The Role of Trust in Solving the Paradox of Multicultural Teams

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Abstract

Globalisation has presented organisations with the challenge of conducting business outside the domestic boundaries. To answer the challenge, many organisations now employ teams consisting of individuals with different cultural backgrounds. The main advantage of these culturally diverse teams (MCT) is their inherent culture specific knowledge and expertise, but paradoxically the increased diversity often disrupts efficient use of this knowledge. To solve this paradox, this study focused on a condition critical for effective knowledge sharing: trust. The negative effects of diversity are thought to result from social categorisation processes that disrupt team interaction and trust-building. To offer an alternate perspective, this study examined the role of behaviour in trust-building by conducting a qualitative case study on a multicultural team and performing a qualitative content analysis on the gathered interview data. The coding frame was based on relevant trust-theories and the theory of behavioural integration, and this combination allowed for examining the kind of behaviours most likely to build trust in MCTs, and construct a proposed model of trust-building. The model includes four joint activities: professional and personal communication, helping behaviour and task executive behaviour, as well as two conditions for these activities: a shared goal and mutually accepted basic norms of interaction. These results indicate that behaviour has the potential to change or reinforce existing perceptions of trustworthiness, and future research could focus more on the activities that may overall moderate the negative effects of diversity in teams.

Keywords: trust, multicultural teams, behavioural integration, cultural diversity

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I. Introduction

In the first chapter, the Background of the topic is introduced. This is then followed by the Problematization. After this, the Research Question of this paper is presented. Finally, the Purpose and Knowledge Contribution are discussed.

1.1. Background

As a result of increasing globalisation, organisations are faced with the challenge of conducting their business outside the purely domestic boundaries, in an environment characterised by a higher level of competition, complexity, and ambiguity (Caligiuri 2006; Caligiuri & Tarique 2012; Mendenhall et al. 2012; Reiche et al. 2017). In order to effectively manage the difficulties presented by the cultural differences and more complex global environment, many global organisations now have an increasing number of teams consisting of employees from different national and cultural backgrounds (Hajro & Pudelko 2010; Lisak et al. 2016; Zander & Butler 2010; Zander, Mockaitis & Butler 2012). These multicultural teams (MCTs) can be viewed as a collection of individuals with different cultural backgrounds, who are interdependent on their tasks and who share the responsibility for outcomes and share the mission and purpose of a larger organisation (Marquat & Horvath 2001; Bailey & Cohen, 1997 cited in Halverson & Tirmizi 2008). These MCTs are often perceived as an appropriate way of dealing with the specific local and cultural demands, and according to Zander and Butler (2010), the expectations for success tend to run high; MCTs are viewed as the 'glue' across country and culture borders. The interest in MCTs was originally sparked by the author's personal experiences with working in a culturally diverse team. These experiences have allowed for first-hand observation of issues that may have yet been touched upon in prior literature. The following narration of one such issue highlights the problem that motivated this research:

I work with customer service at a medium-sized multinational company. My team is responsible for the Finnish market, so almost every team member is Finnish, but our team leader is Swedish. The most serious problem we have is the lack of consideration for our ideas and suggestions for developing the quality of our service. As a result, the team

members feel that they are not taken seriously and that the team leader does not trust our skills as employees. The issues have considerably affected our customer satisfaction indicators, and the team feels that many problems could have been avoided had the team leader and managers valued our input and expertise more.

In the short excerpt above, the company has failed to utilise the invaluable knowledge of the team. Prior literature widely supports the idea that the main advantage of MCTs is the larger pool of skills and knowledge that the team has access to, acting as the source for innovation and more creative solutions (Haas & Nüesch 2012; Kirkman & Shapiro 2015; Lisak et al. 2016; Matveev & Milter 2004; van Knippenberg, van Ginkel & Homan 2013). Lazear (1999, cited in Haas & Nüesch 2012), points out that when certain skills and knowledge are both national specific and essential for team production, national diversity is even more important. The paradox of having a culturally diverse team to meet the needs of a specific group of customers, but failing to acknowledge or further exploit the team's unique expertise, prompts an interesting avenue for further research.

1.2. Problematization

The research on the effects of cultural diversity on team outcomes and performance has yielded antithetical and inconsistent results. Some studies have found negative correlations between team diversity and performance (see e.g. Haas & Nüesch 2012; Kirkman, Tesluk & Rosen 2004), whilst others have reported more positive results (see e.g. Earley & Mosakowski 2000; Lisak et al. 2016). In order to clarify the past results, Stahl et al. (2010) conducted a meta-analysis of research on multicultural work groups. They concluded that "cultural diversity in teams can be both an asset and a liability", and suggested that the performance of the team depends on their ability to manage team processes effectively, and the context in which the team operates (Ibid.). Cultural diversity, then, is neither an irrefutable antecedent of greater innovation, nor is it a certain impediment to success. Past research has identified two processes engendered by diversity that may explain the inconsistency of MCT performance.

The negative effects of diversity are thought to result from social categorisation processes resulting in intergroup bias (van Knippenberg, van Ginkel & Homan 2013). In diverse groups, individuals are likely to categorise themselves into an ingroup that consists of those who are

deemed similar to self, and an outgroup that consists of those members seen as too different (Turner, Brown & Tajfel 1979). This categorisation can disrupt group processes as individuals tend to like the ingroup more than the outgroup, and are more willing to trust and cooperate with the ingroup than the outgroup (Gibson & Grubb 2005; van Knippenberg, van Ginkel & Homan 2013). However, the information/decision-making perspective in turn posits that diverse teams have access to a larger pool of knowledge and experience than homogenous groups, acting as a source of superior performance (van Knippenberg, De Dreu & Homan 2004; Stahl et al. 2010). van Knippenberg, De Dreu, and Homan (2004) argue, that it is not the availability of the task-related information and expertise diverse groups may possess but the processes engendered by diversity that allow for better use of this information that underlie the potential for superior performance. Paradoxically, these two perspectives then imply that diversity creates intragroup conflict on the basis of social categorisation processes, but at the same time diversity engenders processes that contribute to better performance as group members are forced to resolve conflicting views and process task relevant information more thoroughly, leading to increased innovation (Lisak et al. 2016; van Knippenberg, De Dreu & Homan 2004).

Consequently, researchers have proposed that the focus should be shifted to the processes that translate cultural diversity to action that has a positive effect on team outcomes (van Knippenberg De Dreu & Homan 2004; Roberge & van Dick 2010; Stahl et al. 2010). The personal experience touched upon in the introduction prompted the idea of focusing on the conditions for effective sharing and processing of information in MCTs, as their main advantage is the culture-specific knowledge and experience. It was then decided to focus on the role of trust, as it is an important condition for knowledge transfer (Szulanski, Cappetta & Jensen 2004), increased knowledge sharing (Lee et al. 2010), and an element of team psychological safety climate that enables and encourages members to express differing opinions or challenge existing views (Edmondson 1999).

Furthermore, trust is an emergent state that varies as a function of team context, inputs, processes, and outcomes. An emergent state can be considered both an input and an outcome of team processes (Marks, Mathieu & Zaccaro 2001), suggesting that while trust is a critical condition for effective information sharing, cultural diversity is likely to disrupt the emergence of trust in MCTs (van Knippenberg, van Ginkel & Homan 2013) This interrelation offers an opportunity to study the processes that translate diversity to action that is positive for team

outcomes. Additionally, there is little research available on how trust is built in MCTs, although some studies have touched on the subject (see e.g. Mach & Baruch 2015; Oliveira & Scherbaum 2015; Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2014).

Most prior research has instead sought to investigate or explain the challenges that cultural diversity may cause (see e.g. Aritz & Walker 2014; Behfar, Kern & Brett 2006; Haas & Nüesch 2012; Kirkman & Shapiro 2015), and the subsequent literature on team leadership tends to focus on different styles of leadership, or leader competences, skills and characteristics that may overall increase MCT performance or effectivity (see e.g. Hajro & Pudelko 2010; Kearney & Gebert 2009; Lisak & Erez 2015; Matveev & Milter 2004; Ramthun & Matkin 2012). Research has thus focused mainly on the issues that cultural diversity can cause in teams, and how leaders might mitigate the adverse or negative effects of diversity.

The purpose of this study is not to examine the role of the team leader in trust-building specifically, but it may offer new insight into how team leaders can facilitate better knowledge sharing, since it has been shown to contribute to team performance (Lee et al. 2010). The interest in of this study is in the team as a whole, and how their collective interaction builds trust.

1.3. Research Question

Based on our research aim and problematization, our research question is the following: *How is trust built in multicultural teams?*

1.4. Purpose and Knowledge Contribution

The aim of this study is to find empirical evidence of how trust is built in culturally diverse teams. Trust has been identified as an important condition for effective knowledge sharing, and an element of a climate where team members can safely express their opinions. By focusing on which actions build trust in MCTs, the study may offer new insight to which team processes potentially translate diversity into action that results in positive outcomes. Thus, it offers a potential knowledge contribution to existing literature on both MCTs and trust, as well as provide businesses and team leaders with new strategies to benefit from their diverse workforce.

II. Literature Review

The first section of the literature review reflects on the role of culture in organisations, and discusses the shortcomings of prior literature. A new perspective is presented. Second, the definition for multicultural teams is presented. After this, the advantages and disadvantages of multicultural teams are discussed, followed by a short introduction to the multicultural team processes. Third, the concept of trust is discussed thoroughly. Fourth, a conclusion to the literature review is presented which is followed by an introduction to the theoretical framework.

2.1. Defining Culture

The concept of culture has fascinated the academia for decades. Many have sought to define, and understand what culture exactly is at its core, and as a result, culture has been defined in a myriad of ways. Despite the lack of a unified definition, Taras, Rowney and Steel (2009), in reviewing the past literature on cultural measurement, found that virtually all existing definitions share several common features:

- 1) Culture is a complex construct with multiple levels; at its core are the basic values and assumptions. The practices, symbols, and artefacts associated with culture represent the outer layers of the construct.
- 2) Culture is shared among members belonging to a group or society.
- 3) Culture is formed over a relatively long period of time.
- 4) Culture is a relatively stable construct.

Perhaps the most well-known definition is that of Hofstede's (1984). According to him, "culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or society from those of another" (Ibid). Culture is reflected in people's values, their collective beliefs, what they see as good or true, and bad or false. In essence, culture is present in the meanings people attach to various things in their lives, and visible in the institutions and physical products of a society. Members of the same culture are thus likely to interpret and evaluate situations and events similarly (Earley & Gibson, 2002).

2.1.1. Perspectives on Culture

Traditionally culture has been studied in the domain of archaeology and anthropology, where the emphasis has been on the traditions and artefacts. As business has expanded across national borders, cross-cultural issues are now contemporary for management and organisations alike (Taras, Rowney & Steel 2009). Research approach has shifted from qualitative explorations of traditions and artefacts to quantitative measurements of culture, especially to the cultural values and attitudes that are thought to affect human behaviour. Cross-cultural research has thus emphasised values, and several models for examining and comparing different cultures have been developed over the past decades (see e.g. Hofstede, 1984).

However, several concerns have been raised with the increased use of these models for measuring culture. Firstly, although the number of dimensions incorporated in the models has grown, it is not certain that every aspect of culture has been captured (Taras, Rowney & Steel 2009). Secondly, cross-cultural research has largely focused on only the individualism-collectivism dimension, as it has been deemed most relevant to organisations, but it is uncertain if this dimension truly has stronger predictive power than other dimensions (Taras, Kirkman & Steel 2010; Taras, Rowney & Steel 2009). Thirdly, the impact of cultural values on organisational outcomes at the individual level of analysis is moderated by several demographic characteristics, such as age, sex, and educational background (Taras, Kirkman & Steel 2010), suggest assessing individuals through national culture measures should be done with extreme caution.

Despite the rather problematic nature of the models, pre-existing country-level measures, such as those provided by Hofstede, are frequently used in empirical studies examining culture's direct impact on employee intentions, or behaviours (Richter et al. 2016). Taras, Kirkman and Steel's (2010) comprehensive meta-analysis of the relationship between Hofstede's cultural value dimensions' and various organisationally relevant outcomes revealed that cultural values explain relatively low amounts of variance in job performance, absenteeism, and turnover. On the other hand, outcomes such as organisational commitment, organisational citizenship behaviour, receptivity to certain leadership styles, and feedback seeking were affected more by cultural values. Taras, Kirkman and Steel (2010) even question if the study of cultural values

as predictors for organisationally relevant outcomes has become obsolete, but as cultural values have a significant predictive power for certain outcomes, they conclude such claim is premature.

To reiterate, cultural values and cultural diversity in organisations do affect organisational outcomes, but the underlying mechanisms are not yet understood. As Kirkman, Lowe and Gibson (2016) state, more attention should be drawn to explaining the underlying dynamics of the relationship between cultural values and outcomes; they propose that future research should include relevant contextual moderators. Some moderators of cultural value effects have been proposed in recent years, but these have centred around demographics such as age and sex (Kirkman, Lowe and Gibson 2016). Similar remarks proliferate the literature on team diversity and performance, as the effects of diversity on team performance remain unclear (see e.g. Roberge & van Dick 2010; Stahl et al. 2010; Van Knippenberg, De Dreu & Homan 2004). As mentioned before, this study aims to further the understanding of how trust is built in culturally diverse teams. This approach allows for deeper examination of the aforementioned processes and mechanisms underlying the linkage between cultural diversity and organisational outcomes, and offers a new perspective to the study of cultural values and their role in modern organisations.

2.2. Defining Multicultural Teams

The worldwide integration as well, as the technological advancements, have increased the obscurity of organisational work. As such, people are depended on each other and many organizations form teams where individual members combine their efforts to achieve the company goals (Halverson & Tirmizi 2008). This team emergence can be seen as an efficient way for organisations to operate in different sectors whilst fulfilling the organizational mission and vision (Ibid). Such cooperation may result in efficiency that could not be achieved without the formation of teams. The existing literature presents many definitions for teams. Bailey and Cohen (cited in Halverson & Tirmizi 2008) studied a number of different team definitions and ended with the following definition of teams:

"A team is a collection of individuals who are interdependent in their tasks, who share responsibility for outcomes, who see themselves and are seen by others as an intact social

entity, embedded in one or more larger social systems and who manage their relationships across organisational boundaries" (p. 4).

The distinction between teams and other collectives is the interdependence that teams possess. The high degree of task interdependence among teams means teams' work products are a result of cooperative work (Halverson & Tirmizi 2008). However, as we are focusing on teams that are distinct and culturally diverse, a more well-defined definition for multicultural teams is needed. What makes multicultural teams (MCTs) unique is the influence of culture on each individual as they inherit different cultural backgrounds and values (Ibid). Hence, multicultural teams can be viewed as task-oriented groups with individuals coming from various cultures (Marquard & Howard, cited in Halverson & Tirmizi 2008). Following Marquard and Howard's (2001) and Bailey and Cohen's definition, Halverson and Tirmizi (2008) understand the concept of MCTs as follows:

"a collection of individuals with different cultural backgrounds and as with teams, members in multicultural teams are interdependent in their tasks and share the responsibility for outcomes whilst contributing to the mission and purpose of a larger organisation".

Members of multicultural teams also share the purpose of accomplishing a shared organisational goal and as cultural diversity plays a role, individuals in MCTs can represent a national culture they come from and possibly other cultures that they identify with, implying that MCTs are not bounded to the diversity in one culture (Halverson & Tirmizi 2008). As a result of the cultural richness, MCTs also tend to depict more variating views and values as opposed to homogeneous "monocultural" teams where one culture dominates (Berg 2012; Dziatzko, Struve & Stehr 2017; Dau 2016). On the other hand, homogeneous teams tend to have a relatively high threshold for conflicts since the members can have a stronger connection for their team as there is not much cultural variety within the team (Amabile 1988; Ibarra 1992 cited in Earley & Mosakowski 2000). However, as mentioned, multicultural teams can be considered as the 'glue' for cultural context and the organisation and thus MCTs can be viewed as an instrument for globalization. Consequently, today's organisations perceive multicultural teams as a considerable way of balancing local adaptation and global coordination and thus, multicultural teams are becoming more common (Zander & Butler 2010) than homogenous teams.

Various cultural values can affect the size and structure of a team or an organisation and the ways in which each individual interacts on an interpersonal level (Halverson & Tirmizi 2008). The structure of the team comprises the division of tasks and different roles in the team. Additionally, the size of the team has a valuable role since it may increase the effectiveness by bringing new resources (Halverson & Tirmizi 2008). On the other hand, the size of the team may impact the performance of the team in a negative due to increased complexity and if the team is not managed appropriately. The influence of multiculturalism on team performance can be considered through the relationship of the team's diversity as well as the size and structure of the team (Halverson & Tirmizi 2008).

2.2.1. Advantages and Disadvantages of Multicultural Teams

Previous studies indicate that achieving successful and desired outcomes in multicultural teams is not straightforward (Zander & Butler 2010). In fact, there are both advantages and disadvantages associated with MCTs and the diversity of the team can either improve or disrupt team performance (Berg 2012; Knippenberg, van Ginkel & Homan 2013). As mentioned, the aim of MCTs is to fulfil tasks requiring specific expertise that cannot be covered by the local market only (Dziatzko, Struve & Stehr 2017). Furthermore, the teams are also expected to achieve high-performance results (DiStefano & Maznevski 2000; Ravlin et al. 2000, cited in Zander & Butler 2010).

Prior to discussing the positive outcomes multicultural teams can deliver, it is worth to address the conditions that allow the teams to be successful (Roberge & van Dick 2010). Contextual variables such as task interdependence, organizational climate and individual values have been recognized as influential variables that moderate the relationship between diversity and performance (Roberge & van Dick 2010). Many of the proposed variables also moderate the effects of team-level trust on performance. In their recent meta-analysis of the trust - team performance relationship, De Jong, Dirks and Gillespie (2015) found that team-level trust is especially strongly related to performance when task interdependence, skill differentiation and authority differentiation are high. For example, when task interdependence is high, team members need to rely upon and interact with each other frequently to fulfil their shared goals and therefore trust influences team performance the most (De Jong, Dirks and Gillespie 2015). When task interdependence is low, the effect of trust on team performance is weakened since

the team members work mostly independently and have little interaction and collaboration (Ibid).

After having distinguished the conditions under which MCTs may perform well, it is reasonable to discuss the strengths of multicultural teams. Forming multicultural teams can work as an effective strategy for competing in the global business environment (Matveev & Milter 2004). The diversity in multicultural teams can portray various experiences and procedures to different methods such as problem solving and communication (Berg 2012). Additionally, the cultural diversity of individual team members can enhance innovation and creativity as well as increase flexibility and openness among team members which may allow them to work efficiently (Stahl et al. 2010). This in turn can have positive effects on team performance (Earley & Mosakowski 2000). Hence, the array of perspectives, attributes and skills are commonly linked to the advantages of cultural diversity that the members of MCTs can contribute (Maznevski, 1994 cited Earley & Mosakowski 2000). Thus, Berg (2012) argues that MCTs hold the possibility to reach effective accomplishments as the various viewpoints can help the teams reach creative solutions.

Nevertheless, the diverse cultural backgrounds and values of different members can also affect the efficiency and decision-making process of MCTs in a negative way. The diversity of the team can lead to the likelihood of decreased social interaction and trust (Stahl et al. 2010, cited in Dau 2016). Reduced social interaction can be partly explained through increased social categorisation processes. Social categorisation theory implies that people categorize themselves and other team members (van Knippenberg, van Ginkel and Homan 2013). The theory also suggests that when people categorize, they see themselves as comparable with other team members based on interpersonal similarities and aspects that define the group (Sindic & Condor 2014). As such, they form ingroups, that are similar to self and outgroups that are different from self (van Knippenberg, van Ginkel and Homan 2013). People tend to prefer ingroup more than the outgroup since they trust and are more willing to cooperate with people from the ingroup (Tajfel & Turner 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell 1987, cited in van Knippenberg, van Ginkel and Homan 2013). Accordingly, the diversity may lead to social categorisation processes resulting in ingroup bias that can disrupt team interaction (van Knippenberg, van Ginkel and Homan 2013). Consequently, heterogeneous teams may perform poorly (Ibid.) and the complications of fulfilling intended goals in multicultural teams become evident (Halverson & Tirmizi 2008). This in turn can explain why research has shown that the outcomes of MCTs vary significantly more compared to homogenous teams (Berg 2012). Moreover, difficulties may arise if the team members are unaware of the possible variation or underlying cultural assumptions and are not capable of communicating with each other effectively (van den Berg & Lehmann 2005; Jameson 2007, cited in Berg 2012). Thus, previous research posits that the outcomes of MCTs can be diverse depending on the individuals' ability to interact with each other (Berg 2012).

2.2.2. Multicultural Team Processes

Historically the structure of organisations has been hierarchical and therefore, managers are classified based on their role in the organisation (Robbins & Coulter 2012). The bottom level of management is formed by first-line managers, often referred to as team leaders. These managers are responsible for overseeing the work of non-managerial employees in such manner that the organisation accomplishes its mission (Zander & Butler 2010; Hajro & Pudelko 2010). The widespread move to team-based formations in global organizations has pressured managers such as team leaders to think of new ways to lead, guide and motivate not only individuals but a number of individuals collectively. Thus, practical wisdom suggests that the pendulum has swung from managing individuals to managing teams (Chen et al. 2007).

The challenge of managing individuals as a team is especially evident in MCTs as team leaders face the challenge of directing and creating synergy amongst culturally spread workforces (Lisak & Erez 2015). Team leaders should focus on generating synergy among the team since it can enable the individual team members to trust one another (Turaga 2013). Additionally, team leaders should be able to utilize each individual member's key attributes whilst trying to overcome difficulties such as communication problems, language differences and differing work approaches (Behfar, Kern & Brett 2006). Hence, team leaders need to determine how to delegate responsibility and decision-making practices across the team members to empower the team as a whole (Chen et al. 2007). Theories of different leadership approaches, such as global leadership and transformational leadership theory aim at identifying leadership styles that can be applied on the global setting as well (Takashi, Ishikawa & Kanai 2012). However, there is limited research and knowledge on the fact that such approaches might not be effective within multicultural teams where individuals inherit different cultural backgrounds and values (Lisak & Erez 2015). The leadership theories often ignore the complexity of MCTs (Zander &

Butler 2010). Moreover, the fact that trust may be built differently in such culturally diverse teams is commonly overlooked even though trust is recognized as one the underlying conditions for many contextual variables (Roberge & van Dick, 2010). Hence, the aforementioned leadership theories might not be applicable on a multicultural team-level.

2.3. Concept of Trust

The study of trust in teams has gained increasing interest over the past decades. Research has firmly concluded that trust in teams is a fundamental basis for the effective functioning of relationships (Costa, Fulmer & Anderson 2018). Although the importance of trust has been recognised widely, the overall definition of trust remains elusive, and debate around the proposed definitions and their features remain a highly contested subject (see e.g. Costa, Fulmer & Anderson 2018; Kramer 1999; Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie 2006; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995). Despite the ongoing debate, scholars have largely agreed that at its core, trust is essentially a psychological state (Kramer 1999). In order to gain a better understanding of the concept of trust, especially from a team perspective, the following discussion begins with the major theoretical foundations of trust and the key definitions provided. Second, trust on different organisational levels is discussed, and the key antecedents for trust from both the trustor (a person who trusts) and the trustee's (person trusted) point of view are highlighted. Third, the benefits of trust are discussed.

2.3.1. Theoretical Foundations of Trust

As mentioned previously, trust is fundamentally defined as a psychological state, influenced by the various interrelations between expectations, intentions, and dispositions (see e.g. Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995; McAllister 1995). However, other features of trust are not as widely accepted. Amongst the different definitions and theoretical foundations for trust, two distinct models are discussed in detail.

Mayer, Davis and Schoorman's (1995) integrative model of trust emphasises interpersonal trust between two parties, and their model views trust as a function of one's propensity to trust people in general, accompanied with perceptions of trustworthiness about the specific other. The proposed definition for trust emphasises the *willingness to accept vulnerability*, and further

contends with the view that the element of risk is a universal feature in all trust situations (see e.g. Johnson-George & Swap 1982; Kramer 1999). The integrative model thus adds the idea, when an individual makes themselves "vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectations that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor" (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995), they are *willing* to take a risk, even though they are not necessarily taking one per se.

McAllister (1995) in turn proposes that interpersonal trust has both cognitive and affective foundations. According to this model, trust is cognition-based on the premise that people choose whom they trust based on their prior knowledge about the trustee's competence, reliability, and dependability (Luhmann 1979, cited in McAllister 1995). Affective-based trust is founded on the emotional bonds between individuals (Lewis & Wiegert 1985, cited in McAllister 1995). In short, trust can be measured along these two distinct dimensions, although they seem to be causally connected (McAllister 1995).

To conclude, no single unified definition for trust can be found in prior literature. Withal, trust can be viewed as a psychological state, influenced by the interrelated expectations, intentions, and dispositions, as well as the trustee's inherent propensity to trust, the long-term relations between the parties, and the element of risk present (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie 2006).

2.3.2. Levels of Trust in Organisations

The aforementioned models have focused on interpersonal trust, a dyadic relationship between two parties. The conceptualisation of trust in teams also involves another level of analysis, team trust, which concerns the trust collectively shared among team members (Costa, Fulmer & Anderson 2018). The team-level trust is largely thought to consist of similar constructs to interpersonal trust, but refers to aggregated perceptions of trust about the team as a whole (Fulmer & Gelfand 2012, cited in Costa, Fulmer & Anderson 2018). For team-level trust to emerge, team members must have built trust to the team as a whole, not just individual member. Scholars have increasingly called for a closer examination of the relations between different levels of trust, as interpersonal trust and team-level trust are thought to be interconnected (De Jong, Dirks & Gillespie 2015). Trust is not only present on the interpersonal and team-levels, but on a generalised organisational level, conceptualised by Kramer (2010) as collective trust.

Trust in the organisation as a whole is especially important for modern organisations, as work is carried out in a more ambiguous environment and individuals may not have aggregated enough personal knowledge that normally constitutes the basis for interpersonal trust. Collective trust is based on the general characteristics attributed to the members, so these stereotypical beliefs replace the need for explicit personal knowledge (Ibid.). According to Kramer (2010), collective trust is influenced by the rule-systems of organisations, specific roles, and categorisation of individuals, that all provide the basic expectations for interactions inside the organisation.

2.3.3. Antecedents for Trust

At its core, trust is a dyadic relationship between two parties. Mayer, Davis and Schoorman's (1995) integrative model proposes multiple factors affecting trust between the parties. On the trustor's side, propensity to trust is thought to be a stable, inherent factor partly determining the likelihood the party will trust. The propensity to trust can differ greatly between individuals, and different developmental experiences, personality types, and cultural backgrounds all influence the trustor's overall propensity or willingness to trust, prior to any information about the trustee. The integrative model also proposes three factors of trustworthiness: ability, benevolence, and integrity (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995). Ability is defined as the group of skills, competences, and characteristics granting the trustee influence within a specific domain. For example, a patient is highly likely to trust the doctor on any medical related issues, but not as much on financial issues. Benevolence refers to the extent to which the trustor believes the trustee wants to do good to the trustor outside the mere egocentric profit motive. A politician who participates in charity work may seem more trustworthy if there is no immediate financial gain associated with the work. The third factor, integrity, involves the trustor's own perception that the trustee stands by, and complies to a set of principles the trustor accepts. Integrity then implies the trustee must be consistent in their actions. Changing their principles in order to gain the trust of another party is detrimental to the perceived trustworthiness (Ibid.).

Although there are multiple different theories and definitions available on the concept of trust, many of the features tend to overlap. The previously discussed cognitive-based model (McAllister 1995) which included cognitive, and affection based trust shares many of the same

factors as the integrative model. Thus, despite the lack of a unified theory, it can be assumed that the emergence of trust between parties is affected by 1) the trustor's propensity or the inherent willingness to trust 2) trustor's prior knowledge about the abilities of the trustee, their willingness to do good beyond personal gain, and the perceived adherence to accepted principles.

2.3.4. Benefits of Trust

The effects of trust on team performance has been studied in a broad context, but the results have been quite fragmented and contradictory, even though the importance of trust has been widely recognised. In their recent meta-analysis De Jong, Dirks and Gillespie (2015) analysed the results of 112 independent studies conducted on trust and team performance, and concluded that intra-team trust (trust among team members) was positively related to team performance. Their analysis also yielded some important notions on when the positive effects of trust were the most evident. Trust seems to matter the most, when task interdependence, skill differentiation, and authority differentiation are high, implying teams who must work together closely to reach their shared goal, and where members are dependent on each other benefit the most from trust (Ibid.). The positive effects of trust have not been studied very extensively in culturally diverse teams, but prior research has demonstrated similar findings (e.g. Mach & Baruch 2014).

2.5. Conclusion

The review of multicultural teams and theories on trust work as the basis for the objective of this study. MCTs perform tasks that cannot be covered the local market only (Dziatzko, Struve & Stehr 2017) and organisations perceive them as instruments for globalisation (Zander & Butler 2010). However, previous research has shown that achieving preferred outcomes in multicultural teams is more complicated than anticipated (Berg 2012). The process of social categorisation which is reinforced by cultural diversity may help explain why MCTs do not always perform well (van Knippenberg, van Ginkel & Homan 2013). However, the true underlying activities that affect organisational outcomes are not properly understood. Thus the focus of this study is trust, as it is a critical condition for effective information sharing and

communication (Lee et al. 2010). Therefore, this study takes a qualitative approach to understand the building of trust from the participants' perspective.

2.6. Theoretical Framework

In this section the Theoretical Framework is presented. The Theoretical Framework provides an overview of Behavioural Integration theory developed by Donald C. Hambrick in 1994.

One important element to explain efficient teamwork is the theory of Behavioural Integration. The theory was originally developed by Donald C. Hambrick in 1994 and it is concerned with the degree to which the group engages in mutual and collective interaction (Hambrick 1994 cited in Shaw & Barrett-Power 1998). According to Hambrick (1994 cited in Shaw & Barrett-Power 1998), the theory is different from social integration theory (SIT) and the concept of cohesiveness since SIT is focused on affective qualities of a group and cohesiveness concentrates on the attraction of the group members between each other. There are three main elements to the Behavioural Integration Theory:

- 1.) Quantity of the Information Exchanged refers to the amount of information, such as frequent communication, sharing of personal knowledge, and interaction outside the immediate work-context. Quality of the Information Exchanged on the other hand, refers to all information exchange that is related to quality, such as helping with work, and where the information is critical for good performance, creating new knowledge and innovation.
- 2.) Collaborative Behaviour relates to helping whenever needed, offering assistance, sharing responsibility and goals, dividing work-tasks equally, adapting behaviors, and taking on extraroles. In other words, collaboration can be viewed as a continuous developing process (Bedwell et al. 2012). In collaborative behaviour two or more entities engage in joint activities and processes to achieve a common goal. Many organisations try to enhance these collaborative activities to make sure they can gain competitive advantage over their competitors by increasing their competence to work with others (Bedwell et al. 2012).

3.) *Joint Decision-making* applies to including everyone in decision-making and solving problems together.

Teams sharing these elements can be considered behaviourally integrated. BI affects the capability of the team to create solutions to problem solving as well as to decision making and implementation (Shaw & Barrett-Power 1998). Thus, behaviourally integrated teams have the ability to distribute and allocate resources and information across the team members (Hambrick 1997). Depending on the task, the diversity of the group may improve the team performance by increasing the cognitive resources of the team (Shaw & Barrett-Power 1998). In other words, a key aspect of the BI theory is the ability to make use of the strengths in a team by exploiting the diversity of different viewpoints to create forums and processes of exchange and debate (Hambrick 1997). The theory is interested in the degree to which the team does things collectively rather than the degree to which the members of the team prefer the team as a whole. As collective work is important, sharing resources and helpful information are an essential part of the collective effort which in turn can enables organisational success (Hambrick 1997).

III. Research Design

In the following chapter the Research Problem & Purpose are presented, which is then followed by the Operationalization. After that, the Research Approach is discussed. Then, the Empirical Setting and Selection Criteria and Data Collection are introduced. The paper then continues with an overview of the Data Analysis and the chosen Analytical Tool. Finally, the paper will address the Source Critical Considerations consisting of Trustworthiness and Ethical Considerations.

3.1. Research Problem & Purpose

Trust has been distinguished as a significant foundation for sharing information and creating a setting where members of a team can benevolently express their views. Therefore, we believe it is important to study what activities have an impact on how trust is built in multicultural teams. By carrying out a qualitative representative case study, this study aims for in-depth understanding of the conditions that hinder multicultural teams to benefit from their particular expertise. The study asks the following question: *How is trust built in multicultural teams?*

3.2. Operationalization

To operationalize, the research question of this study was broken down into three additional sub-questions. The following sub questions will be used to help with the collection and analysis of the empirical data:

- 1. Which activities contribute to trust-building?
- 2. What are the most important cognitive foundations of trust?
- 3. How does cultural diversity affect trust-building?

In light of these sub-questions, the study attempts to understand how trust is formed in culturally diverse teams.

3.3. Research Approach

Research strategy refers to the way the research is conducted. Therefore, in contrary to previous studies where majority of the existing research has been conducted in a quantitative manner, this study carries out a qualitative research to view the material from a different perspective. Qualitative method was chosen over quantitative method to obtain rich and detailed data as the focus is on words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman 2012). The nature of qualitative research is to recognize patterns (Leung 2015) and hence, this study undertakes an abductive approach with the aim of linking Behavioural Integration Theory to the gathered data to gain further knowledge of the how trust is built in multicultural teams. Abduction can be considered as a systematic combination of deductive and inductive approach as the focus is on theory development instead of theory generalization (Dubois & Gadde 2002). In abductive reasoning, the theoretical framework is in a key role, implying that the original framework can be modified based on the unexpected findings and insights that are gained throughout the research progress (Dubois & Gadde 2002). As such, the findings can be used to improve an existing theory rather than developing a new theory. Abduction fits this study well, as the purpose is to seek an explanation for a phenomenon that is not yet understood fully. When the researchers engage in dialogue with both existing theory and new data, it is possible to select the most suitable interpretation of the studied phenomenon that assimilates both existing theory and new insight gained from the collected data (Bryman & Bell 2015).

Research design, on the other hand, can be considered as the structure that guides the implementation of the research method and analysis of data (Bryman 2012). For this study a representative case study was chosen as the most appropriate design since it provides a defined and intensive study of a single case (Gustafsson 2017). This research design is concerned with the complexity of a specific case and hence the purpose fits with the overall aim of acquiring rich and detailed data in qualitative research. As such, a case study will be the most appropriate for this study since the aim is to understand the conditions that inhibit multicultural teams to benefit from their specific expertise, which means that intention is to focus on the complexity and comprehend the nature of a single case. Case studies are also used particularly because the context matters (Bryman 2012). The context plays a key role as trust can be viewed as emergent state that is affected by the specific context and characteristics of the team studied (Marks, Mathieu & Zaccaro 2001).

3.4. Empirical Setting and Selection Criteria

The empirical setting of this research is a medium-sized multinational company located in Stockholm, Sweden, where all of the participants worked. The company can be considered as a multinational company since the organization has offices outside its home country. The main reasons for choosing this specific company is that the teams are all culturally diverse, and their task interdependence and skill differentiation are high, which emphasises the effect of trust on performance.

Additionally, an important part of research is to consider what kind of population is suited for a specific study. The premise is that the research question should offer guidance and direction to what categories of people should be sampled (Bryman 2012). The respondents for this study were chosen based on this logic of purposive sampling, where the aim is to choose participants in a strategic manner with relevance to the research question (Bryman 2012). As the research question of this study focuses on multicultural teams, ten individuals were interviewed from which eight were team members and two were team leaders of a multicultural team. The chosen interviewees fit into the provided definition of members in multicultural teams; consisting of individuals with different cultural backgrounds who are interdependent on their tasks and share the responsibility and aim for a common goal (Halverson & Tirmizi 2008). The chosen team leaders can be referred to as first-line managers as they supervise the work of non-managerial employees and are at the bottom level in the managerial hierarchy, below middle management and top management (Zander & Butler 2010; Hajro & Pudelko 2010). To conclude, the respondents for this study were fixed through personal contacts and by making sure that the participants filled the selection criteria.

3.5. Data Collection

In order to answer the research question, a method of semi-structured interviews was chosen to collect the data. Ten interviews were conducted as it is supported by the range (ranging from 1 to 95) introduced by Bryman (2012). Each interview lasted about fifteen to twenty minutes. In semi-structured interviews, the interviewer has a list of questions that work as a guideline but also allows the interviewer to ask additional questions (Bryman, 2012). Thus, the

interviewee has a lot of leeway and flexibility in how to reply to each question and it allows for in-depth discussion of each specific topic if needed (Bryman 2012). In qualitative research, it is especially important that the questions are well-formulated (Bengtsson 2016) since the emphasis is on words. In other words, the interest lies in analysing the participants responses unlike in quantitative perspective where the emphasis is on numbers and measurement of the collection of data (Bryman 2012). Due to the partially controlled nature of semi-structured interviews, the data collection was less time consuming compared to for example unstructured interviews where the questions are not arranged and people can discuss openly (Ibid). Due to the limited scope and time restrictions, semi-structured interviews were most suitable for answering the research question.

The interviews were audio recorded using a mobile phone and later transcribed. Recording the interviews allowed the interviewers to be vigilant and present follow-up questions if needed and the interviewers did not have to focus on to writing down notes which would have been time-consuming and could have possibly distracted the interviewee (Bryman 2012). Respectively, recording the interviews enabled the material repeated and thus worked as a tool to help correct the normal limitations of human memory (Bryman 2012). The interviewees were also given the chance to clarify and rephrase their sentences to allow the material to be analysed precisely and to make sure that the transcriptions were detailed and accurate (Bengtsson 2016).

3.6. Data Analysis

First, the chapter will start by describing how the data was arranged through a qualitative content analysis. He, we will discuss how the material was categorised and how the coding frame was built by using different strategies.

Qualitative content analysis (QCA) aims at systematically describing the meaning of qualitative data and is a viable option when you need to analyse data that you have collected yourself (Schreier 2012). Thus, it is good to use QCA when dealing with data that entails some degree of interpretation to arrive at the meaning of the collected data (Schreier 2012). QCA is highly systematic since the method involves examination of all the parts of the material that

are relevant to the research question. The method considers the menace of viewing the collected material only through the lens of one's predictions and presumptions (Schreier 2012). In order to systematically characterize the empirical data, the gathered material was appointed to different categories of a coding frame. The coding frame is a fundamental part of the qualitative content analysis as it allows the material to be decomposed (Schreier 2012). QCA can be regarded as a flexible method since the coding frame has to be tailored according to the material. This is done to provide reliability and validity (Schreier 2012). The coding frame can be considered valid if the chosen categories portray the concepts of the research question. To accomplish this, the coding frame needs to be adapted to match the material (Schreier 2012). QCA also reduces data by focusing only on information that is relevant to the research question instead of analysing all the information. This is done by classifying specific information into different categories which then allows the information to be labelled into a more general concept (Schreier 2012).

Accordingly, one important process of qualitative content analysis is to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant material. First, the researchers familiarized themselves with the gathered data to get a sense of all of the material (Bengtsson 2016). All the material that is applicable to the research question can be considered as relevant and thus the rest of the material can be considered as irrelevant (Schreier 2012). As such, the material that describe interpersonal, team, or collective trust, meanings that participants attach to trust, their view on trustworthiness, and/or untrustworthiness, opinions on trust, suggestions for building trust inside and outside of the organisational context has been considered as relevant. Mentions of personality, expressions of past problems, perspectives on the company or colleagues have been considered as examples of where trust is important even though trust is not explicitly mentioned. The material that does not directly fit into the category 'irrelevant material', should be considered as relevant material and included in the analysis. Parts where interviewees say that they do not have anything further to add and descriptions of trust from the enduser/customer point of view, that do not relate in any way to trust inside the office or company or within the team or between colleagues, management or friends have been disregarded.

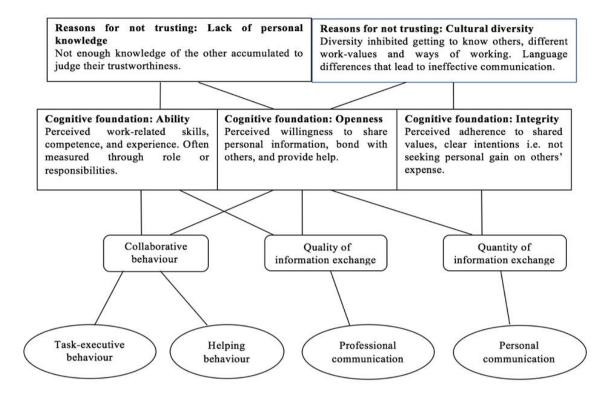
3.6.1. Analytical Tool

After distinguishing the relevant data, the material was broken down into smaller units (Bengtsson 2016) to create the structure of the coding frame. The main categories and subcategories for each dimension were generated using two different strategies: concept-driven strategy and data-driven strategy. As mentioned, the coding frame is valid if the categories represent the concepts of the research question and this can be achieved by adjusting the coding frame to correspond the material (Schreier 2012). Additionally, it is uncommon to use only one strategy to create a coding frame and thus two strategies were combined.

A concept-driven strategy uses previous knowledge as the basis for generating categories which can come from various sources. In this research paper, previous knowledge was used in the form of theory to generate the categories and to help build the coding frame (Schreier 2012). Behavioural Integration Theory was used to structure on of the three dimensions and its subcategories. Conversely, data-driven strategy builds a coding frame inductively, meaning that the categories and subcategories are formed based on the collected empirical data. It is typical to use data-driven strategy when conducting a QCA since qualitative data is often rich and detailed and thus the material should be examined specifically (Schreier 2012). The interview guide supplied two of the main categories which both focused on how trust is built in MCTs. The subcategories were generated through subsuming the answers into different categories based on for example the respondents cognitive or affective perceptions of trust. Both of the researchers did the coding separately after which the results were discussed together to reach consensus (Burnard 1991; Graneheim & Lundman 2004, cited in Bengtsson 2016). This was done to increase the validity and can be considered as one form of triangulation to confirm the results of the study (Catanzaro 1988; Patton, 2002; Rolfe 2006, cited in Bengtsson 2016).

With the help of the analytical tool, the activities that are pertinent to trust-building were identified by examining the coding frequencies and co-occurrence of codes in each of the three main dimensions. After the most relevant categories of each individual dimension were identified, the categories were examined together. For example, the role of communication was examined by looking at the relation between Dimension I, Foundations of Trust, and

Dimension II, Reasons for not Trusting, as well as Dimension III categories Quantity and Quality of Information Exchange. The below model indicates how the data was structured.



Model 1.1: Data structuring (own model) *For coding frame categories, see Appendix B.

3.7. Source Critical Considerations

The following section considers the four criteria of Trustworthiness in qualitative research and the Ethical Considerations are discussed.

3.6.2. Trustworthiness

The concept of trustworthiness is important when carrying out a research and is particularly at importance when conducting interviews. Thus, the four criteria of trustworthiness need to be addressed. The four criteria comprise of credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (Bryman 2012). Credibility is concerned with how the different processes of the study, such as the analysis process is carried out. This is to make sure that no relevant material has been disregarded (Bengtsson 2016). To account for credibility, the study was carried out in good practice by ascertaining that the findings of the research were accessible to the study's participants in order for them to confirm that their answers have been correctly interpreted and understood (Bryman 2012). Transferability is related to if the results may be applied to other settings or groups. In other words, it addresses the question of how generalizable the results are (Bengtsson 2016). However, this is a qualitative case study and hence the aim is to look at the depth of a specific issue instead of focusing on the breadth and generalization of the results (Ibid). Dependability is about keeping track of all the phases of the research process (Bryman 2012). This was done to provide stability and is necessary when recoding or relabelling (Bengtsson 2016). Confirmability is concerned with the objectivity or neutrality towards the data (Bengtsson 2016). It is important to note that complete objectivity in research is rather difficult to achieve (Bryman 2012). However, the researchers made sure that their own values do not intrude the research to a large extent (Ibid).

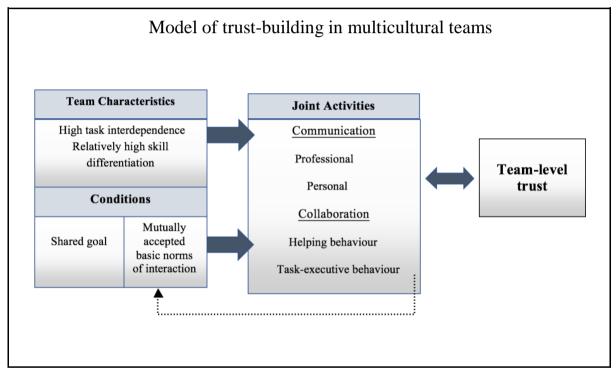
3.6.3. Ethical considerations

Conducting research that requires working closely with people, often raises the question of ethical considerations. When conducting interviews, the issue of harm to participants, which deals with confidentiality of records, should be addressed (Bryman 2012). This means that the identities and records of individuals should be kept confidential by making sure that each interviewed individual will remain anonymous (Bryman 2012). To follow this logic, the participants were made aware of the fact that their personal information was kept secret and thus the individuals could not be identified or be identifiable later. Consistently, the participants were informed about the study and the privacy terms to prevent the possible lack of informed consent and to make sure that participants did not feel like there was any invasion of privacy (Bryman 2012). Moreover, by informing the participants about the study in advance allowed the researchers to answer possible questions that came up as well as to assure that all the participants were comfortable with being interviewed.

IV. Findings

This chapter explains the gathered empirical data in accordance with the chosen theoretical framework. After this, the key findings of the data are presented in relation to the generated categories.

4.4. Proposed Model of Trust-building in MCTs



Model 1.2: Trust-building in multicultural teams (own model)

The analysis of relevant data yielded some substantial findings that will be presented in detail in the subsequent findings section. As the purpose of this study is to answer the question 'How is trust built in multicultural teams', the main goal of the analysis was to identify the specific activities in the team that are pertinent to trust-building. The proposed model includes the four joint activities and two conditions for trust-building that were distinguished from the data. The model does not imply that trust is only built through these joint activities and conditions but rather that they have a significant role to trust-building in culturally diverse teams. The two conditions for the activities consist of a) shared goal and b) mutually accepted basic norms for interaction. The four joint activities consist of 1) professional communication, 2) personal

communication, 3) helping behaviour and 4) task executive behaviour. The next parts will attempt to explain why these four joint activities are proposed as particularly critical for trust-building. The findings section will first define these four joint activities, after which the necessary conditions for them are clarified. The proposed model also includes the relevant characteristics of the team that are connected to the four joint activities.

4.1. Communication

By examining the categories that are the most closely related to each other, it was possible to further distinguish the role and the degree in which communication contributes to trust-building in MCTs. After examining the codes, findings suggest that Openness is the category with the most direct relation to trust-building; Openness was most present when participants were asked how they could increase trust in their team. All participants mentioned some form of open communication or frequent interaction as a way of increasing trust, which is well in line with the theorisation that trust is often built and increased through accumulated information about the trustee, as well as the experiences shared by both parties. This is illustrated in the following quote:

"Probably, well I am a part-time worker but maybe more interaction. It is different ages but sometimes an after work or dinner, some social events where you can get to know each other even more. On that level, you get to know people even more privately. So, I would say that would increase the level of trust"

- Participant 2 [2.14]

In Dimension I, the category Openness has the highest frequency of codes with 30 units of coding, followed by category Ability with 21 units of coding, and category Integrity with 16 units of coding. This suggests that Openness is the most important for perceived trustworthiness:

"I think it is important for building trust that everybody tells or shares some information about themselves and talks about different kind of stuff, I think that is important. I don't know if there is anything that could be done more at the moment"

- Participant 7 [7.8]

When participants were asked if they trusted everyone at the office equally, many gave similar responses:

"I think I don't trust everyone as much but I think that is because I don't know everyone equally"

- Participant 4 [4.3]

"I don't think I trust everyone equally because I do not know everyone here. I know the Finnish people the best so I trust them the most"

- Participant 7 [7.4]

The importance of Openness is further solidified when the category is contrasted to Dimension II Reasons for not trusting, especially the category Lack of Personal Knowledge. This category has the highest frequency of codes with 10 units, proposing that lack of personal knowledge inhibits building of trust the most:

"No, but that is the same as asking if I trust any human being equally. There are people that I do not really engage with, not because I would be actively doing that but because there is so many people and you cannot be friends with everyone"

- Participant 9 [9.4]

"I do not think I trust everybody equally, perhaps you should but I think that is a matter of relationship and how much you bond with people. You for obvious reasons bond easier with some people and you tend to trust the ones that are more like you because you can kind of see yourself in them that usually helps build the whole trust"

- Participant 10 [10.4]

The second most frequent reason for not trusting in the Dimension II is the category Cultural diversity, with 8 units of code. This category is strongly related to Openness, as cultural diversity inhibited effective communication, as well as establishing deeper relationships among team members and colleagues.

"The people that I do not necessarily talk to I don't trust them as much because I do not know them and that might be due to the office being very diverse."

- Participant 3 [3.5]

"In my team, it is also the question of language since they don't necessarily see or hear what we do because they cannot understand"

- Participant 5 [5.7]

"And being from Sweden makes it easier for me to connect with the other Swedes"

- Participant 8 [8.6]

It is clear that communication has a profound effect on the building of trust in MCTs. When the co-occurrences between the category Openness and the Dimension III categories Quantity and Quality of Information Exchange were examined, it was possible to further demarcate the specific kinds of communication that increase trust in MCTs.

For many participants' the category Openness and Quantity of Information Exchange occurred together when they were asked how they could increase trust in their team:

"Like talking more, talking with people that have different roles in the organization so that everyone knows each other a bit more"

- Participant 5 [5.10]

"I think it is important for building trust that everybody tells or shares some information about themselves and talks about different kind of stuff, I think that is important. I don't know if there is anything that could be done more at the moment"

- Participant 7 [7.8]

"Being open and being welcoming to new people because I think that trust is something that you build over time. You cannot just go out in the street and tell someone I trust you. Thus, trust is something you have to build over time and in those cases, you gotta make sure that everybody who starts here feels welcomed so you can start to build on that trustful relationship with them"

- Participant 10 [10,11]

"And just sit next to each other at the office and talk to each other about random stuff,
doesn't have to be just work related"

- Participant 4 [4.13]

However, when participants were asked how they could ensure that there is a sufficient level of communication, the category Quality of Information Exchange was in turn more strongly related to category Openness. The following quotes are examples of units of codes that were coded into both aforementioned categories:

"Or the manager comes to me like: good job today, I got a lot of good feedback, not only from my manager but from different managers or then when my teammates are really proud"

- Participant 2 [2.8]

"With feedbacks, and group meetings"

- *Participant 4* [4.12]

"I guess generally they always give good feedback and remember to tell us that we did a good job"

- Participant 5 [5.6]

"Feedback sessions that we are supposed to have but don't really haven't had that often"
- Participant 5 [5.11]

These results have several implications, as it is clear that trust is increased through frequent communication amongst team members and colleagues. Initially, respondents' thoughts on how trust could be increased in their team concerned the amount of communication, but as they were asked to provide examples of the kind of communication that would increase trust, two distinct activities emerged: professional communication and personal communication. Thus, communication in a trust-building sense does not denote merely talking or chatting among colleagues, but actually exchanging information that has a more deep and profound meaning to both parties involved. Professional communication includes for example feedback and group meetings, or sharing information that is essential for completing a specific task. Personal communication in turn involves sharing details of one's personal life. The exchanged

information must carry within it an element of risk in a sense that it makes the trustor vulnerable to the actions of the trustee (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995).

The role of communication for trust-building is further strengthened when the Dimension I category Integrity is taken into consideration. Trust founded on Integrity assumes that both the trustor and the trustee share, and accept the same values and norms of interaction, an element critical for the kind of communication that increases trust. This is especially evident in the following quote from one participant when they were asked to describe trust in their own words:

"You can trust that if you tell somebody something, he or she does not tell it to some third person"

- Participant 7 [7.1]

To reiterate, trust-building communication in MCTs consists of two distinct activities that concern the kind of information shared. It is then reasonable to infer that the cognitive foundations of trust that concern professional and personal communication are different. As mentioned previously, professional communication includes exchange of information pertinent to work tasks, and thus the trustor is inclined to judge the trustee's trustworthiness especially in terms of their perceived competence. This notion is supported by Dimension I category Ability, which was the second most frequent foundation of trust that emerged from the data. Ability refers to trust based on the trustee's perceived competence, skill, and experience; the following quotes illustrate how professional communication and Ability as a foundation of trust are connected:

"In this job, you often get into situations where you have to help them, but you don't really know how and then you need to ask for advice and you need to be able to trust that person and that their advice is the correct thing to do"

- Participant 5 [5.2]

"And then well, I think it is also important that I can trust my colleagues because when I ask them something I have to trust that they give me the right information to do something that I need help with"

Another fundamental feature of trust-building communication is reciprocity. In an exchange of personal information that puts the trustor into a vulnerable position, the trustee is expected to reciprocate lest trust is not built, as one participant noted:

"It's important that everybody in the team is open and willing to share those things. It is quite difficult to get somebody else to tell stuff about them but maybe if I tell about my life to someone else maybe they could be a bit more courage to tell about themselves to me too"

- Participant 7 [7.9]

To fulfil the requirement of reciprocity, trust-building communication is further conceptualised as a joint activity; both professional and personal communication must be mutual and reciprocated in order to build trust.

Trust built by the joint activity of communication is rooted in the cognitive-basis of trust, according to which the decision to trust is based on the trustor's available knowledge of the trustee. Both professional and personal communication increase the amount of information that the trustee has, creating a more solid foundation for trust despite the element of risk present. Professional communication allows the trustor to form better judgements of the trustee's Ability, and personal communication in turn enables them to assess Integrity. However, communication is not the only activity that provides the trustor with cognitive cues to the trustee's trustworthiness. Certain behaviours can also be considered as activities highly influential for trust-building; these activities will be discussed in the next section.

4.2. Collaboration

The previous section focused on the importance of joint professional and personal communication for trust-building in MCTs. Next, the specific behaviours that build trust in MCTs are defined. The key difference between communication and behaviour in terms of trust-building is that communication must include an exchange of professional or personal information that puts the trustor into a vulnerable position, whereas behaviour involves a risky action that leaves the trustor vulnerable to the actions of the trustee. A prominent example of one such action is helping behaviour, which may include helping out of one's own volition, or

honouring a promise made to a colleague. The following quotes are examples of helping behaviour in participants' answers:

"If you ask someone to do something and he or she promises to do that, that you can trust that they do it"

- Participant 7 [7.2]

"Being there for them during times when it is needed, I think that is when it really shows like who you are and your character"

- Participant 6 [6.9]

"I think letting them know I got their backs if they need anything. Let's say they are about to finish the day and they have a customer on the phone but they need to maybe...this is maybe a silly thing but maybe they need to run to the bus for example. I want them to be able to feel like: hey could you take over this phone call for me, I need to run to the bus, can you just help me out here. I want them to be able to feel that kind of trust in that way, if that makes sense"

- Participant 6 [6.7]

Helping behaviour as a trust- building activity is especially connected to the cognitive foundations of Ability, Integrity, and Openness, as exemplified in the following quote:

"I would say trust is something that...Or it is actually kind of hard to describe trust. Trust is such a weird topic but trust per se I would say is being able to let loose of control. I would say most people have a sense of control, that you can control a situation and being able to trust someone is just letting go of that control situation yourself and just completely giving that to someone else so that you can leave or let loose of that stress from yourself and just rely on someone else"

- Participant 10 [10.1]

In the above example, by letting go of the control, the trustor makes themselves vulnerable to the actions of the trustee. If the outcome is good, the helping behaviour provides new information of the other party's trustworthiness, and the trustor is more likely to engage in similar behaviour again. In terms of trust-building, actions do sometimes speak louder than words; a trustee's promise to do something for the trustor does not yet build trust, per se, but if

the trustee delivers on a promise made, this action has a potentially much more profound effect on trust-building.

The fourth joint activity that contributes to trust-building is task executive behaviour. Task executive behaviours are activities that directly contribute to completing the shared goal (Bedwell et al. 2012). In participants' answers this was especially visible in terms of responsibility:

"I think trust is working with colleagues that can be your friends at the same time. What I mean is like, you work and take your own responsibility. At the same time, you trust other colleagues in your team with their own workload and that they will get it done"

- Participant 1 [1.1]

"Well yeah, I trust my fellow colleagues to do their jobs and work as hard as I do if not better, and you know you don't skip the hard parts so I have to do that, so we do our share"

- Participant 8 [8.3]

"And of course, you increase trust in the team in that sense that you do a good job and things are working properly and as they should go. then of course you would have more trust amongst each other because the job has been done properly before and you know what to expect of it now"

- Participant 3 [3.14]

Task executive behaviours provide team members with cognitive cues of other's trustworthiness, especially their perceived Ability and Integrity. Based on the perceived trustworthiness team members may engage in other trust-building activities such as helping behaviours. Participants often mentioned that when they were given more responsibilities, this made them feel more trusted to do their job:

"I do have the feeling that I am trusted at the job. Sometimes I am given more responsibility"
- Participant 2 [2.7]

"I think I'm trusted, based on the treatment I get from both from my colleagues and the ones above me. Since I usually I get a lot of responsibilities, so I think they trust me that I know how everything works, little bit about everything, so yes I think I'm trusted"

- Participant 8 [8.7]

Due to the reciprocal nature of trust, task executive behaviours build trust via mutual positive expectations of others behaviour that are reinforced by actions such as sharing responsibilities. When a team member is given more responsibility, and this is interpreted as a sign of trust, they are likely to reciprocate the gesture.

Task executive behaviours and helping behaviours thus function in a very similar way in terms of how they contribute to trust-building, but the key distinction between these activities is that task executive behaviour is here defined as behaviour that is pertinent to the team members' specific role in the team, and is directed at completing the shared goals. Helping behaviours take place beyond the immediate role-based expectations, although the two are sometimes difficult to distinguish from. For example, a team leader is expected to monitor the performance of the team, so monitoring in itself is a part of their role. A lack of monitoring might then be interpreted as a sign of trust, as one participant mentioned:

"Yes, I feel like I am trusted to do my job. I mean I have worked at this place for a while now and I feel like they are happy with my results because otherwise they would not have me there anymore. also in the beginning, they were kind of checking my work to see if I made some mistakes but now after some time they are not doing that anymore so that tells me that they trust me to do my work properly like not having to check the work to see if I have done the job"

- Participant 3 [3.10]

Helping behaviour and task executive behaviour are trust-building activities only when they are mutual and reciprocated. This requirement is again satisfied by defining them as joint activities. The next section will focus on the conditions required for trust-building in terms of these four joint activities.

4.3. Conditions

The previous sections have discussed and defined the four joint activities that build trust in MCTs. These joint activities have two conditions that must be fulfilled in order for trust to be built through them. The first condition is a shared goal, which must be accepted by all team members. A shared goal is especially necessary to the joint activities that concern behaviour (helping and task execution); if the team does not have a shared goal, there may be little reason for members to engage in these joint activities. A mutual goal also facilitates initial trust, as one participant noted when they were asked if they trust everyone equally:

"But I mean I'm so fresh here, so new here, that I don't really know. As of now it is going really good and I trust them. I think the reason why I trust them, to kind of elaborate on it, is because of, I mean of course we are all here to earn money and stuff. But we are also all here for the same reason as well, we've signed the same agreement: this is what we are here for, this is what we are going to be focusing on, this is our goal with our customers. Therefore, we are all on the same track, so in that sense I trust them"

- Participant 6 [6.3]

The second condition for all four joint activities are mutually accepted norms of interaction. This condition is especially important in the beginning, as culturally diverse team members are likely to have different norms and values. For example, one participant explicitly said that they did not trust everyone equally because of the cultural differences:

"No, I don't trust everyone equally because of the cultural differences and the difference in how people interact with each other"

- Participant 1 [1.4]

Another participant mentioned that they did not always know what was expected at the workplace:

"Also, the culture is a bit different because I'm from Romania so I feel like we have different standards of what is expected at the workplace"

- Participant 3 [3.16]

In order for team members to engage in the trust-building joint activities, the team must implement basic norms for interaction, which are then reinforced through the joint activities. In essence, these four joint activities generate positive expectations for interaction among team members. As any trust-situation involves a risk of, in order for the trustor to make themselves vulnerable to the actions of the trustee, they must have a positive expectation of the trustee's future behaviour.

V. Discussion

This chapter discusses and evaluates the key findings of the Findings chapter in accordance with the subquestions as well as the previous literature and Behavioural Integration Theory.

Moreover, the Scientific Perspective of the study is scrutinized in relation to the qualitative strategy that was carried out.

The stated purpose of this study was to further the understanding on the effects of cultural diversity to team outcomes. Previous literature has adopted a rather negative view on MCTs and most research has focused on the causes of the challenges MCTs typically face (Kirkman & Shapiro 2015). The widely proposed main advantage of MCTs is the specific knowledge and wider experience they possess (van Knippenberg, De Dreu & Homan 2004; Lisak et al. 2016; Stahl et al. 2010), but herein also lies the paradox; cultural diversity brings potential benefits in terms of new knowledge and innovation, but at the same time the diversity of the team seems to inhibit it from using this information to its advantage. It seemed reasonable to then turn attention to the processes and conditions that enable efficient information sharing in teams. Ultimately trust was chosen as the main focus of the study, as it is an emergent state that is created as a product of team characteristics and processes (Marks, Mathieu & Zaccaro 2001). It is important to note that this study does not assume that examining the processes and conditions that have the most direct effect on trust-building allow for any definite answers to the ultimate question of what team processes are linked to team outcomes and may explain the inconsistency so prolific in past research. However, as trust is a condition for MCTs to benefit from their main advantage, identifying the process of trust-building may point to the processes that facilitate better performance.

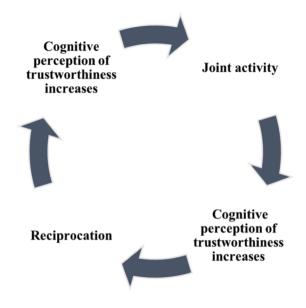
The stated research question 'How is trust built in multicultural teams?' was answered by carrying out a qualitative case study of a single multicultural team. Based on a further qualitative content analysis of the collected interview data a proposed model of trust-building in multicultural teams was constructed. The model includes four joint activities: professional and personal communication, helping behaviour and task executive behaviour, as well as two conditions for these activities: a shared goal and mutually accepted basic norms of interaction.

However, the model should be viewed in its context; team characteristics constitute a significant input of the model that influence the process of trust-building. The team studied has a high level of task interdependence and a relatively high level of skill differentiation. It is then highly likely that the model cannot be applied to a team with a low level of task interdependence or skill differentiation without modification, although it should be noted that according to De Jong, Dirks and Gillespie (2015), team-level trust is more strongly related to performance when task interdependence and skill differentiation are high, suggesting that the team studied benefits from trust the most. The model itself then is not fully generalizable to all culturally diverse teams, but it can be considered as a broader framework for trust-building if the four joint activities are conceptualised in two broader categories, communication and collaboration. Interestingly, these broader categories correspond to the first two dimensions of the behavioural integration theory: information exchange and collaborative behaviour (see Hambrick 1997).

The behavioural integration theory essentially concerns the degree in which the team members engage in mutual and collective interaction (Hambrick 1994, cited in Shaw & Barret-Power 1998). It provides an alternative perspective to MCT processes, as past research has accentuated theories such as social categorisation theory and social identity theory in explaining the challenges cultural diversity may cause in teams (van Knippenberg, van Ginkel & Homan 2013). Social categorisation is a process where team members categorise each other into an in-group and an out-group, inhibiting trust-building as individuals are more likely to trust in-group members because they are willing to attribute positive attributes such as trustworthiness on them (Costa, Fulmer & Anderson 2018; van Knippenberg, van Ginkel & Homan 2013). Kramer et al. (2001) propose that the individual's willingness to engage in trusting behaviour depends on the strength of their identification with the team as a whole, which is again affected negatively by cultural diversity. Before the role of behavioural integration on trust-building is discussed further, it should be made clear that the theory was not employed to test if a higher level of behavioural integration would possibly correlate to a high level of trust. Behavioural integration theory was chosen because it emphasises interaction; this allowed for the analysis of the specific behaviours (joint activities) that contribute to trust-building in MCTs. Additionally, behavioural integration theory does not necessitate that members of the team feel affiliation to their team unlike in social integration theory (Shaw & Barrett-Power, 1998). Hence, the degree to which the members of the team like the team as a whole is not considered pertinent in the theory (Hambrick, 1997).

The objective of this study was to identify the specific activities that contribute to trust-building in MCTs. Although prior research has yet identified a parsimonious definition of trust, it is generally accepted as a psychological state that is influenced by the interrelations between expectations, intentions, and dispositions (see e.g. Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995; McAllister 1995; Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie 2006). The decision to trust is based on the trustor's cognitive perception of the other party's trustworthiness, and the trustor is then willing to make themselves vulnerable to the actions of the other (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995). The behavioural aspect is especially important here; engaging in trusting behaviours contributes to the cognitive basis of trust as it provides information that will reinforce or change cognitions. (Luhmann 1979, cited in Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995) Although cognitions that underlie trusting behaviour are not visible, behaviour is a reflection of cognition. By combining a theoretical perspective of trust, and a theory that emphasises team interaction (behavioural integration), it was possible to conclude which activities reflect the cognitive basis of trust the most. These activities are the most likely to change or reinforce existing cognitions of individuals' perception of trustworthiness, leading to a higher level of trust.

All four trust-building activities, professional and personal communication, helping and task-executive behaviour are defined as *joint activities*. However, if only two group members engage in these activities, the joint activities will only build interpersonal trust between these two individuals. It does not yet build team-level trust. Although the relation between interpersonal and team-level trust is not yet fully understood, the two levels are thought to be interconnected (De Jong, Dirks & Gillespie, 2015). Team-level trust is formed through the team members aggregated perceptions of trustworthiness of the team as a whole (Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012, cited in Costa, Fulmer & Anderson, 2018). Kramer et al. (2001) noted that collective trust is built when all group members engage in trusting behaviours, which in turn reinforces positive cognitions of others' trustworthiness. This suggests, that collective trust in MCTs is built when all group members engage in the four trust-building joint activities over a period of time, creating a reinforcing cycle of trust-building.



Model 1.3: cycle of trust-building (own model)

The pattern applies to all four joint activities: professional and personal communication, helping behaviour and task executive behaviour. By engaging in the joint activities consistently, the team members positive expectations of others' future behaviour are enhanced and norms of interaction are strengthened. For example, team members can expect that they will receive help if needed, or that everyone will contribute to the shared work-tasks in equal amounts. The emergence of team-level trust is also beneficial for effective knowledge transfer (Szulanski, Cappetta & Jensen, 2004) and psychological safety climate (Edmondson, 1999), which help MCTs to benefit from the inherent wealth of culture-specific knowledge and expertise.

While the purpose of this study was not to seek a definite answer to the ultimate question of how the adverse effects of diversity in teams might be mitigated, the results provoke some possible theoretical implications. The theory of behavioural integration appears to fit MCTs quite well, as the four joint activities can be conceptualised in broader terms as communication and collaboration. The results of this study imply that although trust has distinctive cognitive foundations, it is constructed by the actions of those engaged in trusting behaviour and simultaneously reflected in those actions, further shaping and creating the cognitive perceptions of trustworthiness. Social categorisation processes may reinforce cognitions of untrustworthiness on outgroup members, but these cognitions are not fixed; they evolve with time and behaviour of team members has the potential to establish new, more positive

cognitions. It should be noted that the actions should be mutually accepted e.g. members must adhere to shared norms of interaction for behaviour to have a positive influence on cognitions. Although behavioural integration of a team does not necessitate social integration (Hambrick, 1997), this suggests that these perspectives are related to each other.

Finally, the role of the chosen methodology and analytical tool to the results should be considered. This study views trust from a psychological perspective, as a construct co-created by the interrelated cognitions and behaviours of its participants. Thus, the proposed model of trust-building in MCTs is founded on the meanings that the study's individual participants gave to trust; it represents the reality of these individuals, adopting a constructionism position to social reality. The reality was interpreted by carrying out a qualitative content analysis on the interview data, which allowed for simultaneous analysis of the cognitive and behavioural elements of trust, highlighting the interconnectedness of these two elements. Perhaps the most critical finding or contribution of the study is not the model itself, but the interpretation of reality it represents. The purpose of a qualitative case study is not to produce universally generalizable knowledge, so the model of trust-building may not apply to other MCTs as it is (Bryman 2012). However, the issue of generalizability does not suppose that this interpretation of the social reality could not apply to other MCTs. As was discussed previously, the study of culture in organisations has relied on quantitative measures to examine the effect of cultural values on organisational outcomes (Taras, Rowney & Steel 2009). This positivist view attempts to explain how cultural values affect behaviour and attitudes. As this study has shown, by adopting an interpretivism position it is possible to examine and further understand how individuals' actions co-construct a part of their shared social reality: team-level trust (Bryman & Bell 2015).

VI. Conclusion

In this chapter, a summary of the key findings and their importance are discussed in relation to the research objective and knowledge contribution. Additionally, further research is reviewed.

This study aimed to find empirical evidence of how trust is built in MCTs to examine its role in solving the paradox of culturally diverse teams. Previous literature indicates that multicultural teams are formed since they are seen as instruments for globalisation and they perform tasks that same-culture teams cannot (Dziatzko, Struve & Stehr 2017). However, prior research shows that MCTs perform varyingly, implying that achieving desired outcomes in multicultural teams is not straightforward (Berg 2012). This is thought to be a result of social categorisation processes which are reinforced by cultural diversity and may then affect specifically multicultural team outcomes in a negative way (van Knippenberg, van Ginkel & Homan 2013). As the main advantage of MCTs is their inherent culture-specific knowledge and expertise (van Knippenberg, De Dreu & Homan 2004; Stahl et al. 2010), studying the conditions that promote better use of this knowledge may offer insight into which team processes potentially translate diversity into action that results in positive outcomes. Trust has been recognised as a significant foundation for knowledge-sharing and creating a climate where people can safely express their beliefs and opinions (Costa et al. 2017). However, limited amount of research had been done on the role of trust in MCTs, and this study attempted to seek further understanding of trust-building in culturally diverse teams.

The study found out that there are four relevant activities that build trust in MCTs. The theory of behavioural integration was used to conceptualise the joint activities in broader terms. The joint activities consist of professional and personal communication, helping behaviour and task executive behaviour, and two conditions for these activities: a shared goal and mutually accepted basic norms of interaction. If the members of a team continuously engage in the aforementioned joint activities, they can build and enhance trust which each other which in turn can help the multicultural teams to take advantage of their specific knowledge and expertise and perform effectively.

The results of the study suggest that behaviour has a significant role in shaping the cognitive perceptions of trustworthiness and confers with the view that trust has distinctive cognitive foundations (see e.g. Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995; McAllister 1995). These cognitions of trustworthiness are reflected in behaviour, and by encouraging team members to engage in trust-building joint-activities the team can collectively construct a reinforcing cycle of trust-building that reflects the team members perception of the trustworthiness of the team as a whole, rather than a collective of individuals. Conversely, perceptions of untrustworthiness affect trust-building in a negative way and can be reinforced by the process of social categorization which is more evident in culturally diverse teams. Thus, these findings provide an answer to study's research question as well as to the presented sub-questions.

The generalisability of the proposed model of trust-building is constrained by the study's overall research design, and its validity is dependent on the contextual factors of the team. However, the main theoretical contribution lies in the social reality that the study constructed. The qualitative approach fostered a constructivist view on the research problem at hand. Abductive reasoning allowed the researchers to meaningfully combine both existing theory and new data to form an interpretation of the social reality that the participants described. This reality highlighted the role of behaviour in changing or reinforcing existing cognitions, and indicates that future research could focus more on the activities or processes that have the potential to moderate the negative effects of social categorisation processes. Moreover, the study indicates that behavioural integration theory is a viable option for MCT research, although future research should be conducted to test its validity. The results also have some managerial implications; team leaders should heed the importance of establishing mutual norms of interaction and foster activities that build trust in their team. As such, MCTs can be utilised as for the reason they are formed: as instruments for globalisation and to balance the local adaptation and global coordination.

VII. Limitations of Research

This research, as any other research, can be viewed from a critical perspective and thus the limitations of the study should not be overlooked. One main limitation of the study is the issue of generalizability. The limited size of the sample and the use of purposive sampling as opposed to non-probability sampling, inhibited us to generalize the results to a population as it is arguable how findings from a single case can be applied to other cases (Bryman, 2012). However, as the research employed a case study, the main intention was not to provide generalizable results. Instead, the aim of this research, to further understand the conditions that inhibit multicultural teams to benefit from their specific expertise, goes along with the purpose of a case study which is to understand the uniqueness and complexity of single case (Bryman, 2012.). Furthermore, theoretical saturation was achieved, meaning that the conducted interviews were subsequent enough to help create the categories for the coding frame and make a link between the concepts (Ibid).

Another limitation of the study is the partially controlled nature of semi-structured interviews as a method to collect the data. In semi-structured interviews, the interviewer has a list of questions but the interviewer is also allowed to ask the interviewee additional questions when they arise (Bryman, 2012). As such, not all respondents were asked the same follow-up questions and hence we had more discussion with some respondents than others. Despite that, all respondents were given the chance to tell if they had anything to add at the end. They could also clarify or rephase their sentences which allowed the researchers to correctly analyse the data. Finally, the limited span of the study, including the time and word limit constraints, prohibited the researchers to undertake a larger study.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Introduction

- Description of the study, structure of the interview (how many questions, length of the interview).
- All information is kept confidential/anonymous, your name/company name won't be mentioned anywhere.
- The interview is recorded so it can later be transcribed, are you okay with this?
- Further questions before we proceed?

Collected variables

- Age
- Job title
- Nationality
- Tenure

Perception of trust

- 1. How would you describe trust in your own words?
- 2. How is trust important at your job?

Trust within the team and in the organization

- 3. Do you trust everyone at the office equally? If yes/no why?
- 4. Do you think that you are trusted to do your job? What makes you feel like you are trusted or not trusted?
- 5. Do you trust this organisation? If yes/no why?
- 6. How do you think you could increase trust within your team?
- 7. Do you have something you want to add?

Appendix B: Coding Frame Categories

ppendix B: Coding Frame Categories			
Dimension I	Dimension II	Dimension III	
Foundations of trust (main category)	Reasons for not trusting (main category)	Behavioural Integration (main category)	
This main category includes all material that includes respondents' thoughts on why someone is trustworthy/should be trusted.	This main category includes all of the reasons for why respondents' feel someone should not be trusted or is not deemed trustworthy. This category does not include only the reasons for why someone is explicitly distrusted, but also remarks about why trust has not yet been built.	This main category is built on the theoretical framework of behavioural integration, so it is divided according to the three dimensions of the construct.	
A. Cognitive	A. Work-related reasons	A. Exchange of Information	
This subcategory includes all of the cognitive perceptions of trustworthiness, that are further divided into four additional subcategories. Cognitive perceptions are based on the available knowledge of the trustee. 1. Ability (A1) Perceptions about work-related skills, competence, and experience. It should also include any mentions about role, e.g. if certain positions is associated with good competence. 2. Benevolence (A2) All mentions of trust based on the good intentions of others, and their willingness to do good for the trustor, such as caring for their well-being. 3. Integrity (A3) All mentions of consistent behaviour, adhering to shared principles that the trustee also accepts. Mentions of not just seeking personal gain on the expense of others should also be included, as well as moral considerations 4. Openness (A4)	This subcategory includes the reasons that are directly related to work, further divided into three subcategories. These related more to cognitive reasons, and are thus based on previous knowledge or experience in regards to the trustee. 1. Monitoring (A1) All the reasons that are related to excessive monitoring of work tasks/results/other related things, even though the respondent feels that it is not warranted and created unnecessary complications. Additionally, mentions of employees having to monitor that the employer has handled their tasks should be included. 2. Inconsistent behaviour (A2) All of the mentions of behaviour that has been harmful to the trust between parties, e.g. if the trustee has failed to deliver on a promise or seems to behave in a random manner. 3. Lack of expertise (A3) All mentions of inexperience, lack of competence; not knowing how to do something, bad work outcomes etc.	All mentions of information exchange, both work-related and personal. It is further divided into two subcategories. This category should include mentions of communication. 1. Quantity (A1) Includes mentions of the amount of information, such as repeated feedback, sharing of personal knowledge, and interaction outside the immediate work-context. 2. Quality (A1) All mentions of information sharing that relate to the quality of the information, such as information that is pertinent to the work-tasks. Essentially, all information exchange that is related to helping with work, and where the information is critical for good performance, creating new knowledge and innovation.	
All mentions of open communication, willingness to share information, both personal and professional. Willingness to help and bond with other people should also be included.			

B. Affective

This subcategory should include all mentions of deeper relationships, such as trusting your friends. The distinction between cognitive and affective reasons should be that cognitive reasons are more specific, but the category 'affective' should include only the trust based on longer-term, deeper relationships, such as friendship.

B. Personal reasons

This subcategory includes all mentions of personal reasons that are not directly related to previous knowledge or work-related experiences. It is also divided further into three subcategories.

1. Lack of personal knowledge (B1)

This subcategory should include all mentions of not knowing a person enough to make a judgement about their trustworthiness.

2. Indifference (B2)

This subcategory should include all mentions of the trustee not caring for the trustor. Feelings of not willing to do anything more than necessary for the trustor, refusal to help, unwillingness to contribute to a shared goal.

3. Cultural diversity (B3)

This subcategory should include all mentions of diversity inhibiting getting to know other people, different ways of working, different values, as well as problems borne of language e.g. not understanding each other.

B. Collaborative behaviour

This subcategory should include mention of collaboration, such as helping whenever needed, offering assistance, shared responsibility, shared goals, dividing work-tasks equally, adapting behaviours, and taking on extra-roles.

C. Reciprocity

This subcategory should include all mentions of trust based on reciprocation, if no other reason is mentioned. Thus, all reasons such as 'they trust me, so I trust them' should be included in this category.

C. Joint decision-making

This subcategory includes all mentions of including everyone in decision-making and solving problems together.

Appendix C: Participants

Participant 1: Non-Swedish	Participant 6: Non-Swedish
Participant 2: Non-Swedish	Participant 7: Non-Swedish
Participant 3: Non-Swedish	Participant 8: Swedish
Participant 4: Swedish	Participant 9: Swedish
Participant 5: Non-Swedish	Participant 10: Swedish

To protect the participant anonymity, specific job position or country information is kept confidential.

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