Doing Better Research on Organizational Behaviour in Chinese Cultural Settings: Suggestions from the Notebooks of Two Fellow-Travellers

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ABSTRACT   In this article, we describe the development of cross-cultural research in organizational behaviour over the last few decades. Distinguishing four epochs of cross-cultural research, i.e., the Aristotelian, Linnean, Newtonian, and Einsteinian, we explain research questions, empirical approaches, and research designs that have guided contributions to each epoch. Based on this description, we outline a route for future research that takes Chinese indigenous constructs as points of departure to describe how individual outcomes of interest are embedded in their cultural environment. Finally, we provide concrete implications for future research in this area.

KEYWORDS   Chinese culture, cross-cultural, organizational behaviour, research

> By birth, the same; by custom, different.
> Confucius, *The Analects*
> 子曰: 性相近也,
> 习相远也

INTRODUCTION

The Rationale for this Paper

Michael Bond has worked professionally as a social psychologist for forty years and has been wrestling with the psychology of the Chinese people for thirty-six of those years. His recent editing of *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Psychology* (2010) gives him a comprehensive perspective on current research on Chinese psychology that can inform the emerging field of Chinese Organizational Behaviour (COB).

Bond's career has been a long, slowly ascending curve of mastery, achieved through repeated struggles with mostly cross-cultural data. He has made errors of

procedure and of interpretation, but, through sustained conversations with colleagues near and far, has come to an understanding of how to improve our yield from cross-cultural psychological studies, including those addressing organizational behaviour. Much of his approach to this issue is derived from the difficulties encountered in his attempts to locate the Chinese cross-culturally and the shortfalls discovered *en route*.

Together with Miriam Muethel, a scholar in organizational behaviour with 21st century training and an established engagement with Chinese-German business dealings, he offers these personal reflections on our disciplinary history with 'things Chinese'. These lessons of experience are intended as encouragement for others to see further by standing on our shoulders. Given that psychology underlies many areas of organizational behaviour theory, the experiences of cross-cultural psychology can be instructive for researchers of cross-cultural organizational behaviour. Methodological and procedural improvements in cross-cultural research are especially apt, if comparative work on Chinese organizational process is to be defensible in the minds of an international academic community. We can and should do better work as we enter the second decade of the 21st century.

Why Comparative?

The adjective 'Chinese' is only a geographical convenience, informing the audience about the locations from which respondents are being studied; from a social scientific perspective, 'Chinese' is an eco-societal designation, a social categorization, and a personal identity. Any and all of these descriptors may become relevant when understanding COB grounded in these various political-economic-social-historical realities. The same is true, of course, for research on organizational processes done in any country.

The problem for practitioners of COB is signalled by the Chinese proverb, 'First to enter is the master'. The scientific study of organizational behaviour (OB) has flowered in North American and, to a lesser extent, European soil. Its theorizing and its data base of empirical support have emerged from that cultural-historical nexus, those distinctive cultural contexts. Research published in the first half-century, post-World War II, was innocent of any historical-cultural grounding, and was presented as if it were universally applicable. Academics from 'the West', writing for those now-prestigious journals founded post-World War II, appeared unaware of the cultural grounding that underpinned their theorizing and the possible qualification that grounding might lend to their findings (see Smith, Bond, & Kagitcibasi, 2006, for a few early exceptions to culturally innocent practice in social psychology).

Only with the development of the Diversity Movement, especially in the U.S. due to the commercial success of the Boeing 747, and with the advent of safari research in the 1970s, did we begin to consider culture as an issue in the social

sciences. We are just now learning how to characterize cultural contexts, and how to conceptualize and assess the impact of those contexts on our theorizing and on our results.

The Present Challenge

Given the Western origins of OB research, scholars researching Chinese society face a historically derived challenge – the 'so, how. . .' query from editors and reviewers, that is 'So, how do your Chinese findings relate to Western literature'? Although Western researchers are generally not obliged to embed their results within a cultural context, researchers of Chinese psychological phenomena must usually do so, or risk being disregarded. Even if the research is blindingly creative, the authors will routinely be obliged to rationalize how their results might play out in a Western cultural setting. The gap across the Pacific or Asia is too dramatic to overlook (Boulding, 1970). It is the elephant in the room that cannot be ignored.

The obvious solution is to address the issue being researched with a direct cross-cultural comparison, an approach that characterizes much of our current literature (e.g., Chen & Farh, 2010; Leung & Au, 2010). Executing such studies rigorously and successfully is, however, difficult, and requires a heavy investment in reading, time, networking, interpersonal skills, and financial resources. Making such an investment is tough at any time, but especially so for young colleagues, early in their career. Associations like the International Association for Chinese Management Research (IACMR) can, of course, play a supportive, mediating, and educational role in this regard (Bond, 2002), but the road is still tortuous.

The Likely Response by Researchers

Consequently, most young scholars will forge ahead with the tried-and-true procedure of replicating studies done elsewhere, but using Chinese respondents. Here, a new challenge emerges – the 'so what' retort, that is 'So what is conceptually interesting about this extension'? Dealing with this concern is best done at the planning stage of research, at which point a defensible rationale must be crafted, derived from careful, preliminary work on indigenous constructs, for example, Cheung et al.'s (2001) early work on Interpersonal Relatedness as a distinctively Chinese dimension of personality.

Hypothesizing that this or that Chinese population should be higher (or lower) than mainstream Western norms on this or that construct because this particular Chinese societal context is higher (or lower) than that other comparison context on Hofstede's, House's, Schwartz's, Inglehart's, or Leung and Bond's national-level 'cultural' dimension of X will not make the cut – there are simply too many ways to challenge such results, even if confirmed (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). This kind of simplistic, straightforward work informed the earlier cataloguing period of

diverse phenomena, which was characterized as the 'Aristotelean' era of the cross-cultural discipline (Bond, 2009). That was a time for documenting differences in organizational phenomena across cultural groups, a time for establishing the potential of the cross-cultural enterprise. That agenda was met and, in our opinion, that time has now passed.

THE FUTURE OF CHINESE ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOUR RESEARCH

A More Tactical Approach

Effort must be expended in 'indigenizing' the imported measure of the construct in question to ensure that its local manifestations are included, for example, Bond and Chi's (1997) addition of four locally important values to the 56-item Schwartz Value Survey administered in eleven regions of China. Such results, even if skill-fully produced, will likely be of interest to national or area journals, but will struggle to make it to higher-tier journals, unless they reveal novel dimensions of the construct investigated; they are essentially 'mapping' studies, extensions of the already known but as-yet unassessed regions.

Smith, Misumi, Tayeb, Peterson, and Bond (1989) demonstrated a more sophis-ticated variant of this approach, however. They established metrically equivalent measures of the basic Performance (P) and Maintenance (M) dimensions of lead-ership in Japanese, British, American, and Hong Kong Chinese employees from the same multi-national electronics company. They then interviewed these employees, collecting behavioural instantiations of these two leadership functions. The employees later rated their supervisors on both the culturally common mea-sures of P and M and their indigenously generated, behavioural manifestations.

Analysis of these responses indicated that there were culture-general manifesta-tions of both P and M concepts. So, for example, a leader high in P regularly talks about a subordinate's progress in relation to a work schedule in all four cultural groups; a leader high in M responds sympathetically when told of a team member's personal difficulties in all four cultural groups. However, Smith et al. (1989) showed that there were distinctively national-local ways to demonstrate the basic P-M components of leadership. The Hong Kong Chinese, for example, regarded showing disapproval of a team member who regularly arrived late for work as a way to demonstrate P, whereas none of the other three cultural groups did so; the Americans regarded communicating with members of other work groups as a way to demonstrate M, whereas none of the other three cultural groups did so. Overall, most behavioural manifestations were pan-cultural definers of the P-M constructs; a few were distinctively indigenous to one of the constituent national groups.

This multicultural, two-level approach to the indigenous question then became of wider interest because it carried implications for inter-cultural management –

future managers from any one group working with subordinates from another group would have a behavioural guide-book about what behavioural manifestations of P and M functions already 'in their tool kit' to bring with them, what behavioural manifestations to leave behind, and what behavioural manifestations to acquire for, or during, their sojourn. The Smith et al. (1989) study was consequently of wider interest to editors of international journals and was published. Research in COB could and should be planned accordingly. OB work must be applicable.

Researching to Enhance Conceptual Yield

A second, conceptually more taxing approach is to exploit the legacy of Chinese culture and its current state of evolution in the hearts and minds of Chinese in various policies to produce something new for the discipline. Is there a construct, important for a fuller understanding of COB, which has been overlooked in prior academic discourse and measurement? Might our analysis of the intra-psychic process, interpersonal relations, group dynamics, or organizational structuring be improved by some so-far-overlooked feature of Chinese culture? Yang's (1996) extensive research on the personality construct of traditionalism-modernity, Leung and Bond's (2004) research on fate control, and Cheung et al.'s (2001) research on interpersonal relatedness began with this fundamental intuition in studying personality; so, too, did Kwan, Bond, and Singelis' (1997) study on the interpersonal construct of relationship harmony, Leung and Brew's (2009) work on disintegration avoidance, and Chen and Farh's (2010) examination of paternalistic leadership in studying interpersonal relations; also, Xiao and Tsui's (2007) focus on the dynamics of Chinese networks in studying group dynamics. Likewise, Redding and Wong's (1986) work on the Chinese family business, a distinctive type of organizational structure, plays itself out in contemporary variations. Finally, the best known indigenous construct of interest to international researchers is *guanxi* (Barney & Zhang, 2009; Chen, Friedman, Yu, Fang, & Lu, 2009; Chen & Peng, 2008; Guo & Miller, 2010; Park & Luo, 2001; Shore, Coyle-Shapiro, Chen, & Tetrick, 2009), which is defined as 'distinctive patterns of trusting relationships' (Chua, Morris, & Ingram, 2009: 420). *Guanxi* has been studied multiculturally, showing remarkable applicability in three cultural systems very different from the Chinese (Smith, Huang, Harb, & Torres, in press)

Contemporary developments in various Chinese societies offer possibilities for enlarging the conceptual purview of our discipline. Mainland China provides a striking example of an economic system divesting itself of some state-owned enterprises and moving into an economy with more privately owned and managed enterprises. What are the consequences of this rapid transition for organizational processes and employee behaviours? Does the Chinese cultural legacy channel these developments in ways that are theoretically revealing and possibly

applicable to other societies in which cultural legacies are undergoing the same transitions? Further, one might explore the consequences of the extraordinary one-child policy for current employee motivation, inter-generational conflict within Chinese organizations, HR practices and so forth, just as has been done in Chinese developmental psychology (Wang & Chang, 2010). These are fascinating developments to explore, close at hand for organizational psychologists studying in the Mainland, and of potential applicability in other societal-cultural systems, Chinese or otherwise.

The capability to produce such state-of-the-art conceptual contributions is the legacy of extensive reading in the literature surrounding the outcome of interest (OOI) – one must know what has already been explored before ideas about novel constructs will suggest themselves. 'Chance favours the prepared mind', as Pasteur put it. This reading should extend beyond journal articles into contemporary analyses and historical accounts (see Liu, Li, & Yue, 2010, for research on Chinese social identity).

Inter-cultural experience will also help, especially in generating insights that emerge from working closely with persons from another cultural setting in their own cultural settings (Bond, 1997). Interactional disfluencies across cultural lines are revealing about cultural differences (e.g., Bond, 1994), and grist for the mill of a well prepared and inquisitive mind. Notice how Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama have used their experiences working with one another's cultural otherness to stimulate each other's thinking (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). Such insights and their testing through operationalization are hard won, but a productive way to exploit and leverage difficulties encountered at the cultural interface. 'Every wall is a door', as Emerson put it. Such personal experience at the interface of cultural systems may also yield testable insights about inter-cultural dynamics involving the Chinese, another topic of emerging importance, and 'close-at-hand' for aspiring researchers in COB (see Thomas & Liao, 2010)

Practising creativity will help, too. McGuire (1997) has documented a series of exercises that he has tested with students over many years to potentiate their capacity to think and act 'outside the box'. These heuristics can be practised alone or in groups, and may provide portals for innovative approaches to social phenomena that go beyond our disciplinary 'givens', and allow researchers to bring distinctive cultural experience to bear on the OOI. Other skilled researchers have addressed training for creativity as well (Bavelas, 1987).

If the researchers' reasoning is sufficiently persuasive and their academic-cultural grounding solid, this theoretical innovation should galvanize attention and assure publication, even in top-tier journals. Note that initial success in developing such constructs does not have to be cross-cultural. We may rest assured, however, that if the idea is sufficiently original and clearly presented, then extending to a cross-cultural focus will follow in due course.

Going Cross-Cultural?

What is needed to make a cross-cultural focus valuable to our evolving discourse on COB? First, a North American collaborator with access to participants is tactically useful. Accessing a comparison population in North America, the cultural anchoring point that has provided so much of our discipline's intellectual ballast, would enable researchers to relate the finding to most other findings in the literature. Also useful would be accessing different Chinese populations, which would help in determining whether a pattern reflects the legacy of Chinese culture as opposed to some more specific politico-socio-economic realities that vary between different Chinese societies or between different regions of China.

So, for example, Leong, Bond, and Fu (2006) found two orthogonal dimensions of influence tactics applicable in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the U.S. termed Contingent Control (CC) and Gentle Persuasion (GP). The perceived effectiveness of GP, however, was rated highest by managers in the U.S., lowest by those in Mainland China with Hong Kong and Taiwan falling between these extremes. Thus, not all Chinese are socialized in organizationally similar ways. These are important distinctions across Chinese societies to begin documenting, and eventually trying to explain.

Putting our Constructs to Use – From Stasis to Praxis

To this point, we have been considering Chinese culture in two ways. Firstly, as exercising a positioning effect on social-psychological outcomes for persons socialized into that cultural setting. So, the Chinese end up appearing higher or lower than persons from other groups on some OOI, like dialectical thinking, belief in fate, the value attached to power, the use of coercive control to influence the performance of subordinates, and so forth. Secondly, as a source of novel constructs for use in social science. Given the extensive historical legacy of Chinese culture and its isolation from the West for so long, research work from these perspectives will have a guaranteed, receptive audience.

There is a cottage industry of publications derived from doing these two types of social science in Chinese culture (see e.g., Bond, 2010); their success derives from the simple intellectual approach of conceptualizing culture as exercising its influence *on the personality of its members*. So, Chinese persons behave differently than persons of other cultures because they have been socialized differently, and consequently have different personality profiles.

Regardless of our findings in these respects, however, we must deal with the crucial 'so how' question – 'So how does this personality construct work along with other constructs to generate the social behaviours of interest to organizational psychologists'? When tested, a given personality construct usually accounts for a small percentage of variance in the OOI, as Mischel (1968) pointed out decades

ago, and requires supplementation with other constructs, both personal and situational, to increase its efficacy in predicting behaviour (Mischel & Shoda, 1998).

In our work on this dynamic approach to explaining organizational OOIs, we move into process model-building, what has been termed a 'Newtonian' approach to explaining events (Bond, 2009). Because Chinese research in this area is implicitly cross-cultural, we will inevitably use cross-cultural model-testing. Such comparative modelling will show us how to unpackage the nebulous concept of 'culture' (Bond & van de Vijver, 2011), revealing to us *where* culture exercises its effects and *with which constructs* of our model.

The Example of Face Loss

The concept of face enjoys iconic status in Chinese culture – Lin (1939) called it one member of the female triad in Chinese culture, the others being Favour and Fate. Hui and Bond (2009) were interested in exploring its role in generating forgiveness following episodes of harm by another person. We argued that the loss of face would drive two basic relational motivations – it would increase the desire to retaliate against the harm-doer and decrease the desire to maintain the relationship compromised by that harm-doing. These two motivational changes would then lead to greater or lesser forgiveness of the harm-doer, respectively, depending on his or her strength (Fig. 1).

Culture exercised its effects in two ways. Firstly, the Hong Kong Chinese were less forgiving than the Americans. This is an example of the previously mentioned 'culture positioning effect' (Leung & Bond, 1989), whereby equivalent samples of respondents from two cultural groups show different levels on the OOI, in this case forgiveness of the transgressor. In this study, the difference in forgiveness was explained fully by the constructs in the model, working their dynamics through to the OOI. Secondly, the construct of face loss was more important for the Hong Kong Chinese in reducing the motivation to maintain the at-risk relationship. In fact, face loss was irrelevant for Americans in influencing their desire to maintain the relationship. This outcome may thus be taken as exemplifying the key role of face considerations in Chinese culture – one does not cause an acquaintance to lose face without risking damage to the relationship; with Americans, there is impunity with respect to the particular motivation to maintain the relationship. This result is an example of the 'culture moderating effect'.

The same type of finding emerges from the Leong et al. (2006) study on the effectiveness of CC as an influence tactic in managers of Mainland Chinese, Taiwanese, Hong Kongese, and American organizations. They found that managers' beliefs about the truth of Fate Control (Leung & Bond, 2004) predicted their ratings of how effective tactics of CC were in their day-to-day management activities. However, the strength of this relationship was stronger for Americans and Hong Kongese than for either Mainland Chinese or Taiwanese, where the

Figure 1. The influence of culture on the relationships between perceived face loss, target's motivations, and target's forgiveness towards the perpetrator
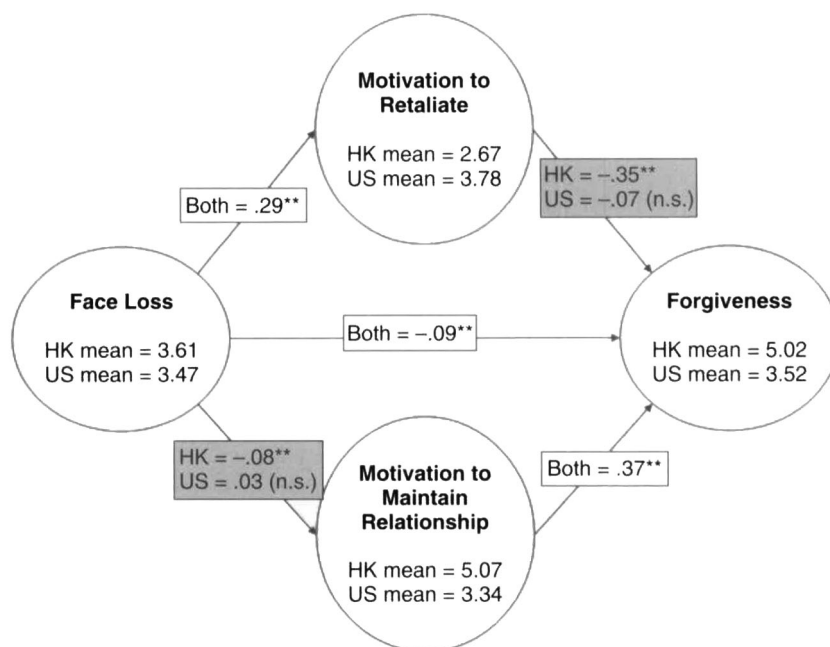
relationship was non-significant. This finding is puzzling, and indeed, findings about the *impact* of constructs rather than their *level* are often puzzling; such results are rare in our literature, so we have not been pushed to develop explanations about culture as an impact induction rather than a positioning factor.

This cultural moderating effect demonstrates the importance of cultural heritage in making certain constructs more salient or impactful in the life space of its members. If we begin thinking about cultural socialization as an 'education of attention' to those processes that are of particular significance, then bicultural model testing like this example is an obvious approach for testing *if and where* culture matters.

Establishing Why Culture Matters

Showing that culture matters and where in our model of process it does matter only makes the case for developing deeper thinking and broader testing about culture. We will want to know *why* culture makes a given variable more or less important in determining an OOI. What is it about being socialized in Hong Kong that makes face loss more important in predicting the motivation to retaliate than in America (Hui & Bond, 2009), for example? What is it about being socialized in Hong Kong and America that makes a belief in fate control more important in predicting the

effectiveness of using CC there than in Taiwan or Mainland China (Leong et al., 2006)? This last example is particularly telling – an appeal to Chinese culture can obviously not be used, since the dynamics surrounding fate control differ across these three examples of Chinese culture. Obviously, some features of the eco-social realities characterizing these three Chinese societies other than their 'Chineseness' is crucial. What could these features be? We must learn what these features are if we are to build theories of cultural impact on OOIs that can be empirically tested.

Going Multicultural and Confronting the Chinese Monolith

We are now entering what I have elsewhere called 'the Einsteinian era' (Bond, 2009) of cross-cultural research. It is so named because we are now technically more able and intellectually better prepared to deal with multi-level models involving a greater complexity of factors that predict any given OOI. The aim of studies done within this purview is to identify those features of cultural systems that constitute the positioning or moderating variables affecting the OOI at the individual level. The multi-level models required for answering such questions require a minimum of ten higher-level units to draw defensible statistical conclusions from our analyses. So, if we are considering nations as one of the higher-level units in our research design and striving to explicate national impact empirically, then our work *must* become multicultural.

Here is an example of this approach from a recent study (Muethel & Bond, in preparation). The researchers focus on an individual employee's trust of the out-group as the OOI. They argue that the context variables of dispositional trust, category-based trust, role-based trust, and rule-based trust held by the employee's fellow citizens enhance a given individual employee's trust of the out-group. Further, societal cynicism (Leung & Bond, 2004) is argued to be a national level, contextual impediment of employees' trust in the out-group.

So, an individual outcome of trusting the out-group is conceptualized as embedded within the higher level, contextual factors. The model is assessed using the multi-national data provided by the World Values Survey and the Social Axioms Survey used in Leung and Bond 2004), thereby enabling a precise estimate of the impact shaped by these contextual factors on individual trust of the out-group.

Some of these nations are Chinese – China, Taiwan, and Singapore. The consequence of applying this model multi-nationally, then, is that the 'Chineseness of the Chinese' can be unpackaged (Bond & van de Vijver, 2011); the Chinese nations in question can be located with respect to one another and the other national groups involved as specific exemplars of the contextual constructs constituting the model of culture. When this procedure has been applied in the past (e.g., Fu et al, 2004), the Chinese 'monolith' has separated, and Chinese national groups have often appeared more similar to other, non-Chinese groups than to one another.

In this way, stereotypical thinking about 'the Chinese' with regards to COB will begin to decline, replaced by more differentiated, sensitive thinking applied to each Chinese society as a unique representative of societal-level contextual factors important to the OOI. Any given national system will then become a distinctive member in a 'galaxy of stars replete with constellated groupings' (Tung, 2008). With their spatial positions known, it will then be possible for our discipline to develop empirically testable theories of how national culture-as-context affects the individual processes resulting in OOIs of interest to organizational psychologists. This is an ambitious but worthy goal for COB aspiring to scientific status.

Characterizing Culture for Use by Social Scientists

A basic tenet of the psychological approach to understanding social interaction is Kurt Lewin's seminal formulation of Behaviour as a function of Personality and Situation. To test that formula, and to know the algebra connecting personality to situation, we need a clear understanding of, and measurements for, both personality and situation. To date, social psychology has been remiss in providing our discipline with a definition of the situation confronting the actor *that is independent of the actor's apprehension of that situation* (see e.g., Seeman, 1997). Obviously, if one defines the situation in terms of the actor's apprehension of that situation (Mischel & Shoda, 1998), then the actor's personality is confounded with his or her definition of the situation.

It is, however, possible to define the situation confronting the actor independent of his or her personality. One can assess the actor's profile of relevant personality measures and also his or her judgment of the situation, then regress out the contribution of these personality factors to that assessment (see e.g., Chen, Bond, & Cheung, 2006). Alternatively, one may take measures of the situation confronting the actor from others who are part of that situation, for example, the actor's team members or organizational colleagues, and duly 'correct' this measure for the influence of the personalities of these others (e.g., Lun & Bond, in preparation). Or, one may develop theoretically grounded measures of relevant constructs for the OOI taken from non-subjective judgments of raters for the measurement of situational factors. In developing measures of the situation, our discipline has been more effective in generating such measures for the more distal situation at the national level, e.g., Georgas and Berry (1995), than it has been for measures for the 'culture' of the more proximal situation, such as the organization, the unit, the team, or the dyad. Ideally, all are needed.

In addition to being a shaper of personality and other internal attributes, culture can also figure in to the situation in which the environment influences the actor's behaviour. One's culture is a factor that shapes the behaviour of others with whom one interacts; people tune their judgments and messages to their audience based on what they believe to be culturally typical for that audience (see e.g., Zou, Tam,

Morris, Lee, Lau, & Chiu, 2009). Aside from such targeted behaviour of interactants, the social environments that cultural settings provide differ in the ways they evoke culturally typical behaviours. These may include the prevailing patterns of others' behaviour available as a model, the social network structures that constrain one's options, and the array of cues in particular situations that prime culturally associated thoughts and habits. Situations vary widely in the degree to which they evoke cultural habits through priming. The identity and personality traits associated with one national culture can be brought to the fore by cues such as language, facial appearance, dress, music, and iconic cultural images and symbols (Oyserman & Sorensen, 2009). Another situation or interaction may instead present cues to gender, occupational, or corporate identities and would not evoke one's national cultural identity and associated traits. Hence researchers of COB should consider whether the proximal organizational context that they study is one that cues the Chinese cultural identity as opposed to other social identities.

Priming takes on a different role when studying individuals who are bicultural or multicultural. Increasingly researchers have investigated the influence of culture on judgment through comparing biculturals under different cultural priming conditions, rather than comparing across different cultural populations (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000). Our goal in this paper is to trace the evolution of increasingly powerful cross-cultural methods from Aristotelian to Einsteinian approaches, the dynamic constructivist approach of studying biculturals under different conditions is more akin to post-Einsteinian quantum physics in exploring different cultural traces in a person that cannot be observed simultaneously.

Finally, we should note the recurring finding that the cultural identities and habits evoked by culturally associated cues depend on the cultural identifications or dis-identifications of the individuals involved (Bond, 1982; Mok & Morris, 2010; Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2008). An emerging issue is that some persons are generally more primable than others, based on their personality dispositions, such as need for closure and contextualism (Fu, Morris, Lee, Chao, Chiu, & Hong, 2007; Vignoles et al., 2010). Whether Chinese persons are in general more culturally 'primable' than those from other national cultures is an unexplored issue worth further consideration, as it has particular relevance to inter-cultural interactions in multicultural organizations.

Measures of Organizational Context

One can use either respondent-derived or external measures of organizational culture or context. Participant-derived measures ask members of the organization to rate their context. These may be assessments of their own personalities, beliefs, values, or practices that are then aggregated to the organizational level. This provides a measure of *the organization as an aggregate of its personnel*, and one can begin

describing the 'organization's' personality, beliefs, values, or practices. This may seem a strange use of language in that terms used to describe individuals are applied to non-individual units, but it is by now an established procedure and operational approach both for a nation (Hofstede, 2003; Muethel, Hoegl, & Parboteeah, 2011; Parboteeah & Cullen, 2003; Parboteeah, Cullen, & Lim, 2004; Parboteeah, Hoegl, & Cullen, 2008a; Parboteeah, Hoegl, & Cullen, 2008b), organization (Gerhart, 2009; Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders, 1990; Kwantes & Boglarsky, 2007; Lau, Tse, & Zhou, 2002; Marcoulides & Heck, 1993; O'Reilly et al., 1991; Tsui, Hui, & Xin, 2006a; Tsui, Zhang, Wang, Xin, & Wu, 2006b; Vijay, Fariborz, Jaepil, Chao, & Seung Ho, 2002), and a team (Bond & Ng, 2004; Burningham & West, 1995; Earley & Mosakowski, 2000; Fine, 1979; Pirola-Merlo et al., 2002).

One can also have the organizational members describe the personality, beliefs, values, or practices *of others in the organization.* This can be an important and typically required measure in studies published by journals focusing on research on OB. When using these other-derived ratings, however, there is a probable confound between the personality of the rater and the ratings given to the target of interest, be it another person, a team, or an organization. A pure measure of the target could, however, be obtained by aggregating the ratings of the target *after* the rater's personality had first been partialed out (see e.g., Lun & Bond, in preparation). As with the use of self-ratings to define the organizational context, this is another perspective that equates organizations with an aggregate of its personnel.

An alternative measure of organizational context uses members' ratings of organizational process, in much the same way as has been done with teams (e.g., Bond & Ng, 2004; Lun & Bond, 2006). Again, each rater's personality must first be un-confounded from his or her judgments of perceived process, to obtain an objective rating of organizational context. These ratings would then be aggregated to produce a score for the organization's process.

This same logic of procedure could be extended to ratings of organizational products or outcomes. However, there are non-participant derived data on these closely monitored results for an organization, and these are preferred for use over participant measures. Non-participant derived measures are objective indices of theoretically relevant organizational functioning that are not based on subjective ratings. They may be scored with perfect reliability once their operational definitions and formulas have been specified. As with participant-derived measures, they may focus on personnel, process, or production. The Ashton studies provided some of the first measures of an organization's structure – its level of centralization, specialization, and formalization (Pugh & Hickson, 1976). Researchers in network analysis (e.g., Xiao & Tsui, 2007) provide more recent examples of process measures, some of which have been used in direct cross-national comparisons of organizations (e.g., Morris, Podolny, & Ariel, 2000; Morris, Podolny, & Sullivan, 2008). Researchers on innovation management, on the other hand, regularly used

the number of patents as proxy for a firm's innovative power. This measure has also been applied in cross-national research (Faber & Hesen, 2004).

Another valuable source of hard data can be company reports, containing apparently more 'objective' data. Take for example corporate social responsibility (CSR). Companies like BMW, Adidas, and Lufthansa regularly publish CSR reports, including environmental and social measures. Environmental indicators include CO_2 emissions, energy consumption, water consumption, and waste. Social indicators have included the percentage of women in management and executive positions, employee turnover, annual average training per employee, and accident frequency per one million hours worked.

CONCLUSION

Over the past few decades, cross-cultural psychology has evolved from Aristotelian, to Linnean, through Newtonian, and finally to Einsteinian approaches (Bond, 2009). With the increasing maturity of the field, research questions have become more complex, departing from interest in the application of single, usually 'Western' measures to Chinese research with a comparative thrust (Aristotelian) and moving into the development of cross-level models involving an increasing multiplicity of influences on OOIs embedded within a national cultural context (Einsteinian). Research design and also statistical techniques have changed with time and enabled these more complex research questions to be posed and addressed (Fig. 2).

Furthermore, while single-country studies relied on regression, and cross-cultural studies integrating two or three countries on F-tests (Ralston, Holt, Terpstra, & Yu, 1997; Ralston, Terpstra-Tong, Maignan, Napier, & Nguyen, 2006), the latest cross-cultural work applies structural equation modelling (Newtonian), or, in the case of multicultural models, hierarchical linear modelling (Parboteeah & Cullen, 2003; Parboteeah et al., 2008a; Ralston et al., 2009). Contributions of cross-cultural research across the four eras demonstrate how the field has evolved into increasing sophistication, enhancing our capability to unpackage the role of culture as a contextual influence for international business. While in the most widely recognized Linnean phase (e.g., Hofstede, 2003), insights on culture-dimensions and cultural clustering advanced our general understanding of cross-cultural management, the Newtonian phase provided more detailed knowledge of culture's role for interpersonal processes relevant to management. Finally, the cross-level approach inherent in the work of the Einsteinian phase shows how individual responses, the OOIs, are embedded within a national-level environment of which Chinese societies constitute some of the pieces in the mosaic. Furthermore, the Einsteinian approach allows researchers to identify global models applicable for a variety of countries, and then to depict the role of cultural features as a moderator of impact in such global models.

Figure 2. Approaches taken to cross-cultural OB over time

	Aristotelian	Linnaean	Newtonian	Einsteinian
Research question	How does your research done with Chinese human beings relate to and inform our discourse?	What is interesting about this distinction across cultural groups?	Focus on process – how Y "gets done" by X or Xs and whether those process linkages are moderated by culture - focus attention on the process producing the OOI and possibly driving changes in the OOI	So how does a personality construct work along with other constructs to generate the social behaviour of interest to organizational psychologists?
Target	Apply Western constructs in the Chinese context, usually without any attempt at indigenization	Compare countries along culture-dimensions	Compare processes across two cultural groups to identify constructs possibly driving changes in the outcome of interest	Identify those features of the cultural system that are associated with the positioning and moderating effects on the process driving the outcome of interest at the individual level
Approach	Replicate studies done elsewhere, but using Chinese respondents	Clustering and dimensionalizing of cultures and their peoples [citizens]	Cross-cultural comparisons of processes, ideally with derived-etic or decentered measures	Multi-level, group modelling ideally with derived-etic or decentred measures
Research design	Typically use imposed etic measures	Derive country-means or citizen scores with respect to values, beliefs, norms or other culture-level dimensions	Comparative linkage strengths on an outcome of interest, not comparative levels of an OOI	Sufficient numbers of persons in a sufficient number of cultures [units] are included to assess how culture-level factors relate to and possibly impact upon the relationship between X and the outcome of interest in those units
Statistical Method	T-tests; ANOVA	Cluster and factor analysis	Regression; Structural Equation Modelling	Hierarchical Linear Modelling
Related work	Most studies found in Bond (1986) *The psychology of the Chinese people;* many found in Bond (2010) *The Oxford handbook of Chinese psychology*	- Hofstede's Culture Dimensions (1980) - Chinese Value Survey (1987) - Bond (1988) - Schwartz Value Survey (1992) - GLOBE (2004) - Leung & Bond (2004) - Bond & Chi (1997)	- Chen & Farh (2010) - Leung & Au (2010)	- Fu et al. (2004) "The impact of societal cultural values and individual social beliefs on the perceived effectiveness of managerial influence strategies" in 11 nations - Ralston et al. (2009) "Ethical preferences for influencing superiors: A 41-society study"
Contributions	Insights into the role of 'Western' concepts in other cultural locations; compare the personalities of persons from different cultural groups on the construct in question	- Metricizing "national" similarities and differences on cultural dimensions	Carries implications for inter-cultural management; makes the case for cultural group membership as a factor influencing dynamic processes; may make the case for the cultural background of participants as a moderator of the process influencing the OOI	- We move beyond demonstrating that culture moderates linkage strength, as in Kwan et al. (1997), a study in the Newtonian tradition, into unpackaging metricized components of culture as a moderator - Will provoke us to construct testable theories about cultural features as moderator or salience induction - Leading to a more sophisticated conceptual vision of how behaviour gets done
Downsides	- Issues of translation - Issues of metric equivalence - Issues of culturally different response styles - Innocence of any historical-cultural grounding - Incapacity to extract the culturally relevant constructs explaining the observed differences, unless unpackaging measures are included	- Incorrect reasoning when doing cross-cultural psychological studies, committing what Hofstede (1980, p. 23) termed the "ecological fallacy"	- With a two or three-culture study, we are still unable to specify and confirm what culture-nation-, organization-, group-level factors are correlated with, and possibly responsible for, degrees of change in the OOI - Unless study uses constructs to unpackage the cultural effects, one can only speculate about why culture moderates the process driving the OOI	- Cross-level models often have to rely on secondary data. - As the outcome is on the individual level, we cannot explain intercultural interactions - Cross-level models assume a single cultural identity, thus cannot grasp multicultural identities

We have highlighted the advantages provided by global models to understand the embeddedness of individual behaviour in multiple contexts, and encourage future research endeavours to venture into the Einsteinian era. These forays might also serve as the basis for the development of cross-level interaction effects, such as interactions between national and organizational culture.

To facilitate such Einsteinian research, we suggest a specific set up for conducting such research and specific methods to enhance its quality. In regards to the organizational set up of such a research endeavour, we suggest a multicultural research team for theoretical model development and international partners for collaboration:

1) *Use the creative potential of multicultural research teams*: Indigenous research experience allows researchers from the different national cultures involved to shed light from different perspectives on the OOI. Their diverse research backgrounds can enhance discussions on research questions and models, but also address issues of culture-specific measurement. To improve cross-level research, there is atoned for the identification of new measures that are applicable in all countries studied.

2) *Find and cultivate international partners for collaboration*: Cross-level, global models depend on a multitude of country data. Particularly, if no research funding is available to pay for data collection from different countries, researchers will need to find international partners for collaboration. One approach to gain such partners is to advertise and market the research endeavour at international conferences, such as those sponsored by the Academy of Management, the Academy of International Business, or the International Association for Chinese Management Research.

3) *Enrich research with qualitative observations*. Qualitative data, from different sources, allows description of the relevant national context of the countries involved and thus enriches the story being told. From a methodological perspective, we encourage researchers to suffuse their quantitative measure development with insightful qualitative inputs from various academic disciplines and cultural stakeholders. It can give our quantitative work greater resonance and credibility, so that our cross-cultural work 'feels right' (Fulmer et al., 2010) to more of the researchers involved and to those who read and are guided by our labours.

<div align="center">

长风破浪会有时，直挂云帆济沧海。

I will mount the dragon wind and head into the heavy waves
and set my sail for the open seas.
Chinese saying

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