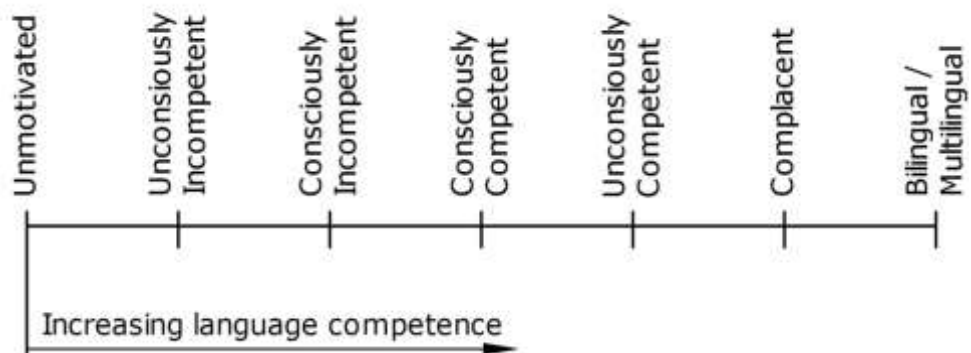


Fig. 17: Language Competence Scale

Fig. 17 provides an overview of the development of the language competence category relative to the increasing level of competence, based on the previous discussion. Poor language ability as demonstrated at the left of the scale would require more identity work to be carried out to enable individuals to justify this lack of ability both to themselves and to their relevant others and to palliate their situation. Further, the poor language ability would restrict their interaction with locals and limit their ability to submerge into the culture, which in turn would further limit their sensemaking ability. If they are able to convince themselves that their current position is acceptable (sensemaking) the level of acculturation stress occurring may be low. Individuals who are not able to apply sufficient identity work may not be able to adequately make sense of their situation and will suffer higher levels of acculturation stress. The further an individual progresses towards the right of the scale the lower the level of identity work necessary in order to make sense of the situation. Due to improved

language skills, individuals are able to submerge deeper into the local culture, enabling them to make sense of their cultural surroundings at a more detailed level and reducing potential acculturation stress.

#### **6.1.4 Host Interaction**

During the interviews and the following substantive coding, differing behavioural and communication strategies were observed that appeared to base on the individuals' abilities of self and social awareness and affected their communication and acculturation experiences (Mayer and Geher 1996, p. 90). In many cases the individual's emotions appeared to have an effect on their reasoning and vice versa. These considerations are consistent with theoretical understandings of emotional intelligence (Boyatzis, Goleman and Rhee 2000, p. 344; Mayer, Roberts and Barsade 2008, p. 508). Although concepts of emotional intelligence have been used to help understand the behaviour observed, and were considered previously in section 2.10, this category was intentionally not titled "emotional intelligence" to avoid discussions on the theoretical finesses of the concept and the suitability of the differing definitions to this research (Matthews, Roberts and Zeidner 2004, p. 180). In this case, the final interpretation of the overall narratives based on the contextual framework is of major interest and not the discussion of this category and its "labels".

At the lowest end of the scale (Fig. 18) the individuals appeared to lack emotional intelligence and displayed inward or self-oriented tendencies similar to those demonstrated by a narcissistic personality disorder or the wish to overcompensate for perceived personal deficits. Colman (2009, p. 492) defines a narcissistic personality disorder as:

*[a] personality disorder characterised by grandiose ideas or actions, beginning by early adulthood, indicated by such signs and symptoms as self-importance and boastfulness; preoccupation with fantasies of unlimited success, power, beauty or other desirable attributes; self-image as someone who should associate only with high-status people or institutions; excessive need for admiration; unreasonable*

*expectations of favourable treatment; interpersonal exploitativeness; lack of empathy; envy; and patronizing arrogance.*

It is considered that everyone's character contains certain elements associable with a narcissistic character (Fine 1994, p. 56; Schwartz-Salant 1982, pp. 37-41). The main question, therefore, is to what degree they are present in the individual as in the narcissistic character they are considered to be chronically present.

During the interview Liam continually worked to position himself in the best possible light and to emphasize his importance and financial prowess, characteristics that may be associated with a narcissistic character.

Examples of such statements are:

*I met with XX who at the time was partner ... she offered me the position ... the whole reason I came to Germany was to discuss the position, they weren't interviewing anyone else, it was only me.*

*... I'm in my mid-30s, financially I'm solvent ... I'm good at my job ... I don't really have a lot to worry about so it's get on the plane, I'm going to do it really.*

*... no intentional move from me ... to moving anywhere other than London. I've worked there for twelve and a half years and was perfectly happy there ...*

At this stage it becomes apparent that Liam is carrying out identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) to erect a façade or image of how he would like to be perceived. A further characteristic indicated in the interview is his tendency to exaggerate coupled with the need to demonstrate his financial position as indicated when questioned regarding his interests when travelling. He lists various more or less exotic hotels that he had stayed in previously and then stated:

*... Um, I stayed in some of the finest hotels in the world ... I've nearly been run over in ... New York 50 times ... and hit*

*by a tram in San Francisco and ... I just think it's fantastic ...*

At several points within the interview he actively emphasises his financial security and the fact that he earns well as demonstrated in the following example:

*... I earn exceptionally good money ... I earn double the money that some of my friends that went on and got first-class honours degrees ... I'm happy in my job and content now financially ...*

In this statement, Liam's awareness of his lack of university education (highest educational award A-levels) and its impact on him becomes apparent. This may be an explanation for the continued emphasis of his financial position, which he uses as compensation for the perceived educational deficit when defining his social standing. He provides further indication of this concern later in the same description when he states:

*... I'm trying to instil that into my kids that you know you don't even get a job at McDonald's now unless you've got a degree, so, buck your ideas up, don't be stupid like me. Um, I don't really mean that, but that's what they need to hear ...*

Again he tends to exaggerate the need for the education he feels he is missing and inadvertently provides insight into his inner thoughts as he states "... don't be stupid like me ..." which he relativizes with the following statement ensuring that he didn't really mean it.

James also indicated characteristics associated with the self-oriented character when describing his initial move to Germany:

*... I moved alone, but I left behind a girlfriend and now she's my wife. We're living here together. So it was quite long like, long history of relationships ... but ... I moved ... I decided we part for one or two years and then either I go ... back to Moscow or she goes to Germany ... she was not excited about this ... idea to leave ... back then we already lived together in Moscow so she wasn't excited about this ...*

*situation just to live for one or two years apart ... she kind of just accepted this decision so basically I think she ... kind of also understood that it's a good opportunity for the would be family if ... I had a good education*

He indicates that he was living in a longer term relationship with his now wife, but still took it upon himself to make the move without discussing the situation with her either prior to or after making the decision. A similar behaviour continued when his girlfriend moved to Germany after he acquired a position in the country. When discussing his girlfriend's transition experience, he commented:

*it was quite alright overall even though she had more problems, but it was related to her education ... it's not that much I can tell ... about this, because I never ... really thought a lot about this ... I would say that it was not that difficult transition ... I probably would say that the first fear of like being in completely different environment gone quite quickly also thanks to support of ... other Russian people ... I had in Berlin in my circles so they were kind of not only me, because I was quite busy working ... but they were integrating her quite good ... showing the life in Berlin ... she was ... quickly accepted by my support system*

Demonstrating almost a disinterest in his girlfriend's well-being in the new environment, he has not discussed the situation with her and left her integration to his support system. His knowledge relating to her well-being and needs is entirely based on suppositions. This is an almost egocentric position (Colman 2009, p. 240) that he has taken.

James demonstrates more subtle indications of his potential narcissistic tendencies when explaining why some Germans become ashamed of the fact that they are unable to support a conversation in English:

*... most of this realisation came from ... interactions with like servant staff, like people you meet at banks ... like people which ... do not belong to your circle, but you meet them in*

*cafeterias or such places so ... I mean probably through this interactions this realisation came to me ... you just try, you just switch from English to German and you see ... the change in behaviour ... the guy or gal just basically ... grasps better what you want and who you are and kind of yeah, basically what you want.*

He states that the interaction was with individuals he termed as "servant staff" indicating that he considered them to be below what he judged to be a worthy social stratum. He then discusses the fact that they are ashamed of the fact that they are unable to support the conversation in English again emphasising their inability and increasing the value of his ability and their relief at the fact that he does speak some German, rather than discussing the effect of his potential linguistic inadequacies and his feelings. It is unclear whether this is an objective realisation of the interaction or a subjective potentially reminiscent sympathetic reaction to the situation. Has he therefore, projected his feelings and inadequacies onto his interaction partner? Here there is no indication that he is questioning his own language abilities. If they were strong at this stage and he was convinced of his ability one must question why the conversation was first started in English to enable the situation to arise where other people were allowed to feel uncomfortable or ashamed. His ability to switch from English to German returns the power to him and he is able to demonstrate his own abilities and superiority over the "servant staff" as they then "... *grasp better what you want ...*", again support for potential narcissistic tendencies.

Individuals such as Mason who commented that "... *I just ... sort of came and whatever happens happens ...*" still demonstrate low levels of properties of emotional intelligence such as sympathy, empathy, perspicacity and open-mindedness, but moving away from the self as the centre of attention, they demonstrate a perceived distant or fatalistic approach to the new situation. These characteristics were also demonstrated by Isabella who states:

*... I think that I have to ... accept the differences and live with them. If not, I'm going to be ... not part of the system ...*

*Go with the flow. I accept and ... I can do it like society here normally does it. But I cannot [do] my little spicy ... Latin American things ... parts of my personality and the way of doing stuff ..."*

She not only demonstrates a fatalistic approach to her position in the statement "... *go with the flow* ...", but provides an indication of the internal turmoil taking part in her that also becomes visible at other points during the interview. She appears to almost consider the adaptation as "work", which may be an indication of her subconscious realisation of the amount of identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) being carried out to determine her position within the superior outgroup of Germans and the inferior ingroup (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3; Tajfel 1974). While she is attempting to "put on a brave face" for those around her the façade that she has constructed is visibly cracked and demonstrating signs of the stress that she is suffering.

Ryans's explanation of his feelings when he comes in contact with people from a different culture also adds another dimension to this group of individuals:

*... assuming that they have a level of English, which is workable or actually um Swedish as well ... that we can ... make ourselves understood and ... have a sort of reasonable conversation, then it's sort of ... the situation that I quite enjoy to ... be in, it's kind of it's quite interesting ...*

He demonstrates that he is possibly interested in contact with individuals from foreign cultures, but on his terms and in a language environment that allows him to feel comfortable and in control of the situation. He indicates no willingness to use the local German language, which he is having difficulties learning and in which he is therefore not able to converse fluently. Considering the fact that the potential common language of foreign individuals intending to reside in Germany would be German, one could question whether this statement actually demonstrates disrespect for the language and cultural environment in which he is and with which he is not



completely satisfied. This position is further supported by the previous discussion of his language ability (see 6.1.3, page 170) and the advice he would give to others moving to Germany:

*... I don't think there's anything wrong with moving to a particular country if you don't speak the local language for a year or two. I mean ... as long as you are not some complete cast-out who doesn't even learn a few words and feels kind of lost the whole time and even disrespectful ... I don't see why you should spend time learning [the local language] ... if you can do your business in English ...*

His advice to others is created to support his current situation and decision not to invest heavily in his language skills, which may result from his sensemaking activities (Weick 1995, p. 11) and an attempt to justify his own position and decisions.

In addition to his previously discussed narcissistic tendencies, Liam also demonstrates concern for the wellbeing of his family, or more exactly his children. Although it may be argued that he appears to almost overcompensate for his own perceived educational deficits and projects his needs onto his children, he also indicates honest concern for their wellbeing and acceptance of his move:

*At the moment, five months in, it looks like nobody's too badly affected ... and quite possibly it was the right decision. Quite possibly because, the reason being is I don't know how it's going to affect my children.*

*... but it's not all about me is it ... I have two children and an ex-wife who really doesn't like me being here, but that's ... her problem.*

He goes further, indicating that he sets his responsibilities as a father above his personal success and makes the duration and final success of the move to Germany dependent on their satisfaction, as apparent in the statement concerning his son:

*... If my son phones me up in six months' time ... and is absolutely devastated and his school work's falling away, and the only answer, the only single answer is for me to return to the UK then I have to return to the UK. I'm his dad, that's what I have to do ...*

Further colour is given to his character by his understanding of cultural differences and the need to be open-minded in situations involving individuals from different cultures, characteristics that are not generally expected in narcissistic personalities, as demonstrated in the following excerpts:

*I think you have to see the positive in each difference ...  
None of us know everything ... different cultures have  
different ways of doing things ... you have to keep an open  
mind ... what's right for one person, isn't right for the  
other ....*

This statement also underlines his basic understanding of the benefits of working in an international environment and his admittance that other cultures may be able to be of positive benefit in the work environment.

Liam appears to demonstrate, therefore, multiple definitions of the self (Taylor et al. 2013, pp. 143-145) and a willingness to demonstrate higher levels of ambiguity in his character. These characteristics describe the group of complex individuals.

A further example of a complex character is provided by James who invests much effort in creating an identity that he is not always able to support. This became evident when he was explaining his preparation for his initial move to Germany. Initially he attempts to describe an atmosphere of nonchalance when asked about whether he attempted to learn anything about the environment he was moving to:

*Actually not really ... I remember I downloaded some ...  
articles or probably some papers about how life is going on  
in Germany ... but never got to read this ...*

In his continuation, however, it becomes apparent that a high level support network was available and was trimmed to assist the new programme members in their preparation for the move and during their stay in the country:

*... the best preparation I got is from a former student basically one person who went to Germany ... for the same programme ... one year before so we kind of had this community ... that help juniors to get up to speed and ... we all ... received one email just basically describing what you need to know to survive in Berlin ... I'm not sure that I ... was in contact with this specific person ... we always like have buddies together and these experience ... exchange always going on ...*

On the one hand it is possible to interpret this description of activities as demonstrating a position in which he had no needs prior to the move and was capable of coping with the situation without help. As the alumni network was available to everybody, his utilisation of the network was therefore not a sign of weakness or need, but the acceptance of a service as provided and expected. On the other hand, the description could be considered an attempt by a career oriented individual to demonstrate his ability, market value and independence. His career oriented manner was demonstrated at several points during the interview, but can be exemplified in the following excerpts:

*... the company [in] Munich was more famous in terms of how you see it on the CV ... and back then I still had an idea of building a career in management consulting ...*

*... I think it's quite obvious whenever you have an opportunity to go abroad and study there ... it's good in terms of your career chances ...*

The complexity of this individual and his apparent need for self-recognition is demonstrated in further contradicting statements provided when he was describing his preconceptions of Germany.

*... I never made an effort before I came to Germany to learn about the country ... that's why I didn't have any kind of preconception so ... probably I had in mind ... just common stereotypes about Germans ... but I kind of was quite intelligent enough to understand that it's all stereotypes you shouldn't take them too ... serious ... so that's why when I came to Berlin I probably kind of expected to see something more like Munich ...*

Initially he states that he did not have any preconceptions, again putting up a façade and trying to differentiate himself from others. He moves on to admit that he was possibly aware of the “*common stereotypes*”, but at the same time carries out identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) and attempts to secure his role by stating that he is “... *intelligent enough to understand you shouldn't take them too serious[ly]*”. The closing statement demonstrates, however, that he does apply the stereotypes and that they resulted in a false impression of the environment he would be confronted with. In general this individual demonstrates a complex character, high levels of identity work and willingness to accept ambiguity in himself and his environment, but a low ability to sympathise or empathise with others.

Most individuals are willing to acknowledge superficial cultural differences in what Peterson (2004, p. 20) described as “behaviours” and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997, pp. 21-22) as “artefacts and products”; they find it difficult, however, to accept deeper seated differences, believing that below the surface all people are essentially similar (Bennett 1998, p. 192). This position results in an inability to recognise crucial differences that need to be accommodated in our communication and affect our ability to understand and be understood by others (Bennett 1998, p. 192). In order for an efficient communication to take place, however, it is necessary to be able to consider these differences and include their effects into our communication by demonstrating sympathy or empathy with the communication partner.

Adrian explained that he used the concept of the “*standard default nice*

guy” when interacting with people he didn’t know:

*... I went to a standard default ... nice guy, so you have to be really accommodating, polite, so you don't actually ... expose your ... true self, I'd say you'd say okay I'm gonna be just as ... unoffensive as I possibly can and just be polite and ask nice questions ... it's more of a step-by-step to be as polite as possible and see what kind of responses you get back ... you can find out through people by just asking the questions as politely as possible and just keep it casual and friendly that's the only way to ... do it*

He implies that he is using his own pre-determined understanding of what is “accommodating” and “polite” i.e. how he would expect to be treated, to create a framework for the interaction and an image that he attempts to display to his communication partner, as verbalised in the comment that you “*don’t expose your true self*” in the beginning. Further, if he has a “standard default nice guy” character, this would indicate that he is using the same starting scenario for all individuals he meets for the first time, independent of whom they are or where the interaction takes place. He therefore uses his previous experience as an orientation for understanding the current situation, which indicates reminiscent sympathy (Bennett 1998, pp. 198-199). He further indicates that he adjusts his position dependent on the responses he has from his communication partner, which conforms with the hypothesis testing feedback loop of empathy proposed by Coulehan et al. (2001, p. 224). It is proposed here, however, that the feedback loop concept is not exclusively applicable to empathy, but that an individual also adjusts his or her position in a sympathetic response framework depending on the responses obtained during the interaction; the main difference is that in the sympathetic context the individual is using his own experiences substituting others for himself, and in the empathetic framework the reverse is true (Wispé 1986, p. 318).

Emily, a Chinese female who had previous experience of moves to Malaysia and Australia before moving to Germany also demonstrated characteristics of the reminiscent sympathetic response (Bennett 1998, pp. 198-199).

*I don't know for me it's a bit harsh, it's not polite enough for me sometimes, but I understand her language background. Maybe the Croatian ... There's no reason for her to dislike me, to be rude. I don't think people this way plus she, the way she talks me I don't feel it's rude even though when she talk it's rude, but I know it's not rude. She didn't mean it. But of course I had the same problem before back in Australia, so I understand people, maybe just a language you know so um, the way they're doing things is a bit different.*

She is able to benefit from her previous experience when explaining that she understands that her colleague probably does not hold a personal grudge against her or dislike her, but the perceived “rude” conversational tone, is possibly due to language inadequacies and her own communication style.

A similar reference to the home environment was demonstrated by Logan when comparing his experiences in Greece and Germany.

*... it's not a common occurrence at all in Greece for people to just kind of say hello to strangers and similarly when you go into a shop ... if you're a stranger in the shop ... it doesn't feel like a very friendly environment whereas ... in Germany I've just found ... it feels more like the UK, you go in and ... there's kind of pleasantries and you smile and that kind of things and that ... I didn't find that in Greece*

He uses his experience from home in the UK as a basis for determining the “value” of the interaction with the cultures in general and in the shopping experience. As the experience in Greece differs from his expectations more than he is comfortably willing to accept (cognitive dissonance), he demonstrates a negative reaction to the situation. In Germany, the experience is similar to his norm, the UK, and the experience is considered acceptable and the interaction as polite.

In the following statement Vicky indicates that she projects herself into the

other person's situation and uses her imagination to attempt to understand a situation's outcome, typical characteristics of imaginative sympathy (Bennett 1998, p. 199):

*... because otherwise ... I can imagine it's really hard to them being alone ...*

Later in the interview, she provided an indication of her understanding of cultural difference, which forms the foundation for her interaction with those around her and indicate an imaginative response position:

*... of course we ... always have own our ... culture, or our own roots who will ... impact ... the way ... we are dealing with people ... but on the other hand we are all living in this ... century so I think ... personality or family ... tradition or ... education background is more important than culture, because in one culture or in one country we have so many different people ... of course we are all from the same culture, but ... I really see ... much more different ... characters ...*

The key aspects of this statement are her understanding that we all have our own culture that makes us different and will impact our interaction with others, and that she considers character properties to be more important than culture alone for defining a person's character. This indicates an understanding that individuals are not all the same and, therefore, require independent consideration during an interaction leading to a position in which one has to attempt to readjust their position to successfully interact in the current situation. As Vicky did not demonstrate any signs of empathetic understanding throughout the interview and under consideration of her initial statement this is interpreted as an imaginative sympathetic position.

Jack also demonstrates the intention to try and "measure" the perceived difference between his own position and that of the new environment, using the responses obtained.

*... if I learned ... if I hear from something other culture, the people who from the other country then ... can find ... something ... some kind of a ... check something ... can check how much difference ... my life or my idea and my thinking and ... some that kind of things yeah.*

As there is no true “measure” of the experience, this indicates that he is attempting to imagine the position of the other person and the possible difference to his own position, indicating an imaginative sympathy response.

In the following statement Zoe indicates that she would not only use her previous experience to define the situation, but also makes an attempt to understand the situation in which she is actively involved and to readjust her behaviour to suit:

*... it gives me a feeling of adventure ... getting to know the people, but also getting to know myself, because you will be triggered and challenged, again to ... go a step back, to understand ... how do I respond to a new culture ... and then smoothly start building yourself into the new culture ... but also in parallel to understand the culture, because I think it's a requirement that for example you know the basics of a language, you know a little bit the basics of the cultural behaviours the habits ... by having these basic understandings and then also in parallel understanding how do I respond to these kind of ... behaviours, how quickly can I ... understand new ... words, language so it goes in parallel I think, but ... overall I think in the first case it's an investment of myself into a new culture*

She explains the importance for an individual not only to understand the new environment, but also to understand themselves. Each situation or cultural environment would appear to be considered separately and not via a standardised comparison framework i.e. she attempts to put herself in the position of the other party and demonstrates typical characteristics of an empathetic individual (Batty and Meaux 2013, p. 112; Bennett 1998, p.



207; Halpern 2003, p. 671; 2007, p. 696; Wispé 1986, p. 318).

Leah also describes a situation in the workplace where an empathetic approach is inferred:

*... like sitting in a meeting where there might be four different languages spoken within a one hour meeting and they get passed around telephone style sometimes, trying to figure out what the other person wants to say and ... what's meant ...*

The description indicates the need for a deeper understanding of the parties involved in the interaction, as she explains that she not only attempts to determine “*what the other person wants to say*” i.e. the linguistic meaning of the text or its literal translation, but also the meaning of the text. The consideration of empathy as a benefit in a new culture is also referred to in her description of traits that may be advantageous in a new culture:

*... I just think being very open and I don't know if empathy can be learnt, but ... if you're an empathetic person if you're likeable ... if you can show that towards other people I think whether or not you speak the language or whether or not you're ... in touch with the way that the culture functions that those qualities alone can really benefit a person*

Leah considers here, however, that openness and empathy alone can help someone come to terms in a new environment even if they have no language abilities or real understanding of the culture. This is in contradiction to the previous statement made by Zoe, who considered that these elements are necessary to help understand the self and others. In both cases, however, the positive influence of empathy has been indicated.

In a further statement, Leah provides an indication of the final category in this context, the redefined self. These are individuals who have adjusted to the new environment to the extent that the original self can no longer be recognised. Leah describes her realisation of her own change while providing advice to others making the move to Germany:

*Don't forget where you came from. I think that was the biggest lesson that I've learned in the five years that I've been here. I tried to integrate so much that the next time I went back home I realise that I'd changed so much that it actually scared me and ... I realised that I didn't really like the person that I was becoming because it wasn't even me anymore it was ... becoming so German ... in the respect that I think I had this brainwashed notion that everything that was German was right and everything that wasn't including Americans was maybe not right any more ... then it hit me like, oh I'm not German like I've gotta get over this ... I just noticed that ... I wasn't even getting along with my folks, friends and family the way that I used to ... in the past ... I try to take the best out of both worlds now ... I try to hold onto both of them as much as possible ... I've grown in a way where I think ... I know what makes me happy and even if that means being different ... that's okay with me 'cause I know that ... life is better for me that way ...*

She explains that she had redefined herself to the point that she had taken on a new identity and “gone local”. Her change of character had the initial advantage that she was able to function in the new environment, but as she explains, negatively influenced her ability to function in her home nation and to actually accept it as “home”. This supports the old phrase “you can’t go home again” (Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff 1983, p. 62) as everything has changed, the individual, the physical setting, but also the original memories, images, and other cognitions recorded during childhood have also changed as the individual is no longer part of the physical setting. This is also apparent in a further statement that she made regarding where “home” is and how she considers Germany:

*... [Germany] it's a summer residence maybe ... It's not home yet, I don't think I feel like I'm at home when I go back to the States, but ... this isn't 100% where I'd say my heart is ...*

Her attempt to take the best out of both worlds, which was stated in the previous quote, appears to have left her currently in search of her true home and a realisation that neither the USA or Germany are able to fulfil her current definition of "home".

A similar experience was also reported by Hannah who stated:

*... I feel quite disattached then from the Ukraine, I feel like my ... life is here now ... it's a little strange because when I think it's ... my own country ... where I should probably feel more attached than to Germany at the moment, but it's other way round ... with time I realised that I'm getting more used to some ... German culture or I don't know European style and I see more negative sides of Ukrainian life ...*

She indicates that she no longer feels so strongly attached to her "home" country and associates herself more with the German culture or European style. She is more critical of her country of birth, but in the following also explains that her expectations have changed to the extent that she feels insecure when they are not available:

*... I'm more used about the security that I feel here, about the small things ... I didn't see them as very important for life, but ... when I didn't have them, like in Ukraine, I feel then insecure, like you feel that this is out of order, you have to ... be careful, to watch out"*

In both cases, this may infer that the individuals have progressively made sense of their situation (Weick 1995, p. 11) and as a result engaged in psychological work to palliate the original perceived inconsistency or dissonance (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7) to the extent that they have overcompensated and created a new role and expectations resulting in a new set of inconsistency. This would be consistent with the theoretical position that identities must be considered dynamic and constantly evolving in relation to the narrative resources (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3) as identity work is carried out to determine the individual's position within the superior outgroup and the inferior

ingroup (Marra and Angouri 2011, p. 3; Tajfel 1974).

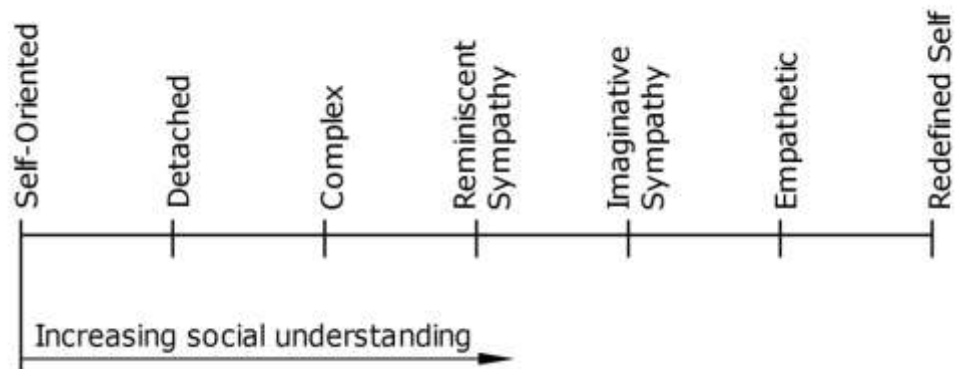


Fig. 18: Host Interaction Scale

Fig. 18 provides an overview of the development of the host-interaction category relative to the increasing level of social understanding, based on the previous discussion. One important factor that has become evident from the previous discussion is that higher levels of psychological identity work are required at both extremes of the scale. The self-oriented individuals need to apply identity work in order for them to erect and maintain the façade that they require to project their selected image. The individuals in the group redefined self, are required to apply identity work in order to palliate the dissonance perceived upon realisation that they have not remained true to their original home country understanding of the self and have developed a new version of the self to accommodate the requirements of their local social and cultural environment. Lower levels of psychological identity work and dissonance appear to be evident between these extremes as various understandings of the self and prior experience are used to palliate the situation.

#### **6.1.5 Understanding of Culture**

The main interest of the “understanding of culture” context lies in the consideration of the individual’s ability and willingness to understand the difference between their own innate cultural programming (Hofstede 1981) and the new situation, and to adapt to it (see also section 2.4). The multicultural paradigm (Arnett 2002, p. 777; Bird and Stevens 2003, p.

397; Erez and Gati 2004, p. 587; Fang 2006, pp. 81-82; Triandis 1995b, p. 3) is deemed more applicable to the current research as it enables consideration of culture as a complex concept and accepts that individuals may have multiple cultures depending on the environment they may be in (see also Section 2.4 and Appendix 1). The categorisation of this context is carried out subjectively based on the narratives contained in the interview texts such as provided by Leah when describing cultural difference:

*... I just think that every culture has its own values and norms and whichever you grew up in ... they kind of get like embedded into you. Doesn't matter if you go somewhere else like, they're always going to be there and if those values and norms are very extremely different in another country that you're living in then I think ... that's a place where you're going to have the hardest time integrating.*

This may at first appear to be very simplistic, but the aim of the categorisation is not to measure cultural change per se, but to provide a framework for the narrative analysis. Considerations of interest are, therefore, whether an individual is able to discern differences between the home environment and the new environment and how they react to these differences. In this short statement, Leah demonstrates not only an understanding that differences between cultures are present, but also that the greater the cultural difference (cultural distance) the more difficult the adaptation process will be (Bochner 2006, p. 190; Church 1982, p. 547; David 1971, p. 48; Froese and Peltokorpi 2011).

Awareness of one's current cultural environment is not only of advantage to enable someone to feel comfortable, but it also enables them to make sense of events (Louis 1980, p. 233; Weick 1995, pp. 4-6). It enables them to understand for example that perceived problems may not necessarily be culturally bound, but possibly the result of the situation itself (Zimmermann and Sparrow 2007, p. 84), as stated by Logan:

*... when you have ... an argument with a random person in another country ... you may blame it on the country or the*

*language or something that isn't actually there because you're in a foreign place and you feel foreign and ... you feel ... at a disadvantage a lot of the time ...*

He adds a further consideration to this concept as he states that:

*... perhaps you go into a shop and ... you don't speak the language, you might behave differently because you don't want a shop assistant to talk to you ... and you wouldn't do that at home for instance*

This statement infers that the perceived cultural differences, in particular perceived behavioural differences, may not be differences within the culture, but the result of an individual's personal behaviour, as a means of "protection" or misunderstanding in an unknown situation

Leah also described a similar consideration when reporting on her experience of the German service industry and her resulting realisation that the problem was possibly not the service staff:

*... where I'm from in America it's very common in restaurants or stores for the customer service to be overly friendly so when I'm there in that environment it's just something that I expect and I react accordingly. When I'm here I kind of have a negative assumption that people are always going to be rude when I'm in a restaurant or a store and I find that my own attitude is reflective of that and then sometimes people surprise me by being really really nice and I realise that I'm the one that might have had the problem not them*

She begins by describing her previous experience of the service industry in America and provides an insight into her initial expectations. These expectations and the service received are consonant and she reacts accordingly. When considering the German service industry, her initial presumption is that service staff is going to be rude and that the experience is going to be negative, a supposition that may be based on her

stereotypical expectations (Fiske et al. 2002; Fiske and Lee 2008; Hewstone, Rubin and Willis 2002, p. 576; van Osch and Breugelmans 2012) of Germans. This is then dissonant with her previous experience in America (Festinger 1957, p. 14) and she adapts her behaviour in an attempt to palliate the dissonance (Festinger 1957, p. 19). Building on her new expectations she enters the service environment and is again confronted with dissonance as the service is better than her new reference, the supposition of receiving bad service, again resulting first in positive surprise and then in a readjustment of her behaviour. As part of her sensemaking process (Weick 1995, p. 11) the situation is progressively clarified and she reaches the conclusion that the problem does not necessarily lie in the German culture and the poor service, but possibly within her own behaviour.

This also indicates that an individual's experience of Germany and the German culture are often regulated by their pre-move ideas and stereotypical understanding of the host environment (Fiske et al. 2002; Fiske and Lee 2008; Hewstone, Rubin and Willis 2002, p. 576; van Osch and Breugelmans 2012) as stated by Logan: *"if you go into any situation with an expectation ... of something it ... influences your experience of that situation"*. This relationship was visible to varying degrees in many of the interviews such as in Hannah's description of her pre-move understanding of the German town she was moving to created using information gleaned from the internet and her German language classes:

*Well it was pretty false maybe, but I didn't know ... the image of Marburg I had in my head, the old castles, old buildings ... beer and sausages is really famous in Ukraine about the Germans ... the Christmas markets ... that's what I got from the ... Goethe Institute ... I knew that German people ... come in time and they're very ... precise in what they say and stuff ...*

In many cases, however, the stereotypical understanding of Germany and the German culture that individuals had prior to arrival was often based on Bavaria and the Bavarian culture. Leah explained that:

*... I think a lot of the stereotypes that people have of Germany come from Bavaria ... there was this idea that everyone's very serious ... that everyone drinks beer a lot though at the same time running around in Lederhosen ((leather trousers)) and Dirndl ((traditional Bavarian apron dress)) ...*

She paints her picture of the stereotypical Bavarian as he or she may be encountered at the Oktoberfest, many people's actual point of reference for describing "the Germans" as was also indicated by James:

*... had in mind probably just common stereotypes about Germans ... so that's why when I came to Berlin I probably kind of expected to see something more like Munich ... so if I came to Munich that would have absolutely ... in line with my preconception ...*

The difficulty for the individual actually begins when this stereotype is not encountered, as this results in cognitive dissonance, a potential source for acculturation stress. In this case James indicates that his expectations of Germany, built around his preconceived Bavarian stereotype, were not met in Berlin, which would have resulted in dissonance and possibly influenced his experience in Germany.

Mason in his explanation why he did not prepare for the move to Germany offered an example of an individual at the lowest end of the understanding of culture context:

*... the only difference between the countries really is the language ... the money is the same, it's Europe, I don't need visas, I don't anything like that so I mean there's only the language ...*

He considers language as the only difference between his home culture in Ireland and the new environment in Germany, reducing further discussion to the practicalities of the move. Typically this group of individuals appeared to be unaware of any major cultural differences beyond the most obvious,



tangible factors such as the language. They demonstrated an inability to recognise the factors considered in the behaviours (Peterson 2004, p. 20) or outer layer (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, p. 22) of the culture. In further discussion, Mason explains his lack of knowledge of Germany and indicates the basis of his stereotypical understanding of the host environment and his insistence that there are more similarities than differences between the cultures:

*... other than the history not much ... obviously I knew  
Munich, the Oktoberfest, everyone knows about that ...  
there's more similarities than there is differences ...*

If the standpoint is taken that both countries are western countries and part of the European Union a certain degree of understanding for this position may arise, but a similar comment was made by him when explaining the members of different groups such as Arab, Russian or Asian individuals:

*I would say the only difference really is the cultural  
difference, there's not really much of a difference with  
regards ... to work, or work ethic or work practices as such ...  
as a person I think ... they would ... be similar ... some people  
don't eat pork and ... other people ... don't eat beef or  
whatever, but other than that ... it's pretty similar*

Initially he states that the only difference is "the cultural difference", indicating awareness that cultures can be or are not all alike, but in the continuation he reduces this to potential differences in eating habits. This was also characteristic of his almost naïve understanding of the situation in general. It can be questioned whether his poor language skills are creating a barrier to the deeper meaning of the culture, or whether it is a lack of awareness for his surroundings. Either way, this naïve understanding appeared to protect him from dissonance and acculturation stress.

A similar generalisation of culture was made by David upon returning from the USA:

*... I think the experience in the US where basically you are*

*not from Tennessee or Alabama or New York, you are basically a US citizen and you work here or 5000 miles away ... to travel to Norway or to the UK or France it is pretty much the same culture, same uh way of doing things in cities, business and everything and it's ... not that far away so ... for me Europe was like ... coming from the US it was like ... a unity ... it wasn't a set of different countries*

He transposes the US consideration of the national identity confronted while living there to the European situation. This position does not hold for Europe, however, as the federal understanding of "nationality" is not highly developed. It is also questionable whether this position would actually hold for all states in the US considering the ethnic diversity present in the society. This generalisation was not confirmed, however in other comments made by David who in other aspects demonstrated at least a theoretical understanding of cultural differences and his own position.

The next group of interviewees at first appeared to be unaware of the cultural differences confronting them, but it became apparent that they are aware, but did not consider it important or relevant to accept them. Layla, a Chinese female from Shanghai, who moved to Germany to join her Chinese husband, demonstrates these characteristics of the indifferent group. In order to understand Layla's position better it is first necessary to consider her own understanding of herself:

*... I'm a simple person and all I think of is ... just ... maybe to ... be frank, do some travelling around and ... later on I ... can either return back to China or stay in Germany or elsewhere if I like it. So it's very simple motives*

Here, she attempts to project the image of a "simple person", although as she says herself, she has studied at university and taken a one month German language course in China and studied educational psychology in Germany (the study language was English). This can be interpreted as an attempt to protect herself by reducing the expectations of those around her. She then continues to explain that she initially considered her stay as an

opportunity to travel and contemplated the possibility of later being able to return to China or move to another country. Her preparation for the move to Germany reflects this position:

*... it's not like ... going to um, Pakistan or like ... Africa, I need to make myself fully equipped ... I mean, Munich and ... Germany ...it's just ... like um normal ... It's just like where I'm from, I mean ... I don't think I need to prepare anything ... in additional.*

It is suggested that a move to Pakistan or Africa required a greater level of preparation than the move to Germany as she considered the cultures in China, in particular Shanghai, and Germany to be similar. She goes so far as to consider the missing support mechanisms as the biggest difference between the two locations:

*... the biggest difference when looking back is that ... in China ... I got all the friends, all the relatives ... beside me.*

This may be considered as support for her initial position as later in the interview, she changes her standpoint and states that:

*... overall the two ... countries or cities are vastly different ...*

The position she takes is still very superficial, relating her statement primarily to the fact that there are major differences in the population density of the cities:

*... it's apparent to see in Shanghai there are overall 20 millions of people ... wherever you go you see people ... you cannot say it's positive or negative, but that is the fact, however, in Germany um, it's totally in ... the contrast ... not only um in the subway ... but also ... on Sunday, on weekends ... on those holidays you will see even less people instead of more people, it's just sometimes ... it's quite natural you'll feel lonely ... because ... it's all strange I mean it's I would say foreign faces ...*

The density of the population, however, appears to be a verbal substitute for her missing comfort and known environment, reflecting the previous statement that she is missing her support mechanisms and is lonely in what appears to be a foreign environment.

When questioned regarding her reaction when meeting someone from a different culture, she indicates a general weak understanding of cultural difference and a basic interest in the other person's situation.

*... you always have the, you know, curiosity ... about the language, their culture ... how long you plan to stay here ... do you find any difference ... between your home country and Germany.*

This position is not the same as the negative host position as she does not only consider the negative aspects of the host culture and emphasise these; she is unable to create a viable scenario to enable her to come to terms with the differences between the two environments. The negative host position concentrates on negative aspects of the host culture and either takes an ethnocentric position (Bodley 1994, p. 10; Sumner 1906, pp. 12-13) or compares the host with the positive aspects of a third preferred culture. During the interview, these individuals indicated a theoretical understanding of cultural difference, but did not apply a balanced understanding of culture in practice.

Ryan did not take an ethnocentric position, but mainly compared his time living in Germany with his positively perceived previous experience in Sweden. Despite the fact that he indicates a moderate interest in being in Germany:

*... I kind of at some moderate level ... Germany is a country that I like and that I'm interested in ... I haven't really felt hugely passionate about ... in the way I did about Sweden ...*

Examples of his position are present in statements such as:

*... German society compare[d] to Sweden and the UK ... is a lot more conservative ... when new things sort of become*

*available in the world the Germans are not quite so keen to pick them up as perhaps the Swedes and the Brits are*

*... they're very wedded to some tradition ...*

*... female labour market participation in Germany ... the lowest of all ... OECD countries ... kind of reflects the societal way of thinking I guess, which I don't particularly like ... I think ... in a modern world, it shouldn't be like that ...*

*... obsession with titles in Germany ... the Du and the Sie in the language ... some of these person ... I think ... they want to live ... in the world as it was ... it's not obviously something universal, but it's something that I see ... affecting quite a lot of aspects of how people ... go about their lives ...*

Each of the statements alone could be considered a healthy criticism of the Germany culture, but in the total context of the interview they demonstrate a concerted negative position being taken regarding the culture. The statements are not balanced or objective, they are subjective and indicate no willingness to compromise. This may be partly due to his weak language skills forming a barrier preventing him from being able to understand the deeper cultural levels or to integrate fully in the culture. On the other hand, it may be an attempt to support his decision to return to the UK.

Although Vicky generally demonstrated a good theoretical understanding of culture, she has mainly Chinese friends and finds it difficult to integrate in Germany. In addition she demonstrated a very strong nationalist understanding regarding positions taken in the German media:

*... in China you read different ... of course you think different, in different ways ... between 2007 and 2008 ... was a huge change in my mind ... to treat everything or for example how to deal with the critic ... in Germany because there was ... the Tibet ... things and there was a lots of ... reports in newspaper ... in TV, in radios and ... at that time ... I was*

*really angry ... at the newspaper ... in German newspapers ... and also ... the TV stations ... I think the TV stations they are worse, because you know, you always trying to ... draw attention and ... there are tricks ... which are not ... always ... the truth.*

At this point in the interview she became very agitated and demonstrated great indignation at the “discrepancies” in positions reported and there was no indication of a compromise. She was not prepared to accept the negative media reports made in Germany.

A more balanced understanding of the outer layer of the cultures was consistently demonstrated by Liam and verbalised for example in his explanation of his interests when travelling:

*What doesn't interest me? ... I mean, the list ... could be nearly endless. Different people, different environments, different cultures, different foods, different drinks ... different architecture, different interests ... different climates, different scenery, different clothing ... different cars ... even different hotels ... I tried octopus in ... Spain ... I just think it opens up your whole ... mind, you know the smells of different places ... the sights ... the noises*

The factors he lists here all belong to the group of behaviours (Peterson 2004, p. 20) and lie in the outer cultural layer (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, pp. 21-22). As such they do not demonstrate awareness for the deeper more intangible layers of culture, but this is the position taken by the superficial group of individuals. In this excerpt Liam demonstrates his attempt to come to terms with these differences by stating that he has tried octopus in Spain. This may also represent another element of the façade that Liam was creating to support his projected identity. The excessive listing of factors could be interpreted as an attempt to emphasise his knowledge, rounded off with the fact that he had eaten octopus in Spain. This may be considered something extravagant and unusual for him, but it is common for others who have travelled. Further, if his travel

experience had been as wide reaching as he previously described, is this really the most unusual and noteworthy occurrence he experienced? If yes, this may lead one to question the level of interaction with and realisation of the cultures encountered on his remaining trips.

A superficial understanding of culture was also demonstrated by Luke when he explained how he and his family experienced their stay in Germany:

*... we just enjoyed the culture, we enjoyed ... the people, we enjoyed the fact that there's just so much history um here ... we're able to experience different cultures and ... travel into the Czech Republic or ... London or ... Switzerland you see these different cultures and so to be exposed to this we were just very ... enthralled in all of this and enjoyed this opportunity ...*

His main emphasis is on short trips as a tourist, but as stated by Bochner (2006, p. 185), such short term sojourns as a tourist will probably result in minimal contact with members of the host culture and superficial involvement with the host culture. It is therefore unlikely that individuals will actually become aware of the real host culture during such a stay.

A further indication of Luke's lack of tact and understanding of the proud culture he finds himself in is his use of the English language, almost as a weapon, upon arrival in the new company. As previously mentioned (p. 174), he actively and knowingly forced people out of their comfort zone to enable him to take charge of the situation and demonstrate his authority. This method takes into account that he is not complying with the normal business etiquette and may cause distress to the company's employees resulting in disquiet in the organisation. It is an aggressive move that may be considered acceptable in his home environment, but would not normally be acceptable in a German environment.

Although Luke's wife has weaker language skills than her husband, she appears to have a greater understanding of the German culture. As Luke reports:

*... the description my wife uses is ... 'Germans are like, they have a ... hard outer shell with a soft gooey centre'. So once you get past that ... outer shell you are part of family.*

She has recognised that Germans are different and explains that it may be more difficult to “crack” the hard outer shell of Germans and become their friend, but when this is achieved, you generally have a better and deeper friendship, which will last a lifetime. This same characteristic was also recognised and reported by Isabella:

*In my country it is really easy to make a new friend, but it's not going to last and here I found this friendship style so much better because they ... measure how you behave at the beginning and maybe they ... analyse you a little bit more, but when you become their friends they give you everything.*

These descriptions of “Germans” are fitting for the next category of the theorist, in which individuals demonstrate a deeper understanding of culture, but are unable to implement this understanding. A deeper understanding of culture was also provided by Vicky who demonstrated an understanding of the core values of a culture although the vocabulary used indicates a superficial definition of the word “culture” is being inferred:

*... we always have ... our ... own culture, or our own roots who will ... impact our ... way we ... are dealing with people of course ... but on the other hand we are all living in this ... century so I think ... personality or family ... tradition or family or education background is more important than culture, because in one culture or in one country we have so many different people ... of course we are all from the same culture, but um I really see ... much more different ... characters.*

This is an important statement as she considers personality, family tradition and personal experience more important than culture. These factors, however, build the core of culture and are intangible elements seated in the inner layers of culture (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, p. 22) or



below the water line (Peterson 2004, p. 24). These are elements that are taken for granted, but constitute the basic underlying assumptions of the culture and opinions of the people. They affect the way that we interact with others and our environment and what we expect or are not willing to accept, a factor also recognised by Adrian when describing the international group of individuals he learnt to know while living in a flat-share:

*... I can see basically their difference in opinions and you know the German language and stuff.*

Recognising that some cultures fit better than others and nowhere is perfect, Logan compares his move to Greece with the current move to Germany:

*... for me coming to Germany from Greece just that the German culture is that much similar to ... my own culture in the UK I just found myself to be a ... better fit for ... this culture than I did the Greek culture*

Taking the idea of cultural realisation to the next level, the realist selects and implements elements of the culture that they consider of benefit to them in a similar manner to the cultural supermarket (Mathews 2000, p. 22). The required considerations and decisions made at this stage may also depend on the cultural distance perceived between the home and the host environments (Bochner 2006, p. 190; Church 1982, p. 547; David 1971, p. 48; Froese and Peltokorpi 2011).

Logan further explains the concept of cultural distance (Cao, Hirschi and Deller 2012, p. 167; Church 1982, p. 547; Manev and Stevenson 2001, pp. 287-288) by differentiating between travel and holiday. He considers holiday as visiting a country with a similar culture, which means a country with a small cultural distance, in which he has little work to move around or communicate; he is able to relax while in the foreign environment. Travel is the opposite and he describes this as visiting a country with a very different culture, therefore with a large cultural distance, where effort is required to move around and communicate, as well as higher stress levels being experienced. Here he explains further using two examples:

*... if you go to somewhere maybe in Europe, it's pretty easy going, and ... it can be just a relaxing experience ... I went to China ... this year and ... some of it was relaxing, some of it was just hard work so that's ... what I'd class as ... travelling rather than just going on holiday somewhere*

In a similar manner Hannah explains her disappointment as she realised that Germany and the US are different countries with different cultures.

*I somehow expected that German society would be also that open as in the US and that was ... a little surprising for me when I realised now it's a different society with a different culture ...*

Although she doesn't explain her statement further, currently, she does not consider it possible for her to fully integrate into the German culture as she still has her "cultural difference". This realisation possibly stems from her comparison with her experience as an exchange student to the US during high-school. This move was a very positive experience for her and she had built her expectations of this move and the interaction with the German environment around this experience. The resulting dissonance possibly led her to amend her expectations, resulting in the current position.

The final category in this context consists of the bicultural or multicultural individuals who select and implement multiple cultural frameworks compatible to the model of second culture acquisition proposed by LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993, pp. 399-400). Although this is not a condition that is achieved automatically, as previously mentioned, it is more probable that a bi- or multilingual individual (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Harris Bond 2008; Hong et al. 2000, p. 710) will achieve this position.

Throughout the interview Sophia provided many indicators that she understands the culture of the new German environment, although she also admits that it took her a while to actually "arrive":

*... I ... felt as an outsider for a very long time ... but slowly I started seeing the ... positive sides and the possibilities ... I*

*would say that ... the western world is now, of course, part of my life or I am part of it ...*

She also indicates that the different cultural frameworks are connected to the languages indicating the possibility of language “triggers” (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 290) to enable her to understand the subtleties and nuances of a culture. She explains that without the understanding of the language it is not possible to understand the culture:

*... If you put yourself in the mind-set of the different culture ... with the help of the language, which is of course very ... important ... then there are a lot of Feinheiten ((subtleties, nuances)) that cannot be translated, or never come through properly unless you really are ... in that different language or in that different culture.*

Although she has demonstrated a good understanding of her new environment in general, she is also aware of the subtle differences between Bavaria and the other German Federal States. These differences are not only related to the dialect, which is still posing problems for her, but also the cultural differences.

*... getting familiarised with ... the language, the dialect, which I've ... given all my best to try to first understand and now to, well I will never speak it, but now I understand it, to read up about ... the land itself because Bayern((Bavaria)) is a special place, it's not like ... Germany itself ... find out something about the city ... the culture here, the mentality, which is again a different than from the Germany itself ...*

Fig. 19 provides an overview of the development of the understanding of culture category relative to the increasing level of cultural understanding, based on the previous discussion. The lowest level of cultural understanding is demonstrated by the unaware category. At the other end of the scale, the bicultural or multicultural individuals demonstrate the highest level of cultural understanding. As can be determined from the previous discussion, the individual's at both extremes of scale generally experienced lower levels

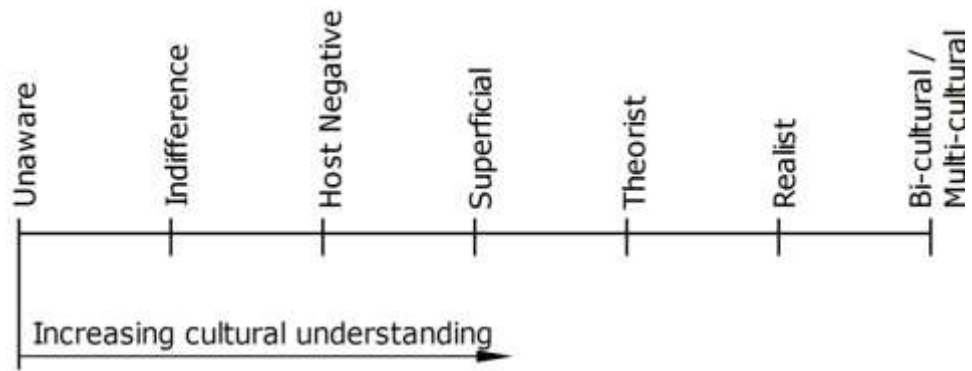


Fig. 19: Understanding of Culture Scale

of cognitive dissonance, and needed to implement less psychological identity work in order to palliate their situation, which resulted in lower levels of acculturation stress. A caveat to this general statement questions the situation when the bicultural / multicultural individuals are not able to come to terms with the change that has occurred in their self. At first high levels of dissonance may be recognised requiring high levels of psychological identity work to be implemented in order to palliate the situation and reduce the acculturation stress that accompanies this position. If the individual is able to successfully palliate the situation they are rewarded with a successful acculturation accompanied with low stress levels. If they are not able to palliate their situation, they will experience high levels of acculturation stress and the assignment may be negatively affected.

Between the two scalar extremes the level of dissonance, required identity work and experienced acculturation stress appears to reduce with increasing levels of cultural understanding. This may be related to the increasing level of cultural understanding being accompanied by an increasingly realistic understanding of the cultural position.

#### **6.1.6 Adaptability**

The understanding of an individual's adaptability to his or her new environment is rooted in the acculturation and cross-cultural psychology literature (Section 2.12 and Appendix 1). As in the previous contextual dimensions, it is not intended to restrict the understanding of the narrative

data to the current literature and its language in an attempt to avoid discussions regarding the applicability of the various theoretical concepts and models (Anderson 1994, p. 296). The intention here is to attempt to obtain an understanding of the individuals' behaviour and the strategies they use in order to develop the conceptual framework for the analysis of the narratives.

The theoretical foundation supports our understanding of the principles of acculturation or adaptation to a new environment, but does not answer the question of why we do it, at least from a personal perspective. Simplistically stated, these individuals are engaging in "competitive rootmaking" (Mathews 2000, p. 196) and either trying to create their own idea of a cultural home in the new society or are attempting to protect what they consider to be their home culture, their roots, from distortion by the influx of non-nationals. Obtaining an understanding of who one is and how to understand or better define "home" is a challenge faced by many, especially those working in an international environment. Mathews (2000, p. 192) suggested that "*one's home is where in the world one most truly belongs*", but as members of the "cultural supermarket" we are faced with multiple possible identities and understandings of our cultural home (Mathews 2000, p. 193), a dilemma that individuals attempt to solve using a variety of strategies.

The influence of time and the perception of finality of the international mission was discussed by Logan, who described a situation very similar to the "U-curve" of adjustment, which has been discussed at length in the literature (Anderson 1994, pp. 295-296; Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005; Black and Mendenhall 1991; Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963; Oberg 2006):

*At first it feels um almost like a holiday just because everything's so new ... and then time goes on and you kind of realise ... there's actually quite a lot of challenges.*

Here he describes the initial euphoria of the early "honeymoon" stage (Black and Mendenhall 1991, pp. 226-227) where the individual is excited about all of the new "things" around them. He then goes on to describe his

realisation that the "honeymoon" is over and that challenges exist that have to be surmounted, similar to the "disillusionment" stage (Black and Mendenhall 1991, pp. 226-227) or as it is described in rather extreme cases, the "culture shock" stage. The final two stages of "adjustment" and "mastery" (e.g. Black and Mendenhall 1991, pp. 226-227) in which the individual gradually adjusts to the new culture and then gains expertise to be able to function effectively in the new environment are not described in this excerpt. Logan does provide his understanding for his realisation and understanding that the situation is actually more serious than initially assumed during the "honeymoon" stage:

*... I think it can be related to how long you're committing to a place ... I know when I lived in Australia ... the fact that I knew I was leaving never really gives you that feeling that ... you really have to commit to the place long term ... when you kind of accept that you are gonna do that then perhaps that's something to do with ... that feeling that ... it's more of a challenge.*

He hypothesises that the duration of the project has an indirect effect on the outcome of the adaptation process, and suggests that a short-term sojourn and the concrete knowledge that the assignment is of limited duration, results in limited commitment and a reduced willingness for the individual to actively attempt to adjust. Especially in short-term assignments, this may create a similar adjustment situation to that experienced by tourists (Bochner 2006, p. 185) rather than that of the expatriate, which may be experienced for longer-term assignments (Bochner 2006, pp. 191-192).

The previous statements demonstrate a general cognitive change resulting in an adaptation process, but as, Leah explains it may be smaller challenges that lead to frustration and the feeling that one needs to understand:

*... I think that it can be much smaller kind of ... unconscious things that trigger it like ... being in the supermarket and all of a sudden someone starts screaming at you for not having*

*weighed your fruit before trying to pay for it, like you don't know what they're saying and you don't know ... what's expected out of you to be able to just do what you wanna do and like those are the small moments where you realise okay I need to make myself aware of what's going around me ... or else ... it's probably not going to be a very comfortable or enjoyable environment.*

The rapid development of the internet and modern telecommunication systems, and advancements in affordable international travel, may have led to a further extension of the possible definition of acculturating systems, as previously encapsulated sedentary communities are now being faced with the challenge of integrating or adapting to new ideas, ideologies, products etc. from all around the globe (Berry 1990, p. 232).

David has completed multiple moves including two moves to Germany, the first of which was his first international move. He recognised a major difference between his first and second moves:

*... the main difference ... my ... mentality had changed ... when I first moved to Germany [the first time] I did the ... same mistakes that pretty much all Spaniards do when they move here ... they just try to get into a ghetto among them like ... they get together to go for dinner, to go for drinks or something like that and they don't interact much with the local people so unless you get a ... girlfriend or boyfriend ... for example, you interact very little at ... the beginning at least ... with ... the locals ... and that's really bad because they don't get to know people here, the culture or the language and it takes much longer to adapt because you ... are in your little bubble and you don't integrate yourself you are like refusing to integrate ... basically [you] spend too many hours a ... day with people from your own culture who are in the same situation ... you are complaining about how different everything works in Germany instead of getting to know Germans and ... trying to understand what they think*

*about ... life and work and stuff like that*

Here he initially demonstrates a lack of awareness of the need to adapt, although he does indicate a very superficial understanding of what he considers to be culture. This is consistent with research carried out by Ward et al. (1998, p. 281) who suggested that if sojourners inhabit an "expatriate bubble", the resulting minimum level of interaction with the host nationals would make it unlikely that there will be a strong relationship between psychological well-being and sociocultural competence. The support provided by the members of the enclave enables the individuals to experience a positive stay in the host country without having to adapt to the host environment. Individuals, who are aware of the need to adapt, as indicated here, demonstrate characteristics of the incognisant group.

Luke also gave the impression that the local population should accept them as they are:

*... we would try to go to a few things here and there that were top specific ... May 1st ... they would have a celebration and my family and I would go and we'd sit down at a ... table and everyone's around speaking German. Here we are in the middle of the table and we'd start to talk with them and this and that, but it never resulted in hey wow let's go out some time or do this or that ... too loose*

The problem indicated may be the result of the family's poor knowledge of the German language, which made it difficult for them to interact and connect adequately with the local population. Further, these isolated, infrequent interactions with the local community will not normally lead to a spontaneous ignition of friendship. As aptly described by his wife:

*"Germans ... have a ... hard outer shell with a soft gooey centre ...",* requiring constant and repeated interaction with individuals to result in friendship. Luke was expecting the individuals to accept him as he is with little effort demonstrated to adapt, which may be indicative of "expatriates who have left their hearts at home" (Richardson and McKenna 2006, p. 15).

Emily demonstrated a superficial understanding that the cultures were



different and was willing to adapt to the new environment, but due to her poor language abilities, she interacted more with the Chinese and English speaking community:

*... it's a shame I didn't really meet many Germans 'cause always I was with other Chinese or English-speaking people because of the language, which was a shame yeah ... I should really try ... I understand without speaking local language it's always going to be a barrier between you and other person ...*

Interestingly, Emily also describes a situation involving a German colleague, in which she demonstrates astonishment that the colleague is not willing to change her position and compromise with her:

*... like the conversation with his German lady today. I still need explanation and ... she doesn't want to explain ... but is a problem that she won't change and she still insist on what she's doing and she's not gonna change it and, what can I do? ... so that is a problem because when another culture not willing to compromise it can be a problem and what can I do?*

It is visible that the two parties are not able to agree on the way forward despite the fact that they are both dissatisfied with the current situation. There are certain parallels with the marginalisation strategy proposed by Berry (2009, p. 366). Emily does not demonstrate any preference for either maintaining her native culture and identity nor for maintaining relationships with the local group. She is in fact trapped in a “no-man’s land” unable to easily influence her position without gaining the necessary language skills. This conditional acceptance of the need to adapt is characteristic of individuals who display a superficial understanding of the local culture or take an indifferent position to it. Although they show limited recognition that the new environment is different, they only accept this difference and adapt as they consider necessary or, as far as their language abilities allow.

Grace also demonstrates a very superficial, conditional adaptation to the

local environment:

*... I mean people should follow their own cultures and have their roots and I ... don't really mind about it ... on the other hand, I think people who move to here in Germany they should adopt a little bit German culture here, they should know something about German history ... German culture instead of just ... still in their ... own old life ...*

When asked if she has changed since arriving in Germany, she explains that she is now paying more attention to the environment:

*... before when I live other country I ... don't really ... pay attention to like the environment and here in Germany everything is so clean. I see blue skies you know white clouds. You don't see those in China and so ... I separate my trashes just like other German's doing ... I'm carry the bottles the wine bottles to the things to throw away ... that's not the things I would do before in other countries ...*

It is possible that the conditional position is taken as a result of the poor language skills, which hinder her interaction with the local community, therefore leading to a poor understanding of the deeper levels of culture. As a result, these individuals are only able to adapt to the local environment to the extent that their information stand would allow. An alternative explanation in Grace's case could lie in an awakened awareness for the environment that is not present in China, a country in which many towns are plagued by extremely high levels of pollution (Kirkpatrick 2015; Phillips 2104) and as she mentions, white clouds are not seen. She may, therefore, consider her concern for the environment and support of waste sorting schemes as demonstrating a particular element of cultural adaptation.

Mason on the other hand, takes a very passive standpoint according to which there is no expectation for either side to change:

*... I just ... sort of came and whatever happens happens ...*

This position is typical of the fatalist whose passive adaptation strategy may

possibly be rooted in their poor initial understanding of culture and cultural differences in general and in Germany in particular. Despite the fact that Mason demonstrated a basic understanding that working in a diverse environment with international staff "... brings a lot of different ... perspectives ..." and that it "... definitely makes it easier ... if you have to deal with other cultures and other people, you probably have a better understanding of them as such", he is not able to describe the differences between cultures. When asked what the biggest difference is between Ireland and Germany, he replied "... less of a drink problem ...". When discussing cultural differences between the Irish and other groups such as the Arab, Russian or Asian he replied that:

*I would say the only difference really is the cultural difference, there's not really much of a difference with regards ... to work, or work ethic or work practices as such ... as a person I think ... they would ... be similar I mean, obviously some people don't eat pork and ... other people don't eat ... beef or whatever, but other than that ...*

When asked how he acts when he notices someone is from a different culture, his spontaneous answer was "...well I mean ... I don't ...".

Considered together, it would appear that Mason lacks an understanding of both his native and the host cultures, which results in an inability to recognise differences and adapt. As Du Bois (1951, p. 24; 1970, p. 53) stated "each person needs to know not only the other, but also himself" when trying to relate themselves to the foreign situation. In this context the individual's own behaviour is considered natural, logical and correct and acts as a self-reference criterion (Gupta and Govindarajan 2002; Lee 1966; Varner and Palmer 2005) when judging the behaviour of others. This is a situation that could be supported, for example, by providing self-awareness training (Earley and Peterson 2004, p. 103; Tan and Chua 2003, p. 269) to help the individual understand themselves and others better.

Logan also demonstrates a fatalistic position, although not due to a lack of cultural understanding, but rather as a result of his current life situation. His

understanding of the possible challenges that may occur during the adaptation process is demonstrated in the following statements:

*The language and the way people communicate has an effect on how people are able to adapt ... I think there's ... lots of dilemmas ... in trying to fit in with another culture ... and another way of living, in that one side of you thinks I'm just going to do the same ... and one side of you thinks well I don't really like that you know ... I think that often cultures can have a bad fit so ... one person going to one place might find it much harder than going to ... a different place ...*

Here he describes the inner fight that may take place during the acculturation process and the resulting dissonance between "business as usual" and adapting with the realisation that some elements of the new culture may not fit into the previous schema and cause discomfort. He further addresses the question of cultural fit (Ansari, Fiss and Zajac 2010, p. 78; Bonache and Zárraga-Oberty 2008, p. 14; Ward and Chang 1997, p. 527) recognising that now everybody is able to fit in well in all cultures. This is a situation that is also recognisable when considering cultural distance (Bochner 2006, p. 190; Church 1982, p. 547; David 1971, p. 48; Froese and Peltokorpi 2011) and its associated difficulties.

In addition, he raises the question whether an individual's expectations influences their experience of a situation, which is indicative of the concepts of schemata (Bartunek and Moch 1987; Harris 1994) and cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d):

*... I think if you go into any situation with an expectation of ... something it ... influences your experience of that situation.*

The difficulties arising from his personal situation and the ongoing divorce resulted in him employing a passive position to the move to Germany as visible in the statement:

*... I decided well I'm just gonna ... go out there to see her ... and spend some time out there ... and it developed from that point. So I didn't feel like ... I'm moving to Germany ... I had more of a feel like I was going on holiday than I was moving somewhere.*

In the beginning he considered the move as a trip, perhaps as a means of protecting himself against possible disappointment should he suffer similar difficulties to those experienced in his recently ended move to Greece. He unknowingly supported this position by not consciously attempting to integrate into the new environment, which would have been an indication of the intention to move to Germany on a more permanent basis:

*... In Germany ... I don't think I did anything conscious to fit in really. I just ... felt like I did fit in better in Germany.*

Both individuals considered therefore applied a passive adaptation strategy, but for differing reasons and both have experienced a positive experience in Germany.

Other interviewees, such as Ryan, did not fully adapt to the new environment, but adjusted or renegotiated their understanding of their position and degree of adaptation to help them come to terms with the new situation. Ryan demonstrated throughout the interview this strategy of the negotiator and is honest in his opinion that:

*... my sort of basic ... ability to operate in Germany isn't much different now from what it was um when I first moved here almost three years ago ...*

As previously discussed, he constantly reassesses his language ability to enable him to feel comfortable with his ability as demonstrated in the following conversational extracts:

*... I've kind of felt all the time that I've been in ... Berlin that I've had enough German ... but um it's very hard to build a sort of um good social connection in a language that you don't really speak ... my socialising in Germany has been*

*entirely in English ...*

At first he considers that his language ability is satisfactory, but later in the interview he states that it is difficult to build good social connections in a language you don't really speak and that all of his socialising was carried out in English. Throughout the interview, Ryan consistently creates a negative impression of Germany, comparing it to his mainly positive experience in Sweden and the UK, perhaps as a means of supporting his current decision to leave Germany and return to the UK.

*... you quickly learn as an expat that there's no perfect country ... I actually kind of think on reflection that ... German society is not necessarily a society that I feel wildly motivated to integrate into, um because there's a lot of things I don't particularly care for in it ... I guess if Germany was otherwise perfect in my eyes, other than for the language, then it might be a different kettle of fish, but I've come to realise that actually well the UK isn't so bad after all ... I don't feel a huge degree of motivation um to really integrate into German society and to be honest that wasn't why I came to Berlin in the first place ...*

He demonstrates an initial understanding that no country is perfect, but refrains from carrying out a balanced comparison of the countries in which he has gathered experience. He explains that he has not integrated into the German culture as, "on reflection", he is not really motivated to do so and actually takes a positive position regarding the UK, an almost native environment (he is Scottish) and to where he is returning. The fact that this position was taken "on reflection" or with hindsight may indicate psychological identity work (Fenwick 2002, p. 708; Louis 1980; Musson and Duberley 2007; Storey, Salaman and Platman 2005, p. 1050; Symon and Clegg 2005; Weick 1995) being carried out in an attempt to palliate the cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7) between his early expectations and the actual integration and enable him to make sense of the situation having gained distance from it (Weick 1995, p. 11). Further, it would enable him to make sense of his

decision to return to the UK. In terms of the self-initiated expatriate country allegiance (Richardson and McKenna 2006, p. 15) this indicates a perceived strong relationship with Sweden and the UK implicating a "dual citizen" allegiance position, but his relationship with Germany is much weaker than with the UK indicating a "left their hearts at home position".

Adrian uses a different means of adaptation to enable him to come to terms with his new environment. His opening position regarding the move was a demonstration of open-mindedness and almost fatalism:

*... I don't know what I was expecting, it was just open-minded I think, I was just like 'Okay, see what happens' ...*

His open-mindedness is also indicated in the following statement, in which he demonstrates a process of adaptation and an ability to apply the experience gained to particular situations.

*... my point of view now, so when I first came I probably would've found that rude, but ... now that I've experience and I got to know them on a personal note then I can actually see that it's just their culture, that's how they communicate ... don't jump to conclusions like and get angry straight away ... you'll be more ... tolerant of different cultures*

Again, his weak language skills make it difficult to integrate fully and he then explains that he becomes more Irish, indicating a strong reliance on the home culture and identity to provide support.

*... I've become more Irish because I'm abroad than what I was when I was home and I think a lot of people do that. I think they're very proud, ... it's like they're trying to hold on to being Irish ... Most people like the Irish and you get this ... patriotism kind of thing where you're just, I don't know, you're trying to set a good name for the Irish people ... Like you listen to more Irish songs and stuff ... You're trying to find a common ground when you're in a different place so*

*it's it brings Irish people closer 'cause you're experiencing the same thing ... they feel like they need to ... compensate for the fact that they're not in Ireland anymore and in that sense they try to be more ... patriotic.*

In both of these examples, the individuals indicate parallels with the separation strategy proposed by Berry (2009, p. 366) demonstrating a preference for maintaining their native culture and identity, but limited interest in actively maintaining relationships with the local group. There are also similarities with cultural rootmaking (Mathews 2000, p. 196) as they attempt to define their understanding of their cultural roots in the new environment.

In the following statement Hannah indicates a further development, as she is not only aware that cultures are different, but also demonstrates interest in understanding these differences, properties that may be recognised in the pragmatist:

*I really interested into different cultures, I really try to approach people and get to know them ... I tried to ask where they come from ... what do they do ... which ... city they come from ... it's really interesting also to know how they came. If it's in Germany how they came to Germany, how long have they been here ... it's ... like adventure so to say, because I like to learn more about different ... cultures and it's interesting for me also since I am foreign in Germany, it's interesting for me to know how ... foreign people also feel here, because for everyone it's personal experience ... just to compare ... if ... you like it, if they like it also, or if they don't, if ... not then why or*

Isabella develops the understanding of this group further in the following statement:

*I think it's a process. I think that you realise it not at the very beginning when you arrive to the place, but in my experience it's happening now ...*



Here she considers that adaptation is a process rather than a state, a position consistent with that proposed by Broom and Kitsuse (1955, p. 44), and Oberg (1960, pp. 179-180; 2006, p. 144) in which the emotions, cognitions and behaviours of persons from one culture are considered to be continuously modified as a result of first-hand contact with persons from other cultures. But this process is not considered a replacement of one set of cultural behaviours with another:

*... the people here are ... different and there are different rules for ... living together ... and you try to adapt to that and keep ... your own ... personality as well ... and it's not always easy so you're trying to fit in and keep doing what they're doing, but at some point ... you have to show your personality as well and ... it's not compatible*

She attempts to integrate into the local environment, while retaining her natural culture and identity. In this statement she indicates elements of cultural rootmaking (Mathews 2000, p. 196) as she attempts to create her own idea of a cultural home while trying to protect her home culture. This may also be an indication of an attempt to create and implement multiple social identities (Ellemers, Spears and Doosje 2002, pp. 164-166) or an early form of such a scenario in which the two identities have not been developed to the point that they are automatically triggered by the language (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 290) or the social situation (Carter 2013, p. 204), as demonstrated by the statement "*you have to show your personality*" indicating the lack of an automatism. This position is not easy to manage and the adaptation process not without difficulties.

*... it was ... not easy one ... I was maybe expecting that it would be easier ... when I came I was trying to integrate ... I didn't even realise that it would be kind of a problem ... I was always comparing my ... integration when I was an exchange student in the US ... almost no problems with integrating there ... I didn't feel kind of disattached there as I felt sometimes in Germany ... I somehow expected that*

*German society would be also that open ... a little surprising for me when I realised now it's a different society with a different culture ... I was disappointed because then I realised I wouldn't probably be able to fully integrate ... ever, because I'm not German, I still have my cultural difference ...*

She considers, however, that she is faced with a barrier and is unable to gain adequate access to the local population, at which point she reduces her efforts to adapt and accepts her position. Finally she questions whether she will ever be able to fully integrate due to the differences.

This may be considered as a development phase between the separation strategy (Berry 2009, p. 366) and the integration strategy. Individuals are interested in retaining their native culture and identity and to interact with the local community, but as the local community appears to implement a segregation strategy (Berry 2009, p. 366) the integration strategy cannot be successfully implemented.

The next level of development evident in the interviews was demonstrated by individuals indicating an increased awareness of the host culture and their native culture and identity. They are aware of the requirement to first understand the new environment in order to be able to understand which steps are required to enable them to adapt and they indicate a strong understanding where it is necessary to adapt and where they are able to retain their own culture as indicated by James, a member of this mediator group:

*... you should learn ... how this culture functions, what is acceptable, what is not ... and you should adjust ... probably you have ... social sphere in your life where you rather adjust than ... try to change something ... then you have your life ... inside your family and that's ... up to you ... how you ... shape ... life there ...*

In this statement, James indicates the possibility of adapting in some situations and retaining the native culture and identity in the private

environment. This is a similar position to that Triandis et al. (1986, p. p47) suggest is taken by immigrants, which may result in situational dependent cultural behaviours of multicultural individuals (Schein 2009, p. p18).

This development towards biculturalism is, however, not without its difficulties as described graphically by Leah:

*Don't forget where you came from. I think that was the biggest lesson that I've learned in the five years that I've been here. I tried to integrate so much that the next time I went back home I realise that I'd changed so much that it actually scared me and ... I realised that I didn't really like the person that I was becoming because it wasn't even me anymore, it was ... becoming so German ... I think I had this brainwashed notion that everything that was German was right and everything that wasn't including Americans was maybe not right any more ... then I realised that ... there were good things about being American and that I wanted to hold on to some of those qualities so when I came back here ... I kind of had like a different mind-set and ... I try to take the best out of both worlds now, try to say that ... these are the things that I like here and these are the things that I like from America ... I try to hold onto both of them as much as possible ... I've grown in a way where I think ... I know what makes me happy and even if that means being different ... that's okay with me 'cause I know that ... life is better for me that way ...*

In her attempt to integrate, a position was achieved in which she lost her original identity, almost "going native" (Richardson and McKenna 2006, p. 15), resulting in shock and a need to adjust her expectations and make sense of the situation (Weick 1995, p. 11). Leah makes clear the importance of retaining elements of both cultures, a position similar to the integration strategy proposed by Berry (2009, p. 366). The behaviour described also draws parallels to the concepts of the "cultural supermarket" (Mathews 2000, pp. 1-29) and the "cultural mosaic" (Chao and Moon 2005,

p. 1132) indicating that the individual takes those elements of cultures that he or she considers advantageous to them and links them in response to situational demands.

Typical for the mediator, she demonstrates difficulties defining "home", but in general does not consider Germany as "home", simultaneously indicating that her native "home" is no longer the "home" she once knew, a position recognised in the literature (Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff 1983, p. 62):

*... personal relationships, work, integration, those are really ... the biggest key factors for making a place your home and making it um somewhere that you feel comfortable ...*

This consideration of "home" is in line with Mathews (2000, p. 192) definition of home: "*one's home is where in the world one most truly belongs*".

Sophia has developed beyond this stage and feels at "home" in the new environment:

*... the good things ... it's a great ... relief and it's a great feeling when you ... feel home in a place that is totally new, where you've not been born, where you've not grown up. That is basically totally, um, different from everything that you've experienced in your childhood and your youth. And still ... be able to ... start calling it home.*

Having made a conscious decision to stay in the new environment she becomes a member of the "build a nest" category who then makes a concerted effort to adopt and integrate. This would indicate a high level of integration and adaptation, but the development of this position was not always positive, as is evident from Sophia's description of her early interaction with her new "home":

*I found it at the very beginning a little bit sterile ... without mojo ... like not having something ... a little bit too orderly, too clean, too um organised, too proper ... what I found*

*difficult then ... maybe it might have been just my impression ... I had the feeling that when applying for jobs, they would basically ... always go for Germans and no matter how good you are they would, in the end, decide to take a German and not somebody coming from somewhere else.*

Sophia has taken the active decision to move to Germany and made an active effort to adapt, and to replace some of her native identity and culture with elements of the German culture. This demonstrates parallels with the assimilation strategy proposed by Berry (2009, p. 366) in which individuals or non-dominant groups demonstrate a preference to interact with the host culture and do not wish to maintain their natural identity and culture. This position becomes evident when Sophia discusses her character changes and her behaviour when visiting her country of birth:

*So it took a long time to really arrive, but now I feel comfortable ... this is my new life, this is because I am here and while I changed places I noticed that I am changing ... with all its good and bad sides, but I think there are more good sides to it ... and I find now ... difficult to think about going back ... a not so good change for me personally ... is that ... I notice ... this growing impatience within me, with everything that I experience when I go back home ... I tend to see things ... more critically ... instead of being accepting of what things are and how they are ... I am less tolerant ... with what I see ... back home...*

Similar to the situation previously encountered by Leah, she is aware that she has changed and is no longer the person she was before the move to Germany. Instead of reassessing and readjusting her position as Leah did to allow her to retain the positive aspects of both cultures, she decides to accept her new character, which may provide a further indication of the implementation of an assimilation strategy Berry (2009, p. 366). Further, in this statement it is also evident that she now demonstrates a strong relationship with Germany and a weak relationship with her home country resulting in a "go native" country allegiance according to Richardson and

McKenna (2006, p. 15). This may be due to the fact that Sophia's partner is German and the intention is to "... *start building the nest or the home ...*" that the selected strategy is also long-term and requires a more complete assimilation for her own benefit. A further consideration is whether Sophia is in some way attempting to differentiate herself from her Eastern European origin and the memories that were rooted in this culture while at the same time justifying her move to Germany. The open-mindedness that she has constantly emphasised may be an attempt to accept any situation that she considers better than her original roots and memories allowing it to develop and for her to "feel at home". This in turn would reduce the cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957) between her expecting it to be better than the real situation and therefore also reduce the stress experienced in that environment.

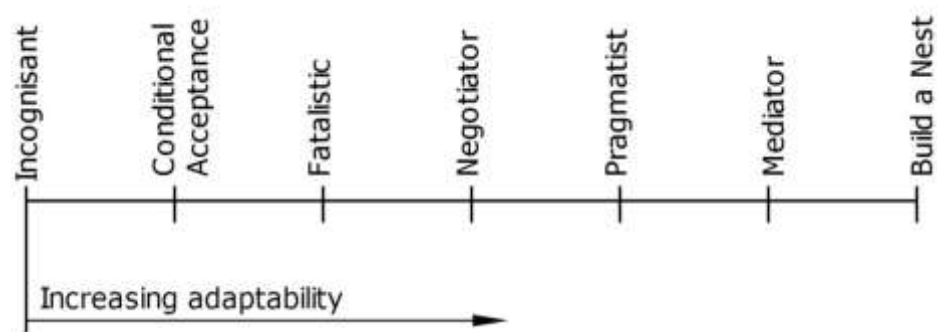


Fig. 20: Adaptability Scale

Fig. 20 provides an overview of the adaptability category relative to the increasing level of adaptability, based on the previous discussion. The lowest level of adaptability is demonstrated by the incognisant category. At the other end of the scale the build-a-nest category represents individuals who have successfully adapted to the new environment and demonstrate characteristics similar to the assimilation strategy proposed by Berry (2009, p. 366) in which they demonstrate a preference to interact with the host culture and are willing to relinquish elements of their native identity and culture.

At the lowest end of the scale the incognisant individuals experience low levels of dissonance and distress as they are unaware what to expect and

where potential differences between the cultures lie. This means, therefore, that the individuals do not need to apply high levels of psychological identity work in order to palliate their situation. At the other extreme, the “build a nest” individuals also recognise low levels of dissonance and require low levels of psychological identity work to palliate their situation, not because of ignorance or unawareness of their own and/or the host culture, but furthermore because of their heightened awareness of these facts, which in turn reduces the possibility of dissonance occurring. Between these two poles increasing levels of dissonance are registered and identity work required with a peak being perceived in the negotiator group. One exception to this inverse U representation is offered by those mediators, who become aware of their new cultural self and if they are not able to come to terms with this situation experience a high level of dissonance that results in the requirement for high levels of psychological identity work to be implemented in order to palliate the situation and enable the individual to find a solution for their situation. If they are unable to successfully palliate the situation the increased level of stress may have a negative effect on the assignment outcome.

#### **6.1.7 Support Mechanisms**

As previously discussed in the literature (section 2.13), when embarking on a new international assignment, individuals are not only confronted with many challenges relating to their roles and tasks (Nelson and Quick 1991, p. 543), but also relating to the potential disruption or loss of their existing social support systems and the familiar means of social support communication (Ong and Ward 2005, p. 638). The resulting uncertainty creates additional stress which may result in negative effects on the individual’s psychological (Kuo and Tsai 1986, p. 134; Lewandowski et al. 2011, p. 1807; Wang 2002, p. 321; Wang and Kanungo 2004, p. 786) and physiological (Marcelissen et al. 1988, p. 366; Uchino 2006) well-being, as indicated by Layla:

*... you feel there is no one who can ... support you more,  
help you ... you are only yourself ... on your own ... if only  
there is one or two ... of my family or ... best friends ... it*

*would be much easier ... you can help each other and you will feel more relaxed.*

One means for individuals to come to terms with the uncertainty (Adelman 1988, p. 185), and resulting stress arising from the transition is to establish a new social network in the local environment (Adelman 1988, p. 193; Baumeister and Leary 1995, p. 520; Gottlieb and Bergen 2010, p. 512; Kuo and Tsai 1986, p. 134; Wang and Kanungo 2004, p. 786) to help mediate physical and psychological health over time (Fontaine 1986, p. 362; Wang 2002, p. 324). This new network potentially provides access to receive the required emotional, informational and instrumental social support (Stroppa and Spieß 2011, p. 235). The importance of building a new network was indicated by Isabella who moved to Germany from Argentina with only limited financial resources. She stated:

*... I started to create like a network of people, because I needed it a lot ... I contacted people who I knew were speaking Spanish, what were Argentinians or were I don't know, Latin Americans ... that was like the safest and the fastest thing to do ...*

As recognised by Leah, one of the potentially important elements of the social network is peer expatriates (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002, p. 767):

*I would also think that that's probably why a lot of expats tend to lean on each other because it's the easiest way to find comfort rather than, you know, really pushing yourself to get to know the locals.*

Leah indicates an element of convenience and comfort in this method of obtaining support, as individuals can refrain from expending the higher level of effort required to integrate with the local population. A further advantage of integrating peer expatriates into the new social network is their ability to share experiences, possibly reducing levels of frustration (Caligiuri and Lazarova 2002, p. 770; Wang and Kanungo 2004, p. 778) by providing trust, communication and emotional social support.



Logan considers the more practical aspects of an expatriate oriented support network:

*and a lot of the time ... you just don't know that you need to do certain things at certain times ... and I think it's probably just moral support as well having ... somebody there who ... you can ask questions of or you know just complain to or whatever it might be*

The perception that support is available from family or friends overseas (Weiner and Hannum 2013) is often sufficient to enable an individual to feel capable of coping with the new international environment although one has to be aware that there may be a resulting change in the home support network as reported by Zoe:

*... I notice that my moving ... the persons who aren't closely related will fall aside more ... the persons who ... are very closely related or maybe sometimes you even weren't aware of having those close related contacts suddenly appear and I do think, I'm convinced that people who I am still in contact with ... are more ... valuable ... in friendships ...*

Another important element of social support networks, which was reported by Jack, is colleagues who may help reduce certain work stressors (Marcelissen et al. 1988, p. 366):

*... I'm pretty sure ... some colleague has some responsible who are charging for care me ... to fit nicely. I don't know ... how long period ... probably ... could be the guy was my office mate ... when I have some questions and then he will give answer, but anythings they had for the job and for the life or for ... that kind of thing anythings ...*

Jack reports positively not only regarding the very high level of support his organisation provided him with on arrival, for which he was very grateful, but in particular of the additional help provided by a colleague who took on the role of his main support agent or mentor. The provision of a colleague

as mentor or buddy may not only help reduce conflict (Vance, Vaiman and Andersen 2009) and stress during adaptation (Marcelissen et al. 1988, p. 366), but as indicated by Jack, may also provide direct learning opportunities and real-time support (Bozionelos 2009; Doherty and Dickmann 2013a, p. 243; Howe-Walsh and Schyns 2010, p. 267; McDonnell and Scullion 2013, p. 150; Toh and DeNisi 2007, p. 295; Toh, DeNisi and Leonardelli 2012, p. 236) reducing uncertainty and enabling him to better understand and adapt to local norms, values and behaviours. The “price” for this assistance/support (Adelman 1988, p. 186) can be considered to be his unlimited effort in the workplace i.e. effective completion of the work tasks.

A further advantage of organisational support was demonstrated by Liam:

*... I have a company apartment that's paid for, I have private German lessons that are paid for ... so a lot of my problems that ... other people have are sort of taken away from me.*

Here it is evident that the organisation provided him with a very good package, which relieved him of many problems that plagued some of the other research participants. A similar positive effect was evident in the interview carried out with Jack, who also reported on the unexpectedly generous support provided by his employer:

*... when I arrived in Germany then I was very surprised because of the company treatment, 'cause ... the company reserved the one room [furnished apartment], one space for me in this building, it's a very new building and it's not ... big, but it's quite enough to live alone ... I didn't expect ... this ... amount of giving ... something. It was a treatment was very nice ...*

This support provided increases their perceived organisational fit (Sluss and Thompson 2012, p. 120) and potentially increases their performance as a member of the organisation (Jokisaari 2013, p. 101).

As indicated by Adrian, organisations should be aware, however, that this

argumentation also implies that if an individual does not perceive the level of assistance, or the package provided to be adequate, this will have a negative effect on their attitude towards the organisation and increase the level of stress perceived:

*... so they kind of just done the basics I think and that was it. So there's no terms of like ... integration to Germany like "oh, you know, try this place out" I don't know or played the game or something like that together I don't know, so not much like that.*

Despite the fact that his organisation provided support completing the bureaucratic requirements he went on to question their support to aid his integration process:

This standpoint was potentially reinforced by his disappointment of his own ability during the contract negotiations and what he, with hindsight, considers the organisations unfair offer, which has led to indications of pent-up frustration and anger, vented in the statement:

*... I think I undervalued myself ... so now ... after a year and a bit ... [I'm] at the point where I should have been when I started, so that's kind of like a kick in the face ...*

Adrian remains in the country and with the company as his current situation is still perceived to be better than the situation that he left, but the high level of frustration will result in reduced motivation and lower job performance, which is also considered a form of assignment failure (Forster 1997, p. 414; Tung 1982, p. 68).

The potential difficulties of the non-working spouse were reported by Grace, who after having a child was no longer able to work and found it difficult to organise the time necessary to visit language courses:

*... I had the kid and ... I had to take care of my kid all of the time and I really don't have the time ... for learning any language*

As stated by Mäkelä and Suutari (2013, p. 296) working in an international context is not only challenging for the self-initiated expatriate, but also for their families, who generally must interact more frequently and intimately with the host culture (Fontaine 1986, p. 363).

Despite the recommendations made in the literature (Adler 1983, p. 37(Adler 1983, p. 37; Borrmann 1968, p. 35; Ronen 1989, p. 426; Tung 1981, p. 78) none of the individuals interviewed reported that their organisations had in any way considered their family situation when employing them. In order to determine his family's degree of willingness and acceptance regarding his considered move to Germany, Liam approached his family in advance of accepting the position and reported:

*... I have two children ... an' I'm divorced ... I'd already sat down with all of my immediate family and been through this scenario some seven or eight months beforehand ... I'd proved to them back then that it could work ...*

Armed with the family's acceptance of his move, he negotiated with his impending employers to arrange flexible working conditions and eventually he moved to Germany. This supports the existing literature, which considers that in the case of self-initiated expatriates who were married and/or had children, consideration of the family was an important element when deciding to accept an assignment (Richardson 2006, p. 474).

Layla and Grace represent the trailing spouses typical of the traditional nuclear mobile families "headed" by a male expatriate (Forster 1992, p. 615). Zoe a female self-initiated expatriate on the other hand represents the modern developments in international human resources management, in which the female expatriate is followed by her male partner/spouse (Brookfield Global Relocation Services 2010, p. 21; 2011, p. 26; Harvey and Wiese 1998, p. 362)

Grace and Luke represent a second modern development of the expatriate landscape as they are partners in dual income / dual career families (Bonache 2005, p. 111; Harvey 1997, pp. 627-628; Harvey and Moeller 2009, p. 280; Harvey and Wiese 1998, pp. 360-362; Moore 2002, p. 62;

Munton et al. 1993, p. 56; Petrovic, Harris and Brewster 2000, p. 11; United States of America 2012, p. Table 601). As Grace explained, prior to the move to Germany, she was actively employed:

*... I had a job in Canada at the moment and ... I enjoyed it at a spa I worked at a spa ...*

After the move to Germany, however, she did not immediately receive a work permit, became pregnant and a stay at home housewife and mother. This was not enough, however, to satisfy her needs:

*... I used to be a ... housewife and it's quite boring ... I don't have too many people around me talking to me during the day just all by myself and so it was quite lonely ...*

The situation was finally relieved when she returned to work:

*... I have to say and uh now I have a job and ... I have lots of people around me I can talk to them ... I find interesting to challenge ... my work ... it's a work that can complete me ... can make me feel that I am still useful ...*

She infers that being a mother and housewife did not make her feel useful or fulfil her and led to boredom, which is typical of such situations (Munton et al. 1993, p. 129). Relief was perceived when she was able to start work, which she considers "completes" her and makes her feel useful again. The question arises, therefore, whether this is an element of her personal character or whether this situation has arisen because she is in a foreign environment removed from her support network of family and friends with whom she could otherwise have interacted.

A similar situation was reported by Luke whose medical doctor wife took on a flexible spouse role (Mäkelä, Käsälä and Suutari 2011, p. 194; Välimäki, Lämsä and Hiillos 2009, pp. 606-607), and found it difficult to come to terms with her situation as housewife and mother:

*... my wife ... would have preferred we would have gone back to the United States sooner rather than we did ... part of her,*

*who she was, was gone and so, she missed that to begin with ... where we lived initially in the United States ... her family lived there and so she had multiple sisters and her mom and an infrastructure and friends and all of this got taken away ... and she didn't have that to that ... extent and so I think it was ... home sick.*

He reported that, in a similar manner to Grace, his wife missed her job and that “part of her ... was gone”, indicating the level of frustration experienced by her. He indicates that the role of mother and housewife did not fulfil her requirements, at least initially. As the stay progressed, she accepted this role could not be changed, but was hoping the stay would only be of short duration. In this case his wife’s situation was amplified by the fact that her home support network based around her family was removed and her sister suffered a debilitating accident.

*... My wife, we were here for one week and one of her sisters was in a ... debilitating ... accident ... she still can't walk, four years later ...*

In this case, rather than the wife being able to rely on the perceived social support of her family at home in the US, she may have experienced guilt as she was not able to provide her sister and the family the support she may have felt necessary. In conjunction with the “loss” of her job and its supporting network, she may have experienced increased stress, which she indicated in her wish to return to the US.

The majority of the interview partners reported that they used Skype as a means of remaining in contact with family and friends. The benefit of this means of communication was not only seen as the low price, but also the fact that it was possible to “see” the communication partner. David reported:

*... with Skype try and get ... half an hour video with your family just to see them, see their faces so they see also your ... daughter, that's pretty much about it ...*

Jack considered that talking to his parents in South Korea via Skype also provided him with additional security as he is also able to “see” how they are and not just have to rely on their own report of the situation:

*... it's the same ... but more secure there than the telephone ... secure means ... some state of them, because I have to care about their health ... by voice it is ... how can I know something they are really healthy or they have a some problems or, but can see the face-to-face then more that kind of um secure ...*

As Adrian explained, he considered the telephone as the appropriate communication medium for his mother who was lacking competence using the internet and for important interactions requiring an instant response. In other situations he preferred the use of computer-mediated communication solutions when interacting with his home environment:

*... mostly the internet, well phone obviously as well for ... my ma, 'cause she has no idea of the internet ... phone for important calls or calls ... where I need a response straight away ... then internet for when I want to talk to my friends or something like that so play a game on line or something like that ... and just talk to them over ... Skype or teamspeak or something like that ...*

Facebook was also considered useful for remaining in contact with family and friends with Lucas stating:

*... if you go home you still feel completely in the loop if you're on Facebook because you see pretty much everything that's happening.*

This is in line with previous research such as by DiMaggio et al. (2001, pp. 318-319) who reported that although the internet has no intrinsic effect on social interaction and participation, used to complement other channels of interaction, it can help sustain existing networks and intensify already existing inclinations toward sociability or community involvement.

The internet and social media sites may not only provide positive support, in the form of access to host country information prior to the assignment and to social support in the home environment during the assignment, but also negatively influence the acculturation process enabling individuals to retreat into a virtual “cultural ghetto” or “bubble”(Ward et al. 1998, p. 281). In this case it is purported that individuals continue contact with the home culture, which reduces the degree of dependency on the local environment and the need to adapt.

Considering the support mechanisms created and maintained by the individuals, Liam’s statement provides an insight into some of the difficulties confronted:

*... I find it a little bit lonelier that I thought I would ... I have made friends since I’ve been here, but ... I haven’t made very strong friendship[s] ...*

Liam indicates that he is missing his previous support network and is having greater difficulties integrating into the new environment and finding friends, than he had expected, leading to a weak support network and feelings of loneliness. These are typical characteristics of the castaways located at the lowest end of the scale.

This situation resulted in him taking steps to entertain himself that he would not normally have considered:

*Something that I’ve ... never ever ... done, because it was a major stigma ... attached for me, ... I went to the pictures on my own ... about three Saturdays ago ... I was a bit sad to do that ...*

This decision resulted in disappointment regarding his ability to network and during the interview, this disappointment was audible. As he continues he again confirms his disappointment.

*So the reality from the personal side of things is a little bit different ... sort of friendship wise and ... the socialising ... is not what I probably hoped it would be, but that takes time.*



The extent of his problem and discomfort becomes apparent as he distinguishes between “friends” and associates from work:

*... I don't [have] any friends in Germany that I didn't have before I came. ... I know a couple of guys that used to work for [the] company that I go out and have a drink with and ... maybe go and have a bite to eat with. The rest of the 10 or 12 people that I know are all associates.*

For him, associates from work are not automatically “friends” although he may spend time away from the work environment with these people. They were also not considered to provide active social support. Based on this differentiation he considers that he has no friends in Germany that he didn't have previously: as he was not in Germany previously, this would indicate that he has no new friends in the country resulting in a very weak support network. A potential second inference is that the majority of his current efforts to build a new social network were probably centred on the organisation and work environment as the “*couple of guys*” that he meets for a drink or a meal previously worked for the organisation and the “*rest of the 10 or 12 people*” that he knows are current associates. As he has previously indicated that he has a “*fairly senior position*”, the development of a social network within the personal-professional continuum may not be straightforward, with the relationship, at least with junior colleagues, taking on a more strategic, cautious character (Waldron 2003, pp. 164-165).

*... I need to invest more effort in ... those social scenes ... to increase my network ... I suppose working hard ... is a pretty lame excuse for that ...*

Here he also recognises that his current efforts to establish a local support network were insufficient. The lack of initiative demonstrated by Liam is reflected in the small network size and negative social well-being experienced, reinforcing previous research (Ong and Ward 2005, p. 638; Wang 2002, p. 324; Wang and Kanungo 2004, pp. 786-787). In a similar manner Layla reported missing her previous support network and additional psychological stress resulting from her perceived loneliness:

*... I feel somehow lonely ... In one word I do miss my family a lot ... you feel there is no one who can ... support you more, help you ... you are only yourself ... on your own ... if only there is one or two ... of my family or ... best friends ... it would be much easier ... you can help each other and you will feel more relaxed.*

She implies that she only has access to a relatively small support network, relying on the international community and other Chinese families for support as they might also experience similar problems which then "make me feel better". As indicated throughout the interview, the support provided is limited and her reasoning for staying in the country is based on family loyalty rather than her own satisfaction with her situation. In a similar vein, Jack reports on the psychological distress he experiences due to feelings of guilt, not being able to support his elderly parents in South Korea. His main support is now provided by his wife, and he emphasises that if he did not have his wife in Germany, he would have returned home:

*This could be also one of the reason why I'm here, because of my wife ... if I don't have a wife then this can be ... I will be back to Korea*

Emily has been able to relieve some of the psychological distress perceived by the members of the previous castaway group by attempting to develop her social network around Chinese home country members:

*... luckily I found out about this platform ... it's called InterNations ... I'm a group of them so I attend events very often ... basically all my good friends from there ... there are two Germans ... but they ... all work in China and they came back so there's lots ... to talk about and they work in Beijing and then ... Chinese friends apart from them ...*

Here she explains that she uses the international contact and information platform InterNations (2014) to obtain access to organised events in Munich. As a domestic oriented individual, even the two German network members have experience of living and working in her hometown of Beijing,

providing her “access” to familiar situations and a group with common interests resulting in “lots to talk about” and enabling them to fulfil the requirements of her China-centric network.

David also clearly explains that many expatriates (in his case, Spaniards) retreat into a social environment propagated by their compatriots:

*When I first moved to Germany I did the ... same mistakes that pretty much all Spaniards do when they move here ... they just try to get into a ghetto ... they get together to go for dinner, to go for drinks or something like that and they don't interact much with the local people so unless you get a ... girlfriend or boyfriend ... in Germany for example, you interact very little ... at the beginning with ... the locals ... and that's really bad because they don't get to know people here, the culture or the language and it takes much longer to adapt because ... you are in your little bubble and you don't integrate yourself you are like refusing to integrate.*

In this case they do not interact with the local people unless they are able to form a more intimate relationship with its members. In addition, he clearly describes the dangers of this socialisation strategy that lie in the fact that the individuals live in a “bubble” (Ward et al. 1998, p. 281), and are faced with increased difficulties integrating into the local environment. He continues to mention that his understanding of the situation has changed with time and international experience and that he now realises that it is necessary to interact with individuals from the local environment in order to be able to understand them and their culture.

Leah described a similar situation consisting of a small group of her home country nationals who remained in Germany after completing their master degree and she considers as a “second family”:

*... a couple of friends from the programme ended up staying here and we're still in close contact ... it's good to have those kind bonds with people from your home and it's kind of like a second family. They really provided support in ways that*

*maybe you wouldn't have gotten from other German people in the beginning ... people that really understood what you were going through ... maybe it was always the easy way out looking back, because we always kind of reverted back to our little family of Americans whenever something got hard, but ... it made the experience in general easier in the beginning I think.*

She infers here that she did not believe that she could have obtained the same level of support from German friends as they would probably not have understood the problems that she was confronted with. On the other hand, she indicates that with hindsight, it was actually more convenient to seek support from the American “family”, and that the level of perceived and received support reduced the level of stress experienced in the important initial phase of the move.

Adrian also considered it easier to bond with “like minded” people from the home environment as they possibly understand one another better and have common topics of discussion:

*... the tendency for us to kind of bond more closely with the people that come from the same place, that's definitely ... there, so we, the Irish guys, definitely ... so we're friends I'd say ... I wouldn't put them as really close friends, I'd say that ... some of them are more acquaintances ...*

During this statement, however, he also relativizes the perceived closeness to his compatriots considering some of them acquaintances rather than close friends and therefore reducing the quality and strength of the ties between them. Further, Adrian generally demonstrated an open-minded approach to networking and was able to create a balanced support system and indicated an ability to communicate and interact in any environment.

Other individuals opened their support network further, considering not only individuals from their home environment, but those able to communicate using their mother tongue or an alternative common third language. The language oriented group, therefore, benefitted from access to a broader

group of individuals able to provide additional support. Although the decision to build a language oriented social network may be the result of a conscious decision as in the case of Isabella, who upon arrival developed a network based around her Spanish mother tongue, it may also be the result of necessity as the individual does not possess adequate local language skills to enable them to socialise, representing a further impact of host language ability previously discussed in section 6.1.3. Ryan considered:

*... my socialising in Germany has been entirely in English ...either I need to put my head down and actually get my German to at least ... the level of my Swedish, which is sort of enough to kind of have friendships ... or I need to go somewhere where I'm more comfortable with the language surroundings ...*

Here he provides evidence that his language skills are not sufficient to allow him to build a social network and at the same time infers a level of dissatisfaction and discomfort resulting from this situation, which may have resulted in an increased level of stress.

Luke also reported communicating with his friends in English although he attempts to provide mitigating circumstances why this is the case:

*... I understand ... German at a fairly decent level. I don't speak it a lot and the reason being is at home I spoke English, with my friends I met here, most of them are English and so I speak with them in English ...*

As previously discussed (p. 174), his language skills are limited and the fact that he has implemented English as the main means of communication with him in the organisation removes a means of improving his language skills and also creates a barrier for social interaction in German. His situation is further complicated by the fact that his wife who accompanied him on the assignment has not been able to benefit from German language training. The reason provided was that the assignment was initially intended to last for one year rather than the four years it became, and small children accompanied them, whose needs were perceived more important than the

mother acquiring language skills.

Other individuals indicated a selective approach to social network building in which they were prepared to interact with individuals without restriction on their country of origin, if they considered them to fit their current requirements or share particular interests. James represents an individual demonstrating this networking approach and he explains:

*... I'm just not a social bee I would say... I have ... a small number of friends who are intimate friends and I'm good with these ... I just do not ... actively try to socialise at all ... when I see that I share interests with this person ... then basically I try to get this person in my circle and within this circle where I have interest to act actively I think I might be a good networker ... in general ... I try to be a good networker in a circle of people I kind of want to stay in contact with ... life is much more ... pleasant with friends ...*

He explains that he does not consider himself in general to be a good networker indicating that he has no ambition to surround himself with individuals that are not able to provide a benefit for him. In the special situation that someone shares an interest with him and is therefore able to satisfy a perceived need, he actively attempts to network with these people.

Although this approach may be satisfactory for individuals attempting to achieve a particular career development, for example, others emphasising their need to integrate into the local environment may concentrate on interacting with members of the local community to the detriment of their social network with other home nationals as inferred by Zoe:

*... I'm more meeting with Germans ... we could go for example to the Dutch community, but we don't like to ... because it's ... going back to the Dutch roots again and ... it highlights even more ... where you're from and um who you are from Holland and ... I don't have the feeling of that specific level of uh alignment.*

Here she explains that the opportunity exists for them to interact with the expatriate Dutch community in Munich, but she (and her partner) did not feel comfortable with this as it would mean a stronger definition with their home country and culture. This in turn may have had a detrimental effect on their cultural adaptation.

This socialisation strategy may also be the result of restricted access to members of the international community or an increased opportunity to interact with members of the local environment possibly due to a local partner or initial point of contact. Logan who had moved to Germany to be together with his German girlfriend and now wife, demonstrated similar characteristics as he described that his friends in Germany are:

*... actually more German. I mean that's partly because some of them are my wife's friends, but I'm just starting to get to know some more expats actually ...*

Interestingly, he not only explains that he currently has more German friends as some of them are his wife's friends, but he also states that he has started to interact with expatriates. This may indicate that he recognises a deficit in his current network and has a latent desire to balance this deficit by interacting with international individuals in a similar manner as indicated by Zoe:

*... I do think now also looking back, I have a better connection with people who worked abroad, who have the experience ... than people who don't have the experience.*

A further group of individuals feel drawn more towards the local international community irrespective of language and background rather than relying on the local German community. These individuals are motivated by a higher level of interest and perceived support they consider available from this group of individuals. Both Vicky and Leah stated that they felt more drawn to the international community, although as indicated by Vicky, the basis for their support network was to be found in their fellow students from previous studies in Germany:

*... local German community ... no not really ... I have international ... friends group ... we know each other at the college and ... some of ... them are living or ... also working ... Munich so we used to hang around so they are also source of my friends groups ...*

This does not mean that the support network is vacant of Germans, but that the emphasis is directed at the international environment. Vicky also infers that although she has not actively attempted to include German nationals in her social network, if the opportunity arose, she did not ignore it as indicated in her search for an orchestra:

*... also I know some people from the Volkshochschule ((adult education centre / community college)) ... because I'm playing ... violin, we have orchestra ... so they are ... another ... group or community ... I'm one of three foreigners ... one of the problem is that ... most of the people they're coming from Munich so they have their own families so afterwards we don't meet each other so frequently ... I think it's a ... shame ..."*

Here she indicated her disappointment at the fact that the German members of the orchestra have their families in Munich, which restricts the private interaction between the group members.

Leah also mentions that although she feels more drawn toward the international community, she does not make use of the expatriate networks such as InterNations (2014) to increase the reach of her social network:

*... I always try to avoid the expat communities and all that ... thought it might prevent integration ... it's easier sometimes to be around other expats or other nationalities than it is to be around the Germans completely ...*

Here she explains the convenience of interacting with other expatriates, at least during the early stages of the adaptation, but also indicates the possible danger of relying on expatriate communities, which may prevent



integration in the local environment. As she is aware of this danger she also *"... tried to focus a little bit more on integrating into the German side of society here ..." by concentrating on interacting with a "few friends that were from Germany ..."*.

A further development in networking skills is demonstrated by people who are willing and able to communicate and socialise without prejudice in any environment. They generally have a broad and deep social network able to provide them with support in any situation. Sophia has demonstrated her open-minded approach to interaction and socialisation in an international environment throughout the interview and considers:

*I'm absolutely curious and open-minded and I adapt very easily ... if it was a country where I didn't know the language I immediately started learning the basic words, or how to get along with the people ... I am very sensitive to the different cultures and how people react or what they expect ...*

Adrian also demonstrated a high-level of flexibility and open-mindedness upon arrival in Germany, living in a flat-share with other Germans:

*... I decided to live with ... five Germans. So I've been living with Germans for a year and a half now in a really big place and it's worked out really well. So that's where I made ... the first set of friends ... it was a good experience and ... while I was ... in this place ... we had a Brazilian guy, a Rumanian guy, we've had people from north Germany, east Germany, south Germany ... I can see basically their difference in opinions and you know the German language and stuff ...*

The flat-share provided him with access to a colourful network of other individuals that he was able to experience and profit from. He demonstrates a heightened awareness of the differences not only between the various international cultures that he came into contact with, but also between individuals from different parts of Germany. Here he also provides an insight into some of the finer weaknesses of the generalisation models of

culture such as that proposed by Hofstede (1980), which would have considered Germans as one folk, but Adrian has recognised is not the case.

Despite the fact that he considered there to be an increased tendency for individuals to bond more closely with compatriots, he also stated that if he required assistance he would generally get help from:

*... my friends I would say so ... [m]ostly the one's I live with  
'cause they'll be more closer I think than ... even the Irish  
guys at work ...*

Here he demonstrates stronger ties with and a higher level of trust in his German flatmates than his Irish compatriots and colleagues. When evaluating this statement, however, it is necessary to consider the context in which the help may be required as the decision may not simply be based on closeness of ties to his flatmates, but may be contingent on the situation in which the help is required. If the help is sought regarding matters pertaining to his stay in Germany such as assistance regarding legal or bureaucratic matters, it may be that Adrian perceives that he will receive more qualified assistance from his German friends as they are nationals, than he may receive from his Irish friends as they are in a similar position to him. Although this question has been raised here, it may be posed for each of the narrative resources as an individual's decisions and the reasoning behind them will generally be contingent upon the situation that they are made in and the individual's frame of mind at the time.

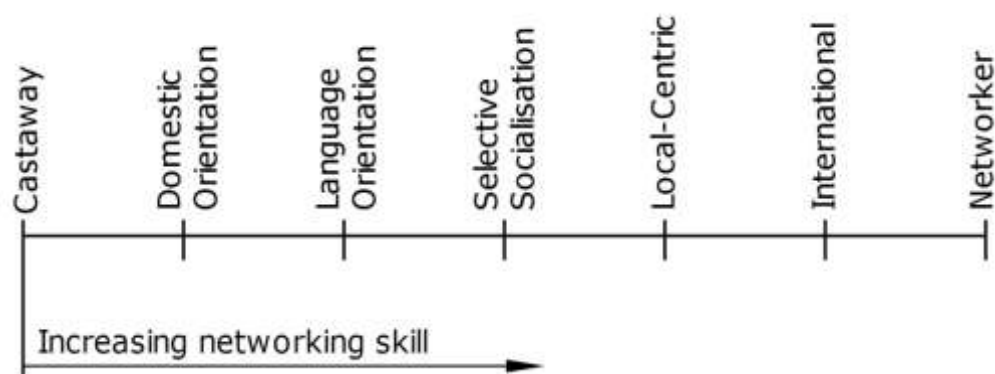


Fig. 21: Support Mechanism Scale

Fig. 21 provides an overview of the support mechanism category relative to the increasing level of networking skills demonstrated, based on the previous discussion. The lowest level of adaptability is demonstrated by the castaway category. At the other end of the scale the networker category represents individuals that have successfully adapted to the new environment and demonstrate very good networking skills enabling them to communicate and socialise without prejudice in any environment.

The castaways demonstrate high levels of acculturation stress as they perceive high levels of dissonance and discomfort, but are unable to obtain support either from their original home based support mechanisms or from a local support network. Generally the individuals are lacking the means to enable them to build a new local network that may have enabled them to obtain the information required to palliate their current situation and reduce the acculturation stress experienced.

The networkers on the other hand have been able to create a deep and broad support network to substitute or compliment the home network that currently cannot be easily accessed. This network provides the individuals with the necessary social or informational support they require to enable them to successfully palliate their situation and reduce the perceived acculturation stress to an acceptable level.

Between these two extremes individuals demonstrate increasing network skills and breadth and depth of their respective networks. The increasing strength of the networks provides the individuals with improved access to information required to palliate the dissonant situations, reducing their perceived level of acculturation stress, resulting in improving the quality of the assignment outcome.

#### **6.1.8 Work / Organisational Context**

The work and organisational context is multifaceted (see Section 2.4 and Appendix 1, p. 427) with international assignments often resulting in individuals not only being faced with living in an unknown cultural environment with all its surprises and challenges, but also potentially new management styles, procedures and levels of responsibility. In addition,

organisations are faced with increasing challenges posed by differences in culture, race, nationality and ethnicity as a result of globalisation (Jackson, Joshi and Erhardt 2003; Stahl et al. 2010; Triandis 2003, p. 486; van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, p. 516; Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 78). Although the previously investigated narrative resources also apply in the work environment the pressure of deadlines and the implementation of unknown processes may create additional insecurity for the individual. As previously indicated, an individual may also behave differently in varying situations, a factor which was considered when categorising the interviews, resulting in some individuals receiving multiple categorisations. The categorisation considers the individuals in terms of increasing workplace awareness.

At the lowest end of the scale the outsiders are individuals who demonstrate little or no understanding of their impending or new work environment resulting in them being confronted with negative experiences. The most vivid example of this category was provided by David reporting on his experiences while on an assignment in South Korea. Although the assignment did not take place in Germany, it is still of interest as the underlying problem was the result of the large cultural distance (Bochner 2006, p. 190; Church 1982, p. 547; David 1971, p. 48; Froese and Peltokorpi 2011) to the individual's Spanish roots and the lack of training/preparation prior to embarking on the assignment.

Despite the fact that he had freely accepted the opportunity to take part in the temporary assignment to South Korea, David indicates that he embarked on the assignment with a negative mind-set and compared his start with a Marine mission:

*... back then I had a really bad ... feeling about the whole thing. When I was there, I was just hoping that I could get out of there as soon as possible ... they just dropped me like ... the Marines get dropped in the middle of the Pacific Ocean to do some job ...*

With no other information to use as a benchmark for his work methods and

business etiquette, he reverted to his previous schemata (Bartunek and Moch 1987; Harris 1994) and the experience gathered in Europe and the United States. The gap between the business and cultural styles forming his benchmark and the local requirements resulted, however, in conflict situations arising. He explains that:

*... Koreans are very hierarchical, which means that if you get into a team and everything runs fine ... everybody will smile at you and everything is gonna be fine they will say good morning and you will be a nice guy. If something goes wrong or you have a disagreement with some of their bosses, which pretty much happens ... because ... westerners like Americans, Europeans tend to ... express their beliefs or their opinions very openly and this is not the case in Asia. You are supposed to open your mouth only when you are in a situation where ... you are allowed to or you are supposed to. Any finding from the ... big boss and I open my mouth to say something that is in disagreement with him that for ... that culture means something like I'm slapping his face in front of everybody ... they didn't care about ... logic or good or bad arguments or pros and cons ... they were definitely not interested in that ...*

Although many of the facts resulting in astonishment on his part could have been gleaned through contact with his local counterparts or a brief study of relevant literature (cf. Lewis 2006, pp. 502-508; Morrison and Conaway 2006, pp. 457-468). His lack of knowledge of the requirements of the work environment led then to errors of interaction with host-nation colleagues and superiors resulting in a very stressful situation for him.

David's six person team of sojourners (Bochner 2006), was a minority group within the larger host nation base resulting in a strong diversity faultline (Lau and Murnighan 1998) within the organisation and the possibility of increased disruption to the effective functioning of the organisational team (van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, p. 523). The fact that the assignment was considered of limited duration may have

negatively influenced the team's willingness to adapt to the local requirements. Applying the acculturation strategies proposed by Berry (2009, p. 366) it can be postulated that the South Korean host group were applying a segregation strategy resulting in a separation strategy being applied by the sojourners. The reaction of the South Korean host group to David's "lack of respect" was to categorise him as an "unperson" (Lewis 2006, p. 506) resulting in them demonstrating no respect for his wellbeing. This becomes evident in the following comments:

*... they take ... everything very personal and then when things go wrong ... basically they stop talking to you ... it's like you are suddenly a ghost ... they don't look at you they look through you like you are air ...*

The psychological strain of being ignored was only one of the problems that resulted from the interactions. As David continued to unwittingly breach custom and etiquette, in accordance with his position as an "unperson", he was increasingly degraded as they exchanged signs of power such as his "big leather chair" first for a "normal chair" and finally for the worst broken chair they had. This created additional stress for David who explained that:

*... for them that was very important where you sit for example ... it made me feel really bad because ... for me that wasn't professional that wasn't a professional ... environment, that was ... in any ... Western country that would be ... mobbing, basically mobbing ... they're doing mobbing against you and that's ... perfectly doable in ... Asia at ... least in Korea it was ... normal ...*

This situation resulted in immense pressure on him and a negative working environment and in the broadest sense, failure of the assignment as he was not able to provide his full potential to the project, suffered what he now considers a "burnout" and left the assignment after the minimum period of six months.

Logan's description of his assignment to Australia and the effect of being faced with a position contrary to that previously described and expected

provides an example of the stranger:

*... the job itself, it was quite different to the way it had been described ... it had a big effect really, because what I'd done for ... quite a few years before I left was ... I'm a software developer ... but when I ... arrived, literally well if not the day, the first day I went in to talk to the ... new bosses, it was actually a sales role ... my image of the job was that I'd be doing what ... I'd done for years and knew well ... in a new place ... with a nice kind of ... living conditions ... and all the rest of it, and it wasn't like that ... it was a tough job. So that made a big difference ... that certainly made a difference in how long I stayed there for.*

In this case Logan was confronted with a discrepancy between the communicated job profile and the actual requirements of the position in the host environment, which demonstrated a lack of role clarity, task identity (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005, p. 260) and an increased role novelty (Andreason 2003, p. 46; Black, Mendenhall and Oddou 1991, p. 309) as the sales role he was confronted with differed greatly from his previous experience as a software developer. The resulting surprise and negative reaction indicated by Logan increased the level of stress experienced (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005; Breiden, Mirza and Mohr 2004; Naumann 1992; 1993), influenced his acceptance of the role, the duration of his stay and the success of the assignment.

Ryan also indicated frustration regarding unclear or misinterpreted descriptions of the work environment and host country colleague's language ability:

*... I was actually the only person who didn't speak German in the company ... which was not quite how it had been sold to me in the interview process ... I was very much given the impression that ... this is an international company with a English speaking environment ... some of the guys were practically native level English ... some of them ... their*

*English was almost ... as bad as my German ... sometimes had to be in a meeting with these people where ... someone had to do a ... sort of simultaneous translation ...*

The resulting situation may have resulted in frustration for Ryan and the host country colleagues, especially those whose English language ability was not adequate to enable them to communicate freely during meetings as indicated in the comment:

*... there were some awkward scenarios and I remember there was one guy in particular whose ... English wasn't great either ... if he was in a meeting with ... eight people all of whom speak German except me ... his view was kind of 'well I'm not going to speak English sound ridiculous' ... and of course then what do you do in that position ...*

As is indicated by this statement, the German colleague demonstrated signs of foreign language anxiety (Horwitz 2001; Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986), which affected their willingness to use the foreign English language resulting in lower productivity within the group than if all individuals were able to communicate freely with one another. Due to the language difficulties and the group's need to achieve its tasks, some individuals were required to take on a facilitating role and ensure the flow of information:

*... sometimes particular requests for information or ... communication would be channelled in a ... certain way through certain people bearing in mind their language ability ...*

Adrian also indicated his discontent regarding his pay and conditions, which appears to be causing him additional distress. Although he questions his negotiating skills and apportions himself the majority of the blame for the poor outcome:

*... in the negotiation period in the interview I should have ... asked for some sort of a better level of support, 'cause the stress of moving was first of all massive 'cause obviously the*



*unknowns and so for that and financially it was really expensive to pay the ... deposit and all the stuff like that. I wasn't prepared for that ... [what] you should ask for when you move is ... some sort of relocation ... settlement thing ...*

The level of adjustment stress encountered during this period was increased by the low level of support offered by the organisation and the individual's lack of awareness of what the move would entail, indicating support for the postulations of Aycan (1997), Black et al. (1999) and Stroh et al. (2005). The resulting negative financial position experienced created stress which appears to have resulted in a degree of resentment by the individual.

Further dissatisfaction resulted from Adrian's consideration of his initial salary and the salary progression that he has received. As previously mentioned (p. 244), the strong image contained in the statement "... so that's kind of a kick in the face ..." indicates the level of disappointment and anger pent up in him. This situation could have been avoided had the organisation ensured that he was adequately informed about the housing conditions, prices and landlord requirements prior to embarking on the move. The assumption that he received an inadequate starting salary and implicitly still receives an inadequate salary may rest on considerations centring around Adams' Equity Theory (Adams 1963) and Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance Theory (Festinger 1957) as Adrian compares his own situation with that of appropriate others. Although the acceptance of the group may constitute a moderating factor, the underlying dissatisfaction ultimately may surface at times of additional stress and distress influencing his productivity.

Liam, on the other hand, is content in his new work environment and perceives to have been accepted by his new international colleagues:

*... I have wonderful German colleagues ... they invite me for lunch every day ... I think they've been a massive part of me ... settling in here and ... feeling relaxed about the move, the change. I think ... they've been great, I think [they've] been absolutely fantastic ... we have a lot of international*

*colleagues ... I don't know a European country where  
someone ... doesn't come from ...*

In line with research (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005, p. 268), his job satisfaction appears to be generated by his high degree of autonomy and the fact that he is treated as special by the company as indicated in the following statement:

*... I have a company apartment that's paid for, I have  
private German lessons that are paid for ... so a lot of my  
problems that ... other people have are ... sort of taken away  
from me ... they're really really good to me ... I have a laptop  
and a phone, an internet connection and I can work from  
anywhere in the world and ... they're very happy for me to  
do so ... I worked for some big companies in the city of  
London, I work ... in small companies ... but none of them  
ever treated me as well as I've been treated here ...*

Here it can be seen that the organisation has provided him with a very good relocation package including a company paid apartment and language lessons. Further, the workplace autonomy and value of the relocation package may potentially confirm his self-perceived importance indicated by his previously discussed narcissistic tendencies (p. 189) and therefore increase his satisfaction with the new work environment. The potential negatives that may arise in the workplace are then relativized to ensure that dissonance does not occur. These are characteristics of the creators who have generally been accepted by their host colleagues, but do not demonstrate a cognitive understanding of their new cultural work environment.

In support of the consideration that the creator demonstrates a theoretical understanding of the potential benefits of culturally diverse workforces, Liam explains:

*... Different people, different environments, different  
experience can only contribute to having more ideas ... more  
ways of working ... more options ... different ideas ... work*

*ethic ... I think it's a good thing ... I think you have to see the positive in each difference ... what's necessarily right for one person isn't right for the other, so, keep an open mind and then you work with that.*

Despite the fact that he has provided a theoretically sound understanding of managing a diverse workforce, in a practical work situation regarding an interaction with a German colleague, he demonstrates astonishment at the individual's behaviour:

*... one of the guys that I work with is ... a German guy, extremely nice guy, but he's more efficient than life. I mean ... he's outrageously efficient ... and he deemed it appropriate to call me at nine o'clock at night, at home ... I found that ... funny ... not funny ... in the comical ... sense, but I just thought to myself ... have you really got nothing more important to do than to phone me at home at nine o'clock ... on an evening to tell me I'd literally keyed one date wrong when in 12 hours' time we'd be sitting down having a coffee talking about this whole sheet anyway?*

This discrepancy may indicate that his understanding of the work situation is created around his own expectations and benefits, to enable him to perceive himself in the most positive light and support his personal understanding of himself. Further, consideration of the event being attributable to the German colleague's cultural background is not necessarily justified. It is true that Germans are stereotypically considered to be extremely efficient, but efficient people are present in all cultures. Moreover, the possibility that someone will call outside of normal working hours to discuss a problem is also not unusual and can occur in almost any organisation. In this particular case, could it be that the problem is actually centred on the fact that the German colleague had discovered the error and confronted him with it, something that would not conform to the image Liam had created and projected?

The ethnocentric considers the home work methods to be superior to those

implemented in the host environment, or is unwilling to adapt to the host work methods (Bodley 1994). The level of support provided by the organisation during the move does not appear to impact on the individual's work attitude, but in some cases there are indications of a potentially misplaced understanding of one's own importance. This does not mean the individuals are not integrated in the work environment, but that they demonstrate an inability or unwillingness to adapt to it.

Luke demonstrated ethnocentric tendencies, which were emphasised by his weak language skills and the implementation of the English language for communication with him as a tool to demonstrate power and ensure that he was able to remain within his own comfort zone. He did not consider his weak language skills to present an issue for the move, explaining that:

*... the company wanted to ... have an international presence ... and the feeling was ... that my benefit here was not only from the ... knowledge skill that I bring ... my experience, but also the fact that I could help prepare this company.*

His justification for his management approach and his lack of the local language was based on the company's voiced wish to become more of an international presence. He saw this as an acceptable reason for implementing English as the means of communication with him and openly considered this as his means of demonstrating his own position and power despite the previously mentioned (p. 174) discomfort experienced by some of the staff:

*... it helped me to come in and to ... justify who I am, what I do and ... the experience that I bring ... I could see a lack of confidence ... there were a few people that had a little bit of difficulty with it, but ... we quickly learned to work well together and to ... figure out a way to make everything successful ... I don't think it was a barrier. I think initially it might have slowed things down a little bit, but I think afterwards ... every one of them's glad that I came because*

*their English is ... significantly better and had I not come, this last week of ... presentations and documentation would have been extremely ... complicated to a point that we most likely would not have been successful*

In this statement, Luke demonstrates his own understanding of his power and value to the company as he speculates that had he not been in the organisation, they would not have been successful in their last negotiations. This statement is without comparison, however, as no similar situation had previously been confronted and he is therefore unaware which processes would have been implemented had he not been in the organisation. He is convinced, however, that the success is due to his own ability and the changes that he had implemented. He does not consider the language differences to constitute a barrier between himself and the group, but this may be a misconception of the initial situation. As he has used his mother tongue, English, to take individuals out of their comfort zone, he has created two groups, one with good language ability, and one with weaker language skills, resulting in a strong diversity faultline (Bezrukova et al. 2009; van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007) between the two groups.

A further indicator of his ethnocentric approach is indicated as Luke admits having had problems coming to terms with the German work mentality:

*One of the things that was difficult as a manager when I came here is, I came from the US companies that ... you work 60 hours a week and you're pitted against the employee sitting next to you ... and I came here and if someone works 40 point 5 hours in a week they're thinking "how do I get this half an hour back next week". That's the only thing that's going through their mind all weekend and so from this perspective it was very difficult for me ... it felt like there was a lack of commitment ... to the job ... I don't want to say that it's completely across the board, but I think ... statistically ... from a work load capacity hours that they work, I think here ... I have to hire two, one or two more people here than I would in the US in the same size*

*company or several more people.*

The comparison with the home culture work environment indicates that he considers this environment to offer the best solution. His conclusion that the lower number of work hours indicated a lack of commitment to the company is not justified and may in fact be culturally bound as in Germany there is a strict boundary between the private and work environments, which is not present in the USA. In addition, the potentially positive aspects of the current work methods cannot be fully experienced due to the imposed language constraints and the one-sided consideration of work methods. He is also not taking into account the effect of the additional stress he has confronted the workforce with by implementing a foreign working language on them. This may result in lower productivity and effectiveness of the employees, especially of those with weaker language skills. Further, the number of hours that someone spends at work is not proportional to their productivity and effectiveness. His generalised assumption that the German employees are less committed than his previous US team is therefore not necessarily justified.

An initial realisation of the diverse nature of the work environment and the conditional acceptance of differences between work methods are characteristics of the apprentices group. The fact that the differences may not be easily accepted can lead to both internal and external uncertainties and conflict.

Emily indicated a basic understanding of the cultural and work environment differences when describing her interaction with a German colleague:

*... we had a bit a conversation with another German lady.  
She likes things to be done boom boom boom boom boom  
and I ... needed helps when she come ... I said can you  
explain a little bit 'cause I don't understand what I'm doing,  
but for her it's like, "I don't have to explain to you  
everything" you know I was like you need to 'cause I'm  
different from you. ... I understand that's the way she is, but  
with me, I always need detail I ... can't do things just boom*

*boom boom boom boom. I need to ... fully understand what I'm doing and then make sure I'm doing everything correctly so that's a bit of difference between me and her.*

Although, this interaction makes evident the cultural distance between the actors, it also indicates that the German colleague is less aware of the differences between the working styles than Emily. This may lead to the request for further information being misinterpreted as indicating an inability to carry out the task. This situation can lead to insecurity of both parties and may result in the individual finally questioning their own ability as indicated in the following statement made by Emily:

*... when I encounter problems with colleagues sometime I try to think: Okay did I do something wrong? Did I do this correctly? and I blame ... myself and then later on ... I have to be very glad with myself because I have a new trainee and when she came in she experience exactly the same problem and then I realised that this is normal. ... I don't have a problem this is just what it is and also ... it's very important to talk to your friends, and friends will also like my friend try tell me you don't have a problem, do nothing ... that's what you ... have to do to relax yourself ...*

In this case Emily demonstrates her insecurity in her initial reaction to potential problem situations: she questions whether her own actions or behaviour are the cause of the "problem". Her relief is then indicated as her behaviour was confirmed by other new colleagues and her friends, who constitute elements of her support mechanism. Further, this statement infers that the individuals that she considers friends may be part of her work subgroup of likeminded individuals (Earley and Mosakowski 2000, pp. 46-47; van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, pp. 517-518), demonstrating similar backgrounds, levels of experience and experiences. This factor was also indicated in other interviews such as that of Vicky:

*... we are quite international team. We have ... colleagues from different country ... we speak different languages ...*

*English, it's the official language ... in the office we have a really young team so we understand each other quite well ... we are all also competitors of course ... we also have some small ... conflicts for sure, but ... that's a part of the work ...*

Vicky indicates that despite the fact that she is working in an international team, the age of the team members, is a factor that enables them to understand one another, but not purely in the linguistic sense. The inference is that they are also able to understand the experiences and situation of the colleagues, a factor which enables them to work together more harmoniously. Zoe describes a similar experience when she stated that despite the fact that she is working in an international organisation:

*... I do think now also looking back, I have a better connection with people who worked abroad, who have the experience ... than people who don't have the experience.*

Emily implied that a further potential source of misunderstanding resides in the use of English, which is a foreign language for the majority of the parties involved in the communication in her organisation.

*... I work in an international environment and we have to speak English and misunderstanding happen all the time, but you have to resolved it, but with my personal life I think it's not happening I can just leave it, but with work I have to deal with it.*

An interesting observation was made as she states that in the work environment you have to deal with misunderstandings you may be confronted with, but in the private environment you are possibly able to ignore the problem. The fact that one is able to ignore the problem reduces the possible resulting stress that may have been built up within the work environment, enabling the individual to experience a more positive interaction with the local environment.

Zoe also considered the language as a source of difficulties as she arrived in an organisation where until that time business had been carried out



internally using the German language.

*... all kind of team meetings were in German, all kinds of updates, emails all were in German. But then suddenly I arrived so ... in the team meeting everybody need to switch to English back again only because of me and I also felt a little bit ... bad for this ...*

This was not confirmed by Vicky who rather saw the use of a common foreign language as an aid to communication across the international group of young people she was working with:

*... I don't really ... feel too much culture ... difference here in the company, because ... everybody of us speaks English and also we ... have been living in Germany for quite a long time so ... somehow I think we can communicate with ... each other.*

Awareness of the advantages and disadvantages of working in an international and multicultural environment and the ability to recognise and judge the differences of each on their own merits are characteristics of the relativist group as indicated by Liam:

*I think you have to see the positive in each difference. So, if two people do the same thing in a different way, I think you have to look at the positive way to do it, or the correct way to do it, or what you interpret to be the correct way to do it and ... embrace that ... and move forward with that. None of us know everything ... I think you ... have to keep an open mind ...*

The differences observed and experienced are not only restricted to the work processes, but also to the organisations themselves. Leah explains the differences that she noticed between organisations she had worked for in the United States and her current organisation in Germany:

*... I ... noticed that there was a significant difference between the way the ... German offices and my previous American*

*offices functioned ... I really think there's quite a difference between ... team dynamic and just the way that things are organised ... how they interact at lunch for example ...*

The potential advantages are recognised as not being restricted to work processes, but also to enable individuals to understand one another better as indicated by Mason:

*... I think it brings a lot of different ... perspectives ... and definitely makes it easier when ... as a part of work-process if you have to deal with other cultures and other people, you probably have a better understanding of them as such ... in respect to how they are, how they deal with things and stuff like that really.*

Differences in communication styles also proved a challenging for some interviewees. Not only was there a potential challenge encountered when expected to use a foreign language per se for communicating with colleagues, but also in the fact that the communication style differed. The first obstacle confronted by individuals working with German colleagues and superiors was the use of the formal and non-formal "you". Leah explained the added difficulty that she was confronted with communicating with a superior who was not German in a German organisation:

*... maybe one of the hardest things to get used to was speaking to your superiors on a completely different level because of the differences in "you", so that was really weird for me and especially because it was a German company, but the boss was American, but grew up in the State or grew up in Germany so that was a strange dynamic because didn't really know how to react with him and didn't know if Du or Sie would be acceptable to somebody like that ... I found that he changed when he spoke to me as opposed to when he spoke to Germans that worked under him. He was more casual with me than he was with ... the other German employees that he had.*

Although normal German business etiquette would have required her to address her superior using the formal speech, her dilemma was complicated by her superior who was American and, therefore, aware that she would have previously experienced a more informal communication style. As he adapted his communication style depending who he was interacting with, but did not provide a clear indicator of his requirements, this increased the level of insecurity experienced by Leah.

A further point of possible frustration was explained by Hannah:

*...what I also experienced ... working, also again here Bayern [Bavaria], is ... that they don't give complements, they only let you know when things go wrong and that's what I found very [demotivating] because you might not know if ... you do actually right or not and then only when it's ... wrong they say something ... I find that also a hard point.*

This behaviour can be particularly frustrating for cultures and individuals who require confirmation that their work is of an adequate standard. This perspective of not praising is culturally bound and can be found particularly in Southern Germany where it is also omnipresent in the old saying "Net gschimpft is globt gnua" (the spelling depends on the dialect spoken), which simply translated means "not complaining is enough praise" and as a management style is still practiced by some individuals.

The Integrator demonstrates openness and flexibility and is able to understand the different cultures that he or she is working with to enable them to profit from each of their abilities. This ability was indicated by David upon his return to Germany:

*... it's good to ... get a like a glimpse of how things work in other places ... personally it's good for me, for the company it depends. It depends what the company's doing. If the company is doing a lot of offshoring for example, nowadays it's very common, then definitely you need to understand how things work with different cultures otherwise you don't get things done in time and you lose your ... time and at the*

*end you ... don't meet the deadlines and ... you had to change the way you approach organisational ... aspects of ... a project just to ... make sure that things happen the way they should happen in ... the deadlines that you ... have for ... the project*

He considers that international experience is of positive value for him as an individual, but that the benefit for the organisation will depend on the type of business carried out. He also infers that the organisations have to be flexible and adapt appropriate methods to ensure success, an understanding possibly resulting from his own negative experience in South Korea.

In a similar vein Isabella considered the advantages for organisations when employing individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds:

*I think that there are many things that a company can learn from when they have different points of view ...*

This was also confirmed by Sophia, who considered what she perceives as potential advantages for organisations of the flexibility and open-mindedness of individuals embarking on international assignments:

*... people coming from different cultures always show, in my opinion, a lot of flexibility, open-mindedness ... that make teamwork ... easy besides ... personal character has an influence on ... how work and teamwork goes, but this fact that ... people are coming from different cultural backgrounds and they are there in this new environment on their own ... decision, I think that shows a lot of flexibility, which [is] important ...*

Fig. 22 provides an overview of the work/organisational category relative to the increasing level of workplace awareness, based on the previous discussion. The lowest level of cultural understanding is demonstrated by the outsider who is not able to understand the work environment adequately and, therefore, suffer high levels of cognitive dissonance. As they have a poor understanding of the work environment they are unable to

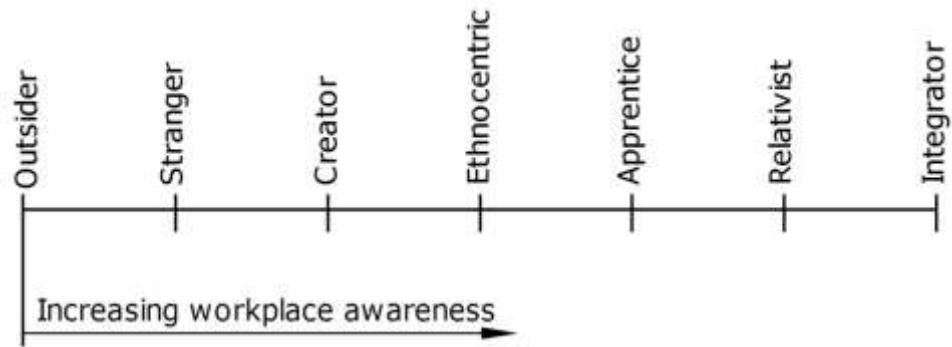


Fig. 22: Work / Organisational Scale

palliate the situation and as a result suffer high levels of acculturation stress, which may be accompanied with assignment failure in terms of an early return and/or poor productivity and effectiveness during assignment.

Increasing understanding of the work/organisational environment is accompanied with lower levels of cognitive dissonance and a reduced requirement to apply psychological identity work to palliate the dissonance, resulting in lower levels of acculturation stress and a more successful assignment as individuals demonstrate increased openness and flexibility allowing.

## 6.2 Allocation of Narrative Resources and Narratives

Table 10 illustrates the progression of each of the research participants in relation to the narrative and context resources discussed in section 6.1. Mirroring the complexity of the human persona and the varied experiences and abilities of the research participants, there is no general set of common paths through the matrix. As previously discussed, some of the individuals occupy multiple positions on some of the resources demonstrating changes in ability and levels of understanding as their sensemaking progressed or their positions changed. These differing progressions are not considered as having equal influence on individuals' current position, but as resulting in more dominant primary effects and less dominant secondary effects. The unique paths through the matrix and the individuals' varied positions are visualised in the polar diagrams implemented in the narrative analysis carried out in Chapter 7.

	Context and Narrative Resources								Narrative and Situational Understanding	
	Personal Context	Reason for Move / Stay	Language Competence	Host Interaction	Understanding of Culture	Adaptability	Support Mechanisms	Work/ Organisational Context	Response	Identity / Narrative
Cognitive and Behavioural Progression	<b>Forced</b>	<b>Family</b>	<b>Unmotivated</b>	<b>Self-Oriented</b>	<b>Unaware</b>	<b>Incognisant (needs not recognised)</b>	<b>Castaway</b>	<b>Outsider</b>	<b>Resignation</b>	<b>The family story</b>
	Grace Layla	Grace Jack Layla	Grace Jack Luke Mason Ryan	James Liam Luke Ryan	David Mason	Luke Vicky	Grace (initially) Jack Layla Liam	Layla	Grace Isabelle Jack Layla	Grace Jack Layla
	<b>Traumatic</b>	<b>Job search</b>	<b>Unconsciously incompetent</b>	<b>Detached / Fatalistic</b>	<b>Indifference</b>	<b>Conditional acceptance</b>	<b>Domestic orientation</b>	<b>Stranger</b>	<b>Critical of host</b>	<b>The interloper</b>
	David Jack Leah Logan Sophia	Hannah Isabella Ryan	Liam Luke Ryan	David Isabella Layla Mason Ryan	Jack Layla	Emily Grace Jack Layla	Adrian Emily Leah	Adrian Ryan	David Ryan Vicky Zoe	Emily Jack Mason
	<b>Paradoxical</b>	<b>Runaway</b>	<b>Consciously incompetent</b>	<b>Complex</b>	<b>Negative host</b>	<b>Fatalist</b>	<b>Language orientation</b>	<b>Creator</b>	<b>Fatalistic</b>	<b>The story teller</b>
	Adrian Isabella Logan	Adrian Isabella Logan	Adrian Emily Grace Jack Layla Mason	David James Liam Lucas Vicky	Ryan Vicky	Logan Mason	Hannah Isabella Luke Mason Ryan	David Jack Liam	Hannah Jack Mason	Liam Luke Ryan
	<b>None</b>	<b>Took advantage of situation</b>	<b>Consciously competent</b>	<b>Reminiscent sympathy</b>	<b>Superficial</b>	<b>Negotiator</b>	<b>Selective socialisation</b>	<b>Ethnocentric</b>	<b>Critical of home</b>	<b>The adopter</b>
	Mason	Adrian Emily Liam Luke Mason Ryan	David Isabella Logan Zoe	Adrian David Emily Grace James Logan	Emily Grace Jack Liam Luke	Adrian Liam Ryan	Grace James	Luke	Adrian David Hannah Isabella Logan Lucas Mason Sophia	David James Lucas Vicky Zoe
	<b>Differentiated</b>	<b>Coincidence / Element of chance</b>	<b>Unconsciously competent</b>	<b>Imaginative sympathy</b>	<b>Theorist</b>	<b>Pragmatist</b>	<b>Local centric</b>	<b>Apprentice</b>	<b>Adjust self understanding</b>	<b>The escapist</b>
	David Emily Logan Luke Ryan Zoe	Leah Logan Lucas Mason Vicky	James Leah Lucas Vicky	Jack Vicky	Adrian David Isabella Lucas Vicky	Hannah Isabella Vicky	David Logan Zoe	Adrian Emily Lucas Vicky Zoe	David Emily Isabella James Leah Liam Logan Luke Ryan	Adrian David Hannah Isabella Logan
	<b>Touristical</b>	<b>Wish for something better</b>	<b>Complacency</b>	<b>Empathetic</b>	<b>Realist</b>	<b>Mediator</b>	<b>International</b>	<b>Relativist</b>	<b>Bracketing</b>	<b>The transformer</b>
	James Layla Leah Liam Logan Zoe	Hannah Lucas Sophia	David Ryan	Leah Zoe	Hannah James Leah Logan Zoe	David James Leah Lucas Zoe	Leah Vicky	Grace Hannah James Layla Leah Liam Mason	Adrian David James Leah Lucas Vicky Zoe	Leah
	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Career management</b>	<b>Bilingual / Multilingual</b>	<b>Redefined self</b>	<b>Bicultural / Multicultural</b>	<b>"Build a nest"</b>	<b>The Networker</b>	<b>Integrator</b>	<b>Going native</b>	<b>The mover</b>
	Grace Hannah Lucas Vicky	David Jack James Lucas Luke Zoe	Hannah Sophia	Hannah Leah Sophia	Leah Sophia	Sophia	Adrian Lucas Sophia	David Isabella Logan Sophia	Leah Sophia	Sophia

Table 10: Allocation of Narrative Resources and Narratives

## 6.3 Resulting Themes

Three themes were identified from the construction of the conceptual framework:

1. Identify the factors and content that influence sensemaking and narrative choices
2. Identify potential commonalities and differences in the sensemaking processes used by expatriates

3. Identify the narrative structures and their function in sensemaking

These form the basis for the overarching analysis framework.

## **Chapter 7      Narratives and Literature Archetypes**

In accordance with the narrative analysis paradigm (Polkinghorne 1995, p. 12), the context and narrative resources forming the conceptual framework were realigned to create the narrative concepts arising from the interviews obtained. The narratives describe not only the circumstances of each of the assignments, but also provide an insight into the possible personal situations of the individuals at the time and their understanding of their self. Triandis (1989, p. 506) considered the self as "*an active agent that promotes differential sampling, processing and evaluation of information from the environment, and thus leads to differences in social behaviour*". Here, the indicated social behaviour is partially expressed in terms of the response inferred by the individual and in part by their description of the events themselves, indicating differing levels of cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), sensemaking activities (Weick 1995, pp. 1-16) and social identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) carried out over time (Howard 2000).

In addition to the narrative analysis, it is proposed that the narratives can be classified according to the literary archetypes romance, comedy, tragedy or satire discussed by Frye (1951, pp. 104-105; 1957; 2006, pp. 151-223). Although it may be purported that this analysis results in a simplified understanding of an individual's position, it may provide an initial insight into their being and possible reactions to an intended international assignment based on previous experience and current expectations.

### **7.1      Narrative Analysis**

The aim of the narrative analysis is to provide an indication of an individual's possible response to their current situation. The determination of both the response factors and the narratives are based on the previously determined context and narrative resources. It is posited that individuals can demonstrate multiple response styles and narratives depending on the composition of the context and narrative resources indicated during the interview, some of which may demonstrate a more dominant primary effect



on the individual's reaction and others a less dominant secondary effect. The combinations of these responses and narratives may positively or negatively affect an individual's behaviour in their current and future assignments. Although the narratives are discussed here in isolation, it is suggested that they may occur in varying combinations during an individual's career, each having its unique influence on the individual and their development.

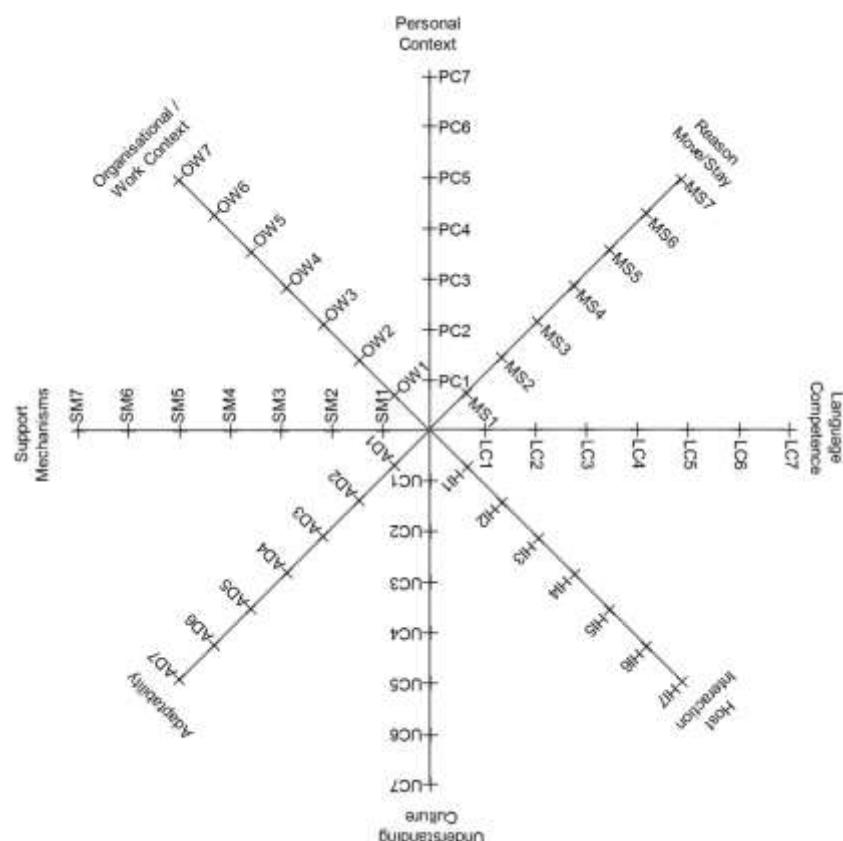


Fig. 23: Polar Representation of Narratives

The composition of the context and narrative resources represented in the narratives has been visualised using polar representations. The primary factors are represented by a continuous line bordering a filled area of the diagram; the secondary factors are represented by a dashed line. Fig. 23 represents the basic template, indicating the factor orientations: the lowest conceptual characteristic of each contextual factor is located nearest the centre of the diagram. For clarity, the representations and the context linear scales are also provided in Appendix 8 and Appendix 9. As previously

stated, the definition of the scales and the categorisation of the narratives are not carried out quantitatively, but are based on the subjective interpretation of the individuals and their narratives.

### **7.1.1    *The Family Story***

The family story narrative was demonstrated by two groups of individuals: the first group were those who had accompanied their spouse/partner to fulfil either the expectations of their families or their culture; the second group centred around those who have remained in the country as the result of their family situation or perceived responsibilities to family members in the host country. In general, both groups demonstrated an inner struggle between their considered need to remain with their partners/spouses in Germany and their latent wish to return to their home countries resulting in a high level of acculturation stress (Berry and Sam 1997, pp. 295-296). Their negative position was magnified by two overriding factors: their poor command of the local language, which could be considered as consciously incompetent (Gordon and Burch 1974; Howell 1982, pp. 29-32), and the loss of their previous social support networks. Despite these deficits, the individuals indicated a lack of motivation to either learn the local language or actively improve the quality of their local support networks. They responded by demonstrating resignation to their current situation and a longing to return to their home environment.

Both categories of family story were represented in the current study by individuals with Asian roots. Layla and Grace both Chinese females, moved to Germany as trailing spouses to accompany their husbands. Jack, a South Korean male, had originally moved to Germany to fulfil a career wish, but due to the increasing feelings of guilt regarding his perceived inability to adequately support his aging parents in South Korea, has inferred that he only remains in the country to be with his German wife. As this narrative group is represented only by Asian individuals, the question arises whether this situation is the result of their cultural requirements per se, i.e. that the wife is expected to follow the husband and take up a subordinate role, which resulted in the spouses not preparing for the move and the potential for cognitive dissonance to trigger a negative reaction, or whether the

greater cultural distance is the real trigger. It is attempted to address this question in the following discussion.

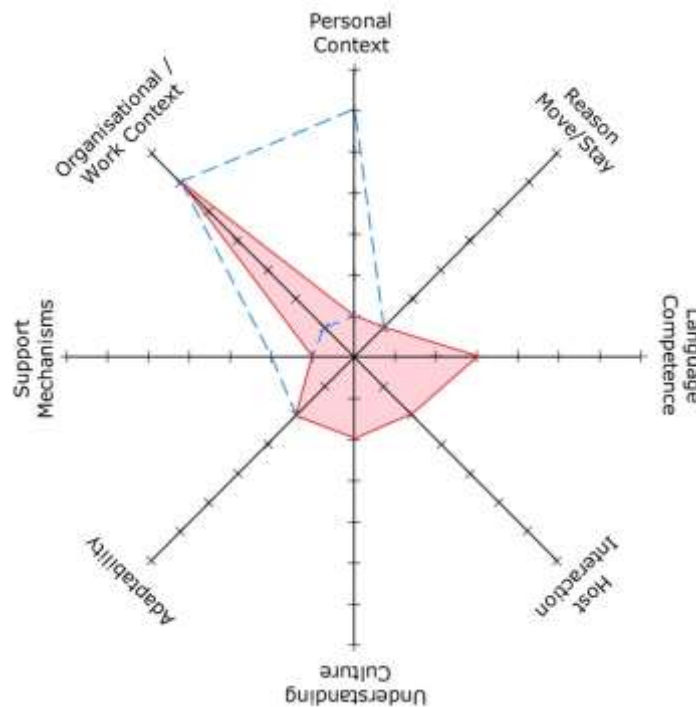


Fig. 24: Narrative Representation – Layla

Layla (Fig. 24) moved to Germany to be with her freshly married Chinese husband, a move that not only enabled the couple to be together, but is also consistent with the Chinese standpoint that *"family migration decisions are based on the human capital and career needs of the husband"* (Cooke 2007, p. 51). Further, this position is consistent with the social expectation that the wife shows submission to her husband in the vertical husband-wife relationship (Chen and Li 2007, p. 395). Layla's narrative profile indicates her generally poor position, evidenced by her inadequate language skills, poor integration, adaptability and social support mechanisms. Her resulting conditional acceptance of the current situation and resignation response emphasise her difficulties coming to terms with her situation in Germany and indicates a high level of stress. Her latent wish to return to China is implicated in the following statement:

*... once in a while I'm still thinking if I have a ... chance or if there is a good moment for me to return back to China, I will ... but I think ... I don't know whether that's the ...*

*confliction, but ... if I'm not married, if I'm not having child here ... then I might just go back to my own country ... I'm not like totally happy ... I'm here I'm will be continued stay here this is what exactly what I want. I'm still in a bit ... contradicting myself to some ... point so ...*

In line with previous research (Cooke 2007, pp. 56-57) Layla infers that her husband's career and their child's welfare are more important than her own requirements. Her position is also consistent with the Chinese cultural requirement in which the wife is expected to support her husband (Cooke 2007, p. 61). Although she states that she will stay, and that under the circumstances, this is what she wants, in the context of the narrative, this statement takes on the form of identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) in which she attempts to make sense of her current situation (Louis 1980; Weick 1995; Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld 2005) and palliate the cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) perceived by attempting to convince herself rather than those around her that she wishes to stay in Germany. Despite the fact that this may enable her to relieve the resulting stress, it does not necessarily lead to a positive attitude to the stay per se.

Her wish to return home appears to a large extent to be the result of her missing her native support mechanisms, a factor that she also saw as constituting the biggest difference between the home and host environments:

*... the biggest difference when looking back is that ... in China ... I got all the friends, all the relatives ... beside me.*

The extended support network in China that she referred to, would have not only provided her with psychological support, but additionally the support necessary to enable her to work full-time, despite the dependent child (Cooke 2007, p. 50), increasing her social value and resulting satisfaction. Her lack of initiative to develop her local support network together with her reminiscence of the no longer available home support network is reflected in the small network size and negative social well-being experienced (Ong and

Ward 2005, p. 638; Wang 2002, p. 324; Wang and Kanungo 2004, pp. 786-787), which is implied in the following statement:

*... I feel somehow lonely ... In one word I do miss my family a lot ... you feel there is no one who can ... support you more, help you ... you are only yourself ... on your own ... if only there is one or two ... of my family or ... best friends ... it would be much easier ... you can help each other and you will feel more relaxed.*

The relatively small support network consisting of international contacts and other Chinese families provides limited support and cannot fully replace the home network. As she considers they may have similar experiences and be able to understand her she considers they "make me feel better".

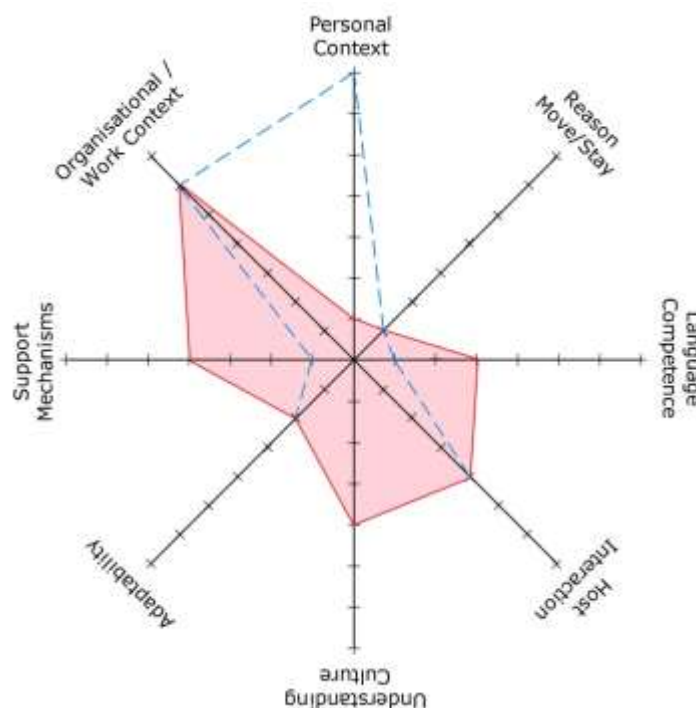


Fig. 25: Narrative Representation – Grace

Grace (Fig. 25), accompanied her German husband who returned home to Germany from working in Canada where they had met. Although she demonstrates an increased level of acculturation stress and a resignation response to the move, her narrative profile indicates that her position is not as acute as that demonstrated by Layla.

An important advantage for Grace is that she demonstrates a higher level of cultural understanding and host interaction making it easier for her to come to terms with her new environment. Despite this, she suffered major problems and a high level of acculturation stress during the initial phase of her stay in which her main role was that of housewife and mother. This position did not fulfil her needs at the time as she had previously been employed and had enjoyed her job. As she stated when referring to this period:

*... I used to be a ... housewife and it's quite boring ... I don't have too many people around me talking to me during the day just all by myself and so it was quite lonely ...*

Here she clearly states that she was feeling lonely and infers that she was lacking interpersonal communication, which is similar to the situation described by Layla. Despite the fact that she did not enjoy a large support network during this phase, she was able to benefit from her German husband's support network, which would have offered her the chance of a basic level of interaction. Her own situation was finally relieved once she was able to return to work:

*... I have to say and ... now I have a job and ... I have lots of people around me I can talk to them ... I find interesting to challenge ... my work ... it's a work that can complete me ... can make me feel that I am still useful ...*

The new international work environment provided her with the interaction that she required and enabled her to feel "complete" and useful again. Whether this reaction is a result of her personal character or the home culture cannot be determined from the information available.

Jack's position (Fig. 26) differs from that of the two Chinese females as his initial move was voluntary and fulfilled a long term wish to work for the current company in Germany. This situation would normally be expected to provide him with a positive attitude toward the move and enable him to cope with potential dissonance. Further, it would be expected that he would be willing to apply himself to learning the language, enabling him to

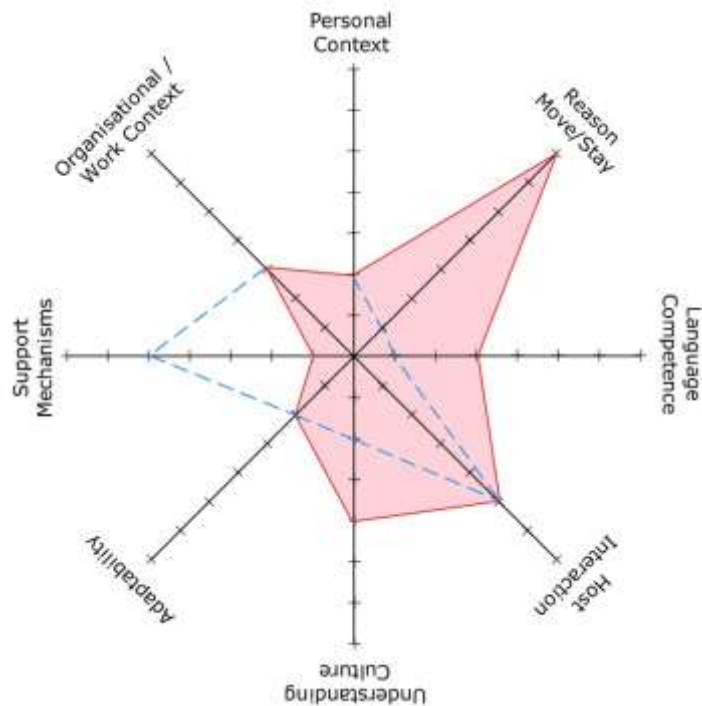


Fig. 26: Narrative Representation – Jack

integrate more deeply into the host country. These expectations should have been strengthened by the fact that he was able to benefit from a very generous support system provided by his employer, including a furnished flat and mentor. Despite this positive starting point, Jack was not able to come to terms with the new environment. His problems appeared to begin at the point when he attempted to learn the local language, a venture that turned out to be more difficult than he had first assumed.

*... always I have on mind ... someday have to ... learn German ... also, my wife is German, she can help me ...but I made ... excuse ... why not now ... The whole western languages are quite hard for Asian people, exactly the same ... the western people also very hard to learn Chinese or Japanese and Korean, but they are easy to learn some French or Spanish and Italienisch ((Italian)) 'cause the root is difference ...*

The argument that the root cause of his difficulty to learn the language lies in the different alphabet has to be questioned as this would imply that all

Asians would have difficulties learning western languages, which is not the case. Further, when considered together with the low motivation to improve the quality of his social support network, it has to be considered whether the main problem lies in his poor social skills or general lethargy coupled with a relative degree of comfort with his current private situation. His current work situation (position as programmer) does not necessarily require him to speak German, he has a mentor in the company to assist him with work and personally related questions, and his German wife can support him outside of the work environment. It is possible, therefore, that this situation does not provide sufficient incentive for him to apply himself more to learning the language and integrating further.

His stated dissatisfaction with his language ability coupled with his increased guilt regarding the failing support of his aging parents in South Korea has led to increased psychological stress and a latent longing to return home to fulfil his perceived family obligations. The complexity of this situation and the level of stress is heightened as Jack additionally considers his wife's situation and the assistance she is currently able to provide:

*... This could be also one of the reason why I'm here,  
because of my wife ... if I don't have a wife then this can  
be ... I will be back to Korea*

This situation is also not as clear as it may initially be perceived to be. His consideration must be more complex than just the fact that his wife is there as he states that:

*My wife also love to stay in Korea, she loved that one so  
totally ... she trust me, so wherever I go she will follow so for  
me is a really it's no problem ...*

This indicates that she would not resist a decision to move to South Korea and it is, therefore, unlikely that she would constitute his main reason for staying in Germany. A further indicator for his reason to stay in Germany was inferred during the interview as he also mentioned that he enjoyed his freedom in Germany and the fact that he is able to balance work and his private life including the possibility to pursue a hobby.



*... feel a little free ... one thing ... could be this is a difference Korean culture ... the man always care about ... some only the company, most of time we couldn't get any some hobby things or something like that, but in the Germany, everybody have a hobby ... some kind of balance, it was very nice ... Job and then hobby and then private life and family life ... so I might enjoy this kind of things ... this could be ... it would be very hard to be back in that world again in Korea ... probably is I might against some kind of rules ...*

He does not consider this to be possible in South Korea, where, as he states, the company forms the centre of a male's life and family responsibilities are very important.

As is evidenced here, the individuals demonstrating the family story narrative are suffering from high levels of dissatisfaction with their current situation and the resulting psychological stress. They have generally resigned themselves to accepting their current situation, but do not demonstrate a positive position towards the continuation of the assignment.

### **7.1.2 The Interloper**

The interlopers generally find themselves in the new cultural environment as the result of taking advantage of a situation or as the result of a coincidental event rather than an active attempt to move to a new environment. They generally have a poor understanding of the host culture, coupled with poor language skills, which is mirrored in their support mechanisms that are centred on the home environment or language. The responses of the individuals varied between fatalistic and adjusted self-understanding, with critical of home or resignation secondary responses. This variation may be the result of the different personal contexts and the expectations of the outcome of the move.

The interloper narrative was demonstrated by Emily (Fig. 27), a Chinese female, who not only had previous experience of moves to Malaysia and Australia, but also of international travel before moving to Germany. She took up her current position after a chance meeting with a current colleague

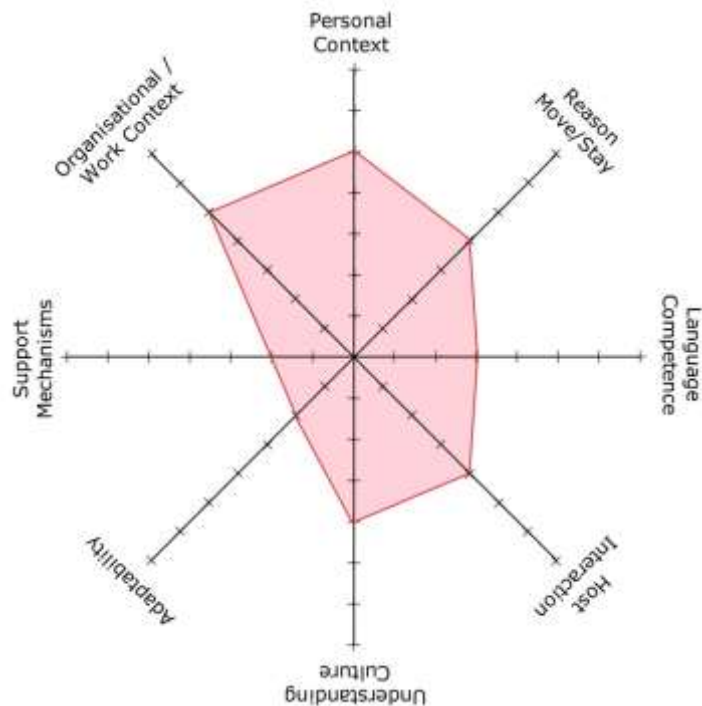


Fig. 27: Narrative Representation – Emily

who informed her that the company was looking for someone with her skill set:

*... I met AAAA who's my colleague ... here at the moment ... one day she just approach me saying ... are you interested in working for my company. I mean we looking for someone who speaks English and Chinese. ... So I thought why not and then I sent my CV through and ... I had an interview ... and I got the job and then came.*

Here she demonstrates a high level of voluntariness and spontaneity enabling her to take advantage of the opportunity, a factor recognised in the literature (Richardson and Mallon 2005, p. 412; Suutari, Brewster and Tornikoski 2013, p. 168) as playing a major role in decisions to expatriate. The adopted sojourner position (Berry and Sam 1997, pp. 295-296) and the inferred acceptance of failure of the assignment can be considered to reduce the level of perceived acculturation stress.

Emily is able to benefit from the experience gathered during the earlier moves both in the context of the move itself and also regarding her

interaction with her social environment. She demonstrated no preference for either maintaining her native culture and identity or for maintaining relationships with the local group, being trapped in a “no-man’s land” unable to easily influence her position without gaining the necessary language skills.

Additionally, Emily demonstrated a superficial cultural understanding enabling her to understand, for example, that potential difficulties encountered when interacting with other outgroup members may not be a personal reaction to her own behaviour, but the result of language inadequacies, or of cultural differences. In contradiction to this position, however, she still demonstrated insecurity when interacting with outgroup others, questioning whether her own actions and behaviour were the cause of the “problem”, and seeking relief through confirmation of her actions by other new colleagues and friends, who constitute elements of her support mechanism. Perhaps as a result of this insecurity and her poor language skills, Emily demonstrated a preference for a domestic oriented support network as indicated in the statement:

*... luckily I found out about this platform ... it's called InterNations ... basically all my good friends from there ... there are two Germans ... but they ... all work in China and they came back so there's lots ... to talk about and they work in Beijing and then ... Chinese friends apart from them ...*

This strategy provides her with a group of individuals who she considers to be in a similar position to her. Further, she believes they can help her come to terms with her own position by providing confirmation of cognisant factors enabling her to reduce the level of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) and stress perceived.

A further example of the interloper narrative was provided by Mason (Fig. 28), an Irish male, who demonstrated a fatalistic response to his move to Germany stating “... I just ... sort of came and whatever happens happens ...”. This superficial, laissez faire standpoint was also mirrored in

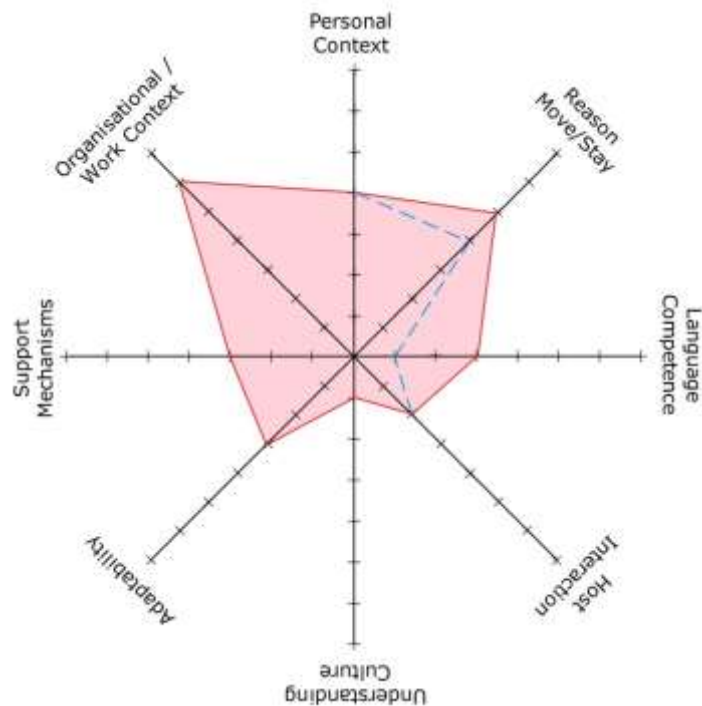


Fig. 28: Narrative Representation – Mason

his understanding of the local culture and cultural difference in general. He stated that Germany was not a country he would generally consider visiting or moving to; he would more spontaneously consider Australia and the United States as potential locations. His laissez faire approach to the move was also indicated in the comment that he had no particular expectations of the move to Germany. This position is, on the one hand, understandable based on his lack of international experience, on the other hand it is difficult to accept as he must have had a reason for previously not considering it as a "*place to visit*" or to move to; the restricting factors are not mentioned further. The flexible open-minded position, however, may result in a lower level of cognitive dissonance allowing him to come to terms with the situation he may be confronted with in the new environment.

Mason generally demonstrated a positive understanding of the requirement for local language skills and their potentially positive influence on the adaptation process, but relativized this need stating that:

*... here in Munich ... I don't think it is necessary, but ... it would probably make your life easier ... make you feel part*

*of it as opposed to an outsider, so I think it is ... probably better off to learn the language*

Perhaps due to his lack of previous international experience, Mason appeared to be unaware of any major cultural differences beyond the most obvious, tangible factors such as the language, as implied in his explanation for not preparing for the move to Germany:

*... the only difference between the countries really is the language ... the money is the same, it's Europe, I don't need visas, I don't anything like that so I mean there's only the language ...*

This was also characteristic for his almost naïve understanding of the situation in general. It can be questioned whether his poor language skills created a barrier to the deeper meaning of the culture, or whether it is a lack of awareness for his surroundings.

Jack (Fig. 26) also demonstrated elements of the interloper narrative in addition to the previously discussed family-story narrative attributes. Despite the fact he was able to benefit from a very strong support system provided by his organisation, he does not succeed in demonstrating that he has been able to fully integrate into his new environment. This opinion differs from his own opinion of his integration as he stated that "*... I think I did very well ... to adopt ... in Germany*".

Although his original move to Germany was based on a wish to work for the current organisation, he did not initially plan to stay long-term. He considered that he was applying for an internship of six to 12 months and therefore, did not prepare for the move or consider a need to learn the language. For him, he was more interested in improving his English language skills while in Germany than attempting to learn the new language.

The interloper, therefore, demonstrates difficulties integrating into the new environment, whereby it has to be questioned whether this is due to their own unawareness of their situation of the poor language skills restricting

their level of access to host county nationals and a deeper meaning of the culture.

### **7.1.3 The Story Teller**

The story teller moved to the new environment to take advantage of a situation that had appeared opportune to them (Richardson and Mallon 2005, p. 412; Suutari, Brewster and Tornikoski 2013, p. 168). They are individuals who carry out excessive identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) to continuously renegotiate their own position and abilities to enable them to feel comfortable with their current situation. In addition, these individuals adjusted their position and understanding of themselves during the course of the interview in an attempt to emphasise their ability, unwittingly, simultaneously demonstrating their egos. They appear to be tolerant of ambiguity, on the one hand because they appear to be oblivious of it, on the other hand because they adjust their position to negate it. Due to their false understanding of their own abilities they often appear to be unconsciously incompetent when considering their language abilities.

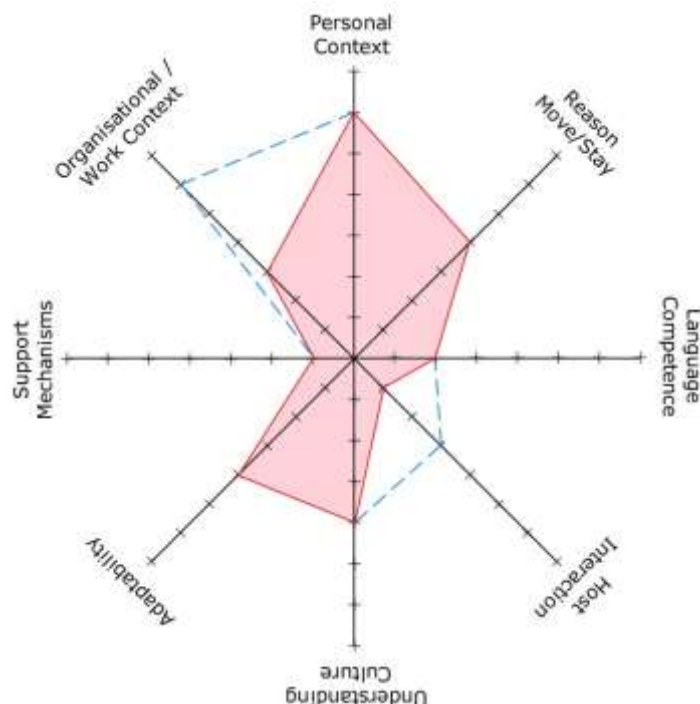


Fig. 29: Narrative Representation – Liam

Liam (Fig. 29), an Irish male, is an example of a story teller who used excessive identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) to create a façade or image of how he wanted to be perceived. He demonstrated tendencies that in combination may be associated with a narcissistic character (Fine 1994, p. 56; Schwartz-Salant 1982, pp. 37-41), as he continuously attempted to reposition himself to demonstrate his financial prowess and importance. Both of these factors appeared to be used to compensate for a perceived educational deficit when defining his social standing, as indicated in the following statement:

*... I'm trying to instil that into my kids that you know you don't even get a job at McDonald's now unless you've got a degree, so, buck your ideas up, don't be stupid like me. Um, I don't really mean that, but that's what they need to hear ...*

Here, he inadvertently provides insight into his inner thoughts as he states “... *don't be stupid like me ...*”, which he then relativizes with the following statement ensuring that he didn't really mean it. This provides not only an indication of his own assessment of his educational situation, but also of the social identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) carried out to enable him to come to terms with this situation.

Although Liam predominantly demonstrated narcissistic tendencies he also indicated honest concern for his own children's wellbeing indicating characteristics of a complex individual demonstrating multiple definitions of the self (Taylor et al. 2013, pp. 143-145).

The façade that he was creating throughout the interview was again visible as cultural differences were discussed. He attempted to demonstrate his knowledge of culture by providing an excessive list of superficial cultural differences, rounded off with the fact that he had eaten octopus in Spain with his son. Here he indicates two factors that may be attributed to his identity work and the story he is creating: the fact that for many travellers eating octopus in Spain is not exotic and if his travel experience had been as broad as he had previously indicated, it would be unusual that this is the most noteworthy example of cultural difference that should spring to mind.

The question here is whether his travel experience was generally not as broad as he had indicated or whether he had only travelled with organised groups for short periods of time during which confrontation with local cultures would have been restricted. This question cannot be answered with the information available, but in either case there is a large discrepancy between the image projected and the indicators in the interview.

Further adjustment was made when considering his local language ability in connection with his search for a new apartment outside of the centre of Munich:

*... I'm more comfortable with moving ... to the outsides of Munich when my German is a little bit ... well it's a lot better [than] it was five months ago, cause I didn't speak any German, but I feel now that I could certainly get by speaking ... I can understand a lot more German and read a lot more than ... I can probably speak ...*

Here he adjusts his level of language ability very quickly from his initial consideration of his language skills, which he appeared to question when he stated that he would be comfortable moving outside of Munich centre "when my German is a little bit [better]" to being able to "certainly get by" speaking German. He did not clarify the meaning of "getting by" further, but as he explicitly states that he can understand more than he can speak, this would indicate that he is not fluent and demonstrates a restricted level of active vocabulary.

Liam's poor command of the local language together with the lack of initiative demonstrated to improve the size and quality of his local support network resulted in increased acculturation stress (Ong and Ward 2005, p. 638; Wang 2002, p. 324; Wang and Kanungo 2004, pp. 786-787) implied in the statement:

*... I find it a little bit lonelier [than] I thought I would ... I have made friends since I've been here, but ... I haven't made very strong friendship[s] ...*



The resulting self-adjustment response to his situation, therefore, allows him to come to terms with his position and actually see it in a positive light, leading overall to a positive interpretation of the move.

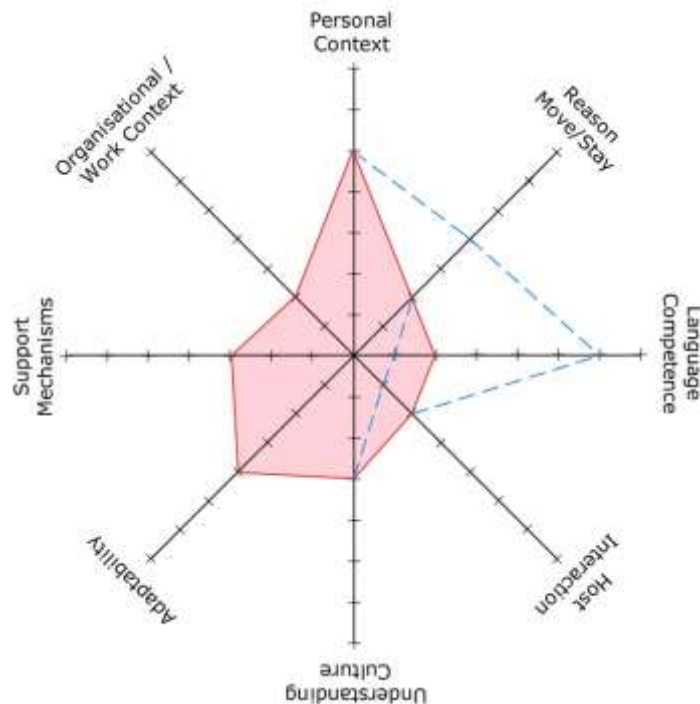


Fig. 30: Narrative Representation – Ryan

A further story-teller narrative position was provided by Ryan (Fig. 30), a Scottish national, who prior to his move to Germany had lived in Sweden and often travelled to western Germany. His interest in moving to Germany was triggered by his redundancy from his position in Sweden. He took advantage of this situation to search for a job in Germany, or as he explains, explicitly in Berlin.

During the interview he adapted and relativized his own understanding of his language ability in a "rhetoric review" (Howard 2000, p. 372) using identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) to adjust his projected image. Initially he considered he had reasonable language skills enabling him to navigate German websites. Then he emphasised the fact that he did not consider any need for the local language as all of his socialising was carried out in English.

*... only speaking English isn't such a barrier ... my socialising in Germany has been entirely in English ...*

During the interview he continuously increased his own understanding of his language ability and reduced his understanding of his inabilities. The true level of his language ability, however, was unintentionally indicated in the following statement:

*... German is a language that I'm going to be continuing to work on ... it's not that I'm not interested in improving it at all, but I guess it's more as a hobby, ... I ... quite ... like the idea of being able to maybe pick up a German newspaper when I fly with Lufthansa and be able to read what the German perspective is on what's going on in the world ...*

Here he not only demonstrated that his active language ability is weak, but also his passive language ability as he likes the idea of being able to read a German newspaper, which infers that he is currently not able to do so. It is clear that this individual's understanding of his ability is complex, but he demonstrates many of the features of an individual whose language skills can be considered unconsciously incompetent (Adams 2013; Race 2007, p. 19).

Although Ryan indicates a theoretical awareness that no country is perfect and all have something positive to offer, his own comparison of Germany with his previously positively perceived experience in Sweden and with the UK is negatively bias. As the interview was carried out after he had taken the decision to return to the UK, this position may have been taken to justify his decision and enable him to consider the move in a positive light rather than as a failure, therefore reducing the level of stress perceived. This indicates psychological work being carried out in an attempt to reduce the cognitive dissonance between his early expectations of the move to Germany and the actual integration (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7) enabling him to make sense of the situation (Weick 1995, p. 11). Further support for this consideration was provided as he explained that he had not integrated into the German culture as, "on

reflection", he was not really motivated to do so, which would have resulted in a lack of both career and community embeddedness (Shen and Hall 2009; Tanova and Holtom 2008; Tharenou and Caulfield 2010). His willingness to interact with individuals from other cultures on his terms and in a language environment that allows him to feel comfortable and in control of the situation also supports this consideration.

The story-teller is therefore a complex individual exercising much identity work to enable them to come to terms with their current situation. This position does allow the question, however, whether this effort could have been better invested in improving the language ability or the quality of social support networks rather than adjusting their position to enable justification of current weaknesses.

The current study does not provide information to address this question, as the answer may lie in a lack of ability or willingness of the individual to learn the necessary skills in which case the application of identity work may be the most suitable alternative to enable the individual to come to terms with the situation without losing face.

#### **7.1.4    *The Adopter***

The adopters are a complex group of individuals united by their ability to bracket out their own subjective biases and make a balanced decision of which host and home cultural elements best fit their personal situation. In general, they demonstrated a good command of the local language enabling them to interact with locals to an acceptable level, which was mirrored in the quality of their social support networks that included both international members and host country members. Their personal contexts varied widely from traumatic to positive although the majority indicated either a primary or secondary touristic position. They had either decided to move to Germany as an active career move or had accepted a position in Germany as the result of a coincidence. As a result of their positive prevailing mood and ability to adapt to the host environment, they generally considered their personal and professional situation in a positive light.

An example of an adopter narrative was indicated by Zoe (Fig. 31), a Dutch

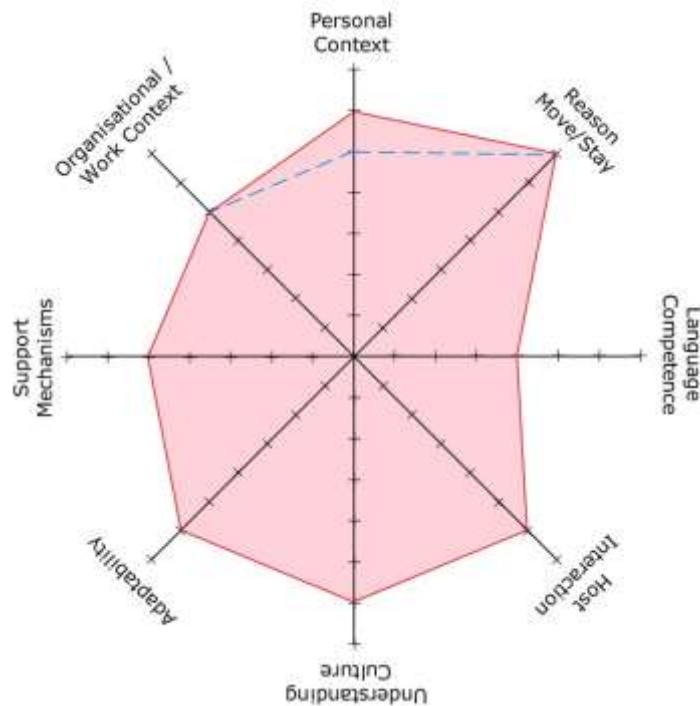


Fig. 31: Narrative Representation – Zoe

female with extensive international travel experience to India, Africa, Asia and the Americas, including a six month stay alone in Nicaragua. She also had previous knowledge of Munich as her sister had worked there for eight years and she had visited her. Armed with this experience, she was not concerned with the cultural differences of the new environment and the move itself; she considered:

*... I knew what I would expect, it was more how shall I ... fit myself ... into the company*

This implies that her main concern was how she could adequately integrate into the new work environment. The fact that her previous international experience was not career oriented, but to gather overseas experience (Inkson et al. 1997) indicates that she probably does not possess the schemata or cognitive maps developed from previous experiences and understandings (Abelson 1981; Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 277; Fiske and Taylor 1991, p. 98; Harris 1994, p. 310), to enable her to predict events and select appropriate responses within the work environment.

Zoe explained the importance for individuals to understand themselves and

not only attempt to understand the new environment. She demonstrated an empathetic ability when interacting with individuals from a foreign environment indicating that she would not use her previous experience to define the situation, but make an attempt to understand the current situation and readjust her behaviour to suit (Batty and Meaux 2013, p. 112; Halpern 2003, p. 671; 2007, p. 696). In this context each situation or cultural environment would be considered separately and not via a standardised comparison framework i.e. she attempts to put herself in the position of the other party. Despite this, she did experience difficulties in the first six months to integrate adequately with her colleagues.

*... I had the feeling in the beginning of ... not really connecting with them ... also of course the jokes, which were still in German, which I couldn't ... understand and the small chitchats they had together ... which I missed ... that's what I ... definitely have experienced in the first six months*

She infers that this difficulty may have been partly due to her lacking language skills at this point, which made it difficult for her to become involved in the more subtle elements of collegial interaction. With time, and application to learning the language, however, she was able to build a network of friends, including Germans, with whom she socialised outside of the work environment and stated that she can now “... easily switch to German ...” and that they are no longer restricted to conversing in English.

A further example of an adopter narrative was provided by James (Fig. 32), a Russian national who demonstrated a complex character consisting of both a bracketing and an adjustment of self-understanding response. His initial move to Germany was career oriented, as part of a combined Master's degree at the Humboldt University in Berlin. Upon graduation, he started working for a consulting company in Berlin, moving two years later to a consultancy in Munich.

James' character was complicated further as he indicated a self-oriented characteristic when describing two particular events during the interview. The first event related to the initial move to Germany. Despite the fact that

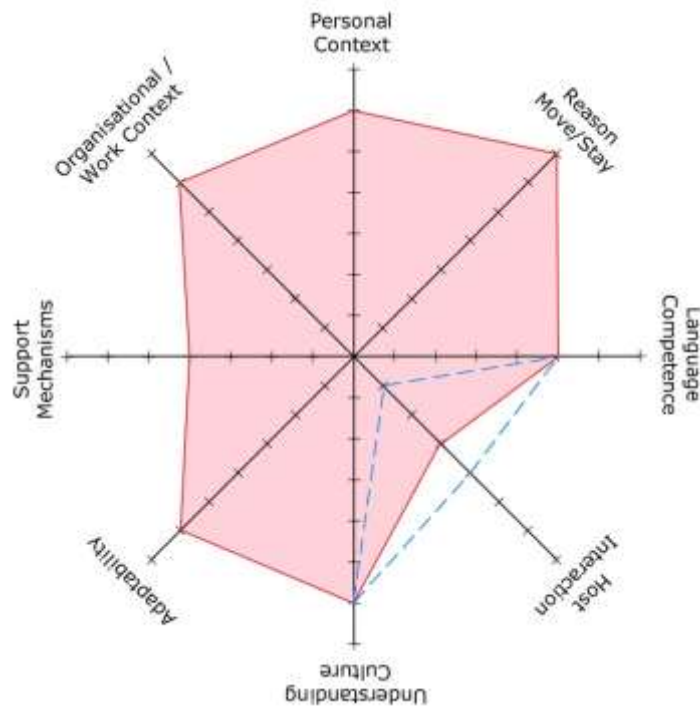


Fig. 32: Narrative Representation – James

he had been in a longer term relationship and was living with his girlfriend at the time, he made the decision to move to Germany without any prior consultation with her stating that:

*... I decided we part for one or two years and then either I go ... back to Moscow or she goes to Germany ... she was not excited about this ...*

A similar self-oriented behaviour was demonstrated when his girlfriend from then, now wife, moved to Germany to be with him. He was unaware of how she had experienced the move and indicated almost a disinterest in her well-being leaving much of the integration work to his support network:

*... I had in Berlin in my circles so they were kind of not only me, because I was quite busy working ... but they were integrating her quite good ... showing the life in Berlin ... she was ... quickly accepted by my support system*

His knowledge relating to her well-being and needs based on suppositions indicating an almost egocentric position (Colman 2009, p. 240).

A further example of this complex character was provided when James considered language abilities and explained why some Germans become ashamed of the fact that they are unable to support a conversation in English.

*... most of this realisation came from ... interactions with like servant staff, like people you meet at banks ... like people which ... do not belong to your circle, but you meet them in cafeterias or such places so ... I mean probably through this interactions this realisation came to me ... you just try, you just switch from English to German and you see ... the change in behaviour ... the guy or gal just basically ... grasps better what you want and who you are and kind of yeah, basically what you want.*

His consideration of the interaction with individuals he termed as “servant staff” provides an insight into his latent need to demonstrate his own ability and indicates characteristics of a narcissistic personality (Fine 1994, p. 56; Schwartz-Salant 1982, pp. 37-41). As he considers these individuals feeling ashamed of the fact they are unable to support a conversation in English and their being relieved when he is able to neutralise the situation, he increases the value of his input and distracts attention from his potential linguistic inadequacies.

He also invests much effort in creating an identity that he is not always able to support as exemplified in his description of the preparation for the move to Germany. Initially he explained that he did not prepare, but in the course of the interview it became apparent that he had made use of a detailed support network that had been created to assist the new programme members in their preparation for the move and during their stay in the new environment.

A further example of James’ apparent need for self-recognition and the application of identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) was provided when he described his preconceptions of Germany. Initially, he attempted to create a façade, stating that he did not have any

preconceptions. In the continuation, he first admitted that he was aware of the "*common stereotypes*", but was "*intelligent enough to understand you shouldn't take them too seriously*" and finally indicated that he did apply them and that they resulted in a false impression of the environment. In general therefore, he demonstrated a complex character, high levels of identity work and willingness to accept ambiguity in himself and his environment, but a low ability to sympathise or empathise with others.

The adopter, therefore, demonstrates complex characteristics, but low levels of acculturation stress enabling them to balance their own characters to take advantage of their own situations.

### **7.1.5    *The Escapist***

The escapist is an individual who is looking to improve his or her individual position by distancing themselves from a negative event or situation. This event or situation may be of a personal nature such as a divorce or negative international assignment experience, or related to their home national environment and include factors such as a poor economic climate, poor employment market or corruption. The escapist is not necessarily actively and knowingly "escaping" or running away from a particular set of circumstances i.e. the person would not necessarily label their move as escaping. They may consciously or unconsciously be taking advantage of circumstances, however, that under normal conditions may not have enticed them to leave their home environment, in order to gain distance between themselves and the negative event or to gain closeness to the perceived positive event or situation. The previous negative situation and the resulting 'escape' may also result in these individuals demonstrating a latent need to feel accepted in and/or to fit into the new environment to enable the continued relief from the previous negative situation to be realised. This is mirrored in their wish to be able to integrate into the new environment and their flexibility in accepting perceived negative aspects of new cultures they may be confronted with.

Examples of an escapist narrative triggered by a negative event were provided by Logan and David. Logan (Fig. 33) had previously moved to



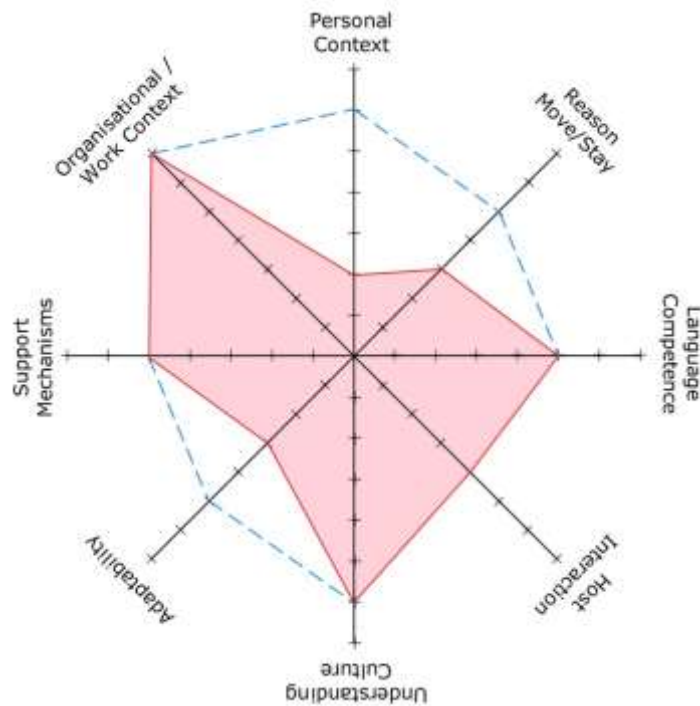


Fig. 33: Narrative Representation – Logan

Greece together with his Greek female partner, whom he married while there, after experiencing a disappointing assignment in Australia. In Greece, he experienced major difficulties integrating into the local culture, resulting in a divorce and him having to leave his young daughter with his ex-wife in the foreign environment. Logan's later relationship with a German female, led him to move more or less directly from Greece to Germany to be with her. The move to Germany appeared to be influenced by the need to leave the difficult situation surrounding the divorce and the failed stay in Greece, as demonstrated in the tourist approach (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001, pp. 130-135) taken to this move and his initial unwillingness to accept that he was actually moving to Germany:

*... it didn't feel at all as if I was moving to Germany ... I was just going to Germany and I wasn't moving here ...*

His initial reaction to the previous stressful situation was, therefore, to adjust his own self-understanding of the present move, and to implement a tourist approach, a strategy that results in less stress and is generally considered to be a positive experience. In addition, this strategy reduced the possible risk of "failure" as a further move would have only meant the

end of the tourist outing and not the failure of the move itself as he had suffered in Greece. Further, as the move was not initially considered to be permanent, his expectations of the outcome would have been lower and in line with the cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), the possible negative dissonance he would have experienced would have been less, resulting in a lower stress level. This reaction can also be interpreted as a rather fatalistic adaptability position as his understanding of the venture as being a tourist trip also infers that he had taken into account that the event could fail and was willing to accept this. Logan also demonstrated that he had learnt from the errors made during his move to Greece as he invested energy in learning the local language to enable him to interact better with the host population as indicated by the relatively gut language competence and support mechanism context and narrative resources. This indicates a gradual move towards a pragmatist adaptation position and adds further weight to the possible consideration that escapist individuals may have a latent need to be accepted and experience success in the wake of a negative experience.

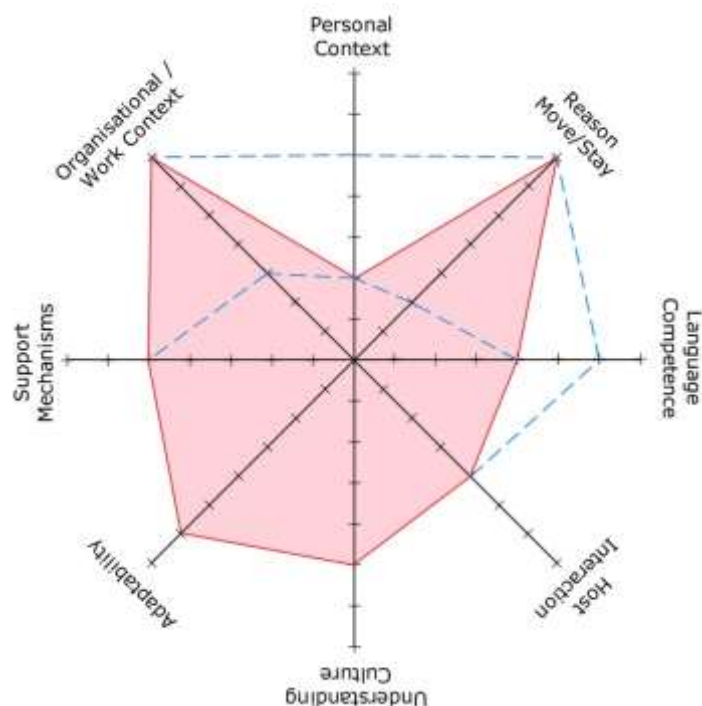


Fig. 34: Narrative Representation – David

In a similar manner, David (Fig. 34) had been confronted with a very negative experience during a six-month assignment to South Korea resulting in him "... *hoping it would end really soon and [he] could get out of there*". He also adjusted his self-understanding as he subsequently re-evaluated the assignment in an effort to revise its negative consequences in line with the cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d):

*... and today I see it as a very good experience ... I'm very positive about that experience today, but back then when I was in there with the ... tough time that ... I had in Korea ... I was just hoping ... it would end really soon and I could get out of there ...*

Although this is not considered his primary narrative, the event cannot be completely erased from his memory, inferring that it may have at least a subconscious effect on his subsequent behaviour and desire to fit-in.

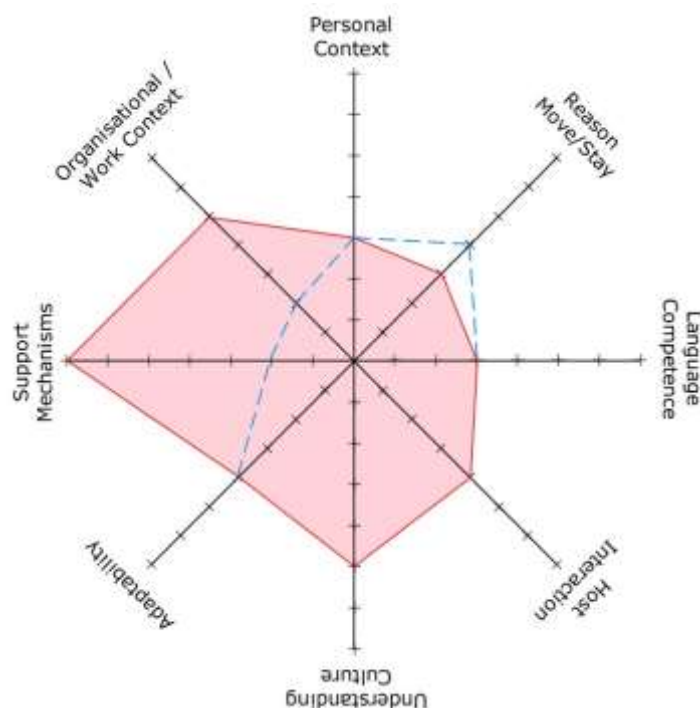


Fig. 35: Narrative Representation – Adrian

An escape can also take place from a negative environmental situation such as financial, political or social difficulties as indicated by Adrian (Fig. 35), who explained that:

*Before coming to Germany ... I've never been to  
Germany and never wanted to come to Germany ...*

Here he makes clear the lack of intention to actively consider moving to Germany prior to receiving an opportunity to apply for a position in Munich at which point his consideration of the situation changed:

*Ireland was not doing so well in the economy so I  
thought Germany's stable as well so it made sense that  
way...*

His considerations became even clearer when he explained the reasoning behind why he is now focused on his career and his considerations for the move to Munich:

*I thought where I'm livin in Dublin was a particularly  
bad area so I thought well, you never know I might  
enjoy [Munich], it looks like a nice place at least so I  
might as well try it out ...*

Adrian then went on to explain the latent fear that almost pushed him to this decision to move and to focus on his career stating that

*... [his] focus comes from ... living in a really bad area  
[and] thinking okay I'm not going to end up here, I'm  
not going to end up like 99% of my friends that are all  
junkies and in jail ...*

These statements indicate that the move was not planned or envisaged at any point in the past and contains elements of opportunism, a factor recognised in the literature (Richardson and Mallon 2005, p. 412; Suutari, Brewster and Tornikoski 2013, p. 168) to play a major role in the decision to expatriate. He also infers a consideration that the new position could provide an opportunity for him to escape from the current environment overlapped with an underlying fear that should he not make the move, he may end up in a similar position to his friends.

The resulting need to succeed is then mirrored in his wish to be able to

integrate into the new environment, his flexibility in accepting perceived negative aspects of the new culture and the resulting bracketing response. This is evidenced in his approach to confronting individuals that he did not know, especially those from other cultures, and his wish not to offend them. He states that he:

*... went to a standard default ... nice guy, so you have to be really accommodating, polite, so you don't actually ... expose your ... true self ... it's more of a step- by-step to be as polite as possible and see what kind of responses you get back*

Here he implied the application of a pre-determined framework and image for the interaction with his communication partner, which he then adjusted depending on the responses obtained. This hypothesis testing feedback loop (Coulehan et al. 2001, p. 224) is implemented in an attempt to increase the success of the interaction and therefore the level of comfort perceived.

In addition, the need for success and the realisation of the negative home environment results in him being more aware of the positive aspects of the host environment, which may result in a critical stance regarding the home environment. This may be evident as direct or indirect criticism of the home culture or as emphasis of positive aspects of the host culture as indicated by Adrian's comment that "*... Germany ... feels like it's a country done right ...*". This statement can be perceived as a positive understanding of Germany, but it can also imply an indirect criticism of the home culture environment, which may be an unconscious attempt to justify the decision to move to Germany and to support the attempt to integrate in the new environment.

In general, the escapist provides good prerequisites for a successful international assignment as the fear of failure and the resulting consequences are motivators for them to apply themselves to the adaptation process and increase their flexibility and openness to the cultural differences they may be confronted with.

#### **7.1.6 The Transformer**

The transformer is an individual that with delay has realised that they have

“gone native” and are unable to come to terms with this situation. Although they may have benefitted from this position during the early stages of their stay in the new environment they have now reached a point where they are no longer able to recognise themselves or function adequately in their home environment. They have both a good level of local language ability and demonstrate empathy when interacting with persons from another culture.

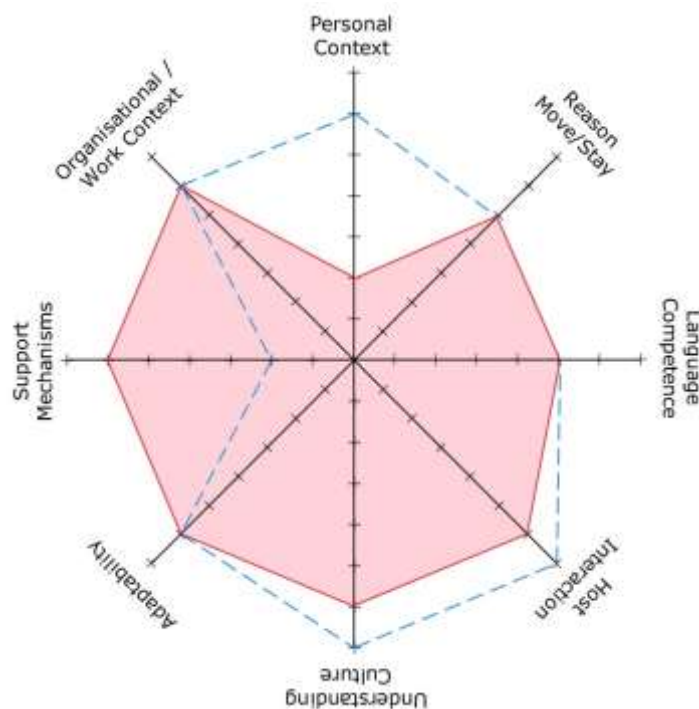


Fig. 36: Narrative Representation – Leah

Leah (Fig. 36), an American female, demonstrated transformer characteristics. Initially she had not been aware of the degree of adaptation that she had achieved, but during a trip home to the USA to visit family and friends the situation becomes extremely visible to her.

*I tried to integrate so much that the next time I went back home I realise that I'd changed so much that it actually scared me and ... I realised that I didn't really like the person that I was becoming because it wasn't even me anymore it was ... becoming so German ...*

Although this character development had enabled her to function in the host environment during the early stages of her move, at the same time it

negatively influenced her ability to function in the USA, her home environment. In addition, she did not consider the new character to be herself and was not comfortable with this new self.

Once she became aware of the change that had taken place, she invested much effort in an attempt to reposition herself and implement what she considered to be the best of both environments. This left her in search of her true self and her true "home" as she realised that neither the USA or Germany were able to fulfil her current definition of "home".

Leah also displayed a high level of cultural understanding being not only aware of the fact that cultures are different, but also the fact that the greater difference between the two cultures the more difficult the adaptation process will be (Bochner 2006, p. 190; Church 1982, p. 547; David 1971, p. 48; Froese and Peltokorpi 2011). Further, she was aware of the importance of local language ability not only to enable her to communicate with local others in their mother tongue, but also to enable her to understand their intention when they spoke with her in English. In addition, she was aware of the potential dangers of using cognates of other more familiar languages to aid understanding (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369), as this may lead to misunderstandings and possible confusion.

Leah demonstrates an unconsciously competent language ability (Adams 2013; Race 2007, p. 19) with the restriction that:

*... I find that my communication is more open and spontaneous with English speakers ...*

This restriction in her ability indicates that she has not reached the bilingual status, as in this case she would communicate in a similar manner independent of the language used (Laufer and Paribakht 1998, p. 369). Considering the potential connection between language ability and cultural understanding (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Harris Bond 2008; Hong et al. 2000, p. 710; Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 228) the lack of bilingual ability may be the root cause for her distress at "going native". If she had bilingual bicultural ability, she should be able to switch cultures depending on the language used at the time. In her particular case, this

would have resulted in her home US culture becoming the mode of reference and operation when speaking English in the USA and her German self would have been suppressed.

Leah's empathic ability is inferred in her attempt to not only understand the literal meaning of foreign language interactions, but also the intended deeper meaning:

*... like sitting in a meeting where there might be four different languages spoken within a one hour meeting and they get passed around telephone style sometimes, trying to figure out what the other person wants to say and ... what's meant ...*

She additionally considered that openness and empathy may be an advantageous trait for individuals in a new environment:

*... if you're an empathetic person if you're likeable ... if you can show that towards other people I think whether or not you speak the language or whether or not you're ... in touch with the way that the culture functions that those qualities alone can really benefit a person ...*

The transformer, therefore, experiences limited acculturation stress, but not induced due to a lack of adaptation ability rather due to the realisation that they have adapted further than they are currently able to accept. Possible strategies can either be directed at relativizing the level of adaptation via identity work or acquiring the remaining skills to enable a bilingual-bicultural identity to develop and be accepted.

#### **7.1.7 The Mover**

The mover has gone beyond interacting with the local environment and has become part of it by going native. In comparison to the transformer, these individuals are willing and able to accept their high degree of integration into the host environment. They can be considered bilingual, bicultural (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Harris Bond 2008; Hong et al. 2000, p. 710) with the ability to switch between the different cultural environments with



ease (Carter 2013, p. 204; Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 290). The long-term perspective of this group of individuals is to remain in the country and to “build a nest”.

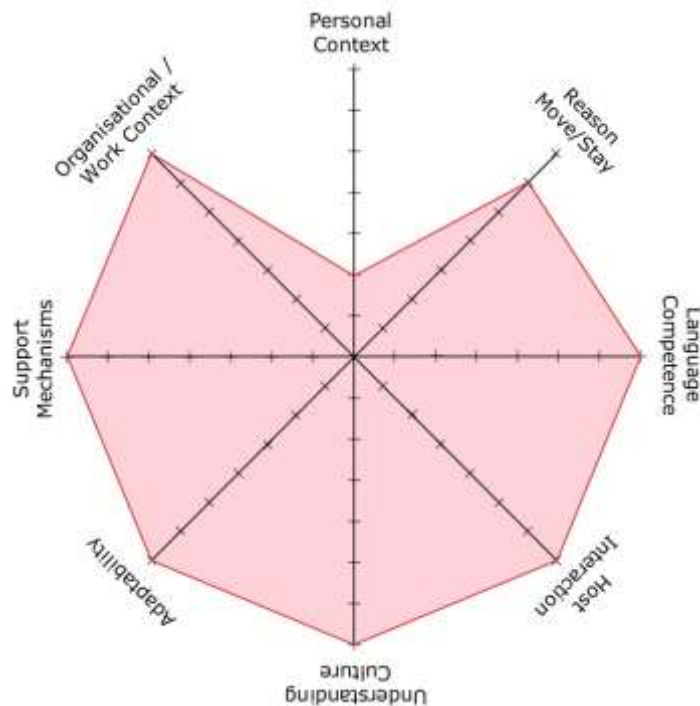


Fig. 37: Narrative Representation – Sophia

An example of the mover is Sophia (Fig. 37), a Romanian female with much travel experience in countries including India and a longer stay in the USA. Throughout the interview she demonstrated an open-minded approach to interaction and socialisation in an international environment:

*I'm absolutely curious and open-minded and I adapt very easily ... if it was a country where I didn't know the language I immediately started learning the basic words, or how to get along with the people ... I am very sensitive to the different cultures and how people react or what they expect ...*

She was aware of the German environment and understands some of the cultural differences between the German federal states. At the same time she also admitted that fitting in was not an easy task:

*... I ... felt as an outsider for a very long time ... but slowly I started seeing the ... positive sides and the possibilities ... I would say that ... the western world is now, of course, part of my life or I am part of it ...*

Her heightened cultural awareness was also made visible as she demonstrated not only the ability to work in English and German, but also indicated a polylinguistic framework of language-triggered switching of culture-specific identity frames (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 279). According to Sophia, it is not possible to fully understand the subtleties and nuances of a culture without understanding the language:

*... if I think of persons I know in France ... even think of them ... in my head, my thoughts are French. That's why ... I also like read everything that I can in the regional language ... because it sounds always different from ... the translation. It's never the same. If you put yourself in the mind-set of the different culture ... with the help of the language, which is of course very ... important ... then there are a lot of Feinheiten ((subtleties, nuances)) that cannot be translated, or never come through properly unless you really are ... in that different language or in that different culture.*

This is compatible with Arnett's (2002) concept of the dual-identity and the alternation model of acculturation proposed by LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993, pp. 399-400) and would indicate that Sophia is bicultural, (Hong et al. 2000, p. 710). The "trigger" can either be the language (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008, p. 290) or the identity related requirement (Carter 2013, p. 204).

Sophia had taken the active decision to move to Germany and remain in the country to "build a nest". Similar to the assimilation strategy proposed by Berry (2009, p. 366) she had made an active effort to adapt, and to replace some of her native identity and culture with elements of the German culture. Similar to Leah, she is aware that she has changed and is no longer the person she was before the move to Germany, but instead of reassessing

and readjusting her position she decided to accept her new character. Whether this decision is triggered by the fact that her partner is German and she intends to "... *start building the nest or the home ...*" or whether she is attempting to differentiate herself from her Eastern European roots from which she attempts to distance herself is not clear. Her open-mindedness may however, be an indication that she is willing to accept any situation that she considers is better than her roots enabling her to feel at home and at the same time reduce possible cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957) and therefore reduce the stress that may be associated with the move.

The mover is therefore the highest level of international integration possible for an expatriate. The individual is able to interact within the host environment almost as a national and benefits from a large and high quality social support network. They generally experience little acculturation stress once this stage has been achieved.

## **7.2 Analysis of Literature Archetypes**

The usefulness of literature archetypes in people's narrative construction and identity work can be explored by focussing on Logan's and David's narratives.

Despite having travelled widely in Europe and Asia, Logan's career had been based in Great Britain until he agreed to take an initial assignment to Sydney, Australia. His decision to accept the assignment was based on the fact that "... *[he] was getting a bit sick of working and living in the UK and [he] fancied a change ...*". The assignment was organised by his employer at the time, who took care of all formalities and was considered by Logan "... *not to be hugely difficult ...*" as "... *the languages are the same and the cultures are quite similar*", but even so "*it was different enough to notice that you're away from home*". Due to his previous assumptions regarding the similarities of the cultures and circumstances he restricted his preparation for the assignment to "*research[ing] the place itself ...*". Upon arrival, not only was the position he was taking up different from the job description he had been given in the UK; but he realised that he "... *had this image of [Sydney] that didn't really fit the reality ...*" and considered that he

"... *was a little bit naïve ...*" about his preparation and the move. After the initial shock, especially of being confronted with a different position to the one expected, he decided to "... *give it a go ...*". He found the situation challenging, in particular the steep learning curve he was confronted with to enable him to carry out his new position. When considering the success of the assignment Logan stated that "... *from [the company's] perspective, it certainly didn't go well ... but from my perspective ... it was a kind of relative success ...*". The difficulties he was confronted with "... *certainly made a difference in how long [he] stayed there ...*". These can be considered to be elements of 'The Adopter' (7.1.4) narrative category and moved the individual from what was initially expected to be a romance literary archetype (Frye 2006, pp. 173-192) where the hero gets what he is looking for, in this case, the international experience, to a comedy where the individual achieves what he is looking for although he is required to come to terms with the situation he is confronted with in order to do so.

After one and a half years in Australia Logan returns to the UK for six months carrying out "... *a couple of small trips back to Australia in that time ...*" before then moving to Greece. The reason for the move was his Greek female partner's wish to return home. She had been with Logan in the UK and had moved with him to Australia. The move did not come as a surprise as Logan explains "... *I knew I wasn't going to stay in Australia ... I was with this Greek lady at the time ... there was talk of going to Greece ... it was kind of a deal ... that we would end up in Greece ... we'd been talking about it ... several years I guess ...*". One could consider that this would again be the start of a classical romance, but again, he didn't prepare for the move stating "... *I'm pretty bad with things like that so I probably didn't prepare very much*". Upon reflection, the realisation sets in that "... *I should have thought a little more about what it would mean to go to Greece ... I was just a bit more relaxed about it than ... maybe I should have been*" resulting in the decision that "... *it was kind of a mistake going to Greece ...*". He had moved to Greece with very weak language ability, despite the fact that he considered "... *[language is] the funnel through which you have to express yourself*". The language weakness then developed into the foundation for the negative progress of his move as "... *a*

*lot of people don't speak English and even the people that do aren't so keen to speak English, so ... if you don't know the language you struggle obviously to meet people and you struggle every time you go out of the house basically". He "... found it difficult to connect to people" and found that he struggled as his "... particular personality and ... background just didn't fit very well in Greece ...". The final stage in the development of this move was the divorce from his then wife and his leaving the country, providing the elements of 'The Family Story' (7.1.1) and the archetypical Tragedy (Frye 2006, pp. 192-194).*

Moving back to the UK he met a German lady and over time he moved to Germany where he is now married and the couple have a small child, fulfilling the characteristics of 'The Escapist' (7.1.5) and the archetypical Romance (Frye 2006, p. 173).

In the second illustration, David's international experience started after he had completed his university education, as he *"... decided to move ... away ... [for] ... one or two years to get some international experience ..."*, a decision often reported in the literature (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry 2013; Dickmann and Doherty 2010; Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013a; Froese 2012; Inkson et al. 1997; Inkson, Thomas and Barry 1999; Suutari and Brewster 2000). As he had taken German classes while at university and spent approximately four months in Germany as part of an Erasmus project, he *"... decided to use that knowledge to basically do some experience working in Germany ..."*. At the time he *"... didn't think much about what you need to move ..."* and *"... there was no preparation or anything like that ..."*. Despite the fact that he *"... didn't know what to expect because that was ... [his] first move overseas ..."* he considered *"... it was a great experience ..."*. Being able to work in a completely new area in IT at that time, he was also able to increase his technical career capital. Having made *"... the same mistakes that pretty much all Spaniards do when they move here ... they just try to get into a ghetto ..."*. His main social network initially consisted of *"... contact with ... mostly ... people from Spanish background or ... Latin American background"*. This means that he *"... [didn't] get to know people here, the culture or the language ..."* and it took him longer to adapt because he was *"... in [his] little bubble and ... don't integrate ..."*. The

small internationally oriented company that he worked for at that time provided him with an additional challenge as it had implemented English as the company language. As David had no command of this language at the time it created a barrier and he *"... felt like a little kid ... [as] it was tough at the beginning just to get to say something ... intelligent ... it frustrated sometimes ... that you couldn't communicate well, but that was an incentive too"* and with time he mastered the required language skills. During this period he also took part in international projects requiring that he spent shorter periods of time in other countries, but these assignments were also without negative incidents. He considered that living in the flat share with a group of Germans, enabled him to improve his language skills to what he considered to be an adequate level for his requirements, and to interact with a diverse set of individuals. He implies that in general his first overseas experience was a success, at least in his eyes.

Despite the fact that David has a basic understanding of the language he demonstrates strong characteristics of 'the Interloper' (7.1.2) and the archetypal Romance (Frye 2006, p. 173).

Two years after moving to Germany he moved to the USA where he remained for approximately nine years. This move was accompanied with a higher level of dissonance as he considered it *"... a different planet ... the US ... what people expect, what people do in their lives ... how things work ... everything is completely different ... it's a different mentality than here so it took me a while ..."*. His surprise indicates not only that he was not able to apply his existing European schemata or cognitive maps to make sense of the situation, but that high levels of psychological identity work would have been required in order to palliate the dissonance that he experienced. Looking back on this time in the USA he considers that it was *"... really ... interesting ... very positive in terms of ... getting to know people from completely different backgrounds and ... way of ... focusing ... at your work or work ethics ..."*. The retrospective sensemaking (Brown, Colville and Pye 2015; Colville, Brown and Pye 2012; Maitlis 2005; Weick 1993; 1995; Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld 2005) carried out to help make sense of or plausibly understand these dissonant or confusing events indicates that he has filtered out the negative aspects of the move and been able to

concentrate on the positive factors, which in retrospect, may have actually benefitted his development over the longer term. Despite his initial surprise regarding the American culture, he considered that "... *[i]ntegrating into the US was very easy ...*" as even after only three months in the country "... *locals from that country treat me like I'm first-generation American ... not like I'm some weird guy from a weird place ...*". Again this view is influenced retrospectively by the experience that he has had during his most recent return to Germany, now living in a small rural village together with his family where with astonishment he realises that "... *if I go out with my daughter and we start talking Spanish then people turn around looking at us like in horror 'oh my God, they are foreigners' ...*".

During his time in the USA he freely accepted the opportunity to take part in a temporary assignment to South Korea, but considered "... *back then I had a really bad ... feeling about the whole thing. When I was there, I was just hoping that I could get out of there as soon as possible ... they just dropped me like ... the Marines get dropped in the middle of the Pacific Ocean to do some job ...*" David's negative feelings regarding the lack of training, and the level of acculturation stress experienced (Du Bois 1951, p. 22; 1970, p. 52; Searle and Ward 1990, p. 459) are very evident in this statement.

With no other information to use as a benchmark for his work methods and business etiquette, he reverted to his previous experience gathered in Europe and the United States. The gap between the business and cultural styles forming his benchmark and the local requirements resulted, however, in further conflict situations arising. David's "lack of respect" resulted in his South Korean colleagues categorising him as an "unperson" (Lewis 2006, p. 506) and demonstrating no further respect for his wellbeing. This was a very difficult time for David as "... *basically they stop talking to you ... it's like you are suddenly a ghost ... they don't look at you they look through you like you are air ...*". The psychological strain of being ignored was superimposed with additional stress resulting from being increasingly degraded as they removed signs of power such as his "big leather chair". David's discomfort and inability to accept the situation became obvious as he considered that this behaviour "*wasn't professional ...*" and that "... *in*

*any ... Western country that would be ... mobbing ...*". The result was failure of the assignment and David repatriating after the minimum period of six months, with what he now considers a "burnout"

Considered retrospectively his opinion of the assignment has changed: *"... I see it as a very good experience ... I'm very positive about that experience today ..."* indicating a post-decisional effort to revise the initial evaluation of the assignment and its negative consequences in line with the cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d).

Although David relativizes his opinion of this time he demonstrates characteristics of 'The Escapist' (7.1.5) and the archetypical Tragedy (Frye 2006, pp. 192-194).

After the USA he *"... decided to come back to Europe and ..."* and as he *"... already [had] experience ... in Munich so [he] decided to go back to Germany"* and has remained since. David based his expectations of his return to Munich on his earlier positive experience, but the return from the USA was also accompanied by a change of circumstances as he is now married and living in a small village outside of Munich, where a very traditional environment still prevails, which then resulted in the previously mentioned negative experience. Despite this event, he is *"... actually very happy to be back in Europe ..."*. He feels that he is now able to take a critical view not only of Spain, his country of birth, but also of Germany enabling him to determine a balance interpretation of the two countries. Here David demonstrates characteristics of 'The Adopter' (7.1.4) and the archetypical Comedy (Frye 2006, pp. 151-152) as he has been able to achieve what he was looking for, but due to changes in his circumstances is required to come to terms with the changed circumstances.

These excerpts provide an understanding of how individuals not only draw on different combinations of contextual and narrative factors to create their narratives, but also draw upon the literature archetypes to obtain the structure for the narratives. Further, they provide support for previous research stating that the choices made by individuals regarding their



cultural identity are not really their own choices, but are made "*for performance for and in negotiation with others*" (Mathews 2000, pp. 1-29) by providing an understanding how different narrative types can occur within an individual's changing international experiences and sensemaking, potentially influencing the success or failure of the outcome of the current assignment.

## **Chapter 8 Conclusion**

The exploratory research set out to understand how voluntary expatriates working in SMEs in Germany perceive, make sense of and respond to their new cultural context. The research demonstrated the importance of narratives as a tool for retrospective sensemaking and identity work as a coping mechanism and moderator to alleviate stress within the host environment. In addition, the research has contributed to the literature on expatriates by providing classifications of seven narrative groups consisting of varying combinations and progressions of eight context and narrative resources that influence the degree of cognitive dissonance perceived by individuals and their willingness and ability to implement psychological identity work to palliate their situation, and reduce the acculturation stress perceived. A further relationship was identified between Frye's literature mythoi inferred in the structure of narratives of individuals' experience and their approach to future expatriate assignments.

The sampling framework and site for the research was provided by SMEs in Germany. As an important motor for the European economy, (European Commission 2013b, p. 10) European SMEs are equally challenged by the negative effects of the demographic development and the reduced availability of skilled labour. Germany has responded to this challenge by implementing a five prong strategy to alleviate the reduced availability of skilled labour (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2011, pp. 10-13; OECD 2013, pp. 41-43) of which the active integration of foreign immigrants into the work environment (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2011, pp. 31-33; OECD 2013, pp. 41-43) forms an important aspect. The maximum benefit from the immigrant workers can only be achieved, however, if they are able to adequately integrate into their new cultural environment.

Changes in the economic landscape, corporate downsizing, de-layering, right-sizing, increasing globalisation and competition are some of the factors considered to have reduced organisations' reliability to provide a traditional organisational career (Demel and Mayrhofer 2010; Higgins, Dobrow and Roloff 2010; Suutari and Mäkelä 2007) and diminished ties and loyalty to employers (Thomas and Dunkerley 1999). As a result

professionals are increasingly taking advantage of the work opportunities created by the shortage of skilled workers (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2011; ManpowerGroup 2014; OECD 2013) in both developed and developing economies (Kuptsch and Pang 2006; OECD 2008) by initiating and financing their own expatriation (Bozionelos 2009; Selmer and Laurant 2010; Tharenou 2010; Tharenou and Caulfield 2010). These self-initiated assignments are not only embarked upon for financial gain, but they also enable the individuals to gain and develop their career capital (Dickmann and Harris 2005) improving their job-market value for future assignments.

The research has recognised and addressed three major gaps in the extant literature: the use of retrospective narrative analysis in acculturation research; sensemaking and acculturation of self-initiated expatriates; and the sensemaking and acculturation of individuals working in SMEs.

In contrast to the traditional trait or characteristics based research (e.g. Adelman 1988; Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005; Broom et al. 1954; Froese 2012; Wang and Kanungo 2004) implemented to address questions surrounding acculturation, this research uses retrospective narrative analysis to provide a deeper and richer understanding of an individual's sensemaking (Louis 1980; Weick 1995), narrative choices (Riessman 1993), and response to their new cultural contexts, therefore extending current knowledge.

Much of the extant literature in the still young field of self-initiated expatriate research has concentrated on the clarification of terminology and the demarcation of the different forms of international mobility (e.g. Andresen, Bergdolt and Margenfeld 2013; Andresen et al. 2014; Baruch et al. 2013; Doherty 2013; Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013a), reasons for mobility (e.g. Doherty, Dickmann and Mills 2011; Inkson et al. 1997; Thorn 2009) and the implications of such assignments for individuals' careers (e.g. Al Ariss and Özbilgin 2010; Cao, Hirschi and Deller 2012; Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013b; Suutari, Brewster and Tornikoski 2013), but does not address the sensemaking process and acculturation of self-initiated expatriates resulting in a gap in the literature addressed by this research project.

The extensive previous literature regarding organisationally assigned expatriates and self-initiated expatriates has considered the topic with regard to individuals working in large multinational organisations (e.g. Caligiuri et al. 1998; Tung 1982), groups of students (e.g. Black and Mendenhall 1991; Inkson et al. 1997), or academics (e.g. Froese 2012; Richardson 2000; Richardson and McKenna 2002), but generally not for individuals working in SMEs, resulting in a gap in the literature addressed by this research project.

The in-depth qualitative research focused on 19 international assignees working for SMEs in Germany. Data was collected using a combination of a standardised, self-administered questionnaire (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2006, pp. 356-357) to gather generic information regarding the interview partners, and semi-structured interviews (Bryman and Bell 2007, p. 474) supported using additional probing questions to gain a deeper understanding of influencing incidents from the respondents (Butterfield et al. 2005; Fitzgerald and Dopson 2009, p. 479; Flanagan 1954) to collect the qualitative narrative data. Focus groups were used to investigate the theoretical saturation achieved (Charmaz 2006, pp. 113-115; Glaser and Strauss 1967, pp. 61-62) and the theories obtained through the interviews.

The collated retrospective narratives were analysed using a four level inductive analysis framework under implementation of the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967):

Level 1: Substantive coding

Level 2: Creation of conceptual framework

Level 3: Narrative analysis

Level 4: Analysis of literature archetypes

Each of the levels of analysis were interlinked and subject to constant reflection and adjustment as concepts emerged from the data. The resulting codes and frameworks were therefore in a constant state of flux.

Three themes were identified from the construction of the conceptual framework:

1. Identify the factors and content that influence sensemaking and narrative choices
2. Identify potential commonalities and differences in the sensemaking processes used by expatriates
3. Identify the narrative structures and their function in sensemaking

## **8.1 Significant Conclusions**

The discussion of the research findings consists of two discrete sections: the first addresses the three themes determined from the construction of the conceptual framework; the second addresses particular insights that are considered novel and require particular emphasis.

### **8.1.1 Discussion of Research Themes**

#### **Identify the factors and content that influence sensemaking and narrative choices**

The initial analysis of the substantive coding, carried out at a low level of abstraction, indicated support for traits and characteristics determined in previous general acculturation and cultural adaptation research such as language ability (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005, p. 268; Broom et al. 1954, p. 994), and support systems (Adelman 1988, p. 193; Wang and Kanungo 2004, p. 786). In contrast to traditional research, the traits or characteristics themselves were not of central importance to the research outcomes, but their influence on an individual's sensemaking, narrative choices and narrative creation. Consideration of the substantive coding at a higher level of abstraction (Holton 2010, p. 272) resulted in the development of narratives providing linkages to the context and narrative resources forming the conceptual framework (Jabareen 2009, p. 52; Miles, Huberman and Saldaña 2013, p. 20), which relates to Glaser's (1978, pp. 72-82) theoretical coding.

The conceptual framework (Table 9) was shown to consist of three main elements: (1) eight resources or contexts used by the individuals to create the narratives, (2) a seven point progression of each of the eight resources

or contexts, and (3) the personal narratives created from differing combinations and progressions of the eight narrative and contextual resources. The context and narrative resources and their progression form the structure for this section.

The research indicated that the progression of the eight context and narrative resources was not linearly related to a reduction in perceived cognitive dissonance, psychological identity work required and acculturation stress perceived in all cases. The results implied that a condition of “blissful ignorance” existed at the lowest end of the progression in some categories, such as understanding of culture, in which the individual applied either a low level or no identity work to palliate the low level of dissonance and acculturation stress perceived.

This exploratory research indicated that in general an increase in positive perception of previous experience was associated with increased expectations of the current assignment, potentially raising the risk of perceived negative cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), and the increased need to apply psychological identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974), to make sense of (Louis 1980; Weick 1995) and palliate the situation to reduce perceived acculturation stress (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960). The research indicated that when these expectations were not met, the individual did not possess schemata or cognitive maps (Abelson 1981; Bloor and Dawson 1994; Fiske and Taylor 1991; Harris 1994) to enable them to make sense of the situation and to palliate it. If the expectations were met, however, the individual experienced a positive assignment. An exception to this relationship was apparent in the case of two Chinese females who had expatriated to Germany to follow their newly wed husbands, in order to fulfil family or social expectations (Chen and Li 2007). Although overlapping with the reason to move/stay resource, the distress perceived by the two females appeared to be so great that it outweighed their previously accumulated experience, making it irrelevant for their considerations of their current situation. Their ability to make sense of and palliate their situation was, therefore, strongly reduced resulting in them experiencing very high levels

of acculturation stress. These two females indicated that this situation may have been exacerbated by the fact that they were initially unable to work for formal reasons, and shortly after had babies and were “restricted” to a life as a mother and housewife, which resulted in them feeling bored due to a lack of an adequate occupation. This position supports previous research regarding dual-career families and the difficulties encountered when the trailing partner is not adequately employed (Munton et al. 1993, p. 129).

Consistent with previous research (Berry and Sam 1997; Mohr and Klein 2004) the findings demonstrated that an individual’s willingness to accept uncertainty and dissonance increased with increasing voluntariness and active participation (willingness) in the decision to move to the new environment. As a result the level of identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) required to palliate the situation and reduce the level of cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), and the level of acculturation stress perceived (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960), decreased.

An extension of the original theory beyond the asylum seeker (Berry and Sam 1997) was recognised, as two Chinese females who were accompanying their spouses to fulfil family or social expectations (Chen and Li 2007), and therefore not totally voluntary, demonstrated an inner struggle between the home and host environment and indicted a fatalistic “don’t care, I can’t change it anyway” attitude to their position. These two females experienced high levels of acculturation stress as previously mentioned. On the other hand, individuals motivated to expatriate, or run away, to escape from previous negative experiences (Cerdin 2013) were more willing to approach potential difficulties during the assignment positively and generally appeared more satisfied with their situations, demonstrating lower levels of perceived adaptation stress.

Increasing levels of local language ability were shown to relate to improved cultural understanding (sensemaking) (Louis 1980; Maitlis and Sonenshein 2010; Weick 1995) and to aid integration into the local environment (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2005; Gong et al. 2003; Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003) by creating an identity acceptable to the outgroup locals

(Marra and Angouri 2011). Poor language ability was seen to require more identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) to be carried out to enable individuals to justify their lack of ability both to themselves and to their relevant others and to palliate their situation. If the individuals were able to convince themselves that their language ability was sufficient for their current needs, they only experienced low levels of cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) and were able to palliate their situation reducing the acculturation stress perceived (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960). The research also demonstrated an extension to the original competency learning model (Adams 2013; Race 2007) as some individuals purposely halted their learning process, demonstrating a level of complacency regarding their abilities, considering them sufficient for their current requirements, which positioned them high on the progression of language ability. Contrary to the general trend of the remaining resource, individuals demonstrating complacency needed to implement identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) to create and retain the image that the level of language ability attained was satisfactory. Although the levels of dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) and acculturation stress (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960) perceived by these individuals appeared to be low.

The highest level of language ability was demonstrated by bicultural bilingual individuals (Hong et al. 2000; Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008) who were fluent in German and at least their home language and had learnt the languages in their respective local environment. These individuals not only demonstrated very good communications skills, but also indicated a polylinguistic framework of language-triggered switching of culture-specific identity frames enabling them to adapt their behaviour to suit particular social contexts.

In an extension of current theory, the negative effect of foreign language anxiety on an individual's learning ability (Al-Shboul et al. 2013; Horwitz 2001; Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986; Tsiplakides and Keramida 2009), which has traditionally been considered in a classroom environment, was



also confirmed during the research. Although one cause of this anxiety may be rooted in a fear of negative evaluation by others (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986, p. 128), because the evaluation will take place according to unknown and uncertain linguistic and socio-cultural standards, the outcome of which is uncertain, the exact cause in each of the cases could not be determined with the data available from this research. Irrespective of the cause, individuals unwilling to openly make mistakes while communicating in the host language during the learning phase suffered inhibitions, which reduced their ability to interact with the host country nationals and their adaptation, and resulted in them experiencing higher levels of acculturation stress.

The research generally indicated a linear relationship between increasing levels of host interaction and both the level of cognitive dissonance perceived (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), and the level of psychological identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) required to palliate the situation. This is consistent with the concept of acculturation as an on-going process (Broom and Kitsuse 1955; Oberg 1960; 2006; Ward 1996) in which the emotions, cognitions and behaviours of persons from one culture are considered to be modified as a result of first-hand contact with persons from other cultures over time. An exception was recognised for the self-oriented individuals who applied high levels of identity work to erect and maintain the façade they required to project their selected image. If they were successful in erecting and maintaining their façade they experienced only low levels of acculturation stress (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960). A further exception was visible with individuals in the redefined self progression at the other extreme of this context and narrative resource. These individuals had integrated into the host environment so well that they had redefined their own "character" and behaviour to the point they had "gone native". Although at first they were able to benefit from this situation when interacting in the host environment, when visiting family and friends in their country of birth, they were confronted with a trigger situation that led them to question who they were. During this situation they became aware that they had changed to the point that they were no

longer able to recognise themselves as the person who had embarked on the assignment and they experienced high levels of cognitive dissonance and acculturation stress. The research offered two possible adaptability solutions for this situation: the individual either accepted that changes had taken place and that they had two identities resulting in low levels of psychological identity work being implemented and low levels of acculturation stress being experienced; or they took a step back and implemented psychological identity work iteratively in order to distil out of both cultures those elements that they considered to best suit their current requirements, similar to the concepts of the "cultural supermarket" (Mathews 2000) or the "cultural mosaic" (Chao and Moon 2005), which resulted in the reduction of psychological identity work employed and acculturation stress experienced over time as the iteration process progressed.

Cultural awareness was demonstrated to influence an individual's sensemaking and adaptation process. Although generally an increasing understanding of culture was rewarded with reduced cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), and need to implement psychological identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) in order to palliate the situation and reduce acculturation stress (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960) there were two exceptions to this finding at both extremes of the scale. At the lowest end of the progression, individuals unaware of cultural differences beyond the most superficial, tangible factors (Hofstede 1981; Peterson 2004; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997) such as language were not negatively impacted by this fact and not only had little problem making sense of their situation, they also experienced low levels of both cognitive dissonance and acculturation stress. Generally these individuals also demonstrated very weak language skills, which, in line with current theory (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Harris Bond 2008; Hong et al. 2000; Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008), would have reduced their access to the deeper levels of the culture and cultural awareness. At the other end of the scale were the bicultural bilingual individuals (Chen, Benet-Martínez and Harris Bond 2008; Hong et al. 2000) who were able to select and implement multiple cultural frameworks, compatible to the model of second culture

acquisition proposed by LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993, pp. 399-400), to suit the particular social context. As previously mentioned, when these individuals were not able to come to terms with the change that had occurred in their self they initially experienced high levels of cognitive dissonance. If they were able to palliate their situation they were rewarded with a successful acculturation accompanied with low acculturation stress.

The research results indicated that the relationship between the level of adaptability and both the perceived cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) and the level of acculturation stress (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960) experienced generally forms an inverse-U. At the lowest end of the scale the incognisant individuals experienced low levels of dissonance and distress as they were unaware what to expect and where potential differences between the cultures lie. As a result, low levels of psychological identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) were required to palliate their situation. At the other extreme, the "build a nest" individuals also perceived low levels of dissonance and implemented low levels of psychological identity work to palliate their situation, but in this case not because of ignorance or unawareness of their own and/or the host culture, but because of their heightened awareness of these facts, which in turn reduced the possibility of dissonance occurring. Between these two poles increasing levels of dissonance were experienced and identity work required with a peak occurring in the negotiator group who were continually applying psychological identity work to renegotiate their understanding and current position. An exception to the inverse U representation occurred in the case of mediators, who become aware of their new cultural self and if they were not able to come to terms with this situation, perceived a high level of dissonance requiring high levels of psychological identity work to be implemented in order to palliate the situation.

The research demonstrated a linear relationship between the increasing networking skill (breadth and depth), the level of cognitive dissonance perceived (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), the level of psychological identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) required to palliate the situation

and the acculturation stress experienced (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960).

In support of previous research, the move to the new international environment was shown to result in a loss of individuals' social support mechanisms and communication (Ong and Ward 2005) that had been present in the previous environment, and resulted in additional uncertainties and varying degrees of acculturation stress and at the lowest end of the scale in negative effects on the individual's psychological well-being (Kuo and Tsai 1986; Lewandowski et al. 2011; Wang 2002; Wang and Kanungo 2004). In order to rectify this negative situations, and to make sense of (Louis 1980; Maitlis and Sonenshein 2010; Weick 1995) and adapt to their new environment (Adelman 1988, p. 185), as well as to cope with the additional stress resulting from this major transition, the individuals attempted to establish new social networks in the local environment (Adelman 1988, p. 193; Baumeister and Leary 1995, p. 520; Gottlieb and Bergen 2010, p. 512; Kuo and Tsai 1986, p. 134; Wang and Kanungo 2004, p. 786). Their degree of coping success depended on their ability to create new social networks and the strategies they had employed.

In the private environment, the selected support structures depended on an individual's local language ability and their willingness to integrate. At the lowest end of the scale, the castaways demonstrated high levels of acculturation stress as they perceived high levels of dissonance and discomfort, but were unable to obtain support either from their original home based support mechanisms or from a local support network. Generally these individuals demonstrated a combination of the lack of means such as language competence or cultural understanding, and a lack of initiative, to build a new local network, that may have enabled them to obtain the information required to palliate their situation and reduce the acculturation stress experienced. This was reflected in the small network size and negative social well-being reported by these individuals, and supports previous research (Ong and Ward 2005; Wang 2002; Wang and Kanungo 2004). Individuals with weak local language skills either selected a support system centred on their home environment or a language they felt confident in, such as English. In the first case, there was support for the

assumption that the individuals had retreated into a cultural bubble (Ward et al. 1998), and were, therefore, not adapting to or integrating into the local environment. In cases where the home culture group was large enough and able to support its members adequately, the individual demonstrated no additional adaptation stress. This was demonstrated to be especially possible if local language skills were not required in the work environment and the workforce was international. The lack of home support networks was stated to be a particular problem for the Asian and Latin American interviewees. These collectivistic cultures (Gelfand et al. 2004) demonstrate very strong family support networks, which were not available to the individuals while in Germany. This led to very high levels of adaptation stress, especially in the case of two Chinese females; both trailing spouses, who at early stages of their stay were both housewife and mother to small babies. This situation combined with very weak German language skills and the missing home support network, resulted in a latent wish to return home to China and a conflict of interests within the individuals, which culminated in very high levels of adaptation stress. At the other end of the scale were the networkers who had been able to create a deep and broad support network to substitute or compliment the home network that currently could not be easily accessed. This network provided the individuals with the necessary social or informational support they required to enable them to successfully palliate their situation and reduce the perceived acculturation stress to an acceptable level.

In line with previous research (Franzen 2000; Kline and Liu 2005; Walther and Parks 2002), the individuals reported the use of varying forms of internet and telecommunications solutions to enable them to maintain contact with their home support networks with the media being implemented selectively depending on the situation and required outcome. The most popular medium implemented for remaining in contact with friends and family was Skype as it enabled individuals to "see" the other party when used for video conferencing and was cheaper than telephone calls, especially over longer distances. The individuals implied that the visual real-time interaction via the internet allowed a higher level of intimacy and not only enabled them to access their support networks at

home and remain informed of events, but for them to determine the wellbeing of, for example, elderly parents again a means of reducing perceived stress, which is in line with previous research (DiMaggio et al. 2001).

In the work or organisational environment, the lack of support or training to assist individuals come to terms with their new environment resulted in discontent, despite the fact the individuals had made the move of their own volition. Assistance with bureaucratic processes was provided by some companies, but still the general level of support received was considered inadequate. This understanding does not conform with the concepts of the internal career (Schein 1978; 1996), protean career (Hall 1976; 1996b; 2004), or self-initiated expatriation (Doherty 2013; Doherty, Richardson and Thorn 2013a; Tharenou and Caulfield 2010) in which the individual would have taken responsibility for the preparation and the move, but demonstrates the expectation that the organisation should provide all necessary support. This situation resulted in high levels of cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), which resulted in a negative attitude towards the organisation and an increased level of perceived stress (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960) as the individuals were not able to palliate the situation.

The work and organisational context is multifaceted with potentially new management styles, procedures and levels of responsibility superimposing on the previously mentioned challenges of living and working in an unknown cultural environment. A linear relationship was demonstrated between increasing workplace awareness and the level of cognitive dissonance perceived (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d), the level of psychological identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) required to palliate the situation and the acculturation stress experienced (Berry et al. 2011; Du Bois 1970; Oberg 1960). A lack of understanding of the business environment was demonstrated to result in high levels of cognitive dissonance accompanied with the requirement for high levels of psychological identity work to palliate the situation and reduce the acculturation stress perceived. David

was not able to successfully palliate the difficult situation that he found himself in, and suffered negative impacts on his psychological and physiological wellbeing. Jack was the only participant to report that he had been provided with assistance coming to terms with his new work environment by the organisation. The support he received went beyond assistance with technical issues of the job, as he indicated that a colleague had been given the task of looking after him. His "mentor" or "buddy" was not only available to help Jack come to terms with his job, but was also available to assist with general situations and queries that he may have had. The use of mentoring has been suggested in the literature as a possible learning and real-time support mechanism for self-initiated expatriates (Bozionelos 2009; Doherty and Dickmann 2013a, p. 243; Howe-Walsh and Schyns 2010, p. 267; McDonnell and Scullion 2013, p. 150; Toh and DeNisi 2007, p. 295; Toh, DeNisi and Leonardelli 2012, p. 236) to assist them to understand and adapt to the local norms, values and behaviours as well as obtaining information to enable them to understand the local organisation, facilitating the avoidance of conflicts (Vance, Vaiman and Andersen 2009). The positive expectations of this support method were, however, only partially realised as Jack's own lethargy resulted in him not taking full advantage of the opportunities such as German language training that the organisation was willing to support. Further, the concerns that he expressed regarding the wellbeing of his elderly parents in South Korea appeared to influence his general emotional situation. This indicates that the provision of training or mentoring itself is not a main driver in supporting an individual's integration and acculturation. It is also necessary to understand the individual and the challenges they are confronted with, which is a valuable benefit of the results of this research.

In addition, a spillover between the work and private environments was inferred in some of the cases, a situation that has been recognised in previous research (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al. 2004; 2005; Hechanova, Beehr and Christiansen 2003; Shaffer, Harrison and Gilley 1999). The main inference made by individuals was that a negative private environment had a negative effect on the work environment. Trailing spouses that had spent their initial phase in the country at home minding a small child indicated

relief at being able to work again and were also more willing to accept potential difficulties in the work environment.

### **Identify potential commonalities and differences in the sensemaking processes used by expatriates**

Considering the data at a higher level of abstraction (Holton 2010) in accordance with the narrative analysis paradigm (Polkinghorne 1995), the context and narrative resources forming the conceptual framework were realigned to create the narrative concepts arising from the interviews. The narratives described not only the circumstances of each of the assignments, but also provided an insight into the individual's understanding of their situation (Weick 1995), described in terms of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007), their own perception of the self (Owens and Samblanet 2013), demonstrated in terms of identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974), and their ability to adjust. In this context, psychological identity work was considered an integrated element of the research providing an important insight into the individuals' sensemaking (Weick 1995) and adaptation processes.

The narrative analysis resulted in the construction of seven response styles and narratives consisting of varying combinations and progressions of the context and narrative resources providing an indication of their influence on individuals' behaviour in their current and future assignments. The influence of the individual narratives on an individual's understanding of their self and their current environment resulted from a superposition of the influences of the individual context and narrative resources forming the contextual framework: these are the theoretical building bricks of the narratives. The research demonstrated that an individual's changing international experience influenced their behaviour during an assignment and subsequent moves, resulting in different narratives and responses occurring during an individual's career. Further, an individual's position on each of the context and narrative resources was also not constant throughout a narrative, demonstrating changes as the individual developed and gathered experience. This led to the concept of the individual demonstrating a primary narrative, comparable to a primary character, shadowed by a



secondary narrative that may become visible as a situation warrants. These changing narratives also influenced an individual's ability to make sense of their situation and palliate the resulting dissonant situation using psychological identity work to reduce the perceived acculturation stress as required. The narratives provided a mirror for the organisation and the individual to understand past assignment experience and to potentially obtain an indication of future assignment strategies the individual may implement.

The highest level of adaptation stress was confronted in the family story narrative. This category was demonstrated by two groups of individuals: the first group consisted of two Chinese females who had expatriated to Germany to follow their newly wed husbands, in order to fulfil family or social expectations (Chen and Li 2007); the second was a South Korean who had voluntarily moved to Germany, but now remained in the country to remain by his German wife. These individuals demonstrated an inner struggle between their considered need to remain with their partners/spouses in Germany and their latent wish to return to their home countries. Their negative position was magnified by two overriding factors: their poor command of the local language and the loss of their previous social support networks. Despite these deficits the individuals indicated a lack of motivation to either learn the local language or improve the quality of their local support networks. They responded to their situation by demonstrating resignation to their current situation and a longing to return home. As this group is represented only by Asian individuals, the question was raised whether this is a result of general cultural distance (Cao, Hirschi and Deller 2012; Church 1982; Manev and Stevenson 2001) or whether it is a negative reaction to the internally perceived cultural requirement per se. This question could not be adequately answered with the current results, but should be addressed in future research.

The interlopers also demonstrated difficulties integrating into the new environment, due to a combination of poor understanding of the local culture and poor language skills, which was mirrored in their support mechanisms that were centred on the home environment and language.

The story tellers were complex individuals who exercised excessive levels of identity work in order to continuously renegotiate their position and understanding of their abilities to enable them to feel comfortable with their situation. They generally appeared to be tolerant of ambiguity, on the one hand because they are oblivious to it, on the other hand because they negotiated their position to negate it.

The adopters were a complex group of individuals united by their ability to bracket out their own subjective biases and make a balanced decision of which host and home cultural elements best fit their personal situation. Their language ability enabled them to interact with locals to an acceptable level, which was mirrored in the quality of their social support networks that not only included international members, but also host country members. As a result of their positive prevailing mood and ability to adapt to the host environment, they generally considered their personal and professional situation in a positive light.

Escapists were intending to improve their position by distancing themselves from a negative event or situation which may either have been of a personal nature or related to their home national environment. Although the escapist was not necessarily actively and knowingly escaping from their situation, they consciously or unconsciously took advantage of circumstances that under normal conditions may not have enticed them to leave their home environment. The individuals demonstrated a latent need to feel accepted and to fit into their new environment, indicated in their flexibility in accepting perceived negative aspects of the new culture they were confronted with.

The transformer realised with delay that they had "gone native" and was unable to come to terms with this situation. Although they had benefitted from this position during the early stages of their stay in the new environment, they reached a point where they were no longer able to recognise themselves or function adequately in their home environment. They demonstrated both a good level of local language ability and empathy when interacting with persons from another culture. They experienced limited acculturation stress, but not due to a lack of adaptation, but due to

the realisation they had adapted further than they were able to accept. In order to alleviate the stress, the individuals could either relativize the level of adaptation via identity work or acquire the remaining skills to enable a bilingual, bicultural identity to develop and be accepted.

The mover demonstrated the highest level of international integration possible for an expatriate and became part of the local environment. Having “gone native”, they differed from the transformer as they were willing and able to accept their high degree of integration into the host environment. They were bilingual (or multilingual), bicultural with the ability to switch between the different cultural environments. The long-term perspective of this group was to remain in the country.

### **Identify the narrative structures and their function in sensemaking**

The plot and structure presented in the narratives enabled a classification according to the four literary archetypes, or mythoi, romance, comedy, tragedy or satire discussed by Frye (1951; 1957; 2006). Although this analysis resulted in a simplified understanding of an individual’s position, it may be considered to provide an initial insight into their being and possible reactions to an intended international assignment based on previous experience and current expectations. As individuals progress through the plot of their narratives the characteristics of the mythoi become apparent as do their implications for an individual’s sensemaking ability and adaptation strategies. For example; an individual embarking on an assignment with positive expectations and understanding of their situation may represent the romance archetype. If this individual is suddenly confronted with an unexpected “obstruction” for which they may not have an adequate schema to enable them to understand it and react, this will change the plot to a comedy, result in cognitive dissonance and the need for the individual to implement identity work in order to palliate (reconcile) the situation (remove the obstruction) reducing the acculturation stress perceived and allowing the “hero” to still achieve the intended goal, which in this case may be increased international experience or additional career capital.

### **8.1.2 New Insights**

#### **Identity work and moderator effect**

The research results demonstrated the influence of social identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) as a coping mechanism and moderator enabling individuals to palliate perceived dissonance and thereby alleviate stress within the host environment. Social identity work was used by individuals in multiple situations to increase their level of comfort or to justify previously made decisions. The self-perception of language ability provided one such example. Without using language competency tests, the researcher is reliant on the individual's reported language competency level, especially in a trait based questionnaire research method. The narrative, however, allowed an insight into the development of the individuals' understanding of their ability, which in particular cases demonstrated large discrepancies between the final reported language skills and the language competency indicated throughout the interview. Although some researchers may argue that this is an indicator of social desirability bias (Leite and Cooper 2010; Uziel 2010), the consistent renegotiation of the language ability in a "rhetoric review" (Howard 2000, p. 372) indicated the use of identity work (McInnes and Corlett 2012; Tajfel 1974) used to adjust the image projected in an attempt to reduce the level of acculturation stress sensed. Social identity work was also carried out to erect a façade or image of perception to "plaster over cracks" perceived in their own character. Liam indicated discomfort at his lack of third level education and during the interview employed high levels of social identity work to position himself in the best possible light, reinforcing his perception of his self, projected through his perceived importance, abilities and financial prowess. In both cases, the identity work was used to reduce the adaptation stress perceived and provide the individuals with the feeling of satisfaction in their current situations. The results of this research may, however, help sociologists better understand the mechanisms that may lead to an identity shift in international managers.

### **Interaction between prior experience, schemata, and cognitive dissonance**

The research findings indicated a plausible dependency between previous experience accumulated in the home environment or through previous international involvement, and an individual's expectations of the current assignment. The findings initially indicated that if the assignee had previously gathered negative experience, this negative experience reduced the level of the expectation in the new assignment.

Parallel consideration of the influence of schemata or cognitive maps indicated that the previous experience gathered by the individual formed the foundation for the development of specific schemata for international interactions of this type enabling the individuals to make predictions regarding expected behaviour and select appropriate responses (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 277; Harris 1994, p. 310). If the individuals experienced situations that did not comply with the expectations indicated by the schemata that had been implemented, this resulted in perceived cognitive dissonance for the individual. In order to reduce the cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) between the current schema and situation (Bartunek and Moch 1987, p. 486; Harris 1994, p. 311) the individual engaged in psychological work (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7) to adjust their own position or adapt the schemata (Bartunek and Moch 1987, p. 486; Harris 1994, p. 311). Adapting the schema to reduce the expectations of the assignment influenced the individual's sensemaking (Weick 1995) of the current situation, reduced the potential negative cognitive dissonance expected to be experienced. In addition an individual's willingness to engage in psychological work to reduce any further inconsistencies confronted was reduced (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7).

### **8.2 Implications for Theory**

This exploratory research has made a significant contribution to theory in the following areas:

1. The research addresses the gap in the acculturation literature by demonstrating the importance of identity work as a coping mechanism and moderator to palliate stress perceived within the host environment during acculturation.
2. The research addressed the gap in the literature regarding the understanding of how voluntary expatriates working in SMEs in Germany, perceive, make sense of and respond to their new cultural context.
3. The research has extended the theory regarding expatriate adjustment and individuals' reaction to it by demonstrating:
  - a. how the difficulties and dilemmas individuals face in the new environment arise from different combinations of eight context and narrative resources
  - b. how they draw on these resources to create their identity forming narratives
  - c. how different combinations of these resources lead to seven different narratives
  - d. how the narratives exhibit structures drawn from Frye's four literature archetypes or mythoi.
4. The research contributed to the extension of research methods, demonstrating the benefit of retrospective narratives to investigate sensemaking activities and the cultural adaptation of individuals in organisations over standard questionnaires and standardised interviews. The rich data obtained provided the researcher with a more holistic understanding of the individual, his or her sensemaking processes and the overarching themes and theories.

### **8.3 Reflection**

This section reflects on the research and my personal development during this period.

## **Research Development**

Based on my previous knowledge as a lecturer, I was intent not to simply follow the traditional path of trait oriented research; I was interested to learn which factors were affecting the adaptation processes today. As a result, the initial intention was to carry out mixed methods research: the first element was intended to be a qualitative study to determine the new set of influencing factors; the second element was to have been a quantitative study to investigate the general applicability of the factors across a large sample. The quality and richness of the data obtained from the open interviews surprised me and it was decided to concentrate on understanding this data, rendering the quantitative research obsolete. Thinking back, I consider this a very good decision and feel that the implemented methodology and methods enabled rich valuable data to be obtained and both academic and business understanding to be advanced.

All of the coding and analysis was carried out manually using Mindmaps, Microsoft Excel and hand collation of data; QSR Nvivo was only used to manage the transcripts. This was adequate for this research project, because it allowed me to become intimate with the data, but in future I would probably consider implementing a CAQDAS programme such as QSR NVivo at a much earlier stage in the research, not only using it to administer the transcripts, but also as a central data depository, for coding and for analysis.

## **Personal Development**

The completion of the research and thesis was an exciting, enjoyable journey with many highs and lows. To say that I am the same person that started out on this journey would not be true.

Having embarked on this journey I quickly became aware of the potential enormity of the project and the dangers of sinking in the quagmire of literature confronted in search of all things new and interesting. As a born perfectionist, my first lesson learned was that this was not going to happen; I would have to accept that I could not know everything about every topic and there was no point in chasing all potential interesting leads to their

roots in the dark ages of scholarly research. Pareto had to become my friend.

Although I had written many papers and business documents in the past, I quickly realised that writing a PhD thesis was a new challenge with its own vocabulary and expectations of the author. I had to learn to tighten up my writing style and ensure that the vocabulary used was consistent with the methodology implemented and the expectations of the academic audience. Revisiting the work I wrote in the initial phase of the research, it now feels as if two different people had written the text, a development I am pleased to have been able to make.

## **8.4 Limits**

The limits of the research lie in the fact that it is a cross-sectional analysis of a limited research framework within one European country. The resulting substantive theories are therefore grounded in the data from which they were developed.

These limits do not, however, detract from the quality of the results and their contribution to theory and business application. They provide a boundary for this exploratory research and a platform from which future research projects can be launched.

## **8.5 Suggestion for Future Research**

The suggestions for future research are organised into two categories: those projects adding further detail to the current research; and those projects addressing new topics.

### ***8.5.1 Projects adding further detail***

**What effect does cognitive dissonance and identity work have on the sensemaking and assignment satisfaction of voluntary assignees in European SMEs?**

This would entail setting up similar research projects in multiple locations within Europe with the aim of moving the substantive theory toward a



formal theory, for sensemaking and adaptation processes within SMEs in Europe.

Similar projects could also be set up in other countries in other continents to determine the generalizability of the theory.

**What effect does the age of entry on an international assignment have on an individual's sensemaking ability?**

Does the age of the individuals when embarking on their first international venture have an effect on their adaptation and does it influence their behaviour and expectations. As part of this study one could also consider whether there is a correlation between the country or origin, the age of entry and the adaptation process.

**What effect does the size of the SME have on an individual's sensemaking ability?**

Does the size of the SME (micro, small, medium sized) have an effect on individuals' adaptation processes, and does it influence their behaviour and expectations.

**8.5.2 Projects addressing new topics**

**How do the sensemaking and narrative formation processes of self-initiated expatriates in SMEs compare with those of self-initiated expatriates in other organisational forms?**

This exploratory research project was not designed to compare the sensemaking and narrative formation processes of self-initiated expatriates in SMEs and other organisational forms such as large multinationals or non-for-profit organisations. Although the fact that the individual was the centre of attention for this research may allow the hypothesis that similar sensemaking processes will be applied in other organisational forms, data is not available to allow this to be investigated. In addition, the question has to be raised whether individuals entering different organisational forms have different expectations on the company and their positions that may lead to different forms of sensemaking and narrative formation. If so, how does this

influence their adaptation process?

**Is there a relationship between multiple non-consecutive assignments in a country and the adaptation process?**

If someone moves to the same country for multiple assignments over a longer period of time, with longer gaps between assignments, does the adaptation process start over or are the individuals able to build on the previous experience. This is particularly interesting if the assignments are in different areas of the country demonstrating discrete sub-cultures; returning to a small village rather than a major town; returning with a family rather than as a single.

**What effect does prior international experience have on a person's approach to and result of later international assignments?**

This would initially be a cross-sectional study to determine initial effects and then extended to a long-term study following subjects across multiple assignments. The project should differentiate between short-term and long-term assignments to determine whether the approach and adaptation demonstrates similarities/differences.

**What constitutes a voluntary move?**

At what point can a move to a foreign environment be considered voluntary? Are any moves really voluntary? If a move is made for career advancement does that make it voluntary or is it forced, due to the fear of negative effects on their career if the move is not made. If a move is made to be with a spouse or partner is it voluntary or is it a situation that may end up being used as a "weapon" in the case of assignment difficulties especially for the following spouse. This question can be extended to the reasons for staying in the country. The initial move may have been voluntary, but the individual may now consider themselves trapped, perhaps due to family and children that are not willing or able to make the move back to the original home country.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

This research started out to understand how voluntary expatriates, who work in SMEs in Germany, perceive, make sense of and respond to their new cultural context. This theory building research has successfully addressed this topic providing academics and practitioners with a deeper understanding of individuals' sensemaking processes and possible responses to international assignments settings providing both a foundation for further research and a basis for German SMEs to reconsider their selection and management processes for international assignees.

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## **APPENDICES**

## **Appendix 1 Cultural Understanding – Additional Discussion**

### **Global Culture**

Two paradigms of global culture are evident in the literature. The first considers global culture as a homogeneous world culture similar to the model of national cultures (Friedman 2006). There is evidence that globalisation may be affecting peoples' norms, values and behaviours as the liberalisation of markets allows access to international companies, global brands, unfamiliar products and new values (Bird and Stevens 2003, pp. 397-399; Cavusgil, Knight and Riesenberger 2012, pp. 86-87). Although this may at first be considered a potential indicator for the homogenisation of cultures, the majority of evidence used to support this position lies above the deeper cultural level of norms and values (Hofstede 2001, p. 393; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, pp. 21-22): Fashion and language (symbols); TV shows and movies (heroes); sports and leisure activities (rituals). Consideration of the deeper, more subtle cultural levels, makes the cultural distance between nations, however, more evident (Ghemawat 2001, pp. 140-141). Further, there is equally strong evidence of the increasing pressure for nations to preserve political and economic sovereignty as well as cultural identity and integrity (Schneider, Barsoux and Stahl 2014, p. 6): during the 2014 European elections, nationalist, right-wing parties promoting anti-immigration policies made sizable gains (McDonald-Gibson and Lichfield 2014); the United Kingdom considers exiting from the EU (James 2014); the implementation of legislation in countries such as Belgium and France to protect national culture; smaller cultural groups such as the Basques in Spain and the Scottish in Great Britain are fighting for independence in an attempt to retain their national identity. As stated by Arnett (2002, p. 779), cultural diversity will continue to exist as *"some people will continue to choose to become part of a self-selected culture that provides more meaning and structure than the global culture"*.

The second paradigm, also applied in this research, is typified by Tomlinson (1999, p. 71) who, reflecting on Hannerz' (1990, p. 237) considerations of "world culture", used a broader view of "global culture" describing it as

consisting of a complex connectivity, the networking of cultural practices and experiences across the world. Bird and Stevens (2003, p. 397) considered that *"an identifiable and homogeneous group is emerging at least within the world business community. This group neither shares a common geographic location, socioeconomic class, religion, native language nor a national culture. Yet they share a common set of values, attitudes, norms, language and behaviours"*. Improvements in information and communication technologies provided individuals worldwide with access to news, advertising, movies, music and lifestyle information from the "advanced" western economies (Bird and Stevens 2003, p. 399; Cavusgil, Knight and Riesenberger 2012, p. 87; Schneider, Barsoux and Stahl 2014, p. 7) and enabled them to negotiate restrictions imposed in the physical world (Bird and Stevens 2003, p. 399). In the same manner, the internet allowed individuals to upload "local" content and provide access to it globally, potentially fostering diversity rather than the homogenisation of a global culture (Schneider, Barsoux and Stahl 2014, p. 7). Although technology improved rapidly in the last decades and the internet provided access to foreign ideas and lifestyles, it has not necessarily resulted in individuals turning their backs on their national culture (Wheeler 1998, p. 374). National culture may experience a degree of erosion, but this does not necessarily mean that the culture is being erased (Arnett 2002, p. 778; Bird and Stevens 2003, p. 406) as cultures change only slowly (Gannon 1994, p. 6).

## **National Culture**

Two cultural paradigms are presented in the literature regarding national culture. The first is the *"bipolar paradigm"* (Fang 2006, p. 71) represented in the traditional consideration of culture, typical of the work of Hofstede (1980), Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997), Hall (1973; 1983; 1989), and House et al. (2004). In this paradigm, culture is considered a stable and static entity, in which cultures are compared based on linear cultural dimensions such as Hofstede's (2001, pp. 79-143) Power Distance and Hall's (1989, pp. 105-116) High and Low Context. This paradigm originated at a time in which international travel and global business was not commonplace and there was no internet to provide access to distant



cultures. It was also a time in which the cross-border movement of workers was not commonplace and country borders were strongly protected. This allowed a "pigeon holing" of national cultures and the assumption of stability in the national cultures on which international cultural enclaves were not considered to have a major influence. The second paradigm, also applied in this research, considers culture as a dynamic entity in which each cultural level influences the levels above and below it (Erez and Gati 2004, p. 587). In this paradigm, national cultures are considered as *"living organisms, not time-free 'fossils' ... having a life of [their] own"* (Fang 2006, pp. 81-82) as implied by Schein (2009, p. 18) who considered that *"whenever a group has enough common experience, a culture begins to form"*. The concept of the multicultural paradigm is also present in the global-culture considerations of Arnett (2002, p. 777), and Bird and Stevens (2003, p. 397) who purported that as a result of globalisation individuals have developed bicultural identities consisting in part of their local identity and in part of a global identity resulting from an awareness of their relation to the global culture. These two cultural identities experience significant cultural *"cross-pollination"* (Bird and Stevens 2003, p. 403) as described by the dynamic top-down-bottom-up relationships of Erez and Gati (2004, p. 588), and Arnett (2002, p. 778). The advances in globalisation and international movement, therefore, enable the formation of many new groups and differing levels of both nations and organisations.

Since its conception in the cultural anthropology of the early twentieth century (Blumenthal 1940; Haring 1949; Kluckhohn 1951; Mead 1937; Tylor 1924; Young 1939), cultural research developed into a field of management research, aimed at assisting managers to understand how differing groups would behave in business situations. Early researchers of culture faced the difficulty of developing an easily understood definition that at the same time would satisfy the positivistic scientific requirements of the time (Haring 1949; Moore 1952). The growing interest in cultural research and the intangibility and limited consensus surrounding the concept of culture was demonstrated already in 1952 by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, pp. 43-55) who in their review of literature cited 164 different definitions of "culture" (Selmer, Chiu and Shenkar 2007, p. 151).

In an attempt to integrate the common models of national culture Nardon and Steers (2009) compared the models of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Hofstede (1980; 1981), Hall (1973; 1983), Hall and Hall (1990a), Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997), Schwarz (1994) and the GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organisational Behaviour Effectiveness) studies (House et al. 2004) to determine commonalities. The resulting five principle themes, which they designated “*core cultural dimensions [to] reflect their centrality and commonality in cross-cultural research*” are described in Fig. A 1.

<b>Core Cultural Dimensions</b>	<b>Focus of Dimensions</b>
Hierarchy-Equality	Power distribution in organisations and society
Individualism-Collectivism	Role of individuals and groups in social relationships
Mastery-Harmony	Relationship with the natural and social environment
Monochronism-Polychronism	Organisation and utilisation of time
Universalism-Particularism	Relative importance of rules vs. relationships in behavioural control

Fig. A 1: Core Cultural Dimensions  
(Nardon and Steers 2009, p. 10)

Despite the fact that the early cross-cultural management research, in particular the work of Hofstede, is not without its critics (Fang 2003; McSweeney 2002; Signorini, Wiesemes and Murphy 2009; Williamson 2002), this work paved the way for modern research.

## **Organisational Culture**

The literature does not provide a clear, consistent definition of organisational culture, a problem exacerbated by the introduction and inconsistent use of the term corporate culture. Some researchers used corporate culture and organisational culture synonymously (Meschi and Roger 1994; Smircich 1983) while others used corporate culture as an extension of organisational culture when considering large, multinational organisations (Schneider 1988).

Schein (1990, p. 111) considered the concept of organisational culture and postulated that one of the main problems in defining it lay in the fact that the concept of the "organisation" was in itself ambiguous. His considerations founded on the fact that culture can only form if "*a given set of people has had enough stability and common history*". Organisational culture, in a similar manner to national culture, can also be considered a descriptive framework of its members' attitudes, emphasising their shared cognitive approaches to reality enabling one entity to be distinguished from another (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 74). Hofstede (Hofstede 2001, p. 393; Hofstede et al. 1990, p. 286; Hofstede and Hofstede 2005, p. 282) considered organisational or corporate culture constructs that are (1) holistic, (2) historically influenced, (3) related to anthropological concepts, (4) socially constructed, (5) soft, and (6) relatively stable and difficult to change. An often quoted definition of organisational culture is provided by Schein (1990, p. 111) who considered it:

*a pattern of basic assumptions, invented, discovered or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaption and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore is to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems.*

In order to incorporate the influence of subcultural conflict and shifting patterns of signification, legitimation and domination in shaping organisational culture, Bloor and Dawson (1994, p. 279) considered organisational culture as the dynamic outcome of the interacting and nested factors: societal culture (norms, beliefs, values, lifestyle, social expectations), organisational environment (primary task and market environment), historical context (founder's vision, values, beliefs as well as past markets, structures, technology), which in turn shape the operating system and the cultural system. They questioned whether an organisation can actually exhibit an homogeneous organisational culture, purporting that this would rather be the exception than the rule, especially for large, complex organisations.

Martin (2002, p. 94) and Meyerson and Martin (1987) considered three perspectives of organisational culture: the integrative perspective, the differentiation perspective, and the fragmentation perspective. The integrative perspective concentrates on those cultural elements demonstrating a consistent interpretation across the organisation and excludes all ambiguities. The differentiation perspective centres on cultural elements demonstrating inconsistent interpretation, whereby consensus may exist at lower level subcultures limiting ambiguity to the intersections between the subcultures. The fragmentation perspective centres on ambiguity rather than clarity, considering consensus as transient and issue specific and ambiguity as a *"normal, salient and inescapable part of organisational functioning in the contemporary world"* (Martin 2002, p. 105). Martin (2002, p. 94) purported that, although researchers generally restricted their projects to one or two of the perspectives, they are in fact complimentary, for example, the integration perspective is blind to ambiguities, and the fragmentation and differentiation perspectives are blind to the commonalities of the members (Martin 2002, p. 120).

Traditional concepts of organisational culture focused on the inside of an organisation, separated from the societal environment in which it is embedded (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 85) rather than an interactive open system in which the environment, the organisation and its members coexist and interact. Closer consideration of the organisational culture literature indicates, however, three main areas of interest: 1. the effect of the national culture on the organisational culture; 2. the effect of the objective categorisation of the bodies under consideration (etic perspective of cultural research – organisation, department, job category etc.); 3. the effect of the individuals' sensemaking of the situation.

#### *Effect of National Culture*

Using the word culture in reference to both nations and organisations infers that both are identical phenomena, but this is incorrect (Hofstede 2001, p. 393): A nation is not an organisation, and the two types of culture are of different kinds. Although culture would manifest itself in both cases at the levels of (i) observable artefacts; (ii) values, and (iii) basic underlying

assumption (Schein 1990, p. 111), the content of these three levels would differ between the national and organisational cultures.

Hofstede (2001, p. 391) considered that organisational and national cultures were distinct, but complementary entities representing different levels of aggregation. According to Hofstede:

*organisational cultures distinguish organisations while holding their national environments constant; national cultures distinguish nations while holding organisational contexts constant, or at least as constant as possible*

He postulated that at the national level the cultural differences reside mostly in the values and less in practices: at the organisational level the differences reside in practices and less in values (Hofstede 2001, p. 394; Hofstede and Hofstede 2005, pp. 284-285). He advanced that this may be the result of an individual's values, which are the "*cognitive-emotional frameworks underlying self-perception and social interaction*" (Hitlin 2011, p. 519), already being firmly programmed by the age of 10, whereas organisational practices are learned through socialisation at work, in general, during adulthood. This position is partially supported by Dauber, Fink and Yolles (2012, p. 3) who stated that organisational values are considerably different from national and societal values, being affected by societal values, organisational members (personality, value preferences), and their tasks.

The degree of influence of national culture on organisational culture is, however, not conclusive. Nelson and Gopalan (2003) compared the national and organisational cultures of India, Brazil, and the United States and concluded that the numerical majority of cases in all three countries appeared to embrace some national values while rejecting others (Nelson and Gopalan 2003, p. 1135). Gerhart (2009, p. 255) concluded that his analysis of empirical evidence did not support a strong role of national culture as a constraint on organisational culture. He suggested that organisations may "*have more discretion in choosing whether to localise or standardise organisational culture and related management practices*" than

is offered by traditional literature.

### *Objective Categorisation and Boundaries*

The term organisational culture is misleading as it infers that the boundaries of the organisation and the culture are identical (Martin 2002, p. 319), which even in small organisations is not necessarily true. Although organisational studies traditionally considered culture as relating to a specific location, organisation, career level, job or similar, there are always employees in organisations that are not able to interact regularly and therefore, are not able to fully partake in the organisational culture; this situation is exacerbated in large corporations, multinational organisations or the internet, where the concept of disembodied culture is visible and extreme (Martin 2002, pp. 320-321). Considering boundaries based on jobs or positions is problematic, as it ignores the individual involved and their influence (Martin 2002, p. 323); promotions, job-hopping, or border-crossing positions may all influence how an individual may make sense of a situation and how they carry out their job.

As globalisation moves countries closer together, workforces become more diverse, forcing organisations to address the accompanying challenges posed by differences in culture, race, nationality and ethnicity (Jackson, Joshi and Erhardt 2003; Stahl et al. 2010; Triandis 2003, p. 486; van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, p. 516; Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 78). In addition, there is a growing need for them to increase the cultural awareness of their domestic employees in an attempt to improve their ability to interact with colleagues and partners from diverse cultural backgrounds (Littrell et al. 2006, p. 236; Ronen 1989, p. 417). A particular case of internationalisation is demonstrated within the European Union with its policy of free movement of workers (Conference of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States 1957; 2012) and increased influx of immigrant workers confronting organisations with increasing diversity challenges (Triandafyllidou 2012).

The internationalisation of organisations is not the only source of diversification however, as "*the effects of diversity can result from any*

*attribute people use to tell themselves that another person is different"*  
(Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 81).

This general understanding is important as in order for an individual to demonstrate a negative bias (dislike or discrimination) towards an outgroup or to demonstrate a favourable bias (increased favour, trust, cooperation) towards an ingroup (Brewer 1979, p. 319; Mannix and Neale 2005, p. 41; van Knippenberg, De Dreu and Homan 2004, p. 1009) they first have to understand who they are and have acquired a clear sense of belonging to their own distinct ingroup (Tajfel 1974, p. 66). In diverse work-groups this process may be complicated by the fact that individuals may not only distinguish one main ingroup, but may additionally distinguish various subgroups (van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, pp. 517-518). A fundamental characteristic of person perception and categorisation is that people react to the first available and meaningful information to categorise others (Fiske and Neuberg 1990; Rakić, Steffens and Mummendey 2011, p. 16). One way in which social groups may be perceived and categorised is according to their particular distinct language or speech styles (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, pp. 325-327; Rakić, Steffens and Mummendey 2011, pp. 24-25), which in the case of ethnic groups may take the form of distinct separate languages, dialects of the language spoken or the "ethnic speech style". Auditory categorisation may in fact take priority over visual category information (Rakić, Steffens and Mummendey 2011, p. 24). Speech styles not only constitute indicators of ethnic identity, but are also useful catalysts to enable intergroup comparisons to be made on other non-linguistic dimensions (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, p. 329).

Jackson and Ruderman (1995, p. 3) collated the typologies previously used in various laboratory and field research projects to classify dimensions of diversity into three broad categories, which have played a central role in many laboratory and field research projects investigating the effects of diversity on workgroups (Jackson, Joshi and Erhardt 2003; Jackson and Ruderman 1995, p. 3; van Dijk, van Engen and van Knippenberg 2012; van Knippenberg, De Dreu and Homan 2004, p. 1008; Williams and O'Reilly 1998): demographic diversity, based on factors such as gender, ethnicity age etc.; psychological diversity, based on values, beliefs, knowledge etc.;

and organisational diversity based on tenure, occupation, hierarchical level etc., which may contribute in varying combinations to the overall diversity of teams. Taking a more work oriented view of categorisation, Van Knippenberg and Schippers (2007, p. 519) summarised the previously used typologies into the three categories: demographic diversity (Jackson and Ruderman 1995) consistent with readily observable, less job-related demographic attributes such as gender, race, ethnicity and age; less easily discernible, more job-related attributes such as differences in education or functional background (Milliken and Martins 1996; Pelled, Eisenhardt and Xin 1999; Schneider and Northcraft 1999; Tsui, Egan and O'Reilly 1992); less visible, but potentially job-oriented factors such as differences in personality, attitudes and values (Bowers, Pharmer and Salas 2000; Harrison, Price and Bell 1998; Jehn, Northcraft and Neale 1999).

In a similar manner Harrison and Klein (2007, p. 1200) considered that an organisational unit may not be diverse per se, but that it may be diverse with regard to specific features. They proposed that diversity within a unit may be indicative of three categories of diversity (Harrison and Klein 2007, p. 1203; Klein and Harrison 2007, p. 27): separation, the composition of differences in lateral position or opinion among unit members, primarily of value, belief or attitude; variety, the composition of differences in kind, source or category of relevant knowledge or experience among unit members; and disparity, the composition of vertical differences in proportion of socially valued assets or resources held among unit members. Although they considered the three diversity types to be fundamentally distinct and associated with different outcomes (Harrison and Klein 2007, p. 1207) they also considered that they may occur concurrently and in some cases, be causally related, and have joint consequences. in some units (Harrison and Klein 2007, p. 1220).

These categorisations not only represent different perspectives regarding diversity, but are also simplifications as not all group process variables operate independently of one another (Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 116) and the demographic effects may be moderated by variables such as culture, technology and task design. The increased implementation of cross-functional teams of diverse employees emphasises the importance for



management to understand the effects of diversity (Baard, Rench and Kozlowski 2014, p. 49; Oerlemans and Peeters 2010, p. 460; Thatcher and Patel 2011, p. 1119; van Knippenberg, van Ginkel and Homan 2013, p. 183) and their role in managing such workgroups.

Williams and O'Reilly (1998, pp. 83-86) identified two main traditions in research on work-group diversity and performance: the social categorisation perspective and the information decision-making perspective. According to Tajfel (1974, p. 69) social categorisation is the "*grouping of persons in a manner which is meaningful to the subject*" and forms the basis for their attitudes and behaviours towards others. It enables individuals to define their own position in society by distinguishing between similar ingroup members and dissimilar outgroup members (Tajfel 1974, p. 71; van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, p. 517). Social categorisation theory differs from social identity theory (Tajfel 1974), which considers intergroup and interpersonal dynamics as opposite ends of a bipolar spectrum, in that it considers self-categorisation occurring at three different levels (Brewer 1995, p. 49; Turner and Reynolds 2012, p. 403): the superordinate level of the *human identity* at which the individual considers themselves as a human being and compares themselves with other living beings; the intermediate level of the *social identity* at which the individual considers his or her membership to a social ingroup; the subordinate or interpersonal level of the *personal identity* where each individual compares themselves with other unique individuals. Brewer (1995, pp. 49-50) stated that although individuals may be interdependent at the superordinate level, interdependences within the subgroups are more salient than those between the subgroups resulting in ingroup-outgroup distinctions.

The social categorisation perspective is complemented by the similarity/attraction perspective (Linville and Jones 1980; Riordan and Shore 1997, p. 343; Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 110), which focusses on interpersonal similarity, primarily in attitudes and values, as determinants of interpersonal attraction (Byrne 1971). The self-categorisation theory proposes that the salience of social categorisation is a function of three factors: comparative fit, normative fit and cognitive accessibility (Turner 1987; van Knippenberg et al. 2011, pp. 311-312; van Knippenberg, De

Dreu and Homan 2004, p. 1010). The more a category results in a high within-group similarity and high between-category differences, the higher is its comparative fit and the more likely the categorisation is to be salient (van Knippenberg, De Dreu and Homan 2004, p. 1014). Earley and Mosakowski (2000, pp. 46-47) stated that in groups with three or more subgroups, it becomes difficult for strong subgroups to form, which facilitates the formation of a hybrid culture generated by the members' perception of the self and others. In groups consisting of two nationalities, however, nationality was more salient, as individuals are able to identify more strongly with their sub-groups, which may be considered in terms of a strong demographic faultline in the group.

The information/decision-making perspective emphasises the positive effects of work group diversity (van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, p. 518). It considers diverse groups as possessing a broader range of task-relevant knowledge, skills and abilities, as well as members with different opinions and perspectives that may help solve complex problems or lead to greater creativity and innovation performance (van Dick et al. 2008, p. 1466; van Knippenberg, De Dreu and Homan 2004, p. 1009).

Considering previous research and theory unable to satisfactorily integrate the two perspectives van Knippenberg, De Dreu and Homan (2004, p. 1009) proposed the categorisation-elaboration model. With the effect of diversity on work group performance at the centre of their analysis, they considered that the inconsistencies of the results of previous research were based on four factors and constructed eight propositions (van Knippenberg, De Dreu and Homan 2004, pp. 1011-1018) forming the basis of the categorisation elaboration model. The propositions are aimed at providing a more process-oriented approach to research on work-group diversity to enable an improved understanding of the effects diversity can have.

With its conceptual foundation in social identity theory (Tajfel 1974), self-categorisation theory (Turner 1982; 1984) and the similarity-attraction paradigm (Byrne 1971), relational demography proposes that individuals compare their own demographic characteristics with those of others to determine the degree of similarity to the composition of the unit (Chatman

and Flynn 2001; Chattopadhyay, Tluchowska and George 2004; Tsui, Egan and O'Reilly 1992, pp. 550-554; Tsui and O'Reilly 1989) or to their leader (Tsui, Porter and Egan 2002). The level of similarity perceived rather than the presence of absolute demographic characteristics is proposed to affect work-related attitudes and behaviours of the individual and the group.

Lau and Murnighan (1998, p. 325) introduced the concept of diversity "faultlines" or as Thatcher and Patel (2011, p. 1120) considered them, latent or perceived faultlines, to refer to hypothetical dividing lines that subdivide a group based on differing combinations of correlated dimensions of diversity. Diverting from traditional diversity research, the faultline theory considers individuals as a complex collection of differing attributes that allow them to belong to various sub-groups within a particular environment, implying the possibility of both between-group differences and within-group similarity (Bezrukova et al. 2009; Homan et al. 2007; Molleman 2005; Thatcher and Patel 2011; 2012; van Knippenberg et al. 2011). The attributes considered may be more perceivable, less task oriented social attributes such as race, ethnicity, nationality, age, gender or more task related informational attributes such as work and educational experience (Bezrukova et al. 2009, p. 37; Thatcher and Patel 2011, p. 1126). The stronger the diversity faultline, the more likely is the formation of subcategories within the group, which in turn increases the possibility of disruptions to the functioning of the group as a whole (van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, p. 523). Bezrukova et al. (2009, p. 44) differentiated between the results obtained for social category based faultlines and information-based faultlines, stating that the strength of social category faultlines was negatively associated with group performance, but that this negative association could not be confirmed for information-based faultlines. Bezrukova et al. (2009, p. 38) considered that not only the faultline strength, but also the faultline distance, the extent to which subgroups diverge, has to be considered to obtain the true effect of faultlines on diverse groups. Their research indicated that greater faultline distance increased the negative effect of both strong social category faultlines and information-based faultlines in diverse groups (Bezrukova et al. 2009, pp. 44-45). Groups with crosscutting dimensions of diversity (e.g.

ethnic minority member in informational majority) were found to benefit from more favourable group processes and to outperform homogeneous and faultline groups (Phillips et al. 2004, p. 507; Sawyer, Houlette and Yeagley 2006, p. 12). The effect of faultlines can potentially be moderated by the strength of the individuals' level of identification with their groups, and may result in groups with a high level of group identification and strong faultlines demonstrating higher levels of performance than compatible groups with a low level of group identification (Bezrukova et al. 2009, p. 46; Jetten, Spears and Postmes 2004, p. 875). Li and Hambrick (2005, p. 808) found that a faultline index was negatively related to self-rated group performance and that this relationship was mediated by relational conflict and behavioural integration. Lau and Murnighan (2005) considered that faultlines are associated with less positive relationships of communication between subgroups with learning, psychological safety, group satisfaction, and expected group performance. They also observed that faultlines were associated with lower relational conflict, and higher satisfaction and psychological safety. Phillips et al. (2004) found that a faultline involving a single dissimilar member resulted in better decision-making performance than did a situation in which single-member dissimilarity and informational differences crosscut each other (van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007, p. 523).

This infers that objective assessment criteria should be supplemented with more subjective assessments (Martin 2002, p. 327) allowing for varying intensity of participation in culture.

#### *Individual's Sensemaking*

Adler and Jelinek (1986, p. 82) differentiated between an organisational culture perspective, in which "*top managers can create, maintain, and change the culture of an organisation*", and a cross-culture perspective of organisational culture, which accepts the importance and influence of cultural differences and assigns them a greater role in affecting beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 83). The organisational culture perspective severs the linkages between the environment, the organisation and the individuals involved, implicating that individuals enter

an organisation tabula rasa (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 83). Individuals involved in the organisation, including the managers, however, are not isolated from external roles, influences and culture and enter the organisation with much social conditioning and prior culture already in place (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 86), demonstrating a major weakness of this perspective. This does not mean that managers cannot influence organisational culture, but under adequate consideration of the societal culture, can create an organisational culture, which benefits from the multiple cultures involved (Adler and Jelinek 1986, p. 87).

The interplay between the individual and the organisation is further emphasised in the definition of organisational culture proposed by Bloor and Dawson (1994, p. 276) who considered it:

*a patterned system of perceptions, meanings, and beliefs  
about the organisation which facilitates sense-making  
amongst a group of people sharing common experiences and  
guides individual behaviour at work*

This interaction is evidenced in the processes of signification, legitimation, and domination used to accommodate new members into existing organisational structures (Giddens 1979, see Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 278). Signification refers to the way in which interpretive schemata are learnt through the process of socialisation, and consolidated or redefined through interaction with other organisational members. Individuals' schemata become similar as a result of shared experiences and shared exposure to social cues regarding others' constructions of reality (Harris 1994, p. 313). Legitimation and domination refer to the political process by which certain values, interests, and goals become part of the organisational culture (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 278). These previously defined schemata or cognitive maps (see section 2.8 Sensemaking) are then used by the individuals entering new organisations to enable them to make predictions regarding events within the organisation and select appropriate responses (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 277; Harris 1994, p. 310).

Earley and Mosakowski (2000, pp. 26-27) considered that team member

characteristics influence the emergence of a shared culture in two general ways: First, team members' personal characteristics shape their expectations of appropriate interaction rules, group efficacy beliefs, and group identity. Second, these personal characteristics affect team members' expectations of how other members should act within the team. Earley and Mosakowski (2000, p. 45) reported that nationality is a primary status-determining characteristic within transnational teams, although they also questioned which auxiliary traits are also involved and how they vary by cultural background.

One way in which groups may be compared with one another is with regard to their entitativity (Campbell 1958, p. 17) or the degree to which they are perceived as coherent entities (Lickel et al. 2000, p. 224). Lickel et al. (2000, pp. 241-242) reported that perception of interaction, common goals, common outcomes, group-member similarity, and importance of the group are strongly intercorrelated and are all highly correlated with perceptions of entitativity. The context in which the group is perceived may, however, influence an individual's perception of the group member's characteristics (Lickel et al. 2000, pp. 241-242) and which differences are likely to be salient and/or task-related (Triandis 1995a, pp. 225-230; Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 91). Individuals may override attitudes and behaviours they consider to be biased (Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 112), thus improving group functioning and performance; if the differences are considered valuable to group functioning, individuals may respond more positively to diverse groups than to homogeneous groups (van Knippenberg, De Dreu and Homan 2004, p. 1019).

In organisational settings, context is inescapable and important as it is the environment in which organisations exist and provides the purpose, resources, social cues, norms, and meanings that shape behaviour (Jackson, Joshi and Erhardt 2003, p. 813). In such circumstances individual demographic variables may not adequately reflect the full meaning and impact of diversity (Riordan and Shore 1997, p. 342). Combinations of interactions among a person's social context and social identity may result in complex effects (Chatman et al. 1998) resulting in the same individual demographic characteristics yielding different work-related attitudes in

different social contexts (Riordan and Shore 1997, p. 342). In addition, the context of the period and the situation (e.g. laboratory or field) in which research was conducted should also be considered to avoid inappropriately generalising findings that may no longer be relevant (Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 109).

### **Professional Culture**

Professional culture "*provides a set of cultural values and practices which are accommodated into the culture of organisations*" (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 283). Each professional has a unique culture, including values, beliefs, attitudes, customs and behaviours (Hall 2005, p. p188), which exists nested within the environmental and organisational culture. The possession of unique, socially valued and scarce knowledge and skills together with a common professional code fosters group cohesion (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 283) and provides a point of professional reference for group members. The professional group then "*takes control of the occupation ... limits the number and type of entrants ... to protect its market niche*" (Hall 2005, p. 189). Whether a professional joins an existing professional group or is a lone professional within an organisation, the effects of the organisational culture influence the individuals interpretation and understanding of particular situations (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 287).

The professional culture can be considered to fulfil the requirements of group culture (Erez and Gati 2004, p. 588) as members have a shared learning orientation, understanding of situations and interpersonal support and trust reciprocally influencing both the organisational culture and individual culture rather than replacing them or being replaced by them (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 287).

### **Individual Perspective**

The individual, located at the centre of the dynamic cultural model (Erez and Gati 2004), was considered to reflect the "*cultural values as they are represented in the self*". Throughout their lives, individuals accumulate positive and negative experience that, in the form of schemata or cognitive maps (Abelson 1981; Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 277; Fiske and Taylor

1991, p. 98; Harris 1994, p. 310), enable them to make sense of particular events (Weick 1995, pp. 1-16) and select appropriate responses (Bloor and Dawson 1994, p. 277; Harris 1994, p. 310). The value shaping experiences are not only a result of an individual's nationality, ethnicity, or family interaction, but also factors such as their religion and perceived socio economic value (social class) (Cohen 2009, p. 195; Saroglou and Cohen 2011, p. 1310; Tarakeshwar, Stanton and Pargament 2003, p. 381), factors that not only influence national culture, but are influenced by it. It can be inferred, therefore, that an individual's psychological functioning at any particular time, consists of a "*pooling of influences of these many forms of cultural identity*" (Cohen 2009, p. 200). This would further imply that due to the individual's membership to these differing contextual groups they can never be considered as mono-cultural (Cohen 2009, p. 197; Snibbe and Markus 2005, p. 704).

An individual's perception of another culture and individuals can be negatively influenced by ethnocentrism, by which they evaluate others with reference to their own presumably superior culture (Bodley 1994, p. 10; Sumner 1906, pp. 12-13). Although ethnocentricity is considered a natural filter provided by our own cultural programming (Triandis 1995b, p. 145) and a reaction to protect "our own" from what might be considered as hostile outsiders, it no longer suits well in today's world (Brislin 1993, p. 39). A paradigm shift is required toward a position of cultural relativism (ethnorelativism) in which it is accepted and understood that other cultures have intrinsic worth and can only be evaluated, or understood in their own terms (Broom et al. 1954, pp. 983-984; Paige and Martin 1996, p. 46; Triandis 2007, pp. 66-67) implying that it is inappropriate to apply local cultural expectations to non-nationals. The resulting multiculturalism has been suggested to lead to intolerant minorities and increased concern within the host nation that their own rights will be reduced (Triandafyllidou 2012, p. 69).

People in different countries differ in the extent to which they experience the difficulties in intergroup relations with large, monolingual, ethnocentric countries such as the USA and China being especially susceptible to these difficulties (Triandis 2003, p. 490). Collectivist cultures place greater



emphasis on the needs and goals of the group, social norms and duty, shared beliefs and cooperation with group members (Triandis et al. 1988, p. 324). Due to the presence of different collective groups within organisations, however, individuals do not normally demonstrate a general collectivist behaviour, but may be collectivist with regard to one group, but not to another (Triandis et al. 1988, p. 333). The membership of a collectivist culture does not automatically result in individuals being more social than members of individualistic cultures as these generally have to apply increased effort to become and remain members of ingroups (Triandis et al. 1988, p. 333).

Further support for the complexity of cultural understanding at the individual level is provided by the concepts of dual-identity (Arnett 2002) and the bicultural framework switching in bicultural individuals (Hong et al. 2000; Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008), which consider an individual able to implement the most appropriate cultural behaviour dependent upon the presence of the necessary switching mechanisms.

Research indicates that variations in group composition can have an effect on group functioning (Williams and O'Reilly 1998, p. 115) with diverse groups demonstrating lower levels of integration and communication, but higher levels of conflict. Research carried out by Riordan and Shore (1997, p. 349) demonstrated that an individual's perception of group productivity and commitment was significantly influenced by their demographic similarity, in terms of race/ethnicity, to their work group; the greater the similarity, the more positive the individual's perception. In a similar vein, Tsui, Egan and O'Reilly (1992, p. 572) suggested that minority/majority group proportions may matter for the effects of racial diversity as they do for gender effects. Bicultural members of minority cultural groups may use differing norm sets from their different cultural backgrounds depending upon their perception and interpretation of the signs and symbols of the situation resulting in "situational ethnicity" (Cox, Lobel and McLeod 1991, p. 830). McLeod and Lobel (1992) investigated the effect of ethnic diversity on the innovation of diverse workgroups, reporting that although ethnically diverse groups did not necessarily produce more ideas or a greater number of unique ideas, the ones they did produce were rated of higher quality than

those produced by homogeneous groups. Later research carried out by O'Reilly, Williams and Barsade (1998) found a positive relationship between race-ethnic diversity and both creativity and implementation ability in groups.

The concept of schemata and experience gathering infers that, although individuals often state that their age influences their values and behaviours, it is not their age per se, but the various socialisation experiences that have influenced the development of their values (Harris 1994, p. 311). This concept is similar to the cultural mosaic (Chao and Moon 2005, p. 1132) in which each individual is considered to possess a cultural mosaic that is *"linked in multiple ways, evolving and responding to situational demands"* and influences behaviour. Experience gathered can also influence an individual's willingness to engage in psychological work (Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 7) to palliate the cognitive dissonance (Aronson 1992; Festinger 1957; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007; Harmon-Jones 2000d) between the current schema and situation (Bartunek and Moch 1987, p. 486; Harris 1994, p. 311).

Belhoste and Monin (2013, pp. 1537-1543) identified three perspectives on differences in a cross-cultural context: the national distance perspective, the social differentiation perspective, and the functional distinction perspective. Each perspective relates to a specific basis for categorisation (nationality, status and function), focus of attention (values, attitudes and expertise) and definition of diversity (separation, disparity and variety). International experience and country experience on one side, and the purpose of business (business development, business creation or business turnaround) on the other side, explain why some expatriate managers and their employees adopt one perspective or another, sometimes as default. The passing of time, as reflected in growing country experience, growing work experience and growing company tenure, can be the motor of transition from one perspective to another.

## **Appendix 2 Sensemaking – Additional Discussion**

### **Theories of Sensemaking**

Starbuck and Milliken (1988, p. 51) considered that sensemaking involves placing stimuli into some kind of framework enabling them to “comprehend, understand, explain, attribute, extrapolate, and predict”. This definition demonstrates many parallels with that of Louis (1980, p. 241) and implies that the individual attempting to understand a currently unexplainable and unexpected situation (discrepant event, surprise), attempts to make sense of the situation by interpreting the situation in terms of their current knowledge framework and attribute meanings to the situation. These meanings are then used to revise the current knowledge framework (extrapolation) and are used to revise their predictions about future events in the setting.

Thomas, Clark and Gioia (1993, p. 240) considered the broader consensus of sense making as involving “the reciprocal interaction of information seeking, meaning ascription, and action” resulting in an underlying basic model “represented as a scanning-interpretation-action-performance sequence”. Although their definition was considered to provide a broader understanding of sense making, it also demonstrates the same basic elements of the definition posited by Louis (1980, p. 241).

Born out of information science, Dervin (1999, p. 730) took a more individualistic stance and defined “sensemaking” as considering the individual “embodied in materiality and soaring across time-space”. Also known as the Situation-Gap-Use model (Dervin and Nilan 1986, p. 21), it is centralised around the individual’s ability to make use of cognitive bridges to cross situational cognitive gaps they have been faced with that either physically or cognitively block their way forward, which again indicates the elements of the definition posited by Louis (1980, p. 241). The cognitive bridges are created once the individual has understood their current situation, interpreted its meaning and designed the “bridge” enabling them to cross the gap and move forward.

From the organisational psychology literature, one of the most popular

concepts of "sensemaking" was proposed by Weick (1995, p. 6) who considered it "*grounded in both individual and social activity*" and an "*ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs*" (Weick 1993, p. 635).

### **Theories of Cognitive Dissonance**

According to self-consistency theory, (Aronson 1968; 1969; 1999a) dissonance may not only result from inconsistency between cognitions, but may also occur when individuals act in a way that violates their self-concept (Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 9; Harmon-Jones, Amodio and Harmon-Jones 2009, p. 124). Individuals are considered to hold culturally derived personal standards (Thibodeau and Aronson 1992, p. 596) drawn from "*the conventional morals and prevailing values of society*" (Thibodeau and Aronson 1992, p. 592), which they implement as a schema for determining the level of acceptance of their behaviour. As most people have a positive self-concept, the theory assumes that individuals are more vulnerable to the arousal of dissonance following incompetent or immoral conduct (Stone and Cooper 2001, p. 230; Thibodeau and Aronson 1992) that reflects negatively on their integrity and self-worth. Dissonance reduction, therefore, typically involves an effort to maintain the sense of self as morally good and competent.

Self-affirmation theory posits that individuals possess a motive to maintain an overall self-image of morale and adaptive adequacy (Aronson 1999b, p. 128; Sherman and Cohen 2006, pp. 185-186; Steele 1988) and that dissonance is aroused when people engage in actions that pose a threat to their self-concept (Stone and Cooper 2001, p. 230). The primary goal of a dissonance reduction strategy is not to rescue the specific self-image threatened by discrepant behaviour, but to restore the moral and adaptive integrity of the overall self-system (Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 9; Harmon-Jones, Amodio and Harmon-Jones 2009, pp. 124-125) by indicating, listing or elaborating upon values central to their identity enabling the dissonance to be "short-circuited" (Gregg, Sedikides and Gebauer 2011; Simon, Greenberg and Brehm 1995). The accessibility of positive cognitions about the self, allow people to reduce their psychological

discomfort without directly addressing the discrepant cognitions (Simon, Greenberg and Brehm 1995; Stone et al. 1997) and cause individuals to be less vulnerable to dissonance arousal and reduction following a discrepant behaviour (Stone and Cooper 2001, p. 230).

Cooper and Fazio (1984, p. 241) proposed that cognitive dissonance was *"not brought about by the perception of inconsistency in cognitions, but rather by the perception of having brought about an aversive and irrevocable event"* (Cooper 2007, p. 80); *"the production of a consequence that is unwanted"* (Cooper and Fazio 1984, p. 234). Dissonance is aroused when a discrepant behaviour represents a violation of societal or normative standards for behavioural conduct (Cooper 1992; Cooper and Fazio 1984; Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 11). This theory is, however, not without its critics as dissonance effect and dissonance-related attitude change can occur in situations in which a cognitive inconsistency is present, but the production of aversive consequences is not present (Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 11). As summarised by Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones (2007, p. 10), the results obtained in paradigms other than the counter-attitudinal paradigm are not consistent with the aversion consequences model. Dissonance research using a selective-exposure paradigm has demonstrated that persons are more willing to examine materials that confirm their beliefs than materials that dispute their beliefs (Brock and Balloun 1967; Frey 1986). Research using a belief disconfirmation paradigm has shown that, when persons are exposed to information that challenges their beliefs, they often strengthen their original belief (Batson 1975; Burris, Harmon-Jones and Tarpley 1997). Research using a hypocrisy paradigm has shown that persons change their behaviour to be more in line with their beliefs when they are reminded of times when they did not live up to their beliefs (Aronson, Fried and Stone 1991; Stone et al. 1994). According to the original theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), the production of aversive consequences would be expected to increase the amount of dissonance produced because an aversive consequence may be an important dissonant cognition (Harmon-Jones 1999). However, the original theory would deny that an aversive consequence is necessary to produce dissonance.

The action-based model of dissonance was proposed by Harmon-Jones (1999; 2000d) and begins with the assumption that many perceptions and cognitions serve to activate action tendencies with little or no conscious deliberation (Harmon-Jones, Amodio and Harmon-Jones 2009, p. 120). When these action tendencies (cognitions) come into conflict dissonance occurs, which makes people uncomfortable as conflicting action-based cognitions have the potential to interfere with effective action (Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007, p. 11; Harmon-Jones, Amodio and Harmon-Jones 2009, p. 121). When an individual holds two relatively important cognitions that are inconsistent, the potential to act in accord with them is undermined (Harmon-Jones and Harmon-Jones 2007). This negative situation motivates the individual to reduce the cognitive inconsistency in order to behave effectively. This may also mean following through with the commitment to the behaviour or decision.

In the self-standards model of dissonance, Stone and Cooper (2001, p. 228) proposed that *"dissonance begins when people commit a behaviour and then assess the behaviour against some meaningful criterion of judgement"*. The normative (acceptable to most people in a culture) or personal (based on the unique characteristics of the individual) standards used to interpret and evaluate the meaning of a given behaviour determine the role of the self and self-esteem in the process of dissonance arousal (Cooper 2007, pp. 104-107; Stone and Cooper 2001, p. 231). The model holds that only dissonance resulting from the comparison of behaviours with personal standards relating to idiosyncratic self-expectancies will cause self-esteem differences in dissonance arousal (Cooper 2007, p. 107; Stone and Cooper 2003, p. 509); if normative standards are used to judge outcomes, then individual differences in self-esteem are not involved. Once dissonance is aroused either nomothetically or ideographically, individuals will experience discomfort and be motivated to seek its reduction. How they reduce their discomfort depends upon the cognitions about the self that are made accessible following dissonance arousal (Cooper 2007, p. 109; Stone and Cooper 2001, pp. 231-232). If no other cognitions about the self are brought to mind, the self-standards model assumes that the discrepancy will remain accessible and people will seek justification of their behaviour to

reduce their discomfort. If the new cognitions about the self are made accessible in the context, however, then dissonance reduction will take the following steps: (1) If the self-attributes that are made accessible are positive and relevant to the behaviour in question, then they will increase the motivation to justify behaviour (e.g. attitude change). If positive relevant attributes make self-expectancies accessible, people with high self-esteem will show more justification of their behaviour than people with low self-esteem. (2) If the self-attributes that are made accessible are positive but not relevant to the behaviour in question, then they will serve as a resource for the reduction of dissonance.

## Appendix 3 Interview Framework



PhD Project on “The effects of intercultural considerations on expatriate managers working in SMEs in Europe”

### INTERVIEW FRAMEWORK

This interview is being conducted as part of the above PhD research project. The main purpose of the project is to contribute to the knowledge and theory available regarding cultural differences and the factors considered by expatriates and international employees to influence their cultural adaptation. It questions the complexity of cultural differences and the perceived cultural openness of the two groups in the hope of providing organisations with a basis for assisting employees in a successful cultural adaptation. It is further intended to aid organisations to increase the productivity and effectiveness of its internationally active employees by actively considering those factors, which positively or negatively influence their cultural adaptation.

The interviewee has been provided with a consent form, which he/she has signed, indicating their consent to this interview. The interview will be recorded.

#### I. Preparatory Information

The information provided in this section is required to enable the categorisation and analysis of the data provided in the impending interview.

##### *Ia. Personal Information*

- |                          |                                      |                                  |  |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Interviewee number    | _____                                |                                  |  |
| 2. Gender                | <input type="checkbox"/> Male        | <input type="checkbox"/> Female  |  |
| 3. Age                   | _____                                |                                  |  |
| 4. Country of birth      | _____                                |                                  |  |
| 5. Country of residence  | _____                                |                                  |  |
| 6. Marital status        | <input type="checkbox"/> Single      | <input type="checkbox"/> Married | <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed |
|                          | <input type="checkbox"/> Partnership |                                  |  |
| 7. Children: No.         | _____                                | Children: Age                    | _____  |
| 8. Religious orientation | _____                                |                                  |  |
| 9. Education level       | <input type="checkbox"/> PhD         | <input type="checkbox"/> Master  | <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor <input type="checkbox"/> Diploma |
|                          | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |                                  |  |
| 10. Country of education | School                               | _____                            | University _____   |



11. Language proficiency      No. spoken      \_\_\_\_\_      Mother tongue      \_\_\_\_\_

Please indicate your proficiency in each language on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 indicates mother language standard and 5 indicates a basic understanding

11a. Language 2      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_  
11b. Language 3      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_  
11c. Language 4      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_  
11d. Language 5      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_  
11e. Language 6      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_

*1b. Details of spouse / partner*

12. Gender      ☐ Male      ☐ Female

13. Age      \_\_\_\_\_

14. Country of birth      \_\_\_\_\_

15. Country of residence      \_\_\_\_\_

16. Religious orientation      \_\_\_\_\_

17. Education level      ☐ PhD      ☐ Master      ☐ Bachelor      ☐ Diploma  
☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

18. Country of education      School      \_\_\_\_\_      University      \_\_\_\_\_

19. Language proficiency      No. spoken      \_\_\_\_\_      Mother tongue      \_\_\_\_\_

Please indicate your proficiency in each language on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 indicates mother language standard and 5 indicates a basic understanding

19a. Language 2      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_  
19b. Language 3      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_  
19c. Language 4      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_  
19d. Language 5      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_  
19e. Language 6      \_\_\_\_\_      Written      \_\_\_\_\_      Reading      \_\_\_\_\_      Verbal      \_\_\_\_\_

## II. Interview Framework

The topics listed in this section will form the basis of the personal interview.

### *IIa International Experience*

- International experience – schooling and professional
  - Where, how long, reason for move etc.

### *IIb Information to Assignment*

- Position currently held
- Company details: size, nationality of ownership, legal form
- Is it an organisational assignment or part of a designed international career?
- Why did you select / accept the assignment?
- Please tell me how your spouse/partner/family reacted when you informed about the impending international assignment?
- How would you describe the assignment preparation process?
  - Length of notice given / prior consideration of assignment?
  - Degree of training before assignment (culture, language etc)
- How would you describe the move to the new country?
- Tell me about your arrival in the new country? How were you received and what role did the organisation play.
  - Degree of on-the-job training (culture, language etc)
  - Support with bureaucratic requirements, housing, schools etc.?
- How would you describe your arrival in the new job?
  - How was the relationship to colleagues?
  - And to your superiors?
  - Support mechanisms?

### *IIc Information to Cultural Adaptation*

- What difference does having a mix of employees from different cultural backgrounds have in an organisation?
- Can you describe to me how you feel and how you generally respond when you discover a difference?
- How did the country compare with your expectations and what was the impact?
  - Can you describe a particular incident that would demonstrate this?

- How did the country compare with your spouse / partner / family expectations and what was the impact?
  - Can you describe a particular incident that would demonstrate this?
- Were your cultural adaptation problems different to those of your family? If so how?
  - Please describe a particular incident that would demonstrate this?
- Did your spouse / partner work prior to and / or during the assignment?
  - If yes, full-time or part-time? Position?
  - If spouse / partner worked during assignment how was the position found?
- Was the internet or social networks used at any stage during the preparation or adaptation phases?
  - What influence was it considered to have, if any, on the assignment/adaptation?
  - Please describe a particular incident where it was considered a help / hindrance to the assignment.
- Did you take part in local social events e.g. membership in sports clubs, religious groups etc
  - Were they considered to positively or negatively influence the adaptation?
  - Please describe a particular incident that would demonstrate this?
  - If small children was this an advantage (kindergarten, school etc) or a disadvantage? Why?
- Did you remain for the full duration of the assignment? If not, why not?
- If you were to be sent / go on another international assignment in the future
  - would you do anything differently?
  - would you expect your organisation to do anything differently?

#### **Contacts for further information**

Please feel very welcome to contact the researching PhD student or his supervisor should you require further information regarding this project:

Researcher:  
Clive F.W. Flynn  
Email: Clive.Flynn@ntu.ac.uk  
Tel. +49 151 11581220

Supervisor  
Professor Colin Fisher  
Graduate School,  
College of Business, Law and Social Sciences,  
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Burton Street,  
Nottingham NG10 4JF

Email: Colin.Fisher@ntu.ac.uk  
Telephone: +44 115 848 5537.

## Appendix 4 Interview Consent Form



PhD Project on “The effects of intercultural considerations on expatriate managers working in SMEs in Europe”

### CONSENT FORM

Name of site \_\_\_\_\_

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by initialling the appropriate box(es) and signing and dating this form

1. I confirm that the purpose of the project has been explained to me, that I have been given information about it in writing, and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any implications for my legal rights ☐
3. I give permission for the interview to be recorded by research staff, on the understanding that the recording will be destroyed at the end of the project ☐
4. I agree to take part in this project ☐

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of respondent

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of researcher taking consent

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

#### PROJECT ADDRESS:

Researcher: Clive F.W. Flynn Email: [Clive.Flynn@ntu.ac.uk](mailto:Clive.Flynn@ntu.ac.uk) Tel. +49 (151) 11581220

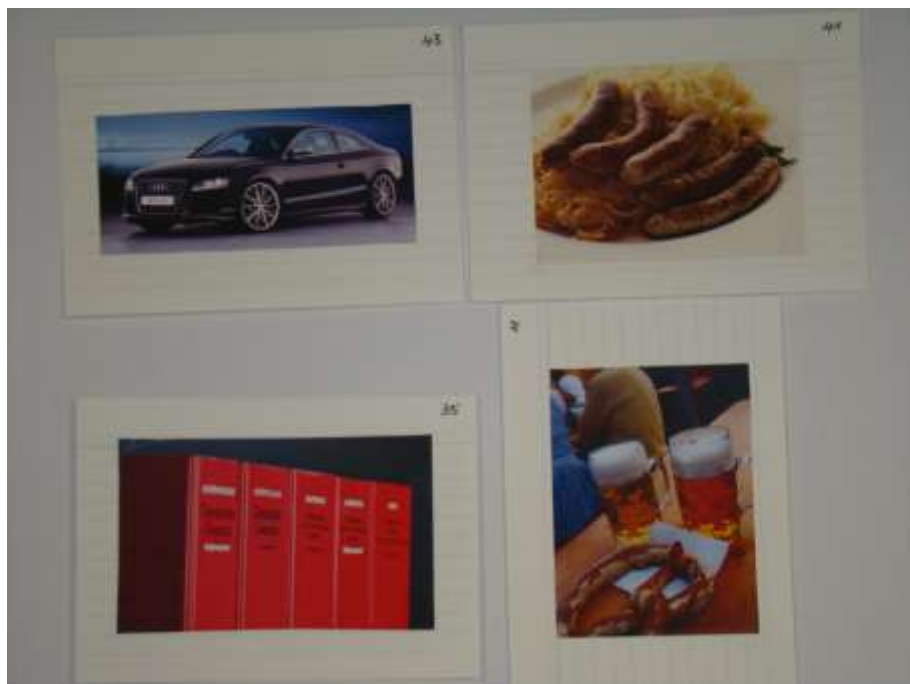
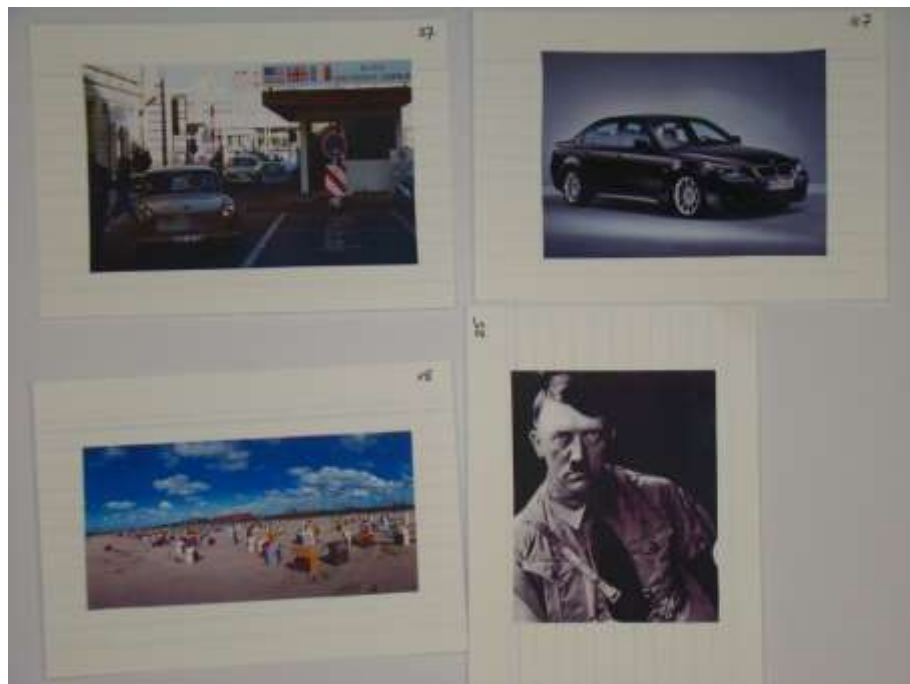
Supervisor: Professor Colin Fisher, Nottingham Trent University Graduate School, College of Business, Law and Social Sciences, Burton Street, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire, NG1 4BU, UK. Direct telephone line: +44 (115) 8482778:

Email: [Colin.Fisher@ntu.ac.uk](mailto:Colin.Fisher@ntu.ac.uk)

## Appendix 5 Interview Partner General Characteristics

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Nationality	EU / non-EU	Marital Status	Children	Languages	Mother Tongue
Lucas	M	25	Irish	EU	Single	0	3	English
Liam	M	35	Irish	EU	Divorced	2	3	English
Layla	F	36	Chinese	nEU	Married	1	3	Chinese
Logan	M	36	English	EU	Married	1	3	English
Zoe	F	32	Dutch	EU	Partnership	0	4	Dutch
Mason	M	33	Irish	EU	Single	0	2	English
Adrian	M	22	Irish	EU	Single	0	2	English
Isabella	F	25	Argentinien	nEU	Single	0	5	Spanish
Ryan	M	31	Scottish	EU	Single	0	3	English
Leah	F	27	USA	nEU	Single	0	2	English
Luke	M	43	USA	nEU	Married	2	3	English
David	M	40	Spanish	EU	Married	1	4	Spanish
James	M	26	Russian	nEU	Married	0	3	Russian
Hannah	F	25	Ukraine	nEU	Single	0	5	Ukrainian
Vicky	F	33	Chinese	nEU	Single	0	3	Chinese
Jack	M	35	South Korea	nEU	Married	0	3	South Korean
Grace	F	39	Chinese	nEU	Married	2	3	Chinese
Emily	F	31	Chinese	nEU	Single	0	3	Chinese
Sophia	F	45	Hungarian	EU	Partnership	0	6	Hungarian

## Appendix 6 Focus Group 2 – Results



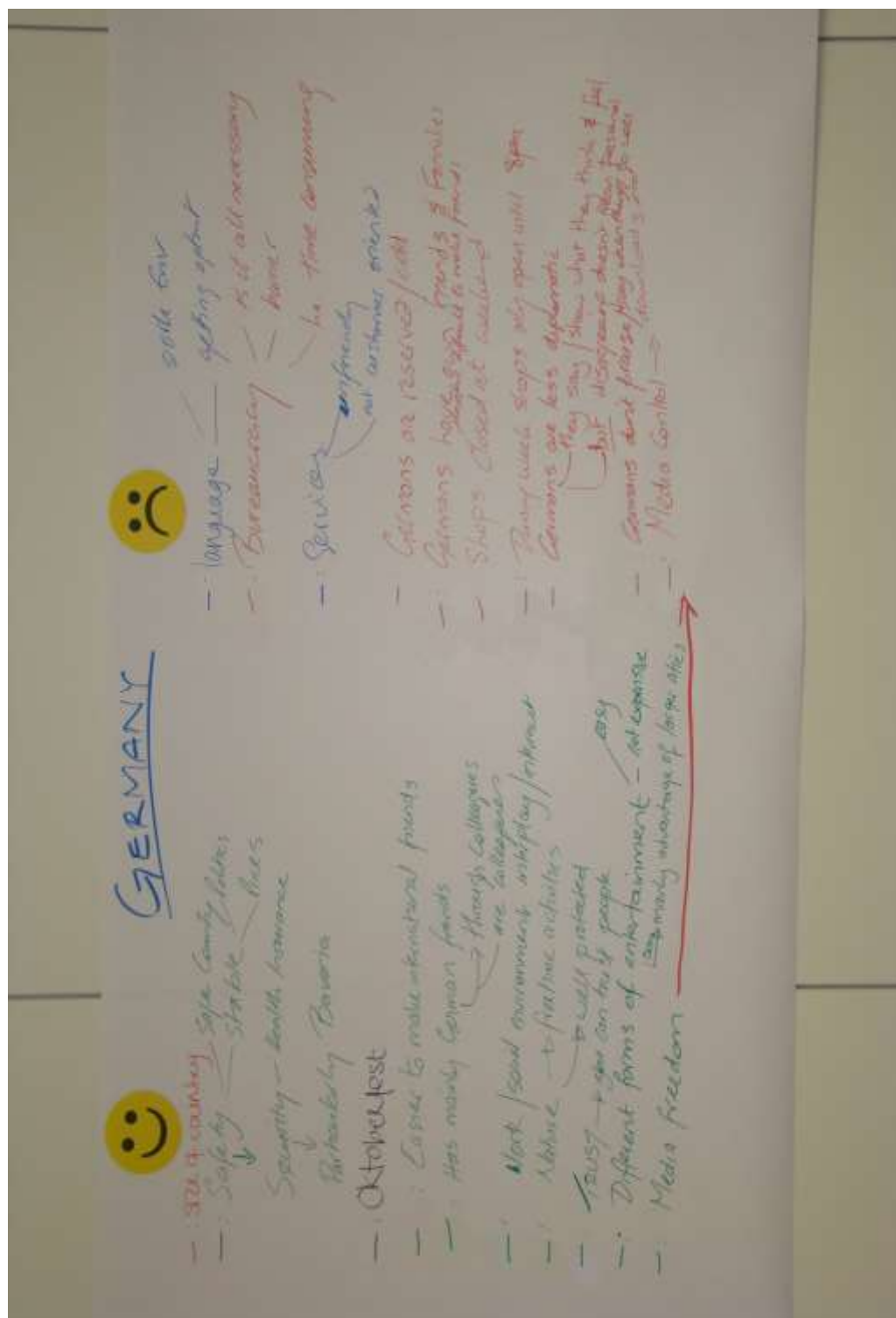


Fig. A 2: FG02 Germany

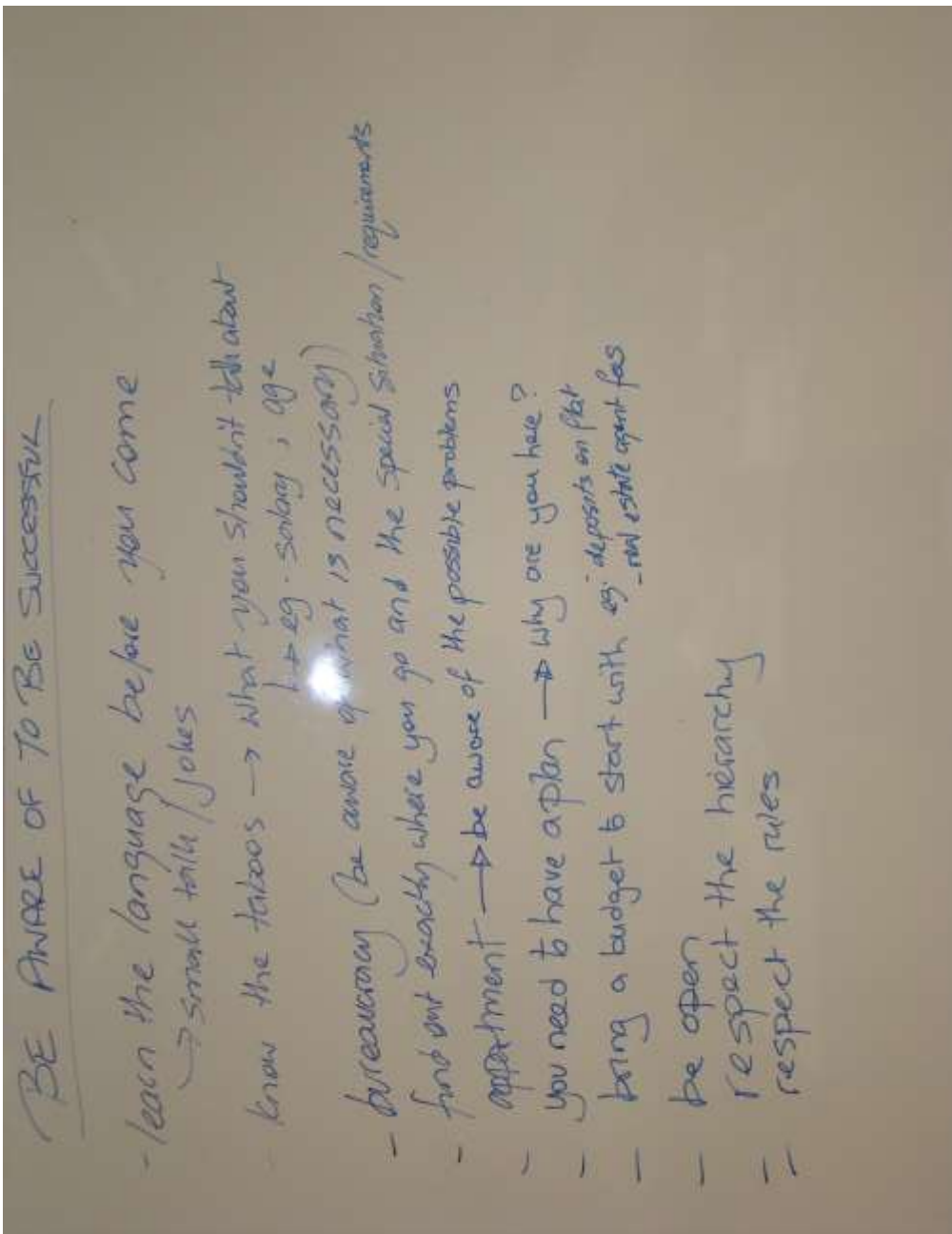


Fig. A 3: FG02 Success Factors



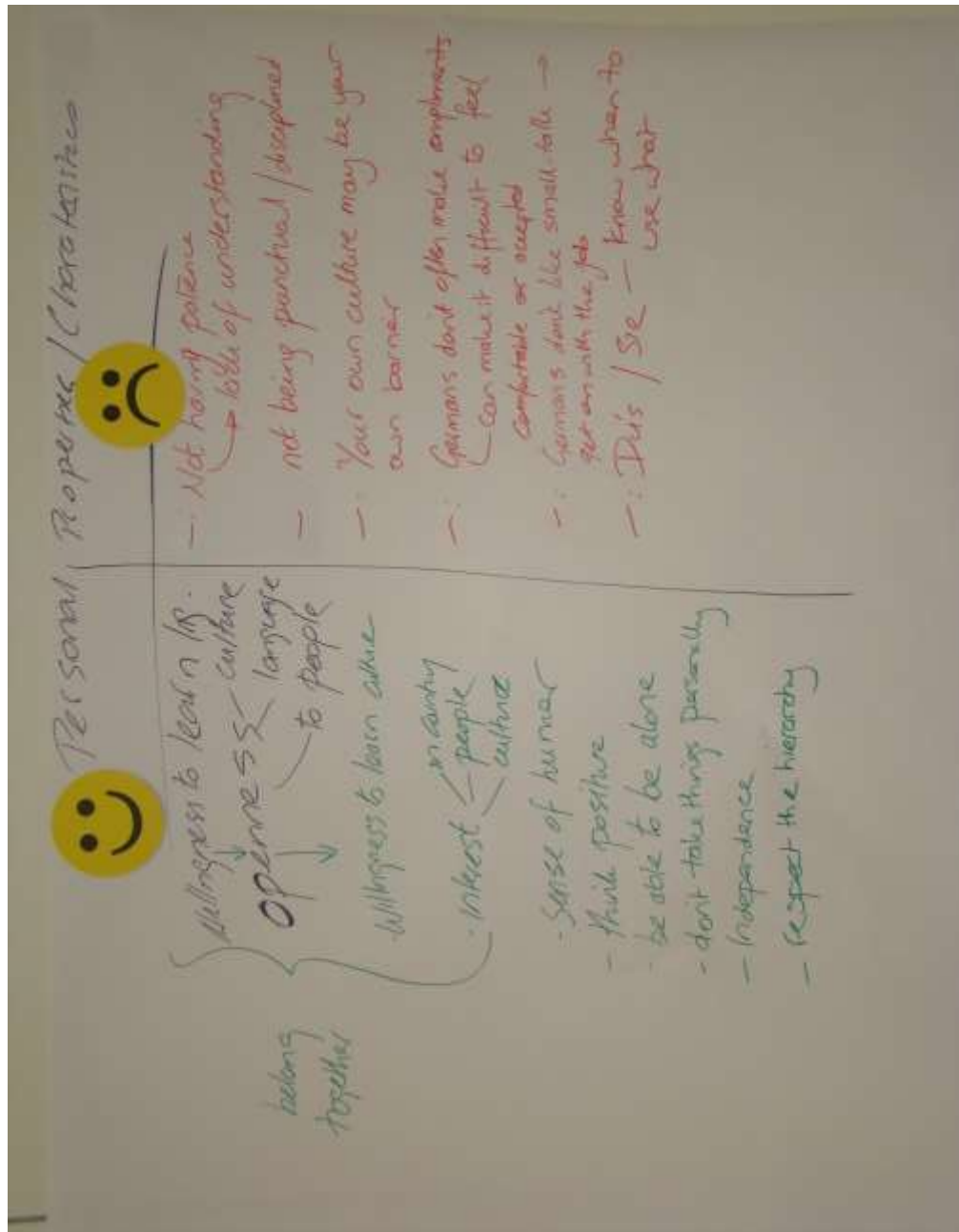
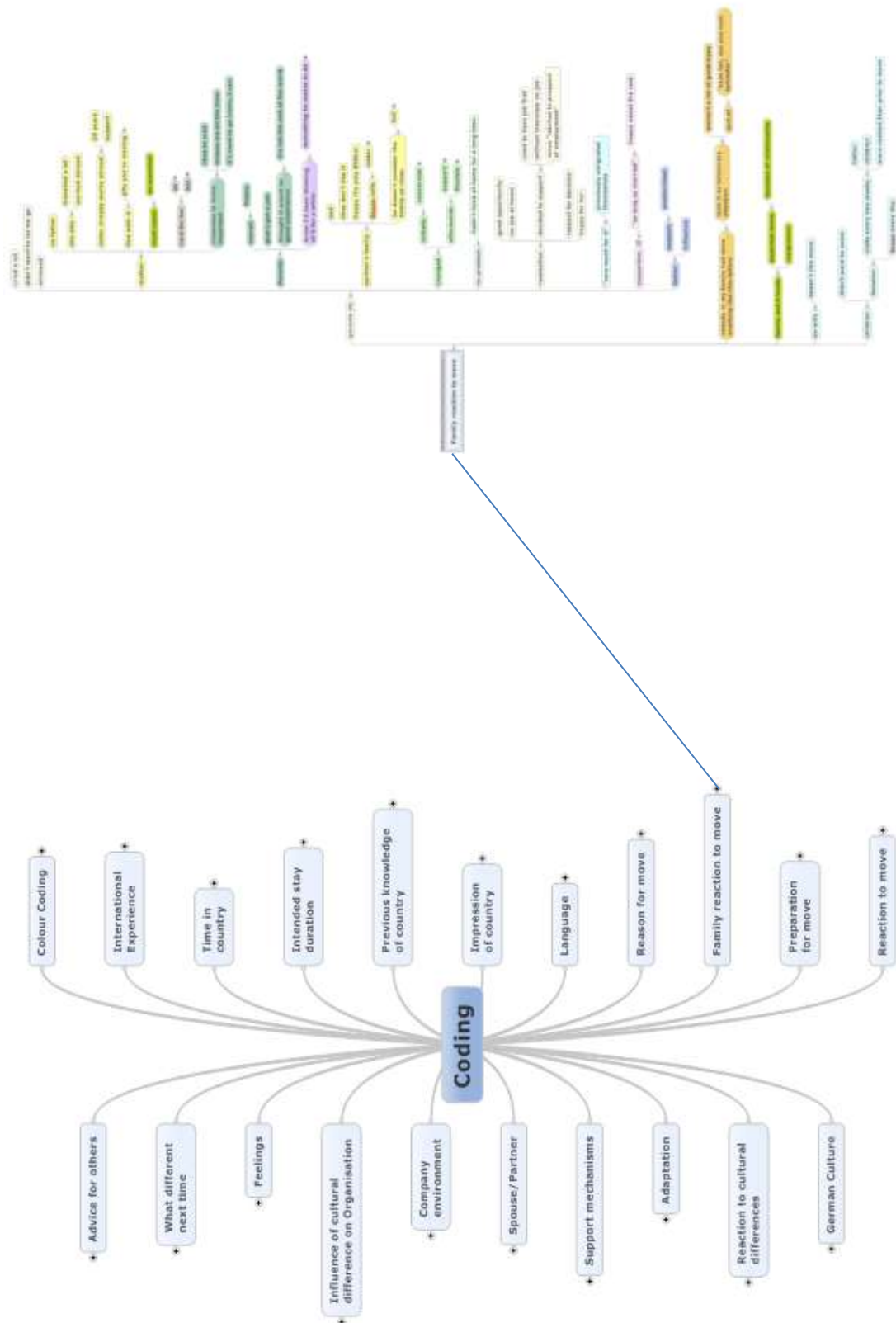


Fig. A 4: FG02 Personal Characteristics

## Appendix 7 Mindmap of Substantive Coding



# Appendix 8    Template of Narrative Polar Representations

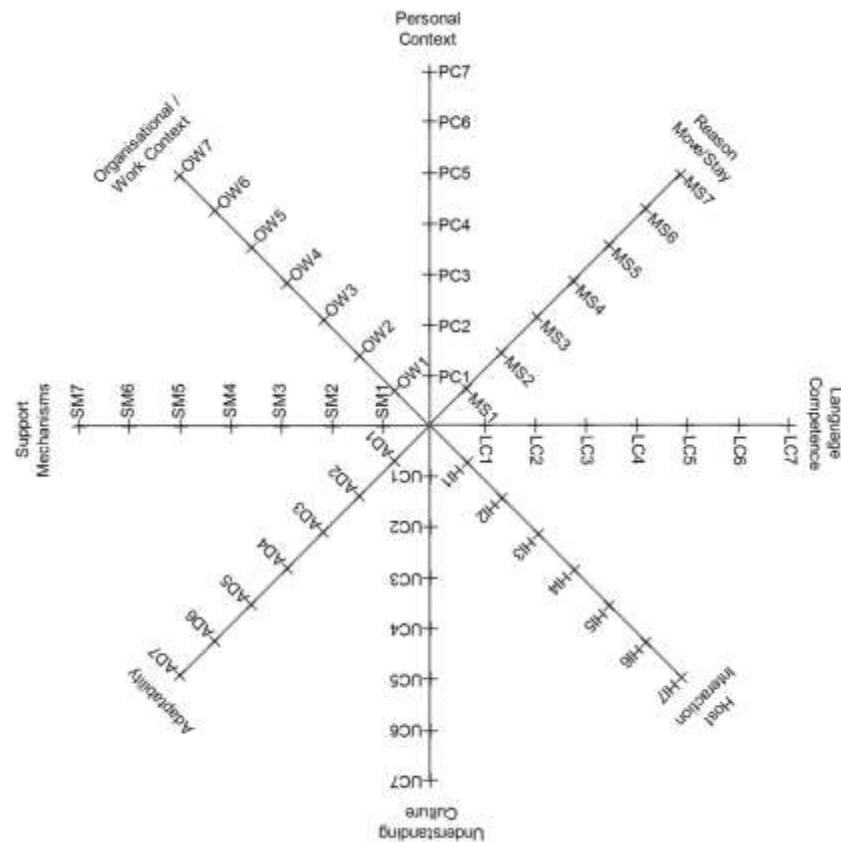
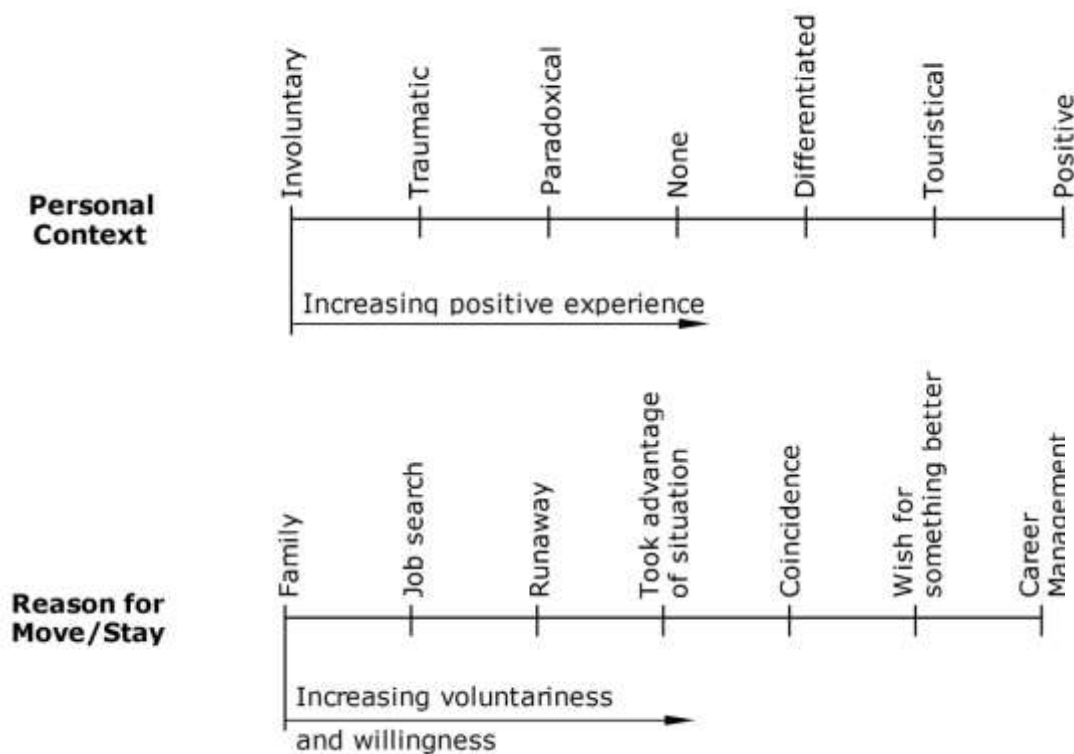
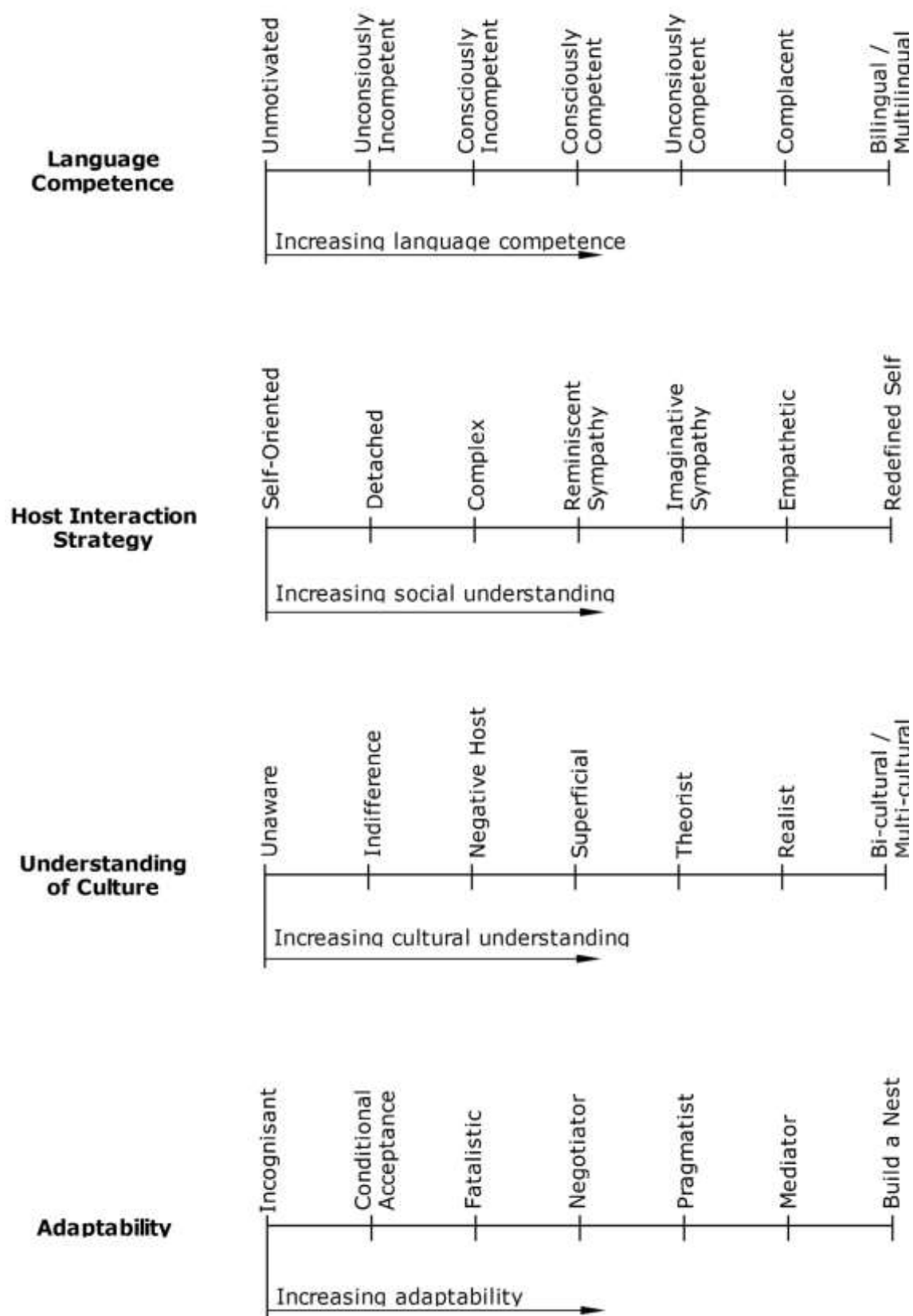
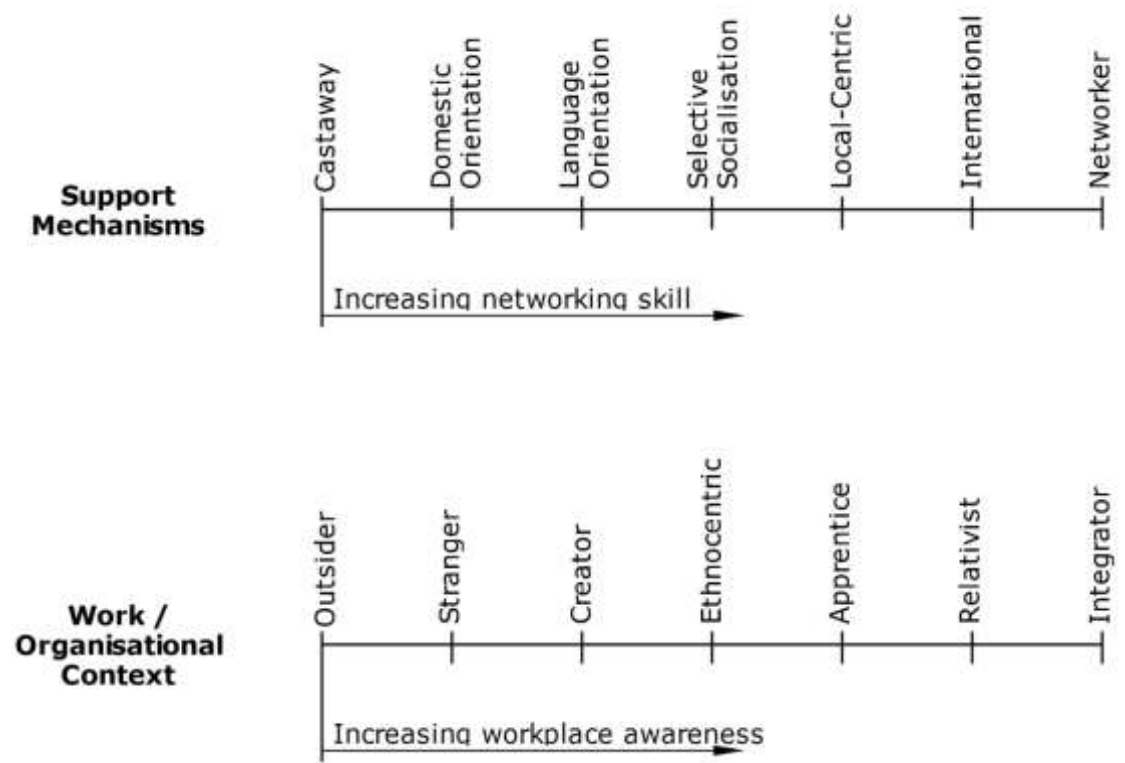


Fig. A 5: Polar Representation of Narratives

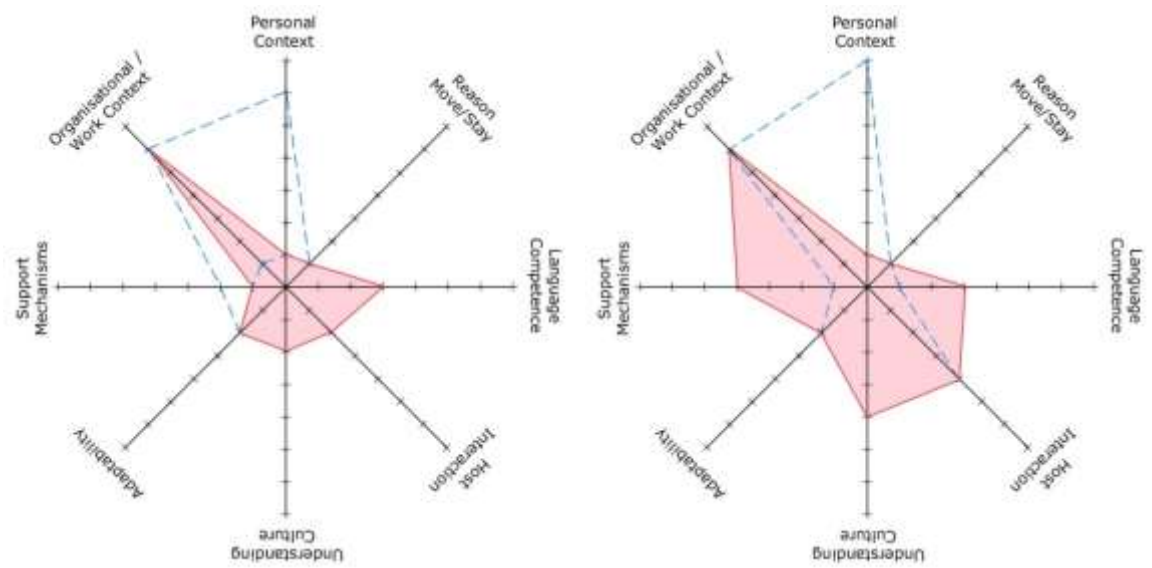






## Appendix 9 Grouping of Narrative Polar Representations

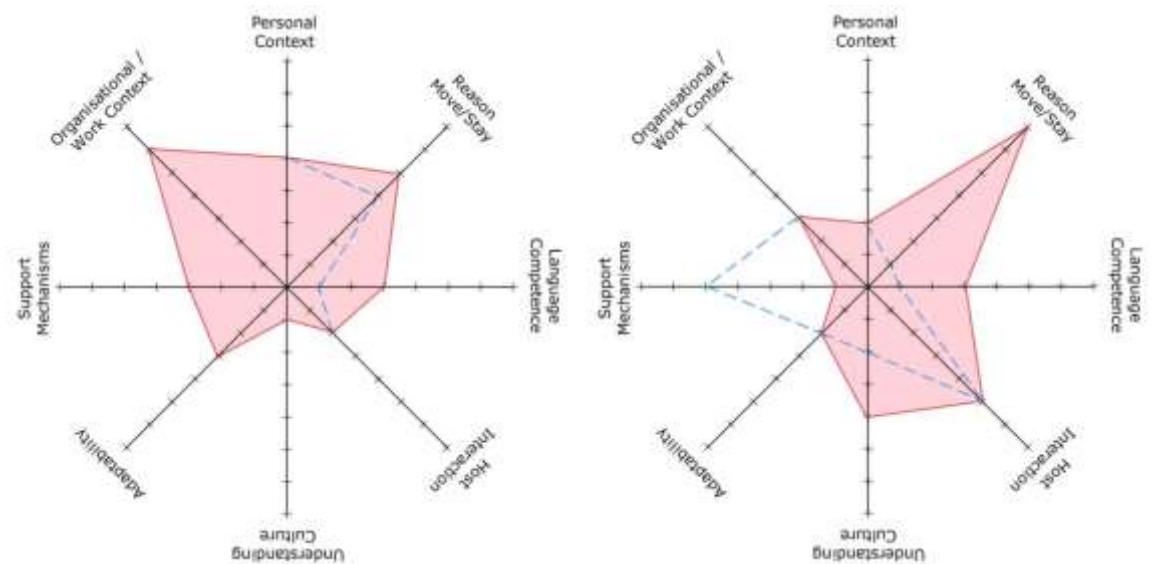
Fig. A 6: Family Story



166.4286.755 - Layla

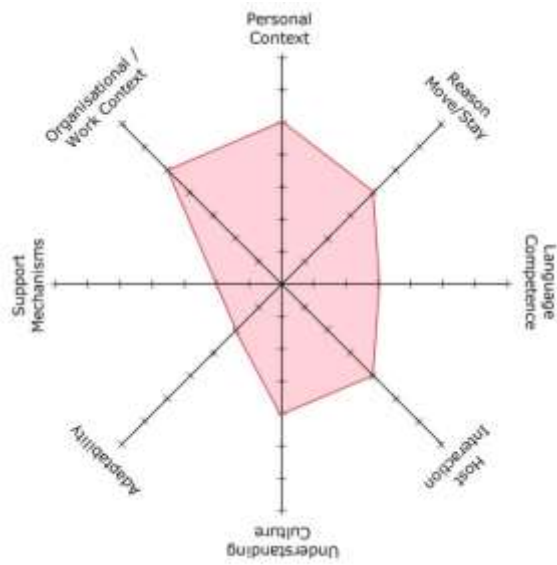
716.8252.749 - Grace

Fig. A 7: Interloper



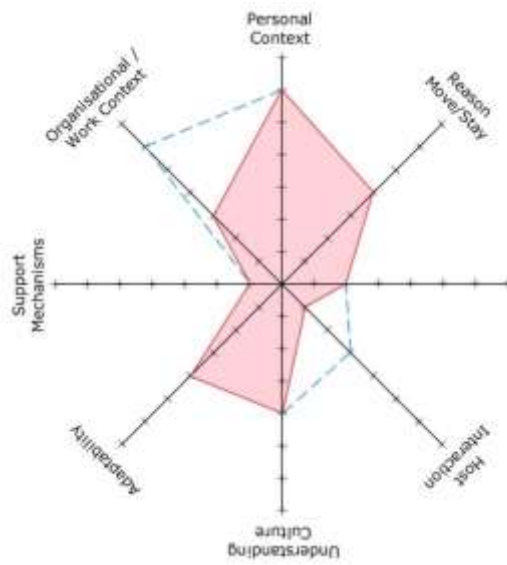
266.5251.391 - Mason

708.8495.958 - Jack

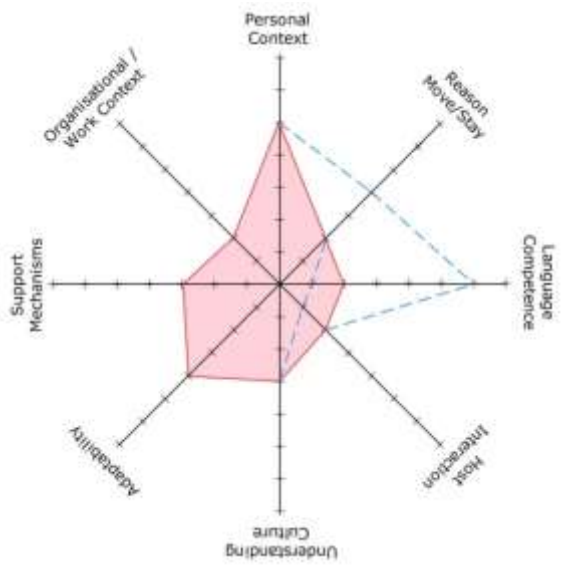


876.2257.939 - Emily

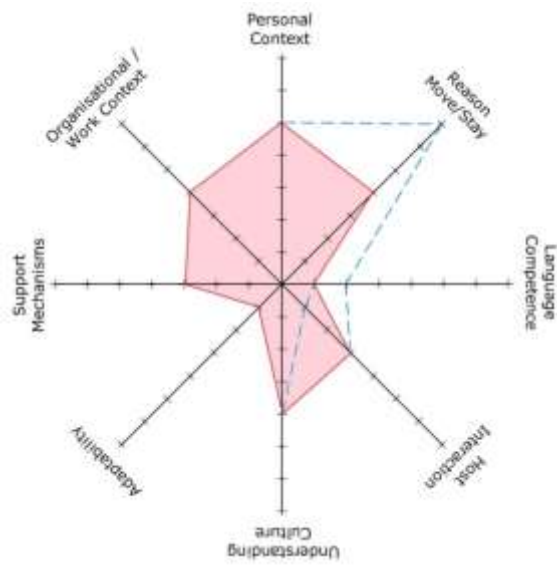
Fig. A 8: Story-Teller



129.7169.282 - Liam

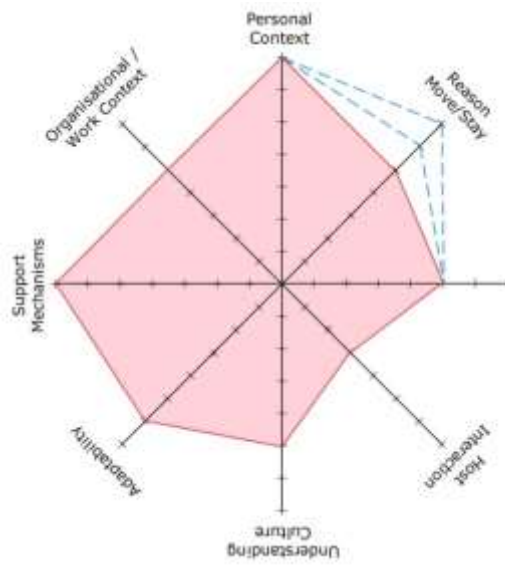


405.4367.899 - Ryan

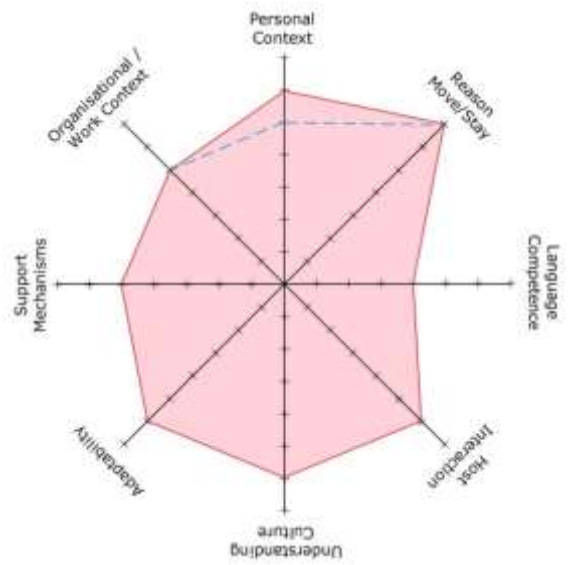


448.3446.325 - Luke

Fig. A 9: Adopter

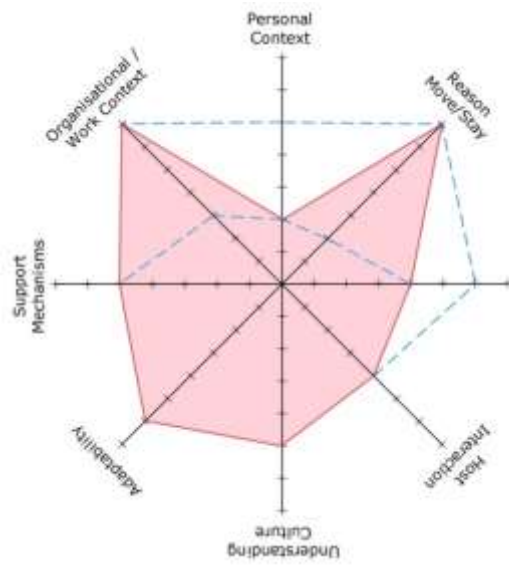


122.9403.247 - Lucas

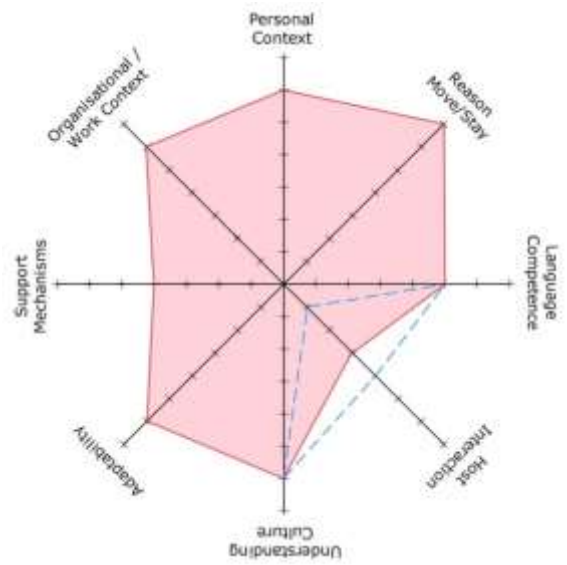


198.4381.922 - Zoe

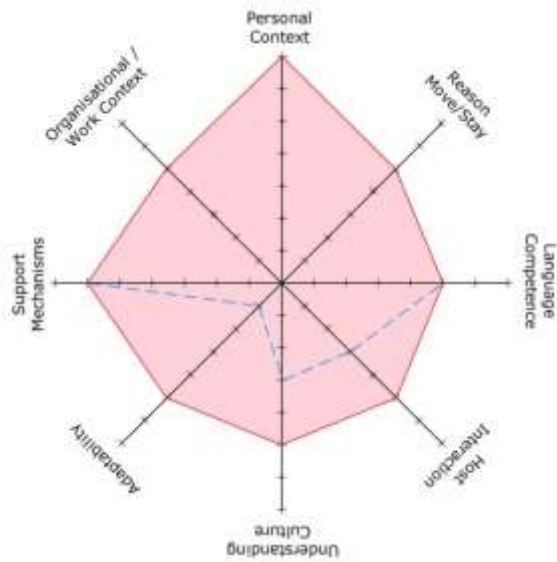




501.7364.467 - David

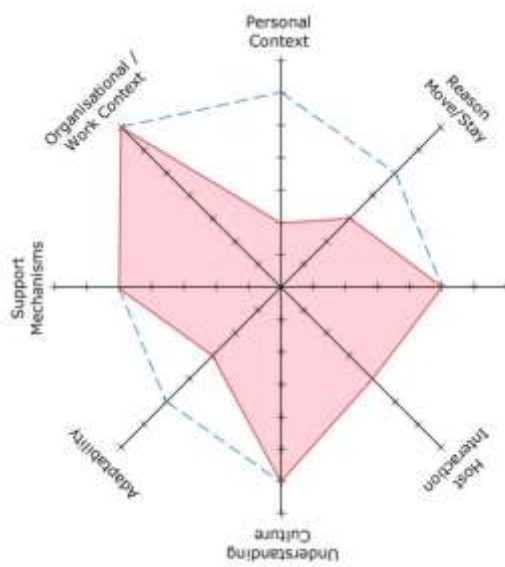


580.3361.404 - James

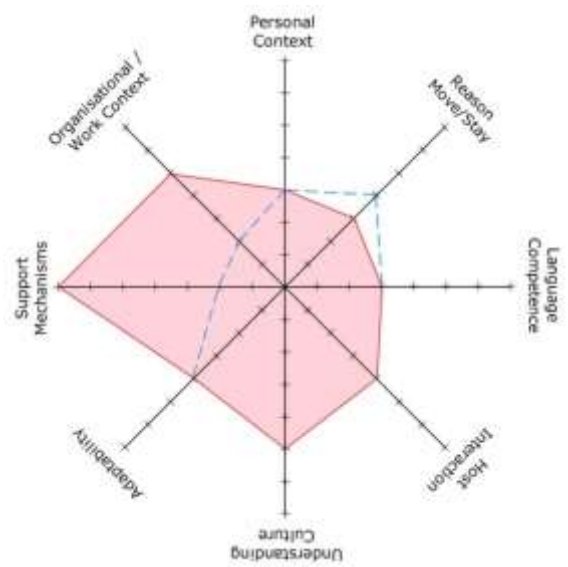


643.4277.351 - Vicky

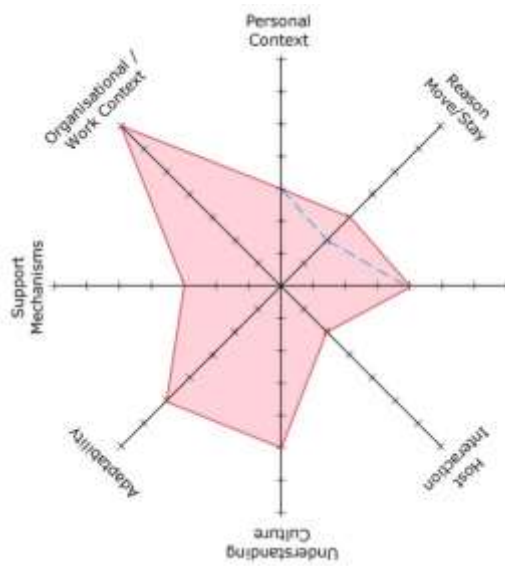
Fig. A 10: Escapist



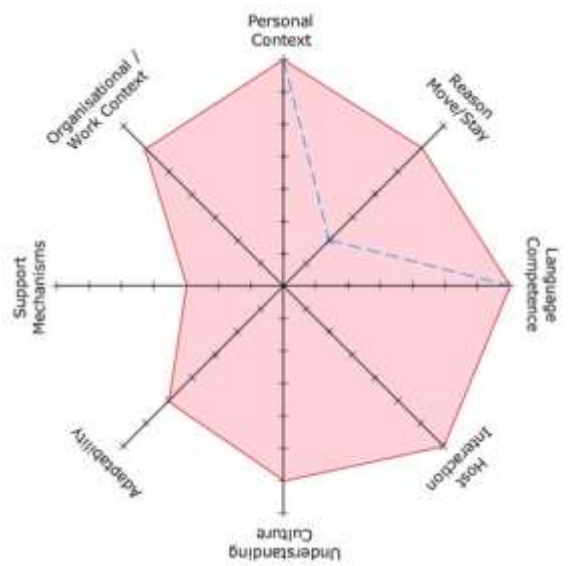
175.8366.839 - Logan



284.6252.745 - Adrian

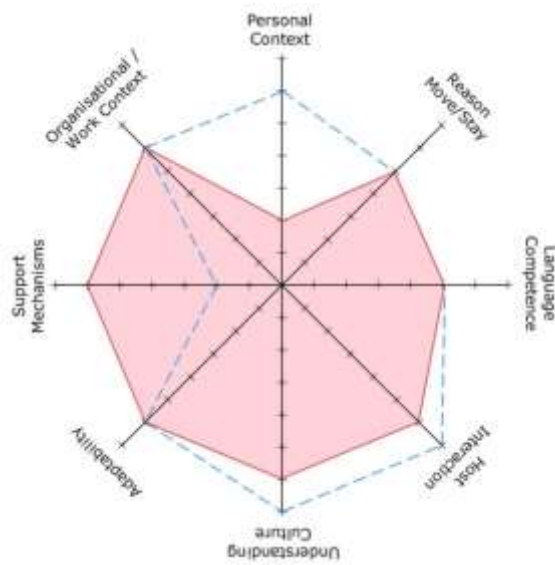


363.9173.270 - Isabella



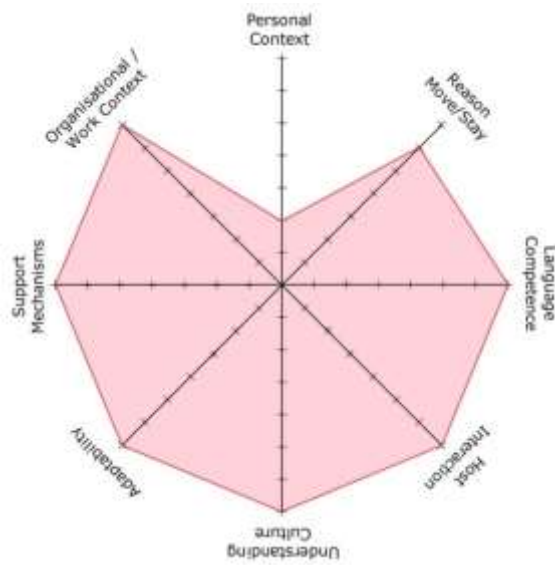
581.5461.622 - Hannah

Fig. A 11: Transformer



445.6438.637 - Leah

Fig. A 12: Mover



890.3152.277 - Sophia