



University of Macedonia

Department of International and European Studies

Master of Science in International Public Administration

**The Impact of the Contemporary Greek Culture
on the Performance of Multicultural Teams
in International Public Environments**

a postgraduate thesis on the field of International Human Resources Development

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“When we listen and celebrate what is both common and different, we become wiser, more inclusive, and better as an organization.”

— Pat Wadors

Declaration

I, Nikolaos Varsanis, hereby declare that all data used in this work have been obtained and processed in accordance with the rules of academic ethics as well as the laws governing research and intellectual property. I also declare that, in accordance with the aforementioned rules, I quote and refer to the sources of all data used that do not constitute the product of my own original work.

Thessaloniki, 09/09/2022

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'N. Varsanis', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

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ABSTRACT

International organizations with HR professionals who are incapable of managing their employees' culture are doomed to failure. For this reason, the aim of the present study is to showcase the features of the contemporary Greek culture that could potentially affect, either positively or negatively, the performance of multicultural teams in international public organizations, so that managers know what to expect when Greek nationals join their multicultural workforce. The research was conducted with the aid of questionnaires granted to Greek employees working in international public environments, including questions about their behavior, personality, beliefs, attitudes, organizational habits, and anticipated reactions towards both their duties and managers or colleagues. The results prove that, although Greeks hold the reputation of the difficult employee, they have started taking steps towards rectifying most of the characteristics they were condemned for in the past, heading towards professionalism and organizational consistency. Therefore, they make up colleagues worth working with, since they strive hard to adapt and be resilient to the changes in the world around them, without letting their deep-rooted culture affect them where it constitutes a hindrance on their performance.

Keywords: Greek Culture, Performance, Multicultural Teams, International Public Environments

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

EU	European Union	IHRM	International / Intercultural Human Resources Management
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation	IOM	International Organization for Migration
GLOBE	Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness	IP	Internet Protocol
HC	Horizontal Collectivism	LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
HI	Horizontal Individualism	NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
HR	Human Resources	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
HRM	Human Resources Management	VC	Vertical Collectivism
IES	International and European Studies	VI	Vertical Individualism

GLOSSARY

<i>Arpakola</i>	<i>Αρπακόλλα</i>	Completing jobs in a slapdash, sloppy manner.
<i>Efthynophobia</i>	<i>Ευθυνοφοβία</i>	Fear of responsibility.
<i>Loufa</i>	<i>Λούφα</i>	Avoiding assignment of duties.
<i>Meson / Visma</i>	<i>Μέσον / Βύσμα</i>	Employment of acquaintances to get things done more quickly, behind the system.
<i>Miza</i>	<i>Μίζα</i>	Illegal commission given to intermediaries to ‘push things’.
<i>Moria</i>	<i>Μόρια</i>	Credit points needed for appointment in the public sector.
<i>Philotimo</i>	<i>Φιλότιμο</i>	Love of honor.
<i>Rousfeti</i>	<i>Ρουσφέτι</i>	Bribing.

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INTRODUCTION

In a globalized and rapidly evolving world, managers in international public environments need to be able to maintain a balance in the workgroups they supervise, so that citizens (clients) of this world can get the best quality services possible. Contrary to the private sector, global customers cannot merely change provider in case they are dissatisfied with an offered service, thus international services and organizations ought to maintain high standards at all times. The problem is that, in order for the output to reach clients successfully, multicultural teams need to be able to cooperate smoothly, so that a potentially low performance will not hinder or put the accomplishment of their duties and responsibilities at risk. However, it is often the case that such teams, owing to discordances in culture, get involved in cultural clashes that make them drain all available resources to them rather than drive towards efficiency and success creation (Matveev, 2017). It is at this point that managers should be able to help them overcome cultural barriers and steer them towards peaceful coexistence that will elevate performance and thus lead to higher organizational effectiveness. The thing is that, nowadays, most managers consider intercultural competence as something negligible, being unable to grasp its ultimate importance. For this reason, it is about time they started to acknowledge that being able to tame the outbursts of culture comprises the nucleus of success. This success can only be ensured when having people complement each other instead of letting cultural frictions divide them. We hope that this paper will help in this direction, especially on matters pertaining to the Greek culture.

The present study examines the impact of the contemporary Greek culture on the performance of multicultural work teams in international public environments. In other words, it provides a valuable insight into the features of the Greek culture that could potentially benefit or hinder performance while Greeks interact with colleagues of different nationalities at work. The research was conducted through questionnaires, asking Greek employees working in international public bodies to answer questions pertaining to their behavior, personality, beliefs, attitudes, anticipated reactions, and organizational habits. What had been the case so far is that, although Greeks have certain positive features, they are colleagues of a difficult nature to work with, owing to characteristics such as extreme competitiveness or lack of organization, among others. However, all the research that has given rise to these beliefs was carried out many years –even decades– ago and, although

certain features still remain unfading, most of them have currently changed due to the socioeconomic and demographic changes that naturally took place in the past few years as part of cultural evolution. At the end of the day, it shall be admitted that Greeks are colleagues not that hard to work with. Although their culture still has an unavoidable impact on them, making them carry it everywhere, they have started realizing what professionalism means, heading towards this direction and leaving behind most of the negative features for which they were condemned in the past.

The structure of this paper consists of six chapters. **Chapter (1)** discusses all the intercultural theories that managers need to be aware of and use as a toolkit, so that they can be assisted in dealing with potential cultural clashes in their team. **Chapter (2)** continues with the challenges faced by multicultural teams and is followed by **Chapter (3)** on the proposals to mitigate these challenges in order to guarantee ultimate organizational success and avoid the consequences of a potential culture shock. Additionally, **Chapter (4)** provides a valuable insight into the possible factors that can affect performance in multicultural teams, both positively and negatively. Most interestingly of all, **Chapter (5)** is dedicated solely to the Greek culture. It examines the particularities of Greek management, the contemporary Greek culture and its paradoxes, as well as Greek employees' characteristics in the workplace. Finally, **Chapter (6)** comprises the research part of this paper, which includes an extensive analysis of the results, explaining which aspects of the Greek culture have changed over the years, which have remained stable, as well as what the implications for multicultural team performance and work output are in 2022, providing a fresher perspective on existing academic findings.

CHAPTER 1

Intercultural Theories in Human Resources Management: A Manual for the Acquisition of Intercultural Competence

After extensive research, the present chapter analyzes the eleven most prominent cultural theories applied to IHRM, according to the most dominant existing bibliography in the field. Both international managers and employees need to be aware of these theories before taking up a mission abroad, since knowledge of them can boost performance by functioning as a preventive mechanism against cultural conflict and misunderstandings among colleagues. To the best of the author's knowledge, there is no other paper having concentrated all intercultural theories of HRM together in a single chapter, thus the present work can function as a useful manual for the acquisition of intercultural competence¹.

1.1. The Cultural Iceberg (Edward Hall)

According to Hall (1976), culture can be likened to an iceberg. In the case of an iceberg, almost only 10% of it is visible above the surface of the water, whereas the rest 90%, which comprises its biggest part, stays hidden beneath the ocean. This is exactly what happens in the case of culture. Based on Hall's (1976) aforementioned theory, only around 10% of a person's culture is visible to others. This is called 'external' or 'surface' culture (the 'what'). The majority 90%, called 'internal' or 'deep' culture (the 'why'), remains difficult to observe. 'External' culture is explicitly learnt ('taught'), conscious, easily changeable, observable with touch, taste, smell and sound, and linked to objective knowledge. It involves such aspects of human life as behaviors, customs, and traditions, that is, visible cultural expressions. Respectively, 'internal' culture is implicitly learnt ('caught'), unconscious, difficult to change, intangible, and linked to subjective knowledge. It involves elements such as core values and beliefs, attitudes and norms, relationships and roles, assumptions, priorities, perceptions, thought patterns, myths, language, and verbal or (mostly) non-verbal communication cues. The thing is that when people enter a culture, they end up interacting only with one's 'external' culture, thus being unable to perceive their culture holistically.

¹ It shall be noted that some cultural theories overlap, mostly under different titles, as many researchers have been affected by one another while testing them. For reasons of brevity, duplicate theories are only shortly discussed.

This prevents them from having access to ‘deep’ culture, which actually comprises the biggest part of one’s self. As a result, assumptions towards a specific cultural group may be falsely interpreted, thus putting interpersonal relations at risk. For this reason, people shall make an effort to understand others’ ‘deep’ culture too: it is when our basic cultural values differ underneath the surface that misunderstandings emerge.

Similarly, as regards ‘deep’ culture, Briscoe and Schuler (2004, p. 118) add that “[a]n awareness of and appreciation for these underlying factors is often critical to being able to operate effectively in or with people from another culture”. According to them, the ‘onion model’, similar to Hall’s (1976) ‘cultural iceberg’, shall be taken into account when it comes to describing IHRM practices that can lead to the development of cross-cultural competence. The three layers of the ‘onion model’ are: **(1)** surface culture (outside layer), where cultural elements are readily visible (i.e. dress, food, etc.), **(2)** hidden culture (middle layer), involving aspects such as values, religions, philosophies, etc., and **(3)** invisible culture (core), where a culture’s universal truths are deeply rooted (Briscoe & Schuler, 2004).

Besides comparing culture to an iceberg, Hall and Hall (1990) mention three more ways in which cultures can be differentiated. This can be done on the basis of **(1.1.1.)** context, **(1.1.2.)** time, and **(1.1.3.)** space.

1.1.1. High-Context versus Low-Context

This distinction has to do with the way a message is conveyed among individuals. In high-context cultures, people expect their listener to decode the implicit part of their message within a specific contextual framework, to read ‘between the lines’. This message usually lacks verbal directness, as much is taken for granted. In such cases, background information or body language are highly important for the comprehension of a verbally incomplete or short utterance. In low-context cultures, though, people tend to be explicit, direct, and expansive in their exchanges, as nothing is to be taken for granted and individuals shall not ‘beat around the bush’ but explain everything in detail. In fact, they are expected to be straight-forward, simple, and clear in order to eliminate any possibility of ambiguity on the part of their listener. For them, it is better to exhaustively explain something than have misunderstandings in the end. People from low-context cultures just listen to the words spoken without taking contextual factors or body language into account. However, in this way, they miss important cues that otherwise would be valuable to a specific subject, as when

people do not understand the unwritten rules of a culture, they end up being confused. Interestingly, according to Hall and Hall (1990, p. 9), “[h]igh-context people are apt to become impatient and irritated when low-context people insist on giving them information they don't need [and], [c]onversely, low-context people are at loss when high-context people do not provide enough information”.

1.1.2. High versus Low Territoriality (Proxemics)

Undoubtedly, all people have the need for personal space. It is just that different cultures need different distances, otherwise they feel uncomfortable during their interactions. In other words, territoriality is highly affected by culture. In high-territoriality cultures, people mark places as ‘mine’. In their culture, touching something that belongs to them is like touching themselves, so individuals have great concern for ownership. Few people are allowed to penetrate this mobile space and only for short periods of time. Therefore, when their space is infringed, people get uncomfortable, aggressive, offended, or even threatened. On the other side, people from low-territoriality cultures are not particularly concerned with personal space or setting boundaries. They readily share their territory and do not really develop feelings of ownership. All this affects the way business is done: it is different to collaborate with a colleague who prefers to stay within their protected comfort zone without inviting you in and with one standing closer to you, willing to share their personal space.

1.1.3. Monochronic versus Polychronic

This third cultural dimension equates Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner’s (1997) sixth dimension of Sequential (Monochronic) versus Synchronic (Polychronic) cultures.²

1.2. The Cultural Syndromes Typology (Geert Hofstede)

Hofstede’s (2001) typology of the so-called ‘cultural syndromes’ is perhaps the most widely used model in academia regarding work-related attitudes and IHRM issues. As of 2001, Hofstede has described five cultural dimensions, adding a sixth and final one in 2010. These dimensions are: **(1.2.1.)** individualism/collectivism, **(1.2.2.)** power distance, **(1.2.3.)** uncertainty avoidance, **(1.2.4.)** masculinity/femininity, **(1.2.5.)** long-term/short-term orientation (Hofstede, 2001) and, finally, **(1.2.6.)** indulgence/restraint (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

² For more, see **(1.4.6.)** Sequential versus Synchronic

1.2.1. Individualism versus Collectivism

This dimension refers to the extent to which people in a society are integrated into groups or function as interdependent and autonomous actors. Collectivists generally put emphasis on group identity and sharply distinguish between themselves (in-group - 'we' - particularism) and others (out-group - 'they' - universalism), whereas individualists ('I') do not really consider any group as dominant and have multiple group connections as independent and autonomous actors. Harmony is to be promoted mostly in collectivist cultures, which would support their in-group in case of conflict, whereas individualist ones are more susceptible to disagreements and conflict. Rules are enforced based on humiliation, shame, and loss of face in collectivist cultures, whereas personal inner guilt dominates individuals in individualist cultures. Consequently, this makes collectivist cultures prone to nepotism and favoritism towards their in-group, whereas individualist cultures tend to follow universal standards.

Pertaining to the IHRM discipline, it can be inferred that in collectivist societies diplomas ensure entry to higher status groups, occupational mobility is lower, employees are members of in-groups and pursue in-group over personal interest, decisions on hiring and promotion take employees' in-group into account, the employer-employee relationship is typically moral (like a family link), management is management of groups, direct appraisal of subordinates spoils harmony, in-group customers get better treatment (particularism), and relationships prevail over tasks. Respectively, in individualist societies, diplomas increase economic worth and self-respect, occupational mobility is higher, employees are 'economic persons' who pursue employers' interest only when it coincides with their own self-interest which they try to promote at the expense of the group, decisions on hiring and promotion are based on skills and rules only, the employer-employee relationship is a contract between parties in a labor market, management is management of individuals, management training teaches the honest sharing of feelings, every customer gets the same treatment (universalism), and tasks prevail over relationships.

At this point, it is worth opening a short parenthesis, since the very first dimension of Individualism versus Collectivism is also extensively analyzed by Triandis, Leung, Villareal, and Clack (1985, as cited in Harris, 2007) under the title of Idiocentrism (Individualism) versus Allocentrism (Collectivism). What is new, however, is that Triandis (1995a, as cited in Harris, 2007) incorporates the notion of 'power distance' into this dual distinction in order to finally create four separate categories: (1) horizontal collectivism (HC), (2) vertical

collectivism (VC), (3) horizontal individualism (HI), and (4) vertical individualism (VI). Triandis (1995b, as cited in Harris, 2007) states that verticality represents the ‘different self’, that is, the extent to which people accept status differences, and horizontality represents the ‘same self’, that is, the extent to which people expect equality and minimal status differences. Examining these concepts in more detail, HC represents cultures where people see each other as total equals, common goals, interdependence, and sociability dominate human relationships, and submission to authorities is very hard. In VC cultures, individuals reckon that there are natural inequalities in society but still see themselves as parts of the collective. Integrity, competition with outsiders, and sacrifice of personal goals are characteristic in this case. Moreover, HI cultures promote the self-reliant individual who is not an integrated part of the collective. In such cultures, although people want to be unique, do not necessarily seek to be distinguished or acquire more status. Finally, in VI cultures, individual autonomy and acceptance of inequality are fully recognized. In fact, through individual competition, people usually strive for status and distinction in the society they live in (Triandis, 1994; 1995a, as cited in Harris, 2007).

1.2.2. Power Distance

In high-power distance cultures, people accept the notion of hierarchy and the social distance between the high and the low ends of society. As a result, those from the low end of power distribution accept that the power exerted by those from the high one is legitimate, acceptable, and non-challengeable. In other words, they honor their superiors and have no reservations about the power they possess. On the contrary, in low-power distance cultures, there is a tireless pursuit of and competition for power, with those being at the low end pursuing to displace the ones with power from the high end, questioning their authority. Also, high-power distance cultures show respect for authority, which they regard as centralized, whereas in low-power distance cultures people seek respect for their individuality, being in favor of a more decentralized authority.

Regarding IHRM, high-power distance cultures demand more supervisory personnel, the salary range varies significantly across the levels of an organization, rules are formal, subordinates are expected to be told what to do, the ideal boss is a ‘benevolent autocrat’ or a ‘good father’, subordinate-superior relationships are emotional, privileges and status symbols are normal, and white-collar jobs are valued more than blue-collar ones. Respectively, in low-power distance cultures, there is no need for much supervisory personnel, the salary gap

between the various tiers of an organization is narrow, managers show trust to their experience and subordinates instead of following rigid rules, subordinates are consulted and not commanded, being treated as equals, the ideal manager is a democratic authority, subordinate-superior relationships are pragmatic, privileges and status symbols are frowned upon, and all types of work are rewarded as if they were office work.

1.2.3. Uncertainty Avoidance

This dimension describes cultures as ‘risk-takers’, showing their tolerance towards ambiguity, that is, the extent to which they embrace or avert something that deviates from an established status quo. In high-uncertainty avoidance cultures, people tend to closely stick to stiff codes of behavior, social norms, rules, and details, viewing the world in largely black and white terms and being reluctant to embrace innovation and generalizations. They believe in an absolute truth and individuals are rather anxious. On the contrary, low-uncertainty avoidance cultures express riskier behaviors, accept pioneering ideas, and are more accustomed to the concept of ambiguity, thus discretion towards the implementation of rigid rules and regulations is allowed. They generally avoid ritualization and ceremony, since they accept relativity of belief.

As for IHRM, it has to be noted that in international work environments, people from low-uncertainty avoidance societies are more positive or neutral vis-à-vis foreigners and getting violent in an intergroup conflict is rare. In this case, top managers are concerned with strategy and focus more on decision processes. Conversely, high-uncertainty avoidance societies are more prone to getting violent in an inter-group conflict, being aggressively xenophobic in certain cases. Regarding top managers, they are more intervening in daily operations and focus more on decision content.

1.2.4. Masculinity versus Femininity

This dimension refers to the extent male and female values and social rules are differentiated. In high-masculinity cultures, men are regarded as strong, heroic, and assertive, emphasizing material accomplishments. Women are also assertive and competitive but they acknowledge the existing gap between themselves and men. Such cultures typically promote stereotypes like ‘men work while women take care of the house and the children’. They are ego-oriented, money and things are important, and individuals live in order to work. Respectively, in high-femininity cultures, there is a preference for cooperation, modesty, quality of life, and care

for the weak. Such cultures are relationship-oriented, they prioritize people and qualitative life, and individuals work in order to live.

Pertaining to IHRM, high-masculinity cultures allow for larger gender wage gaps, prefer fewer women in management positions, crave for higher pay, and face failure as disaster. Respectively, high-femininity cultures allow for smaller gender wage gaps, promote women in management positions, show a tendency for fewer working hours, and face failure as a minor accident. Interestingly, in high-masculinity cultures, individuals are more prone to resorting to force to solve a conflict, whereas high-femininity cultures employ means such as dialogue and negotiation instead. Moreover, in high-masculinity cultures, management is decisive and aggressive, rewards are based on equity, there is a preference for larger organizations, careers are compulsory for men but optional for women, and job choice is based on career opportunities. Respectively, in high-femininity cultures, management is based on intuition and consensus, rewards are based on equality, there is a preference for smaller organizations, careers are optional for both genders, and job choice is based on intrinsic interest.

1.2.5. Long-Term versus Short-Term Orientation

Long-term orientation societies focus on and praise the future and sacrifice or delay short-term successes in order to prepare for it. Typical characteristics of long-term orientation cultures are thrift and savings, patience and perseverance, industriousness, and an ambition that the best things in life will eventually come as a result of persistent effort. In such cultures, adaptation and circumstantial or pragmatic problem-solving are considered keys and people are willing to subordinate themselves for a purpose. Conversely, in short-term orientation cultures, emphasis is on immediate and quick results. People do not practice thrift but save little, value steadfastness, stability, and leisure over work, and honor their traditions, being indifferent towards change. In other words, a short-term orientation society cares a lot about the past and the present, considering them more important than the future. Hence, emphasis is on immediate gratification rather than long-term fulfillment of one's goals. For these reasons, managers' knowing their employees' time-culture is very crucial, as it is closely associated with motivation and productivity.

1.2.6. Indulgence versus Restraint

Being Hofstede et al.'s (2010) most recent addition, an indulgent culture is one that shows less control over its desires and impulses, succumbing more easily to some basic natural human needs, namely the need to enjoy life, socialize with friends, and have fun. On the other hand, restrained cultures believe that there should be limits to such gratifications and attitudes, imposed by strict rules and norms. By and large, both dimensions have to do with the way people have been raised.

The implications of this two-fold division on IHRM are multiple. People from indulgent societies tend to have a more satisfying family life (known to be affecting performance at work), do not prescribe concrete gender roles, and emphasize positivity, optimism, smiling, and freedom of speech. Conversely, people from restrained societies are often less satisfied with their family life, promote strictly prescribed gender roles, are not concerned with freedom of speech, face others and situations with cynicism and pessimism, and take smiling as suspicious, keeping a serious profile or a 'poker face' in their interactions with others.

1.3. The Model of Cross-Cultural Communication (Richard Lewis)

According to Lewis (2005) and his model of cross-cultural communication, culture can be divided into three categories: **(1.3.1.)** linear-active, **(1.3.2.)** multi-active, and **(1.3.3.)** reactive.

1.3.1. Linear-Active

In this type of culture, individuals do one thing at a time and follow strict time slots for each activity "in the sequence [...] written down in [a] date book" (Lewis, 2005, p. 30). Linear-active people are highly concentrated on one thing, which they accomplish within a specific time-period, believing they are more efficient and productive this way. If they deviate from their schedule, they are most likely to get disorganized for the rest of the day, and any forced departure from their linear progression can lead to irritation. In these cultures, individuals "attach great importance to analyzing a project, compartmentalizing it, tackling each problem one at a time in a linear fashion, concentrating on each segment and thereby achieving a near-perfect result" (Lewis, 2005, p. 32). Thus, working in a multicultural environment with people not functioning this way can make linear-active individuals feel totally uneasy.

1.3.2. Multi-Active

In this type of culture, individuals are good at multitasking, that is, the ability to do many things at a time, often in an unplanned manner. Multi-active cultures also praise flexibility, according to which it is not offensive to interrupt somebody while talking but rather acceptable. In general, multi-active people “think they get more done their way” (Lewis, 2005, p. 30). More specifically, they are not or pretend to be concerned about schedule and punctuality, and they consider that “reality is more important than man-made appointments” (Lewis, 2005, p. 30). For instance, they detest leaving conversations unfinished, as they consider human transactions to be the most worthwhile activities to invest time in. In other words, multi-active people would eagerly delay their day and get out of schedule if their last conversation took a little longer to complete, though never leaving it unfinished for the sake of not deviating from a pre-determined timetable.

In case linear-active and multi-active individuals were to work in the same environment and unless mitigation or management tools to avoid cultural clashes and shocks were implemented, the probable result would be irritation on both sides. In other words, if the two groups cannot adjust to each other, constant crises and complaints will emerge. For instance, questions like ‘why don’t they work to deadlines?’ (by linear-active employees) or ‘why keep to the plan when circumstances have changed?’ (by multi-active employees) will be very frequent, contributing to a problematic work environment and compromising performance.

1.3.3. Reactive

The most common feature of reactive cultures is to listen. In particular, people rarely initiate actions or conversations but prefer to listen to what their interlocutor has to say before formulating their own position. Listening should be done in a concentrated way, without interrupting or letting the mind wander and, once the interlocutor has finished speaking, the given reply shall not be immediate. According to Lewis (2005, p. 35), “[a] decent period of silence after the speaker has stopped shows respect for the weight of the remarks, which must be considered unhurriedly and with due deference”. People from these cultures avoid voicing strong opinions, shy away from confrontations, and do everything to avoid discord, often resulting in accepting proposals that suit the other party. They are introverted, prefer non-verbal communication cues (e.g. sighs, inaudible groans, agreeable grunts, etc.), and mistrust ‘big words’ and promises. They also use subtle body language and can be inexpressive,

contrary to the extravagant attitude of the multi-active system or the ‘cause/effect’ - ‘question/reply’ reality of the linear-active system.

In reactive cultures, the preferred mode of communication is “monologue → pause → reflection → monologue” (Lewis, 2005, p. 35). This goes against the norm in linear-active or multi-active cultures, where silence is not tolerated, individuals take the floor immediately after their interlocutor has finished speaking, and people can readily interrupt others with comments or questions out of genuine interest in what is being said. In reactive cultures, though, not only do individuals praise silence, but they also find it offensive to reply immediately. This is because it will be considered that their interlocutor’s utterance was taken “lightly or dismissed with a snappy or flippant retort” (Lewis, 2005, p. 35). Therefore, silence is considered meaningful and reverent, expressing consideration for others’ point of view.

Moreover, individuals from reactive cultures face interlocutors as very knowledgeable figures, “expressing their thoughts in half-utterances, indicating that the listener can fill in the rest” (Lewis, 2005, p. 36). Interestingly, in order to deflect blame or increase politeness, they usually resort to making great use of impersonal pronouns or passive voice structures while speaking. What is more, they avoid eye contact with or uttering the name of their listener, since they find it awkward. In fact, they even avoid small talk, limiting themselves to formalities only. Lastly, reactive people have a lot of underlying power in reserve, do not aspire leadership, are rarely aggressive, and often resort to acts of self-disparagement to assure their self-esteem would in no case offend the listener.

1.4. The Model of National Culture Differences (Fons Trompenaars & Charles Hampden-Turner)

The Trompenaars Model of National Culture Differences is a framework for cross-cultural communication applied to general business and management, developed by Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner in 1997. It is one of the most valued systems when it comes to analyzing multicultural work environments or IHRM practices both in the public and private sector. It consists of seven cultural pillars: **(1.4.1.)** universalism/particularism, **(1.4.2.)** individualism/communitarianism, **(1.4.3.)** affective/neutral, **(1.4.4.)** specific/diffuse, **(1.4.5.)** achievement/ascription, **(1.4.6.)** sequential/synchronic, and **(1.4.7.)** internal/external control.

1.4.1. Universalism versus Particularism

The first dimension defines how individuals judge others' behavior. Universalism (rule-based behavior) is about complying with standards that are universally agreed upon to ensure equity and consistency, whereas particularism is associated with our obligations towards the people we know, depending on the circumstances. Universalism resists exceptions to the rules under the pretext that they will be repeated, in which case the whole system will collapse. On the other hand, particularism focuses on the exceptional nature of the present circumstances, that is, on the fact that people should adapt to them no matter what the rules dictate. In particularist cultures, job turnover is very low, relationships are long-lasting, and commitment to the job is long-term. This is based on the assumption that the greater the particularism in a society, the greater the employer/employee relationship.

In IHRM, clashes between these two cultures are highly possible, considering each other as corrupt. For example, trust issues while signing a contract could easily emerge, since “[t]he contract will be seen as definitive by the universalist, but only as a rough guideline or approximation by the particularist” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 40). Moreover, during recruitment, universalists would seek for candidates that best fit the job description based on qualifications, whereas particularists would first attempt to informally and intuitively approach the candidate, before proceeding with formalities.

All in all, for particularists, universalists are not to be trusted, since they would even refuse to help their friends. Accordingly, for universalists, particularists are not to be trusted either, since they would only favor their friends if given the chance (‘cronyism’). In other words, it is clearly a debate between praising rules at the expense of relationships and relationships at the expense of rules.

1.4.2. Individualism versus Communitarianism

The second dimension discusses the clash between individual and group interests. It is a debate between satisfaction of individual needs (the ‘self’) and adherence to the collective good (the ‘common’).

Pertaining to IHRM, this cultural dichotomy can bring about certain implications. For example, in cases recognized achievements are needed for promotion, people from individualist cultures seek to distinguish themselves from the group (‘self-orientation’) and

their colleagues accept this behavior as normal. This is because they face contribution to tasks as distinguishable and the best one deserves to be praised, something that does not hold true for communitarian societies. As Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997, p. 58) have vividly put it, “[t]he individualist culture sees the individual as ‘the end’ and improvements to communal arrangements as the means to achieve it, [whereas] [t]he communitarian culture sees the group as its end and improvements to individual capacities as a means to that end”. In addition, in cases of decision-making or voting, individualist cultures will frequently ask for a vote, as they praise individual decisions, whereas communitarian societies will mostly refrain from voting, under the pretext that it goes against individuals who are not in support of majority decision. Regarding motivation, people from individualist societies work for extrinsic money rewards, whereas people in communitarian systems work for the positive regard and support of their colleagues, even accepting to “share the fruits of their efforts” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 62) with them than keeping everything for themselves. In the latter system, the whole group is extolled and no individual is seen as the only ‘hero’. Also, in cases of serious mistakes, individualist societies consider themselves as worth punishing, whereas the communitarian mentality dictates that mistakes shall not be publicized, teams shall help their members improve and compensate for these mistakes, and no additional punishment is necessary. Finally, individualist cultures are characterized by high mobility and job turnover, whereas the opposite is observed in communitarian systems.

1.4.3. Affective versus Neutral

This third approach is associated with reason and emotion. There are cultures that do not display their emotions but prefer to keep them carefully controlled and subdued, whereas in other cultures people tend to express their emotions freely and without restraints. However, this does not necessarily mean that neutral cultures are cold, unfeeling, or emotionally repressed; it is just that in affective cultures people express their emotions more overtly and loudly. In an international work environment, individuals from neutral cultures are more susceptible to considering overt emotions as unprofessional, whereas employees from affective cultures may consider lack of emotions as hiding true feelings behind a mask of possible deceit. Similarly, there have been cases where jokes expressed by individuals from affective countries have been perceived as ironic by people from neutral countries. In such cases, both cultures have to be aligned in some way in order to avoid having insiders laugh and foreigners excluded or “deprived of the emotional release the rest have enjoyed”

(Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 74). How cultures will be aligned comprises another significant question, the answer being that “[w]hen such cultures meet the first essential is to recognize the differences, and to refrain from making any judgments based on emotions, or the lack of them” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 77).

All in all, individuals from neutral cultures do not reveal what they think, suppress their emotions until they are holistically exploded, avoid physical contact, gesturing, or strong facial expressions, and speak in a rather monotonous way. On the other side, those from affective cultures reveal their thoughts and feelings both verbally and non-verbally, believe that emotions are proof for transparency and shall be expressed without inhibitions, embrace animated facial expressions, touching, and gesturing, and speak in a rather fluent and dramatic way, being regarded as boisterous by some. Admittedly, such behavioral manifestations shall not fall into categories like ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, since they are merely different ways of expressing oneself.

1.4.4. Specific versus Diffuse

According to Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997, p. 81), “the degree to which we engage others in specific areas of life and single levels of personality, or diffusely in multiple areas of our lives and at several levels of personality at the same time” is of great importance. For instance, in specific-oriented cultures, managers can have a different relationship with their subordinates inside the company (e.g. one of respect) but a very different one out of it (e.g. a more horizontal one). In other words, a manager can choose to “segregate out the task relationship she or he has with a subordinate and insulate this from other dealings” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, p. 81). On the other hand, in diffuse-oriented cultures, managers are expected to be respected at all times, independent of context or situation, and are valued more as citizens, being figures of authority, which stems from their directorship. In other words, specific-oriented cultures have sharply separate public and private spaces, whereas diffuse-oriented ones guard their public space very carefully, since access to it predisposes immediate access to their private space, which is something they would like to avoid.

In IHRM, a balance between the two is indispensable. More specifically, it is imperative to “recogniz[e] that privacy is necessary, but that complete separation of private life leads to

alienation and superficiality; that business is business, but stable and deep relationships mean strong affiliations” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 97).

1.4.5. Achievement versus Ascription

In an achievement culture, emphasis is put on ‘doing’ – people accord status to others based on their achievements. On the other hand, an ascription culture is linked to ‘being’ – individuals judge others’ status based on factors such as age, class, gender, or education. In other words, when meeting new people, individuals are influenced by different things based on their culture. This can, of course, raise certain considerations for aspects such as recruitment and rewarding, since “different societies confer status on individuals in different ways” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 103).

Generally, clashes between the two cultures can easily emerge. Achievement-culture individuals are often irritated when ascription-culture employees expect deference from everyone, considering that their position and eminence have been acquired solely on the basis of seniority. Respectively, ascription-culture individuals are annoyed when achievement-culture employees, usually half their age ‘whiz-kids’ with half their experience, tell them what to do and spout knowledge here and there. A case in point is when achievement cultures dispatch young and ambitious managers on challenging assignments to organizations located in ascription cultures, where they are frequently rejected on the basis of their youthfulness.

For ascription-culture individuals, title and power are very important and organizations cannot be steered without somebody being high in its status hierarchy. They believe that “[t]he closer you get to the top, the more likely it is that promises made in negotiations will be kept” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 111). These individuals maintain that young impetuous employees, though highly knowledgeable, are not to be taken seriously, since knowledge shall not be the priority. Consequently, ascription-culture individuals get upset in cases high-achievers get bonuses or pay-for-performance rewards irrespective of their rank, holding that benefits shall be granted in accordance to one’s ascribed status. Interestingly, they even assert that “[i]f the leader does something to reduce his own status, all his subordinates are downgraded as a consequence” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 111).

Ascription-culture individuals ‘are’ their status and justifications for it are neither offered nor expected. For them, to be educated is desirable, but it shall not constitute a criterion of

preference. Seniors from achievement cultures are in high positions based on their knowledge, skills, and achievements over the years, whereas seniors from ascription cultures are in high posts based on their power to get things done. Additionally, in achievement cultures, people are evaluated on the basis of how well they performed an assigned task. However, in ascription cultures, “status is attributed to those who ‘naturally’ evoke admiration from others, that is, older people, males, highly qualified persons and/or persons skilled in a technology or project deemed to be of national importance” (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 113). The distinguished person is a personification of the whole organization, cannot be compared with anyone else, and their performance is judged on the basis of loyalty and affection from their subordinates.

1.4.6. Sequential versus Synchronic

As Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997, p. 121) interestingly put it, “[o]ur conception of time is strongly affected by culture because time is an idea rather than an object [and] [h]ow we think of time is interwoven with how we plan, strategize and co-ordinate our activities with others”. For this reason, it is imperative for cultures to be able to perceive whether time is sequential, that is, a series of chronological events passing us at regular intervals, or synchronic, that is, when the past, present, and future are interrelated, shaping the way we face the present based on past memories and future expectations.

Sequential thinkers see time as a dotted line, where events are organized based on the number of intervals before or after their occurrence. Everything happens at a specific time and place and any deviation from this tight sequence can upset individuals, as ‘order is order’ and ‘time is money’. These people despise being given agendas at the last minute, especially those with no distinct time slots for each separate activity or event. On the contrary, in synchronic cultures, people perform various activities in parallel. In other words, individuals ‘skip between stones’ to reach their final goal, which they finally reach through interchangeable stepping stones. They are multi-taskers, punctuality is not their priority, and schedule is not an excuse for ignoring people or urgent events, since human relationships are more important than simply having things done.

Admittedly, confusions can easily arise because of divergent time orientations. More specifically, both cultures can be insulted by one another because of the way they organize their activities based on their perception of time. For example, synchronic people would find

it unacceptable not to be greeted by somebody who is, in the meantime, talking on the phone, as emotions shall not be sequenced or postponed for later. Regarding performance, in sequential cultures, employees are assessed based on recent achievements or failure, whereas in synchronic cultures, individuals are evaluated on the basis of accumulated progress over time. As for planning, sequential cultures impose strict deadlines and, if circumstances change, all steps have to be recalculated. Everything shall be organized from start to end within specific time frameworks that keep one on schedule. In synchronic cultures, though, it does no harm to add more steps to a plan, if that means that unforeseen pitfalls will be avoided.

All in all, bridging the gap between the expectations we all have about time and reconciling these two culture types is the only way to bring them together to successful business.

1.4.7. Internal versus External Control

This cultural dimension is associated with the role people assign to the environment. Inner-directed cultures believe that they can control the environment by imposing their will on it, whereas outer-directed cultures believe that they shall go along with nature and obey its forces and rules.

Linking this definition to IHRM, in inner-directed cultures, the organization is conceived as a machine run by its operators, who take control of it and do not wish any sudden waves on their way. In outer-directed cultures, though, the organization is run by people who are more flexible and believe in letting things take their own course. These people do not pressure situations but harmoniously compromise with what life is to bring, including challenges. By and large, it is a debate between controlling your destiny and letting your destiny control you.

However, an outer-directed culture shall not be confused with an unsuccessful one, since outer-directed does not necessarily mean fate-oriented. Instead, it can bring about certain benefits to organizations, namely compromise with the inevitable advent of technological revolution, following the prevailing customer demand, or be directed by the force of an opponent. Such cultures consider these things as coming directly from the environment. At the same time, inner-directed cultures would probably struggle hard to exert control over such areas, which are due to the natural evolution of things. For the former, crises constitute opportunities to get to the top and, as Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997, p. 146) hold, “[t]o take something from the external environment and then refine or improve it is [...]

celebrating that environment, letting the finest forces shape your character”. In other words, organizations can be successful for reasons other than those coming from the inside, but by taking into account what the environment throws at them, letting them shape up. Besides, nowadays the environment is the one defining how things will evolve due to the fact that it is changeable and organizations that do not take into account the changes in the external environment will find it very hard to survive. Thus, it is not reproachable to have a specific strategy as driving force and only do things you are good at (inner-directed – the ‘self’) but you also have to keep up with the natural evolution of things and start being adaptive to them or to other external sources (outer-directed – the ‘other’).

1.5. The Cultural Value Orientations (Shalom Schwartz)

Schwartz’s (2013) main cultural dimensions are three: **(1.5.1.)** autonomy/embeddedness, **(1.5.2.)** egalitarianism/hierarchy, and **(1.5.3.)** harmony/mastery.

1.5.1. Autonomy versus Embeddedness

This cultural dimension is about the extent to which people act as independent actors or as actors embedded in the group they belong to. In autonomy cultures, people are encouraged to “cultivate and express their own preferences, feelings, ideas, and abilities, and to find meaning in their own uniqueness” (Schwartz, 2013, pp. 6-7). Autonomy is further subdivided into two categories: **(1)** intellectual autonomy and **(2)** affective autonomy. Citing Schwartz (2013, p. 7), “[i]ntellectual autonomy encourages individuals to pursue their own ideas and intellectual directions independently [...] [such as] broadmindedness, curiosity, and creativity”. Respectively, “[a]ffective autonomy encourages individuals to pursue arousing, affectively positive personal experience [...] [such as] pleasure, exciting life, and varied life” (Schwartz, 2013, p. 7). On the other side, embeddedness defines people as collectivities rather than units. For Schwartz (2013, p. 7), “[m]eaning in life is expected to come largely through in-group social relationships, through identifying with the group, participating in its shared way of life, and striving toward its shared goals”. Embedded cultures represent values such as social order, respect for tradition, security, obedience, and wisdom, and abstain from actions that cause imbalances to the status quo, solidarity, and stability of the group.

1.5.2. Egalitarianism versus Hierarchy

Egalitarian cultures see all people as moral equals, sharing the same basic human needs and interests. In egalitarian cultures, people socialize more, having an inner commitment to cooperate and contribute to the good and welfare of the collectivity, sometimes even voluntarily. Equality, social justice, responsibility, help, and honesty are among this culture's core features. On the other hand, productive and responsible behavior can only be achieved in contexts where different hierarchies have different authority and ascribed roles. In other words, individuals from hierarchy cultures promote and accept the unequal distribution of power, roles, and resources as legitimate or even desirable for the accomplishment of certain tasks. It is a society of superiors and subordinates, where the latter shall respect the former, and each layer of hierarchy has distinct obligations and responsibilities, adhering to different rules. Social power, authority, humility, and wealth are fundamental pillars in these cultures, and distribution of power is to be taken for granted.

1.5.3. Harmony versus Mastery

Harmony cultures leave their social and natural environment unchanged and undisturbed. In other words, they accept, preserve, appreciate, and fit into the way things already are instead of trying to exploit or change them. Core elements of such cultures include maintaining smooth relations with others, avoiding conflicts, and trying to safeguard the status quo of every situation, detesting modifying the existing order of things. Additionally, a world at peace, unity with nature, protection of the environment, and acceptance of one's portion are also features deeply rooted in harmony cultures. On the other side, individuals and groups from mastery cultures try to master, control, modify, and impose on their natural and social environment for the sake of achieving their goals, believing that activeness and pragmatic problem-solving are the ones bringing progress – not inertia. Mastery cultures include values such as ambition, success, daring, self-sufficiency, and competence.

1.6. Working Across Cultures (John Hooker)

For Hooker (2008), knowing others' culture in an international work environment is imperative, as “[c]ultures tend to reveal themselves in situations where much is at stake, because it is here that their resources are most needed” (p. 1). Influenced by Hall's (1976)

distinction between high- and low-context cultures, Hooker (2008) proposes two similar models: (1.6.1.) relationship-based and (1.6.2.) ruled-based cultures.

1.6.1. Relationship-Based

In relationship-based cultures, behavior is regulated through close supervision by authority figures, who are highly respected, since disrespect towards them can lead to shame, ostracism, punishment, and loss of face. Behavioral norms towards such authority figures are to be taken for granted, so they are not spelled out explicitly. During negotiation, people resort to courtesy and face-saving techniques due to the low confidence that characterizes this type of culture. Moreover, one's social surroundings, that is, family and friends, help individuals deal with stress and uncertainty, providing a sense of security in cases of need. In other words, individuals tend to define themselves in relation to others.

Admittedly, this raises certain considerations for IHRM. For instance, in team projects, “[l]oyalty to the group is loyalty to oneself [and] [n]eglecting other members of the group is like neglecting parts of one's body” (Hooker, 2008, p. 10). Also, in relationship-based cultures, evaluation relies heavily on extenuating circumstances or personal relationships, and rewards are often based on subjective or qualitative criteria.

1.6.2. Ruled-Based

In ruled-based cultures, people show great deference to rules, which they respect for their own sake, contrary to relationship-based cultures, where rules are respected because of their connection to authority figures. In this case, it is neither shame nor supervision that comprise the driving forces towards deference to these rules but rather guilt and fear of punishment. Relations with others are of low significance and rules shall be spelled out explicitly, since nothing is to be taken for granted. During negotiation, frankness, confidence, and the belief that all rules have an objective validity can lead to effective negotiation practices of conflict resolution. Security, order, universality, control, and predictability, all stemming from the existence of stiff rules, constitute mechanisms through which individuals can face uncertainty and stress in their everyday transactions. For instance, in cases of disputes, individuals from ruled-based cultures invoke the system as a whole for help and support rather than their family or friends. In fact, as Hooker (2003, p. 10) put it, “[t]he centrality of rules in rule-based cultures [...] has an ontological basis, namely the conception of human beings as autonomous, rational individuals”.

The implications this can have on IHRM are multiple. For instance, in cases of appraisal, ruled-based cultures evaluate performance based on established rules that apply uniformly to all employees and rewards are often based on objective or quantitative criteria.

1.7. Patterns of Cross-Cultural Business Behavior (Richard Gesteland)

Being an expatriate himself for more than thirty years, Gesteland (1999) argues that good knowledge of cultures is an essential ingredient to the success of international organizations, since building cultural awareness can minimize conflicts across nations working in the same international environment. Gesteland (1999) proposes four cultural dimensions: **(1.7.1.)** deal-focused/relationship-focused, **(1.7.2.)** formal/informal, **(1.7.3.)** rigid-time/fluid-time, and **(1.7.4.)** expressive/reserved cultures.

1.7.1. Deal-Focused versus Relationship-Focused

Deal-focused cultures are task-oriented. Individuals from these cultures are keen on communicating with strangers and foreigners for the sake of successful business and express themselves clearly and openly. Problems are solved through the telephone or email but disagreements are dealt with through writing. During meetings, the task is the only priority, so everybody shall get down to work immediately. On the contrary, relationship-focused cultures emphasize the person with whom the negotiation is going to take place and prior meetings are usually arranged, because starting business with a total stranger is deemed risky and irresponsible. For this reason, they prefer doing business with people they are familiar with. Such cultures use indirect language, value mutual understanding, honesty, and openness, and do not feel at ease with context-embedded expressions of oneself.

1.7.2. Formal versus Informal

In formal cultures, formality in communication equates respect and esteem. Hierarchy, authority, and social or professional status are highly valued, thus academic degrees and achievements are taken into serious consideration. Attachment to tradition in interpersonal relations is another characteristic of formal cultures. On the other hand, informal cultures assign less importance to tradition and are expressive of a more egalitarian order of things, where notions such as status and hierarchy are minimized. In these cultures, informal behavior is not considered disrespectful and the few protocols necessary for certain procedures are simple and straight-forward.

1.7.3. Rigid-Time versus Fluid-Time

This two-fold dimension is a reproduction of Hall and Hall's (1990) Monochronic versus Polychronic cultures (see **1.1.3.**) or Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's (1997) Sequential versus Synchronic cultures (see **1.4.6.**). In brief, in rigid-time cultures, punctuality, rigidity of fixed dates, deadlines, and time schedules are of high importance. Thus, meetings and other pre-scheduled formalized events are very rarely interrupted or run out of schedule. Yet, in fluid-time cultures, human relationships count more than time, punctuality, or programming. In these cultures, it is not uncommon to see loose schedules or even meetings taking place at the same time.

1.7.4. Expressive versus Reserved

In expressive cultures, talking loudly and interrupting is the norm, since silence is considered socially awkward. Other characteristics include little physical proximity between interlocutors, direct eye contact, indicative of sincerity, and intense body –especially hands– movement. On the contrary, in reserved cultures, individuals are physically distanced while talking, avoid long eye contact, speak quietly, and do not express themselves through intense gesticulation. In these cultures, interruptions are not tolerated and the only thing that counts for the extraction of meaning is speech, which is highly verbalized due to low expressiveness.

1.8. Sources of Decision-Making in Cross-Cultural Management (Peter Smith & Mark Peterson)

When working in international environments, individuals have different sources of guidance or decision-making depending on their culture, which are crucial for the evolution of an organization. Smith and Peterson (2008) propose a nine-fold cultural model, citing the sources of critical decision-making in IHRM, like hiring new staff. These are: **(1.8.1.)** formal rules, **(1.8.2.)** unwritten rules, **(1.8.3.)** specialists, **(1.8.4.)** colleagues, **(1.8.5.)** subordinates, **(1.8.6.)** superiors, **(1.8.7.)** own experience/self, **(1.8.8.)** wide beliefs, and **(1.8.9.)** family and friends.

1.8.1. Formal Rules

Formal rules entail following the HR manual and its written specified policies and procedures faithfully and at all times. These rules are stiff and have the power to constrain and compel

human behavior but not all cultures are used to following them. According to Smith and Peterson (2008, p. 56), “[t]his principle continues to compete with the view that latitude should be left in the hands of individual managers to adapt practices to local cultures”.

1.8.2. Unwritten Rules

Unwritten rules are associated with a ‘that’s how we do things here’ attitude. Some cultures base their decisions on norms and beliefs that guide behavior and decision-making. For example, it is up to managers’ discretion whether an organization will hire staff members based on experience or seniority, no matter what formal manuals command. In such cases, it is very common for national culture to be affecting organizational culture, whatever this entails.

1.8.3. Specialists

Some cultures rely heavily on specialists, that is, people with high expertise and experience, whose input is taken into serious consideration while making crucial decisions. More specifically, their contribution is critical in cases of unexpected circumstances, especially ones where specialized issues need special care. For instance, many cultures hire specialists who assist them in important IHRM issues, like selecting or training personnel. Other cultures see specialists’ input only as auxiliary.

1.8.4. Colleagues

Some cultures seek advice and input to their coworkers, with whom they discuss important IHRM issues, such as hiring personnel, even demanding that they participate in the hiring process. For Smith and Peterson (2008, p. 56), “[m]any role relationships are not structured around hierarchy or any specialized expertise but are based on functional differentiation of knowledge and skills” among colleagues. Other cultures abstain from collegial consultation, since they consider colleagues’ input as unimportant, but rely on formal rules, expertise, or commands from superiors instead.

1.8.5. Subordinates

Interestingly, in some cultures, participation of subordinates in critical decision-making is willingly encouraged. In other words, superiors consult their subordinates in crucial IHRM issues, and their input and participation are highly valued. For example, when hiring new

employees, subordinates are expected to have a say in this decision and even participate in the hiring process themselves. On the other side, other cultures believe that subordinates should not get involved in such matters, considering that this is the sole responsibility of charismatic authority figures.

1.8.6. Superiors

Some cultures believe that superiors shall be consulted at all times and that decisions are considered formal only after having been approved by one. For instance, when hiring new staff, superiors are expected to supervise and have a say in the whole process. Other cultures believe that subordinates should be generally informed about organizational issues but decisions shall be made at the level where they have to be implemented and not necessarily centrally.

1.8.7. Own Experience/Self

Some cultures hold that relying on individual experience is a safe way to make certain decisions, whereas others find this highly subjective and contextual. A case in point is hiring new employees, where management can be biased, only looking for people who were successful in the past, since they know from their experience that, in this way, the organization will be in good hands. Also, individuals from these cultures attempt to run the hiring process themselves, as individuality sidelines collectivity. For Smith and Peterson (2008, p. 57), it is all about “personal discretion based on one’s own experience, including one’s cultural socialization and training”. Own experience raises certain considerations for IHRM aspects such as motivation and rewards.

1.8.8. Wide Beliefs

Some cultures make decisions based on societal norms and beliefs, which are not linked to a specific individual, group, or organization. Others believe that decisions shall always be specific to every organization. For example, if nepotism was considered moral in certain cultures, then hiring would be based on it, but in case it was considered immoral, there would be no way such hiring method would ever be implemented.

1.8.9. Family and Friends

Some cultures count on family members or friends for help and advice while taking difficult decisions. In other words, they eagerly share organizational issues with them before making up their mind, being influenced by their values. However, other cultures see this behavior as inappropriate or even corrupt, supporting that one should never mingle their personal with their professional matters, since these two have nothing in common. Influence by one's surroundings is particularly high in cases of expatriates, where there is "a host of legal and social complexities for employers and employees alike" (Smith & Peterson, 2008, p. 57).

1.9. The Cultural Map of the World (Ronald Inglehart & Christian Welzel)

According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005), who invented the cultural map of the world, countries are placed onto two axes: a vertical y-axis, onto which **(1.9.1.)** traditional versus secular-rational cultures are placed, and a horizontal x-axis, onto which **(1.9.2.)** survival versus self-expression cultures are to be found.

1.9.1. Traditional versus Secular-Rational

Traditional cultures emphasize religion, parent-child ties and respect, deference to authority, and traditional family values. They are highly conservative, ethnocentric, and nationalistic, take protectionist attitudes towards foreigners, and reject notions such as divorce, abortion, euthanasia, or suicide. These cultures emphasize social conformity to individualistic striving and national authority is taken for granted and accepted passively. They even believe that environmental problems are not 'their' problems, so no international agreements on the topic are needed. Conversely, secular-rational cultures are more liberal in all of the above issues, which they rationalize and accept.

The main implication this distinction can have on IHRM is that traditional cultures will have difficulty interacting and cooperating in multicultural teams, especially ones including employees with liberal mentalities and aspirations for modernization.

1.9.2. Survival versus Self-Expression

Survival cultures emphasize economic and physical security, as they live in societies shaped by existential insecurity and rigid social and intellectual constraints on human behavior. Survival is not taken for granted, thus they perceive whatever is different as a 'dangerous

outsider' that can threaten their sustenance. In other words, they seek to maximize predictability in an uncertain world. They are averse to culture change, foreigners, and ethnic diversity out of lack of interpersonal trust, therefore expressing a high degree of intolerance towards marginalized groups such as LGBT+, who they consider 'outgroups', insisting on traditional gender roles. They are used to authoritarian governments and political outlooks, are not environmentally aware, dispute science and technology, and espouse materialistic values. On the other side, self-expression cultures function within societies of existential security and individual autonomy, praising trust, tolerance, subjective well-being, civic activism, self-expression, and qualitative life. These cultures reflect an emancipative and humanistic ethos, emphasizing human autonomy and choice. Since survival is taken for granted, difference is praised as creative, interesting, engaging, stimulating, and unthreatening. Admittedly, women's rights, environmental issues, and equal political participation are highly promoted.

The implications this could have on multicultural teams are obvious. For instance, individuals from survival cultures would probably feel threatened by a homosexual colleague, with whom they could even refuse to cooperate. Evidently, this is deemed unacceptable in international public organizations, where diversity comprises their main constituent element and shall thus be embraced in all its forms.

1.10. The Values Orientation Theory (Florence Kluckhohn & Fred Strodtbeck)

Based on Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) Values Orientation Theory, cultures can be divided according to the human values inherent in them and the diverse ways in which they cope with situations and figure out solutions. Their cultural model consists of six dimensions: **(1.10.1.)** relationship to nature, **(1.10.2.)** relationship to other people, **(1.10.3.)** human nature, **(1.10.4.)** activity orientation/behaving, **(1.10.5.)** time, and **(1.10.6.)** space.

1.10.1. Relationship to Nature

- **Subjugation:** In subjugation cultures, people are subject to the higher forces of nature and unable to dominate over them. Life is preordained, people are not masters of their destinies, and attempts to change the inevitable are futile.

- Harmony: In harmony cultures, people live in balance with and alter their behavior to accommodate nature, only partially exerting control over it. These cultures favor stability and status quo.
- Mastery: In mastery cultures, people exert total control over the forces of nature or the supernatural and the superiority of human nature is emphasized. These cultures favor active control and self-assertion.

According to Punnett (2013), subjugation cultures are more likely to oppose the goals and objectives set by management, and technology at work is faced with reluctance. In harmony cultures, goals and objectives are accepted for so long as they are directly linked to productivity and the environment. In this case, technology is accepted in moderation and as long as it does not harm nature. Finally, in mastery cultures, technology is willingly embraced and goals or objectives set by management shall be achieved.

1.10.2. Relationship to Other People

- Lineal/Hierarchical: In lineal/hierarchical cultures, hierarchy and higher authorities within the workforce shall be respected.
- Equal/Collateral: In equal/collateral cultures, individuals are seen as a group of equals, where emphasis is given on consensus and interaction during decision-making.
- Individualistic: In individualistic cultures, the individual is at the center of the group, makes decisions independently of others, and takes responsibility for their actions.

Punnett (2013) cites that in lineal/hierarchical cultures, power and authority are highly important when it comes to managerial activities (e.g. rewards, work design, leadership, etc.), which are assigned according to the hierarchical level one is in. In equal/collateral cultures, group activities are the norm and managerial activities concern the team as a whole. Finally, in individualistic cultures, managerial activities focus on and are tailored to the individual.

1.10.3. Human Nature

- Evil: Evil cultures believe that humans are innately evil, so they control them by imposing specified codes of conduct and sanctions for wrongdoings.

- Good: Good cultures believe that humans are innately good, so they emphasize trust and reliance on verbal agreements that shall be kept.
- Neutral/Mixed/Changeable: Neutral/mixed/changeable cultures believe that people are born as neither good nor bad but adopt characteristics from both. These cultures have the ability to encourage desired behaviors and discourage undesired ones.

Punnett (2013) maintains that evil-culture managers face employees as unable to work hard and effectively without supervision, and errors shall be attributed to the persons making them, being totally dissociated from the organization. Conversely, good-culture managers have a participative approach to management and expect employees to do their best for the organization, contributing to the maximum. When errors occur, they are explained, and individuals are encouraged to make efforts to rectify them. Finally, for neutral-culture managers, selection of the best employees is imperative. Errors shall be admitted and explanations or feedback shall be given immediately in order to avoid repeating them in the future.

1.10.4. Activity Orientation/Behaving

- Being: In being cultures, people are emotional and spontaneous in their feelings. Motivation to do things is internal and actions are valued by individuals themselves rather than by members of their group. These cultures are people-oriented and flexible.
- Doing: In doing cultures, individuals strive to accomplish the most difficult tasks. Motivation to do things is external and people desire their actions to be valued both by themselves and by members of their group. These cultures are task-oriented.
- Containing/Controlling: In containing and controlling cultures, people focus on moderation and orderliness, trying to strike a balance between their personal life and societal obligations or norms.

Punnett (2013) supports that being cultures work under flexible systems that allow for alternative ways of carrying out tasks. Policies and procedures are general, in the form of guidelines, since detailed instructions are avoided as restrictive and binding. In these cultures, intuition is employed more often than logic. In doing cultures, accomplishment is the main goal. Systems are pragmatic, emphasizing expected results and policies, and procedures are simple, stipulated in operational terms. Finally, in containing and controlling cultures,

emphasis is on logic. Policies and procedures can be sometimes complex but systems are rationally designed and explained, assuming that people have the capacity to act reasonably.

1.10.5. Time

- Past-Oriented: Past-oriented cultures look for solutions in the past and seek to maintain their traditional teachings and beliefs.
- Present-Oriented: Present-oriented cultures focus on ‘now’ and try to accommodate current changes in their beliefs and traditions. They care about the immediate results of their actions, since they affect the present.
- Future-Oriented: Future-oriented cultures plan ahead, aiming to replace the old. They focus on the long-term results of their present actions.

According to Punnett (2013), past-oriented cultures do not change perceptions easily and past quality and performance are highly valued. In present-oriented cultures, organizations focus on current trends that can bring about immediate practical benefits. Approaches to organizational matters shall be up-to-date and rewards shall be calculated on the basis of current performance. Lastly, in future-oriented cultures, emphasis is on future expectations and individuals try to foresee future needs. Benefits of actions shall be long-term and futuristic references shall be made at all times.

1.10.6. Space

- Private: In private-space cultures, space is limited to the individual and their in-group. For instance, offices cannot be shared with more than one or two people and are often ‘marked’ by their users who put their personal belongings on.
- Public: In public-space cultures, there are few space divisions and individuals use their space for interchangeable purposes. For instance, offices and work equipment can be openly shared and distributed among employees.

According to Punnett (2013), in private-space cultures, offices are divided, conference rooms and their reservation methods are clearly identified, and meetings take place behind closed doors. In public-space cultures, people take advantage of whatever space is left for them in an office and exchange equipment interchangeably. Meetings are held in public and people stand in close proximity to each other while working together.

1.11. The 'GLOBE' Project (Robert House)

'GLOBE' is a cultural research program, standing for 'Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness'. Conducted in 1991, it was put on paper by House in 2004, based on the results of 17,300 managers from 951 organizations in 62 countries in order to examine the concepts of effectiveness and performance in the context of culturally diverse workforces. Admittedly, it is one of the few projects that has closely associated culture with leadership under conditions of multiculturalism in order to reach conclusions on cross-cultural similarities and differences. These conclusions constitute important directives for expatriates regarding behavior towards other cultures, design of effective managerial systems, and reduction of failure or interpersonal conflicts owing to cultural misunderstandings. Having been influenced by the majority of the above cultural theories, House's (2004) project is composed of nine cultural dimensions that are only briefly explained here to avoid repetition. These are: (1) power distance, (2) uncertainty avoidance, (3) humane orientation, (4) institutional collectivism, (5) in-group collectivism, (6) assertiveness, (7) gender egalitarianism, (8) future orientation, and (9) performance orientation.³

- Power Distance: The degree to which members of a collective expect power to be distributed equally.
- Uncertainty Avoidance: The degree to which societies, organizations, or groups rely on social norms, rules, and procedures to alleviate unpredictability of future events.
- Humane Orientation: The degree to which a collective encourages and rewards individuals for being fair, altruistic, generous, caring, and kind towards others.
- Institutional Collectivism: The degree to which organizational and societal institutional practices encourage and reward collective distribution of resources and collective action.
- In-Group Collectivism: The degree to which individuals express cohesiveness, pride, and loyalty to their organization and family.
- Assertiveness: The degree to which individuals are assertive, confrontational, and aggressive in their relationship with others.

³ In particular, these dimensions were applied to ten cultural clusters (i.e. Nordic, Anglo, Germanic, Latin European, African, Eastern European, Middle Eastern, Confucian, Southeast Asian, and Latin American) in order to form cultural profiles for each one of them.

- Gender Egalitarianism: The degree to which a collective minimizes gender inequality.
- Future Orientation: The degree to which individuals engage in future-oriented behaviors, such as delaying gratification, planning, and investing in the future.
- Performance Orientation: The degree to which a collective encourages and rewards group members for performance excellence and improvement.

1.12. Intercultural Theories: Results for Greece

Based on all of the above intercultural theories, the following table presents the results for the Greek culture:

**TABLE 1: CLASSIFICATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY GREEK CULTURE
BASED ON INTERCULTURAL THEORIES**

No.:	INTERCULTURAL THEORIES:	GREEK CULTURE:
1.	The Cultural Iceberg - Hall & Hall (1990)	1. High-Context 2. Low Territoriality 3. Polychronic
2.	The Cultural Syndromes Typology - Hofstede (2001); Hofstede et al. (2010)	1. Collectivism 2. High-Power Distance 3. High Uncertainty Avoidance 4. Masculinity 5. Short-Term Orientation 6. Indulgence & Restraint (both – results were 50-50)
3.	The Model of Cross-Cultural Communication - Lewis (2005)	1. Multi-Active
4.	The Model of National Culture Differences - Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (1997)	1. Particularism 2. Communitarianism 3. Affective 4. Diffuse 5. Ascription 6. Synchronic 7. Internal Control
5.	The Cultural Value Orientations - Schwartz (2013)	1. Embeddedness 2. Hierarchy 3. Mastery
6.	Working Across Cultures - Hooker (2008)	1. Relationship-Based
7.	Patterns of Cross-Cultural Business Behavior - Gesteland (1999)	1. Relationship-Focused 2. Formal 3. Fluid-Time 4. Expressive
8.	Sources of Decision-Making in Cross-Cultural Management - Smith & Peterson (2008)	There are no published results for Greece. Based on their need for certainty, it could be inferred that Greeks seek advice from (1) Formal Rules and (2) Superiors before making decisions. Also, based on their relationship-focused nature, they could also consult their (3) Family and Friends.
9.	The Cultural Map of the World -	1. Traditional & Secular-Rational (both – almost 50-50 – inclining

	Inglehart & Welzel (2005)	towards Secular-Rational) 2. Survival & Self-Expression (both – almost 50-50 – inclining towards Self-Expression)																		
10.	The Values Orientation Theory - Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck (1961)	1. Mastery 2. Lineal/Hierarchical 3. Neutral/Mixed/Changeable 4. Being 5. Past-Oriented & Present-Oriented (both – results were 50-50) 6. Public																		
11.	The 'GLOBE' Project ⁴ - House (2004)	<table border="0"> <tr> <td><u>In Values:</u></td> <td><u>In Practices:</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1. Low-Power Distance</td> <td>1. High-Power Distance</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. High Uncertainty Avoidance</td> <td>2. Low Uncertainty Avoidance</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. High Humane Orientation</td> <td>3. Low Humane Orientation</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. High Institutional Collectivism</td> <td>4. Low Institutional Collectivism</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. High In-Group Collectivism</td> <td>5. High In-Group Collectivism</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6. Low Assertiveness</td> <td>6. Medium Assertiveness</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7. Medium Gender Egalitarianism</td> <td>7. Low Gender Egalitarianism</td> </tr> <tr> <td>8. High Future Orientation</td> <td>8. Low Future Orientation</td> </tr> </table>	<u>In Values:</u>	<u>In Practices:</u>	1. Low-Power Distance	1. High-Power Distance	2. High Uncertainty Avoidance	2. Low Uncertainty Avoidance	3. High Humane Orientation	3. Low Humane Orientation	4. High Institutional Collectivism	4. Low Institutional Collectivism	5. High In-Group Collectivism	5. High In-Group Collectivism	6. Low Assertiveness	6. Medium Assertiveness	7. Medium Gender Egalitarianism	7. Low Gender Egalitarianism	8. High Future Orientation	8. Low Future Orientation
<u>In Values:</u>	<u>In Practices:</u>																			
1. Low-Power Distance	1. High-Power Distance																			
2. High Uncertainty Avoidance	2. Low Uncertainty Avoidance																			
3. High Humane Orientation	3. Low Humane Orientation																			
4. High Institutional Collectivism	4. Low Institutional Collectivism																			
5. High In-Group Collectivism	5. High In-Group Collectivism																			
6. Low Assertiveness	6. Medium Assertiveness																			
7. Medium Gender Egalitarianism	7. Low Gender Egalitarianism																			
8. High Future Orientation	8. Low Future Orientation																			

⁴ The recorded results come from the 2020 'GLOBE' Project. It can be clearly observed that there are not only discrepancies between Values and Practices but also between the 2020 'GLOBE' results and the respective ones from previous cultural theories, evidently because of the years that have elapsed between these research works. The 'GLOBE' results for Greece in 2020 can be accessed here: <https://globeproject.com/results/countries/GRC?menu=list#list>

CHAPTER 2

Challenges of Multicultural Teams

The present chapter deals with the challenges managers and employees of multicultural teams face while undertaking global missions abroad. If not properly mitigated, these challenges could potentially lead to destructive repercussions for the team, often escalating into a generalized organizational paralysis, hindering the accomplishment of goals.

2.1. Interculturalism

Without a doubt, a first challenge of IHRM is interculturalism in itself. This is self-explanatory, as interculturalism is not a unidimensional phenomenon. More specifically, according to Harzing and Ruysseveldt (2004), culture interacts with other factors, such as education, functional background, nature of occupation, individual personalities, and so on. Consequently, it is extremely difficult to discern what is cultural and what simply, but rather not simplistically, derives from other subjective factors. For this reason, when training employees on intercultural awareness skills, not only should an individual's cultural background be taken into consideration (explicit aspects of work – easy to identify), but also the possible variations in it (implicit aspects of work – difficult to identify) (Harzing & Ruysseveldt, 2004). This is further corroborated by Gudykunst and Kim (1984, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 130), for whom importance should also be given to “the contextual nature of communication, including the environmental, cultural, socio-cultural, and psycho-cultural contexts”.

In case interculturalism is not dealt with appropriately, multicultural teams are susceptible to draining all available resources to them rather than driving towards efficiency and success creation (Matveev, 2017). For instance, conflicts, misunderstandings, and poor performance comprise some of the most common burdens these teams struggle to rectify (Shenkar & Zeira, 1992). This owes to the fact that diverse teams ignore their differences during the first stages of their interaction, emphasizing only their similarities. However, team dynamic problems normally surface by the time pressure at work turns up, in which case chaos prevails, having all cultural parties arguing over whose approach to teamwork is best (Brewster, Houldsworth, Sparrow, & Vernon, 2016).

2.2. Organizational versus National Culture

It is very common that cultural clashes between multinational organizations' culture and employees' national culture arise, in which case the former prevails over the latter (Briscoe & Schuler, 2004). Similarly, Mendenhall, Jensen, Black, and Gregersen (2003, as cited in Vance & Paik, 2006, p. 193) support that "the influence of organizational culture can be much more influential and override national culture". For instance, in case an international organization decides to assign women in senior management positions, it will do so even in subsidiaries this is not in accordance with local cultural norms (Briscoe & Schuler, 2004). However, the fact that parent countries usually define the culture of organizations and impose it on foreign localities without "local adaptation" can lead to major cultural imbalances with unfortunate organizational results (Briscoe & Schuler, 2004, p. 130). In fact, attempts to build a common corporate culture in a multicultural work environment are prone to failing without adaptation and interpretation of all national cultures, which carry so much strength and stability that can undermine any efforts towards peaceful co-existence (Newman & Nollen, 1996). Consequently, managing tensions of duality under the motto of "think global, act local" is deemed imperative (Vance & Paik, 2006, p. 189). Organizational cultures that offer common cross-national practices can also help bridge national gaps in multicultural teams (Hofstede, 1998). In particular, for Hofstede (1998, p. 24), it is "common practices, not common values [that] keep multinationals together". Admittedly, bridging national and organizational culture gaps is not an easy task (Hofstede, 1998), thus having to decide which culture to prioritize comprises a challenge in itself.

2.3. Culture Shock

A very common phenomenon employees in multicultural teams face is that of culture shock, which is closely associated with costly expatriate failure and expresses a situation where individuals move abruptly from a familiar context to an unfamiliar one (Hofstede, 2001). It is to be expected that when nationals of one country are seconded or transferred to another, there will be certain stages of cross-cultural learning and adaptation they have to pass from (Matveev, 2017). First, it is the 'honeymoon' or 'tourist' stage, where everything seems ideal and performance is at its best, thanks to the initial reserves of enthusiasm and energy (Vance & Paik, 2006). After a short period of time, though, culture shock turns up. Culture shock is interwoven with acculturation (Oberg, 1960, as cited in Matveev, 2017) and expresses a

situation where individuals feel like suffocating because of being unable to experience their own culture (Matveev, 2017). For Oberg (1960, as cited in Matveev, 2017), culture shock can be expressed even in the smallest things, such as longing to go home or only talking to people who ‘make sense’, like compatriots. In other words, employees who have gone abroad for work miss “culturally familiar signs, symbols, and social interactions” (Mooradian, 2004, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 13) and their inability to respond to and compromise with new cultural cues eventually makes up the culture shock itself (Gaw, 2000).

Culture shock can bring about certain ‘symptoms’ (Matveev, 2017). According to Oberg (1960, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 14), these are “easy irritation, irrational fears, difficulty with sleeping, general anxiety, [...] depression, homesickness, [...] preoccupation with health and feeling sick, [...] excessive hand washing, general concern over water, food and safety, fear of physical contact with people from the host culture, [...] helplessness, anger with minor frustrations, fear of being robbed or injured...”. Interestingly, even in cases employees have successfully completed their acculturation process, it is very likely to experience a reverse culture shock once they return to their home country and old cultural environment in an effort to readjust. In any case, culture shock, either on the part of the expatriate employees or their family members, can lead to expatriate failure, because its physical and social symptoms may be so severe that employees will no longer be able to satisfy their role in the organization, terminating their assignment and contract as a result (Hofstede, 2001).

During culture shock, performance is severely low and employees have to pass from four stages of adjustment in order to recover, namely “adjustment to work, general adjustment, interaction adjustment, and psychological adjustment” (Forster, 1997, as cited in Vance & Paik, 2006, p. 210). If they are successful, they accomplish international mastery, their performance is stabilized, and their global competence reaches its peak (Sanchez, 2000). Overall, the aforementioned process can be summarized as follows: **(1) honeymoon → (2) culture shock → (3) adjustment → (4) performance improvement → (5) international mastery** (Vance & Paik, 2006).

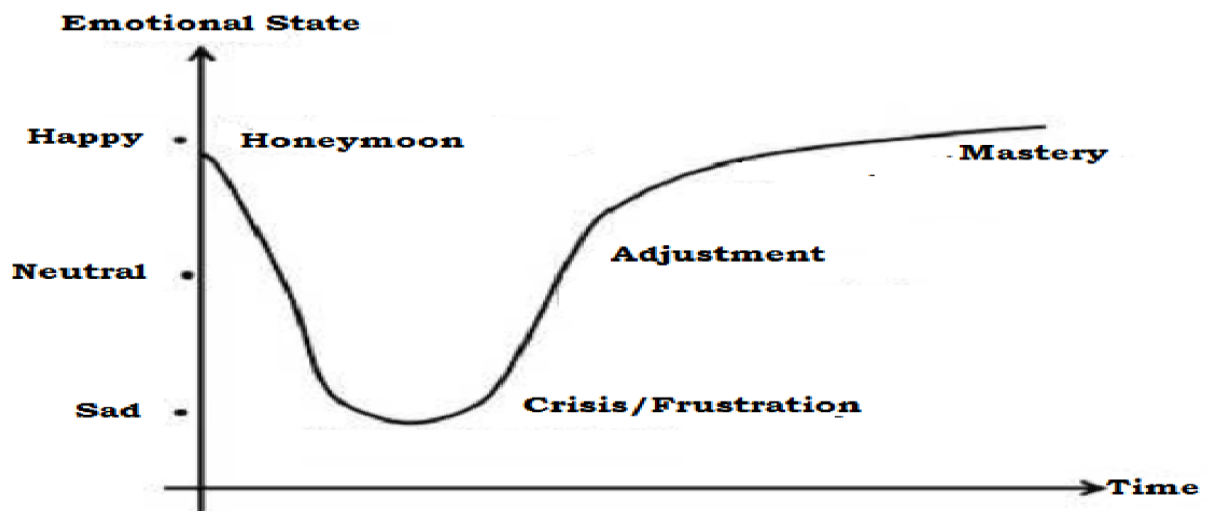


Figure 1: Phases of Culture Shock

A similar model was proposed by Brewster et al. (2016). Based on them, diverse teams pass from three stages during project completion: (1) entry → (2) work → (3) action. In the entry stage, cohesiveness and trust are imperative among team members. In the work stage, creativity is necessary, so that objectives are defined, information is gathered and analyzed, and alternative plans of action are assessed. Finally, in the action stage, agreement and coherence on a final solution define whether projects are successful or not. It is during the work stage that diversity makes teams blossom, whereas in the entry and action stages it can often give rise to ‘symptoms’ of culture shock.

2.4. Matveev’s Set of 11 Challenges

Based on Matveev’s (2017) research, there are eleven challenges that multicultural teams face while staffing international organizations abroad.

2.4.1. Cultural Imperialism

Cultural imperialism is linked to the fact that people expect others to be thinking and processing information the same way they do, the clearest example being American culture. However, this perception is mistaken and individuals shall be able to acknowledge the differing norms existing in their team as well as the reasons behind certain attitudes (Matveev, 2017). In turn, this can “trigger perceptions, influence interactions, and affect team performance” positively (Young, 1998, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 82). On the contrary, “[i]gnoring these differences by assuming that all members of a group equally understand and communicate messages in similar ways can [...] be extremely detrimental” in many respects,

from efficiency and quality to performance and decision-making, leading to cultural clashes that can negatively affect team dynamics (Matveev, 2017, p. 83).

2.4.2. Context-Focused/Location-Centric Thinking

Context-focused or location-centric thinking is associated with the fact that all subsidiaries around the world receive central commands and are obligated to implement dictating policies coming from the headquarters (Matveev, 2017). In turn, this can lead to cultural clashes, being an overtly nationalistic tendency (Parker, 1998).

2.4.3. Cultural Differences

Admittedly, employees from different countries have different values, beliefs, and cultures they should expose to their multinational colleagues (Matveev, 2017). Such cultural differences have to be acknowledged and clear norms about communication and business interaction shall be established as soon as these people are brought to work together. Undoubtedly, it is imperative that training or education (e.g. intercultural awareness sessions) be offered in advance, so that colleagues are able to comprehend each other “by reducing perceptual distortion and the tendency to rely on stereotypes” (Mitchell, 1986, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 83).

2.4.4. Communication Differences

Communication orientation among various cultures around the world differs significantly (McCroskey & Richmond, 1990). More specifically, since people “unavoidably carry several layers of mental programming” (Hofstede, 1991, p. 18), it is to be taken for granted that communication patterns among multinational members in culturally diverse teams will vary as a result (Matveev, 2017).

2.4.5. Linguistic Differences

Language is not only a tool for conveying messages but also a “reflection of national character, culture, and national philosophy” (Lange & Paige, 2003, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 84). Since people use their language differently, variations in speech and language patterns can lead to wrong interpretations of utterances and give rise to misunderstandings and confusions, rendering communication among interlocutors doomed and performance nullified (Lewis, 2005). In most cases, even attempts at translation in business settings are

futile, since linguistic differences are so deeply rooted that at least 20% of the conveyed meaning can end up lost in translation (Matveev, 2017).

2.4.6. Communication Competence Differences

Communication competence differences refer to a culture's "willingness to communicate, communication apprehension, and communication assertiveness" (McCroskey & McCroskey, 1986; Del Villar, 2006, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 84). To put it another way, there are cultures that do not wish to initiate or engage in conversations as willingly as others (Christophel, 1996). Communication competence is affected by introversion or extroversion depending on the culture (Matveev, 2017).

2.4.7. Managing Cultural Diversity, Differences, and Conflicts

According to Marquardt and Horvath (2001, as cited in Matveev, 2017), members of multicultural teams look at business tasks from different perspectives. Therefore, "[t]hese cultural differences can result in potential problems due to miscommunication, conflict, and arguments, influencing members to participate in decision-making and other group activities differently" (Marquardt & Horvath, 2001, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 85).

2.4.8. Handling Geographic Distances, Dispersion, and Despair

There are cases in which multicultural team members operate from various geographic distances, a fact that can definitely affect communication and interaction among them (Marquardt & Horvath, 2001, as cited in Matveev, 2017), rendering them less trustworthy, reserved, and constrained (Handy, 1995). A case in point is decision-making, which is often chaotic under these circumstances, risking job performance, team coordination, and control (Boyle, Nicholas, & Mitchell, 2012). Finally, "[a] possibility of out-of-sight, out-of-mind syndrome, groupthink, and half-finished tasks [also] exists in distantly dispersed multicultural teams" (Allen, 1997, as cited in Matveev, 2017, pp. 85-86). Handling geographic distances became more relevant during the Covid-19 pandemic, when everyone around the world was working remotely.

2.4.9. Dealing with Coordination and Control Issues

Coordination and control issues arise due to cultural, communication, and linguistic differences among multicultural team members (Marquardt & Horvath, 2001, as cited in

Matveev, 2017). Since employees from diverse cultural backgrounds are accustomed to their national systems and ways of doing things, their perceptions of task coordination, team size, leadership, and management styles vary significantly, rendering coordination and control a complex task (Carmel, 1999, as cited in Matveev, 2017).

2.4.10. Maintaining Communication Richness

In order to narrow down cultural gaps, it is essential that a variety of means of communication be established when dealing with multicultural teams, so that their members can effectively communicate in ways that suit them best (Marquardt & Horvath, 2001, as cited in Matveev, 2017). For instance, there are cultures that prefer to communicate via voice mail, electronic mail, or chat, whereas others opt for face-to-face interaction or video-conferencing (Carmel, 1999; Mockaitis, Rose, & Zettinig, 2012, as cited in Matveev, 2017).

2.4.11. Developing and Maintaining Cohesiveness

Because of both cultural clashes and remote work, multinational teams risk losing their teamness, that is, “the synergistic effect that makes [them] successful as a cohesive unit” (Carmel, 1999, as cited in Matveev, p. 85). For instance, factors such as territorial distance among team members or team size can severely impact team maintenance and development, as can the fact that “[d]ifferent cultures place different values on team membership, trust, and commitment to team tasks” (Marquardt & Horvath, 2001, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 85).

2.5. Punnett’s Set of 4 Challenges

For Punnett (2013), intercultural challenges need to be surmounted, so that cross-national communication competence and multinational team performance remain high.

2.5.1. Ignorance of Rules of Communication

It is imperative that non-verbal communication cues (e.g. tone of voice, proximity/space, body position, gestures, etc.) be observed as much as verbal ones (Punnett, 2013). As Punnett (2013, p. 199) states, “[w]ithout knowledge of basic kinesics for the location in which one is operating, misunderstandings and bad feelings can be caused rather easily” among different cultures.

2.5.2. Perceptual Biases

Depending on their culture, individuals have variant mental categories according to which they sort out and respond to things in the world around them. In other words, “people from different cultures process and categorize information differently” and expect specific responses in a variety of situations based on their experiences and socialization, which are closely associated with the way they were brought up and taught by others (Punnett, 2013, p. 202). Szalay (1981, as cited in Punnett, 2013, p. 202) similarly states that “the more we consider our views and experiences [...] to be absolute and universal, the less prepared we are to deal with people who have different backgrounds, experiences, culture, and therefore different views [...] of the universe”. Overall, misperceptions occur among different cultures because our mental categories of the world, although help us predict and make sense of it, are often not in congruence with those of local nationals (Punnett, 2013).

2.5.3. Faulty Attributions

All people have an unconscious natural tendency to attribute reasons behind others’ motives and behaviors based on their own beliefs, although attributions are often inaccurate. As Punnett (2013, p. 203) explains, “[o]nce a behavior is observed, in milliseconds our brain [...] finds the category that makes sense out of the behavior we observed [and] [o]nce a category is accessed, emotions that are linked with that category are triggered and these are in turn linked to evaluations of what we observe”. Attributions can be internal, when one’s observed behavior derives from their inner personality, or external, when one’s observed behavior is formed after acknowledging the cultural differences with their interlocutor and adjusting accordingly, in which case misunderstandings are avoided. Individuals select behavioral responses based on their attributions, often addressing other cultures the way they would in culturally familiar contexts, which comprises a mistaken policy in culturally unfamiliar ones. It is thus necessary that others’ perceptions be checked and attributions be put on hold. One way to do this is to ask for feedback, that is, explicitly ask others how they interpret particular situations based on their culture (Punnett, 2013).

2.5.4. Stereotypes

Stereotyping is a situation of grouping people from other cultures (the out-group) by disfavoring them with negative attributions, while favoring one’s own group (the in-group) as superior against them (Oddou & Mendenhall, 1984). Similarly, according to Triandis et al.

(1968, p. 2), “[s]tereotyping is the result of categorization and is used by subjects as a means of simplifying their social environment, [since] [i]t provides a certain amount of predictability to the events of the social environment”. In other words, when individuals compare their self-image and own categories with those of others in order to measure their ego-involvement in a specific set of attitudes and behaviors (Sherif, Sherif, & Neberall, 1965), clusters of behaviors that show how one group intends to behave to another are created (Triandis et al., 1968).

Stereotypes can only be helpful when they are based on realistic assessments of other groups, so that individuals know how to handle these groups and promote cross-cultural communication with them (Punnett, 2013). Although they are considered “inferior judgmental processes” (Fishman, 1956, as cited in Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967, p. 317), they are, at the same time, “thought-saving ways of analyzing the social environment and may reflect some kernel of truth” (Allport, 1954, as cited in Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967, p. 317). Therefore, it would be rather simplistic to just call them untrue or unfavorable ways of judging in all circumstances (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967).

In any case, although being aware of stereotypes can prove beneficial to a certain extent, international employees “need to make a deliberate effort to overcome negative stereotypes, and to recognize that other, non-negative stereotypes will not apply to all the people in a given group” (Punnett, 2013, p. 205). In fact, stereotypes shall not be generalized, as people can “alter and adapt their fundamental values and beliefs to the new [intercultural] reality”, thus shaping their final attitudes and behaviors on the basis of the social changes and contexts they are eventually exposed to (Giousmpasoglou, 2014, p. 20).

2.6. Other Challenges

2.6.1. Family

Family comprises an important challenge for expatriates’ mission abroad. In other words, international assignments do not only affect expatriates but also their families, including spouses, children, or even elderly parents, who are subject to and should undergo vast adjustments. Evidently, this is not the case in in-home assignments, where family is expected to be kept separate from employees’ professional life. Research has shown that even in cases expatriates do pretty well at their new position abroad, if a family member has issues

adjusting to their new cultural environment, the probable outcome is job turnover and premature departure (Punnett, 2013).

2.6.2. Privacy Laws

Nowadays, most organizations have an offshore sourcing strategy in order to be able to collect information about potential candidates from a global pool of talents. The problem in this case is that many countries have currently enforced privacy laws in order to hinder transborder personnel data flows. Consequently, organizations' important operations are put at risk, since future planning and control of human resources are frozen (Vance & Paik, 2006).

2.6.3. Governmental Policies

It is imperative that organizations carefully observe and influence governmental labor or immigration policies, as these can affect (either reinforce or hinder) the way international workforce will staff organizations worldwide (Vance & Paik, 2006).

2.6.4. Difficult Locations

Convincing and attracting the right personnel to give up the life they are used to in order to work abroad is a challenge in itself, let alone in difficult locations, including war-stricken or politically unstable areas. For this reason, "signing bonuses or hardship allowances for less desirable locations" constitutes a form of inducement to alleviate this specific obstacle (Punnett, 2013, p. 244).

2.6.5. Personal Characteristics

Aspects such as gender, race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or other personal characteristics can often constitute challenges for IHRM. Due to ethical considerations, there are countries that find it illegal to make human resources decisions or shape policies, practices, and management styles on the basis of these characteristics, while others find it totally accepted. A case in point is women, who sometimes have to receive distinct training before travelling to countries where their position is considered controversial (Punnett, 2013). In all cases, handling international personnel requires special attention to aspects such as equity and fairness (Vance & Paik, 2006). Because of the sensitivity of the aforementioned

issues and the political correctness that has to be ensured, universal solutions are generally difficult to be accorded (Punnett, 2013).

All in all, if the aforementioned challenges are not mitigated or appropriately managed, they will escalate into severe cultural conflict, which makes up “an expressed struggle between people who perceive incompatible goals...” (Hocker & Wilmot, 1991, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 91). The following chapter focuses on proposals to mitigate these challenges.

CHAPTER 3

Proposals for Facing the Challenges of Multicultural Teams

This chapter focuses on proposals for mitigating the challenges faced by multicultural teams. These proposals mostly revolve around training and its importance in acquiring intercultural competence and shall necessarily be acknowledged by managers and organizations alike, since they hold strong preventive power for the handling of intercultural conflicts.

3.1. Models for the Acquisition of Intercultural Competence

Simply, but rather not simplistically, cross-cultural management research knowledge shall be taught within the framework of training, as it is highly imperative that all employees learn to “raise implicit [cultural] differences to a conscious level” (Harzing & Ruysseveldt, 2004, p. 163). In fact, “[k]nowing about the various cultural dimensions helps us to recognize cultural aspects of a situation, [as] [o]nce explicit, the cultural differences can be investigated, talked about and understood, [and problematic] situations can be solved” (Harzing & Ruysseveldt, 2004, p. 163). More specifically, “[e]ffective functioning in the culturally diverse and international business environments depends on the ability of people to adapt to the complexity of other cultures, to effectively understand, accept, and respond to cultural differences” (Matveev, 2017, p. 5). This has been referred to as intercultural competence, according to which “individuals must know how to negotiate and respect meanings of cultural symbols and norms that are changing during their interactions” (Collier & Thomas, 1988; Kim, 1994, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 8). However, it is equally important to know that “intercultural communication competence entails not only knowledge of the culture and language, but also affective and behavioral skills such as empathy, human warmth, charisma, and the ability to manage anxiety and uncertainty”, all of which contribute to elevated performance and effectiveness in international work environments (Gudykunst, 1998a; 1998b; Spiess, 1996; 1998, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 95).

According to the Committee of Economic Development (2006), organizations do not usually take advantage of the opportunities presented to them, because their human resources lack intercultural competence when in teams. For Matveev (2017, p. 121), intercultural competence development is “a lengthy, often lifelong, and usually unidirectional process of becoming competent”. It is the collective international competence of ‘global perspective’,

which constitutes “a general global mindset supported by appropriate skills and knowledge to meet performance demands” (Kedia & Mukherji, 1999, as cited in Vance & Paik, 2006, p. 188). Alternatively, it is the possession of ‘cultural acumen’, which stands for appreciation, interest, sensitivity, and flexibility towards multicultural team members in international work environments (Rhinesmith, 2001). Although Matveev (2017) cites some self-explanatory approaches to acquiring intercultural competence, namely the experiential learning model (Kolb, 1984; Lewin, 1951, as cited in Matveev, 2017), intercultural training and learning activities (Fantini, 1997; Seelye, 1996, as cited in Matveev, 2017), and intercultural or cross-cultural training approaches (Fowler & Mumford, 1999; Paludi, 2012, as cited in Matveev, 2017), he gives greater emphasis on the following ones:

3.1.1. The Intercultural Communication Workshop

Initially proposed by Gudykunst, Hammer, and Wiseman (1977), and Gudykunst (1979), this model includes interactive activities according to which people from various cultures come together in order to achieve a common goal based on a scenario, independent of their individual and cultural objectives, techniques, or preferences. This approach gets participants to collaborate, thus training becomes more experiential than theoretical, since they learn “to evaluate individual awareness, attitude change, and communication behavior” (Matveev, 2017, p. 122). In other words, they become more culturally aware, changing their attitudes and communication behavior in intercultural situations for the better (Hammer, 1984). This eventually leads to “increased respect, acceptance, and appreciation of cultural differences and such changes in communication behavior as more sensitive and appropriate intercultural communication” (Clarke & Hoopes, 1975; Brinkmann, 2002, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 123).

3.1.2. Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

According to this approach, the more an individual is exposed to other cultures and progresses along their intercultural competence, the more their perceptions and intercultural sensitivity are cultivated. In other words, the more complex one’s experience of cultural differences is, the more their intercultural competence is honed. There are two stages in order to achieve intercultural perfection: **(1)** the ethnocentric stage (denial → defense → defense reversal → minimization) and **(2)** the ethnorelative stage (acceptance → adaptation → integration) (Matveev, 2017).

3.1.3. Intercultural Learning Model

This model “enables learners to decode effectively signs from other cultures and to encode messages to transmit the meaning to members of other cultures” (Beamer, 1992, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 129). It requires the following abilities: **(1)** the ability to acknowledge diversity, **(2)** the ability to stereotype, **(3)** the ability to challenge stereotypes and pose questions, **(4)** the ability to analyze communication, and **(5)** the ability to generate other culture messages (Beamer, 1992, as cited in Matveev, 2017). More specifically:

“[T]he receiver of intercultural messages is constantly adapting the incoming signifiers to the existing repository of signs and adapting the repository of signifieds to create new signs. Since the decoding and attribution of signifieds to signifiers takes into account cultural factors, cognitively learned knowledge of cultures can be the basis for intercultural competence development. Intercultural competence is the encoding and decoding of attributed signifieds that correspond to signs of another communicator” (Beamer, 1992, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 130).

To put it simply, when someone enhances their personal repository of cultural signifieds, this results in smoother and more successful intercultural competence and communication procedures overall (Varner & Beamer, 2004).

3.1.4. World Learning

Founded in 1932 as ‘The Experiment in International Living’, this organization was established to provide experimental training and education on “international understanding, global development, leadership, and world peace” as well as languages, since international training itself does not suffice if not accompanied by a proper linguistic ability (Matveev, 2017, p. 131). Besides its educational nature, it also provides guidance on intercultural service, development, and living abroad (Matveev, 2017). It is to be taken for granted that any skills or knowledge shall be further complemented by a positive attitude or cultural awareness spirit on the part of international sojourners, so that they perfect their intercultural competence more easily, rapidly, and effectively (Fantini, 2000).

3.1.5. Metacognitive Learning Model

Metacognition is a type of immersive intercultural learning (Lane, 2007, as cited in Matveev, 2017). More specifically:

“Metacognition can be described as a higher order of thinking and active control during cognitive activities as analyzing, assessing, reflection, and problem-solving. Metacognition enhances learning as the learner understands the level of learning and monitors [their] own progress through rigorous self-questioning” (Lane, 2007, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 136).

In this sense, aspects such as self-assessment, cultural self-awareness, and self-reflection help individuals not only relate to another culture but also think of themselves as “outside the constraints of any particular culture” (Bennett, 1993, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 136), which subsequently leads to mutual respect, recognition of cultural differences, and advancement from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism (Matveev, 2017). However, for Vance and Paik (2006), mere cognitive processes do not suffice; it is meaningful cross-cultural interaction and collaboration, or organizational socialization, that help build a common cultural identity and code, mutuality, global alignment, and an extended esprit de corps within organizations. In fact, cultivating a common mindset and shared knowledge constitutes “a unifying language that provides alignment in thought and action, facilitating effective interactions and collaborative synergies...” (Vance & Paik, 2006, p. 192).

3.1.6. Expectancy Violation Theory

According to expectancy violation theory (Burgoon, 1978; 1994, as cited in Matveev, 2017), managers shall not only be able to interpret and explain others’ behavior but also expect them to behave in ways culturally familiar to them, based on the norms and values of their own culture, with which they are most acquainted (Burgoon & Walthers, 1990). This is deemed particularly important, since knowing your employees’ anticipated behavior could potentially reverse an upcoming culture shock (Matveev, 2017).

3.1.7. Uncertainty Avoidance Theory

According to uncertainty avoidance theory, people shall be able to accurately predict and explain unfamiliar environments and others’ behavior, after having gathered certain information about them. This information will help them make sense of their new surroundings and others, predict their potential behavior in the future, and thus reduce uncertainty in future interactions (Matveev, 2017). As Berger and Calabrese (1975) maintain, relational uncertainty can be reduced through contextual self-disclosure, as it enhances relationships and improves effectiveness in information exchange. Inability to dispose of such

uncertainty can lead to “dissolution, termination of international assignment, or unpleasant social intercultural situation” (Berger & Roloff, 1982, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 15).

3.2. Building Intercultural Skills

In cross-cultural settings, people have to possess a core set of skills that will allow them to be interculturally competent and contribute to effective team-building. These skills should be taught by organizations and managers in the form of development programs to raise employees’ cultural awareness. According to Matveev (2017), they include:

- The Ability to Value: To get to know and understand your colleagues’ cultural values and attitudes.
- The Ability to Observe: To sense the immediate environment and see the whole picture of the relationships the parts have with the whole.
- The Ability to Listen: To culturally acknowledge your and your interlocutors’ listening styles, patterns of speech, or duration intervals.
- The Ability to Think: To understand and recognize cultural differences in thinking patterns or approaches to problem-solving.
- The Ability to Speak: To culturally comprehend variations in verbal and written speech patterns, arrangement of words, creativity, voice, and sound patterns.
- The Ability to Gesture: To culturally perceive that there are cultures with dissimilar facial or body positions, motions, and patterns.

3.3. The Toolbox of Intercultural Qualities

Risager (2007) suggests that intercultural competence offers solutions to potential cultural challenges when incorporating a toolbox of certain qualities, such as tolerance for ambiguity, open-mindedness, behavioral flexibility, communicative awareness, knowledge discovery about other cultures and cultural policies, respect for otherness, empathy, affective sensitivity, telepathic or intuition sensitivity, and perspective taking. In the same vein, Ruben (1976) further enriches this toolbox by adding more qualities, namely display of respect, interaction posture (i.e. responding to others in non-judgmental or threatening ways), orientation to knowledge (i.e. recognizing that knowledge is relative and varies from person

to person), self-oriented role (i.e. striking a balance between requesting information and harmonizing the group), and interaction management (i.e. knowing when to speak out or not). Finally, Matveev (2017) makes reference to the importance of self-concept (i.e. self-esteem plays a role in how others approach us), social relaxation (i.e. overcoming anxiety blocks during interactions), self-disclosure (i.e. revealing information openly without being secretive to promote personal intimacy), task role behavior (i.e. skills such as initiation of ideas to problem-solving), relational role behavior (i.e. skills such as interpersonal harmony and mediation), and message transmission skills to be added to the same toolbox.

3.4. Team Building/Development

Negotiation can be a doubtful way to resolve cultural conflicts (Matveev, 2017). As Broome, Nadler, and Nadler (1985, as cited in Matveev, 2017, p. 95) hold, “[t]he cultural background of an individual influences conflict negotiation because of differences in perspectives about conflict, personal constructs and interpretations of the context, and cultural rules guiding negotiation strategies”. This is further corroborated by Harris (2007, p. 20), who states that “[n]ational culture exerts direct influence on the preferences for negotiation approaches”. For this reason, an alternative to negotiation is team building or development, that is, unifying a group of people from various cultures and making them functional for the sake of a common objective (Matveev, 2017). In order for multicultural teams to be coherent and able to outperform, leaving their cultural differences aside, there are certain key organizational aspects their members shall take into consideration. According to Shonk (1982), these are:

- Clear Communication: Individuals shall be culturally sensitive when it comes to both verbal and non-verbal communication, as different cues mean different things to different cultures.
- Common Direction/Goal: Individuals shall be aware of the reasons why their team exists and respect the values set by team members or their organization. In fact, setting common goals can bridge cultural gaps for the sake of these common goals.
- Rewards/Recognition: Individuals shall be aware of and respect the incentives given by their organization to make them work for the team and contribute to it smoothly, without initiating fights based on cultural discordances.

- Trust: Mistrust towards other team members is due to feelings of uncertainty vis-à-vis the different. Managers shall make employees trust each other and avoid hidden agendas that can result in lowering overall team performance.
- Decision-Making Processes: So that qualitative decisions can be ensured, each team member, independent of culture, shall participate in decision-making processes, based on respect, unanimity, and compromise.

3.5. The Existence of Professionals

For Hofstede (1998, p. 25), there are two types of professionals who play a crucial role in safeguarding the success of multinational organizations and IHRM practices, working as “liaison persons in the various head offices or as temporary managers for new ventures”. First, it is country business unit managers, who “form the link between the culture of the business unit and the corporate culture, which is usually heavily affected by the nationality of origin of the corporation” (p. 25). Second, it is corporate diplomats, who are “home country or other nationals impregnated with the corporate culture, multilingual, from various occupational backgrounds, and experienced in living and functioning in various foreign cultures” (p. 25). These two types of professionals interpret, monitor, and filter the given cultural cues, so as to establish a balance in organizations and mitigate potential cultural challenges or clashes. Additionally, Hofstede (1998) believes that IHRM is heavily reliant on finding the suitable professionals at the right time. These people will be coming from various cultures and will be moving along the career ladder through planned transfers, so as to get exposed to corporate cultures until they finally espouse them. Most importantly, uniformity shall be avoided at all costs, since it risks imposing corporate-wide policies on subsidiaries that will eventually be accepted by “obedient but puzzled locals” without concern for their cultural particularities (p. 25). On the contrary, diversity shall be cordially embraced.

3.6. Teaching Intercultural Competence

Admittedly, intercultural competence can be taught. However, it is also important that individuals be gifted. More specifically, “persons with unduly inflated egos, low personal tolerance for uncertainty, histories of emotional instability, or known racist or extreme [...] political sympathies” shall better refrain from expatriation and their families shall also be checked on the same perceptions in order not to constitute expatriation risks themselves

(Hofstede, 2001, p. 428). In any case, teaching can be accomplished in two ways: **(1)** either through culture-specific courses or expatriate briefings (including information about history, customs, language, etc.) for the specific target culture the expatriate and their family will be seconded to, or **(2)** through culture-general courses, where the expatriate will gain a more generic understanding of the cultural differences they will probably encounter while interacting with multiple cultures abroad. Hofstede (2001) mentions that self-instruction is also possible. In particular, he makes reference to ‘culture assimilator’, “a programmed learning tool consisting of about 100 short case descriptions, each depicting an intercultural encounter in which a person from the foreign culture behaves in a particular way” (Hofstede, 2001, pp. 428-429).

3.7. Intercultural Training

3.7.1. Pre-Departure Training

Unfortunately, there are individuals who do not receive pre-departure training, with the most frequent excuses being that there is no time for it, that the needs for training are unclear, or that the technical skills already possessed by them are enough for the job to be done abroad. Pre-departure training aims at increasing cross-cultural awareness both among employees and their immediate family who will most probably follow, particularly in cases of big cultural distance (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 1997-8). In other words, it functions as a preparation that will facilitate their adjustment abroad, which technically has an impact on their total productivity. For instance, by warning them about potential challenges, any concerns, fears, stress, or anxiety that would otherwise arise, will be kept at a minimum. However, training shall be realistic, since “painting an unrealistically positive picture of the foreign assignment experience can also lead to very damaging disappointment and disillusionment upon confronting the reality of the foreign assignment” (Vance & Paik, 2006, p. 194).

Additionally, the amount of pre-departure training shall be decided in accordance with the amount of ‘cultural toughness’ or ‘cultural distance’ between the expatriates’ culture and the target culture (Vance & Paik, 2006). Consequently, in cases of large cultural toughness, training shall be timely and more intensive, without implying that in cases of little cultural toughness (i.e. ‘assumed similarity’), it shall necessarily be neglected (Fisher, Schoenfeldt, & Shaw, 2003). Interestingly, to enhance the validity of training, not only should professional

trainers be consulted, but also former expatriates and locals having interacted with them, since they both hold first-hand experience on the topic (Vance & Ensher, 2002).

3.7.2. Ongoing Training and Personal Effort

Vance and Paik (2006) mention that ongoing training and support are highly imperative, according to which on-site mentors and coaches shall be constantly present at organizations, offering guidance and psychosocial support in cases of need. Equally important is the fact that certain characteristics shall be worked on through personal effort, so that cultural challenges can be better dealt with. These include self-efficacy and confidence, stress management, substitution ability of the activities one practiced in their home country, relational abilities (including finding mentors, making friends from the host country, and having willingness to communicate), perceptual abilities, understanding the reasons behind specific actions, and making correct inferences (Punnett, 2013).

3.7.3. Types of Training

Training, as the most secure form of building intercultural competence, can be classified into five categories. According to Landis and Brislin (1983), these are:

- Information/Fact-Oriented Training: It involves briefing lectures, videotapes, reading materials, pamphlets, and panels of returned expatriates or host nationals.
- Attribution Training: It teaches expatriates the values, norms, and perceptual maps of another culture, so that they can understand why host nationals think or behave the way they do.
- Cultural Awareness Training: It makes individuals acknowledge the features of their own culture in order to be able to find similarities and differences with another one and realize how culture can affect the behavior of host nationals.
- Cognitive Behavior Modification Training: In order to avoid negative experiences in a host country, individuals measure the similarities and differences with another culture's reward and punishment systems in order to formulate their strategies towards obtaining only the former.

- Experiential Learning Training: It involves field trips, visits to the host country, complex role-plays, and cross-cultural simulations in order to gain real-life, hands-on experience in another culture instead of merely hypothesizing through raw theory.

3.7.4. Methods of Training

According to Black and Mendenhall (1989), training methods vary: **(1)** low-rigor or passive training involves books, lectures, and area briefings, **(2)** moderate-rigor or somewhat active training involves films, classroom discussions, and sensitivity training and, finally, **(3)** high-rigor or fully participative training involves cross-cultural experiences, experiential role-playing, simulations, and field trips. To determine the rigor of training, factors such as the degree of interaction required with host nationals, culture novelty, and job novelty shall be taken into account. Nowadays, cross-cultural training can be very expensive and the prevailing trend is to outsource training to firms that specialize in it instead of providing it in-house. However, because each organization has very specific needs, it is advisable that both in-house and outsourced training be combined, so that both company-specific and generic cultural issues can be addressed. Overall, training is imperative otherwise it increases the risk of expatriate failure and job turnover (Punnett, 2013).

CHAPTER 4

Factors that Affect the Performance of Multicultural Teams: The Impact of Diversity

Workplace diversity has been characterized as “a reality that is here to stay” (Mor Barak, 2010, p. 497) or “an inescapable reality in many organizations around the globe” (Shrivastava & Gregory, 2009, as cited in Luring & Selmer, 2011, p. 81). In fact, it is a double-edged sword (Gibson & Zellmer-Bruhn, 2001), since diverse teams can either be the most high-performing or low-performing ones (Shapiro, Furst, Spreitzer, & Von Glinow, 2002). The present chapter deals with how workplace diversity and diversity management affect the performance of multicultural teams. To answer this question, some useful definitions shall be provided.

4.1. Useful Definitions

4.1.1. Workplace Diversity and Diversity Management

Workplace diversity refers to the differences among people in an organization in terms of race, gender, ethnicity, age, personality, cognitive style, tenure, organizational function, education, background, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, physical abilities, religious beliefs, political beliefs, and more. Since diversity is related to how people perceive others vis-à-vis themselves, HR professionals shall be capable of successfully addressing issues of communication, adaptability, and change, so as to create a safe, positive, and fostering environment for diversity’s benefits to unfold, which can in turn affect collegial interaction (Patrick & Raj Kumar, 2012). Therefore, “[d]iversity management is a process intended to create and maintain a positive work environment where the similarities and differences of individuals are valued” (Patrick & Raj Kumar, 2012, p. 1). Valuing diversity makes employees feel more committed and satisfied, their performance and contribution to an organization’s strategic goals and objectives being maximized (Patrick & Raj Kumar, 2012). Indeed, successful diversity management is closely associated with high organizational performance, as it broadens multicultural groups’ perspective (Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2008), which, by nature of their heterogeneity, are more creative than homogeneous ones (Cox & Blake, 1991). In fact, homogeneous groups face an uphill battle, failing to “generate the

learning that can only come from interaction among different individuals” (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2001, p. 513). In other words, it remains clear that “organizations should take measures to manage diversity to harness and leverage the potential of employees for competitive advantage” (Patrick & Raj Kumar, 2012, p. 15).

4.1.2. Job Performance

According to Motowidlo (2003), job performance is defined as the total expected value to an organization of the discrete behavioral episodes that individuals carry out over specified time periods. It is the accomplishment of given tasks measured against standards of accuracy, completeness, cost, and speed (Kasemsap, 2017), and refers to “scalable actions, behavior, and outcomes that employees engage in or bring about that are linked with and contribute to organizational goals” (Viswesvaran & Ones, 2000, p. 216). Job performance constitutes a means to reach a goal or set of goals within a job, role, or organization but not the actual consequences of the acts performed within them (Campbell, 1990). In other words, it is strictly a behavior and a separate entity from the outcomes of a particular job, which are related to success and productivity (Jacobs, Hellman, Wuest, & Markowitz, 2013). Admittedly, individual job performance contributes to overall organizational performance, which involves “analyzing a company’s performance against its objectives and goals [and] comprises real results or outputs compared with intended outputs” (Market Business News, 2021).

4.1.3. Multicultural Teams

According to Hofstede, Vermunt, Smits, and Noorderhaven (1997), multicultural teams include members from different cultural backgrounds. In most cases, they have spent their formative years in different countries, being exposed to different values, demeanors, and languages (Snell, Snow, Davidson, & Hambrick, 1998), thus holding different expectations from other team members on communication and interaction patterns (Cagiltay, Bichelmeyer, & Kaplan Akilli, 2015). In multicultural group environments, each member adds their own unique experiences and talents to the team as powerful weapons to conduct the work. When individuals use their intercultural differences for synergy rather than cause for divisiveness, then group resources are reinforced (Harris & Moran, 1996), otherwise teams are led to conflict, which normally ends in frustration and loss of trust and commitment within their members (Williams, 2008; de Wit, Greer, & Jehn, 2012; Tenzer, Pudelko, & Harzing, 2014).

In such cases, stereotypes are created, decreasing the potential for peaceful co-existence, since they oversimplify, are difficult to adapt to new situations, and become exaggerated when social tensions arise between groups (Kilker, 1999).

4.2. Factors that Affect Performance Positively

Diversity is believed to be enhancing organizational effectiveness and sustained competitiveness (Cox & Blake, 1991). It “makes good business sense”, proving how closely associated diversity and organizational performance are (Mor Barak, 2010, p. 497). According to value-in-diversity hypothesis, diversity is bound to bring “net-added value to organization processes” (Cox & Blake, 1991, p. 46). Above all, diversity shall be harnessed, or else teams are no more effective than individuals working alone (Adler & Gundersen, 2008). Below are the most important factors affecting organizational performance positively.

4.2.1. Appropriate Diversity Management

Many researchers assume that “diversity management matters” (Pitts, 2009, p. 336). Knowing how to manage diversity allows organizations to reap its benefits, meaning that “[o]nce an organization’s workforce is highly diverse, the potentially positive impacts of its composition depend on the extent to which the organization effectively manages its diversity” (Cho, Kim, & Mor Barak, 2017, p. 2). In other words, in order for diversity to bloom as an asset rather than comprise a burden for organizations, there need to be a right managerial context and proactive diversity management strategies in place, including a supportive and cooperative organizational culture of diversity, an efficient group leadership, and facilitating process skills (Cunningham, 2009). Based on that, top management shall be effective in creating a hybrid team culture and climate through “designing and implementing appropriate policies in order to enhance the performance of multicultural teams” (Sağ, Kaynak, & Sezen, 2016, p. 68). Also, it must value diversity by recognizing differences in a positive light (Adhazadeh, 2004). As Adhazadeh (2004) mentions, “[a] cultural environment must allow differences to be celebrated instead of merely tolerated” (p. 523) and diversity shall be the norm and not the exception (Lawrence, 2001). After all, sufficient diversity management can ensure justice and fairness in the work environment (Cho et al., 2017), reduce role stress (Findler, Wind, & Mor Barak, 2007), boost organizational commitment and dedication (Cho & Mor Barak, 2008), attract, recruit, and retain for longer a high caliber of diverse employees choosing from an international pool of specialized skilled labor (Hobman, 2003; Matveev,

2017), and contribute to innovation (Gonzalez & Denisi, 2009; Richard, Roh, & Pieper, 2013) and healthy return on investment from human capital (Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1998), all factors associated with higher performance.

In this sense, what will trigger diverse teams' performance is initiating a cultural transformation (Carnevale & Stone, 1994) that will allow managers to unlearn practices rooted in an obsolete mindset and make their diverse staff feel valued, boosting their well-being and morale towards higher performance (Adhazadeh, 2004). This cultural transformation includes “chang[ing] the ways organizations operate, shift[ing] company culture, revis[ing] policies, creat[ing] new structures, and redesign[ing] human resource systems” (Adhazadeh, 2004, p. 524). After all, performance can be severely impacted by HR practices and other situational or contextual factors, including occupational segregation, managerial attitudes, team processes, organizational culture, task characteristics, complexity, and interdependence, strategic context (Pitts, 2005), and compositional mixing of cultural values within teams (Kirkman & Shapiro, 2005).

Based on the above, it is necessary to note that factors that offer a strategic and competitive advantage to one organization can comprise a performance detriment to another, since “one size doesn't fit all when it comes to diversity...” (Prieto, Phipps, & Osiri, 2009, p. 19). As Luring and Selmer (2011, p. 88) hold, “organizations may need to tailor their effort in creating the right diversity climate based on specific organizational characteristics”. As a result, Kirkman and Shapiro (2005, p. 62) stress “the importance of managers tailoring teambuilding to fit the predominant cultures within the country that their organizations will be operating”, further adding that “the same mix of cultural values in a team in one country may not necessarily result in the same outcomes in another”.

Management shall in all cases build loyalty by proving that diversity holds high value, as only then will employees get a sense of belonging, involvement, and unity within a team (Iles & Hayers, 1997). In fact, managers shall show that diverse employees' needs are not mutually exclusive but “congruent or complementary”, assisting them in building common ground (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999, p. 1449). For this reason, they shall implement the principles of optimal distinctiveness theory, according to which efforts to highlight the similarities between employees are made (Brewer, 1991; Shore, Randel, Chung, Dean, Ehrhart, & Singh, 2011). This can enhance performance, improving employees' satisfaction and cooperation (Acquavita, Pittman, Gibbons, & Castellanos-Brown, 2009; Mor Barak &

Levin, 2002; Nishii, 2013), increasing task-relevant information sharing and elaboration (Bunderson & Sutcliffe, 2002), and reducing turnover intention (Hwang & Hopkins, 2012). Emphasizing the similarities that unite diverse individuals and “[i]ntegrating the opinions of employees leads to organizational thinking that positively affects organizational performance, [t]hus workforce diversity affects organizational thinking” (Cho et al., 2017, p. 2).

Moreover, according to integration and learning perspective, “the path from diversity to performance can best be described as a learning process” (Lauring & Selmer, 2011, p. 84), since diversity is a source of learning and employees eventually learn from their differences (Thomas & Ely, 1996), which are integrated and synthesized into a novel whole (Jang, 2017). However, these differences are “a source of growth, learning, and intuition” (Choi & Rainey, 2010, p. 111) and can be “tapped as sources of new ideas and experiences about work” only when properly managed (Foldy, 2003, p. 529). Besides managing properly, a positive learning stance is key for this perspective to be successful and “any perspective [...] held in the absence of a learning stance can become an iron cage rather than an open door” (Foldy, 2003, p. 534). This learning stance is further facilitated when group members hold pro-diversity rather than pro-similarity beliefs, proving that they already believe in the value of diversity (Homan, van Knippenberg, van Kleef, & De Dreu, 2007). In fact, “a social entity’s psychological climate that is open to demographic dissimilarities improves the chances of positive group processes in diverse settings” (Sawyer, Strauss, & Yan, 2005, as cited in Lauring & Selmer, 2011, p. 81).

Finally, managers shall give positive external feedback to the team’s processes and output early in its formation, because this way members feel more like a team, are taught to value team diversity, recognize everyone’s contributions, and trust the team’s collective judgment (Adler & Gundersen, 2008). To give feedback, managers shall first be able to differentiate between helpful (functional) and unhelpful (non-functional/social) diversity, since lack of consistency in definitions often makes diversity management efforts adopted in good faith to falter or fail (Simons & Rowland, 2011).

4.2.2. Creativity and Innovation

For White (1999, p. 477), “[c]reativity thrives on diversity”. In other words, organizations with diverse workgroups perform very high when taking advantage of the creativity and innovation inherent in these groups (Adhazadeh, 2004). In particular, thanks to the insightful

and non-obvious action alternatives they bring on the table (Lee, 2000), they identify more useful and higher-quality solutions and strategies to complex problems (Adhazadeh, 2004), resulting in a broader “pool of options for structuring work, designing strategy, and carrying out other key organizational tasks” (Foldy, 2003, p. 535). Admittedly, their richer, deeper, and broader base of experiences, information, and expertise entails access to valuable outside cognitive resources and perspectives (Ancona & Caldwell, 1992), so mixing various cultures together leads to higher quality of thinking at both individual and organizational levels (Brown, 2004), optimal utilization of all shades of talent, speed of operations, and better decision-making capacity (Cunningham, 2009), in the sense that it “free[s] these groups from the restraints of the solutions given in the problem” (Hoffman & Maier, 1961, p. 404).

For Kanter (1983, p. 167), the most innovative organizations deliberately establish heterogeneous teams “to create a marketplace of ideas, recognizing that a multiplicity of points of view need to be brought to bear on a problem”. Also, diverse groups generate work-related ideas that can encourage even the most reluctant, cautious, or unassertive team members to share their opinion and knowledge (Cherian & Gaikar, 2020), which can in turn bring added value⁵ to organizations (Adhazadeh, 2004). Based on that, only when team members actively and rigorously debate and engage into open dialogue (Simons, Pelled, & Smith, 1999), freely express their doubt on the efficacy of an approach, work in cooperative interdependence (Lovelace, Shapiro, & Weingart, 2001), and invest in cognitive effort to consider their colleagues’ stance (Hoever, van Knippenberg, van Ginkel, & Barkema, 2012), can they capitalize on diversity’s benefits. Furthermore, as an interviewee of Cho et al.’s (2017, p. 7) mentioned, “diversity is a backbone of innovation [...] [and diverse groups] can think about things that one group or another or too much of one side would not”. Similarly, “[w]hen people are brought together to achieve a common goal there is an increase in support for it” (Adhazadeh, 2004, pp. 526-527), as “[p]eople who believe in its success will in turn work harder” (Naik, 1999, as cited in Adhazadeh, 2004, p. 527).

In any case, rise in creative thought processes and innovation entails rise in organizational growth (Bell, Villado, Lukasik, Belau & Briggs, 2011) and synergies⁶ can be developed when various cultural values are combined in creative ways (Adler & Gundersen, 2008). The ideas,

⁵ Added value can be translated as rise in productivity and performance (Adhazadeh, 2004).

⁶ Cultural synergy means complementing and building upon other members’ contributions, since “the whole of the group’s effort will be greater than the sum of the parts” (Pitts, 2005, p. 618). In fact, team members’ cultural intelligence –a combination of cognitive, motivational, and behavioral attributes– contributes to cultural synergy (Adler & Gundersen, 2008).

angles, and viewpoints presented by diverse teams are more strategic and inventive, as they consider more perspectives without putting emphasis on conformity to rules of the past (Cox & Blake, 1991), making it easier for them to be receptive, create, innovate, meet the needs of a bigger pool of consumers, and address broader social issues (Cho et al., 2017). Besides, when “you get more people together and myriads of experiences, you get better thoughts [and] better production of things” (Cho et al., 2017, p. 7), since leveraging and synthesizing diverse knowledge leads to more creative outcomes and higher performance (Jang, 2017).

According to cognitive diversity theory and information and decision-making theories, diversity benefits organizations by offering a wide array of fresh ideas, skills, perspectives, insights, pioneering ways of knowing, and organizational capabilities to solve problems and reach better decisions (Cox, 1994; Cox & Blake, 1991; Ely, 2004), only when these are voiced and valued (Cunningham, 2009). Additionally, low consensus on decision-making which is normally the case in heterogeneous teams ends up improving problem-solving creativity (Dutton & Duncan, 1987; Katz, 1982) in terms of originality, practicality, and implementation ability, as team members undergo more critical analysis of the issues at hand (Cox & Blake, 1991). Indeed, although there is less structure and routine, and need for more interconnection in diverse teams, there are more opportunities for process gains like creativity through divergence in more complex tasks (Stahl, Maznevski, Voigt, & Jonsen, 2010). Similarly, according to one of Cho et al.’s (2017, p. 8) interviewees:

“I think some people bring up things that others did not think of, and vice versa; it adds to the overall work that we do. None of us can explicitly say we know exactly what it’s like for this kid, but I think collectively we have different experiences that can layer and determine what makes most sense”.

Evidently, the existence of diverse teams in organizations reduces groupthink, thus boosting performance. Groupthink is a deterioration of mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgment, as it calls for deliberate effort to maintain team cohesiveness by reducing creative thinking (Cox & Blake, 1991). In groupthink, members struggle to establish unanimity because of in-group pressures, a fact that overrides their motivation to critically appraise more alternatives, leading to premature decisions (Adler & Gundersen, 2008). This is further corroborated by Janis (1982), who states that erroneous decisions, conformistic behavior, and group pressure due to groupthink tend to be lower in multicultural teams.

In all cases, the most conducive scenario is a balance between heterogeneity (better problem-solving, creativity, and innovation – divergence) and homogeneity (organizational coherence

and unity of action – convergence) in teams (Cox & Blake, 1991). In particular, homogeneity shall exist in ability levels (e.g. communication) and heterogeneity in attitudes (e.g. multitude of solutions), so that performance is elevated (Adler & Gundersen, 2008). In other words, it is necessary that a certain degree of cultural overlap also exists in order to give value to multicultural collectives (Jang, 2017). More specifically:

"Similarity is an aid to developing cohesion; cohesion in turn, is related to the success of a group. Homogeneity, however, can be detrimental if it results in the absence of stimulation. If all members are alike, they may have little to talk about, they may compete with each other, or they may all commit the same mistake. Variety is the spice of life in a group, [but only for] so long as there is a basic core of similarity" (Shepard, 1964, p. 118).

Overall, the road to success is for an organization to “have represented in its workforce any skill, information, or contacts necessary to respond to any competitive challenges in the environment” (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999, p. 1450). For this reason, organizations shall be creatively responsive in order to survive and successfully produce economic and social benefits for the international citizens they serve (Cho et al., 2017).

4.2.3. Organizational Flexibility

Bringing people from diverse cultural backgrounds together allows organizations to have an egalitarian and non-bureaucratic structure (Thomas & Ely, 1996), being more flexible and adaptable to the circumstances (Adhazadeh, 2004). In this way, “the system will become less determinant, less standardized, and therefore more fluid [and adaptable] [and] [t]he increased fluidity should create greater flexibility [and resilience] to react to environmental changes [and pressures] (i.e. reactions should be faster and at less cost)” (Cox & Blake, 1991, p. 47).

Additionally, flexibility can be taken as cognitive, showing that bilinguals have more contrasting and divergent thinking compared to those only speaking the common language of the team (Cox & Blake, 1991; White, 1999, as cited in Adhazadeh, 2004). Language is central to organizational flexibility, since multi- or bilinguals usually hold inside information on how to communicate and negotiate with people (‘clients’) from various ethnic backgrounds, knowing about the political, social, legal, economic, and cultural environments that shape their being (White, 1999, as cited in Adhazadeh, 2004). This points to the realization that diversity in workgroups leads to diversity in services provided to diverse clients (Das Neves, 2013). In other words, “having associates who reflect the differences in the communities they serve is good business and provides them with a competitive

advantage” (The Home Depot, 2003, as cited in Adhazadeh, 2004, p. 529), meaning that diverse workforces can be representative of all international society (Choi & Rainey, 2010). Besides, customers’ emotional needs are better understood and dealt with when having employees from different cultural backgrounds (Schneider & Bowen, 1999). Furthermore, “members of a given cultural group are uniquely qualified to understand certain aspects of the world view of persons from that group” (Cox & Blake, 1991, p. 49). Based on that, ‘clients’ that are looking for a service are more likely to turn to international employees from their own culture for help, which subsequently facilitates the quality of the offered service (Cox & Blake, 1991). In this way, organizations respond more effectively to the changing target population needs and concerns, since, based on representative bureaucracy theory, “an organization that ‘looks like’ the citizens it serves will be more responsive to [their] needs...” (Pitts, 2009, p. 330). This is what Robinson and Dechant (1997) mean when they say that diversity leads to better understanding of the ‘marketplace’.

Moreover, flexibility can be translated as greater use of flexitime work scheduling based on cultural needs, which can help decrease absenteeism and improve performance. In addition to this, diversity offers flexibility in organizations in terms of accepting, tolerating, and coordinating differences, so as to prevent incidents of discrimination and self-segregation, since organizational conflicts can negatively affect organizational performance (Cox & Blake, 1991). Overall, be it organizational, cognitive, or linguistic, flexibility in multicultural teams can definitely help boost group performance.

4.2.4. Long Organizational Tenure, Small Group Size, and Incremental Workload

Long organizational tenure, that is, the frequency and duration of meaningful interactions, can also affect performance positively. In particular, diverse members shall be exposed to each other for long before teamwork, support, and collaboration increase (Choi & Rainey, 2010). In this way, organizations will be more productive, as their diverse workforce will have already overcome their initial naiveté, having learnt the ropes and local practices of interacting in diverse groups (Pfeffer, 1983). Longer organizational tenure equates enhanced intragroup contact and stabilizes organizations, thus reducing goal conflict (Katz, 1982). It leads to teams being spontaneous and processes automatic, which can in turn increase creativity, reduce interethnic tensions and conflict, and generate a common team identity (Stahl et al., 2010).

Additionally, group size comprises another factor that can affect performance. In particular, small diverse teams are more likely to increase the levels of performance, productivity, communication, and coordination, whereas bigger teams are often led to disagreement and irreconcilable conflict (Stahl et al., 2010). This is also the case for workload. More specifically, incremental workload can benefit multicultural teams, whereas too many tasks tend to affect multicultural team performance negatively, because of the negative attitudes that are often shared among overwhelmed employees under conditions of stress and confusion (Hansen, 2006).

4.2.5. Constructive Conflicts

Constructive conflicts and disagreements are intellectual tensions (Kirchmeyer & Cohen, 1992), known to promote creativity, increase efficiency, and elevate quality of decisions (Berger, 1996; Seymen, 2006). They shall be differentiated from disabling or dysfunctional conflicts, which are characterized by win-lose struggles. Constructive conflicts are “key to unlock the potential of group decision-making” (Tjosvold & Johnson, 1983, p. 11), since they encourage variety, openness, and challenge (Kirchmeyer & Cohen, 1992), include “searching out a variety of ideas and opinions, fully sharing information, openly confronting differences, and carefully critiquing alternatives...” (Tjosvold & Deemer, 1980, as cited in Kirchmeyer & Cohen, 1992, p. 155), foster encouragement to contribute and positive assertiveness in the workplace (Tang & Kirkbride, 1986), and produce assumptions of greater validity and more importance. In other words, in constructive conflicts, not only are ideas and concerns from multiple parties called upon and tapped but uncritical acceptance of them is also prevented (Schweiger, Sandberg, & Rechner, 1989).

In the case of constructive conflicts, disagreements shall be always acknowledged and their potential advantages shall be openly and explicitly discussed without being veiled by those at hand, since they lead to learning from and across differences, allowing people to feel more open and flexible towards new ways of thinking and acting. In this respect, constructive conflicts are part and parcel of the learning and integration perspective discussed above, meaning that cultural diversity comprises a source of learning in the sense that members can transfer knowledge by mutually investigating, acknowledging, and exploring their differences (Foldy, 2003). Indeed, constructive conflicts are conducive to the development of “a corporate culture that values learning, change, and new ideas – an appropriate culture for

meeting the demands of the multicultural environment” (Kirchmeyer & Cohen, 1992, pp. 167-168).

For Lajoie (2011), if conflicts are handled properly, they constitute rich sources of development. Otherwise, they create hostilities by evolving into personal and emotional clashes that could potentially damage employee morale and empowerment as well as organizational culture and performance (Kelli, Mayra, Allen, Kepner, & Farnsworth, 2015). How conflicts are discussed and resolved is culture-bound (Von Glinow, 2004). This is further corroborated by Chua and Gudykunst (1987), and Kozan (1989), who state that one’s style of handling controversies is heavily reliant on their cultural background.

Finally, in constructive conflicts, everyone’s participation in the final decision is guaranteed, thus ethnic minorities’ sense of belonging, involvement, and commitment to the group and its decisions are increased (Kirchmeyer & Cohen, 1992). Overall, through high levels of constructive conflict, “the performance and reactions of ethnic minorities can be improved at rates either the same as or greater than those of non-minorities” (Kirchmeyer & Cohen, 1992, p. 167).

4.3. Factors that Affect Performance Negatively

It is true that diversity can be a black box (Stahl et al., 2010; Hinds, Liu, & Lyon, 2011), a burdensome dilemma (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999), or a double-edged sword, since people think differently about what a team means and what the desirable team behaviors are, putting performance at risk (Gibson & Zellmer-Bruhn, 2001). According to Williams and O’Reilly (1998, p. 120), “diversity is a mixed blessing and requires careful and sustained attention to be a positive force in enhancing performance”. In other words, differences “represent a mother lode of creativity or a quagmire of conflict, depending on how the group handles conflict and differences” (Chatman & Flynn, 2001, as cited in Foldy, 2003, p. 531). Consequently, retaining a diverse workforce does not necessarily produce positive outcomes (Jayne & Diboye, 2004). Below are the most important factors that affect organizational performance negatively.

4.3.1. Stereotyping and Discriminatory Behaviors

Admittedly, mixing various culture types together can substantially impact organizations⁷ (Perkins, 1993). This co-variation of differences creates a diversity fault-line (Prieto et al., 2009) and losses in productivity due to faulty process (Adler & Gundersen, 2008), owing to the resistance of some groups to work with individuals from diverse backgrounds (CSREES, 1997). Especially phenotypes, that is, physical observable features different from those of the majority culture⁸ of the team, can give rise to negative intra-team dynamics regarding group interaction, including ethnocentrism, prejudice, racial discrimination⁹ and injustice, marginalization, exclusion, and inaccurate or premature stereotyping. This can lead to unfavorable work experiences and career outcomes for minority members, hence to their lower performance, which can in turn affect that of the whole team (Aghazadeh, 2004), especially in cases they refuse to identify with the majority culture (Carnevale & Stone, 1994). Actually, individuals from minority cultures tend to face exclusion from a group's circles of influence, including internal information networks and important decision-making processes, feeling uncomfortable, unsafe, and unwelcome (Pettigrew & Martin, 1989; Ibarra, 1993; Cox, 1994).

Very often, people from majority cultures, consciously or unconsciously, tend to talk more and have more influence on outcomes than people from minority cultures, who usually withdraw and fall silent or communicate only with members from their subgroup, both scenarios providing dysfunctional group dynamics (Falk & Falk, 1981; Konrad, 2003). Especially silence is considered highly detrimental, holding back input that might be beneficial to an organization¹⁰ (Morrison & Phelps, 1999; Milliken & Morrison, 2003). The

⁷ Admittedly, it is very hard to mix individuals who hold different collective team orientations to work (e.g. those who are team-oriented and pursue the group's aims and those who are self-oriented and pursue their own aims), since this affects communication, integration, consensus, commonality, trust, engagement, and effectiveness – performance overall. In fact, “the more shared the collective team orientation is, the lower the effect of the categorization mechanism” (Mach & Baruch, 2015, p. 479).

⁸ Majority cultures are usually those that hold higher status in terms of economic development. Cultural superiority in teams is, however, counterproductive, since it stifles the contributions of non-dominant cultures, thus distribution of power shall be made on the basis of abilities rather than cultural criteria (Adler & Gundersen, 2008).

⁹ Interestingly, ‘reverse discrimination’ can also have a negative impact on organizational performance, according to which members from a dominant culture feel demotivated, considering that they have been unfairly rejected, so that a minority member can receive preferential treatment instead (Brunner, 2003; Aghazadeh, 2004).

¹⁰ “Employees may feel that if they offer their ideas and input, these may be overlooked or dismissed, or may even be deemed risky — especially if they hold minority views” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993; Milliken & Morrison, 2003, as cited in Mor Barak, 2010, p. 505). Silence can also be interpreted as reluctance to speak up about exclusionary or discriminatory practices out of fear (Mor Barak, 2010). It reduces reciprocal self-disclosing

implications are that minority members feel unworthy, demoralized, and lose focus (Nayab, 2010), face great pressure to admit mistakes and perform well (even though mistakes are opportunities to learn rather than crimes to be punished), think that their capabilities are in question (Steele, 1997), and are reluctant to keep a stance of inquiry into others' perspectives and feelings, since the concept of threat rigidity suggests that "we are less open and flexible when we feel threatened or unprotected in some way" (Staw, Sandelands, & Dutton, 1981, as cited in Foldy, 2003, p. 532), a fact that makes them rigidly advocate their opinion instead of trying to elicit information from others (Foldy, 2003). However, in this way, valuable resources from various cultures do not circulate and are thus not accessible to other team members (Jang, 2017), who are deprived of the chance to build upon other people's ideas and produce novel combinations (Hargadon & Bechky, 2006).

All these cases, by-products of stereotyping, point to loss in self-esteem and motivation, thus to lower productivity and performance. Indeed, cultural clashes out of stereotyping comprise "a significant drain on the energy of the people involved, thus bringing down the productivity of the company" (White, 1999, as cited in Aghazadeh, 2004, p. 523). Cultural clashes come from those feeling superior and are created mostly out of ignorance rather than rejection (Aghazadeh, 2004) or due to dissimilar attitudes and opinions among team members regarding desirable team behaviors, which technically leads to lack of team cohesiveness and interpersonal trust¹¹ (Gibson & Zellmer-Bruhn, 2001). In case management ignores or mishandles such conflicts, then organizations are prone to suffer in terms of commitment to occupation and group processes, outcomes, and decisions, encouraging voluntary employee turnover and absenteeism, while dropping creativity and performance to the lowest, giving rise to negative attitudes among employees (Jackson, Joshi, & Erhardt, 2003) rather than synergistic behaviors (Aghazadeh, 2004). Mismanagement can also bring about job-related (or social) stress and burnout, both having deleterious effects on performance (Ragins, 1997). Especially stress can cause "bickering, apathy, single-party (or single-culture) domination of discussions, stubbornness and reprimanding [...], [and] ritual [superficial] politeness" (Adler & Gundersen, 2008, p. 137). As a result, heterogeneous groups are expected to experience

behaviors, hindering information and knowledge sharing, and encouraging mistrust (Roberge & van Dick, 2010). Mistrust usually derives from inadvertent cross-cultural misinterpretation rather than actual dislike (Adler & Gundersen, 2008).

¹¹ Team trust and trustworthiness shall in all cases be ensured, since it "provides the conditions for outputs to take place and it serves as a facilitator of work attitudes, perceptions, behaviors, and outcomes" (Dirks & Ferrin, 2001, as cited in Mach & Baruch, 2015, p. 468). It also "enhances performance by increasing the efforts made, the positive attitudes, and cooperation among group members" (Costa, 2003; Mannix & Jehn, 2004, as cited in Mach & Baruch, 2015, p. 468).

issues with coordination, motivation, integration, and conflict management (Gladstein, 1984; Jehn, 1995; Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale 1999), thus spending much more energy than needed to accomplish tasks (Kanter, 1979; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990; Schneider & Northcraft, 1999). Besides, as Adler and Gundersen (2008) have similarly stated, misperception, miscommunication, misinterpretation, and misevaluation usually abound in multicultural teams, since stress, ambiguity, complexity, and inherent confusion in team processes increase.

4.3.2. Diversity Mismanagement

According to Doherty and Chelladurai (1999, as cited in Cunningham, 2009, pp. 1448-1449), “organizations that are racially diverse but that have poor diversity-management strategies are likely to have considerable conflict, infighting, and performance decrements”. As a result, mismanaged diversity makes up another factor that can affect performance negatively, and more specifically employee satisfaction, productivity, and motivation, all of which constitute performance components (Adhazadeh, 2004).

Evidently, “[w]ithout effective management, an organization risks low team cohesion or high levels of conflict, results that negatively affect organizational productivity” (Cho et al., 2017, p. 2). Mismanaged diversity usually points to acts of favoritism towards majority groups (Cherian & Gaikar, 2020) and denied access or unfavorable treatment towards minority groups, a fact that can inhibit employees’ abilities throughout the whole spectrum of performance components (i.e. satisfaction, productivity, and motivation). Indeed, for Cox and Blake (1991), it is lack of career growth opportunity and dissatisfaction with rates of progress due to favoritism that lead to generalized frustration and disappointment on the part of racial minorities. Unfortunately, in this way, neither organizations nor employees will ever be able to perceive their full potential (Goetz, 2001). In fact, only when employees perceive themselves as equal and valued will they start being hardworking, involved, innovative (Adhazadeh, 2004), motivated, and confident enough to reward their organization with discretionary effort, otherwise their performance will remain low (Lambert, 2000).

Mismanaged diversity can also lead to delay in team formation processes (Recardo & Jolly, 1997). For this reason, it is imperative that top management diversify all sectors in an organization (including leadership itself), so that favoritism is avoided, and establish on-going (and not one-shot) diversity management educational policies and systems. These can

include awareness, skill-building, and sensitivity training¹² by external cultural diversity specialists and consultants or change agents (either on-the-job or off-the-job, group or individual, and usually customized), task forces, codes of ethics, advisory committees on diversity, workshop initiatives, and social events with team building exercises and generic activities, so that employees can interact, build mutual understanding and reciprocity, and weed out any kind of bias or discrimination. These initiatives comprise some important steps from mismanagement towards proper management and organizational cohesion (Cherian & Gaikar, 2020). More initiatives include affirmative action programs, work-family balance schemes (Cho et al., 2017), procedures of research and audit (e.g. climate audit, HR systems audit, organizational culture audit), organizational analyses, focus groups for on-going discussions, follow-up activities for monitoring change (Cox & Blake, 1991), and reward structures for inclusive behaviors (Lauring & Selmer, 2011). Moreover, evaluation of departments and conduct or need assessments can also help reveal the difficulties faced by diverse workgroups (Hammond & Kleiner, 1992), while cultural mentoring or coaching (external or internal) by experienced peer advisors can help spread cross-cultural awareness throughout the levels of an organization (Sonjia, 1990). Finally, talent showcase events and networking programs can increase interaction as well as mutual respect and admiration among employees (Pruis, 2011). Overall, it remains clear that diversity management has “evolved into a consulting industry” (Pitts, 2009, p. 328).

Additionally, managers shall prevent the consequences of social identity theory (Turner, 1987; Cho et al., 2017), similarity attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971), and social categorization theory (Turner, 1987) from coming to the surface. All three of them are believed to be creating “temporal gaps and collective fences” among employees (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999, p. 1445) as well as disturbing group dynamics due to excessive production of subgroups and the subsequent problematic employee relations and biases (van Knippenberg, De Dreu, & Homan, 2004). According to these theories, employees tend to categorize themselves into groups. This process of social integration subsequently affects the way they choose to interact both with members of their in-group and out-group (Tajfel, 1982; Stahl et al., 2010). In general, out-group members are faced as “potential antagonists with incompatible objectives, beliefs, and teamwork habits” (Randel & Jaussi, 2003; van

¹² Training can be counterproductive and compromise performance in certain cases. For example, cross-functional teams (i.e. teams whose members have received different functional training) often fail, because they “have different ‘thought worlds’ associated with the skills and/or perspectives with which they have been trained” (Dougherty, 1992, as cited in Kirkman & Shapiro, 2005, p. 39).

Knippenberg et al., 2004, as cited in Mach & Baruch, 2015, p. 466), thus individuals prefer similarity in their interactions (Schneider, 1987; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992), since they feel reassured to know that others think, talk, and act like them (Foldy, 2003). In other words, “social similarity, whatever criteria it uses, acts as a mechanism of inclusion or exclusion...” (Ospina, 1996a, p. 141) and this homosocial reproduction for organizational stratification has profound implications for organizations and workgroup dynamics, including degree of participation, affective commitment to the corporate mainstream, and, eventually, job performance (Kanter, 1993). That being said, diverse workgroups can suffer from lack of trust, respect, familiarity, and psychological safety within the group when no similarity is present, which can later escalate into doubt and severe conflict; namely, into generalized paralysis (Choi & Rainey, 2010).

For this reason, managers shall work hard to reduce excess unfamiliarity among group members in order to enhance team trust, cohesion, and organizational unity, all building blocks for team creation. Otherwise, the probable result will be negative work outcomes and poor organizational performance (Cho et al., 2017). In fact, in case of mismanagement, conflicts and miscommunication will compromise effectiveness, willingness, and openness, and organizations will be burdened with high costs of coordination and conflict resolution (Ely, 2004). Even worse, diverse members will distance themselves from each other, will stop cooperating on the timely completion of projects, and will start feeling uncomfortably at work, resulting in inferior work product and services (Wickramasinghe & Nandula, 2015).

4.3.3. Miscommunication and Language Barriers

It is apparent that there can hardly be any positive outcomes of teamwork when members cannot communicate effectively and sufficiently (Berg & Holtbrügge, 2010). In other words, poor communication or miscommunication are prone to hinder performance (Thomas, 1999), since they lower exchange predictability (Triandis, 1960), are time-consuming and slowed down (Prieto et al., 2009) due to interpretation attempts and translation problems (Adler & Gundersen, 2008), and lead to poor decision-making, uncertainty, confusion, complexity, disagreements, and, consequently, low efficiency (Chevrier, 2003). This is further corroborated by Berger (1996), who states that culturally diverse workforces are subject to a variety of issues pertaining to language, norms, and communication, and since these can have a negative impact on productivity and team performance, they should be urgently resolved. It is then understood that mixing different native languages together does only lead to

communication barriers but can also spawn intense cultural misunderstandings (Chen, Silverthorne, & Hung, 2006).

Additionally, Tenzer et al. (2014) found that language barriers existing in multicultural teams can affect trust formation, because of the potential errors caused by differences in language. For this reason, Feely and Harzing (2002, as cited in Sağ et al., 2016, p. 68) maintain that “miscommunication, uncertainty, mistrust, and conflict triggered by language diversity needs to be managed professionally, otherwise they will bring detrimental consequences for the business and its relationships”.

Moreover, Chen (1989) holds that members whose native language is not English (which is normally the team’s working language) are deterred from contributing in situations where others are proficient in it. Hence, language barriers result in social categorization (who is excluded and who is not) (Lauring, 2008) and linguistic insufficiencies within teams make members lose their rhetorical power and refrain from small talk, which is helpful in group satisfaction levels that tend to drop due to intra-group conflicts and lack of communication, interaction, and collaboration (Lauring & Selmer, 2011).

For Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing, and Forrest (1993), it is not only language per se but also differing communication and interaction patterns and styles that can lead to cultural misunderstandings and performance losses. Therefore, spherical cross-cultural competence (Stahl et al., 2010) and familiarization with all possible modes of communication are imperative. For instance, a lot of teams nowadays lack physical proximity and have to communicate by means of synchronous or asynchronous technology (Adler & Gundersen, 2008), a situation highly relevant in the era of Covid-19. All of the above point to the need for common corporal language in organizations (Lauring & Selmer, 2011), since communication shall be ongoing and free (Pelz & Andrews, 1978; Ebadi & Utterback, 1984).

4.4. Recapitulation of Factors

Admittedly, certain factors affect performance negatively while others positively, some directly while others indirectly, and some have bigger driving power than others. Most of them, however, work interdependently (Sağ et al., 2016). Enriching the factors discussed above with some additional ones, the following table is created:

TABLE 2: FACTORS AFFECTING MULTICULTURAL TEAM PERFORMANCE

No.:	FACTORS:	EXPLANATION:
1.	Societal Factors	National culture, subculture, social identity, cultural standards
2.	Institutional Factors	Sector of work, industry, type of organization (i.e. profit/private/national vs. non-profit/public/international)
3.	Organizational Factors	Organizational culture, structure, strategy, arrangements, conditions, HR practices
4.	Team Factors	Size, type, team goals
5.	Informational Diversity	Differences in knowledge base, perspectives, alternatives; creativity, innovation, problem-solving skills; external networks
6.	Cultural Intelligence of Members	Skillfulness and flexibility in interacting with and understanding other cultures
7.	Educational Factors	Educational background, in-service training
8.	Language	Mother tongue, knowledge of the majority language, communication barriers
9.	Management	Management/leadership styles, efficacy
10.	Team Culture	The extent to which cultural boundaries are actively bridged
11.	Team Climate ¹³	The extent to which there are shared perceptions about behaviors ¹⁴ , practices, procedures; trust, commitment, cohesion, efficacy
12.	Team Composition/Type ¹⁵ (Kirkman & Shapiro, 2005)	Bio-demographic attributes, cultural attributes, personality traits, job-related traits

adapted by Sağ et al. (2016)

4.5. The Relevance of Performance and Diversity to the Public Sector

Evidently, workplace diversity constitutes a central HR management issue for all 21st century international organizations (Ospina, 2001) and diverse workgroups make good business sense not only for profit but also for non-profit institutions (Aghazadeh, 2004; Mor Barak, 2017). This is further corroborated by Pitts (2009), who reports that there is a positive link between diversity and performance management in both these sectors. For Pitts (2005), however, sectoral differences mean that the effects of diversity are different for public vis-à-vis private organizations, holding that the former experience a shock to the environment in which they operate not only in terms of potential employees but also of target populations. Despite this fact, they still have managed to be “more racially and ethnically diverse than private-sector

¹³ “Based on organizational climate theory, hospitable and supportive organizational climates enhance organizational effectiveness. This model holds that companies that develop supportive work climates communicate organizational goodwill toward personnel. These supportive acts foster more favorable worker attitudes and performance [motivation, satisfaction, organizational identification, commitment, productivity...], which in turn, improve overall organizational performance” (Kopelman, Brief, & Guzzo, 1990, as cited in McKay & Avery, 2015, p. 212). Also, racially discriminatory behavior is reduced (McKay & Avery, 2015) and people feel welcome as individuals and as organizational citizens (Ospina, 2001).

¹⁴ Based on positive organizational behavior literature, behavioral features such as hope, optimism, and resilience can also affect performance (Youssef & Luthans, 2007).

¹⁵ Team composition also includes the propensity and preference to work collectively, trust (Mohammed & Angell, 2004; Ferrin, Bligh, & Kohles, 2007), membership configuration, shared agreement, and subgroup creation, with the last one affecting outputs and performance (Chan, 1998; Lau & Murnighan, 1998; Bell, 2007), as it hampers intergroup integration (Zenger & Lawrence, 1989; Van de Ven, Rogers, Bechara, & Sun, 2008).

organizations, leading to the challenge of enhancing heterogeneous work group effectiveness” (Foldy, 2003, p. 529). As a result, they have been more committed to workforce diversity, putting into action equal employment opportunity schemes and affirmative action programs, resulting in higher levels of diversity in the public sector overall (Cornwell & Kellough, 1994; Riccucci, 2002; Foldy, 2004).

After all, the rationale for promoting diversity in the (international) public sector is clear: not only does it enhance performance through alternative perspectives, cultural teachings, and actionable ideas, but it also reinforces organizational legitimacy and trust, in the sense that the employee population “adequately mirrors the demographic composition of the larger society” it serves (Ospina, 2001, p. 12). In fact, “organizations with diverse employees will appeal to today's diverse customer base and thus increase organization competitiveness and positively affect the bottom line” (Mor Barak, 2010, p. 499). It can thus be understood that multicultural workforces give rise to a strengthened relationship with multicultural communities (Davis, Florova, & Callahan, 2016) and that workforce diversity is about effectively reaching out and looking like the global client base (Mor Barak, 2010). According to the European Commission, this shows improved marketing of services (Metcalf & Forth, 2000), better market intelligence and internationalization (Cox & Blake, 1991), improved community and customer-client relations, and enhanced image of organizations and their reputation (Nykiel, 1997). Alternatively, it is a matter of political and ethical mandate of representative bureaucracy. In other words:

“[The] incentive to promote diversity in public organizations is rooted in the public administration values of responsiveness and representation in democratic societies. Indeed, public agencies must strive to represent in their workforce a wide variety of citizens, as well as consider the plurality of values, concerns and voices of the larger population. Striving for a socially diverse workforce will help attain this mandate” (Ospina, 2001, p. 8).

However, it does not suffice for public services to merely represent their service population but workgroups shall work together effectively to achieve cultural competence in service delivery (Nybell & Gray, 2004). Otherwise, they compromise and undermine organizational legitimacy by offering low quality services (Foldy, 2003).

In any case, there is no doubt that 21st century (international) public organizations need to embrace diversity. According to Ospina (2001), there are both external and internal pressures for doing so, including legal and regulatory pressures, increasing complexity of work

operations in a globalized economy, emerging organizational and governance structures in the workplace, the changing nature of work, changes in labor market demographics, a diversifying client base, social pressures by groups, movements, or coalitions aiming to ensure more representation of diverse groups in the workplace, and employees themselves who have currently started fighting for their rights, reacting to discriminatory policies and procedures. Additionally, diversity in public organizations is among the reformatory practices fostered by New Public Management, along with reforms pertaining to modernization, democratization, decentralization, efficiency, equity, transparency, accountability, professionalism, meritocracy, and so on (Ospina, 2001; Rammata, 2011). Finally, public services and organizations often embrace diversity, because it increases their chances of being selected as potential employers or service providers by a broader pool, thanks to their diverse employees' external networks (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999).

Overall, public organizations are not yet fully successful in embracing diversity and power inequality on the basis of race is still in rise (Cho et al., 2017). In fact, although they recruit employees from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, they tend to be reluctant to promote them to higher levels in the organization (Cornwell & Kellough, 1994; Riccucci, 2002). On top of that, diversity in employees has lagged behind that of clients, proving that there are still steps to be taken until the composition of workforce mirrors client diversity (Mor Barak, 2010). In other words, public organizations have a long way to go until they manage to reap all of diversity's benefits (Ospina, 1996b). To do so, they have to turn into multicultural (as opposed to monolithic or plural) organizations, where "pluralism [is] an acculturation process, rather than [...] an end resulting from assimilation" (Mor Barak, 2010, p. 502).

CHAPTER 5

The Particularities of the Contemporary Greek Culture: Implications for Multicultural Team Performance

This chapter provides insight into the distinguishing features of the contemporary Greek culture in order to showcase the aspects of the Greek idiosyncrasy that could potentially affect the integrity and performance of multicultural teams in international work environments. Admittedly, although Greeks possess certain positive features, they still have a long way to go in order to achieve smooth integration in a multicultural team and contribute to its reaching its full potential. This, of course, has serious implications for the job to be delivered, as human capital is the driving force of any organization, confirming once again the great difficulty in successfully dealing with and managing diversity.

5.1. Greek Management and the Greek Manager

5.1.1. Incongruence between Organizational and National Cultural Values

In contemporary management studies, it is a well-maintained fact that “management and organization cannot be isolated from their particular cultural environment” (Myloni, Harzing, & Mirza, 2004, p. 5). More specifically, cultural assumptions and values are powerful enough to define the types of interactions, behaviors, and relationships among individuals (Myloni et al., 2004), since “[culture] determines the information that managers notice, interpret, and retain, and therefore leads to different ways of seeing the same event and to different approaches to problem resolution and solution” (Sparrow & Wu, 1998, p. 8) in work environments. This is further corroborated by Sagiv and Schwartz (2007), who state that organizational and individual values are influenced by one’s societal culture in a direct or indirect manner. Therefore, problematic managers and equivocal organizational decision-making processes can easily arise, since “national culture can impact on the culture of an organization by selecting and framing the particular sets of organizational values, behaviors, and norms that managers perceive as being consistent with their own basic assumptions that have been developed in their particular cultural context” (Myloni et al., 2004, pp. 5-6).

For this reason, no manager (including the Greek one) shall forget that certain national HRM practices cannot be transferred or applied to multicultural teams, as they are designed by one culture with the purpose of managing members of that particular culture, even in cases some are less culture-bound than others¹⁶ (Myloni et al. 2004). In other words, they are vulnerable to cultural differences (Laurent, 1986; Schneider, 1988) and, although meaningful and effective in one culture, they are often ineffective in another (Laurent, 1986). Indeed, according to Joiner (2001), the potential success of an organizational culture could be ineffective, dysfunctional, and jeopardized, as well as contribute to unfortunate outcomes in the workplace if the surrounding societal values are not taken into serious consideration. Even worse, “incongruence between managers’ national cultural values and organizational cultural values is likely to unfavorably impact on managers’ job-related stress, as well as on other important organizational outcome variables, such as managerial performance, absenteeism, and/or turnover” (Joiner, 2001, p. 229).

5.1.2. Managers’ Subjective Personality

It is beyond dispute that managers are humans too, thus their personality, values, and skills make up important variables in multicultural management (Bourantas & Papadakis, 1996). In other words, “the preferred culture of managers is a result of their personality and a large number of other variables connected with the organization in which they work, their family and other peer social groups, their education and other general societal factors” (Bourantas & Papalexandris, 1992, p. 8). Based on that, Giousmpasoglou (2011, p. 37) supports that “[a]ny individual might not embrace all attributes of national identity because of social dynamics and personality elements [and] [h]ow strong or weak one is in terms of national consciousness and identity depends on influence systems (positive or negative) projected and propagated by the nation and its people”. Similarly, Papalexandris (2008) points out in a rather literary way that various attitudes, values, and behaviors that form one’s personality and character are the result of a blending between ancient myths and modern reality. This blending gives rise to one’s subjective culture, that is, “the way persons perceive their social

¹⁶ ‘Convergence Hypothesis’ (or ‘Isomorphism’), that is, the perception that the best management practices can be applied everywhere, irrespective of national culture and environment, and in a homogenizing way, is lately losing ground, as culture and national differences do matter (Gooderham & Brewster, 2003). Instead, ‘Divergence Hypothesis’ is currently coming to the fore, supporting that organizational and managerial behaviors shall maintain their distinctiveness across cultures, as they do not hold universally (Adler & Bartholomew, 1996). For Giousmpasoglou (2014, p. 34), the more the interaction between management and a country’s context, the more success and confidence will be generated in management practices, which must be appropriate “to the prevailing local contingencies”, since “what works well in one country may be entirely inappropriate in another”.

environment” (Triandis, Vassiliou, & Nassiakou, 1968, p. 1). For this reason, individual attributes shall not be confused with normative national traits that characterize a whole people (Bozatzis, 1999), otherwise any attempt to conduct cultural research will prove inaccurate.

5.1.3. Managing ‘Extended Families’: Greece as an Embedded Culture

In Greece, one “must manage persons, not personnel” (Broome, 1996, p. 79). As Greeks emphasize the in-group¹⁷, in the sense that human relationships are more important than work, Greek managers shall always take care of their employees’ individual needs as well as show concern and sympathy for their personal problems in return for loyalty (Lyberaki & Paraskevopoulos, 2002; Lyrantzis, 2011). This is because Greeks face their managers as father figures who have the obligation to help (Broome, 1996). In particular, they support that the organization in which they belong to has such great influence on their well-being that it shall look after their needs as their family would (Kessapidou & Varsakelis, 2002).

To be productive and feel involved, Greeks need to see genuine human feelings in their managers. In fact, according to Broome (1996, pp. 105-106), managers should “worry more about the people than about the [job], because the people will take care of the [job only] if they feel involved”. Thus, it is important for Greek managers to develop and maintain personal relationships with other employees, both subordinates and compeers (Broome, 1996), which soon turn out to be reciprocal (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). This is what Sagiv and Schwartz (2007) call embedded cultures, meaning that employees are viewed as embedded in the collectivity/in-group. For Giousmpasoglou (2014, p. 16), “organizations located in societies high on embeddedness (i.e. Greece) are more likely to function as extended families, taking responsibility for their members in all domains of life; in return, it is expected from their members to identify with and work dutifully towards shared goals”. In other words, it is a matter of in-group solidarity and any deviation from the status quo (Yolles & Fink, 2013) can bring about social exclusion or even suspension from the group (Giousmpasoglou, 2014).

5.1.4. Managing Greeks: A Challenging Task

Being a Greek manager or a manager to Greeks is a hard task. Highly individualistic and fiercely independent (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1972; Papalexandris, 2008), Greeks do not like being controlled and dictated without explanations, despise orders, are not intimidated by

¹⁷ Also referred to as ‘contact unit’ by Friedl (1962).

status or hierarchy, are hard to cooperate with, and mistrust authority and superiors, who they believe they can outwit and defy (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). If a manager is aloof, arrogant, detached, conveys a feeling of superiority in how they speak or treat others, avoids face-to-face discussions over impersonal modes of communication, and does not maintain an open door, where employees can offer their ideas and input, Greeks will feel resentment, a wall will be built, motivation and involvement will plummet, and managers will never be treated as family, nor will they be introduced into any in-group (Broome, 1996). For Giousmpasoglou (2014, p. 17), “only the person/manager who can win approval, encourage teamwork, and be recognized as superior due to his or her qualities, skills, fairness, and integrity, can be characterized as a leader”.

In all cases, Greeks hate being imposed rules and receiving orders in impersonal, inhumane ways. Consequently, managers shall not be strict rule enforcers who generate and present rules and regulations in a restrictive manner if they want adherence and not spark rebellion. After all, Greeks defy every rule that seems to be limiting their personal freedom, especially if not involved in its creation (Broome, 1996).

5.1.5. Greece's Centralized Decision-Making System in Management

According to Cummings and Schmidt (1972), a typical Greek manager, although advocate of the democratic notion of participative management, tends to display disbelief in their subordinates' ability to lead, take initiatives, and participate meaningfully. In other words, they are accustomed to a more centralized decision-making system, which they often try to impose. This trend has been well established into the operation of public services but originates in the owner-centered nature of the small private family businesses in Greece, where the founder-owner, who is by definition the manager, imposes all personnel practices and treats employees according to their own subjective judgment, being highly individualistic, autocratic, and paternalistic (Stavroulakis, 2009). This is further corroborated by Georgas (1993, p. 109), who states that “the owner-manager makes all the decisions, is reluctant to delegate authority, controls all aspects, and is involved in all the day-to-day details of the employees”. This struggle for complete authority and control of all the details of an organization, however, leads to greater volume and complexity, rendering managers overwhelmed and leading to unproductive efforts, lack of organization, and wrong handling of information or other input variables. Therefore, it is imperative that Greek managers

realize and accept that organizations do not function the same way as extended families (Georgas, 1993).

5.1.6. Uncertainty Avoidance and Power Distance: Implications for Management in Greece

Cultural studies have shown that Greece scores very high in the dimension of uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1991). This result showcases a people that: **(1)** can only work under standard formalized operating procedures, laws, stiff rules, and regulations, **(2)** needs unambiguous managerial practices and instructions, and greater structuring of organizational activities, **(3)** embraces less risk-taking, individual initiative, and responsibility in the workplace, and **(4)** expresses intolerance towards unknown situations and deviant or unexpected ideas and behaviors, seeking orderliness and consistency (Hofstede, 1980).

Greece also scores high in the dimension of power distance, according to which people accept that inequality is justified and that employees shall show respect to their superiors, without seeking to get involved in decision-making processes (Hofstede, 1991). Interestingly, top management hesitates to delegate authority to subordinates for fear of losing power or being criticized for poor leadership skills, in which case even subordinates themselves are reconciled with this idea on the grounds that too much responsibility is prone to resulting in excessive stress, anxiety, confusion, and, consequently, low performance for both sides, due to a feeling of *efthynophobia* (*εϋθυνοφοβία*)¹⁸ that is central to the Greek uncertainty avoidance work reality (Cummings & Schmidt, 1972; Bourantas, Anagnostelis, & Mantes, 1990; Joiner, 2001). In other words, both sides feel at ease with this arrangement, which means that “[i]nvolvement in the decision-making process is not sought by subordinates nor encouraged by superiors” (Joiner, 2001, p. 232). In fact, low level managers would prefer a more non-consultative or decisive approach from their superiors, sticking to the certainty of leader directives, while superiors would not give up decision-making for the sake of greater equity, since they perceive it as rightly and exclusively belonging to them, maintaining, in this way, their relational power differential. Evidently, in this type of power-oriented culture, subordinates shall respect the dominance of their caring leader, seeking approval and guidance. This fact sets boundaries on their behavior and actions, keeping their discretion significantly low and them at a distance (Joiner, 2001). In other words, there is “less direct

¹⁸ *Efthynophobia*: fear of making key decisions; fear of accepting responsibility for decision consequences (Cummings & Schmidt, 1972; Bourantas et al., 1990; Joiner, 2001). *Efthynophobia* is a commonly used argument by Greek managers when trying to justify the lack of delegation of decision-making prerogatives to lower management (Bourantas et al., 1990).

communication between supervisor and employee and [...] the supervisor's opinion will be more important in [aspects such as] appraisal than that of the employee, peers, or subordinates...”, who may not participate at all (Myloni et al., 2004, p. 15).

High-power distance and such top-down approaches originate in the strong family bonds rooted in the Greek culture, where strict hierarchy in family entails that younger members are expected to show respect, high regard, and submission to the authority of the older ones as well as follow specific rules (Myloni et al., 2004). By that is clear that family has come to affect current organizational practices, including high centralization of decision-making and high formalization of procedures, which are aligned with the Greek sociocultural values of high-power distance and high uncertainty avoidance accordingly (Joiner, 2001).

However, there has recently been a significant will for change, moving away from the family-oriented management style. This is confirmed by Hofstede's (1980; 1991) research, which indicates that the leadership style mostly preferred by Greeks is the consultative (70%) vis-à-vis the participative (18%), the persuasive (12%), and the autocratic (0%) ones. In particular, not only do people prefer a more consultative leadership style in an autocratic and authoritative society but they have also started being more tolerant towards uncertainty and ambiguity. For example, they prefer non-structured or organized communication and their meetings are not planned in advance, have no set time and agenda, or have an open agenda (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). In this sense, Greece has currently turned into a high-context, polychronic culture¹⁹ (Hall & Hall, 1990). High-context cultures put relationships first (instead of business), value goodwill (instead of performance), trust the in-group (instead of emphasizing legal contracts), and are slow and ritualistic (instead of being fast and efficient) (Hodgets & Luthans, 2003). In fact:

“People from high-context cultures obtain information from personal information networks. Before such people make a decision or arrange a deal, they have become well-informed about the facts associated with it. They have discussed the matter with friends, colleagues, or even family members. They will have asked questions and listen to rumors or gossip” (Giousmpasoglou, 2014, p. 7).

5.1.7. Lacking Performance Orientation: Favoritism and Competition

Performance orientation does not generally characterize Greek management and individual performance is susceptible to being appraised on the basis of favoritism, stemming from

¹⁹ For more, see (5.3.4.1.) Greece as a Polychronic Culture

personal acquaintances, recommendations, or references from relatives and friends (Myloni, 2002). This owes to the fact that there are strong expectations and needs inside the in-group that need to be satisfied (Broome, 1996). Favoritism is particularly true when it comes to recruitment (Myloni, 2002) but it can also affect decisions such as removing or firing personnel (Makridakis, Caloghirou, Papagiannakis, & Trivellas, 1997). For example, it is very common for Greek managers to “forego due diligence, or equal employment opportunity, and to favor a close friend or family member in recruiting or in allocating rewards and promotions” (Giousmpasoglou, 2014, pp. 8-9) or hire an inefficient, unskilled relative through internal recruitment instead of a professional stranger for reasons of trust and loyalty. It can then be understood that favoritism, a practice at the heart of the Greek collectivist family culture, is heavily defined by the in-group/out-group differentiation (Makridakis et al., 1997). All of the above point to the conclusion that institutional channels (formal – the objective) are too complex and eventually avoided in favor of personal contacts and connections (informal – the subjective), a practice known as *meson* (μέσον) in the Greek culture, which technically involves “work[ing] through, around, or behind the system” in order to open doors (Broome, 1996, p. 101).

As Holden (1972, p. 86) states with a note of exaggeration, Greeks “expect everyone from the prime minister downwards to maintain an open door to them at all times...”. This existence of hierarchical clientelistic networks, often tainted by corruption, can probably explain the reason why Greeks demonstrate mistrust towards those who constantly seek to achieve their individual goals and reach high levels of success, especially when there are valid reasons to believe that they have been advanced thanks to their acquaintances (Myloni et al., 2004). This is called ‘tall poppy syndrome’, according to which Greeks dislike those who excel more than them, especially when their success leads to arrogance (Ashkanasy & Falkus, 1999), a feature common in mastery cultures, where people employ attitudes of self-assertion in order to attain individual goals and master, direct, or change the natural and social environment around them (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2007). As a result, it is very common for them to resort to acts of envy and ostracism in order to reduce others’ honor (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967). More specifically, due to their fierce and competitive social orientation and nature, and in order to satisfy their self-interest by seeing others being worse off, Greeks “compete with each other by grabbing onto their competitors to hold them back, thus keeping them from getting ahead” (Broome, 1996, p. 74). As a consequence, they initiate fights and quarrel with others rather easily, even in cases they are supposed to get along with them (Triandis et al.,

1968). In other words, Greeks “devote a lot of effort to harming their competitors rather than building up their own capabilities and resources” (Broome, 1996, p. 88).

The question is why. This is because Greeks face competition as a stimulation that keeps them alive. In fact, they believe that life without relational or interpersonal struggles is intolerable, since such struggles offer them personal and social satisfaction, as well as reinforce solidarity, cooperation, and allegiance to the in-group. In other words, what would definitely exhaust a Westerner, highly invigorates the Greek (Broome, 1996). However, this excessive competition explains the low productivity tradition in Greece. Although Greeks strive for achievements, they often refuse recognition to those performing well, thinking of themselves as victims of this lack of recognition and feeling betrayed by their organization or society in general (Papalexandris, Chalikias, & Panayotopoulou, 2002).

Overall, performance orientation is often neglected in the Greek organizational context, in which case Greek managers choose to value other characteristics instead, such as compliance and commitment (Stavroulakis, 2009). Indeed, focus on performance appraisal, improvement, excellence, and feedback does not characterize the Greek culture and features such as loyalty, belonging, tradition, family, and background are emphasized instead (Giousmpasoglou, 2011). In reality, just encouraging a Greek employee without overdoing it is deemed sufficient, since “[t]o motivate a Greek all it takes is a couple of bravos and you will see them run very fast...” (Broome, 1996, p. 87).

5.1.8. Time and Innovation in Greek Management

The relationship Greek managers have with time and innovation is an intricate one. Planning short-term without delaying gratification (hedonism) instead of being future-oriented, and being resistant to change and innovation on account of a generalized environmental insecurity and instability that strike the Greek culture are two features that can be attributed to a typical Greek manager (Stavroulakis, 2009), who avoids planning ahead but functions under a here-and-now attitude (Papalexandris et al., 2002). Indeed, Greek managers often improvise and function instinctively to the extent that there remains too little time and energy to devote to long-term organizational planning (Georgas, 1993). Unless imposed, future planning far in advance is mistrusted and avoided as being uncertain (Giousmpasoglou, 2011), although Greeks generally look into the future with hope (Papalexandris & Chalikias, 2002). For them, “[s]omething tangible must exist before anyone will have faith in its viability” (Broome,

1996, p. 90). As regards innovation, there tends to be a generalized resistance, mostly coming from the older generations (Georgas, 1993).

5.1.9. A Humanist Approach to Management

Admittedly, too much reliance on family bonds, central to the Greek culture, allows Greek managers to consider people from their work environment as belonging to their in-group more easily (Georgas, 1993). The in-group does not only entail membership to a small group composed of family members, relatives, and friends but it can also involve the organization one is employed in (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). When this is the case, Greek managers seek to build close emotional ties, harmonious relationships, and positive communication with their employees (Georgas, 1993). This humanist or people-oriented approach to management originates in the family in-group (in-group collectivism) and in the value of *philotimo* (*φιλότιμο*)²⁰, fostering a more personalized and convivial management style, based on duty and personal obligation (Giousmpasoglou, 2014).

Generally, humanist approaches to management emphasize: (1) personal equality within the hierarchy, where everyone has very specific places, duties, obligations, and rights, (2) belief in the acceptance of what fate will bring, including extreme vulnerability to sudden disaster of those who are successful, (3) particularism on the part of managers in case individual exceptions and needs arise, (4) outer-directedness and opportunism, (5) facing time as a short-term sequence (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 1994), and (6) change, flexibility, and adaptability (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). Of course, a humanist orientation on the part of Greek managers may also imply their effort to “eliminate antagonistic behavior” (Georgas, 1993, p. 122). For Georgas (1993, p. 121), this proves that “the relationships between managers and personnel are an extension of social ties within the community”.

5.2. The Particularities of the Contemporary Greek Culture

5.2.1. The Main Features of a Paradoxical Culture

The Greek culture is full of contradictions and paradoxes, hence Greeks are very hard to classify (Cummings & Schmidt, 1972; Hofstede, 1980; Broome, 1996). As Broome (1996, p. 61) states, “[p]ity him or admire him, if you want, [c]lassify him...if you can!”, which truly seems like a challenge posed. In particular, Greeks can at one time be intelligent, active,

²⁰ For definitions, see (5.3.6.) The Greek Value of *Philotimo* at Work

philotimoi, hot-blooded, and fighters of truth, and at another time arrogant, immethodical, prejudiced, fighters, and opponents of those who refuse to serve lies (Broome, 1996). Similarly, the Greek is characterized as “a paradoxical creature, untamed, curious, semi-good, semi-bad, one of uncertain dispositions, selfish, and wise-foolish” (Broome, 1996, p. 61). It is then clear that the Greek temperament is difficult to capture, thus describing the Greek culture can rarely be complete (Broome, 1996). On top of that, it is often the case that “there is no way you can out-Greek the Greeks” (Broome, 1996, p. 108).

Based on Mead’s (1955) and Friedl’s (1962) anthropological research, Greeks incline towards internal control or self-determination, as opposed to external control or fate, meaning that individuals shall do their best and use skill to cope with demanding situations, even in cases they cannot win against the forces of nature. More specifically, Greeks share an action/doing orientation, according to which one needs to work hard and struggle against nature in order to survive or improve their life (Broome, 1996). However, only a minority derives satisfaction from their job, since “it is for their family that they work so hard [...], [even in] undesirable jobs, if this means increased security for the family” (Broome, 1996, p. 82). In any case, Greeks put a lot of emphasis on the power of being and the ego-need of self-esteem (what they call *philotimo* – the love of honor), which they consider paramount and which entails cooperative and self-sacrificing behavior. They also foster individualism, which they consider prized and rampant, focusing more on struggling than giving up (Mead, 1955; Friedl, 1962). This is linked to the fact that Greece is a masculine culture, stressing security and status as a result of wealth (Hofstede, 1980). Consequently, Greeks tend to exaggerate status differences (Triandis et al., 1968) and emphasize material success, a high standard of living, progress, and the ability to lead a good life (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967). They are materialistic but material possessions are important to them only for the prestige they carry and not for their utilitarian value (Broome, 1996). In fact, “the emphasis tends to be placed on how much money they will make or how much status they will gain rather than on what they will ‘be’” (Broome, 1996, p. 81).

5.2.2. The Notion of Family: In-Group versus Out-Group

Key to the contemporary yet traditional Greek culture is the notion of family (Stavroulakis, 2009), which gives rise to the in-group/out-group distinction and face conflict, and the way Greeks relate to each other (Broome, 1996).

On the one hand, Greeks display good conduct such as extreme intimacy, nurturance, sympathy, commitment, loyalty, overprotection, anxiety, concern, help, support, trust, devotion, admiration, and cooperation towards those who belong to their in-group, namely relatives and close friends (the extended family), caring for their welfare and well-being in a highly competitive social world and especially in times of need. In fact, they are benevolent and if they do not help, advise, counsel, or feel sorry for their in-group, they will be considered as lacking love (Triandis et al., 1968). However, being impatient and easily critical of others, Greeks need to see sincerity, openness, and respect soon in order to introduce someone into their in-group (Broome, 1996), in which case they start behaving in a way that is “polite, virtuous, reliable, proud, truthful, generous, self-sacrificing, tactful, respectful, and grateful” (Triandis, 1972, p. 308).

On the other hand, they display lack of helpfulness, hostility, disregard, indifference, suspicion, mistrust, intense competition, or even intense animosity against those who belong to their out-group, since in low-trust societies people tend to be suspicious and easily fear or distrust (Triandis et al., 1968; Stavroulakis, 2009). For example, it is often the case that “families survive and prosper by striving against one another...” (Stavroulakis, 2009, p. 148), being hostile and destructive as well as initiating frequent disputes and complaints that eventually lead to fractionalism (Giannopoulos, 1975, as cited in Georgas, 1993).

Generally, Greeks display an appropriate behavior within the in-group, which shall be seen and felt by the out-group, so that their prestige is elevated in the latter’s eyes (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). In this sense, nothing shall bring shame or ridicule to the in-group in the context of competition, since “Greeks define their universe in terms of the triumphs of the in-group over the out-group”, by which they should in no case be outsmarted (Broome, 1996, p. 62). Based on that, they would even resort to concealment or deception against the out-group if this ensured the in-group’s dignity, self-respect, status, honor, and prestige (Broome, 1996).

According to the ‘GLOBE’ project, the Greek culture, which belongs to the South/East cluster (Koopman, Den Hartog, & Konrad, 1999), was found to be highly clan and individualistic, scoring low in institutional collectivism (including collective organizational or societal action) and in humane orientation (including generosity, concern, warmth, harmony, cooperation, and friendliness). On the other side, it scored high in assertiveness (including toughness, competitiveness, confrontation, and overt aggression) and in family

collectivism (including pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in human relationships), confirming once again the in-group/out-group differentiation (Papalexandris et al., 2002; Papalexandris & Panayotopoulou, 2004). For Triandis et al. (1986, as cited in Georgas, 1993, p. 118), family/collectivist societies only have few in-groups and are characterized by “unquestioned attachment, distrust of out-groups, perception that in-group norms are universally valid, automatic obedience to in-group authorities, [...] and unwillingness to cooperate with out-groups”. In fact, Giannopoulos (1975, as cited in Georgas, 1993) gives an impressive description of the in-group, stating that it is closed, highly suspicious of outsiders, with whom they bargain hard, collectively responsible, and guardians of personal honor. In-group members can be “judge[s], jur[ies], and punishers” (p. 118) of provocative outsiders and “self-interest, ambitions, and animosity” (p. 119) can deeply divide them. Generally, however, it is supported that upper classes are more tolerant of outsiders than lower classes typically are (Triandis et al., 1968).

Admittedly, family-centered management, a by-product of the in-group/out-group distinction that is deeply rooted into the Greek culture, could potentially lead to problems when it comes to Greece’s membership in European Union, which makes up an exclusively multicultural context (Georgas, 1993). Nonetheless, Georgas (1993) considers that, as time goes by, there will be less and less significance put on notions such as extended family and in-group, so Greek management and organizational mentality will start evolving and become more professional.

5.2.3. Greek Anti-Authoritarianism: Relation to Hierarchy and Authority

Greeks’ relation to hierarchy and authority is a complex phenomenon. On the one side, hierarchy is essential. More specifically, there is strong correlation between low trust and hierarchy in the sense that disputes between individuals of the same status can only be resolved with reference to a higher or centralized authority (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). Hence, hierarchy is imperative, since not all people can be relied upon to live and act ethically, so they shall be coerced by explicit rules and sanctions in order to comply and conform (Fukuyama, 1995). On the other side, authority is despised. As Triandis et al. (1968) support, Greece is characterized by high competitiveness, hostility, suspicion, and unusual or rather defensive responses to authority figures. More specifically, “[w]ithin the in-group, there is a warm acceptance of people with authority, and behavior is cooperative and given to self-sacrifice (the value of *philotimo*) [...] [but] there is a cold rejection of out-group authorities,

and behavior towards out-group people is suspicious, hostile, and extremely competitive” (Bourantas & Papadakis, 1996, p. 3). Triandis et al. (1968) further confirm that Greeks build friendships with, have a more positive affect and intimacy for, and submit to authority figures only from the in-group, who are characterized by superordination. Accordingly, they reject, defy, or ignore influence and pressure from out-group authority figures, who do not admit rejection and often resort to severe measures of punishment in order to enforce compliance and insubordination (Triandis et al., 1968). In other words:

“[I]n most cultures, a person with special skills or knowledge would be considered an authority figure. In Greece, unless he is an in-group member, that is, appears concerned, he is quite likely to be ignored. Thus, Greek anti-authoritarianism is characterized by acts of ignoring authority figures rather than by acting out against them” (Triandis et al., 1968, p. 28).

In Greece, not only do high-status persons show little respect for low-status persons but also vice versa, both not caring about status gaps. However, although Greeks avoid being involved with out-group authority figures, in cases they are forced to, they tend to show signs of subservience (Triandis et al., 1968). That is to say, “the in-group high-status person is fully accepted in Greece [...] [and] is extremely powerful, [while] [o]ut-group authority figures are disregarded [and] [o]nly when they control large negative reinforcements are their subordinates likely to comply” (Triandis et al., 1968, p. 31). It can then be realized that “Greek anti-authoritarianism is a by-product of the distinction between in-group and out-group” (Bourantas & Papadakis, 1996, p. 3) and is triggered by extreme competition, trying to reduce the status of those who are successful (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967), and, above all, the fact that Greeks are not intimidated by status or hierarchy (Broome, 1996). In fact:

“[Greeks] consider themselves as the most qualified, [as] [t]he basic anti-authoritarian response is to see the self as completely competent, and all others as incompetents, who are trying to usurp one's power. Thus, there is a tendency to award leadership to those who are mediocre, so that they will be unable to ‘rise too high’ and leave most men behind. When someone gets to the top, most people are likely to turn against him and find fault with him on every opportunity” (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967, p. 326).

5.2.4. Superiority Complex: The Glory of the Past

It is often claimed that Greeks suffer from a kind of superiority complex, which is due to the prestige of their ancient history and civilization. Hence, there tends to be a generalized desire for autonomy, because of “the low social status of being an employee”, which has been part of the Greek culture for many generations (Georgas, 1993, p. 114). Indeed, Greeks have

strong shared national identity and pride (Bozatzis, 1999; 2004), believing that this is what holds nations together (Smith & Jarkko, 1998), as well as a strong sense of themselves, which pertains to their language, religion, culture, and historical continuity (Broome, 1996). Similarly, according to Bozatzis (1999), Greeks have conceit by virtue of being Greeks, facing their ancestry as a source of pride. They believe that it is only their ideas that have merit, have a high opinion of themselves and a low of others, and their boasting can take the form of an “one-upmanship” (Broome, 1996, p. 122).

Greeks appreciate their nation’s problems and try to solve them, believe that their country fulfills its goals, and take personal pride and joy in its achievements. Also, they openly introduce themselves as Greeks to new acquaintances, encouraging them to face Greece in a positive light (Tajfel, 1979; Smith, 1996; Karkatsoulis, Michalopoulos, & Moustakatou, 2005). Based on that, Broome (1996) supports that Greeks are sensitive to criticism and, although they can harshly criticize other Greeks or the conditions prevailing in Greece, they become offended and defensive when foreigners criticize their country. This pride and sense of superiority make Greeks high in dogmatic intelligence, according to which they appear sophisticated in their interpersonal relations, although some may consider them sly and haughty (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967) or even offensive and egotistical, leading to the shunning of a conversation or the admonishment of the speaker (Broome, 1996). Indeed, Greeks can be viewed as being dogmatic in the sense that they always defend with high intellectual vigor that their way of doing things is always the best (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967).

The Greek pride, although associated with the notions of nationalism and patriotism, shall not be confused with them (Krause, 2012). However, there are many who believe that Greeks generally show little respect and tolerance for other cultures, inclining towards ethnocentrism (Eurobarometer, 69) or even prejudice and racism, even though they vigorously support the invalidity of this assumption (Broome, 1996). This automatically translates to bias and prejudice in favor of the in-group vis-à-vis the out-group (Triandis, 1994). Interestingly, an exception to this is the fact that Greeks face guests and tourists as members of their in-group, although they clearly are not. Admittedly, this owes to the customary tradition of the Greek age-long hospitality, sociability, openness, warmth, and humane disposition (Triandis et al., 1968).

5.2.5. Intimacy and Cultural Misunderstandings

Greece is a country with high levels of intimacy in its role perceptions, especially within the in-group, that stem from the family culture that characterizes it (Triandis et al., 1968). However, overt intimacy and constant attempts to be open and show interest have many times accused Greeks of being extravagant and lavish (Bozatzis, 1999) and of prying into other people's personal affairs (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967). For them, however, showing no interest in others makes individuals cold and aloof (Triandis et al., 1968).

Being social, gregarious, and fond of getting together makes up an anti-stress strategy for Greeks as well as a catharsis from their personal and professional problems (Bozatzis, 1999). In other words, companionship is an indication of concern for them, although others may see it as intrusion or infringement on one's need for private time. The subsequent inquisitiveness that comes with companionship is an attempt by Greeks to establish common ground with their interlocutor, since they do not associate privacy with personal freedom, thus appearing intrusive to someone unaccustomed to their intimate nature (Broome, 1996).

Interestingly, negative components such as arguing or complaining are also indications of intimacy in Greece. For Greeks, tension is not always hostile but can also be employed for fun, rendering debates and arguments positively connoted and productive ways of communication. Intimacy can then reveal valuable features that are shared among Greeks, who do not have the same behavioral restraints as other Europeans but are characterized by high impulsiveness in their reactions (Bozatzis, 1999). For instance, Greeks use strong words and violent gestures while speaking. They speak in a loud, combative, and hostile tone, facing daily life as a contest, where everything is taken seriously, very little goes unchallenged, but all is quickly forgotten (Broome, 1996). A case in point is yelling at a colleague during a conflict, which will soon be forgotten in the Greek context, whereas in other cultures raising your voice can even point to chronic, deep-rooted dispute (Bozatzis, 1999).²¹

Intimacy can give rise to various incidents of cultural misunderstandings. For instance, if someone hugs or kisses a Greek too early in their acquaintanceship, the Greek will feel strange, considering that this action is only appropriate for the in-group, their relationship still being too ripe for that. Similarly, Greeks will feel offended if someone they know for too

²¹ For more, see (5.2.6.) The Communication Style of Greeks

little does not invite them for dinner, which does not require so much intimacy in Greece²² but requires a high degree of it in some other cultures (Triandis et al., 1968).

By all accounts, affect and the significance of behaviors among cultures differ significantly. In other words, different behaviors are valued differently and are given different gravity among different nations, thus leading to cultural misunderstandings and mistakes. Therefore, members of two cultures can perceive the very same situation in very different terms owing to differences in their perception of social behavior (Triandis et al., 1968). For Triandis and Vassiliou (1967), working in a multicultural environment can turn out to be a highly frustrating experience, as the more misunderstandings, miscommunication, and unexpected behaviors take place, the more negative stereotypes will arise as a result of them.

5.2.6. The Communication Style of Greeks

Relevant to working in an international environment is the communication style shared by most Greeks, which is characterized by “contrapuntal virtuosity” and is “incisive, combative, [and] loud” (Lee, 1959, as cited in Broome, 1996, p. 71) as well as intense, engaging, and inquiring (Broome, 1996). In fact, a typical discussion among Greeks would sound like an argument to foreigners, like a battle of personal opinions, whereas this kind of vigorous speech only gives Greeks sheer enjoyment (Lee, 1959, as cited in Broome, 1996). In the Greek culture, even insults, challenges, and attacks are synonymous with conversing, and impassioned arguments do not ruin human relationships (Broome, 1996). For example, it is not uncommon to hear Greeks making monologues around a meeting table, each having their own opinion on every issue instead of conversing, due to their fierce and ragged individualism that causes them to “struggle to hold center stage and assert their personalities” (Broome, 1996, p. 72).

Owing to the high opinion they have of themselves, Greeks vigorously support that it is thanks to their own contribution that their organization is prosperous and “they would [even] be impudent enough to take on the role of an unsolicited adviser to the top manager” (Broome, 1996, p. 84). Actually, they believe they can do other people’s job better and, if managers are inexperienced or incompetent, Greeks will show neither understanding nor patience. Instead, they want their managers to be strong, decisive, and experts to be taken seriously (Broome, 1996). In particular, the general attitude in Greece is that seniority,

²² It is very common to be invited in by your Greek colleagues when working in a multicultural environment, since they do not share the rest Europeans’ formality and fixation with their privacy (Bozatzis, 1999).

training level, and experience shall be given more importance than individual performance (Stavroulakis, 2009). Based on that, research has found that Greeks score high in lofty avoidance of individuals on the basis of age and gender, both representing factors of “role differentiation in primitive societies” that restrain them from being seen as equalitarian (Linton, 1936, as cited in Triandis et al., 1968).

In any case, Greeks boast of their achievements and provide strong opinions and heated arguments to protect their personality and assert equality (compulsive egalitarians). For them, losing an argument on the basis of logic or facts would make them look weak and inferior, endangering their *philotimo* and self-esteem as well as prestige and reputation, which typically depend on others’ opinions (Broome, 1996). As a result, it is common for Greeks to “talk at each other rather than with each other” (Friedl, 1962, p. 83) and to face debating as a fulfilling pastime that “exercise[s] the tongue and provoke[s] the mind” (Gage, 1987, p. 30), since they constantly expect to challenge and to be challenged. More specifically, as volatile and unquenchably argumentative, Greeks always offer contrary opinions to everything, dispute points, and then make the same points as the ones they had disputed earlier, just to cite their own alternatives. For them, conversation builds personal relationships and social bonds that allow individuals to introduce others into their in-group, thus promoting trust and warmth. For this reason, verbal disputes are not seen as aberrations that affect human relationships negatively but as part and parcel of the Greek idiosyncrasy (Broome, 1996).

Additionally, although generally straight-forward and direct, Greeks can sometimes be elusive and resort to subtlety and delicate cues to communicate messages, especially in cases they want to “obtain some information that is not public, secure a favor, discourage some behavior, or discern the mood of others” (Broome, 1996, p. 124). In fact, they are curious about others but secretive about themselves, as well as experts in eliciting information by indirect means (Broome, 1996).

In low-performance societies like Greece, managers feel more comfortable using vague and indirect language to communicate with employees as well as avoid strong results-driven and explicit communication characterized by hard facts, expectations, commitments, or explicit results. In fact, internal communication between management and employees generally lags behind, as high-power distance cultures²³ entail that management will not only avoid using verbal, written, or electronic means to communicate with employees but will also discourage

²³ For more, see (5.1.6.) Uncertainty Avoidance and Power Distance: Implications for Management in Greece

them from directly communicating with senior management, will restrain team briefings, and will not inform them about financial or strategic issues, a situation that is currently starting to change (Papalexandris & Panayotopoulou, 2004).

5.3. Greeks in the Workplace

5.3.1. Stereotyping the Greek Colleague

Triandis and Vassiliou's (1967) research has indicated that Greeks consider themselves low in work effectiveness. Some stereotypes, mostly coming from American colleagues, reveal that Greeks are given an abundance of negative characterizations, namely unsystematic, unhelpful, lazy, indecisive, lackadaisical, inefficient, unproductive, naïve, indifferent, uncaring, selfish, arrogant, egotistic, dishonest, rude in their public manners²⁴, theoretical, suspicious, haughty, competitive, emotionally uncontrolled, rigid, and inflexible. Similarly, it is often claimed that they rarely meet their contract obligations to the letter, follow procedures approximately, are not concerned about the time to do a job, are inaccurate in estimating delivery of completed tasks, pry into others' personal affairs, give partially accurate information, give partial answers to questions, go after the fast money, and resist change in working conditions very stiffly. Ostensibly, then, Greeks seem to be embracing more traditional, poor, or even 'agrarian' work habits, according to which it is deemed unnecessary to be careful and precise (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967).

Nonetheless, Greeks disagree with most of these characterizations when it comes to autostereotypes, considering themselves as humane and easygoing colleagues instead (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967). Although they acknowledge that they have certain flaws in their personality that need to be corrected, they describe themselves as generous, unselfish, giving, non-possessive, kind, enthusiastic, curious, inclusive, energetic, and with a lot of vitality and unparalleled zest for life (Broome, 1996).

5.3.2. Greeks: 'Married' to their Jobs?

According to Stavroulakis (2009), Greeks represent the opposite of what has been referred to by Philipson (2002) as 'married' to their jobs, since Greeks do not generally consider their

²⁴ Bozatzis (1999) talked about a generalized lack of civility in Greece, whereby Greeks have been described as uncivilized or as lacking proper civil culture in their everyday lives and affairs. According to him, there is a "generalized rudeness and indifference towards one's fellow being [and] [w]alking in a central square of Athens entail[s] the danger of being pushed, shouted at, spat on..." (Bozatzis, 1999, p. 243).

job an integral part of their life. More specifically, they do not prioritize their job and they rarely bring it up while being with friends or family members, who they consider much more important (Broome, 1996). In fact, not only do they separate leisure from work but they also incline towards absenteeism, as opposed to presenteeism, according to which employees would even refuse to take their leave due to professional obligations back at work. Evidently, this owes to the fact that Greeks find other aspects of life as having greater value. For example, they favor free time and family life, thus giving them monetary incentives will not boost their performance. Instead, allowing them some extra time off work will be much more successful, as they will find ways to have a good time and recharge their batteries (Stavroulakis, 2009). Bozatzis (1999, p. 288) further corroborates that money is an incentive for Greeks only in cases they want to “squander their money” for life’s pleasures, contrary to other Europeans, who constantly seek further enrichment.

Interestingly, Greeks are more susceptible to faking health problems to claim a sick leave and accommodate their personal interests, although they recognize that this behavior is petty, blameworthy, and can put their name, national image, and reputation abroad at stake vis-à-vis the ‘European Others’ (Bozatzis, 1999). Indeed, as “cunning social actors”, they sometimes “manipulate circumstances for their personal benefit”, even if this means skipping their professional obligations, an attitude that highly orientalizes them in the eyes of the West and points to self-interestedness, indolence, underdeveloped work ethic, and lack of achievement motivation (Bozatzis, 1999, p. 250). As Greeks hold, ‘Greece is not Europe’ and ‘Athens is not Brussels’, acknowledging in this way their factual backwardness and distance that distinguish them from the rest of Europe and its occidental cultural perfection in terms of organization of services and standards. For Greeks, ‘Europe’ is an inference rich category they believe they are not accustomed to and do not deserve (Bozatzis, 1999). Bozatzis (1999), who conducted a series of interviews with Greeks working abroad, once had an interviewee revealing that there are various rumors and articles circulating in Brussels about the bad reputation of Greek employees working in the EU. According to his interviewee, “[Greek] employees in Brussels are engaged in self-interested behavior, by taking advantage of the flexible working conditions and by avoiding to fulfill the minimum obligations of their job, that is, to work for it on a regular basis” (Bozatzis, 1999, p. 246). Similarly, Broome (1996) shares the same opinion:

“Rarely do Greeks work overtime, during lunch, or through breaks. Efficiency is never a conscious end; one rarely hears someone tell another to hurry up and finish the project. It is common to hear the word *arpakola* [(αρπακόλλα)] [or *loufa* (λούφα)²⁵] used to describe the way someone works, meaning that he or she completes jobs in a slapdash, sloppy manner, because problems have been allowed to slide until something had to be done very quickly, leaving insufficient time for proper attention to how it is done or to the consequences of a hasty performance” (p. 94).

Another interviewee stated that Greek diplomats and those working in the European Commission care more about networking and trading impressions (in Greek: *πουλάω βιτρίνα*) than about their job (Bozatzis, 1999). Indeed, as Broome (1996, p. 126) holds, Greeks would eagerly “give of their time [...] [to] make important contacts”. They also carry the moral stigma of being lazy, probably because of the notorious Greek public sector, according to which they are said to be exhibiting laid-back behaviors and unwillingness to invest time, effort, and skills at work, causing annoyance to their foreign colleagues and counterparts, as “one’s avoidance to do [their] work consequently overloads a colleague’s lot” (Bozatzis, 1999, p. 249). Consequently, Greeks are often misunderstood, marginalized, and discriminated against in the European Commission, and the ones who insist on maintaining their ‘Greekness’ in thinking patterns face difficulties in fair treatment and career development (Bozatzis, 1999). This is what Bozatzis (1999, p. 282) calls “the persecution of Greekness”.

The bad image Greeks have acquired in the international public sector may also owe to politicians and, more specifically, to a listing of political and organizational problems and scandals over the years. Another possibility is mistaken external policy, according to which ministers usually have their personal clientele, meaning that, once they complete their term, there will be “personnel changes in the Greek delegation, [which can] result in poor political consultation and poor political performance on behalf of the Greek government ministers” (Bozatzis, 1999, p. 259). In other words, Greek politicians' self-interestedness can be considered accountable for the bad name burdening Greeks abroad (Bozatzis, 1999).

Contrary to the aforementioned beliefs, Greeks were found to be among the most hardworking employees in Europe according to Eurostat (2011). Their productivity remains high either because they try “to prove something” or because they have “this sense of responsibility” (Bozatzis, 1999, p. 261). Moreover, personal qualities such as ingenuity and individualism can be another reason (Bozatzis, 1999). Indeed, at the end of the day, many of

²⁵ *Loufa*: avoiding assignment of duties.

Bozatzis' (1999) interviewees came to the conclusion that Greeks are not the kind of people who would say 'Who cares?' (in Greek: *Δε βαριέσαι;*) but they actually work with zeal, enthusiasm, and expertise. Similarly, according to Bozatzis (1999), Greeks are the best Europeans when having proper education and decent income in Europe, because they do not carry so many complexes compared to other nations.

Overall, Greeks are truly hardworking when a situation requires it but they do not see hard work as an end in itself (Broome, 1996). In fact, "they can be extremely creative, ambitious, and hardworking when they work within a system that encourages and supports individual initiative" (Broome, 1996, p. 96). In other words, when somebody 'touches their *philotimo*' (in Greek: *τους χτυπά στο φιλότιμο*), Greeks will be motivated to put extra effort, as it is a matter of individual honor and national pride that fosters "a greater sense of loyalty and a sense of obligation to assist when circumstances require a special push" (Broome, 1996, p. 106).

5.3.3. Susceptibility to Job Turnover

There are reasons to believe that Greeks being seconded abroad are prone to job turnover out of emotional –family– reasons, thus rendering their decision to do so a risk. For example, Greeks would "refuse to relocate, since a high percentage owns a house, [and] they appear also reluctant to separate from the family" (Kathimerini – Files, 2006). Based on that, Greeks display a "continuing close dependence on relatives", since "[t]he most natural and secure support [is] found in the family [...], [who is] willing to help [...] [in case] [t]he isolated individual has to ally himself with some group" (Georgas, 1993, pp. 119-120). Therefore, it is rather uncommon for Greeks to uproot their whole family for the purpose of taking a better position abroad, as they feel greater loyalty to them than to their organization or career development (Broome, 1996).

On top of that, Greeks express high emotional attachment to their homeland too (Bozatzis, 1999). As Bozatzis (1999, p. 283) vividly compares, "Greeks have a different sort of bonding with their homeland, whereas you would never hear of a German weeping for leaving Germany". This does not, however, mean that they are extreme nationalists or that they refuse to accept a common European identity (Bozatzis, 1999).

5.3.4. Time Orientation

5.3.4.1. Greece as a Polychronic Culture

For Greeks, time orientation is a concept hard to grasp, since they are characterized by a generalized “disdain for time” (Broome, 1996, p. 70). In fact, Greeks “consider that the reality of events and opportunities is more important than adherence to what they perceive to be artificial constructs of planning, schedules, and appointments, [and] [t]ime is neither seen as a resource nor as an opportunity cost that equates to money” (Giousmpasoglou, 2014, p. 17). This makes Greece a polychronic culture, according to which matters can always be delayed or “settled for tomorrow” (Giousmpasoglou, 2014, p. 7), proving that Greeks have a more relaxed attitude towards punctuality and time, not being used to sticking to planned schedules (Giousmpasoglou, 2014).

Making plans is a constraint and a form of imposition on Greeks’ freedom, since they have a spontaneous and adventurous nature, rely on serendipity, and do not do things just because they were planned in advance, especially when not in the right mood (in Greek: *διάθεση* or *μεράκι*), since plans can always change in case of unexpected events (Broome, 1996). Indeed, Greeks consider that there is so much unexpectedness in life that it is almost impossible to stick to rigid, preset schedules and this “hour-by-hour or even day-by-day plan” gives them more frustration than fulfillment (Broome, 1996, p. 91). Therefore, it can be realized that Greeks neither prioritize nor function or think in a serial, linear manner. For example, it is not uncommon to see many people with different concerns in a manager’s office at the same time, a manager multitasking on many calls, or a manager working on different projects while simultaneously talking to secretaries and employees (Giousmpasoglou, 2014).

Overall, the passing of time in Greece is not viewed in relation to urgency or loss, since it is not that ‘every minute counts’, and Greece is a country “where a watch is worn for decoration” (Broome, 1996, p. 93). As a recapitulation, it can be inferred that Greeks deal with many things simultaneously, can be late for appointments, spend too much time socializing, can stand constant interruptions, function in an unplanned and opportunistic sequence, wait until the last minute to do things, have difficulty hitting project deadlines, and are not used to time schedules and punctuality (Broome, 1996). Moreover, they are indifferent towards saving time, since “the clock is not a master and the need to organize activities according to a strict schedule is distasteful” (Broome, 1996, p. 121).

5.3.4.2. Human Relationships versus Time

Greeks prioritize human relationships over time. In particular, their lives revolve more around social and personal considerations than around abstract and impersonal notions, such as time. In fact, Greeks sacrifice their routine in favor of human relationships and good company, because routines create distance between themselves and others, a fact that is likely to be detrimental (Broome, 1996). However, being strong emotional empire builders, Greeks are poorly organized planners as a result (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967), often neglecting work or falling behind with schedule (Broome, 1996).

There are multiple examples that illustrate the above situation. For instance, Greeks would be eagerly late for an appointment in case they had left a conversation with a beloved one in the middle, since they do not only value performance and business, as their Western counterparts do, but also human relationships and goodwill (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). Additionally, they would delay their day to pick up the phone if a family member was calling at work or they would take some time off work to comfort and advise a colleague on their personal issues. Finally, it would be very common for them to goof off and resort to storytelling, joking, or chatting idly in the workplace as a means of building positive relationships with others, since a positive atmosphere makes up the stimulation that will allow them to enjoy every minute and pass their time pleasantly with good company (Broome, 1996).

5.3.4.3. Time and Public Administration

It has already been mentioned that Greeks are emotional empire builders, prioritizing human relationships over time. Based on that, Bozatzis (1999) supports that Greeks' indifference towards time confers upon civil servants and public administration a more humane profile. He explains that, although Greece faces serious problems with the organization of its public administration, at least it remains uncontaminated by European modernity, securing a more humane portrayal, while the problem with administration in Europe is, in fact, its inhumane façade (Bozatzis, 1999). In other words, “the ‘humanity’ of [the] Greek disorganization [is counterposed] to the [scientific] ‘inhumanity’ of the European institutional organization” (Bozatzis, 1999, p. 265) in an attempt to “counterbalance criticisms or tacit acknowledgments of the disorganization of the Greek public sector” (p. 266).

The epilogue is that exposing monochronic and polychronic cultures together can lead to unforeseeable situations: either constant clash and disagreement or unexpected synergy, as

features of each complement the other (Morden, 1995). For Broome (1996), differences in the perception of time typically result in generalized frustration as well as irritation.

5.3.5. Coworker Conflict: is there Potential for Cooperation?

Coworker and role conflict are evidently reduced when Greeks know that there is high formalization of procedures, a fact that is linked to high uncertainty avoidance. In other words, Greek managers and employees need to know that there are standardized rules and procedures specifying who does what, so that stress and the possibility for coworker conflict in terms of distribution of roles and responsibilities are significantly reduced. On top of that, Greeks care a lot about being liked and accepted by their colleagues. For this reason, they feel secure to know that there are non-negotiable, impartial rules, policies, and procedures in place, because referring to them to correct or direct a coworker's deviating behavior will make them appear less stressed or personally involved, in the sense that it is not them but the rule dictating instead (Joiner, 2001).

In any case, evidence has shown that Greeks have been repeatedly accused of hostile, uncooperative, rude, and competitive attitudes in the workplace (Papalexandris & Chalikias, 2002). However, Papalexandris and Chalikias (2002) claim that they have started moving away from an adversarial stage towards a stage of peaceful coexistence with individualized employee relations. Yet, it is still hard for them to be smoothly integrated into groups within an organization, because they are highly individualistic, meaning that they value autonomy, self-interest, and individual freedom more than the collective group, as well as prefer being judged on the basis of their individual performance (Giousmpasoglou, 2011). Indeed, Greeks are characterized by witty self-centeredness, according to which they are more concerned about their individual careers than about public good (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967). This "individualism as insubordination" involves characteristics such as personal initiative, 'boiling blood', non-conformity to systems, flexibility, and authenticity of emotions, all comprising ideological trademarks of the occidental version of Greeks (Bozatzis, 1999, p. 235). However, where individualism is considered an occidental virtue, it can, at the same time, be perceived as an oriental flaw, that is, as self-interestedness. Therefore, whether Greeks are characterized by oriental self-interestedness or occidental individualism remains vague (Bozatzis, 1999).

Regarding Greeks' characterization as competitive, Triandis et al. (1968, p. 28) assert that “[e]xtreme competitiveness often results in defensive devaluation of the work activity itself, as though the individual places himself above the contest by spending little time, doing a poor job, and often not bothering with the completion of the job”. In fact, when Greeks compete, it is not a game, but rather “a deadly serious activity in which it is not enough to win, but it is also important to humiliate the opposition” (Triandis et al., 1968, p. 36). In other words, competition is associated with defeat, reinforcing Greeks' can-do attitude as well as their desire to become what they admire in others, that is, strong and winners (Giousmpasoglou, 2011).

The more Greeks compete with the out-group, the more they thank, praise, and appreciate the in-group (Triandis et al., 1968). That being the case, one would reasonably wonder: are Greeks cooperative after all and is it worth working with them in an international work environment? The truth is that Greeks face severe difficulties working together, mostly due to their individualistic and competitive drive and the fact that they are used to centralized, patriarchal management styles that restrict their potential for teamwork, although their nature is deeply participatory. Indeed, directive control from the top has made managers reluctant to assign responsibilities to workgroups out of fear of losing control, even though Greeks are eager to overcome their contentiousness under the appropriate circumstances and get involved in a team (Broome, 1996). Interestingly, Broome (1996, p. 84) shares his personal experience by citing: “I was told by a Greek manager that one Greek can do the work of ten Japanese, but ten Greeks can't do the work of one Japanese”. These words confirm how difficult it is for Greeks to find and establish balance in a team and as a team.

5.3.6. The Greek Value of *Philotimo* at Work

It has already been mentioned that Greeks are characterized by *philotimo*, translated in Greek as love of honor, a self-imposed code of conduct towards both the in-group and the self, based on trust, fairness, responsibility, and obligation (Broome, 1996). In fact, the whole Greek organizational culture is based on it, stressing duty, dignity, loyalty, self-esteem, and personal honor (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). As a result, *philotimo* helps overcome difficulties in the work environment as well as encourages cooperation between colleagues, in the sense that, if treated in the right way, that is, being respected, praised, and shown interest and concern for their personal issues, employees will voluntarily invest more than expected of them in order to satisfy their superiors, especially in times of need (Papalexandris, 2008). Of

course, employees will expect their managers to be responsive to their idiosyncratic needs and special favors or requests in return (Triandis et al., 1968).

The value of *philotimo* makes Greeks a highly committed workforce, for which no employee loyalty or retention schemes are necessary (Giousmpasoglou, 2011). It also shows that they perform better when working with members from their in-group compared to working with people from out-groups or alone (Triandis et al., 1968). This is because *philotimo* is stronger within the in-group as well as because Greeks “view feelings as a controlling factor, able to influence strongly one’s ability to perform and the quality of one’s performance” (Broome, 1996, p. 134). In fact, they face working with the in-group as a commitment and moral involvement, thus complying with and meeting the expectations of those belonging to it (Giousmpasoglou, 2011). However, this preference to only work with members from their in-group has many times accused Greeks of the mafia phenomenon (in Greek: κλίκα) (Bozatzis, 1999). Generally, the value of *philotimo* is so strong within the in-group that Greeks can sometimes resort to altering or disguising situations in order to make them look better or even tell others what they want to hear in order to please them. This makes them appear dissemblers to others, although they have no ill intent (Broome, 1996).

Philotimo shall not be confused with pride, which is linked to arrogance and is detested by Greeks. Instead, it is a value fostering and defending the in-group’s honor, prestige, and respect over the out-group. In case *philotimo* is offended, it can lead to intense competitiveness, struggle, and conflict devoid of feelings of guilt and remorse. Indeed, Greeks can become extremely uncooperative when their *philotimo* is offended, in which case they will take action to cause embarrassment or trouble (Broome, 1996). More specifically:

“Offense against one’s *philotimo* brings retaliation against the offender rather than feelings of self-criticism or self-blame. The avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, because it is a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. In the same vein, *philotimo* is not related to feelings of remorse or guilt, and it is not strongly tied to notions of ethical morality. If actions are taken in defense of *philotimo* that bring harm to out-group members, responsibility is not accepted for what occurs following the actions. If the demands of *philotimo* have been satisfied, the person taking action against others is entitled to reject any blame for subsequent misfortune” (Broome, 1996, p. 68).

5.3.7. From Irrationality to Creativity and Problem-Solving

According to Bozatzis (1999), ‘European Others’, although good at their jobs, lack the ingenuity and creativity of Greeks. This means that, in cases of problem-solving, they resort to specific, predetermined formulas in order to find solutions that, most of the times, are ineffective. On the contrary, Greeks find solutions more easily and quickly (Bozatzis, 1999). For Bozatzis (1999, p. 278), it is not a matter of superior intelligence, but rather the fact that Greeks’ mind “is rotating quicker”. Interestingly, there are situational and social factors for this (Bozatzis, 1999). Due to the irrationality and disorganization of the Greek public sector to which most civil servants have been exposed before being seconded abroad as well as because of the subsequent mentality of ‘there must always be another way or course of action to do the job’, Greeks’ ability to solve problems “is just a coping strategy, a normative side effect of their adaption to their social environment, and has nothing to do with the Greek genius...” (Bozatzis, 1999, p. 279). This is, of course, highly paradoxical, since ‘European Others’ get stuck with problems for days just because their occidental mind is rationally trained, while Greeks’ oriental mind is socially and irrationally trained to successfully deal with complex problems that call for unorthodox solutions (Bozatzis, 1999).

5.3.8. Difficulty Accepting Failure

Although Greeks are creative and thus good at problem-solving, they are unwilling to admit their personal incapability in cases solutions cannot be found, supporting that certain tasks are limited by the circumstances, thus being beyond human control. As a result, in order to camouflage their individual inadequacy and abdicate responsibility for failure when things get out of control, they often attribute their wrongdoings to external conditions, including fate, the situation, the facilities, or even the equipment at work, as a way to maintain their self-esteem and avoid the negative consequences of a potential failure. Based on that, it is not uncommon to hear Greeks shrugging off poor performance by saying ‘And what can we do?’ (in Greek: *Ε και τί να κάνουμε;*) when the work done is not satisfactory, because, in this way, they justify themselves that, at least, something was done and effort was put. Therefore, it is clear that Greeks do not know how to lose, thus having a hard time accepting failure and admitting their mistakes or personal incapability to others (Broome, 1996).

CHAPTER 6

Research

The present chapter comprises the research part of the study. It includes the aim of the study, the methodology, the analysis of the questionnaire used with its research hypotheses and questions (both closed-ended and open-ended), the results and their discussion per hypothesis posed, the contributions and practical implications, the limitations of the study, the recommendations for future research, and, finally, the writer's vision. Following this chapter, solid research conclusions will be drawn.

6.1. Aim of the Study

The main objective of the present study is to examine the dynamic process of Intercultural Human Resources Management with regards to the impact of the contemporary Greek culture on the performance of multicultural teams in the international public sector. The essence is to showcase the features of the contemporary Greek culture that could potentially affect (either positively or negatively) team performance when Greek civil personnel interact with other cultures in international work environments as well as discuss the implications of this cultural friction for group performance, examining the extent to which the Greek idiosyncrasy contributes to or restricts teamwork effectiveness. The study reaches specific conclusions based on the hypotheses posed and recommendations or ideas that could help overcome potential liabilities are provided.

6.2. Methodology

The questionnaire of the present study was created on the basis of the collected literature on the characteristics of the contemporary Greek culture in work environments that other researchers previously examined. It consists of 53 questions which, once extracted from the existing bibliography, were translated into Greek. Therefore, the questionnaire was distributed in Greek, since its respondents are Greek employees currently working or having worked in the international public sector. All 53 questions are based on an (1) to (5) Likert scale, with options corresponding to: (1) Not at all, (2) Little, (3) Somewhat, (4) Much, and (5) A great deal. Following these 53 closed-ended questions, there are 2 additional open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire, asking respondents to mention some positive

and some negative characteristics of the contemporary Greek culture that could potentially benefit or respectively hinder the performance of multicultural teams in international public environments. The 53 questions are classified under 20 hypotheses, so that concrete scientific conclusions can be reached. The hypotheses are not known to the respondents and all 53 questions are thematically mixed along the questionnaire, so as not to predispose the results and deter respondents from making biased choices.

The questionnaire was created with the aid of Google Forms. It consists of three parts. The first part is the introductory part, where some basic information about the research is provided, namely its title, objectives, duration of completion, criteria for participation²⁶, and details about GDPR. Also, it asks for the respondents' consent to participate in the scientific process, being over 18 years of age. The second part is about the respondents' demographic data, namely their gender, age, educational level, hierarchical level at work, years of experience, and type of work body. The third and last part of the questionnaire is dedicated to the 53 Likert scale questions, followed by the 2 open-ended questions without restriction as to the length of the answers given. All 55 questions are marked as obligatory. As a tool, Google Forms creates scales and pie charts with the results, which are automatically transferred into an Excel file, so their collection, classification, and discussion become easier processes. Both the results and their discussion were translated back into English, so that they can be displayed in the present paper, whose writing language is also English. The full questionnaire can be found in both languages in the Appendices at the end of this paper.

In total, 115 people took part in the research and completed the questionnaire, which remained open for almost a month, from 21/03/2022 to 19/04/2022, when it finally closed, followed by a note that it is no longer available, since the recording of the research data has already begun. The questionnaire was distributed neither in hard copy nor hand to hand, but electronically. More specifically, a link leading to it, followed by a short description, was sent via mass email and social media platforms to individuals being occupied in international public bodies. First, the questionnaire was shared with people from the writer's social circle, who are currently working or have worked in international organizations, NGOs, or the EU, prompting them to equally distribute it to their colleagues, where they meet the criteria for participation. Second, the questionnaire was sent via mass email to Greek embassies and

²⁶ The criteria were: (1) respondents should be of Greek origin in order to have formed their personality on the basis of the particularities of the contemporary Greek culture, and (2) respondents should be working or have worked –temporarily or permanently– in international public environments based in Greece or abroad and not in the private sector.

consulates around the world as well as to Greece's liaison offices and permanent representations/missions abroad. Email addresses were accessed on Greece's Ministry of Foreign Affairs official website. Additionally, a mass email was also sent to various international organizations and NGOs that occupy Greek employees worldwide as well as to many based or having subsidiaries in Greece (e.g. IOM, UNHCR, Amnesty International, etc.). Furthermore, academics teaching in the departments of International and European Studies in Greek universities (e.g. University of Macedonia, Panteion University, University of Piraeus) were contacted too. Professors were kindly encouraged to participate in the research in case they have been occupied in the international system during their professional career as well as forward the questionnaire to their acquaintances, so that possibilities for more respondents can be increased. Finally, the questionnaire was posted on two Facebook groups, that of the National School of Public Administration and that of University of Macedonia's International and European Studies alumni, addressing ex-students currently pursuing international careers.

Gaining a deeper insight into the demographic data, the 115 people who took part in the research are classified as follows:

- **Gender**: 75 women (65.2%) and 40 men (34.8%).
- **Age**: 38 people from 18 to 30 years old (33%), 34 people from 31 to 40 years old (29.6%), 16 people from 41 to 50 years old (13.9%), 21 people from 51 to 60 years old (18.3%) and, finally, 6 people from 60+ years old (5.2%).
- **Educational Level**: 1 person holds a High School Diploma (0.9%), 28 people hold a Bachelor's Degree (24.3%), 79 people hold a Master's Degree (68.7%) and, finally, 7 people hold a PhD (6.1%).
- **Hierarchical Level**: 10 people are Trainees (8.7%), 63 people are Employees (54.8%), 14 people are Project Managers (12.2%) and, finally, 28 people are Managers (32.2%).
- **Years of Experience**: 52 people have 0-5 years of experience (45.2%), 16 people have 6-10 years of experience (13.9%), 9 people have 11-15 years of experience (7.8%), 12 people have 16-20 years of experience (10.4%) and, finally, 26 people have 20+ years of experience (22.6%).

• **Type of Work Body:** 17 people work in International Organizations (14.8%), 20 people work in International NGOs (17.4%), 13 people work in EU Institutions/Services (11.3%), 30 people work in the Diplomatic Corps (26.1%), 10 people work in Greece’s Permanent Representations/Missions abroad (8.7%), 11 people work in Central Administration (Ministries) (9.6%), 1 person works in 2nd Degree Local Authorities (0.9%), 7 people work in Legal Entities Governed by Public Law (6.1%) and, finally, 6 people work in Organizations (5.2%).

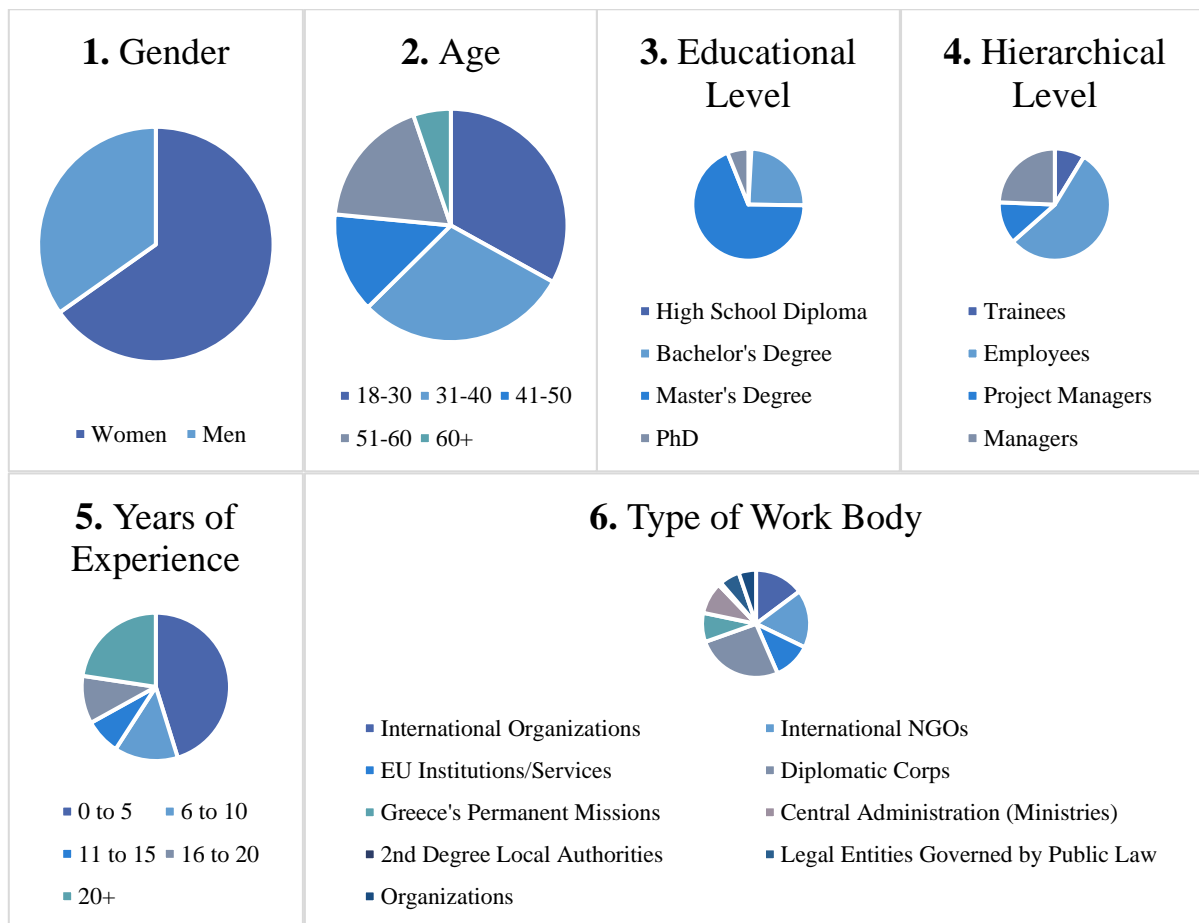


Figure 2: Respondents' Demographic Data

The next section is dedicated to the analysis of the questionnaire, where the research hypotheses and the questions employed to test them are clearly defined.

6.3. Analysis of the Questionnaire: Research Hypotheses and Questions

As it has already been mentioned, the content of this study’s questionnaire is based on the collected literature on the characteristics of the contemporary Greek culture in work environments and consists of 53 closed-ended + 2 open-ended questions. The 53 closed-

ended questions are further classified under 20 hypotheses, which are not known to the respondents of the questionnaire. These, along with the research questions that each one involves, are presented below.

- **Hypothesis 1: It is expected that Greeks face their organization as their extended family.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they desire their managers to have human feelings and personal relations with them, not only caring about job, and whether they expect their managers to take care of their individual needs and treat them with leniency and understanding in return for their loyalty.

- **Hypothesis 2: It is expected that Greeks feel insecurity under conditions of uncertainty.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they would like to be in positions of authority, taking initiatives and responsibilities in view of uncertain conditions, whether the existence of formal rules and directives from their superiors gives them a feeling of security, and whether they resist changes and innovation, preferring the current state of affairs.

- **Hypothesis 3: It is expected that Greeks respect hierarchy at their work.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they respect their superiors, showing them loyalty and obedience, and whether they recognize that low level employees should not get involved in decision-making processes, since this is the responsibility only of those high in hierarchy.

- **Hypothesis 4: It is expected that Greeks prefer being managed in a consultative rather than an autocratic style.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they want their managers to be taking their ideas and suggestions into account before reaching their final decision instead of commanding and managing on their own.

- **Hypothesis 5: It is expected that Greeks prefer setting short-term goals and focusing on the present.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they prefer focusing on ‘here’ and ‘now’ to setting long-terms goals, and whether they grab opportunities the moment they are presented to them, without delaying exploiting them, in order to satisfy their needs and desires.

- **Hypothesis 6: It is expected that Greeks only favor those belonging to their in-group.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they think they have the moral obligation to help those belonging to their in-group as much as they can out of loyalty and

honor, whether they trust or think they have the moral obligation to help those belonging to out-groups instead of competing with them or facing them with wariness, and whether they prefer working in teams only with people from their in-group than with people from out-groups under the pretext that it is only with them that they feel loyalty and moral responsibility.

- **Hypothesis 7**: It is expected that Greeks are a ‘masculine’ people. To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they struggle hard to achieve their goals, not simply waiting for what fate will throw at them, whether they put emphasis on money, status, and material goods, since these define their position in society and offer them prestige and security, and whether they work based on the satisfaction of moral goals and the collective good rather than on the basis of rewards.

- **Hypothesis 8**: It is expected that Greeks believe in and count on favoritism. To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they feel it is their moral obligation to favor and accommodate the interests of those belonging to their in-group, whether they would pursue to find a way of access through acquaintances to do their job more quickly when formal channels are complex and time-consuming, and whether they find it legitimate to have been favored by someone from within in order to be appointed at a high-ranking position.

- **Hypothesis 9**: It is expected that Greeks are not oriented towards performance. To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they think that an employee’s loyalty is more important than their performance.

- **Hypothesis 10**: It is expected that Greeks do not get along well with authority and have specific demands from it. To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they believe they can do their superiors’ job better, often defying them or guiding them with tips and suggestions, whether they accept authority when coming from someone who belongs to their in-group and cares about them rather than from someone who comes from out-groups and is arrogant, even if competent, whether they want their superiors to have an excellent knowledge of their field in order to take them seriously and respect them, and whether they believe that an older manager with many years of experience but mediocre current performance still remains more competent than a younger manager with few years of experience but excellent current performance.

● **Hypothesis 11**: It is expected that Greeks can be arrogant and ethnocentric owing to the prestige of their past. To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they feel that they automatically have a more superior way of thinking and are more competent than people from other nations owing to the prestige of the Greek ancestry and the glory of the ancient Greek history and civilization, and whether they get offended when people abroad criticize Greece.

● **Hypothesis 12**: It is expected that Greeks pursue intimacy in their work environment. To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they seek to build intimacy and good social relationships with their colleagues, believing that only if there are positive emotions among them can performance increase, and whether they are inquisitive towards their colleagues with the purpose of coming closer to them and not because they want to pry into their personal affairs.

● **Hypothesis 13**: It is expected that Greeks neither feel ‘married’ to their job nor have it as their priority. To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they would choose more free time to enjoy life’s pleasures and their loved ones over more money or professional enrichment, whether they would manipulate the circumstances to accommodate their personal interests at work, whether they are concerned about quality, precision, and effectiveness or just want to finish their job soon and go home, whether they would refuse to work overtime or sacrifice breaks and leaves for the sake of their professional obligations, and whether they care more about networking than doing their job.

● **Hypothesis 14**: It is expected that Greeks are susceptible to quitting their job for the sake of their family. To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they would quit their job to get back to their family out of loyalty, in case they were far away and missing them or in case there were problems.

● **Hypothesis 15**: It is expected that Greeks are a polychronic people. To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they think that human relationships are more important than work and time, whether they work and perform better while doing many things simultaneously (multitasking), whether they feel restricted when they have to meet deadlines and stick to strict preset schedules, and whether it is difficult for them to plan things out, waiting until the last minute to meet their obligations.

● **Hypothesis 16: It is expected that Greeks are extremely competitive and cooperation with them is a challenge.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they prefer working alone and being appraised on the basis of their individual performance, not wanting to share their individual achievements with others, whether they would immediately start a fight to defend their or their team's honor and reputation in case they got personally offended, whether they want their 'competitors' to be seeing their individual achievements or those of their team, often showing them off, whether they often question others, even if they agree with them, only to cite their own alternative opinion, whether they try to undermine those who are more successful than them, seeing the unfairness and competition that exist around them, and whether they get satisfied to a certain extent by seeing others not progressing or even failing.

● **Hypothesis 17: It is expected that Greeks are *philotimoi* at their work.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they feel the moral obligation to try harder and do more than they should for their managers without even being asked to when they treat them with respect and care about them, and whether they would modify a situation to make it seem better for those who belong to their in-group or tell them what they want to hear in order to please them.

● **Hypothesis 18: It is expected that Greeks are good at problem-solving owing to their creativity.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they insist on predetermined formal procedures and formulas to find solutions to complex problems or prefer being creative and improvising in search of alternative solutions.

● **Hypothesis 19: It is expected that Greeks do not know how to lose.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they have difficulty admitting their mistakes and failure, often attributing them to external factors to conceal their weaknesses, and whether they would put forward strong opinions to defend their position to the very end in case they were losing an argument in order not to look inferior and risk their honor and prestige.

● **Hypothesis 20: It is expected that Greeks are hard to communicate smoothly with.** To examine this hypothesis, respondents were asked whether they consider that competition and intense or combative conversations abase human relationships or lead to more constructive results, whether they are often elusive in their answers, using vague language to communicate messages, whether they find their reactions impulsive and without behavioral restraint during

intense conversations, and whether they emphasize non-verbal communication cues rather than just the words themselves while chatting with others.

After setting clear expectations, the next section is dedicated to the presentation of the research results as well as to their critical discussion and comparison with previous studies, leading to solid scientific conclusions and clarifying whether certain hypotheses are eventually corroborated or not.

6.4. Results and Discussion per Hypothesis

This section will thoroughly present the data of our research, followed by critical analysis and interpretation of the results for each separate hypothesis. To record our data, the average mark for each question is calculated using the following mathematical function:

$$\text{Average Fx} = \frac{1 * A + 2 * B + 3 * C + 4 * D + 5 * E}{\text{total number of responses}}$$

*A, B, C, D, E: The number of responses in each given option.

Example:

It is my desire that my managers have human feelings and personal relations with me, not only caring about job.					
	Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal
	1	2	3	4	5
Responses:	1 (0.9%)	7 (6.1%)	21 (18.3%)	46 (40%)	40 (34.8%)
Average Fx = $\frac{1*1+2*7+3*21+4*46+5*40}{115} = 4.01/5.00$ or 80.34% or “Much to A great deal”					

- **Hypothesis 1: “Greeks face their organization as their extended family”.**

Hypothesis 1 was examined based on two (2) questions:

1. It is my desire that my managers have human feelings and personal relations with me, not only caring about job.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
1 (0.9%)	7 (6.1%)	21 (18.3%)	46 (40%)	40 (34.8%)	4.01/5.00 or 80.34% or “Much to A great deal”

2. I expect my managers to take care of my individual needs and treat me with leniency and understanding in return for my loyalty.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
15 (13%)	21 (18.3%)	27 (23.5%)	38 (33%)	14 (12.2%)	3.13/5.00 or 62.60% or “Somewhat to Much”

• Average mark for hypothesis 1: **3.57/5.00 or 71.47% or “Somewhat to Much”**

With an average mark of 3.57/5.00, it can be stated that the first hypothesis is, more or less, confirmed. Therefore, Greeks tend to be facing the organization they work in as their extended family.

Family culture and tradition in Greece are evidently very strong until the present day. Greeks take it for granted that their family will always stand by them when they need it, having the obligation to assist in cases this is deemed necessary. Any behavior contrary to this belief will be regarded as ignorance or even betrayal. The thing is that Greeks, being used to these close ties full of intimacy, pure interest, and unconditional love, have similar expectations even from those who do not belong to their family in-group, not realizing that human relationships differ and that it is these differences that set limits on and define the extent to which an individual can provide for their surroundings based on their established interaction. For them, the line is rather blurred between family and social expectations, rendering Greece an embedded culture in all domains of life (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2007). As a result, with an average mark of 4.01/5.00, it is normal that the majority of our respondents clearly express an interest in their managers’ building more personalized relations with them.

Interestingly, however, opinions were divided as to whether Greeks would prefer being treated in a more lenient and sympathetic way by their managers, having their needs taken care of, although 1/3 (33%) of our respondents said that they would. This is so, since Greeks tend to be viewing their superiors as father figures (Broome, 1996) and fathers shall always be giving a helping hand in times of need without even being asked to. Other than that, both family and work have an instant effect on Greeks’ well-being, so, for them, both shall be looking after their needs to the greatest extent possible (Kessapidou & Varsakelis, 2002). In any case, though, the wide distribution of responses on our 5-point Likert scale may owe to the fact that, although Greeks expect their superiors to be close to them, they are too proud of and strict with themselves to fully accept more lenient attitudes, rather seeking objectivity

and fair treatment mixed with intimacy and closeness, a combination that is self-contradictory and thus not always feasible. In all cases, however, Greeks need to be shown concern, feel cared about, and get involved in order to be loyal (Lyberaki & Paraskevopoulos, 2002; Lyrantzis, 2011) and this is a reciprocal, give-and-take exchange (Giousmpasoglou, 2014).

Overall, it remains clear that with an average percentage of 71.47%, almost ¾ of our respondents would admittedly have specific demands from their managers in return for loyalty and devotion, and, subsequently, motivation and productivity. The sure thing is that, for Greeks, human relationships are definitely more important than work.

● **Hypothesis 2: “Greeks feel insecurity under conditions of uncertainty”.**

Hypothesis 2 was examined based on three (3) questions:

1. I would not like to be in positions of authority, since taking initiatives and responsibilities in view of uncertain conditions gives me stress.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
42 (36.5%)	36 (31.3%)	24 (20.9%)	10 (8.7%)	3 (2.6%)	2.09/5.00 or 41.91% or “Little to Somewhat”

2. The existence of formal rules and directives from my superiors gives me a feeling of security.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
3 (2.6%)	8 (7%)	23 (20%)	47 (40.9%)	34 (29.6%)	3.87/5.00 or 77.56% or “Somewhat to Much”

3. I resist changes and innovation and prefer the current state of affairs.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
52 (45.2%)	46 (40%)	15 (13%)	2 (1.7%)	0 (0%)	1.71/5.00 or 34.26% or “Not at all to Little”

● Average mark for hypothesis 2: **2.55/5.00 or 51.24% or “Little to Somewhat”**

Paradoxically, based on the average mark of 2.55/5.00, it can be inferred that Greeks are eventually a people not that high in uncertainty avoidance, as previous studies have indicated and as was expected.

Interestingly, based on Hofstede's insights²⁷, Greece displayed the ultimate score in uncertainty avoidance (100%), meaning that Greeks are a nation not comfortable towards uncertain or ambiguous situations, heavily relying on bureaucracy, laws, and rules to feel secure. Evidently, this is true to a high extent, if the score of 3.87/5.00 in the second question is taken into consideration. In other words, Greeks still need stiff rules and formalized procedures to function efficiently and effectively out of *efthynophobia* (avoidance of responsibility) and so as to avoid stress and anxiety which can put productivity and performance at risk. Yet, the important thing is that they have currently started changing towards being more of risk-takers than before. This is also confirmed by Hofstede's (1980; 1991) research, who found that a great majority of Greeks prefer their managers to be listening to their viewpoints before taking their final decision (consultative management style), which does not really project *efthynophobia* in contributing to the making of a potentially important decision.

In cases prospects of taking up positions of authority come to the surface, Greeks' relation to uncertainty changes. With a score of 2.09/5.00, Greeks state that they would not mind taking up positions of authority just because they normally entail being frequently faced with unknown or unpredicted situations. Admittedly, the higher the authority, the more the responsibilities and the ambiguous situations one is confronted with. Interestingly, though, Greeks tend to always pursue authority and managerial positions. This is something very common in the Greek culture and Greeks tend to even joke among each other, usually saying things like «*αυτός είναι μόνο για θέσεις διευθυντή*», literally translated as 'he is only destined for managerial positions'. Indeed, Greeks believe that being an employee confers a low social status to somebody, which has been part of the Greek culture for many generations (Georgas, 1993). As a result, on the altar of taking up positions of authority, Greeks would not really mind handling some additional responsibility and risk- or initiative-taking.

Moreover, during the last few years and midst a globalized world, people have no other choice but to adapt to change and embrace innovation. Greeks are among the first to have learnt how to cope with constant changes, taking into account the recent economic crisis that struck the country and brought about a generalized environmental instability and insecurity as well as numerous imbalances to some very core functions of public services (i.e. excessive cutbacks in funds, personnel, equipment, etc.). Not only this, but the advent of Covid-19 was

²⁷ For more, visit <https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country/greece/>

also a reality that had to be confronted, requiring resilience, adaptation, and, surely, receptiveness to innovation: people working remotely, services becoming digitized, colleagues learning to cooperate, and clients to be serviced by distance. Consequently, no matter how much Greek employees would seek orderliness and consistency even under such circumstances, this could not be the case, thus having no other option but adapt. This fact might have played a role in the results of our study, in the sense that, once familiarized with innovation, it sooner or later came to be considered as most of a helping hand than a threat among Greeks. Besides, as Georgas (1993) states, resistance to innovation tends to be coming mostly from the older generations of Greeks and, if one considers that almost 63% of our respondents are younger than 40 years old, results totally make sense. In particular, it is surprising to note that 45.2% (almost half) of our respondents selected (1) in the question about change and innovation while (5) received zero answers. Yet, this time, even the older generations, aged 41+, selected (1) and (2) as their most preferred options. With an average mark of 1.71/5.00, then, Greeks have definitely started feeling at ease with change and innovation regardless of their age.

Overall, opinions are divided. Based on the average percentage of 51.24%, it seems that Greeks have started embracing ambiguity, at least compared to the past. They still need rules and directives as a source of security but they also strive for independence in taking risks or initiatives, especially if in positions of authority. Indeed, as Giousmpasoglou (2014) similarly confirms, Greeks have now started being more tolerant of ambiguity, uncertainty, and lack of structure. Finally, regarding adaptation to change and innovation, they acknowledge that the world is constantly changing in rapid paces and those who refuse to keep up with it fail to go ahead.

• **Hypothesis 3: “Greeks respect hierarchy at their work”.**

Hypothesis 3 was examined based on two (2) questions:

1. I respect my superiors and show them loyalty and obedience.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
1 (0.9%)	0 (0%)	19 (16.5%)	63 (54.8%)	32 (27.8%)	4.05/5.00 or 81.73% or “Much to A great deal”

2. I recognize that low level employees should not get involved in decision-making processes, since this is the responsibility only of those high in hierarchy.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
41 (35.7%)	37 (32.2%)	19 (16.5%)	15 (13%)	3 (2.6%)	2.14/5.00 or 42.95% or "Little to Somewhat"

● Average mark for hypothesis 3: 3.09/5.00 or 62.34% or "Somewhat to Much"

The average mark of 3.09/5.00 and, more specifically, the first question, which is the main one in this hypothesis, with an average mark of 4.05/5.00, both showcase Greeks' general tendency to acknowledge and accept the existence of power differentials among the various levels on the hierarchical scale in their work environment.

Based on Hofstede's insights, it can be realized that Greece's score in power distance, that is, the acceptance on the part of employees that power is distributed unequally in an organization, is relatively high (60%), which confirms our average percentage of 62.34% to the letter. Admittedly, this shows that in almost four decades since Hofstede's research, Greeks' respect for authority has remained the same. More specifically, as a culture, Greece demands that hierarchical and societal levels be respected and kept distinct at all times, which can be clearly seen in some daily social interactions and involves respect for the elderly and parents, let alone for people who are par excellence high in authority, examples including managers or academics. Interestingly, Hofstede (1986) gives an example with Greek students and academics, according to which the former do not feel comfortable questioning their professors' authority, who they consider their 'gurus' in the teaching process.

However, although Greeks feel at ease sticking to the certainty of leader directives, they want these directives to be established cooperatively. In other words, although there is a general belief that authority shall be respected, Greeks do not want to be excluded from decision-making processes just because they are lower in hierarchy. They acknowledge that it is within managers' jurisdiction to have the final say but, before that, any decisions shall first be discussed among all members of the organization, since they potentially affect them to a great extent. Based on that, more than 2/3 of our respondents in question 2 support that low level employees shall definitely be informed about decisions or even take part in their making. This goes against Joiner's (2001) comment that there shall be boundaries on employees' behavior and actions and that their discretion shall remain low, being kept at a distance. At

the same time, it confirms Hofstede’s (1980; 1991) finding that Greeks prefer more consultative management approaches.

The most interesting finding would be to study what the 28 managers of our study replied to question 2. Gaining a deeper insight into the results, it can be found that of the 28 managers, 12 chose (1), 7 chose (2), 2 chose (3), 5 chose (4), and 2 chose (5) as their response. Of equal interest is the fact that this question received only 3 responses for option (5), 2 of which were selected by managers. Based on the distribution of the managers’ responses, it can be clearly understood that they have started being more tolerant towards sharing power with their employees. This goes against the assumptions that managers fear that sharing power will make them lose control or be criticized for poor leadership skills (Cummings & Schmidt, 1972; Bourantas et al., 1990; Joiner, 2001), that they struggle to maintain their relational power differential without caring about equity (Joiner, 2001), and that they pursue limited direct communication with their employees, often excluding them from participation in decision-making processes (Myloni et al., 2014).

Overall, Greeks respect hierarchy at work, but do not want to be taken advantage of because of the respect they show. For them, recognizing and accepting one’s power does not entail total exclusion from decision-making processes that concern them, hence hierarchy is indeed respected but only under certain conditions.

- **Hypothesis 4:** “Greeks prefer being managed in a consultative rather than an autocratic style”.

Hypothesis 4 was examined based on one (1) question:

1. I want my managers to be taking my ideas and suggestions into account before reaching their final decision instead of commanding and managing on their own.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
1 (0.9%)	2 (1.7%)	11 (9.6%)	27 (23.5%)	74 (64.3%)	4.48/5.00 or 89.73% or “Much to A great deal”

● Average mark for hypothesis 4: **4.48/5.00 or 89.73% or “Much to A great deal”**

This hypothesis comprises a mixture of hypotheses 2 and 3, which have to do with uncertainty avoidance and power distance respectively, but under the scope of employees’

participation in decision-making processes. With an average mark of 4.48/5.00, this hypothesis definitely expresses Greeks' preference for being managed consultatively.

In short, it was found that Greeks would not give up their will to participate in important decisions either because of stress of responsibility or because they have to show submission to authority. More specifically, it was stated that, although they prefer to be sticking to rules and directives, at the same time they do not feel reluctant to take part in the making of these rules and directives. Similarly, although they show respect for their superiors, this does not hold them back from having a say on things that concern them.

Overall, independent of their pursuit of a certain degree of certainty or their respect for superiors, Greeks need to feel involved "Much to A great deal" in management. Hofstede's (1991) research has already revealed that 70% of his respondents would prefer a consultative management style and, in 2022, this score has increased even more, taking the average percentage of this hypothesis (89.73%) into account. This expresses Greeks' tendency to start resisting to what the norm is in autocratic and authoritative societies, that is, total submission.

● **Hypothesis 5: "Greeks prefer setting short-term goals and focusing on the present".**

Hypothesis 5 was examined based on two (2) questions:

1. I prefer focusing on 'here' and 'now' to setting long-term goals.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
14 (12.2%)	33 (28.7%)	49 (42.6%)	11 (9.6%)	8 (7%)	2.70/5.00 or 54.08% or "Little to Somewhat"

2. I grab opportunities the moment they are presented to me and do not delay exploiting them to satisfy my needs and desires.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
6 (5.2%)	25 (21.7%)	31 (27%)	38 (33%)	15 (13%)	3.26/5.00 or 65.39% or "Somewhat to Much"

● Average mark for hypothesis 5: **2.98/5.00 or 59.73% or "Little to Somewhat"**

With an average mark of 2.98/5.00, Greece inclines towards being considered a long-term oriented society, one which tends to be taking necessary actions in preparation for the future

and one which delays gratification of present needs, being characterized by persistence and perseverance, focusing, in this way, on long-term goals instead. At the same time, long-term oriented societies are more adaptive and flexible towards change, something that also confirms part of hypothesis 2 above.

As was hypothesis 2 contrary to Hofstede's (1991) results regarding uncertainty avoidance in terms of change, so is this one, since change and long-term orientation are deeply interconnected. Hofstede (1991) found that, with an intermediate score of 45, Greece displays no clear preference on the orientation scale, only slightly inclining towards being considered short-term oriented. Similarly, the average percentage of 59.73% could also be considered an intermediate score, but even so, the results of the present study now incline towards placing Greece on the long-term orientation point of the scale, contrary to Hofstede's (1991), Georgas' (1993), Papalexandris et al.'s (2002), Stavroulakis' (2009), and Giousmpasoglou's (2011) findings, who talked about the short-term oriented nature of the Greek culture. Interestingly, most of our respondents (42.6%) were somehow divided in question 1, since (3) was their most preferred option.

Accordingly, this hypothesis can be linked to Hofstede's (2010) newest dimension, that of indulgence versus restraint, which is also deeply interconnected with long-term versus short-term orientation. This dimension refers to the extent people in a society value satisfaction of human needs and desires or prefer to curb them, withholding pleasure, in order to align more with societal norms. In this case, Hofstede (2010) found that, with an intermediate score of 50, Greeks do not display any clear preference between the two. However, based on question 2 of the present hypothesis, it is observed that, with an average mark of 3.26/5.00, Greece seems to be an indulgent society and people are prone to grabbing opportunities the moment they appear to them. This is further corroborated by Stavroulakis (2009) when talking about the typical Greek manager.

Overall, since Greeks have currently started being more receptive towards change, they have also started being more long-term oriented as a result, since short-term oriented cultures value sticking to tradition. At the same time, however, Greeks do not delay gratification of their needs (hedonism), which is normally characteristic of short-term oriented cultures. Consequently, it can be clear that the Greek culture combines elements of both, which is also evident from the intermediate score of the hypothesis (59.73%). To put it clearly, although it is a culture that has started caring more about the future, moving away from attachment to the

present and the past, in cases chances appear in the present, they will most probably be exploited. This owes to the fact that it is present opportunities that will equip Greeks for the future they have started to embrace and build for, so they are eagerly used as supplies in the quest for a better and more secure future. Besides, as Papalexandris and Chalikias (2002) state, Greeks have started looking into the future with hope.

● **Hypothesis 6: “Greeks only favor those belonging to their in-group”.**

Hypothesis 6 was examined based on three (3) questions:

1. I have the moral obligation to help those belonging to my in-group as much as I can out of loyalty and honor.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
0 (0%)	3 (2.6%)	21 (18.3%)	46 (40%)	45 (39.1%)	4.15/5.00 or 83.13% or “Much to A great deal”

2. I neither trust nor have the moral obligation to help those belonging to out-groups and tend to compete with them or face them with wariness.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
47 (40.9%)	43 (37.4%)	16 (13.9%)	8 (7%)	1 (0.9%)	1.89/5.00 or 37.91% or “Not at all to Little”

3. I prefer working in teams only with people from my in-group than with people from out-groups, since it is only with them that I feel loyalty and moral responsibility.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
36 (31.3%)	33 (28.7%)	29 (25.2%)	14 (12.2%)	3 (2.6%)	2.26/5.00 or 45.21% or “Little to Somewhat”

● Average mark for hypothesis 6: **2.76/5.00 or 55.41% or “Little to Somewhat”**

The above hypothesis is dual. On the one hand, it expresses the fact that Greeks are only committed to their in-group. On the other hand, it automatically denotes that they keep their distance from those belonging to out-groups, mostly out of competition and mistrust. With an average mark of 2.76/5.00 and after looking at the results of the questions separately, it can be realized that only the first part of the hypothesis stands valid.

As was expected from question 1, a great majority of our respondents (more than 80%) stated that they would definitely help those belonging to their close social circle. This confirms the existing bibliography in the sense that, for their in-group, Greeks would be benevolent and eagerly self-sacrifice and help in times of need, expressing feelings such as trust, sympathy, and devotion. Similarly, Hofstede (1991) has shown that with a score of 35, Greeks are considered collectivists for their in-group, where altruism and prioritization of group cohesion over individual pursuits is the norm.

However, our study reveals some impressive results about the supposedly intense suspicion Greeks have against out-groups. Based on the results and, more specifically, on question 2, almost 4/5 of our respondents selected **(1)** and **(2)** as their most preferred options, according to which they do not seem to be showing mistrust or competition against out-groups, neither are they indifferent towards helping or approaching them. Similarly, and with an average mark of 2.26/5.00, the third question reveals Greeks' intent to actually cooperate with out-groups as part of their job and that, evidently, it is not only their in-group they feel attached to but they would willingly give opportunities to and open doors with colleagues coming from out-groups. The results are indeed unexpected, taking into account the fact that Greece is considered to be a low-trust, highly clan, and individualistic –towards the out-group– society, in which people easily fear or mistrust those they are not familiar with, usually competing with them or facing them with hostility (Triandis et al., 1968; Stavroulakis, 2009). In addition, although Greece generally displays low scores in institutional collectivism and humane orientation, this can be highly refuted, since results in questions 2 and 3 show that Greeks actually seem to be pursuing collective organizational action and are eager to establish relationships or ties with those they do not know well. This, of course, goes contrary to Triandis et al.'s (1968) assumption that Greeks are unwilling to cooperate with out-groups, since almost 3/5 of our respondents would, in fact, be willing to do so.

Why the results have changed so much compared to previous studies will be interpreted below. Firstly, Triandis et al. (1968) have stated that upper classes are more tolerant of 'outsiders'. Taking the respondents of our study into consideration and, more specifically, the fact that they come from professional backgrounds such as diplomacy, the EU, permanent missions, ministries, and various international –governmental or non-governmental– organizations, and the fact that almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of them have pursued postgraduate studies, it can be assumed that they fall under Triandis et al.'s definition of 'upper class' with a hyperbole in phrasing. Secondly, the majority of the studies cited in the bibliography have not been

updated for decades, thus now being considered rather obsolete, coming from eras ('60s–'90s) when Greece was extremely conservative as well as confronted with various geopolitical imbalances that rendered it highly suspicious of outsiders. Therefore, the older the study, the more imprecise its results, since the world is constantly changing, and so are cultures as a result.

Overall, Georgas (1993) was prophetic when he said that, as the times goes by, Greeks will start evolving into being more professional, putting less and less significance on the in-group/out-group differentiation. This is apparent from our results, since the fact that Greeks are still attached to their in-group (4.15/5.00) due to the strong family culture that characterizes their country does not necessarily mean that they reject the possibility of accepting people they do not know well as members of their team, let alone refusing to help and cooperate with them or, even worse, showing hostility against them (2.07/5.00 – the average mark of questions 2 and 3).

● **Hypothesis 7: “Greeks are a ‘masculine’ people”.**

Hypothesis 7 was examined based on three (3) questions:

1. I struggle hard to achieve my goals and do not simply wait for what fate will throw at me.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
0 (0%)	1 (0.9%)	15 (13%)	37 (32.2%)	62 (53.9%)	4.39/5.00 or 87.82% or “Much to A great deal”

2. I put emphasis on money, status, and material goods, since they define my position in society and offer me prestige and security.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
36 (31.3%)	34 (29.6%)	27 (23.5%)	15 (13%)	3 (2.6%)	2.26/5.00 or 45.21% or “Little to Somewhat”

3. I work based on the satisfaction of moral goals and the collective good rather than on the basis of rewards.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
6 (5.2%)	22 (19.1%)	43 (37.4%)	28 (24.3%)	16 (13.9%)	3.22/5.00 or 64.52% or “Somewhat to Much”

- Average mark for hypothesis 7: **3.32/5.00 or 66.51% or “Somewhat to Much”**

*Question 3 was not included in the calculation of the average mark of the present hypothesis, since it was intentionally added to examine the contrary aspect to it ('feminine' culture).

In a masculine society, individuals fight hard for achievement and success, since they want to be the best. Also, material gains, money, progress, symbols, and status deeply define one's social value and standing. According to Hofstede's insights, with a score of 57, Greece is closer to the masculine point on the masculinity/femininity scale. This finding is similar to the average percentage of our hypothesis (66.51%), expressing Greeks' persistence and tendency to be struggling hard in order to achieve their goals and succeed in life.

Based on the first two questions, two aspects of masculine societies were examined. First, whether people struggle hard to achieve their goals without giving up and, second, whether they go after money, status, and material possessions for reasons of prestige. Surprisingly, although the first question was confirmed with an average mark of 4.39/5.00, the same does not hold true for the second question (2.26/5.00), hence the relative confirmation of the whole hypothesis with an average mark of 3.22/5.00. Evidently, Greeks do not believe that nature is stronger than them or that fate has the power to define their life. On the contrary, they are self-determined and believe in their internal control, in the sense that it is only them who are responsible for their life, so they need to fight hard to achieve their goals and reach success (Mead, 1955; Friedl, 1962). This is observed in Greeks' professional life, since most of them tend to display a lust for professional upgrowth and promotion from very early on, trying their best to reach this goal. For instance, there is a general tendency among Greeks to go after certificates that will give them extra credit points, called *moria* (μόρια), in open competitions, so that their chances of promotion or recruitment in the public sector are increased. Thus, as a general rule, Greeks never stay idle when a chance to be more successful comes their way.

However, it seems that Greeks have somehow stopped putting so much emphasis on money, status, and material gains, besides their urge for success. This finding is rather unexpected. Generally, people in Greece tend to brag about their acquaintances, because when somebody knows people who are successful, wealthy, or socially respected, they can too be regarded as such, borrowing some of their glory. It is not uncommon to listen to conversations among Greeks competing on who knows the biggest network of successful people or people with a high standing in and influence on society. Similarly, there is a generalized belief in Greece

that young people should follow careers on the basis of the prestige they carry or the money they offer, since this will add to the prestige of the whole family. It is clear, then, that such tendencies do not represent a culture that does not care about money and status. Nonetheless, and with an average mark of 2.26/5.00, it currently seems that Greeks have started putting more emphasis on the satisfaction of moral goals and the collective good than on their individual interests.

Based on that, and with an average mark of 3.22/5.00, it is pretty clear that Greece has started embracing some features of feminine societies, in which people value relationships and quality of life more than materialistic possessions and status. More specifically, although almost $\frac{1}{4}$ of our respondents replied that they would prefer rewards instead of offering to the collective good, the rest tend to be supportive of the opposite. That being said, Greeks have started putting more emphasis on satisfying moral goals and the collective good in order to improve the quality of life overall, being altruistic and *philotimo*, technically supporting that status can be pretentious and money or material gains transient. In fact, money is an incentive for Greeks only in cases they want to squander it for life's pleasures (Bozatzis, 1999). Thus, Triandis and Vassiliou's (1967) assumption that Greeks are so self-centered that they care more about their individual careers than about public good does not seem to hold true.

Overall, questions 1 and 2, with an average mark of 3.32/5.00, point to the assumption that Greece is a masculine culture, whereas question 3, with an average mark of 3.22/5.00, indicates that it is a feminine one. As a result, Greece combines elements of both: although people strive very hard for success and achievement, they do not necessarily do it for the money or status it brings with it. In fact, even though they are success-driven and -oriented, they also have a notable desire to help the collective, since they gain moral satisfaction out of it, supporting that when the collective's needs are accommodated, quality of life in society is getting improved overall. Of course, the questionnaire was completed by international public servants of Greek origin, so the score in the third question is such, since these employees' main duty is and should be to represent the collective good anyway. This may be the reason why the average mark of 3.22/5.00 in the third question is higher than expected.

● **Hypothesis 8: “Greeks believe in and count on favoritism”.**

Hypothesis 8 was examined based on three (3) questions:

1. I feel it is my moral obligation to favor and accommodate the interests of those belonging to my in-group.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
2 (1.7%)	12 (10.4%)	29 (25.2%)	46 (40%)	26 (22.6%)	3.71/5.00 or 74.26% or “Somewhat to Much”

2. When formal channels are complex and time-consuming, I pursue to find a way of access through acquaintances to do my job more quickly.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
21 (18.3%)	35 (30.4%)	29 (25.2%)	18 (15.7%)	12 (10.4%)	2.69/5.00 or 53.91% or “Little to Somewhat”

3. I find it legitimate to have been favored by someone from within in order to be appointed at a high-ranking position.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
55 (47.8%)	30 (26.1%)	21 (18.3%)	6 (5.2%)	3 (2.6%)	1.88/5.00 or 37.73% or “Not at all to Little”

● Average mark for hypothesis 8: **2.76/5.00 or 55.30% or “Little to Somewhat”**

With an average mark of 2.76/5.00, it becomes clear that Greeks have started moving away from the culture of favoritism and acquaintances (in Greek: *meson/μέσον*) that used to be deeply rooted and prevalent in Greek society.

However, there arises the following paradox: looking at the scores in questions 1 and 3, one can observe that, although Greeks see it as their moral obligation to favor those belonging to their in-group over others (3.71/5.00), at the same time they do not consider it legitimate when seeing this happening with others, them not being the recipients of the favor (1.88/5.00). In fact, almost half of our respondents (47.8%) state that such actions shall not be supported at all, choosing option (1), which represents a rather high percentage of individuals condemning favoritism. These results may owe to the fact that Greeks themselves have started feeling fed up with the lack of meritocracy that was the norm during the past few years, having people being favored to get in certain positions from backdoor channels, especially during election periods. However, thanks to New Public Management and its

principles of transparency and accountability, meritocracy has come to be considered the norm, with audits being held in a country previously immersed in *miza* (μίζα – illegal commission given to intermediaries to ‘push things’), *meson* or *visma* (μέσον or βύσμα – employment of acquaintances), and *rousfeti* (ρουσφέτι – bribing), notions that many researchers have very interestingly analyzed (i.e. Broome, 1996). For this reason, Greeks have developed a lust for more and more qualifications, actually spending a lot of money on theirs and their children’s education, knowing that things nowadays have started to change and that it is only the best ones who will move forward midst a highly competitive society. Therefore, they find it highly unfair when somebody struggles to get into a high-ranking position only to find out that it has been filled by somebody who was appointed informally and non-institutionally, that is, behind the system, thanks to their personal contacts, especially in cases they are unskilled or do not match the job description in terms of qualifications. Based on that, Myloni et al. (2004) state that Greeks display mistrust towards those who are successful, taking it for granted that they have somehow been favored to be where they are.

However, the Greek value of *philotimo* is a trait that restrains Greeks from putting this thinking into action when it comes to their in-group. In particular, Greeks’ moral obligation to assist their loved ones is so deeply rooted into their idiosyncrasy that they cannot help indulging into foregoing due diligence and equal employment opportunity to favor those they value the most. This is, of course, very common in family-oriented, collectivist, clientelistic cultures like Greece, which are heavily reliant on satisfying the strong expectations created and imposed by the in-group.

As for the second question about employing acquaintances (*meson*) to get things done, it is interesting to note that most Greeks recognize the fact that it shall be condemned for the sake of making society more meritocratic, something that stems from the moderate mark of 2.69/5.00. However, only 1/6 of the respondents selected (1) as their most preferred option, the majority choosing options (2) and (3), showing that they are divided and that in case it was necessary, they would most probably resort to this action to open doors, regardless of them finding it immoral.

Overall, although the average mark of this hypothesis is moderate (2.76/5.00), expressing Greeks’ gradual dissociation from the phenomenon of favoritism, it can be realized, based on the distribution of responses, that they have not entirely managed to get rid of this mentality up until now. Sitting at a dinner table with Greeks, one will often hear about this uncle who

settled (in Greek: *βόλεψε*) his nephew or niece in some good position in the public sector thanks to their personal connections or, at least, their intention to do so.

● **Hypothesis 9: “Greeks are not oriented towards performance”.**

Hypothesis 9 was examined based on one (1) question:

1. An employee’s loyalty is more important than their performance.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
7 (6.1%)	23 (20%)	43 (37.4%)	30 (26.1%)	12 (10.4%)	3.14/5.00 or 62.95% or “Somewhat to Much”

● Average mark for hypothesis 9: **3.14/5.00 or 62.95% or “Somewhat to Much”**

In a family-oriented culture like Greece, it is expected that people incline towards considering loyalty more important than individual performance (3.14/5.00). With a moderate percentage of 62.95%, it is true that Greeks still regard loyalty as more important but seemingly without being fully indifferent towards their performance output.

The aforementioned finding can be linked to favoritism. Greeks’ tendency to be favoring their in-group is so deeply rooted that they would even favor somebody who is unskilled if they were members of it. This is because, although they recognize that good performance needs to be safeguarded, their will to guarantee the necessary loyalty and trust that, most of the times, can only be found within the in-group is stronger (Makridakis et al., 1997). Also, Greeks are known to be valuing human relationships and affect more than work outputs anyway. Interestingly, both Stavroulakis (2009) and Giousmpasoglou (2011) confirm that it is not performance, excellence, or improvement that are given priority among Greek managers and employees but rather characteristics such as compliance, commitment, loyalty, and belonging. For the most part, this is still true, thus confirming our hypothesis. However, almost ¼ of our respondents had a different opinion.

Overall, the average mark of this hypothesis (3.14/5.00) points to the realization that Greeks still emphasize loyalty more than performance but without necessarily ignoring its importance for themselves and their organization.

- **Hypothesis 10:** “Greeks do not get along well with authority and have specific demands from it”.

Hypothesis 10 was examined based on four (4) questions:

1. I believe I can do my superiors’ job better, to a point where I very often defy them or guide them with tips and suggestions.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
27 (23.5%)	37 (32.2%)	38 (33%)	13 (11.3%)	0 (0%)	2.32/5.00 or 46.43% or “Little to Somewhat”

2. I accept authority when coming from someone who belongs to my in-group and cares about me rather than from someone who comes from out-groups and is arrogant, even if competent.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
20 (17.4%)	31 (27%)	34 (29.6%)	20 (17.4%)	10 (8.7%)	2.73/5.00 or 54.60% or “Little to Somewhat”

3. I want my superiors to have an excellent knowledge of their field in order for me to take them seriously and respect them.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
5 (4.3%)	12 (10.4%)	28 (24.3%)	39 (33.9%)	31 (27%)	3.68/5.00 or 73.73% or “Somewhat to Much”

4. An older manager with many years of experience but mediocre current performance still remains more competent than a younger manager with few years of experience but excellent current performance.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
56 (48.7%)	22 (19.1%)	22 (19.1%)	11 (9.6%)	4 (3.5%)	2.00/5.00 or 40% or “Little”

• Average mark for hypothesis 10: **2.68/5.00 or 53.69% or “Little to Somewhat”**

It is generally believed that Greeks tend to object to authority due to a generalized culture of despising being shadowed by others. Admittedly, a highly competitive culture like Greece often displays suspicion and rather defensive responses to authority figures (Triandis et al., 1968), since Greeks face themselves as completely competent and all others as incompetents (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967). This may be linked to the assumption that Greeks face being an employee as conferring low social status to somebody (Georgas, 1993). However, with an average mark of 2.68/5.00, the hypothesis is only partially true. More specifically, by looking at the first question, one can understand that Greeks are not that much characterized by an

anti-authoritarian attitude, because if they were, they would try to underestimate their superiors' capabilities in every opportunity, something that does not seem to be the case. Thus, the average mark of 2.32/5.00 in the first question reveals that Greeks tend to trust their superiors, respect their position, and do not try to reduce their status in order to usurp some of their power. Besides, respect for authority was also proved to be the case in hypothesis 3 above.

At this point, three demands Greeks have from authority are summarized. First, Greeks recognize only the authority of those coming from their in-group. Second, Greeks require that their superiors are experts in their field. Finally, Greeks put much emphasis on seniority, in the sense that, in order to accept and respect authority, one has to have years of work experience and, thus, be one of the oldest employees at work. With reference to these demands, Greeks seem to be pursuing only the second: indeed, in order to feel secure and take them seriously, Greeks need their managers to be experts. This is further linked to hypothesis 2, where it was found that Greeks feel more secure to know that they can count on their managers' directives for support in times of need. Thus, with an average mark of 3.68/5.00, almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of our respondents stated that managerial expertise is imperative to them. This further confirms Broome's (1996) assumption that Greeks want their managers to be decisive, capable, and knowledgeable, otherwise they do not show them the respective understanding or patience.

Regarding Greeks' tendency to be accepting authority only when it comes from members of their in-group, this does not seem to hold true. This finding was rather expected, if hypothesis 6 about the in-group/out-group distinction is taken into account, where it was found that, after all, Greeks do not only favor those coming from their in-group. This goes against Triandis et al.'s (1968) and Bourantas' (1996) findings, who state that Greeks ignore authority when coming from out-group figures, only showing respect and submission to in-group ones. In other words, it can be understood from the average mark of 2.73/5.00 that Greeks' anti-authoritarianism is eventually not a by-product of the distinction between the in-group and the out-group, as Bourantas (1996) supports. Rather, it is skills and expertise that count, as was confirmed in question 3.

Finally, regarding question 4 on seniority, it was expected that Greeks would value it more than individual performance. Besides, as was seen in question 3, Greeks seek expertise in their managers and this only comes after years of work experience. However, almost half of

our respondents (48.7%) were absolute in their belief that seniority shall not matter and that young people should also be given chances when they perform high. Thus, it currently seems that Greeks have started getting away from the culture of accepting people based on ageism, which comprises a new form of organizational racism. An interesting fact would be to gain a deeper insight into the results and study the age groups of those selecting (4) or (5) as their most preferred options to question 4 on seniority. The results are not surprising: options (4) and (5) had 15 responses in total, 11 of which were given by older people. More specifically, 4 people were aged 41-50, 6 people were aged 51-60, and 1 person was aged 60+. Evidently, the older generations still value seniority more, probably because they are currently passing from this stage. This confirms Stavroulakis' (2009) study and also makes Linton's (1936, as cited in Triandis et al., 1968) critique very relevant, according to which Greeks' high score in lofty avoidance of individuals on the basis of age makes them non-equalitarian but rather 'primitive' in terms of role differentiation. As a result, the average mark of 2.00/5.00 shall be read with caution and under certain conditions: although young people are against viewing seniority as a criterion of value, older people, probably because of their efforts all these years, find it totally reasonable to be considered more competent than younger employees on the basis of experience rather than on the basis of individual performance.

Overall, Greeks' relationship to authority is one of acceptance and respect. Of the three demands mentioned above, the only one Greeks have is for their managers to be experts in their field, so that they can win their respect and devotion. Other than that, Greek employees are eager to welcome authority coming from out-group authority figures as well as encourage, accept, and cooperate smoothly with managers who are not necessarily older in age.

- **Hypothesis 11:** "Greeks can be arrogant and ethnocentric owing to the prestige of their past".

Hypothesis 11 was examined based on two (2) questions:

1. Owing to the prestige of the Greek ancestry and the glory of the ancient Greek history and civilization, I automatically feel that I have a more superior way of thinking and am more competent than people from other nations.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
96 (83.5%)	11 (9.6%)	5 (4.3%)	2 (1.7%)	1 (0.9%)	1.26/5.00 or 25.39% or "Not at all to Little"

2. I get offended when people abroad criticize my country.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
28 (24.3%)	23 (20%)	26 (22.6%)	19 (16.5%)	19 (16.5%)	2.80/5.00 or 56.17% or “Little to Somewhat”

● Average mark for hypothesis 11: 2.03/5.00 or 40.78% or “Little to Somewhat”

According to the existing literature, Greece is presented as a country supposedly high in ethnocentrism, showing little respect and tolerance for other cultures (Eurobarometer, 69). Other researchers claim that, although Greeks are characterized by pride for their country, this shall not be confused with notions such as extreme nationalism or patriotism (Krause, 2012). Indeed, based on the results of the present study, Greece shall not be characterized as an ethnocentric culture anymore. In fact, with an average mark of 2.03/5.00, Greeks have currently started being more receptive towards cultural differences.

It is a generally held view that Greeks suffer from a kind of superiority complex owing to the prestige of their past and that they have conceit by virtue of being Greeks due to their ancestry, which they face as a source of pride (Broome, 1996). As a consequence, they have often been criticized for dogmatic and haughty attitudes. With an average mark of 1.26/5.00, the respondents of our study have a completely different opinion. This may owe to the fact that these people are par excellence working in international public environments, where cultural mixing is the norm, so the responses come from individuals working for a system that recognizes no borders. Therefore, taking into account the fact that all of our respondents have consciously chosen to work in such a context and are highly educated and experienced, it would be absurd to receive responses inclining towards racist or ethnocentric attitudes. Not only this, but midst an era of globalization and having been exposed to the multiple repercussions of the refugee crisis that struck Greece during the past few years, people have started being more sensitized regarding human rights, making the majority of Greeks realize that there is no such distinction as ‘us’ being superior to or against ‘them’. Thankfully, more than 4/5 (83.5%) of our respondents oppose to the hypothesis of them believing to be superior to others on the basis of their glorious past or even their European participation.

As for Greeks’ tolerance towards criticism, it seems that our respondents were divided on the issue. This is clear both from the average mark of 2.80/5.00 in question 2 and from the

leveled distribution of responses among the options. Based on Broome (1996), Greeks were found to be sensitive to and defensive against criticism on matters that are related to their country. The aforementioned finding cannot be completely refuted judging from the way responses were distributed, yet the average mark is not as high as expected and only inclines towards “Somewhat”. That being said, Greeks seem to have the rationale to acknowledge their imperfections and, where criticism is valid, to accept it rather than try to disprove it with intensity or high vigor.

Overall, with an average mark of 2.03/5.00, Greeks are not ethnocentric nor do they believe that they have more merit by virtue of their origin. However, when triggered by unfair criticism abroad, they may feel insulted to a certain extent and take action to protect their honor.

● **Hypothesis 12: “Greeks pursue intimacy in their work environment”.**

Hypothesis 12 was examined based on two (2) questions:

1. I seek to build intimacy and good social relationships with my colleagues, as only if there are positive emotions among us can performance increase.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
1 (0.9%)	7 (6.1%)	19 (16.5%)	50 (43.5%)	38 (33%)	4.01/5.00 or 80.34% or “Much to A great deal”

2. I am inquisitive towards my colleagues in order to come closer to them and not because I want to pry into their personal affairs.					
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	Average Fx
1	2	3	4	5	
15 (13%)	16 (13.9%)	30 (26.1%)	37 (32.2%)	17 (14.8%)	3.21/5.00 or 64.34% or “Somewhat to Much”

● Average mark for hypothesis 12: **3.61/5.00 or 72.34% or “Somewhat to Much”**

With an average mark of 3.61/5.00, Greeks incline towards pursuing intimate relationships with their colleagues, a result which was rather expected judging from their extroverted nature as a general rule.

According to the first question, more than ¾ of our respondents chose (4) and (5) as their most preferred options, proving that Greeks cannot perform properly if there is lack of

intimacy and positive affect in their work environment (4.01/5.00). This also proves their extroverted nature as well as their innate need to socialize with those around them. In fact, they face socializing and building positive relationships with their colleagues as ‘unwritten law’, since both constitute a form of catharsis and an anti-stress strategy from their problems. This excess extroversion, however, can render Greeks rather extravagant and lavish in the eyes of people from cultures not accustomed to such open attitudes (Bozatzis, 1999).

Accordingly, Greeks express this intimacy in the form of inquisitiveness, which is the positive side of curiosity. In fact, with an average mark of 3.21/5.00, it seems that most Greeks tend to be approaching their colleagues by initiating discussions that may look like interviews. They do this because, in this way, they feel that they come closer to them, that they show concern and interest in the other person, and that they break the ice by establishing common ground. However, this attitude has many times accused Greeks of being intrusive, prying into others’ personal affairs and not respecting personal space (Broome, 1996). This can, of course, lead to multiple incidents of cultural misunderstanding, in the sense that, the fact that Greeks perceive intimacy as something that has to be established soon does not mean that people from other cultures shall feel the need to establish it as fast as Greeks require. This realization may be a possible deterrent why a respectable minority of our respondents chose (1) and (2) as their most preferred options, concluding that, although they would like to establish good relationships with their colleagues, they would rather not cross the line and start asking questions about personal matters. After all, some people perceive their work environment solely as a place they come to do their job at and not to make friends, supporting that excess inquisitiveness makes up a precondition for neither good collegial relationships nor higher performance.

Overall, Greeks prefer being considered curious rather than cold and aloof (Triandis et al., 1968). For them, indifference is even worse and being a loner comprises a form of self-exclusion. Thus, inquisitiveness seems to be a means to overcome their fear of potential organizational isolation.

- **Hypothesis 13:** “Greeks neither feel ‘married’ to their job nor have it as their priority”.

Hypothesis 13 was examined based on five (5) questions:

1. If I had to choose, I would choose more free time to enjoy life’s pleasures and my loved ones over more money or professional enrichment.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
3 (2.6%)	12 (10.4%)	46 (40%)	32 (27.8%)	22 (19.1%)	3.50/5.00 or 70.08% or “Somewhat to Much”

2. I would manipulate the circumstances to accommodate my personal interests (e.g. I would fake a health problem to claim a sick leave).					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
67 (58.3%)	25 (21.7%)	12 (10.4%)	6 (5.2%)	5 (4.3%)	1.75/5.00 or 35.13% or “Not at all to Little”

3. I am not concerned about quality, precision, and effectiveness, and I just want to finish my job soon and go home.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
79 (68.7%)	26 (22.6%)	7 (6.1%)	3 (2.6%)	0 (0%)	1.42/5.00 or 28.52% or “Not at all to Little”

4. I refuse to work overtime or sacrifice breaks and leaves for the sake of my professional obligations.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
41 (35.7%)	33 (28.7%)	25 (21.7%)	12 (10.4%)	4 (3.5%)	2.17/5.00 or 43.47% or “Little to Somewhat”

5. I care more about networking than doing my job.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
66 (57.4%)	31 (27%)	14 (12.2%)	2 (1.7%)	2 (1.7%)	1.63/5.00 or 32.69% or “Not at all to Little”

● Average mark for hypothesis 13: **2.09/5.00 or 41.97% or “Little to Somewhat”**

The average mark of 2.09/5.00 highly disproves the widespread rumors that burden Greeks abroad, namely that they avoid fulfilling the minimum obligations of their job, being self-interested, lazy, and laid-back. The present results optimistically reverse this unfair

‘persecution’ of Greeks as well as the bad name they have acquired in international public work environments.

To start with, the only statement that can be confirmed is Greeks’ will to cherish life. With an average mark of 3.50/5.00 in the first question, it seems that, indeed, Greeks do not consider their job as an integral part of their life. However, this does not mean that they are not right towards it when they need be. This owes to the fact that Greeks put greater value on their personal life and free time, having a “delight in life lived fully” (Broome, 1996, p. 70). This finding further corroborates Broome’s (1996), Bozatzis’ (1999), and Stavroulakis’ (2009) research. But then again, the fact that Greeks are ‘lovers of life’, prioritizing their personal life over their professional one, does not make them less productive or hardworking. Actually, and as Broome (1996) mentions, Greeks are very hardworking but they simply do not see hard work as an end in itself. This is further confirmed by Eurostat (2011), which classifies Greeks as one of the most hardworking people in the EU.

Questions 2 to 5 present really low scores. More specifically, 58.3% of our respondents would not manipulate the circumstances to accommodate their personal interests by resorting to petty actions, such as pretending to be sick. Thankfully, this disproves Bozatzis’ (1999) assumption that Greeks are indolent, lack achievement motivation, and have an underdeveloped work ethic. After all, Bozatzis’ research was conducted in 1999, and as many years have elapsed since then, it seems that Greeks have started acknowledging their backwardness compared to the rest of Europe, having a high will for that to change. In other words, they seem to have realized the need to ‘occidentalize’ their once ‘oriental’ attitude that had numerous times placed them midst a barrage of unpleasant criticism during the past few years.

Greeks also disprove some more characteristics that have been unfairly conferred upon them over the years, namely these of *loufa* and *arpakola*, indicating employees who tend to shirk and work in sloppy or hasty ways respectively. With an average mark of 1.42/5.00, Greeks state that they approach their tasks with precision and punctuality, being true professionals. Surprisingly, not even one of our respondents selected (5) as their most preferred option in question 3, while almost 2/3 of them chose (1). Although slightly higher but still low is Greeks’ score in question 4, regarding working overtime or sacrificing breaks and leaves. With an average mark of 2.17/5.00, Greeks showcase a loyal attitude towards their job, according to which they would rather prioritize it over other things in cases of need or

emergency back at work. Even Bozatzis' (1999) interviewees came to admit that, at the end of the day, Greeks are not the ones who would very easily say 'Who cares?' (in Greek: *Δε βαριέσαι;*), working with zeal and enthusiasm to complete their tasks instead. For this reason, exceptions to this shall not be generalized and condemn or stigmatize a whole nation for allegedly being lazy. Finally, Greeks do not seem to care much about networking. They seem to have realized that they are working in the international public sphere to serve a very specific cause and that this cause should outweigh their desire to build connections. Thus, with an average mark of 1.63/5.00 in question 5, it appears that Greeks are not concerned about trading impressions after all.

Overall, it seems that Greeks have been unfairly stereotyped when it comes to commenting on their work ethic but stereotypes shall be neither generalized, nor perpetuated. They have somehow acquired the image of the laid-back employees that are unconcerned about and indifferent towards their responsibilities. Admittedly, the present hypothesis proves that this is not the case. Especially in cases Greeks work within a system that 'touches their *philotimo*' (in Greek: *τους χτυπά στο φιλότιμο*), they see it as their moral obligation to offer an extra push in order for the job to be completed successfully. Consequently, it is not wise to confuse the older generations with the new ones or take it for granted that some obsolete work habits and attitudes have necessarily passed on to the next generations. On the contrary, Greeks have currently taken steps to professionalize themselves. Indicatively, an important step was the foundation of the National School of Public Administration in 1983, which aims at developing an interdisciplinary background of knowledge and principles among its students with regards to modern public policy and management within the operating framework of the European, economic, and monetary union. In any case, it is not certain whether 'married' to their jobs would be the right characterization for Greeks but the sure thing is that they have definitely turned into worthy employees and colleagues, at least compared to the past. Therefore, any desire to 'persecute' them for professional inconsistency shall be deemed unfounded.

- **Hypothesis 14:** “Greeks are susceptible to quitting their job for the sake of their family”.

Hypothesis 14 was examined based on one (1) question:

1. If my family was far away and I was missing them or in case there were problems, I would quit my job to get back to them out of loyalty.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
16 (13.9%)	43 (37.4%)	33 (28.7%)	13 (11.3%)	10 (8.7%)	2.63/5.00 or 52.69% or “Little to Somewhat”

● Average mark for hypothesis 14: **2.63/5.00 or 52.69% or “Little to Somewhat”**

Although it was initially expected that the above hypothesis would stand, this is not the case. With an average mark of 2.63/5.00, it seems that most Greeks are not, after all, characterized by susceptibility to job turnover out of emotional reasons and for the sake of their family.

Generally, Greeks are reluctant to separate from their family, because it is within the family that they find security, help, and support in cases of need, being highly dependent on their in-group. However, this view seems rather antiquated, since the culture of extreme family attachment characterized Greece mostly in the past. Currently, Greeks tend to be caring more about their professional enrichment and, although attachment to their homeland still remains strong, they acknowledge how important it is for them to grab the important career opportunities that stand on their way.

Overall, it can be admitted that loyalty to the family still remains an integral part of the Greek culture. This may comprise a possible reason why the majority of our respondents did not select answers on the extremes of the Likert scale, mostly opting for the moderate options (2) and (3), trying to establish a balance between their family duties and their professional aspirations.

● **Hypothesis 15: “Greeks are a polychronic people”.**

Hypothesis 15 was examined based on four (4) questions:

1. Human relationships are more important than work and time (e.g. it is acceptable to delay my day and obligations because I started chatting with a colleague).					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
14 (12.2%)	43 (37.4%)	36 (31.3%)	15 (13%)	7 (6.1%)	2.63/5.00 or 52.69% or “Little to Somewhat”

2. I work and perform better while doing many things simultaneously (multitasking).					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
12 (10.4%)	20 (17.4%)	36 (31.3%)	33 (28.7%)	14 (12.2%)	3.14/5.00 or 62.95% or “Somewhat to Much”

3. I feel restricted when I have to meet deadlines and stick to strict preset schedules.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
30 (26.1%)	34 (29.6%)	34 (29.6%)	12 (10.4%)	5 (4.3%)	2.37/5.00 or 47.47% or “Little to Somewhat”

4. It is difficult for me to plan things out and I wait until the last minute to meet my obligations.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
47 (40.9%)	32 (27.8%)	14 (12.2%)	16 (13.9%)	6 (5.2%)	2.14/5.00 or 42.95% or “Little to Somewhat”

● Average mark for hypothesis 15: **2.57/5.00 or 51.51% or “Little to Somewhat”**

With an average mark of 2.57/5.00, Greece does not seem like a polychronic culture. Although it was highly expected of Greeks to have difficulty grasping the concept of time, it seems that, after all, they do not maintain a relaxed attitude towards it and the rationale that things can be delayed or “settled for tomorrow” is currently losing ground (Giousmpasoglou, 2014, p. 7).

In fact, what was initially believed is that Greeks prioritize human relationships over abstract constructs such as time. A very interesting description of Greeks is that of Triandis and Vassiliou (1967), referring to them as strong emotional empire builders who, because of this, are poorly organized planners. For example, Greeks would theoretically delay their day to goof off at work, discuss their or their colleagues’ problems, or pick up the phone in case a

family member was calling at the office. However, judging from the first question, it seems that they have currently stopped dedicating their time to others so easily when they have to settle things that require their immediate attention. In particular, with a score of 2.63/5.00, valuing performance tends to be gaining ground over personal and social considerations among the new generation of Greek employees. What should be kept in mind, however, is that the distribution of responses is shared and almost 1/3 of our respondents selected **(3)** as their most preferred option. This shows that Greeks are not absolute and that, although they have started taking steps towards emphasizing their professional duties more, they have not all of sudden started undermining the important role human relationships play in their life.

Taking questions 3 and 4 into account, scores are very low. More specifically, Greeks state that they do not have difficulty sticking to preset schedules or meet deadlines (2.37/5.00) nor do they wait until the last minute to fulfill their obligations at work, being poor planners (2.14/5.00). These findings go against previous studies that present Greeks as people who ‘wear their watch for decoration’ (Broome, 1996), proving that they have currently started viewing their professional life in relation to the notions of urgency, time, and organization. With such low scores, however, one would expect Greeks to be bad at multitasking. Yet, Greeks somehow display a desire to be doing things simultaneously, since almost 1/3 of our respondents selected **(4)** as their most preferred option in question 2. Therefore, with an average mark of 3.14/5.00, it can be inferred that a respectable number of Greeks believe that multitasking does not decrease their performance but, on the contrary, enhances it, confirming Giousmpasoglou’s (2014) respective hypothesis.

Overall, it can be concluded based on the present hypothesis that Greeks still value human relationships but have started adopting a more professional profile, whereby their personal or family concerns should not interfere with their work life, since everything has its own time slot in one’s schedule. In other words, human relationships do remain important for Greeks but work and time are important too, confirming hypothesis 14, according to which Greeks would not, after all, sacrifice their whole career on the altar of human relationships or family, believing that establishing a balance between the two comprises the healthiest solution. Also, the fact that Greeks do not wait until the last minute to do things and do not have difficulty sticking to preset schedules or meeting deadlines constitutes a step towards professionalism on their part, which can be linked to their need for certainty that was previously discussed in hypothesis 2, question 2. Their eventual will for planning, though, does not sideline their desire to be multitasking where necessary and these two shall not be regarded as mutually

exclusive. To put it differently, the fact that they do not work in a serial manner does not mean that they do not have a clear plan of their tasks, duties, or deadlines in mind. They simply avoid following step-by-step procedures.

- **Hypothesis 16:** “Greeks are extremely competitive and cooperation with them is a challenge”.

Hypothesis 16 was examined based on six (6) questions:

1. I prefer working alone and being appraised on the basis of my individual performance, because I do not want to share my individual achievements with others.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
32 (27.8%)	36 (31.3%)	31 (27%)	13 (11.3%)	3 (2.6%)	2.29/5.00 or 45.91% or “Little to Somewhat”

2. If I or my team get personally offended, I will immediately start a fight to defend my/our honor and reputation.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
14 (12.2%)	33 (28.7%)	39 (33.9%)	22 (19.1%)	7 (6.1%)	2.78/5.00 or 55.65% or “Little to Somewhat”

3. I want my ‘competitors’ to be seeing my individual achievements or these of my team and I often show them off.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
51 (44.3%)	39 (33.9%)	20 (17.4%)	2 (1.7%)	3 (2.6%)	1.84/5.00 or 36.86% or “Not at all to Little”

4. I often question others, even if I agree with them, only to cite my own alternative opinion.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
74 (64.3%)	25 (21.7%)	6 (5.2%)	9 (7.8%)	1 (0.9%)	1.59/5.00 or 31.82% or “Not at all to Little”

5. I try to undermine those who are more successful than me, seeing the unfairness and competition that exist around me.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
97 (84.3%)	14 (12.2%)	2 (1.7%)	2 (1.7%)	0 (0%)	1.20/5.00 or 24.17% or “Not at all to Little”

6. I get satisfied to a certain extent by seeing others not progressing or even failing.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
86 (74.8%)	16 (13.9%)	8 (7%)	2 (1.7%)	3 (2.6%)	1.43/5.00 or 28.69% or “Not at all to Little”

• Average mark for hypothesis 16: 1.85/5.00 or 37.18% or “Not at all to Little”

If someone were asked for their opinion about Greeks’ attitude at work, they would most probably answer that they are extremely difficult to cooperate with due to their fierce and competitive nature and social orientation. However, with an average mark of 1.85/5.00, the above hypothesis is completely confuted.

Triandis et al. (1968) and Broome (1996) have supported in their research that Greeks are so self-interested that they get satisfied by seeing others not progressing or even failing and that they often seek for reasons to start a fight, especially if personally insulted (i.e. offense to their *philotimo*). For them, competition is associated with victories and defeats, that is, winners and losers (Giousmpasoglou, 2011). However, with an average mark of 1.43/5.00 in question 6 and with almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of our respondents picking (1) as their most preferred option, it can be immediately realized that the opposite is true. On the other side, this is only partially true for question 2, where the average mark is slightly higher (2.78/5.00) with more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of our respondents selecting moderate option (3) as their most preferred option, meaning that Greeks have not yet lost their trait of *philotimo*, which can result in direct retaliation in case it is offended. This, however, shall not be confused with competitiveness and Greeks will resort to quarreling only if provoked to do so.

Papalexandris et al. (2002) have very interestingly stated that Greeks tend to undermine and refuse recognition to those performing better than them, considering themselves as victims of this lack of recognition and feeling rather betrayed by their organization or society in general. Maybe this happens because Greeks are so suspicious and, at the same time, count so much on favoritism, that they believe that everyone who is successful has been favored to be where and who they are. Despite this assumption, question 5 has surprisingly marked the lowest score in the questionnaire so far (1.20/5.00), with Greeks vigorously reporting that they have no intention to undermine or try to humiliate someone who has achieved more than they have. It is very impressive to note that 97 out of our 115 respondents chose (1) as their most preferred option, while no one opted for option (5). Therefore, it can be understood that

Greeks have the objectivity to recognize and accept that it is neither a matter of favoritism nor a matter of betrayal. Rather, it is individual effort that gives prominence to someone and this effort shall in all cases be acknowledged and respected.

Moreover, Greeks are rumored to be facing difficulties when trying to integrate into a team, since they are so individualistic and self-interested that they require to be judged on the basis of their individual performance only, which is evidently more important to them than the collective group (Giousmpasoglou, 2011). Based on question 1, this does not seem to hold true, since the low average mark of 2.29/5.00 denotes that Greeks are eager to share their individual achievements with others. In fact, as Broome (1996) states, Greeks' nature is highly participatory and they simply need the right circumstances and motivation in order to overcome their contentiousness and extreme competitiveness and get smoothly integrated into a team. It is just that their participatory nature has not been fully developed yet, as they are mainly used to being managed under centralized management systems that restrict their potential for teamwork. In any case, according to Papalexandris and Chalikias (2002), Greeks have currently started moving away from rivalry towards a stage of peaceful coexistence in their collegial relationships.

It is believed that Greeks' presumed competitiveness supposedly makes them gossip a lot as well as show off in the form of one upmanship, trying to doubt others' points in every opportunity. However, Greeks do not seem to place value on such practices, which they apparently consider petty. In other words, they do not feel the urge to show off their achievements (1.84/5.00) nor do they care about outarguing their colleagues only to offer their own alternative opinions and satisfy their egotistic needs (1.59/5.00).

Overall, it seems that 'mastery' Greece has started being more of a harmony culture. According to Schwartz (2013), mastery cultures are highly individualistic and success-oriented, sometimes at the expense of others, while harmony ones are those who seek self-improvement and accept their place in the world without trying to understate others or the collective but rather being in full support of it. Based on the present results, Greeks have started making steps towards the latter direction.

● **Hypothesis 17: “Greeks are *philotimoi* at their work”.**

Hypothesis 17 was examined based on two (2) questions:

1. When my managers treat me with respect and care about me, I feel the moral obligation to try harder and do more than I should for them without even being asked to.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
2 (1.7%)	4 (3.5%)	12 (10.4%)	42 (36.5%)	55 (47.8%)	4.25/5.00 or 85.04% or “Much to A great deal”

2. For those who belong to my in-group, I would modify a situation to make it seem better or tell them what they want to hear in order to please them.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
39 (33.9%)	42 (36.5%)	15 (13%)	13 (11.3%)	6 (5.2%)	2.17/5.00 or 43.47% or “Little to Somewhat”

● Average mark for hypothesis 17: **3.21/5.00 or 64.25% or “Somewhat to Much”**

With an average mark of 3.21/5.00, it can be understood that Greeks maintain their characterization as *philotimoi* at work but only under certain conditions.

First of all, *philotimo* can be defined as love of honor, a self-imposed code of conduct towards both the in-group and the self, based on trust, fairness, responsibility, and obligation (Broome, 1996). Actually, it is believed that the whole work culture of Greeks revolves around this characteristic, which subsequently facilitates cooperation between colleagues. Based on the average mark of 4.25/5.00 in the first question, it can be realized that Greeks intend to do more than is required of them in order to please their superiors or even colleagues but they will do so only in cases this is reciprocal, since, for them, *philotimo* is based on reciprocal loyalty and both sides shall accommodate the needs and interests of one another. That is to say, although employees are expected to put some extra effort out of loyalty when the situation requires it, employers are also expected to acknowledge this effort and be responsive to their employees’ special needs, favors, and requests in return (Triandis et al., 1968). Based on this reciprocal relationship, it has been stated that Greeks do not need any special employee loyalty or retention schemes and simply showing them interest and concern is what will give them ‘ignition’ (Giousmpasoglou, 2011). In any case, the aforementioned question is definitely confirmed, since almost ½ of our respondents selected (5) as their most preferred option.

On the other hand, Greeks' urge to satisfy those who have treated them with understanding and concern does not mean that they would go so far as to try and conceal, disguise, or beautify negative situations in order to make them seem better. With an average mark of 2.17/5.00, it can be clear that Greeks are characterized by integrity and honesty even towards those belonging to their in-group. In other words, their *philotimo* is expressed in the form of genuine interest and personal honor that can help collegial relationships run smoother and not in the form of deception or contrived politeness on the altar of showing compassion. Therefore, the fact that Greeks constantly feel that they 'owe it to somebody' does not mean that they would accept crossing the boundaries of self-sacrificing or sell off their moral values.

Overall, while other cultures would probably display indifference and not reciprocate in cases others helped them or treated them well, Greeks are close observers who always remember and appreciate others' goodwill. This, of course, can give rise to excellent collegial relationships, unless Greeks detect arrogance in others.

● **Hypothesis 18: “Greeks are good at problem-solving owing to their creativity”.**

Hypothesis 18 was examined based on one (1) question:

1. I do not insist on predetermined formal procedures and formulas to find solutions to complex problems but prefer being creative and improvising in search of alternative solutions.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
3 (2.6%)	4 (3.5%)	35 (30.4%)	42 (36.5%)	31 (27%)	3.81/5.00 or 76.34% or “Somewhat to Much”

● Average mark for hypothesis 18: **3.81/5.00 or 76.34% or “Somewhat to Much”**

With an average mark of 3.81/5.00, it is evident that Greeks have a flair for finding unorthodox solutions to complex problems, because their mind is irrationally trained.

More specifically, it has been observed that Greeks live in a society where formal rules can be easily overlooked in favor of informal channels and Greeks do not seem to be reluctant, have second thoughts, or feel remorse before choosing to follow backdoor channels to do a job. Although they do need directives for reasons of uncertainty avoidance, their mind is rotating quicker thanks to their being used to finding solutions that do not go by the book. One can very often see Greeks completing tasks in alternative ways that only they find

appropriate, just betting on the fact that things will somehow work out in the end. In fact, it is not uncommon to overhear Greeks casually saying ‘Come on, everything will work out’ (in Greek: *Έλα μωρέ, όλα θα γίνουν*), expressing their surplus confidence that they will find a way to make everything turn out fine in the end. The reason for such certainty is because it is Greeks themselves who will define what is right and what is wrong at the end of the day, inventing their own ways of doing things on the impulse of the moment, through improvisation. For them, even when something does not work, they will somehow make it work by following a different path. Thus, their mind is rotating faster, because they do not follow rules and procedures by the book but tailor and adapt this ‘book’ to their own or their clients’ needs based on the circumstances or the situation. This confers ingenuity and creativity upon them, thanks to which they often find unorthodox solutions to complex problems within seconds, while other Europeans remain stuck for days, due to their ‘rational’ insistence on formal processes (Bozatzis, 1999).

Overall, Greeks’ mind is irrationally trained to solve problems easily and creatively. It is often the case that they seek for alternative –backdoor– ways to do a job, since they believe that following formal channels restricts problem-solving abilities and condemns employees to unidimensional perspectives.

● **Hypothesis 19: “Greeks do not know how to lose”.**

Hypothesis 19 was examined based on two (2) questions:

1. I have difficulty admitting my mistakes and failure and often attribute them to external factors (e.g. to fate or the circumstances) to conceal my weaknesses.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
59 (51.3%)	39 (33.9%)	9 (7.8%)	8 (7%)	0 (0%)	1.70/5.00 or 34.08% or “Not at all to Little”

2. If I am losing an argument, I will put forward strong opinions to defend my position to the very end in order not to look inferior and risk my honor and prestige.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
74 (64.3%)	25 (21.7%)	6 (5.2%)	9 (7.8%)	1 (0.9%)	1.59/5.00 or 31.82% or “Not at all to Little”

● Average mark for hypothesis 19: **1.64/5.00 or 32.95% or “Not at all to Little”**

According to the extremely low average mark of the present hypothesis (1.64/5.00), it is obvious that Greeks are reconciled with failure in cases they have to confront it.

Initially, it was expected that Greeks would have difficulty admitting their mistakes, since it is generally believed that they are competitive, a false assumption that was already refuted in hypothesis 16 above. In this respect, it makes total sense why this hypothesis is also refuted (1.70/5.00), since admission of failure and competitiveness are interdependent or, at least, closely associated. In other words, it can be realized that Greeks would not resort to camouflaging their individual inadequacy by blaming external factors but they would take up the responsibility for their failure instead. This was supported by more than half of our respondents, who picked (1) as their most preferred option, while none of them opted for option (5).

Additionally, it was believed that Greeks tend to insist on their views until the very end, refusing to give up their argumentation. Such pertinacity stems from their anxiety not to lose face, be exposed to ridicule, look inferior, or damage their prestige, self-esteem, and reputation, since Greeks take others' opinion very seriously. However, they do not seem to care much about all this anymore. With an average mark of 1.59/5.00, almost 2/3 of our respondents assert that they would not try to disprove others in case they were losing an argument just to satisfy and protect their self-image. Once again, this is linked to the fact that Greeks are currently starting getting rid of their competitive attitude that used to be the cornerstone of their personality in the past.

Overall, Greeks are not compulsive egalitarians anymore (i.e. trying to assert equality at every opportunity, so as never to be inferior to anyone), but rather realists, ready to be held accountable for any potential wrongdoings.

● **Hypothesis 20: “Greeks are hard to communicate smoothly with”.**

Hypothesis 20 was examined based on four (4) questions:

1. I consider that competition and intense or combative conversations do not abase human relationships but, on the contrary, lead to more constructive results.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
49 (42.6%)	40 (34.8%)	15 (13%)	7 (6.1%)	4 (3.5%)	1.93/5.00 or 38.60% or “Not at all to Little”

2. I am often elusive in my answers and use vague language to communicate messages.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
54 (47%)	38 (33%)	15 (13%)	7 (6.1%)	1 (0.9%)	1.80/5.00 or 36.17% or “Not at all to Little”

3. During intense conversations, my reactions are impulsive and without behavioral restraint (e.g. I speak loudly without necessarily arguing or use intense words and gestures).					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
45 (39.1%)	30 (26.1%)	26 (22.6%)	12 (10.4%)	2 (1.7%)	2.09/5.00 or 41.91% or “Little to Somewhat”

4. I emphasize non-verbal communication cues (e.g. facial expressions, eye movement, or tone of voice) and not just the words themselves.					
1	2	3	4	5	Average Fx
Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Much	A great deal	
3 (2.6%)	10 (8.7%)	11 (9.6%)	32 (27.8%)	59 (51.3%)	4.16/5.00 or 83.30% or “Much to A great deal”

● Average mark for hypothesis 20: **2.49/5.00 or 49.99% or “Little to Somewhat”**

Admittedly, it is not perfectly wise to generalize and claim that Greeks are hard to communicate smoothly with, because what communication features or attitudes are acceptable in one culture may not be in another. For instance, what an American would misunderstand in a Greek might be eagerly accepted by an Italian, since different cultures are receptive to different stimuli. However, there is a number of characteristics for which Greeks are continuously being blamed in their work environment.

First of all, foreign colleagues can sometimes be reluctant to start a discussion with Greeks, because typically, after a while, Greeks start being impassioned in what they are saying, giving the impression of a feeling of hostility, which is, however, translated as genuine communication to them. That is to say, Greeks are vigorous while speaking in order to protect their fierce individualism and hold center stage, but they do this only because they consider it as leading to constructive results and more authentic or conducive communication based on trust and warmth. This intensity in debating gives Greeks sheer enjoyment, although foreigners could misinterpret it as a battle of personal opinions. Interestingly, Greeks do not find this as ruining human relationships but, on the contrary, as enhancing them, since challenging and being challenged are healthy practices among individuals rather than aberrations (Broome, 1996). However, according to the average mark of the present hypothesis (1.93/5.00), Greeks seem to be currently seeking for tranquility in their

interpersonal relations. Presumably, they have started recognizing their differences and ‘loud’ nature compared to other cultures, thus they are trying to keep a low profile while working abroad in order to avoid giving rise to cultural misunderstandings with their colleagues, since debating is not a fulfilling pastime for everyone.

In addition, Greeks were believed to be elusive in their answers, curious about others but secretive about themselves, as well as vague and indirect in their use of language. Some other stereotypes include eliciting information by indirect means and using delicate cues to communicate messages (Broome, 1996). Nonetheless, with an average mark of 1.80/5.00 and with almost half of our respondents picking (1) as their most preferred option, Greeks seem to be prioritizing directness, straight-forwardness, explicitness, and honesty in their interpersonal relations instead. Generally, it can be clear that Greeks do not hide behind words, which was also proven in hypothesis 17, question 2, regarding Greeks’ refusal to tell others what they want to hear in order to please them.

Moreover, it is a commonly held view that Greeks’ intense impulsiveness has made them lack the behavioral restraint that is shared among other Europeans. In particular, their reactions are fairly intense while conversing with others: they raise their voice to stress something, use strong words and violent gestures, stand very close to their interlocutor, or seem combative and hostile due to their passionate tone of voice. However, this is not always accepted by some cultures that could marginalize Greeks on the basis of such attitudes. For instance, raising your voice is, for Greeks, an indication of interest and passion in what is being discussed which, at the same time, could be interpreted as the beginning of a chronic dispute by another European (Broome, 1996; Bozatzis, 1999). With an average mark of 2.09/5.00 in question 3, it seems that, once again, Greeks have started realizing where the potential for cultural misunderstandings is rooted, hence adapting their communication style accordingly.

Finally, Greece was found to be a high-context culture. High-context cultures are those that communicate in ways that are implicit and rely heavily on the context. In contrast, low-context cultures rely on explicit verbal communication. More specifically, Greeks emphasize non-verbal communication signals and also expect their interlocutors to attend to the underlying context for hidden messages, instead of only sticking to the actual words being communicated in a direct and explicit way. Maybe this is a reasonable explanation why Greeks have sometimes been misunderstood as elusive, secretive, and indirect. Evidently, it is

because they depend heavily on the context for the interpretation of messages, considering that it is rather redundant to utter everything in words, so long as some information can be deduced in other ways, regardless. With an average mark of 4.16/5.00 and with more than half of our respondents selecting **(5)** as their most preferred option, it can be confirmed that Greece is indeed a high-context culture, as Hall and Hall (1990) have already supported.

Overall, with an average mark of 2.49/5.00, Greeks are not so hard in communication as was initially believed. They do not seem to be enjoying combative conversations anymore, mind their tone, reactions, and communication attitudes to avoid cultural misunderstandings with their colleagues, and often accompany words with non-verbal communication cues to add value or emphasis on what is being discussed in order to be better understood.

6.5. Open-Ended Questions

At the end of the questionnaire, there are 2 open-ended questions, allowing respondents to express their view on the features of the contemporary Greek culture that they have observed can benefit or respectively hinder the performance of multicultural work teams. These questions are marked as obligatory and do not pose restrictions as to the length of the given answers. Most respondents chose to answer them with lists of words (mostly adjectives) to describe Greeks. Others expanded a little more in their answers by writing a small paragraph (some citing their personal experience), while only a minority left these questions unanswered, replying with a hyphen. More specifically, the two questions are formulated as follows:

1. **Mention some positive features of the Greek culture that you have observed can benefit the performance of a multicultural work team.** (TABLE 3)
2. **Mention some negative features of the Greek culture that you have observed can hinder the performance of a multicultural work team.** (TABLE 4)

Respondents provided a multitude of answers. This owes to the fact that each one of them has a different personality, idiosyncrasy, and upbringing, not to mention factors such as age, years of experience, and hierarchical level at work, all of which can substantially affect one's perception of the degree of positivity and negativity of certain features. As was expected, most answers were provided in Greek, so they were translated into English, the author's main concern being to fully maintain and transfer the exact meaning of the given replies, since translation can often lead to the relative distortion of the intended meaning in the target

language. In cases translation is considered ambiguous or inconsistent (since some notions do not exist in English or are expressed in many alternative words in both languages) or simply in cases a Greek notion is interesting and thus worth citing, the original Greek response is provided in brackets next to its English translation. Also, sometimes more than one English translation is provided.

Below are the two tables that correspond to the 2 open-ended questions, recording all of our respondents' answers in order of completion of the questionnaire:

TABLE 3: POSITIVE FEATURES OF THE GREEK CULTURE THAT CAN BENEFIT THE PERFORMANCE OF A MULTICULTURAL WORK TEAM

No.:	POSITIVE FEATURES:
1.	Directness, friendliness
2.	Sociability, <i>philotimo</i> (φιλότιμο)
3.	Friendliness, creation of a pleasant atmosphere in the team
4.	n/a ²⁸
5.	Self-confidence
6.	Commitment, dedication, cooperativeness
7.	Directness in communication among colleagues, feeling of responsibility for work
8.	Kindness, close interpersonal relationships, treats among colleagues
9.	Solidarity
10.	<i>Philotimo</i>
11.	<i>Philotimo</i> , closeness, directness, authenticity, sociability
12.	Team spirit, willingness, allotment of tasks, industriousness
13.	Hospitality, demonstrativeness, sociability
14.	The argumentation we develop in order to convince others about our views in a conversation
15.	Adaptability, inventiveness [translated from <i>εφευρετικότητα</i>], crisis management skills, extroversion
16.	Love
17.	Good mood, encouragement of interpersonal contacts, inclusion, openness
18.	Adaptability, flexibility, <i>philotimo</i>
19.	Openness
20.	Extroversion, sociability
21.	Team spirit, dedication, <i>philotimo</i> , fighting spirit [translated from <i>αγωνιστικότητα</i>]
22.	Sociability, hospitality, warmth, <i>philotimo</i> , nimbleness [translated from <i>ευστροφία</i>]
23.	n/a
24.	<i>Philotimo</i> , solidarity, hospitality
25.	Solidarity, social sensitivity, close relationships among relatives and acquaintances
26.	Flexibility
27.	Adaptability
28.	Knowledge, dedication, positive mood, industriousness, close interpersonal relationships, interest in colleagues, willingness for extra work in order to achieve goals
29.	<i>Philotimo</i> , multi-parametricity [translated from <i>πολυπαραμετρικότητα</i>], ability to deal with difficult situations
30.	n/a
31.	<i>Philotimo</i> , collegiality, solidarity, team spirit, respect for regulations
32.	Individual initiative, adaptability, thinking out of the box, sociability
33.	Flexibility, elasticity, humor, adaptability, good training
34.	Observation skills (or: sharp eye) [translated from <i>παρατηρητικότητα</i>], communicative people

²⁸ n/a: not applicable

35.	They usually tend to be extroverted and talkative. It is perhaps easier for them to come closer to their colleagues, which could create a more pleasant atmosphere, so that a strong work team can be created.
36.	Hospitality
37.	Persistence, ambition, creativity, <i>philotimo</i>
38.	Kindness, respect for diversity, flexibility, versatility, team spirit, good communication skills
39.	<i>Philotimo</i> , love for learning [translated from <i>φιλομάθεια</i>], curiosity, inventiveness, love for democracy, cordiality [translated from <i>εγκαρδιότητα</i>], sociability, extroversion
40.	Kindness, <i>philotimo</i> , team spirit, responsibility
41.	Ingenuity [translated from <i>επινοητικότητα</i>] and flexibility are features that characterize Greeks. Therefore, in a multicultural work team composed of Greeks, there is a workforce that can deal with potential challenges with seriousness and composure [translated from <i>ψυχραιμία</i>], knowing how to find solutions that are not necessarily defined by a set of specific regulations. In a similar case, a team not composed of Greeks would perhaps delay more in dealing with the problem or would first try to exhaust the solutions proposed by a specific protocol, without their necessarily being more effective.
42.	Investigative skills [translated from <i>διερευνητικότητα</i>], flexibility
43.	Cultural conciliation [translated from <i>πολιτισμικές συνδιαλλαγές</i>]
44.	Sociability, inclusivity
45.	Team spirit, cooperation
46.	Willingness to communicate, existence of a team spirit for the accomplishment of goals
47.	<i>Philotimo</i>
48.	Despite the rumors, Greeks are very hardworking. Also, they accept exploitation by working unpaid overtime.
49.	Communication skills
50.	Honesty (or: frankness/sincerity), team spirit, resourcefulness [translated from <i>ενημερωτικότητα</i>], <i>philotimo</i>
51.	Openness
52.	Sociability, extroversion, ability to enter into public relations
53.	Solidarity, empathy, interest in colleagues' problems, respect for hierarchy, trust among colleagues
54.	Adaptability, thinking out of the box, <i>philotimo</i> , willingness to work, ingenuity
55.	Team spirit, willingness to cooperate
56.	n/a
57.	Greeks perform better in small teams and structured environments
58.	Industriousness, <i>philotimo</i>
59.	<i>Philotimo</i> , compassion (or: sympathy), spontaneity, creativity, flexibility
60.	Humanity, solidarity, big-heartedness, passion
61.	Crisis management skills
62.	<i>Philotimo</i>
63.	Sociability, <i>philotimo</i>
64.	Extroversion, communication skills, inventiveness in dealing with problems
65.	Good knowledge of foreign languages, <i>philotimo</i> , open character and behavior
66.	n/a
67.	Swift in perceiving reality, lack of formalism [translated from <i>τυπολατρία</i>], high interpersonal skills
68.	Greeks are very friendly which is directly an ice-breaker and helps bring a team together. Moreover, they are generous unlike some other cultures. For example, on a personal level, French will only do things for you when they know they will benefit from it (the majority) whereas in Greece you will help because you want to help the other person. Furthermore, I have observed that Greeks think out of the box whereas French, for example, are used to having very strict lines in their heads which makes them sort of "stuck". So Greeks oftentimes provide very good ideas.
69.	Sociability, extroversion
70.	The main feature is creativity. In many cases, Greeks think creatively and are not restricted by the way things are usually done. Moreover, when a problem arises, almost all Greeks display a combination of patience and creativity to achieve the best solution possible.
71.	Flexibility, bargaining power (or: negotiation skills) [translated from <i>διαπραγματευτική δεινότητα</i>]
72.	Solidarity in difficult times
73.	Flexibility, no attachment to procedures and rules
74.	Greeks are usually well-intentioned [translated from <i>καλοπροαίρετοι</i>], make quick decisions, get excited
75.	Mental flexibility
76.	Extroversion and sociability, thanks to which members of a team open up more easily and feel

	comfortable
77.	Greeks, due to their geopolitical position and situation, are used to coexisting with people from other nationalities, remain hospitable in their majority, and during the refugee crisis they showed a humanitarian face that I really doubt others would show (e.g. Italians, Spanish, etc.) in case they accepted such a big number of refugees and immigrants
78.	<i>Philotimo</i> , ability to think out of the box
79.	Personality traits such as kindness and willingness
80.	Team spirit
81.	Understanding, hospitality, <i>philotimo</i>
82.	Humor
83.	High level of encyclopedic knowledge
84.	Flexibility, composure, calm atmosphere
85.	<i>Philotimo</i>
86.	Extroversion, willingness to communicate, manifestation of emotions
87.	<i>Philotimo</i> , solidarity, collegiality
88.	Persistence, sharpness, organization skills
89.	Flexibility of thinking
90.	Pursuit of knowledge, development of a friendly atmosphere, problem-solving in peculiar ways due to lack of human and financial resources
91.	<i>Philotimo</i> , hospitality, yearning for life and action
92.	Resourcefulness, pride, loyalty, dedication to goals
93.	n/a
94.	Friendliness, <i>philotimo</i>
95.	Democracy
96.	Cooperation, trust
97.	Patience, mutual help, willingness, compromise [translated from <i>διαλλακτικότητα</i>]
98.	<i>Philotimo</i> , industriousness, persistence, dedication
99.	Sociability, knowledge of foreign languages
100.	Extroversion, team spirit
101.	Patience, intercultural understanding, empathy
102.	Friendliness, <i>philotimo</i>
103.	Hospitality, xenomania [translated from <i>ξενολατρία</i>]
104.	Closeness in relationships, more humanity
105.	Sociability
106.	In my current team we are people from Greece, Israel and South Africa. They are all great and I do not see big cultural differences. Maybe Greeks are more relaxed and with more patience with procedures that do not work as they should. We do not complain easily.
107.	Collegiality, common goals, development and advancement to higher positions
108.	Humor, willingness and intention to get to know their colleagues better, sociability, extroversion, fun-loving attitude, exuberant personality [translated from <i>έξω καρδιά</i>]. Greeks will try to make you feel welcome in the team by breaking the ice to avoid creating an awkward atmosphere. They will be the first ones to start the conversation in order to get to know you. They tend to forget and forgive easily [what they call <i>καλή καρδιά</i>].
109.	Honesty [translated from <i>τιμότητα</i>]
110.	Humor, quick development of intimacy among colleagues, <i>philotimo</i> , trust, dignity
111.	Cooperation
112.	Knowledge of foreign languages
113.	<i>Philotimo</i> , smile, hospitality, good taste, love for arts and music, kindness, dignity, cultivation
114.	Flexibility of thinking, industriousness
115.	Solidarity

TABLE 4: NEGATIVE FEATURES OF THE GREEK CULTURE THAT CAN HINDER THE PERFORMANCE OF A MULTICULTURAL WORK TEAM

No.:	NEGATIVE FEATURES:
1.	Laxity [translated from χαλαρότητα/ολιγορία], procrastination, social loafing [translated from ωχαδερφισμός]
2.	Competition, thirst for power [translated from εξουσιομανία], haughtiness [translated from υπεροψία]
3.	Non-observance of strict schedules
4.	National pride, nepotism towards the in-group
5.	Arrogance [translated from αλαζονεία]
6.	Difficulty in accepting new ideas, searching for the easy solution
7.	Partiality, lack of respect, feelings of superiority, easy conclusions for people, conservatism in thinking on problem resolution
8.	Gossip, competition, racism
9.	Political interventions
10.	Emphasis on race
11.	Tardiness, procrastination, intensity, exaggeration in figures of speech
12.	Lack of coordination, selfishness, fear of responsibility [translated from ευθυνοφοβία]
13.	Conservatism, xenophobia, arrogance
14.	The tendency to favor acquaintances and friends
15.	Egocentrism, insufficient specialization (or: expertise), inability to meet deadlines and observe schedules, ethnocentrism, underlying racism and xenophilia
16.	Competition
17.	Practical issues: meeting deadlines, hierarchy issues, frequent emphasis on formalism
18.	Feeling of superiority, a sense that authority entails happiness and success
19.	Contestation [translated from αμφισβήτηση]
20.	Difficulty in self-restraint in situations that demand it
21.	Laxity, procrastination, self-love (or: narcissism), ingratitude, greed, envy
22.	Lack of discipline, lack of organization and coordination skills
23.	n/a
24.	Xenophobia
25.	Racism, feeling of national superiority
26.	Superiority complex
27.	Fear of responsibility
28.	Impulsiveness [translated from παρορμητικότητα], emphasis on networking and personal relationships
29.	Archaeolatry [<i>i.e. the worship of anything archaic (ancient)</i>], impetuosity [translated from παρορμητισμός]
30.	n/a
31.	Selfishness, nepotism [translated from οικογενειοκρατία], patriarchy, thirst for power
32.	Lack of long-term consistency [translated from συνέπεια/συνέχεια] and in-depth study of subjects
33.	Lack of planning, sloppiness, disobedience to rules, haughtiness, know-it-all [translated from ξερόλες]
34.	Selfishness, obstinacy (or: stubbornness) [translated from ισχυρογνωμοσύνη/πείσμα]
35.	Lack of familiarity with both religious and appearance diversity
36.	Selfishness
37.	Procrastination, racism, obstinacy, irresponsibility, egocentrism
38.	Ignorance of colleagues' culture, excessive intimacy, personal relationships often prevail over professional ones
39.	Individualism combined with lack of boundaries, immunity (or: unaccountability) [translated from ασυδοσία], vanity, desire for prominence, attachment to the past, irresponsibility, carelessness (or: superficiality) [translated from επιπολαιότητα], conservatism
40.	Competition, arrogance, procrastination, grumbling [translated from γκρίνια]
41.	Although it is a stereotype, there is a perception of some Greeks being shirkers at work. Many, considering that the absence of professional supervision provides them with the ideal coverage, do not fulfill their obligations or transfer them to other people who are not responsible for them. Besides this, swift service or processing of requests is not a priority for several of them, resulting in extreme rigidity and bureaucracy in the organization's various operations. This has the potential effect of causing negligence in a workgroup's response to its tasks, leading to their ineffective or incorrect completion.

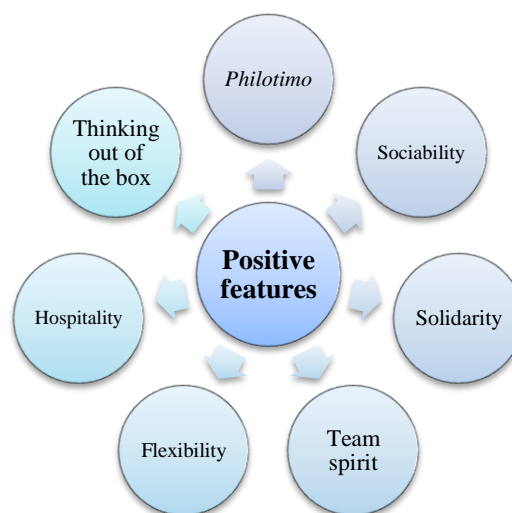
42.	Obsession with deep-rooted [translated from <i>παγιωμένες</i>] situations and views, resistance to authority
43.	Susceptibility to cultural shock
44.	Racism, anything different can be easily considered peculiar [translated from <i>ιδιαιτερο</i>] in a bad sense
45.	Racism
46.	Feeling of superiority
47.	Lack of respect
48.	They are not always punctual in their arrival time
49.	Procrastination
50.	Obstinacy, nervousness [translated from <i>νευρικότητα</i>]
51.	Competition
52.	Procrastination, laziness, tardiness
53.	Gossip, gloat [translated from <i>χαιρεκακία</i>], pretentious interest, too much convenience (or: settling in) [translated from <i>βόλεμα</i>], indirect means for advancement or finding a job
54.	Arrogance, laxity, clientelism
55.	Feeling of superiority, lack of resources and opportunities
56.	n/a
57.	Greeks often find it difficult to perform outside Greece
58.	Stonewalling [translated from <i>κωλυσιεργία</i>], transfer of responsibility to others to avoid work
59.	Competitiveness, individualism, use of acquaintances (<i>μέσον</i>), prejudice
60.	Impetuosity, competition, lack of empathy and self-awareness [translated from <i>ενσυναίσθηση και αυτεπίγνωση</i>]
61.	Extreme individualism to the detriment of collective institutions and processes
62.	Lack of team spirit
63.	Unpunctuality
64.	Excessively friendly relationships at a professional level, inability to focus on the main goals
65.	Lack of orderliness [translated from <i>οργανωτικότητα</i>], personal disputes [translated from <i>έριδες</i>], irresponsibility, lack of social and professional solidarity
66.	n/a
67.	Excessive self-confidence, inability to work in a team
68.	To be honest, I feel like Greeks have a huge ego and think they are the best in lots of things when this is not the case and then use the achievements of their ancestors as a way to prove that Greece and Greeks are perfect (which makes absolutely no sense to me because sure our history is great but <i>you</i> did not contribute to it...). Another thing that I see and that saddens me is that in Greece it is rare to find meritocracy, since it mostly depends on your connections, which is why there are so many incompetent people in important positions. Moreover, in Greece you are whatever you declare yourself to be [translated from <i>ό, τι δηλώσεις είσαι</i>] and nobody really checks if this is true or not. So even though I love my country, I wish that the mentality was much different and I consider myself very lucky that I had the chance to live abroad, see other cultures, be more open-minded and have different data to compare. One last thing that I really regret about the Greek culture is the fact that they are not ambitious and want to do the bear minimum whereas in other countries they really enjoy their work and always want to better themselves. In Greece, I had the feeling that everybody thinks they are already perfect and that there is nothing to change. Sometimes it is good to be humbled, it gives more incentives to become a better person. This does not mean that there are no good things in this country (thankfully) but I would love for the mindset of Greeks to change.
69.	Procrastination
70.	There is no education [translated from <i>παιδεία</i>] and teamwork culture. Greeks find it difficult to work in teams and take on roles with specific responsibilities. On the contrary, they are used to doing a little of everything, even when not within their duties.
71.	Conservatism
72.	Arbitrariness [translated from <i>αυθαιρεσία</i>], corruption, clientelism
73.	Haughtiness
74.	Greeks often draw easy conclusions, do not admit their weaknesses, tend to underestimate others when abroad, often start with enthusiasm only to give up shortly after
75.	Avoidance of taking responsibility
76.	Procrastination, untimely planning [translated from <i>μη έγκαιρος προγραμματισμός</i>]
77.	Difficulty in collaborating within a team, they prioritize individualism over collectivism, difficulty in adapting to changes, difficulty in long-term planning, attitude of only being interested in today and now
78.	Everything is done at the last minute

79.	Lack of continuous training for the employees and especially the older ones, lack of familiarity with computers, deep-rooted perceptions and stereotypes
80.	Professional advancement without appraisal
81.	n/a
82.	Inferiority complex
83.	Lack of meritocracy [translated from <i>αναξιοκρατία</i>]
84.	Procrastination, obstinacy
85.	Selfishness
86.	Individualism, self-interest, stereotypes
87.	Selfishness, multitasking [translated from <i>πολυπραγμοσύνη</i>]
88.	Culture of getting away with responsibility and doing more work with less stuff
89.	Intense criticism
90.	Selfishness, partisanship (or: partocracy) [translated from <i>κομματοκρατία</i>], formation of circles of friends with the sole intent of having people close in case of need (<i>i.e. cronyism</i>), inflexibility in showcasing new competent executives, attachment to the number of years working as a criterion of experience gaining
91.	Individualism, vanity, desire for self-promotion and distinction (or: excellence)
92.	Pettiness [translated from <i>μικρότητα</i>], jealousy, rumor-mongering [translated from <i>κατινιά</i>]
93.	n/a
94.	Not organizational, sloppiness
95.	Not organizational
96.	Nationalism, lack of education
97.	Sense of superiority, arrogance, belittlement [translated from <i>υποτίμηση</i>], duplicity (or: two-facedness), subversive (or: undermining) disposition [translated from <i>διάθεση υπονόμησης</i>]
98.	Misogyny, phallocracy, nepotism, political favor [translated from <i>ρουσφέτι</i>], lack of meritocracy
99.	Suspicion
100.	Haughtiness, feeling of superiority
101.	Unpunctual
102.	Xenophobic, with obsolete views
103.	Racism, nationalism [translated from <i>εθνικισμός</i>], patriotism [translated from <i>εθνισμός</i>]
104.	Low salaries, gossip, low educational level
105.	Suspicion
106.	The truth is that I have not observed any particular negative features while working with Greeks abroad. As long as they work with Greeks in a multicultural group in Greece, they may become somehow competitive for no reason.
107.	Obstinacy, selfishness, lack of awareness of issues related to the professional environment or work
108.	When Greeks go abroad to work, they suddenly have a feeling of superiority, that “I am someone here”. They are extremely demonstrative and effusive, intense in their reactions and behaviors, they create in-groups and cliques (<i>κλίκες</i>), they gossip, and they sometimes switch to Greek so as not to be understood by others, mostly in cases they want to negatively criticize someone or something. They usually invoke and brag about their acquaintances and, to a certain extent, are not punctual with their obligations or complete them approximately. They have an opinion about everything and think that they know it all or that they are always the right ones, even if something is not their business.
109.	Laziness
110.	Lack of patience, know-it-all [translated from <i>πολύξεροι</i>], hastiness, pigheadedness [translated from <i>ξεροκεφαλιά</i>]
111.	Intense competition
112.	Ignorance of the history and culture of other peoples, racism
113.	Superficiality [translated from <i>επιφανειακή αντιμετώπιση</i>], sloppiness, action under anger [translated from <i>δράση κατά θυμόν</i>], lack of reward, lack of institutional memory, lack of organization skills
114.	Lack of orderliness
115.	Betrayal

Due to a plethora of semantically similar words used by our respondents to describe Greeks in their work environment, the classification of responses for analysis is deemed particularly

difficult. For this reason, and since all replies cannot be analyzed separately, only the most predominant (numerically) positive and negative features of the contemporary Greek culture are identified, recorded, and commented upon, being classified into broader categories. After all, there is no point in taking each feature separately and creating dozens of identical categories when creating a single –broader– one can have the same semantic power and result. Therefore, each category, which is named after the main feature, also includes in it other synonymous words or descriptions that our respondents cited as alternative manifestations of this very feature. It is also interesting to note that there are a few paradoxes observed in the responses but this did not affect their classification in any way at all.²⁹

Here follows a chart with the seven (7) most predominant positive features of Greek employees that, according to our 115 respondents, could potentially benefit the performance of a multicultural work team:



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Figure 3: Positive Features of Greek Employees

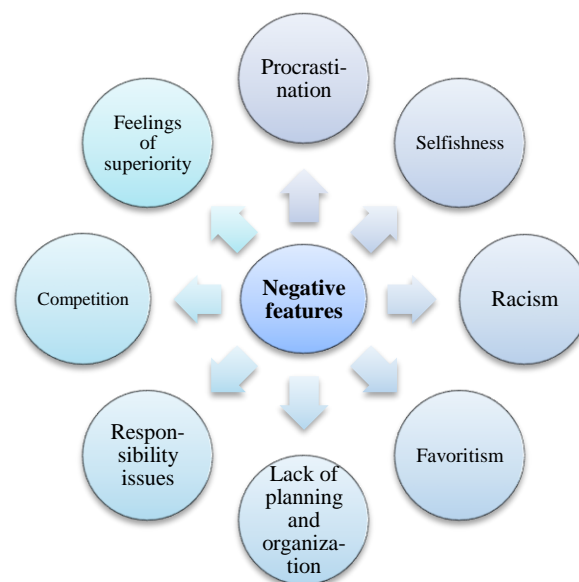
Attempting to link these answers to the results of our research, it can be understood that some previous hypotheses are now doubly corroborated. Greeks being *philotimoi* and solidary originates in their attachment to the in-group, which they eagerly help or even self-sacrifice for out of loyalty and personal honor in times of need. In fact, they view solidarity as a moral

²⁹ For example, some respondents state that Greeks are organizational, while others admit that they lack organizational skills. Similarly, some say that Greeks suffer from superiority complex, while others confess that they suffer from inferiority complex, etc. It all depends on each respondent's individual perspective.

³⁰ As was already discussed, categories were broadened for reasons of brevity and practicality. For example, sociability also includes extroversion, openness, friendliness, etc. Team spirit also includes cooperation, inclusion, collegiality, etc. Flexibility also includes elasticity, adaptability, versatility, etc. Finally, thinking out of the box also includes ingenuity, inventiveness, resourcefulness, etc.

responsibility and obligation not only towards the in-group, as was initially believed, but also towards out-groups. In addition, Greeks are very sociable and, according to our results, pursue good social relationships and intimacy with others, being open and inquisitive in their work environment in order to come closer to their colleagues, since they put a lot of emphasis on the creation of a positive corporal ambiance. Greeks are also characterized by strong team spirit. In particular, our respondents refuted the initial hypothesis that they would not work with strangers (out-groups), only sticking to the safety of their in-group, and that they want to be appraised only on the basis of their individual performance, without sharing their personal achievements with others. In fact, they currently seem willing to welcome new members in their team, being truly hospitable. Moreover, Greeks are very flexible, since they no longer resist change and innovation but rather embrace them. They also think out of the box, seeking for creative and alternative solutions in cases they are confronted with complex problems. More specifically, they do not insist on predetermined formal procedures and formulas to find solutions but prefer being creative and improvising in search of alternative paths.

Respectively, the following chart involves the eight (8) most predominant negative features of Greek employees that our 115 respondents assume could potentially hinder the performance of a multicultural work team:



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Figure 4: Negative Features of Greek Employees

³¹ Similarly, categories were broadened here too. For instance, selfishness also includes egocentrism, individualism, obstinacy, etc. Racism also includes ethnocentrism, xenophobia, stereotypes/prejudice, etc. Favoritism also includes nepotism, cronyism, lack of meritocracy, etc. Lack of planning and organization also include unpunctuality, deadline issues, sloppiness, etc. Responsibility issues also include fear of responsibility,

Evidently, procrastination goes hand in hand with lack of planning and proper organization. According to our respondents' answers, these are some of the most common flaws Greeks usually exhibit. However, contrary to these beliefs, those participating in our study assert that they do not delay grabbing opportunities when they are presented to them, thus not procrastinating, work well while multitasking, and seem familiarized with strict schedules, planning things, or meeting deadlines, not waiting until the last minute to fulfill their obligations. Also, they are not sloppy but seem to be caring about precision, a fact that connotes good organizational competency. In addition, selfishness, competition, and feelings of superiority generally belong to the spectrum of competitiveness. Nonetheless, although our respondents state that these are features predominant in the Greek culture, the answers that they themselves provided in the questionnaire point to the opposite direction. In other words, based on our data, Greeks do not generally defy others, thinking they are more competent, do not try to patronize them, do not question them just to offer their own alternative opinion, are receptive to sharing their personal achievements, do not bother showing off, do not try to undermine successful individuals and, finally, do not get any satisfaction from seeing them not progressing or even failing. Moreover, they do not seem to have difficulty admitting their mistakes or weaknesses, which shows a humble yet powerful and honest attitude, and do not defend or insist on their opinion out of competition in cases they acknowledge they are wrong. In fact, they believe that competition has the potential to abase human relationships. As far as racism is concerned, our respondents were absolute in their belief that they would in no case exhibit racist attitudes. Actually, with one of the lowest average marks in hypothesis 11 about ethnocentrism, Greeks do not feel they are superior to other cultures on the basis of their ancestry, history, or civilization. Probably based on their personal experiences, though, our respondents had a completely different account to give in the open-ended question about the negative features of the Greek culture, making racism one of the most predominant characteristics Greeks exhibit in their work environment. Regarding favoritism, this phenomenon seems to have always been interwoven with the Greek culture. Although Greeks admit that they do not find it legitimate to have been favored by others, most of them would accommodate the interests of those belonging their in-group if they were given the chance and, to a lesser extent but still, employ their acquaintances (*meson*) to do their job more easily and quickly instead of following institutional –formal– channels. Finally, according to our data, Greeks consider themselves responsible, caring about quality, precision, and

transfer of responsibility, irresponsibility, etc. Finally, feelings of superiority also include arrogance, haughtiness, know-it-all attitudes, etc.

effectiveness, accepting to work overtime or sacrifice breaks and leaves if deemed necessary, prioritizing work over secondary activities such as networking, and not manipulating the circumstances for their personal benefit. Admittedly, all these tendencies point to a rather responsible attitude. However, what our respondents selected for themselves in the Likert scale questions (i.e. that they are responsible – self-criticism) does not necessarily reflect how they have experienced this very feature in other Greeks while working abroad (i.e. that they are irresponsible – hetero-criticism), leading to a relative inconsistency in views.

6.6. Final Research Components

6.6.1. Contributions and Practical Implications

This study will help readers and especially those working in the international public sector deeply comprehend the particularities of the contemporary Greek culture that could potentially affect (either positively or negatively) the performance of multicultural teams including Greek employees in 2022. The study offers an updated and fresher perspective of the Greek work culture abroad, since most research on this field is now considered outdated, something which was also proven by the fact that some of our findings are no longer in accordance with those of previous works. Employees as well as prospective employers can use this research paper as an invaluable toolkit before deciding to integrate Greeks into their work team in order to help both them and their colleagues better adapt to each other's particular needs and specificities.

6.6.2. Limitations of the Study

Admittedly, no research is without limitations. In undertaking cultural research, the main limitation is culture itself. In other words, culture is such a fluid and ever-evolving phenomenon that cannot be easily grasped. In most cases, culture is interwoven with some form of stereotype or generalization in the sense that it is not safe to assume that a small number of respondents in any research can offer solid conclusions about a whole nation. This is because respondents are people with different personalities, experiences, mindsets, and upbringing, which are not always or necessarily shaped by culture. As a consequence, conclusions about the features of a particular culture shall not be generalized. Also, it is wise to clarify from the beginning that results only come from those reporting them, hence not being representative of a whole culture but rather comprising an adequate sample on which to base certain hypotheses and reach specific conclusions. Besides, as Joiner (2001, p. 240)

holds, “the depth and diversity of culture cannot be adequately captured...”. In fact, culture is an unquantifiable phenomenon and responses from only a few employees through questionnaires or interviews cannot represent a whole nation, so as to reach safe scientific conclusions about its culture and management styles or practices (Giousmpasoglou, 2011).

6.6.3. Recommendations for Future Research

The present research has offered a revised insight into a topic that has been resting in obscurity for many years. It would be highly advisable for future papers to extend this research by increasing the number of participants or examine features of the Greek culture that were not analyzed here in the form of interviews (i.e. quantitatively). Without doubt, such kinds of research are worth repeating, since it is very interesting to make clear comparisons of their results among different time periods and observe the power with which culture can develop over the course of years. Finally, a comparative approach between the public and the private sector on the same topic would also be of particular interest.

6.6.4. Writer’s Vision

The present writer’s vision is for researchers worldwide to publish similar scientific cultural handbooks about their own countries, so that there is an available pool of material to study from for all nations of the world, a fact that could potentially aid organizations in overcoming or mitigating the inevitability of cultural clashes in international work environments.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Research Conclusions

Based on the aforementioned extensive analysis, the solid scientific conclusions that come to light per hypothesis posed are clearly presented in the form of a list and are the following:

- **Hypothesis 1: Indeed, Greeks face their organization as their extended family.** More specifically, it is their desire that their managers have human feelings and personal relations with them, not only caring about job, and, to a lesser extent but still, they expect them to be taking care of their individual needs and treat them with leniency and understanding in return for their loyalty.
- **Hypothesis 2: Contrary to our expectations, Greeks do not feel great insecurity under conditions of uncertainty.** In particular, although the existence of formal rules and directives from their superiors gives them a feeling of security, they would not turn down positions of authority under the pretext that taking initiatives and responsibilities in view of uncertain conditions is highly stressful. Additionally, Greeks do not resist changes and innovation, preferring the current state of affairs, even though these two are normally associated with uncertainty.
- **Hypothesis 3: Generally, Greeks respect hierarchy at their work but under certain conditions.** In other words, although they highly respect their superiors, showing them loyalty and obedience, they defend that low level employees should also get involved in decision-making processes, since this shall not be the responsibility only of those high in hierarchy.
- **Hypothesis 4: Greeks definitely prefer being managed in a consultative rather than an autocratic style.** That is to say, they want their managers to be taking their ideas and suggestions into account before reaching their final decision instead of commanding and managing on their own.
- **Hypothesis 5: Greeks' preference for setting short-term goals and focusing on the present is currently losing ground.** In fact, they have started setting long-term goals over focusing on 'here' and 'now', the only exception to this being their tendency to grab

opportunities the moment they are presented to them, without delaying exploiting them, to satisfy their needs and desires in the present.

- **Hypothesis 6: Surprisingly, Greeks do not only favor those belonging to their in-group but would also help those coming from out-groups.** Admittedly, although they feel the moral obligation to help those belonging to their in-group as much as they can out of loyalty and honor, this does not entail that they would not trust or feel the moral obligation to also help those belonging to out-groups out of competition and wariness. In fact, they do not prefer working in teams only with people from their in-group than with people from out-groups under the pretext that it is only with the former that they feel loyalty and moral responsibility, but they seem to be giving equal opportunities for cooperation to both.

- **Hypothesis 7: Greeks are not a pure ‘masculine’ people anymore but have started adopting certain ‘feminine’ features.** In other words, although they are fighters, struggling hard to achieve their goals instead of simply waiting for what fate will throw at them, they no longer put much emphasis on money, status, and material goods under the assumption that these define their position in society, offering them prestige and security. In addition, they have currently started working based on the satisfaction of moral goals and the collective good rather than on the basis of rewards, a fact that ‘feminizes’ them compared to the past.

- **Hypothesis 8: Greeks do not believe in and count on favoritism as much as they used to but have not managed to completely get rid of this practice and its subsequent mentality.** Based on that, the following paradox is created: although they do not find it legitimate to have been favored by someone from within in order to be appointed at a high-ranking position, they feel it as their moral obligation to favor and accommodate the interests of those who belong to their in-group, if given the chance. However, if formal channels were complex and time-consuming, they would not really pursue to find a way of access through acquaintances to do their job more easily and quickly, turning down the practice of favoritism.

- **Hypothesis 9: Greeks are not oriented towards performance to a great extent.** In particular, they consider that an employee’s loyalty is more important than their performance, although they recognize the value of both.

• **Hypothesis 10**: By and large, Greeks get along well with authority and do not have any specific demands from it³². Indicatively, they do not believe they can do their superiors' job better, to a point where they often defy them or guide them with tips and suggestions, nor do they accept authority only when coming from someone who belongs to their in-group and cares about them rather than from someone who comes from out-groups. The only demand they have from authority among those mentioned in this hypothesis is for their superiors to have an excellent knowledge of their field, so that they can take them seriously and respect them. Finally, they believe that an older manager with many years of experience but mediocre current performance is not necessarily more competent than a younger manager with few years of experience but excellent current performance, proving that authority has to be respected on the basis of competence rather than age, since seniority shall not be regarded as an entitlement for more power.

• **Hypothesis 11**: Greeks vigorously support that they are not arrogant and ethnocentric owing to the prestige of their past. In fact, they do not feel that they automatically have a more superior way of thinking and are more competent than people from other nations owing to the prestige of the Greek ancestry and the glory of the ancient Greek history and civilization, nor do they get particularly offended when people abroad criticize Greece, unless such criticism is unfair. Of course, the respondents of our study had the opposite opinion in the open-ended question about the negative features of the Greek culture.

• **Hypothesis 12**: Greeks eagerly pursue intimacy in their work environment. That is to say, they seek to build intimacy and good social relationships with their colleagues, supporting that only if there are positive emotions among them can performance increase. Also, they are often inquisitive towards their colleagues in order to come closer to them and not because they want to pry into their personal affairs.

• **Hypothesis 13**: Contrary to common belief, Greeks consider their job a fairly important part of their life. Of course, if they had to choose, they would still choose more free time to enjoy life's pleasures and their loved ones over more money or professional

³² To avoid misunderstanding, when we say that Greeks do not have any specific demands from authority, we mean with regards to the aspects mentioned in this hypothesis, namely source of authority (in-group versus out-group authority figures) and seniority. If we take a look at the previous hypotheses, it can be clear that Greeks have some more demands from authority, including human feelings and personal relations with them (hypothesis 1, question 1), accommodation of their personal needs and treatment with leniency and understanding (hypothesis 1, question 2), or employment of consultative management styles (hypothesis 4, question 1). However, none of these demands negate the fact that Greeks tend to get along well with authority.

enrichment, but this does not entail that they would resort to petty actions, such as manipulating the circumstances to accommodate their personal interests or neglecting quality, precision, and effectiveness on the altar of finishing their job sooner and going home. Also, they would not refuse to work overtime or sacrifice breaks and leaves for the sake of their professional obligations, nor would they prioritize secondary activities like networking over doing their job.

- **Hypothesis 14**: For a family-oriented culture like Greece, it is surprising that Greeks would not quit their job for the sake of their family. More specifically, they would not resign from their job to get back to their family out of loyalty, even if they were far away and missing them or in cases there were problems.

- **Hypothesis 15**: Greeks are less polychronic than they used to, since they have stopped facing time as a free-flowing phenomenon. In particular, although they highly value human relationships, they do not necessarily consider them more important than time and work. For instance, they would not very eagerly delay their day and obligations to finish their chat with a colleague. Moreover, they do not feel restricted when having to meet deadlines or stick to strict preset schedules, nor do they have difficulty planning things out, waiting until the last minute to meet their obligations. The only element that inclines towards polychronicity is their preference for doing many things simultaneously (multitasking), since they work and perform better this way.

- **Hypothesis 16**: Contrary to our expectations, Greeks are not competitive and cooperation with them is expected to be smooth. In other words, they do not prefer working alone and being appraised on the basis of their individual performance only, under the pretext that they do not want to share their individual achievements with others. Additionally, they do not bother to start a fight to defend their or their team's honor and reputation in case they get personally offended, nor do they care about their 'competitors' seeing their individual achievements or those of their team, often showing them off. Finally, they do not question others, even if they agree with them, only to cite their own alternative opinion, do not try to undermine those who are more successful than them, seeing the unfairness and competition that exist around them, and do not get satisfied by seeing others not progressing or even failing.

- **Hypothesis 17**: As a general rule, Greeks tend to be *philotimoi* at their work. That is to say, they would definitely feel the moral obligation to try harder and do more than they

should for their managers without even being asked to in case they treated them with respect and cared about them. However, they would refuse to modify a situation to make it seem better for those belonging to their in-group or tell them what they want to hear with the sole intent of not dissatisfying them.

- **Hypothesis 18: Greeks are undoubtedly good at problem-solving owing to their creativity.** Interestingly, they do not insist on predetermined formal procedures and formulas to find solutions to complex problems but prefer being creative and improvising in search of alternative solutions.

- **Hypothesis 19: Greeks assert that they know how to lose.** More specifically, they do not have difficulty admitting their mistakes and failure, often attributing them to external factors to conceal their weaknesses, nor do they put forward strong opinions to defend their position to the very end in case they are losing an argument in order not to look inferior and risk their honor and prestige.

- **Hypothesis 20: Greeks are not so hard to communicate smoothly with.** In fact, they consider that competition and intense or combative conversations do not lead to more constructive results but, on the contrary, abase human relationships. While conversing with others, they are not elusive in their answers, using vague language to communicate messages, nor are they impulsive and without behavioral restraint in their reactions (e.g. using intense words or gestures). Conversely, they emphasize non-verbal communication cues (e.g. facial expressions, eye movement, or tone of voice) and not just the words themselves in order to subserve their interlocutor grasp the whole meaning of what is being said. This makes Greece a high-context culture.

Following these conclusions, two practical questions are raised:

1. **What are the implications of these features for the performance of multicultural teams and is it worth working with Greeks in a multicultural work environment after all?**
2. **Where these features are liabilities, are there any recommendations or ideas, so that they can be successfully overcome?**

In response to these questions, it can be deduced that, after all, Greeks constitute colleagues of a fine caliber to work with, since they can subserve elevate the performance of a multicultural team. Although they put more emphasis on notions like loyalty over performance, if their positive features are well taken advantage of, performance will be

augmented rather effortlessly. In any case, Greeks can help boost the performance of a multicultural team, since they pursue human and intimate relationships with their managers, respect their authority, and are eager to put some extra effort in order to satisfy their demands. Interestingly, they will be even more productive in case their managers let them freely express their opinion in decision-making processes, managing in a consultative style, since they feel more motivated this way. In other words, engagement for Greeks comes with encouragement of their personal initiative rather than with commands, which is key to their contributing to the performance of a multicultural team overall. They want to see knowledge and respect in their managers, which shows that it is not only on Greeks' hand whether performance will increase but also depends on their managers' treatment, which presupposes high intercultural competence. Other than that, Greeks do not interfere with authority but are highly respectful of it. Finally, they are characterized by a feeling of moral responsibility towards their superiors, owing to their *philotimo*. For instance, they would not leave their managers in the lurch by quitting their job so easily, even for family reasons, thus putting team performance and completion of tasks at risk.

Productivity at work is highly associated with the fact that Greeks are willing to embrace innovation. Although they need to feel secure that there are certain directives in place, they are flexible thinkers who think out of the box in search of alternative solutions. This means that when everyone in their team is stuck on a specific problem for hours, Greeks will always be able to offer a successful solution to it, thus not risking performance in the assigned project. Moreover, they are hardworking and easygoing employees who do not shirk often, and so they do not burden their colleagues' lot. They seem to be having clear and sometimes long-term agendas on their mind on what to do next, since they no longer face time as a free-flowing phenomenon but rather as something that has to be strictly adhered to. Also, they can hit targets cumulatively thanks to their disposition to multitasking, often halving down the time to complete a task. Lastly, they are eager to work overtime or sacrifice their breaks and leaves to help back at work as well as despise being sloppy, a fact that makes them self-sacrificing for the sake of quality, effectiveness, and final performance.

Greeks were found to be more cooperative than competitive, which makes up the cornerstone of high performance. More specifically, they do not consider themselves more racially superior than others, are inclusive and favor not only their in-group but also those coming from out-groups, pursue building intimate relationships and use icebreakers with their colleagues by approaching them first, and do not try to underestimate or compete with others

but, on the contrary, face them as members of their team, whose achievements are perceived as fruit of a collective effort. Of course, building the right team spirit boosts performance more than having members keep their personal achievements for themselves, since excess individualism and competition can ruin the cohesion of a team and, consequently, damage its total performance. Additionally, Greeks are honest and direct in communication. For example, they would be pretty straight-forward in expressing their dissatisfaction to others instead of telling them what they want to hear in order to please them but, at the same time, would also take responsibility for their wrongdoings. Besides, concealing and sweeping problems under the rug puts performance in danger, since unresolved issues will soon return double in magnitude. In any case, having Greeks in a multicultural team equates having fighters. Greeks' 'masculine' nature makes them 'ignite' and bestir others in difficult times, therefore reviving performance.

Overall, Greeks might not have been the easiest colleagues to work with in the past, since findings of previous research on the topic are pretty clear. However, the thing is that most of this research was conducted many years –even decades– ago, so it was about time things changed as part of the cultural evolution. In a globalized and, for the most part, progressive international society, people need to be resilient and easy to adapt to diversity of all forms. Since cultural clashes are most of the times unavoidable among all types of cultures, it can be stated that not only Greeks should receive some form of intercultural training about their colleagues' culture but their colleagues should also receive specific to the Greek idiosyncrasy training as soon as they hear that a Greek national is about to join their multicultural team. Generic training will only help solve the tip of the iceberg, whereas culture-specific training will make employees adapt to the particularities of a target culture, rendering them more competent to deal with potential issues that may emerge. In other words, training shall be offered as a way of prevention and not as the solution itself, having the power to eliminate the problem at its root before it arises. For those who, no matter how much training they have received, are not eager to be receptive to diversity, probably because of a more conservative mentality, an international public environment is not the right place for them to work in. Critically speaking, it is utter irresponsibility to proclaim that you represent the world while you cannot accept the components of this representation – your multicultural colleagues.

2. General Conclusions

The present research attempted to give light to a topic that has remained neglected for many years, since organizations tend to not give the proper attention to issues of culture before staffing their multicultural workgroups, prioritizing other aspects instead, such as years of experience or qualifications. For this reason, they recruit massively and blindly, without considering the great impact culture can have on multicultural team performance. Unfortunately, many managers still remain untrained in and ignorant of matters of intercultural competence, a situation that is in need of immediate change. Therefore, this study showcases the features of the contemporary Greek culture that could potentially affect, either positively or negatively, performance and multicultural team integrity in order to prevent imminent cultural clashes.

Initially, it was expected that Greek employees have several particularities in their idiosyncrasy that inhibit them from smoothly cooperating with others in multicultural work teams, including extreme competitiveness or ethnocentric attitudes, to mention just a few. However, although they have managed to maintain some of the features they have always had, indicatively favoritism towards their in-group, creativity in problem-solving, and expectations from their managers in terms of developing personalized relations with them, there have been aspects that have dramatically changed. For instance, they have started embracing changes and innovation, are less competitive towards out-groups, and have developed a more respectful attitude towards foreigners, not being as ethnocentric as they used to be in the past. These results reveal the power with which culture can change over the course of years and confirm that stereotypes should neither be perpetuated nor condemnations on the basis of certain characteristics that used to be predominant in the past. Additionally, they prove Greeks' realization of their negative features as well as their strong will for change towards professionalism.

Overall, it is advisable that other researchers in academia repeat the same project for their own countries, so that a manual for the specificities of all cultures around the world can be created and consulted by organizations during processes of recruitment, retention, or even dismissal of personnel. Subsequently, managers should start using these academic findings as a toolkit that will educate them on what to expect in their organization when having multicultural members staffing their teams. We hope that the present paper has paved the way

for this by offering valuable insights into the Greek organizational culture under a fresher, updated, 2022 perspective.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire – English Version

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE IMPACT OF THE CONTEMPORARY GREEK CULTURE ON THE PERFORMANCE OF MULTICULTURAL WORK TEAMS IN INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC ENVIRONMENTS

You are kindly invited to participate in a research study pertaining to the features of the contemporary Greek culture and their impact on the performance of multicultural work teams in international public environments.

The present research is part of student Nikolaos Varsanis' postgraduate thesis, which is carried out in the Department of International and European Studies at University of Macedonia, in the framework of the English-taught Postgraduate Program "Master's Degree in International Public Administration" [Meeting Number of the General Assembly of the IES Department in the framework of which the present research proposal was approved: 4/9-12.2021].

The estimated duration of the survey is fifteen minutes (15') and the criteria for participation in it are defined as follows:

1. Respondents shall be of Greek origin, so that they have shaped their personality on the basis of the influences of the Greek culture.
2. Respondents shall be employed or have been employed in the past –periodically or on a permanent basis– exclusively in international public environments (e.g. International Organizations, International NGOs, EU Institutions and Services, Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Diplomatic Corps, Permanent Greek Representations, etc.) based in Greece or abroad and not in the private sector.

According to the new EU regulation on the protection of personal data (GDPR EU 679/2016), which has been in force since May 2018, the data of the questionnaire will be used exclusively for statistical analysis during the writing of the present thesis and other scientific publications and will remain strictly confidential. This survey is anonymous and respondents cannot be identified in any way, since no personal information such as their email or IP address is collected.

For any questions regarding the research, you can contact the research team on the following email address: ipa21003@uom.edu.gr. Thank you in advance for your participation.

The postgraduate student, Nikolaos Varsanis (ipa21003@uom.edu.gr).
The supervising professor, Dr. Maria Rammata (mrammata@uom.edu.gr).

I certify that I am over 18 years of age and agree to participate in this scientific research.

● SECTION 1 – DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

1. Gender:

- Male
- Female
- Other / n/a

2. Age:

- 18-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 60+

3. Educational Level:

- Compulsory Education
- High School Diploma
- Post-Secondary Education
- Bachelor's Degree
- Master's Degree
- PhD

4. Hierarchical Level:

- Trainee
- Employee
- Project Manager
- Manager
- Other _____

5. Years of Experience:

- 0-5
- 6-10
- 11-15
- 16-20
- 20+

6. Type of Work Body:

- International Organization
- International NGO
- EU Institution / Service
- Diplomatic Corps
- Permanent Greek Representation
- Central Administration (Ministry)
- 1st Degree Local Authority
- 2nd Degree Local Authority
- Legal Entity Governed by Public Law
- Organization
- Other _____

• SECTION 2 – CLOSED-ENDED QUESTIONS:

[Rating Scale: **1** (Not at all) | **2** (Little) | **3** (Somewhat) | **4** (Much) | **5** (A great deal)]

No.:	QUESTIONS:	1	2	3	4	5
1.	It is my desire that my managers have human feelings and personal relations with me, not only caring about job.					
2.	I would not like to be in positions of authority, since taking initiatives and responsibilities in view of uncertain conditions gives me stress.					
3.	I respect my superiors and show them loyalty and obedience.					
4.	I want my managers to be taking my ideas and suggestions into account before reaching their final decision instead of commanding and managing on their own.					
5.	I prefer focusing on 'here' and 'now' to setting long-term goals.					

6.	I have the moral obligation to help those belonging to my in-group ³³ as much as I can out of loyalty and honor.					
7.	I struggle hard to achieve my goals and do not simply wait for what fate will throw at me.					
8.	I feel it is my moral obligation to favor and accommodate the interests of those belonging to my in-group.					
9.	An employee's loyalty is more important than their performance.					
10.	I believe I can do my superiors' job better, to a point where I very often defy them or guide them with tips and suggestions.					
11.	Owing to the prestige of the Greek ancestry and the glory of the ancient Greek history and civilization, I automatically feel that I have a more superior way of thinking and am more competent than people from other nations.					
12.	I seek to build intimacy and good social relationships with my colleagues, as only if there are positive emotions among us can performance increase.					
13.	If I had to choose, I would choose more free time to enjoy life's pleasures and my loved ones over more money or professional enrichment.					
14.	If my family was far away and I was missing them or in case there were problems, I would quit my job to get back to them out of loyalty.					
15.	Human relationships are more important than work and time (e.g. it is acceptable to delay my day and obligations because I started chatting with a colleague).					
16.	I prefer working alone and being appraised on the basis of my individual performance, because I do not want to share my individual achievements with others.					
17.	When my managers treat me with respect and care about me, I feel the moral obligation to try harder and do more than I should for them without even being asked to.					
18.	I do not insist on predetermined formal procedures and formulas to find solutions to complex problems but prefer being creative and improvising in search of alternative solutions.					
19.	I have difficulty admitting my mistakes and failure and often attribute them to external factors (e.g. to fate or the circumstances) to conceal my weaknesses.					
20.	I consider that competition and intense or combative conversations do not abase human relationships but, on the contrary, lead to more constructive results.					
21.	I would manipulate the circumstances to accommodate my personal interests (e.g. I would fake a health problem to claim a sick leave).					
22.	If I or my team get personally offended, I will immediately start a fight to defend my/our honor and reputation.					
23.	I want my superiors to have an excellent knowledge of their field in order for me to take them seriously and respect them.					
24.	I am not concerned about quality, precision, and effectiveness, and I just want to finish my job soon and go home.					
25.	I work and perform better while doing many things simultaneously (multitasking).					
26.	I want my 'competitors' to be seeing my individual achievements or these of my team and I often show them off.					
27.	I am often elusive in my answers and use vague language to communicate messages.					
28.	The existence of formal rules and directives from my superiors gives me a feeling of security.					
29.	I neither trust nor have the moral obligation to help those belonging to out-groups ³⁴ and tend to compete with them or face them with wariness.					
30.	I put emphasis on money, status, and material goods, since they define my position in society and offer me prestige and security.					
31.	When formal channels are complex and time-consuming, I pursue to find a way of access through acquaintances to do my job more quickly.					
32.	I accept authority when coming from someone who belongs to my in-group and cares about me rather than from someone who comes from out-groups and is arrogant,					

³³ In-group: our intimate social circle, "us" (e.g. family, relatives, friends, comrades, people/colleagues with whom we associate and have developed bonds).

³⁴ Out-group: our non-intimate social circle, "them" (e.g. strangers, competitors, people/colleagues with whom we have little or no contact and have not developed bonds).

	even if competent.						
33.	I refuse to work overtime or sacrifice breaks and leaves for the sake of my professional obligations.						
34.	I feel restricted when I have to meet deadlines and stick to strict preset schedules.						
35.	I often question others, even if I agree with them, only to cite my own alternative opinion.						
36.	For those who belong to my in-group, I would modify a situation to make it seem better or tell them what they want to hear in order to please them.						
37.	If I am losing an argument, I will put forward strong opinions to defend my position to the very end in order not to look inferior and risk my honor and prestige.						
38.	During intense conversations, my reactions are impulsive and without behavioral restraint (e.g. I speak loudly without necessarily arguing or use intense words and gestures).						
39.	I expect my managers to take care of my individual needs and treat me with leniency and understanding in return for my loyalty.						
40.	I resist changes and innovation and prefer the current state of affairs.						
41.	I try to undermine those who are more successful than me, seeing the unfairness and competition that exist around me.						
42.	I recognize that low level employees should not get involved in decision-making processes, since this is the responsibility only of those high in hierarchy.						
43.	I grab opportunities the moment they are presented to me and do not delay exploiting them to satisfy my needs and desires.						
44.	I prefer working in teams only with people from my in-group than with people from out-groups, since it is only with them that I feel loyalty and moral responsibility.						
45.	I work based on the satisfaction of moral goals and the collective good rather than on the basis of rewards.						
46.	I find it legitimate to have been favored by someone from within in order to be appointed at a high-ranking position.						
47.	An older manager with many years of experience but mediocre current performance still remains more competent than a younger manager with few years of experience but excellent current performance.						
48.	I get offended when people abroad criticize my country.						
49.	I am inquisitive towards my colleagues in order to come closer to them and not because I want to pry into their personal affairs.						
50.	I care more about networking than doing my job.						
51.	It is difficult for me to plan things out and I wait until the last minute to meet my obligations.						
52.	I get satisfied to a certain extent by seeing others not progressing or even failing.						
53.	I emphasize non-verbal communication cues (e.g. facial expressions, eye movement, or tone of voice) and not just the words themselves.						

• SECTION 3 – OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS:

54. Mention some positive features of the Greek culture that you have observed can benefit the performance of a multicultural work team.

55. Mention some negative features of the Greek culture that you have observed can hinder the performance of a multicultural work team.

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 2: Questionnaire – Greek Version

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΔΡΑΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΟΥΛΤΟΥΡΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΠΟΔΟΣΗ ΠΟΛΥΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΙΚΩΝ ΟΜΑΔΩΝ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ ΣΕ ΔΙΕΘΝΗ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑ

Καλείστε να συμμετέχετε σε έρευνα σχετικά με τα χαρακτηριστικά της σύγχρονης ελληνικής κουλτούρας και την επίδρασή τους στην απόδοση πολυπολιτισμικών ομάδων εργασίας σε διεθνή δημόσια περιβάλλοντα.

Η εν λόγω έρευνα αποτελεί μέρος της μεταπτυχιακής εργασίας του φοιτητή Νικόλαου Βαρσάνη που εκπονείται στο Τμήμα Διεθνών και Ευρωπαϊκών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Μακεδονίας στο πλαίσιο του αγγλόφωνου Προγράμματος Μεταπτυχιακών Σπουδών «Master's Degree in International Public Administration». [Αριθμός Συνεδρίασης της Γενικής Συνέλευσης του Τμήματος ΔΕΣ στο πλαίσιο της οποίας εγκρίθηκε η παρούσα ερευνητική πρόταση: 4/9-12.2021].

Η εκτιμώμενη διάρκεια της έρευνας είναι δεκαπέντε λεπτά (15') και τα κριτήρια συμμετοχής σε αυτήν ορίζονται ως εξής:

1. Οι ερωτηθέντες/-είσες θα πρέπει να είναι ελληνικής καταγωγής, έτσι ώστε να έχουν διαμορφώσει την προσωπικότητά τους με βάση τις επιδράσεις της ελληνικής κουλτούρας.
2. Οι ερωτηθέντες/-είσες θα πρέπει να απασχολούνται ή να έχουν απασχοληθεί κατά το παρελθόν –κατά περιόδους ή σε μόνιμη βάση– αποκλειστικά σε διεθνή δημόσια περιβάλλοντα (π.χ. Διεθνείς Οργανισμούς, Διεθνείς ΜΚΟ, Θεσμικά Όργανα και Υπηρεσίες της Ε.Ε., Υπουργεία Εξωτερικών, Διπλωματικό Σώμα, Μόνιμες Ελληνικές Αντιπροσωπείες, κ.ά.) με έδρα στην Ελλάδα ή στο εξωτερικό και όχι στον ιδιωτικό τομέα.

Σύμφωνα με τον νέο κανονισμό της Ε.Ε. περί προστασίας δεδομένων προσωπικού χαρακτήρα (GDPR EU 679/2016) που έχει τεθεί σε ισχύ από τον Μάιο του 2018, τα δεδομένα του ερωτηματολογίου θα χρησιμοποιηθούν αποκλειστικά για στατιστική ανάλυση κατά τη συγγραφή της παρούσας διατριβής και λοιπών επιστημονικών δημοσιεύσεων και θα παραμείνουν απολύτως εμπιστευτικά. Η έρευνα αυτή είναι ανώνυμη και οι ερωτώμενοι/-ες δε δύνανται να ταυτοποιηθούν με κανέναν τρόπο, καθώς δε συλλέγονται προσωπικά στοιχεία όπως η ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση ή η διεύθυνση IP αυτών.

Για οποιεσδήποτε ερωτήσεις σχετικά με την έρευνα μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με την ερευνητική ομάδα στην ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση: ipa21003@uom.edu.gr. Σας ευχαριστούμε εκ των προτέρων για τη συμμετοχή σας.

Ο μεταπτυχιακός φοιτητής, Νικόλαος Βαρσάνης (ipa21003@uom.edu.gr).
Η επιβλέπουσα καθηγήτρια, Δρ. Μαρία Ραμματά (mrammata@uom.edu.gr).

Βεβαιώνω ότι είμαι άνω των 18 ετών και συμφωνώ να συμμετέχω στη συγκεκριμένη επιστημονική έρευνα.

• ΠΡΩΤΟ ΜΕΡΟΣ – ΔΗΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ:

1. Φύλο:

- Άνδρας
- Γυναίκα
- Άλλο / Δεν απαντώ

2. Ηλικία:

- 18-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 60+

3. Εκπαιδευτικό Επίπεδο:

- Υποχρεωτική Εκπαίδευση
- Απολυτήριο Λυκείου
- Μεταλυκειακή Εκπαίδευση
- Πτυχίο Πανεπιστημίου / ΤΕΙ
- Μεταπτυχιακό Δίπλωμα Ειδίκευσης
- Διδακτορικό Δίπλωμα

4. Ιεραρχικό Επίπεδο Ευθύνης:

- Ασκούμενος / Πρακτική Άσκηση
- Υπάλληλος
- Υπεύθυνος Έργου
- Προϊστάμενος / Διευθυντής
- Άλλο _____

5. Έτη Προϋπηρεσίας:

- 0-5
- 6-10
- 11-15
- 16-20
- 20+

6. Είδος Φορέα Απασχόλησης:

- Διεθνής Οργανισμός
- Διεθνής ΜΚΟ
- Θεσμικό Όργανο / Υπηρεσία της Ε.Ε.
- Διπλωματικό Σώμα
- Μόνιμη Ελληνική Αντιπροσωπεία
- Κεντρική Διοίκηση (Υπουργείο)
- Οργανισμός Τοπικής Αυτοδιοίκησης Α' Βαθμού
- Οργανισμός Τοπικής Αυτοδιοίκησης Β' Βαθμού
- Νομικό Πρόσωπο Δημοσίου Δικαίου
- Οργανισμός
- Άλλο _____

• ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ ΜΕΡΟΣ – ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΥ:

[Κλίμακα Επιλογής Απαντήσεων: **1** (Καθόλου) | **2** (Λίγο) | **3** (Μέτρια) | **4** (Πολύ) | **5** (Εξαιρετικά)]

Αρ.:	ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ:	1	2	3	4	5
1.	Επιθυμία μου είναι οι διευθυντές μου να έχουν ανθρώπινα συναισθήματα και προσωπικές σχέσεις μαζί μου, να μη νοιάζονται μόνο για τη δουλειά.					
2.	Δε θα ήθελα να βρίσκομαι σε θέσεις εξουσίας, γιατί το να λαμβάνω πρωτοβουλίες κι ευθύνες εν όψει αβέβαιων καταστάσεων μου προκαλεί άγχος.					
3.	Σέβομαι τους ανωτέρους μου και τους δείχνω αφοσίωση και υπακοή.					
4.	Επιθυμώ οι διευθυντές μου να λαμβάνουν υπόψιν τις ιδέες και τις προτάσεις μου πριν πάρουν την τελική τους απόφαση παρά να διατάζουν και να διοικούν αυτοβούλως.					
5.	Προτιμώ να επικεντρώνομαι στο «εδώ» και στο «τώρα» παρά να θέτω μακροπρόθεσμους στόχους.					

6.	Έχω την ηθική υποχρέωση να βοηθήσω όσο περισσότερο μπορώ αυτούς που ανήκουν στην ενδο-ομάδα ³⁵ μου από αφοσίωση και τιμή.					
7.	Αγωνίζομαι σκληρά για να πετύχω τους στόχους μου και δεν περιμένω απλά τί θα μου φέρει η μοίρα.					
8.	Νιώθω ηθική μου υποχρέωση να ευνοήσω και να ικανοποιήσω τα συμφέροντα όσων ανήκουν στην ενδο-ομάδα μου.					
9.	Η αφοσίωση ενός εργαζομένου είναι σημαντικότερη από την απόδοσή του.					
10.	Πιστεύω ότι μπορώ να κάνω τη δουλειά των ανωτέρων μου καλύτερα από τους ίδιους, σε σημείο πολλές φορές να τους αψηφώ ή να τους κάνω υποδείξεις.					
11.	Λόγω του κύρους της ελληνικής καταγωγής και της δόξας της αρχαιοελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, νιώθω ότι αυτομάτως έχω ανώτερο τρόπο σκέψης και είμαι ικανότερος/-η από ανθρώπους άλλων κρατών.					
12.	Επιδιώκω να χτίσω οικειότητα και καλές κοινωνικές σχέσεις με τους συναδέλφους μου, καθώς μόνο αν υπάρχουν θετικά συναισθήματα μεταξύ μας μπορεί να αυξηθεί η απόδοση.					
13.	Αν είχα να επιλέξω, θα επέλεγα περισσότερο ελεύθερο χρόνο για να απολαύσω τις χαρές της ζωής και τους αγαπημένους μου παρά περισσότερα χρήματα ή επαγγελματική ανέλιξη.					
14.	Αν η οικογένειά μου ήταν μακριά και μου έλειπε ή υπήρχαν προβλήματα, θα παραιτούμουν απ' τη δουλειά μου για να επιστρέψω κοντά τους από αφοσίωση.					
15.	Οι ανθρώπινες σχέσεις είναι σημαντικότερες απ' τη δουλειά και το χρόνο (π.χ. είναι αποδεκτό να καθυστερήσω τη μέρα μου και τις υποχρεώσεις μου γιατί έπιασα την κουβέντα με έναν συνάδελφο).					
16.	Προτιμώ να δουλεύω ατομικά και να κρίνομαι βάσει της ατομικής μου απόδοσης, γιατί δε θέλω να μοιράζομαι τα προσωπικά μου επιτεύγματα με άλλους.					
17.	Όταν οι διευθυντές μου μού φέρονται με σεβασμό και νοιάζονται για εμένα, νιώθω την ηθική υποχρέωση να προσπαθήσω πιο πολύ και να κάνω περισσότερα απ' όσα οφείλω γι' αυτούς χωρίς καν να μου ζητηθεί.					
18.	Δεν εμμένω σε προκαθορισμένες επίσημες διαδικασίες και μοτίβα για να βρω λύσεις σε σύνθετα προβλήματα αλλά προτιμώ να είμαι δημιουργικός και να αυτοσχεδιάζω προς αναζήτηση εναλλακτικών λύσεων.					
19.	Δυσκολεύομαι να παραδεχτώ τα λάθη και τις αποτυχίες μου και συχνά τα αποδίδω σε εξωτερικούς παράγοντες (π.χ. στην τύχη ή στις συνθήκες) για να αποκρύψω τις αδυναμίες μου.					
20.	Θεωρώ ότι ο ανταγωνισμός και οι έντονες ή επιθετικές συζητήσεις δε φθείρουν τις ανθρώπινες σχέσεις αλλά αντιθέτως οδηγούν σε πιο εποικοδομητικά αποτελέσματα.					
21.	Θα εκμεταλλευόμουν τις συνθήκες για να ικανοποιήσω τα προσωπικά μου συμφέροντα (π.χ. θα παρίστανα ότι είμαι άρρωστος/-η για να λάβω άδεια).					
22.	Αν προσβάλλουν προσωπικά εμένα ή την ομάδα μου, θα ξεκινήσω αμέσως να λογομαχώ προς υπεράσπιση της τιμής και της υπόληψής μου/μας.					
23.	Θέλω οι ανώτεροί μου να έχουν άριστη γνώση του αντικειμένου τους για να τους πάρω στα σοβαρά και να τους σεβαστώ.					
24.	Δε με αφορούν η ποιότητα, η ακρίβεια και η αποτελεσματικότητα και θέλω απλά να τελειώνω τη δουλειά μου σύντομα και να πηγαίνω σπίτι.					
25.	Δουλεύω και αποδίδω καλύτερα όταν κάνω πολλά πράγματα ταυτόχρονα (multitasking).					
26.	Θέλω οι «ανταγωνιστές» μου να βλέπουν τα προσωπικά μου επιτεύγματα ή αυτά της ομάδας μου και συχνά προβαίνω σε επιδείξεις ανωτερότητας για να τα γνωστοποιήσω.					
27.	Συχνά υπεκφεύγω στις απαντήσεις μου και χρησιμοποιώ ασαφή γλώσσα για να επικοινωνήσω μηνύματα.					
28.	Η ύπαρξη επίσημων κανόνων και κατευθυντήριων γραμμών από τους ανωτέρους μου μού δημιουργεί ένα αίσθημα ασφάλειας.					
29.	Δεν εμπιστεύομαι ούτε έχω την ηθική υποχρέωση να βοηθήσω όσους ανήκουν σε εξω-ομάδες ³⁶ και τείνω να τους ανταγωνίζομαι ή να τους αντιμετωπίζω με επιφύλαξη.					

³⁵ Ενδο-ομάδα: ο στενός μας κύκλος, το «εμείς» (π.χ. οικογένεια, συγγενείς, φίλοι, συναγωνιστές, άτομα/συνάδελφοι με τους οποίους συναναστρεφόμαστε και έχουμε αναπτύξει δεσμούς).

30.	Δίνω βαρύτητα στα χρήματα, στο status και στα υλικά αγαθά, καθώς αυτά ορίζουν τη θέση μου στην κοινωνία και μου προσφέρουν κύρος και ασφάλεια.					
31.	Όταν οι επίσημες οδοί είναι πολύπλοκες και χρονοβόρες, επιδιώκω να βρω έναν τρόπο πρόσβασης μέσω γνωριμιών για να κάνω τη δουλειά μου πιο γρήγορα.					
32.	Δέχομαι την εξουσία όταν προέρχεται από κάποιον που ανήκει στην ενδο-ομάδα μου και νοιάζεται για εμένα παρά από κάποιον που προέρχεται από εξω-ομάδες και είναι υπερόπτης, ακόμη κι αν είναι ικανός.					
33.	Αρνούμαι να δουλέψω υπερωρίες ή να θυσιάσω διαλείμματα και άδειες για χάρη των επαγγελματικών μου υποχρεώσεων.					
34.	Περιορίζομαι όταν πρέπει να τηρώ προθεσμίες και αυστηρά προκαθορισμένα προγράμματα.					
35.	Συχνά αμφισβητώ τους άλλους, ακόμη κι αν συμφωνώ μαζί τους, μόνο και μόνο για να παραθέσω και τη δική μου εναλλακτική άποψη.					
36.	Γι' αυτούς που ανήκουν στην ενδο-ομάδα μου, θα τροποποιούσα μια κατάσταση για να την κάνω να φανεί καλύτερη ή θα τους έλεγα αυτά που θέλουν να ακούσουν για να τους ικανοποιήσω.					
37.	Αν χάνω σε μια λογομαχία, θα παραθέσω ισχυρά επιχειρήματα για να υπερασπιστώ τη θέση μου μέχρι τέλους προκειμένου να μη φανώ κατώτερος/-η και διακινδυνεύσω την τιμή και το κύρος μου.					
38.	Κατά τη διάρκεια έντονων συζητήσεων, οι αντιδράσεις μου είναι παρορμητικές και χωρίς συμπεριφορική αυτοσυγκράτηση (π.χ. μιλάω δυνατά χωρίς απαραίτητα να μαλώνω ή χρησιμοποιώ έντονες λέξεις και χειρονομίες).					
39.	Προσδοκώ οι διευθυντές μου να φροντίζουν τις ατομικές μου ανάγκες και να μου φέρονται με επιείκεια και κατανόηση με αντάλλαγμα την αφοσίωσή μου.					
40.	Αντιστέκομαι στις αλλαγές και στην καινοτομία και προτιμώ την υπάρχουσα τάξη των πραγμάτων.					
41.	Προσπαθώ να υπονομεύω αυτούς που είναι πιο επιτυχημένοι από εμένα βλέποντας τον ανταγωνισμό και τις αδικίες που υφίστανται γύρω μου.					
42.	Αναγνωρίζω πως εργαζόμενοι σε χαμηλά ιεραρχικά επίπεδα δε θα πρέπει να εμπλέκονται σε διαδικασίες λήψης αποφάσεων, καθώς αυτό είναι αρμοδιότητα μόνο των ιεραρχικά ανώτερων.					
43.	Δράττομαι των ευκαιριών όταν αυτές παρουσιάζονται μπροστά μου και δεν καθυστερώ να τις εκμεταλλευτώ προς ικανοποίηση των αναγκών και επιθυμιών μου.					
44.	Προτιμώ να δουλέψω ομαδικά μόνο με ανθρώπους από την ενδο-ομάδα μου παρά με ανθρώπους από εξω-ομάδες, γιατί μόνο μαζί τους νιώθω αφοσίωση και ηθική ευθύνη.					
45.	Εργάζομαι με γνώμονα την ικανοποίηση ηθικών στόχων και το συλλογικό καλό παρά με γνώμονα την αμοιβή.					
46.	Βρίσκω θεμιτό το να έχεις ευνοηθεί από κάποιον εκ των έσω για να βρεθείς σε μια υψηλόβαθμη θέση.					
47.	Ένας γηραιότερος διευθυντής με πολλά χρόνια εμπειρίας αλλά μέτρια τωρινή απόδοση παραμένει ικανότερος από έναν νεαρότερο διευθυντή με λίγα χρόνια εμπειρίας αλλά άριστη τωρινή απόδοση.					
48.	Προσβάλλομαι όταν στο εξωτερικό ασκείται κριτική στη χώρα μου.					
49.	Είμαι φιλοπερίεργος/-η με τους συναδέλφους μου για να έρθω πιο κοντά τους κι όχι επειδή θέλω να γίνω αδιάκριτος/-η με τις προσωπικές τους υποθέσεις.					
50.	Με νοιάζει περισσότερο να δικτυωθώ παρά να κάνω τη δουλειά μου.					
51.	Μου είναι δύσκολο να προγραμματίζω και περιμένω μέχρι την τελευταία στιγμή για να ανταποκριθώ στις υποχρεώσεις μου.					
52.	Ικανοποιούμαι ως ένα βαθμό βλέποντας τους άλλους να μην προοδεύουν ή ακόμη και να αποτυγχάνουν.					
53.	Δίνω έμφαση σε μη-λεκτικά σήματα επικοινωνίας (π.χ. εκφράσεις του προσώπου, κίνηση των ματιών ή τόνο της φωνής) κι όχι μόνο στις λέξεις αυτές καθ' αυτές.					

³⁶ Εξω-ομάδα: ο μη-στενός μας κύκλος, το «αυτοί» (π.χ. άγνωστοι, ανταγωνιστές, άτομα/συνάδελφοι με τους οποίους έχουμε συναναστραφεί καθόλου ή ελάχιστα και δεν έχουμε αναπτύξει δεσμούς).

• **ΤΡΙΤΟ ΜΕΡΟΣ – ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΑΝΟΙΧΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΥ:**

54. Αναφέρετε μερικά θετικά χαρακτηριστικά της ελληνικής κουλτούρας που έχετε παρατηρήσει πως ωφελούν την απόδοση μιας πολυπολιτισμικής ομάδας εργασίας.

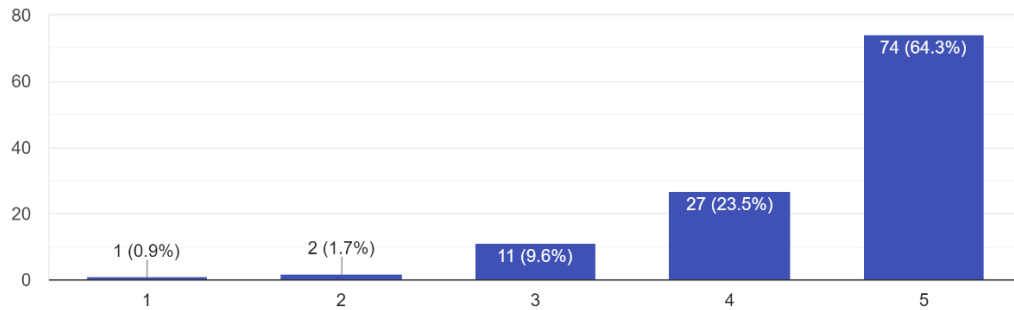
55. Αναφέρετε μερικά αρνητικά χαρακτηριστικά της ελληνικής κουλτούρας που έχετε παρατηρήσει πως παρακωλύουν την απόδοση μιας πολυπολιτισμικής ομάδας εργασίας.

Σας ευχαριστούμε για τη συμμετοχή σας!

Appendix 3: Sample of the Likert Scales

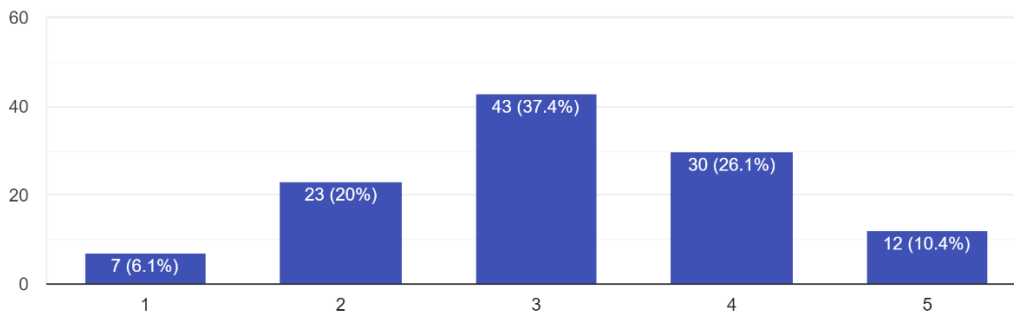
4. Επιθυμώ οι διευθυντές μου να λαμβάνουν υπόψιν τις ιδέες και τις προτάσεις μου πριν πάρουν την τελική τους απόφαση παρά να διατάζουν και να διοικούν αυτοβούλως.

115 responses



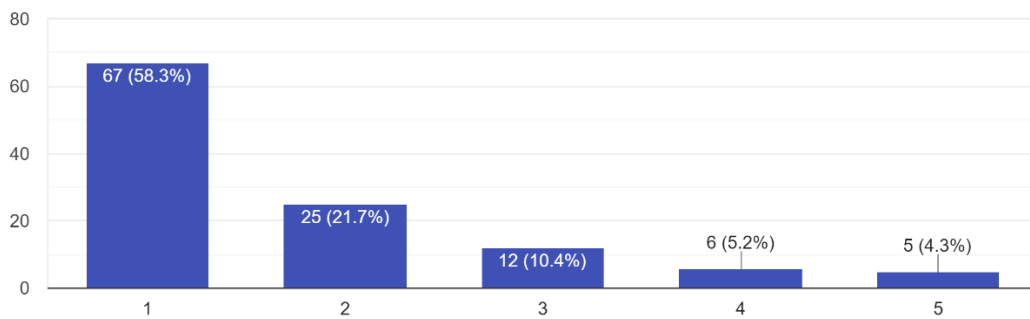
9. Η αφοσίωση ενός εργαζομένου είναι σημαντικότερη από την απόδοσή του.

115 responses



21. Θα εκμεταλλευόμουν τις συνθήκες για να ικανοποιήσω τα προσωπικά μου συμφέροντα (π.χ. θα παρίστανα ότι είμαι άρρωστος/-η για να λάβω άδεια).

115 responses



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