THE IMPACT OF CULTURE ON MORAL AND ETHICAL DECISION-MAKING:
AN INTEGRATIVE LITERATURE REVIEW

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Abstract

Canadian Forces (CF) operations today occur within the Joint, Interagency, Multinational and Public (JIMP) framework. This shift has implications for moral and ethical decision-making (MEDM) in operations, in part, because of the potential for cultural differences to exert influence. As part of a multi-year program at Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC) Toronto investigating MEDM in an operational context, this report considers the impact of culture on MEDM. The first part of this report discusses the relevant theory and research related to the impact of cultural diversity on psychological processes, with particular attention to MEDM. Though there are a number of cultural dimensions for investigating cross-cultural differences, this report limited its scope by focusing primarily on the individualism/collectivism dimension, also understood as independent/interdependent self-construal. Research highlights cross-cultural differences in cognition, motivation, emotions, and behaviour. In general, people from non-Western cultures (collectivist or interdependent) pay greater attention to situational and contextual factors than people from Western cultures (individualist or independent), and this shapes how they see, think, and interact with their world. Cross-cultural differences impact MEDM in that they shape construals of moral obligations, judgments of accountability, attributions of responsibility, conceptions of agency, feelings of guilt, and ethical stances to conflict resolution and negotiation situations. Cross-cultural differences could also impact on team processes. Practical implications of these differences on multinational team processes are also considered. The second part of the report highlights anecdotal evidence of cultural differences in operations elicited from senior CF commanders in a previous study (Thomson, Adams, and Sartori, 2006a). Upon examination, national cultural identity appeared to be a relevant component for commanders' MEDM in operations. In many cases, CF commanders compared Canadian culture to a number of other nations, suggesting Canadian soldiers were ethically different for a number of reasons. These anecdotes presented some of the situations that CF personnel may confront in multinational operations and suggest the value of cultural awareness training and education for CF members at all ranks. A new alternative framework for developing cross-cultural competency (3C) (Selmeski, 2006) is reviewed, and recommendations for future cross-cultural research in a military context and integration into the CF training system are made.

Résumé

Les opérations militaires des Forces canadiennes (FC) s'inscrivent aujourd'hui à l'intérieur du cadre interarmées, interorganisationnel, multinational et public (IIMP), ce qui a des conséquences sur la prise de décisions morales et éthiques (PDME) lors desdites opérations, car il se pourrait notamment que les différences culturelles entrent en ligne de compte. Dans le cadre du programme pluriannuel mis sur pied par Recherche et développement pour la défense Canada (RDDC) – Toronto pour étudier la PDME dans un contexte opérationnel, le présent rapport examine l'impact de la culture sur la PDME. La première partie de ce rapport porte sur les théories pertinentes ainsi que sur les travaux de recherche relatifs à l'impact de la diversité culturelle sur les processus psychologiques, tout en accordant une attention particulière à la PDME. Bien que plusieurs dimensions culturelles aient pu être prises en compte dans l'étude des différences interculturelles, les auteurs du présent rapport en ont limité la portée en mettant principalement l'accent sur la dimension individualiste/collectiviste, également connue comme le concept de soi indépendant/interdépendant. Ce travail de recherche soulignait les différences interculturelles en matière de cognition, de motivation, d'émotions et de comportement. Généralement, les personnes issues de cultures non occidentales (collectivistes ou interdépendantes) accordent une plus grande attention aux facteurs conjoncturels et contextuels que les personnes issues de cultures occidentales (individualistes ou indépendantes), ce qui influence la manière dont elles voient et pensent le monde dans lequel elles vivent, ainsi que la manière dont elles interagissent avec les autres. Les différences interculturelles ont une influence sur la PDME dans la mesure où elles façonnent la perception des obligations morales, les jugements en matière de responsabilité, les attributions de responsabilité, la perception des institutions, les sentiments de culpabilité, ainsi que les positions éthiques en matière de résolution de conflits ou lors de situations de négociation. Les différences interculturelles peuvent également avoir un impact sur les processus collectifs. Les conséquences pratiques de ces différences sur les processus collectifs multinationaux sont également examinées. La seconde partie du rapport porte sur des données empiriques relatives à des opérations militaires durant lesquelles des commandants supérieurs des FC ont relevé des différences culturelles signalées lors d'une étude précédente (Thomson, Adams et Sartori 2006a). L'examen de ces données a permis de constater que l'identité culturelle nationale semblait constituer une composante pertinente pour les commandants qui devaient prendre des décisions morales et éthiques lors de certaines opérations militaires. Des commandants des FC ont, dans de nombreux cas, comparé la culture canadienne avec celle de plusieurs autres nations, laissant ainsi penser que les soldats canadiens se percevaient différemment d'un point de vue éthique, et ce, pour un certain nombre de raisons. Ces rapports empiriques présentent certaines situations dans lesquelles le personnel des FC pourrait se trouver lors d'opérations multinationales et insistent sur la nécessité de former et d'instruire les militaires de tous grades des FC en vue de les sensibiliser aux différences culturelles. Un nouveau cadre visant l'acquisition de compétences interculturelles (3C) [Selmeski 2006] a été examiné et on a formulé des recommandations relatives au lancement de travaux de recherche interculturelle dans un contexte militaire, de même que leur intégration dans le système de formation des FC.

Executive Summary

Canadian Forces (CF) operations today occur within the Joint, Interagency, Multinational and Public (JIMP) framework. This shift has implications for moral and ethical decision-making (MEDM) in operations, in part, because of the potential for cultural differences to exert influence. Working in teams with members from diverse cultures (e.g. organizational or cross-cultural), who hold different value systems and priorities, or approach issues from different perspectives, may shape how ethical situations are construed and resolved. As part of a multi-year program at Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC) Toronto investigating MEDM in an operational context, this report considers the impact of culture on MEDM. This report is divided into two parts.

The first part of the report discusses the relevant theory and details select research related to the impact of cultural diversity on psychological processes, such as cognition, motivation, emotions, and behaviour, with particular attention to MEDM. Though there are a number of cultural dimensions for investigating cross-cultural differences, this report limited its scope by focusing primarily on Geertz Hofstede's (2005) individualism/collectivism dimension as it is considered, by many psychologists, as the most effective way for understanding cultural differences. Moreover, research covering this dimension is broad. Many theorists have tried to identify the psychological underpinnings associated with individualism/collectivism, most notably, Markus and Kitayama (1991, 2003). They suggest cross-cultural differences are largely a product of self-construal (i.e. independent vs. interdependent), and it is the particular self-construal which shapes values, ways of being, and how one sees reality. For example, seeing the self as primarily *interdependent* (i.e. understanding the self inside the situation, attached and connected) or *independent* (i.e., understanding the self outside the situation, detached and unique) can help explain these differences in knowledge representation, expressions and motives as well as experience of emotions and behaviour. The research reviewed for this report is consistent with this explanation.

Generally speaking, people from non-Western cultures (e.g. Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Hindu Indians), who typically view the self as interdependent, pay greater attention to situational and contextual factors and are more willing to include these factors in their interpretations and descriptions of reality than people from Western cultures (e.g. American, Canadian), who typically view the self as independent. The former show greater field dependence and the latter attend more to particular properties of phenomenon in isolation from the situation or context. These cross-cultural differences impact MEDM in that they shape construals of moral obligations, judgments of accountability, attributions of responsibility, conceptions of agency, feelings of guilt, and ethical stances to conflict resolution and negotiation situations.

Further, research provides strong evidence of cross-cultural differences in a number of psychological processes, which will likely have implications for CF personnel participating in multinational military teams. There are a number of team processes (e.g. shared knowledge, team climate, coordination, communication, etc.) that could potentially be impacted by these differences, and this will be determined by the kind of team as well as the team task. Practical implications of cross-cultural differences on multinational military teams are considered.

The second part of the report highlights anecdotal evidence of cultural differences in operations elicited from senior CF commanders in a previous study (Thomson, Adams, and Sartori, 2006a). Upon examination, national cultural identity appeared to be a relevant component for MEDM in operations. In many cases, CF commanders compared Canadian culture to a number of other

nations, suggesting Canadian soldiers perceived themselves to be ethically different for a number of reasons. They argued Canadian soldiers had a unique set of values and attitudes, which influenced how they operated overseas. For example, respondents cited the apparent ability of CF members' to look beyond their own value system to understand others' perspectives. As well, CF commanders thought Canadians strongly adhered to the notion of human rights and the rule of law, which shaped how they conducted themselves in operations in comparison to other nations. Professionalism and the capacity for compassion were also said to be unique to Canadian soldiers. CF Commanders thought that Canadian soldiers, especially the junior officers, were more empowered compared to other nations' militaries, and this, they thought, contributed to better moral and ethical decisions. Some of these cross-cultural differences may have a number of implications on multinational team processes. These anecdotes point to cross-cultural differences, or at least perceived differences that CF personnel may experience in multinational operations, and suggest the value of cultural awareness training and education for CF members at all ranks. A new alternative framework for developing cross-cultural competency (3C) (Selmeski, 2006) is reviewed, and recommendations for future cross-cultural research in a military context and integration into the CF training system are made.

Sommaire

Les opérations militaires des Forces canadiennes (FC) s'inscrivent aujourd'hui à l'intérieur du cadre interarmées, interorganisationnel, multinational et public (IIMP), ce qui a des conséquences sur la prise de décisions morales et éthiques (PDME) lors desdites opérations, car il se pourrait notamment que les différences culturelles entrent en ligne de compte. Travailler en équipe avec des membres issus de cultures diverses (par exemple, organisationnelles ou interculturelles), dont les systèmes de valeurs et les priorités sont différents ou qui voient les problèmes d'un autre point de vue, peut influencer la manière dont les situations causant des difficultés éthiques sont perçues et résolues. Dans le cadre du programme pluriannuel mis sur pied par Recherche et développement pour la défense Canada (RDDC) – Toronto pour étudier la PDME dans un contexte opérationnel, le présent rapport examine l'impact de la culture sur la PDME. Le présent rapport est divisé en deux parties.

La première partie aborde les théories pertinentes et fait état de certains travaux de recherche relatifs à l'impact de la diversité culturelle sur les processus psychologiques tels que la cognition, la motivation, les émotions et le comportement, tout en accordant une attention particulière à la PDME. Plusieurs dimensions culturelles auraient pu être prises en compte dans l'étude des différences interculturelles, mais les auteurs du présent rapport en ont limité la portée en mettant principalement l'accent sur la dimension individualiste/collectiviste (Geertz Hofstede 2005), étant donné que cette approche est considérée par de nombreux psychologues comme la plus efficace pour comprendre les différences culturelles. De plus, les travaux de recherche portant sur cette dimension sont de grande portée. De nombreux théoriciens, dont les plus notables sont Markus et Kitayama (1991, 2003), ont tenté de déterminer les bases psychologiques de l'individualisme/du collectivisme. Selon eux, les différences interculturelles résultent en grande partie du concept de soi (c'est-à-dire indépendant *versus* interdépendant), lequel influence particulièrement nos valeurs, notre façon d'être et notre façon de percevoir la réalité. Par exemple, le fait de se concevoir principalement comme *interdépendant* (c'est-à-dire, se percevoir à l'intérieur d'une situation comme étant lié et solidaire) ou *indépendant* (c'est-à-dire, se percevoir en dehors d'une situation comme étant détaché et unique) permettrait d'expliquer ces différences en matière de représentation des connaissances, d'expressions et d'ambitions, ainsi que de perception d'émotions et de comportements. Les travaux de recherche examinés dans le cadre du présent rapport sont conformes à cette explication.

Généralement, les personnes issues de cultures non occidentales (par exemple, les Japonais, les Coréens, les Chinois, les hindous de l'Inde), qui se perçoivent habituellement comme interdépendantes, accordent une plus grande attention aux facteurs circonstanciels et contextuels et sont plus disposées à tenir compte de ces facteurs dans leur interprétation et leur description de la réalité, comparativement aux personnes issues de cultures occidentales (par exemple, les Américains ou les Canadiens), qui se perçoivent habituellement comme indépendantes. Le premier groupe est caractérisé par une plus grande dépendance du champ, tandis que le second accorde plus d'attention aux propriétés particulières de phénomènes qu'il examine indépendamment de la situation ou du contexte. Ces différences interculturelles ont une influence sur la PDME dans la mesure où elles façonnent la perception des obligations morales, les jugements en matière de responsabilité, les attributions de responsabilité, la perception des institutions, les sentiments de culpabilité, ainsi que les positions éthiques en matière de résolution de conflits ou lors de situations de négociation.

De plus, des données probantes issues de la recherche montrent que les différences interculturelles entrent en ligne de compte dans plusieurs processus psychologiques, lesquels revêtent probablement de l'importance pour le personnel des FC faisant partie d'équipes militaires multinationales. Plusieurs processus collectifs (par exemple, partage des connaissances, ambiance au sein de l'équipe, coordination, communication, etc.) pourraient être influencés par ces différences, influence qui dépendra à son tour du type d'équipe ainsi que de la tâche que celle-ci doit remplir. Les conséquences pratiques des différences interculturelles sur les équipes militaires multinationales ont été examinées.

La seconde partie du rapport porte sur des données empiriques relatives à des opérations militaires durant lesquelles des commandants supérieurs des FC ont relevé des différences culturelles signalées lors d'une étude précédente (Thomson, Adams et Sartori 2006a). L'examen de ces données a permis de constater que l'identité culturelle nationale semblait constituer une composante pertinente pour les commandants qui devaient prendre des décisions morales et éthiques lors de certaines opérations militaires. Des commandants des FC ont, dans de nombreux cas, comparé la culture canadienne avec celle de plusieurs autres nations, laissant ainsi penser que les soldats canadiens se percevaient différemment d'un point de vue éthique, et ce, pour plusieurs raisons. Ils soutenaient que les valeurs et les attitudes des soldats canadiens étaient uniques, ce qui influençait la manière dont ils opéraient à l'étranger. Par exemple, les répondants ont cité la capacité apparente des membres des FC de porter leur regard au-delà de leur propre système de valeurs pour comprendre le point de vue des autres. Les commandants des FC pensaient également que les Canadiens tenaient fermement à la notion de droits de la personne et de règles de droit, ce qui avait un impact sur la manière dont ils se conduisaient lors de certaines opérations militaires, comparativement à des militaires d'autres nations. Le professionnalisme et la propension à la compassion ont également été décrits comme des caractéristiques propres aux soldats canadiens. Les commandants des FC pensaient également que les soldats canadiens, en particulier les officiers subalternes, avaient une plus grande liberté d'action, comparativement aux militaires d'autres pays, ce qui expliquait en partie, selon eux, la prise de meilleures décisions morales et éthiques. Certaines de ces différences interculturelles peuvent avoir plusieurs conséquences sur les processus collectifs multinationaux. Ces rapports empiriques soulignent les différences interculturelles ou, à tout le moins, les différences pouvant être perçues par le personnel des FC lors d'opérations militaires multinationales; ces rapports insistent également sur la nécessité de former et d'instruire les membres des FC de tous grades en vue de les sensibiliser aux différences culturelles. Un nouveau cadre visant l'acquisition de compétences interculturelles (3C) [Selmeski 2006] a été examiné, et on a formulé des recommandations relatives au lancement de travaux de recherche interculturelle dans un contexte militaire, de même que leur intégration dans le système de formation des FC.

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1. Project Overview

1.1 Background

Canadian Forces (CF) operations of the future will occur within the Joint, Interagency, Multinational and Public (JIMP) framework. This shift may have implications for moral and ethical decision-making (MEDM) in operations, in part, because of the potential for cultural differences to exert influence. Team members from diverse cultures with different value systems and priorities may construe, manage and resolve ethical situations differently. This literature review will consider the potential impact of culture on MEDM. More specifically, as part of the Collaborative Performance and Learning Section's (DRDC Toronto) larger program of research investigating MEDM in a CF operational context, this report will look at the impact of cultural diversity on particular psychological processes, such as cognition, motivation, emotions, and behaviour, with special attention given to the process of MEDM. There are a number of critical questions driving this review. For example, will seemingly innocent actions or acts of omission by Canadians be interpreted by others as moral violations or vice versa? Are there cross-cultural differences regarding what constitutes a moral obligation? Are there particular elements of the decision-making processes more salient in one culture over another? And what kinds of challenges are multinational teams likely to face in ethical situations when their cultural perspectives differ? How does this impact the process of MEDM? And what aspects of culture are important to MEDM? Are these consistent across nations? Can MEDM processes be predicted on the basis of national culture? Do people from different cultures approach and resolve moral and ethical dilemmas differently (and if so how)? These are some of the questions the following report hopes to address.

1.2 Purpose

The aim of this project is twofold. The first part addresses relevant theory and select research related to the impact of cultural diversity on MEDM. This section addresses the impact of culture on psychological processes, such as cognition, motivation, emotion and behaviour. The second part of the project will consider potential cultural themes emerging from anecdotal evidence of cross-cultural differences in operations provided by senior CF commanders in a previous interview study (Thomson, Adams, and Sartori, 2006a). First-hand accounts can be further assessed for the potential use in future research exploring MEDM in varying cultural contexts.

1.3 Scope

The literature review focuses on available research relevant to cultural diversity on MEDM with a specific focus on multinational teams. This research, however, is relatively undeveloped. As such, research that speaks more generally to the impact of cultural diversity on decision-making in general has also been considered when the nature of the decision to be made could be extrapolated to the moral and ethical domain. Moreover, accounts concerning the impact of cross-cultural differences on multinational military team processes are introduced.

1.4   Work Items

The following work items were undertaken:

- An article was written for a Canadian Forces Leadership Institute (CFLI) publication, *Impetus to action: Moral and ethical decision-making in Canadian Forces operations* based on the Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC) Toronto and Human*systems* Inc. presentation at the 7th Canadian Conference on Ethical Leadership, 28-29 November 2006, Kingston, ON, Canada.
- A search of the literature to identify relevant journal articles, reports, books, etc., pertaining to the impact of cultural diversity on MEDM in multinational teams.
- Approximately 30 articles were selected from those identified in the search and were reviewed.
- Examination of existing scenarios (Thomson et al., 2006a) for identification and consolidation of cultural themes, with a view to assessing their feasibility for future MEDM research.
- A DRDC contractor's report documenting the results of the literature review and scenarios was written.

1.5   Deliverables

The following deliverables were created under this contract:

- A publication for CFLI, *Impetus to action: Moral and ethical decision-making in Canadian Forces operations*.
- Progress reports (3) at the end of each month for the duration of the project.
- CD with electronic copies (when possible) of the articles reviewed.
- A report on the literature review and scenario documentation.

1.6   Acronyms

The following is a list of acronyms used throughout the report.

Acronym	Long Form
CF	Canadian Forces
CFLI	Canadian Forces Leadership Institute
CO	Commanding Officer
DRDC	Defence Research and Development Canada
JIMP	Joint Interagency Multinational Public
MEDM	Moral and ethical decision-making
MONUC	Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
PDF	Professional Development Framework
PSO	Peace Support Operations
PSTC	Peace Support Training Centre
RFT	Rod and Frame Test
SMWT	Self-Managing Work Team
UN	United Nations
UNMO	United Nations Military Observer
USMC	United States Marine Corps

2. Methods and Results

2.1 MindMap and Keywords

To begin, a mindmap was generated to provide an illustration of the major constructs and other research areas relevant to the topic of cultural influences on MEDM in multinational teams. This process involved a brainstorming session with all members of the research team, and relied on their cumulative knowledge and experience with the pertinent scientific, psychological and military domains. From the mindmap, a set of keywords was developed to focus the literature search. The team established a number of core concepts, which included morals and ethics, decision-making, emotion, culture, cultural dimensions, team, team process, team performance, and military (see Table 1).

Table 1: Keywords

Core Concept	Keywords
Morals & Ethics	morals, ethics, values, principles, justice, normative, code of conduct, customs, ideology, law, responsibility, accountability
Decision-Making	heuristics, algorithms, recognition-primed decision-making, stereotyping, prejudice, categorization, self-fulfilling prophecy, reasoning, judgment, choice, assessment, evaluation, dilemma, rational, rules, intention, agency, counter-factual
Emotion	sympathy, empathy, altruism, shame, dread, regret, guilt, stress and coping
Culture	national culture, group identity, diversity, multinational, multicultural, attitudes, beliefs
Cultural Dimensions	power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity vs. femininity, long-term vs. short-term orientation, thinking style, openness to change, self-enhancement, conservation, self-transcendence, independent vs. interdependent, egalitarian vs. status, risk vs. restraint, direct vs. indirect, task vs. relationship, activity orientation, thinking orientation
Team	teamwork, group, workgroup, organization, shared mental model, team mental model, shared situation awareness, shared knowledge, shared cognition, distributed cognition, transactional memory, team cognition, common intent, common ground
Team Process	communication, coordination, collaboration, cooperation, interdependence, integrative, interaction, connectivity, adaptability, adaptation, planning, workload, team climate
Team Performance	team effectiveness, task performance, task effectiveness
Military	Army, Navy, Air Force, Canadian Forces, USMC, rules of engagement, tactical, operational, strategic, soldier, war, doctrine

After establishing the core concepts, primary keywords were then developed. The latter terms were the most important words used in the search as they represented the broad constructs relevant to research regarding the impact of cultural diversity on MEDM in multinational teams. The primary keywords ensured sampling of literature from several different domains within the core construct, and their use was guided by what emerged from the core concepts. For example, for the core concept of "culture", primary keywords such as "national culture", "religion", "multicultural", and "group identity" emerged. The purpose of the primary keywords was to ensure that those aspects particular to the topic at hand were tapped (e.g. "multicultural") and those not relevant to the topic at hand were discounted (e.g. "religion"). Related keywords provided a further layer of detail to the

core concept, and they were used in conjunction with the core concept and primary keywords. This had the result of truly narrowing the search to particular relevant articles.

2.2   Databases

The following primary databases were the most relevant for searching the scientific, psychological and military domains.

Table 2: Primary databases for scientific/academic search

Database	Description
PsycINFO	The PsycINFO database is a collection of electronically stored bibliographic references, often with abstracts or summaries, to psychological literature from the 1800s to the present. The available literature includes material published in 50 countries, but is all presented in English. Books and chapters published worldwide are also covered in the database, as well as technical reports and dissertations from the last several decades.
NTIS	National Technical Information Service is an agency of the U.S. Department of Commerce's Technology Administration. It is the official source for government sponsored U.S. and worldwide scientific, technical, engineering, and business related information. The database contains almost three million titles, including 370,000 technical reports from U.S. government research. The information in the database is gathered from U.S. government agencies and government agencies of countries around the world.
CISTI	Canada Institute for Scientific and Technical Information houses a comprehensive collection of publications in science, technology, and medicine. It contains over 50,000 serial titles and 600,000 books, reports, and conference proceedings from around the world.
Public STINET	Public STINET is available to the public, free of charge. It provides access to citations of unclassified unlimited documents that have been entered into DTIC's Technical Reports Collection, as well as the electronic full-text of many of these documents. Public STINET also provides access to the Air University Library Index to Military Periodicals, Staff College Automated Military Periodical Index, DoD Index to Specifications and Standards, and Research and Development Descriptive Summaries.
WWW	World Wide Web

2.3   Selection of Articles

The search of the databases generated approximately 250 titles and abstracts. The research team reviewed these and ranked each (primary, secondary, or tertiary) according to its relevance. Priority was given to those articles that represented the core concepts, and higher priority was given to articles that discussed multiple core concepts than to articles that addressed only a single core concept. Once titles and abstracts were ranked according to relevance, the research team obtained as many of the primary articles as possible. Overall, the references comprised books, journal articles and technical reports from the behavioural sciences, military, and business domains.

2.4   Review of Articles

Once final articles were obtained, researchers began to review and write on the articles that pertained to various sections of the report. After reviewing approximately 20 articles and chapters, the research team developed a broad outline of the major issues. This outline was used to further categorize the applicability of the other articles and to focus the review of the remaining obtained articles. In all, approximately 30 primary articles were reviewed.

2.5 Structure of the Report

The first section of the report briefly explores the future CF operational context and the potential impact of cultural diversity on MEDM in general and in the context of multinational teams. It also describes the concept of culture and the cultural dimensions that are prominent in existing research. Following this, the second section details research and theory relevant to the influence of culture on cognition, motivation, emotion and behaviour, and how this pertains to MEDM specifically. Implications regarding the impact of culture on multinational military teams are considered. The third section of the report details CF commanders' perceptions of other nations' militaries and how these differ from the CF. Examples arise from first hand accounts given in an earlier project (Thomson et al., 2006a). As well, a framework for developing cross-cultural competency (Selmeski, 2006) in the CF is discussed, and then recommendations to advance future research regarding the impact of cultural diversity on MEDM in multinational teams are made in conclusion.

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3. Introduction

The Canadian Forces (CF) has conducted many different types of operations with diverse military mandates throughout its history. Some of these were strictly war fighting (e.g. the Boer War, World War I and II, the Korean War), others were peacekeeping (e.g. Cyprus, former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Haiti). Today, the CF deploys approximately 3,000 personnel on many different missions[1], the largest contingent being Afghanistan. Culture is likely to influence all of these operations in some way. For example, in all of these operations, the CF operates within a host country, whose culture often varies quite dramatically from Canadian culture. As well, operations today include diverse coalition forces with a broad representation of cultural backgrounds. For example, the following countries provide military personnel for the United Nations (UN) Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC): Algeria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Canada, China, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, France, Ghana, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Jordan, Kenya, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Senegal, Serbia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Yemen and Zambia. The diversity in this particular UN mission is not unique. As one member of the CF explained, "You are dealing with people that have different hygienic standards than you do, different eating habits, different work ethic, different commitment to the mission". How these operations unfold may well be impacted by differences in culture.

Similarly, the decisions that CF personnel make in moral and ethical situations may be very different from those made by members of other cultures. It is critical that personnel understand both the extent to which their own perceptions, motivation, feelings, and behaviour may be subtly influenced by their own cultures when they make moral and ethical decisions as well as understanding the influence of culture on the decisions that other people make. Only this understanding will enable the best possible cooperation and collaboration amongst teams when moral and ethical decisions need to be made.

The following two examples from CF members illustrate how cultural differences can create and/or exacerbate moral quandaries in operations. First, as part of a United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission, a CF commander was ordered by his Commanding Officer (CO), who was from a different country, to set up a blockade on a humanitarian route as a show of force. The Canadian commander thought that this action posed an unnecessary risk to his troops, was likely to accomplish little, and was contrary to the mission's objectives. Describing his moral dilemma to obey or disobey the order, the CF commander explained that the particular national force that he was working under "operated a little differently than we did…Their approach is different… [They] tended to throw their weight around a little bit more" (Thomson, Adams, & Sartori, 2006a)[2]. This difference in approach to operations was, in his eyes, a result of his CO's national culture. Another soldier, reflecting on his mission in the former Yugoslavia, underscored the subtle influence of culture and its impact on moral and ethical behaviour. He explained, "One peacekeeper nearly got himself killed by dumping a cup of water on the ground which had been offered to him by a

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[1] For a breakdown of current CF operations, please see: http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/operations/current_ops_e.asp

[2] For a detailed description of the moral dilemma and how it was resolved please see Thomson, M, Adams, B, and Sartori, J. (2006a, p. 25). Moral and ethical decision-making in Canadian Forces Operations. DRDC Toronto CR 2006-013. Defence R&D Canada Toronto.

civilian. The act was taken as a grave insult, and the incident provoked the closest thing we came to a massacre in the course of the tour." (Dispatches, Lessons Learned for Soldiers. Vol. 8, No 2, Oct 2001. *The Army Lessons Learned Centre*). CF subject matter experts (SMEs) have indicated a common disconnect in terms of how the actions of CF personnel are interpreted by members of other cultures. One said "people don't understand why we do what we think is the right thing to do" (Thomson, Lee, & Adams, 2006b, p. 21). For whatever reason, the peacekeeper in the preceding story failed to recognize that his action would be interpreted in the eyes of the host nation's civilian population as an act of "grave" disrespect.

As the preceding examples attest, cultural nuances are often very subtle and difficult to detect, let alone interpret, without prior exposure to the people representing a particular culture. In operations, however, CF personnel will be forced to assess not only their own thoughts, motives, feelings, and actions but also those of individuals from allied forces (e.g. Nigerian, Ukrainian, etc.) and the host country (e.g. Congolese, Afghani, combatant or non-combatant). Cultures' influence on thinking, feeling, and acting cannot be understated, and learning those subtleties of others will be especially important for the CF as many of their current operations seem to rely in part on "winning the peace" through positive interactions with the local population. As missions move away from mere combat to security, stability, and development (e.g. Afghanistan), soldiers are expected to show high levels of diplomacy as well as cultural sensitivity to local populations. But without adequate understanding, cross-cultural differences have the potential to lessen interoperability with other forces, as well as harm the development of positive relationships with locals. As conveyed in the anecdote above, the failure of the peacekeeper to adequately understand and to make adjustments for the cultural nuances of the situation could have provoked a "massacre".

Indeed, because the CF deploys to unfamiliar cultures, and are required to employ the local population to augment their own workforce, to work with other nations' militaries, and to help stabilize, secure and develop failed states, understanding the influence of culture could help to promote both individual and team performance in diverse environments.

3.1 The Concept of Culture

Defining culture is a challenging exercise, which is perhaps best illustrated in the following joke: "*What do you get when you put two anthropologists in a room? Three definitions of culture!*" (Selmeski, 2006, p. 5). The implication, of course, is that there are numerous ways in which culture can be understood and to date no particular definition has been accepted as definitive. For the purposes of this report, culture can be described as "a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural norms, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour" (Spencer-Oatley, 2000; cited in Dahl, 2005, p. 19). Culture emerges from "collective experiences arising from a group's social, political, and physical surroundings" (Sutton & Pierce, 2003), and as such, it "distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others" (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005, p. 4). Culture too has both direct and indirect impacts.

Directly, culture frames individuals' values, attitudes, beliefs, and assumptions about the world that they inhabit, and filters their perceptions, interpretations, and understanding of the world as a consequence. Culture works through us as we interact with our environment and influences our thoughts, motives, feelings, and behaviour, either consciously or unconsciously. More indirectly, however, culture is a shared or a collective phenomenon that traverses generations and is itself formed and shaped just as it helps to mould our own views of the world. In this sense, culture is not static, but involves the dynamic interplay of those who inhabit and share a particular time and space.

Individuals though highly organized and structured mentally and physically according to well-established cultural practices are not simply passive representations of others' way of thinking, feeling, and acting. Rather, actors nourish and shape the surroundings, according to a number of relevant orientations (i.e. pragmatic, moral, ethical, aesthetic). Part of the dynamism of culture is the unfolding of different cultural perspectives and interpretations, and the reconciliation between these over time to foster effective cultural practices.

More broadly, culture can be thought of as comprising many different layers. For example, individuals are born into a family that has its own cultural heritage (e.g. Chinese Canadian). This cultural heritage will have particular traditions, roles, expectations, etc. However, as individuals participate in society, the national culture (e.g. Canada) becomes very much a part of the individual. This national culture has social norms and mores, standards for what is acceptable (and not), and both implicit and explicit guidelines for behaviour. As individuals move into the working world, they are likely to encounter a specific organizational culture (e.g. CF), as organizations have a distinct ethos and value system. The CF itself has a number of distinct ethos as a consequence of its different environmental elements (i.e., Army, Navy, and Air Force) and regimental system. Unlike other organizations in Canada, however, the CF is unique in that its members are expected to represent Canadian culture. In essence, an individual will reflect all of these cultural influences (some more than others), and this will impact how he or she behaves and understands the world.

3.2   Cultural Dimensions

Over the past 25 years, understanding the dimensions that can meaningfully distinguish people of one culture from another has received a good deal of attention. A number of cultural dimensions have been proposed (and, to a lesser extent, validated) by researchers including Hofstede (1980), Schwarz (1994), Smith, Dugan, & Trompenaars, (1996), and Bond, Leung, Au, Tong, de Carrasquel, et al. (2004). For example, Hofstede's investigation of the cultural differences of IBM employees from a number of different countries led him to establish five major dimensions of national culture, including individualism/collectivism, power distance, avoidance uncertainty, masculinity/femininity, and later short-term/long-term orientation. Research by Schwartz (1994) also worked to identify cultural dimensions relevant to personal values, including conservatism, intellectual autonomy, affective autonomy, hierarchy, egalitarian commitment, mastery, and harmony, which are meant to reveal something about a nation's values. Investigating cultural differences in organizations, Smith, Dugan, and Trompenaars established two more dimensions (1996), loyal /utilitarian involvement and conservatism/egalitarian commitment. And Bond and colleagues identified two dimensions of social axioms, dynamic externality and societal cynicism. As Bond et al. explain, the majority of these cultural dimensions are either related or empirically correlated to those originally developed by Hofstede. [3]

To date, the most popular dimension in cross-cultural psychology is Hofstede's individualism/collectivism. As Gelfand and colleagues (2001, p. 1060) explain, "it is now conceived of as one of the primary dimensions by which cultures can be differentiated". Many researchers have

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[3] For a detailed description see Hofstede, G. (2005). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind.* 2nd Edition. London: McGraw-Hill. Schwartz, S.H. (1994). Beyond individualism/collectivism: New dimensions in values. In U. Kim, H.C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and Collectivism: Theory, Method, and Applications.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage. Smith, P.B., Dugan, S., & Trompenaars, F. (1996). National culture and managerial values: A dimensional analysis across 43 nations. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 27 (2),* 231-264. Bond, M.H., Leung, K., Au, A., Tong, K.K., de Carrasquel, S.R., et al. (2004). Culture-level dimensions of social axioms and their correlates across 41 cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 35 (5),* 548-570.

invested energy in understanding this dimension in greater depth, hoping to reveal the psychological underpinnings of differences like individualism/collectivism by exploring culture at the individual level. For example, Markus and Kitayama (1991) argue that cognition, emotion, and motivation are not the result of human "hardware", but rather are a reflection of the self that is influenced by many factors, one of which is culture. Rejecting the Cartesian myth of the unencumbered individual whose thinking machine is (or can be) unfettered of those "things" in its environment, they argued that each culture promotes a particular self-system that individuals either inherit or adopt, and this self-system largely shapes an individual's experience in the world. Specifically, they suggest that the construal of the self as primarily independent or primarily interdependent can largely influence an individual's knowledge representation as well as experience of emotions and motives, and that this dimension is a powerful way to explain cultural differences amongst people.

Markus and Kitayama suggest that in Western cultures (e.g. United States, Britain, etc.) people construe the self as relatively independent, possessing a unique personality that is largely detached from the context. Consequently, behaviours are assumed to be based on one's own internal thoughts, feelings, and actions rather than in reference to the thoughts, feelings and actions of others. On the other hand, they suggest that in non-Western cultures (e.g. China, Japan, etc.), people view the self as relatively interdependent, such that one sees oneself as part of an encompassing social reality, where there is more emphasis on the thoughts, feelings and actions of others than on oneself. Interdependent self-construals typically stress fitting in, creating obligations and maintaining harmonious relationships with others. Independent self-construals typically stress differences between oneself and others and focus on one's uniqueness rather than on similarities with other people. Differences in "self-construals" across cultures entail differences in values, in ways of being, and in seeing reality (Markus and Kitayama, 2003). As Markus and Kitayama hold, the degree to which people see themselves as either separate or connected to others will prove a strong regulator of various psychological processes.

More central to the focus of this review, these differences in self-construal are likely to have important implications for cognitions, feelings, motivations and behaviour both directly and indirectly related to MEDM. As Joan Miller (1994) holds, in Western societies, the individual is always considered first above the social order. The social order in Western societies merely serves and ensures an individual's rights and freedoms. In contrast, Miller explains Eastern cultures understand the individual as participating in the social order where duties to social roles and their consequent commitments are the fundamental part of the self and are in line with an individual's inclinations. For example, within Hindu Indian culture, the self is essentially open to be shaped by the social context (Marriott, 1976; cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991), unlike in Western cultures where others may be perceived of as barriers to one's own rights and freedom.

As the following chapter explores, understanding the self outside the situation (i.e. independent, individualistic, atomistic) compared to inside the situation (i.e. interdependent, collectivist, holistic) is likely to be an effective means of both interpreting and predicting differences across cultures. The notion that culture is likely to impact individuals' perception, interpretation and responses to the world, of course, seems like a relatively logical extension of a large body of research and theory related to the person and to the situation (Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006). Not surprisingly, a number of investigations in cross-cultural psychology support the notion that cultures may actually foster differences in cognitive activities, promote some attitudes, beliefs, and values over others, and even sanction some emotional expressions and discourage others. As a consequence, these differences will be reflected in motivation and behaviour. The following chapter reviews the literature examining how cultural diversity impacts MEDM. As well, accounts concerning the impact of cross-cultural differences on multinational military team processes are considered.

4. Culture and Moral and Ethical Decision-Making

The following chapter details some of the current psychological literature concerning cross-cultural differences in cognition, motivation, emotion and behaviour, and when possible highlights those studies that emphasize differences related specifically to MEDM. Following each section, accounts concerning the impact of cross-cultural differences on multinational military team processes are considered. Because there is very little research to date that shows the actual impact of culture on teams, however, these considerations remain speculative.

4.1 Cultural Influences on Cognition, Emotion, Motivation and Behaviour

MEDM includes a number of psychological processes, such as cognition (e.g. moral judgment, etc.), motivation (e.g. agency, responsibility, accountability, social roles, etc.), emotion (e.g. empathy, compassion, regret, guilt, sympathy, etc.), and behaviour (e.g. prosocial, helping, altruism, etc.). All of the processes could be impacted by culture. The following sections investigate the impact of culture on these general psychological processes before specific focus on how culture might impact MEDM.

4.1.1 Culture, Cognition, and Morality

A literature review by Markus and Kitayama (1991) argued that people from different cultures (with different self-construals) show key differences in a variety of cognitive processes, such as attention, knowledge organization, and styles of thinking (causal inference, reasoning, judgment, etc.). What is attended to in one's environment, they argue, is influenced by one's national culture. For example, individuals with an interdependent self-construal are more attentive and sensitive to others than those with independent self-construals (Kitayama, Markus, Tummala, Kurokawa, & Kato, 1990; cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Because interdependence is associated with a desire for social harmony, ensuring that one develops an elaborated understanding of others and of the broader context they are a part of is one way to promote this harmony (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Consistent with this, research by Ji, Schwarz, and Nisbett (1999; cited in Ji, Peng, & Nisbett, 2000) showed that Chinese participants possessed greater knowledge about their peers' observable behaviour than their American counterparts. In part, this can be explained by the tendency of people from collectivist cultures to pay closer attention to others and the associated context.

Nisbett, Peng, Choi, and Norenzayan (2001) considered differences in the cognitive processes of people from individualistic versus collectivistic cultures. Individualistic cultures, they argue, emerged from the ancient Greek tradition (with its emphasis on personal agency and polemics), and as such, people in such individualistic cultures are likely to use a more analytic approach to knowledge compared to people in collectivistic cultures (Nisbett et al., 2001). With an analytic approach, events and objects are isolated from the context and then categorized according to their properties. In this sense, an analytic thinker views events and objects in the world as disconnected and discontinuous (Nisbett et al.). The collectivistic thinking style, on the other hand, emerged from cultures such as the ancient Chinese tradition with its emphasis on harmony and relationships.

People in collectivist cultures, Nisbett et al argue, are more likely to understand events and objects as a whole and in relation to the context in which they are situated, as the world and their place in it is viewed as continuous.

Research by Ji, Peng, and Nisbett (2000) explored these ideas in a perceptual study with American and Taiwanese Chinese undergraduate students. Taiwanese students were expected to be more accurate (and more confident) than Americans at detecting relationships between objects in their environment because, consistent with their cultural leaning, they attend more to relations. American students, on the other hand, were expected to be less capable at assessing these relationships during the perceptual task, as their individualistic culture deemphasizes relationships in favour of evaluating objects and events on their own. The task involved the presentation of pairs of objects (e.g., a coin, a pointing finger) on a computer screen. As participants viewed a computer screen, an object appeared on one side of the screen, and then another object appeared on the other side of the screen. Participants viewed ten pairings at three levels of covariation (high, low, or none; that is, they appeared together often, sometimes, or never). Next, participants were presented with one of the objects and asked to predict which object it would be paired with. Participants were also asked to predict the strength of the association between the two objects and how confident they were in their answers. Ji et al. hypothesized that Taiwanese Chinese would show greater calibration between judgments of covariation of objects and actual covariation, would be more confident in their judgment, and would show high levels of calibration between confidence ratings and actual covariation judgment accuracy compared to their American counterparts. Results indicated Taiwanese participants perceived greater covariation at all covariation levels, were more confident (in some cases significantly overconfident), and more accurate in their answers compared to American participants. This suggests that the independent/interdependent cultural dimension significantly influences what individuals attend to (and associate) in the perceptual field.

Another study conducted by Ji et al. (2000) was meant to further their findings regarding the differences in field-dependent attention. To investigate this, they used the Rod and Frame test (RFT), which is a perceptual test for determining how influenced someone is by the context when making perceptual decisions. The equipment used for the test is a visual presentation of a rod set within a frame, and the orientation of both the frame and the rod can be changed. The experimenter determines the orientation of the frame (which provides the context for the task), and the test subject is asked to change the orientation of the rod so that the rod is exactly vertical (i.e. relative to gravity, not the frame). The number of degrees difference between vertical and the position that the rod is placed by the participant (who believes it is exactly vertical) is used to measure how affected the participant is by context. The more error, the more the participant is affected by context. Ji et al. (2000) hypothesized that East Asian participants (Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese university undergraduate students) would demonstrate greater field dependence by making more mistakes and by spending more time on the task. Results confirmed that Americans were less field dependent in that, attending more closely to the rod, they were more accurate in their judgments and took less time to complete the task. East Asians appeared to attend more to the object and its relationship to the field, meaning that they made more errors on the RFT.

Together, these findings suggest that Americans attend to the field more analytically (isolating objects and determining their properties) and East Asians attend more holistically (investigating objects in relation to the complete context). The result is a narrowing of attention in the former perspective and a broadening in the latter. In fact, based on the rate of recorded eye movement, research also suggests that East Asian participants (i.e. Chinese) visually cover more area when asked to view a picture than do American participants who tend to quickly fixate on one particular object in the field (Chua et al., 2005; cited in Nisbett & Miyamoto, 2005). Moreover, evidence also

suggests that East Asian participants attend to the environment earlier, they recollect more about it, and they connect relevant objects to the environment in memory (Kitayama et al., 2003; cited in Nisbett & Miyamoto, 2005). As noted previously, in covariation judgments, a high degree of field dependence resulted in greater covariation at all covariation levels, greater confidence, and greater accuracy. On the other hand, greater field dependence was a handicap on the RFT. Instead, attending only to the rod resulted in greater accuracy and efficiency. Nisbett et al. (2001) explained that East Asians may detect relationships between objects and events in the context more easily than Americans, but that this is not necessarily a benefit to collectivistic people. Ironically, the individualistic bias for isolating objects and events assist in efficiently ignoring more irrelevant information. Nonetheless, each cultural propensity will impact other cognitive activities, both positively and negatively.

For example, there is some evidence in the literature that cultural differences can also impact on causal attributions. East Asians' holistic bias leads to fewer instances of the fundamental attribution error (that people act in a way determined more by their personalities than the situation). Given their tendency to summon a wider array of situational and contextual factors, East Asian participants (e.g. Hindu Indians, Chinese, Koreans) tend to explain another person's behaviour in terms of the social role, the surrounding environment, and societal factors (Miller, 1994; Morris & Ping, 1994, cited in Nisbett et al., 2001). When asked to predict an individual's general behaviour, Koreans' predictions were driven largely by situational factors (more so than was the case for American participants). Norenzayan, Choi, and Nisbett (cited in Nisbett et al. 2001) noted that predictions were based on 'metatheories' (general explanations) of behaviour, such that Korean participants explicitly believed that situational factors influence behaviour more than American participants. On the other hand, this broadened explanation of behaviour also appears to have some disadvantages. When asked to read a mystery and then determine which facts were irrelevant to the resolution, compared to American counterparts, Korean participants listed far fewer facts as being irrelevant (Choi, Dalal, and Kim-Prieto, 2000; cited in Nisbett et al., 2001). Interestingly, this propensity to include a multiplicity of contextual and situational factors might also influence retrospective views of events. For example, there is some evidence that East Asians are more susceptible to hindsight bias (Choi & Nisbett, 2000; cited in Nisbett et al., 2001), the tendency to construe events as inevitable in retrospect (Fischhoff, 1975). The inclusion of more elements in the system may contribute to the perception that outcomes were readily predictable (Nisbett et al.). Moreover, this broader inclusion may also decrease the impetus to search for alternative explanations for events post hoc.

Other research suggests that differences in cognitive processing may influence perceptions about the number of potential consequences of any given event (Maddux &Yuki, 2006). Maddux and Yuki predicted East Asians (relative to people from Western cultures) would be more aware of the indirect effects of actions, especially those that are remotely related to a particular action. This prediction stemmed from Asian cultures' emphasis on the broader context and interrelationships between people and things. In a couple of studies, Japanese and American participants were asked to indicate how much one particular event (e.g. a shot in a game of pool, transforming a region of land into a national park, etc.) would impact subsequent events. Results showed that Japanese participants were more aware of the potential distant or indirect consequences of the original event than were Americans (Maddux et al.). For the Japanese participants, the consequences of the target events were perceived to stretch far into the field, reflecting a cultural tendency to perceive both the physical and temporal world as interdependent and continuous. These findings may also reflect a subtle difference in cultural orientation to time.

According to Brislin and Kim (2003), America is often described as a "present-oriented" culture, which favours moving on from the past and living fully in the present. Such a time orientation typically includes a short-term focus (Brislin & Kim, 2003). In contrast, they point out "future-oriented" cultures like Japan include a long-term focus and see their activities extending far into the future (e.g. lifetime employment). Reflection on the consequences of actions might be broader as a result of this temporal orientation to the future.

More complex cognitive activities, such as organizing knowledge and styles of reasoning, are also impacted by cultural differences in consideration of situational and contextual factors. For example, Markus and Kitayama (1991) suggested that those with an interdependent self-construal are likely to organize knowledge of the self and others in relation to a specific social context rather than in relation to isolated personal attributes. When describing acquaintances, Indian participants (irrespective of social class or education) provided greater context specific and relational descriptions than did American participants. These descriptions included when and where particular behaviour occurred and with whom (Shweder & Bourne, 1984; cited in Markus & Kitayama). In contrast, American participants more often described acquaintances in terms of their personal attributes (e.g., physical characteristics and personality), unless this person was largely unknown, and then this person was also described according to behaviour. As Markus and Kitayama explained, for participants from India, "global inferences" regarding others' attributes are less informative and less meaningful than descriptions of the person embedded in a specific social context and portrayed in specific relation to other people within this context.

There is also good evidence in the literature of culture impacting on reasoning processes. Markus and Kitayama reported that people with more independent self-construals (e.g. American children) show an inferential-categorical mode of reasoning, emphasizing abstract, common feature matching. In comparison, those who exhibit an interdependent self-construal (e.g. Taiwanese Chinese children) showed a relational-contextual mode of reasoning, emphasizing a connection of the elements (Chiu, 1972; cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991). For example, Taiwanese Chinese and American children were presented with a picture that included a child, a woman and a man. They were asked to put two of the three together on the basis of similarity or best fit. Taiwanese Chinese children more often grouped the woman and the baby together as a consequence of the relationship between the two, whereas American children chose the man and the woman because of their category membership, namely, adulthood. Ji (2001; cited in Nisbett et al. 2001) and Ji and Nisbett (2001; cited in Nisbett et al. 2001) replicated this finding in a number of studies requiring Taiwanese Chinese and American participants to group objects. Again, Taiwanese participants grouped objects according to the relationship and American participants grouped according to categories or shared attributes. Moreover, research investigating similarity judgments of object groupings indicated that Chinese and Korean participants reason more in terms of family resemblance as opposed to American participants who reason more in terms of categorical rules (Norenzayan, Nisbett, Smith, & Kim, 2000; Norenzayan, 2000). It would appear that for East Asians, when making inferential judgments, categories are invoked to a lesser extent than for Americans (Choi, Nisbett, & Smith, 1997; cited in Nisbett et al., 2001), suggesting a difference in reasoning about objects in the world.

Norenzayan, Smith, Kim, and Nisbett (2002) further investigated these cultural differences in reasoning styles among non-Westerners and Westerners. Specifically, this research explored cultural differences in intuitive versus formal reasoning, the former understood as experienced-based, holistic, and associative and the latter understood as rule-based, analytic, and logically structured. For example, to classify an object as a dog, an intuitive approach would involve similarity judgments among those things that are known as dogs ('What do other objects known as

dogs have in common with this object?'), whereas a formal approach would include applying rules, such as four-legged and furry ('Does this object satisfy the conditions of four-legged and furry?'). While all cultures likely use both strategies, people from varying cultures may favour one over the other.

To test this, Norenzayan et al. (2002) conducted a series of studies with European American, Asian American, and East Asian undergraduate students. They generated cognitive conflicts in order to explore the reasoning styles (e.g. intuitive or formal) of people from different cultures. They predicted that European American participants would be more willing to dismiss intuition for formal, rule-based reasoning than would East Asian participants. Asian American participants, who underwent some American enculturation and socialization, were expected to fall somewhere between the two groups. Results from four very diverse studies showed that European American participants favoured a formal style of reasoning, whereas, East Asian participants preferred an intuitive style of reasoning. Norenzayan et al. suggested a number of possible social origins to explain these cultural differences including the prevalence of adversarial debate in Western societies versus consensus-based decision-making in the East; pedagogical differences in teaching strategies mean that critical thinking is emphasized in the West and experience-based learning is emphasized in the East; and different philosophical traditions, universal rules are emphasized in the West and intuitive, pragmatic ideas are emphasized in the East.

Other research showed differences in the reasoning styles of Westerners (e.g. American participants) and East Asians (e.g. Chinese participants) when presented with a conflictual situation (Peng, 1997; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; cited in Nisbett et al., 2001). It was hypothesized that Easterners would be more inclined to use a holistic method of reasoning, focusing on compromise, whereas Westerners would use rules such as the rule of non-contradiction (a statement cannot be both true and false) in their reasoning. Chinese and American participants were presented with written scenarios involving conflicts such as a conflict between a mother and daughter regarding whether to attend school or skip school and have fun. Participants were asked to analyze the conflict. Consistent with predictions, results showed that Chinese participants tried to reconcile the conflict, often arguing that neither the mother nor the daughter understood one another. Americans, on the other hand, sided either with the mother or the daughter. As Nisbett et al. (2001) concluded, American's reasoning was more polarized, reflecting specifically the law of non-contradiction, i.e., one position had to be true and the other false. In contrast, Chinese participants' understanding of the conflict reflected the principle of contradiction (i.e. the world is mutable thus contradiction is inevitable and inheres in all objects and events) and established merit and fault with both positions equally. Chinese participants were more willing than American participants to find a middle ground and compromise in an effort to satisfy contradictory propositions.

In another study, cultural differences in the kind of reasoning (i.e. law of non-contradiction) revealed somewhat normatively dubious behaviour on the part of American participants. Research by Davis, Nisbett, and Schwarz (2000; cited in Nisbett et al., 2001) showed that American participants become more favourable toward a previously held position when they were presented with a weaker case against it. Korean participants, on the other hand, weakened their conviction in light of information against it. It seems that a tendency to seek an either/or conclusion to an argument may come at a cost. As Nisbett et al. (2001, p. 303) state, "[Americans] adherence to the principle of non-contradiction may sometimes cause them to become more extreme in their judgments under conditions in which the evidence indicates they should become less extreme". Korean participants, on the other hand, tended to be persuaded by new information, demonstrating a desire to compromise.

In a similar vein, research has shown how culture can influence the cognitive framing of conflicts. Recognizing that the psychological study of conflict resolution has been conducted primarily in Euro-American contexts, Gelfand and colleagues (2001) examined cross-cultural perceptions of conflict in individuals from both the United States and Japan. Following Markus and Kitayama (1991), they argued that representations of conflict may be tied to the cultural construal of the self in relation to others (independent versus interdependent), and, therefore, may underlie variations in conflict resolution approaches by people from different cultures.

Negotiation can be understood as a decision-making task. People enter the situation with preconceived representations of the context, the actors involved, and the issues confronting them. These preconceptions will likely be influenced by culture. Gelfand et al. referred to these as "conflict frames" or schemas, and detailed three that are predominant in US conceptions of conflict resolution: 1) the compromise versus win frame, which focuses on attributions of blame; 2) the intellectual versus emotional frame, which reflects the extent to which the parties involved concentrate on facts, logic, thoughts and actions or emotions involved; and 3) the relationship versus task frame, which focuses on the extent to which the parties are focused on preserving the relationship between them when resolving conflict or simply achieving the desired end or task (Pinkley, 1990; cited in Gelfand et al., 2001). As Gelfand et al. explain, conflict frames may inhibit one another, and, as such, it is important to understand when these might arise and how they can be countered. Moreover, people may develop different conflict frames as a result of the self-construal they inherit or adopt in accordance with their cultural background.

Gelfand and colleagues expected that, in general, American participants would perceive conflict in competitive terms, and would view winning to be more desirable than compromising as the result of their desire to be separate from others, express individuality, and maintain and enhance their self-image. For Americans, self-determination is paramount and responsibility to others in society is interpreted as a choice, not a duty (Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990). Gelfand et al. also explained that the independent self typically separates emotions from the intellect and relationships from the task. As such, they expected to see construals of conflict in terms of the other two frames (i.e. intellectual versus emotional and relationship versus task) in American participants. In contrast, people in collectivist cultures (i.e. interdependent) typically ensure that people are perceived as a necessary part of the social framework and therefore discourage separation from this. This may be in an effort to preserve social harmony. In fact, Nisbett et al. (2001) noted, harmony is one of the chief moral underpinnings of Chinese society, emphasizing the importance of social obligation and discouraging confrontation. In China, prescribed role relationships guide ethical conduct. Similarly, in Japan, harmony is so vital to social survival that conflict is kept covert (Ohbuchi & Takahashi, 1994; cited in Gelfand et al.). Moreover, because in Japanese culture maintaining face (*taimen*) and reputation is fundamental (Ho, 1973; Kim, 1994; cited in Gelfand et al.), conflict resolution comes with a face saving approach such that parties do not distinguish from intellectual and affective states and relational and task components (Ting-Toomey, 1994; cited in Gelfand et al.). Again, those with an interdependent self-construal view the whole field as intertwined and relevant in understanding the conflict situation. As such, Gelfand et al. did not think that Japanese participants would interpret conflicts in terms of the intellectual versus emotional frames or the relationship versus task frames. Instead, they expected Japanese to perceive conflicts in terms of role fulfilment (*giri*) and saving face (*taimen*). As well, they expected Japanese participants would construe conflicts in terms of the compromise versus win frame, but unlike American participants, they would see these conflicts more in terms of making compromises (i.e. sharing blame between parties of a negotiation) in order to advance cooperation and harmony.

In the first part of Gelfand et al.'s study, undergraduate students from the United States and Japan developed conflict events to be used in the second part of the research. The method involved participants self-reporting one recent conflict event they had personally experienced. As a result, 28 events were selected. In the second part of the research, undergraduates from the United States and Japan participated in a multidimensional sorting task to elucidate their construals of the conflict events obtained in the first phase. Participants received a set of 28 conflicts presented on recipe-type cards and were required to sort them into piles according to similarity. There were no constraints on the numbers of piles. In the final phase, the same participants as in phase two rated the conflicts they had sorted according to several unidimensional items, including covertness, causation, confrontation, harmony, etc.

Results showed significant cultural differences in perceptions of conflict resolution. Despite the finding that American and Japanese participants both rated the compromise versus win frame dimension as important to their general interpretation of conflict (i.e. a "spontaneous" search for blame), this frame had slightly different meanings for each culture (Gelfand et al., 2001). As predicted, Japanese were more likely to construe conflict situations as compromise-focused (i.e. attributing mutual blame to both parties in the conflict), whereas American participants were more likely to see it as a win-lose situation in which blame was ascribed to one party. According to Gelfand et al., attributing blame to only one person may invoke competition and threaten social harmony. They suggested that there may be a greater preference to negotiate and compromise compared to a preference in America to argue. Results also showed that cultural differences steer attention toward some characteristics of the conflict over others, and this can be enhanced given the cultural context of the conflict. For example, examining the conflict situations, Japanese participants were more attentive to the breaches of social obligations (*giri*) and the degree to which these were covert than were Americans. And as Gelfand et al. indicated, this cultural bias was more salient when viewing Japanese conflicts than when viewing American conflicts. Not surprisingly, American participants interpreted conflicts in terms of impediments on the self.

As important and potentially relevant as the work detailed so far is, however, it speaks to cognitive processes likely to impact on decision-making, but does not directly address MEDM. There is, however, good evidence in the literature that specifically shows differences in cognition in moral and ethical situations as a direct function of culture. The most prominent cultural dimension of individualism vs. collectivism (independent vs. interdependent) itself is indicative of fundamentally different ethical value systems. For example, emerging from the philosophic traditions of the East (e.g. Confucian, Hindu, Islam), East Asian cultures tend to value social order over individual rights and freedom, emphasize social relationships (e.g. family, work) over individual achievement efforts, and demand respect for authority (Chatterjee & Pearson, 2003). Like the evidence presented above, research shows a cultural difference in cognitive processes specifically pertaining to issues of morality.

The work of Joan Miller has been extensive and shows the impact of cultural differences on moral functioning. One possible account when encountering a moral situation (e.g. a person who needs to be helped) is that people from all cultures would see their role (as potential helper) to be similar and to perceive the same level of moral responsibility to assist in this situation. This might be the case if moral behaviour was a sort of universal expectation mandated and attended to equally by all cultures. However, given the research already reviewed, there is some reason to believe that people from different cultures might see the situation (and hence, their need to respond) differently. Moreover, if personal moral obligation did not compel people to act when they encounter problematic situations, other features, such as the magnitude of the perceived need of "the victim" or the relationship between the donor and benefactor (i.e. significant other, friend or stranger) may

influence the probability of helping behaviour. To examine these ideas, Miller, Bersoff, and Harwood (1991) studied moral reasoning about social responsibilities in American and Hindu Indian children and adults. The American culture was chosen because it generally values individual rights and freedoms (i.e. the independent self) whereas the Hindu culture generally stresses interdependence and social duties.

They asked participants to evaluate hypothetical scenarios. These scenarios were designed to systematically vary the size of the need and the relationship between the victim and the potential helper. For example, the scenarios depicted agents denying help to a person whose life depended on the help, to a person in moderate need, or to a person in minor need. The potential recipient of help was a young offspring (parent-child), a best friend, or a stranger. Responses to these scenarios were compared with control scenarios that depicted agents either refusing to engage in arbitrary unjust actions or refusing to forfeit their own personal inclinations in non-need cases. Finally, participants were also asked to make ratings for each scenario in terms of their perceived social responsibility to act. Social responsibility items assessed whether participants thought the behaviour was sanctioned by an objective obligation that was understood as above either rule or law, or legitimately regulated, or both. An item was considered moral when it was both objectively obligating and legitimately regulated. Miller et al. predicted that Hindu Indian participants would more frequently categorize social responsibilities as being moral than would American participants. They also predicted that, unlike Hindu Indians who they viewed as being consistent despite the varying demands of the situation (e.g. need of the victim), Americans would categorize these as more objectively obligating and socially sanctioned as the magnitude of the need increased and as the relationship became more dependent. Presumably, Americans would be more likely to balance personal autonomy with social responsibility.

As anticipated, results showed cultural differences in the extent to which social responsibility to help someone was considered moral (i.e. objectively obligating and legitimately regulated). Hindu Indian participants categorized social responsibilities to be morally based in minimally and moderately serious scenarios more often than American participants did. Moreover, for Hindu participants, a broad range of social responsibilities carried an absolute moral obligation, regardless of the magnitude of need and the nature of the relationship between recipient and donor. As Miller et al. explained the moral significance for Hindu Indian participants derived from the fact that there was simply an unmet need. Interpersonal relationships in social responsibilities appear to produce the moral obligation for Hindu Indians. For American participants, social responsibility was categorized as a moral obligation only in cases involving extreme life and death situations, or moderate need situations involving a parent-child relationship, demonstrating personal loyalty to family members. American participants, on the other hand, were more likely to interpret breaches in non-life-threatening situations more in terms of personal-choice or personal-moral orientations, but did not see these situations as being objectively obligating and socially sanctioned.[4]

Cultural differences in moral judgment, such as categorization of helping behaviours, appear to be a derivative of what Miller et al. (1990, p. 43) describe as "cultural meaning systems". The high degree of moral categorizations of social responsibilities by Hindu Indian participants likely

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[4] To explore the effect of socioeconomic status in India, Miller et al. (1990) conducted a follow on study with Hindu Indian adults only which showed that socioeconomic status may play a partial role in moral reasoning and categorization of helping behaviours as higher status adults indicated less objectively obligatory perceptions of scenarios involving strangers in minor need. Miller et al. suggested that this pattern could indicate that higher social classes may develop more personal-choice perspectives than lower classes.

reflects a deeply-entrenched cultural belief in the interdependence of people within the social milieu, where responding to the needs of dependent others is a fundamental moral obligation necessary to sustain the whole. Americans, on the other hand, reflect the priority of individual rights and freedoms (i.e. personal-choice) over the social whole, and, thus, balance the importance of freedom of choice and the value of benevolence (Miller et al.). In general, Americans will be more ambivalent toward displaying helping behaviours construed in moral terms than will members of cultures that place a higher value on interdependence.

Unlike Kohlberg who sees social obligations as moral if and only if they uphold justice or individual rights, people from East Asian cultures seem to view morality more broadly to encompass a number of social obligations. Using a measure to tap both interpersonal moral concerns (ethic of care, Gilligan, 1982) and abstract justice concerns for an individual's universal rights Kohlberg, Gump, Baker, and Roll (2000) investigated differences in moral judgment between Mexican Americans[5] and Anglo-Americans because these groups are believed to differ widely in their perceptions of interdependent connectedness. These researchers argued that the information that people use to resolve a moral dilemma is a good indicator of their moral perspective. Participants read a moral dilemma before completing the Moral Justification Scale (Gump, 1994; cited in Gump et al., 2000). This scale included several care or justice items and participants were asked to rate the relative importance of each to them. For example, one story involved a daughter having to make a decision about whether to tell her parents about her sister's damaging the car. Questions about the dilemma posed to the respondents included the importance of not lying, the importance of showing her sister that she couldn't break the rules, and the importance of protecting her sister from getting into trouble. With their emphasis on family and interpersonal relationships, Mexican American participants were expected to favour items that stressed a care ethic over a justice ethic, and the reverse pattern was expected for Anglo-American participants. Results showed that, on the one hand, Mexican American participants assigned higher importance to the care items than did Anglo-Americans. However, contrary to the prediction, both samples rated justice as being equally important. As Gump et al. explained, care and justice orientations were modestly related, suggesting that interpersonal concerns and justice concerns are not opposite ends of a continuum of values.

Vasquez, Keltner, Ebenbach, and Banaszynski (2001) also examined cultural differences in moral judgment and decision-making to determine if there were significant differences in moral perspectives (or "moral rhetorics"). They suggested that there are three predominant moral perspectives, Autonomy, Community, and Divinity, and these may be more prevalent or have varying priority in different cultures because they each contain unique moral concepts. Briefly, the Autonomy perspective embraces concepts like individual rights and freedom; the Community perspective emphasizes social duties and obligations while maintaining hierarchy and status; and the Divinity perspective emphasizes religious beliefs in the natural order of the universe, proper vs. improper conduct according to religious tenets, and the desire to protect the self from degradation and separation from the sacred whole (Shweder et al., 1997; cited in Vasquez et al., 2001). Past research showed that Americans and Hindu Indians agreed on some moral transgressions (e.g., both groups believed stealing is wrong), but widely disagreed on those that pertained to hierarchy and purity issues, such as a husband beating a disobedient wife (which Americans thought was wrong, but Hindu Indians thought was permissible) and a wife eating with her brother-in-law

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[5] Mexican Americans were tested to ensure the sample population strongly identified with being Mexican (Gump et al., 2000).

(which Americans thought was permissible, but Hindu Indians thought was wrong) (Shweder, Mahapatra, and Miller, 1990; cited in Vasquez et al., 2001).

Construing American morality as predominantly justice-based and individualistic, i.e., autonomous, Vasquez et al. (2001) suggested that other non-Western nations, such as the Republic of the Philippines, may have a broader perspective that includes justice concerns as well as the moral concerns arising from the Community and Divinity perspectives. This, they argued, was likely to be a consequence of their social and political heritage and differences in how interpersonal relationships and the obligations arising from them are construed. In comparing American and Filipino participants, then, Vasquez et al. hypothesized that American participants would use moral reasoning that reflected more often an ethic of Autonomy, whereas Filipino participants would use a moral reasoning that reflected all three moral perspectives.

Vasquez and colleagues invited participants from the United States and the Philippines to describe in their own words moral rules stemming from the Autonomy, Community, and Divinity perspectives. Participants were presented with a paragraph overview of the three perspectives (each on a separate page) and asked to come up with as many rules as they could for each perspective. The results found that, for Americans, the perspective of Autonomy was predominant, as they more clearly and more easily generated Autonomy examples. Moreover, even when American participants generated examples for Community and Divinity perspectives, these examples were "infused" with concepts related to Autonomy, such as rights, justice, etc. In contrast, Filipino participants generated almost an equal number of rules for each of the three moral perspectives, and there was a greater infusion of moral concepts related to Community, such as status, interdependence, etc. To limit the potential bias arising from simply asking participants to fit moral rules into ready-made moral perspectives, in a subsequent study, Vasquez et al. (2001) asked participants to generate three spontaneous examples of "something that should not happen". Their predictions that American participants would generate more Autonomy transgressions and Filipino participants would show a balanced representation of all three moral perspectives were confirmed. In fact, American participants provided no examples of themes related to Community (i.e. hierarchy) or Divinity (i.e. pure body) in this research.

In another study, using the examples generated from the previous studies, Vasquez et al. (2001) asked a different set of participants from the US and the Republic of the Philippines to rate the importance, the universality, and the contextual independence of moral rules, and to determine the extent to which moral rules reflected individual choice. As expected, American participants ascribed greater moral status to rules associated with Autonomy than to those associated with Community and Divinity, viz., they reported these rules were more important and universal, and depended less on the context and personal choice than did the rules stemming from Community or Divinity perspectives. On the other hand, there was a more balanced view from the Filipino sample, i.e., moral status was ascribed to rules from all three moral perspectives.

Despite these differences between American and Filipino participants, Vasquez et al. (2001) noted important cross-cultural similarities between the two groups in their investigation into moral judgments and moral discourses. First, although the relative proportions across the three perspectives differed between the two samples, both generated more Autonomy-related rules and transgressions than Community or Divinity rules and transgressions. Moreover, physical harm was the most pervasive violation expressed by both American participants and Filipino participants. And finally, all participants viewed failure to perform duties to others as the most frequent immoral action, suggesting that the rhetoric of Community, i.e., preservation of social network, is as salient to Americans as it is to Filipinos (Vasquez et al. 2001).

Nonetheless, this research suggests that Western and non-Western accounts of morality tend to evidence different foci, with the former focusing more on individualistic, universal, context independent rules and the latter focusing more on collectivistic, context dependent rules. This means that where Westerners' moral perspective is primarily entangled with harm, rights, justice, and freedom concerns, non-Westerners' moral perspective is broad and includes an emphasis on social harmony and interpersonal concerns as well as on harm, rights, justice, and freedom concerns. Like Hindu Indian samples, Filipino samples construe social harmony and interpersonal relationships in moral terms more often than American samples, and Vasquez et al. suggested this is a consequence of the historical and cultural influences that define the Philippines' conception of the social world. As such, the cultural context will be a vital source of moral criteria, invoking a specific style of moral reasoning, judgment and decision-making. Overall, these strong differences in moral perspectives between the people from the US and people from the Republic of the Philippines provide more support for the assertion that morality reflects culture-specific systems of meaning rather than a universal moral framework.

To further understand the extent of context-dependent moral reasoning, Bersoff and Miller (1993) examined the importance of specific contextual factors on Hindu Indian and American adults' and children's tendency to hold agents morally accountable for injustices portrayed in written scenarios. They explained that inferences about perceived breaches of justice have two elements: *responsibility appraisal*, the extent to which an actor is perceived to have enough control over his or her actions to be seen as responsible for it, and *social domain categorization*, the extent to which an action is categorized as moral (or objectively obligating and legitimately regulating) and not merely social convention or personal choice (Bersoff et al.). They argued that any research investigating moral reasoning must investigate the interaction between the two processes in order to determine the contextual influences on moral judgments. With this in mind, they expected to find cultural differences in the inferences that American participants and Hindu Indian participants made about perceived breaches of justice. Given American culture's emphasis on autonomy and freedom of choice and the emphasis on hierarchy and social obligation in Eastern cultures, Bersoff and Miller expected that American participants would use internal rather than external (i.e. situational) attributes to explain people's behaviour, whereas Hindu Indian participants would be more likely to use external attributions to explain the breach of justice.

In order to capture the views of individuals at diverse levels of social cognitive development, Bersoff and Miller's study included college students, seventh graders and third graders from the US and India. Interviews were conducted to elicit their views about several experimental scenarios depicting justice breaches. The justice breaches involved harm to persons, harm to property, dishonesty, or violation of property rights. For example, one scenario described a man who had received damage to his face and legs due to a car accident. This man is then teased by two men about his injuries, he becomes angry and hits the two men with a rolled up magazine. The scenarios aimed to reflect situations where the potential to make responsibility appraisals about the agent would be either high or low. This involved varying the age of the agent in the scenario to be either 10 or 40 years old. The scenarios also showed varied situational provocation of emotional duress (i.e. out of anger or fear), as well as varying degree of intentionality or causes beyond one's control (i.e. justice breach due to accident). Participants answered a social-regulation probe that asked whether the behaviour was morally wrong, a matter of personal choice, or completely uncontrollable. Like the previous study reported above (Miller et al., 1990), a social regulation probe assessed whether the agent's behaviour violated social convention, and an objective obligation probe assessed whether participants thought the behaviour was sanctioned by principles higher than laws or formal rules.

As expected, results indicated that Hindu Indian participants were more likely than American participants to take the full context into consideration when ascribing responsibility for transgressions. For example, Hindu Indian participants were more likely than American participants to pardon breaches of justice when committed by young agents and agents who were under emotional duress. In contrast, American participants more often viewed the actions of young agents and agents under emotional duress in absolute moral terms, considering the actions of agents as wrong despite youth or duress. Absolving children of responsibility reflects the Hindu culture's emphasis on indulging and nurturing the young as opposed to emphasizing independence like socialization in the US (Kakar, 1978; cited in Bersoff & Miller, 1993).

Another difference between the two cultures is that locus of control for non-Westerners often lies outside the individual, whereas for Westerners, the internal (or personal) locus of control is emphasized. This difference in locus of control can also help to explain the observed differences in attributions of responsibility. Consistent with a perspective based on an external locus of control, Hindu culture recognizes that agents are vulnerable to situational variables, such as the emotional duress invoked by the situation, and therefore consider the situation more than the internal attributes of the person (Lukes, 1973; Marriott, 1989; cited in Bersoff & Miller, 1993). In contrast, consistent with a view based on an internal locus of control, more American participants categorized the emotional-duress scenarios in terms of personal-choice reasoning, which Bersoff and Miller argued represents a partial justification of injustices (e.g. revenge or self-protection) under morally-ambiguous circumstances. Differences in categorizing behaviours in the emotional-duress cases represent deep-seated cultural beliefs on the part of American participants that people can freely choose their own behaviour. By investigating accountability judgments together with social- domain categorizations, Bersoff and Miller were able to demonstrate that Hindu Indian participants make more contextually-dependent moral judgments.

In a more recent study, Baron and Miller (2000) investigated cultural differences in altruistic behaviour by comparing Americans and Hindu Indian students' attitudes regarding a moral obligation to save another person's life. They explored the dimensions that were most influential in determining people's decisions about whether to help or not, and how cultural meaning systems shaped this selection. For example, do people limit obligations to help as a consequence of the underlying culture's emphasis on helping in-group over out-group members? Baron and Miller were also interested in cultural differences in perceptions of action vs. inaction in moral situations. Past research showed American participants view harm stemming from actions worse than equal harm stemming from omissions (Baron, 1994; cited in Baron & Miller, 2000). In this cultural paradigm, individuals are ultimately responsible for their own fortune. On the other hand, Baron and Miller speculated that Hindu culture tends to focus on the moral consequences of actions or omissions. Failure to act in this cultural paradigm would still leave the agent morally culpable. This does not mean that regret for inaction (i.e. counterfactual thinking) does not haunt individuals after the fact in American culture. But moral judgments in American culture would likely exonerate individuals from causing harm as a consequence of inaction, whereas in Hindu culture, this may not be the case.

To answer these questions, Baron and Miller (2000) provided American and Hindu Indian participants with a scenario in which a person needs a bone marrow transplant. The scenario varied several factors, including the relational distance between the benefactor and donor (a stranger vs. a family member), the physical distance between the benefactor and donor (on the other side of the world vs. local community), the number of other potential donors (ten versus one million in the world) and whether the potential recipient directly requested or had not requested a donation. In order to explore perceptions of action vs. inaction, scenarios were also designed to reflect situations

where the obligation falls on anyone (agent-general or universal) or where the obligation falls on a particular person based on, for example, a relationship (agent-relative). Lastly, participants' judgments about the moral value of helping others were also elicited.

Expecting that Hindu Indians use more limiting strategies compared to Americans in general, Baron and Miller expected that the former would not feel morally obliged to help someone at a great distance (i.e. around the world) when the choice was not to donate, would be influenced more by limiting factors, such as need, distance, family, and requests for help, and would be morally influenced by an agent-relative condition, which include family relationship and request variables. They also believed that Americans' moral judgments would be more influenced by helping behaviours that resulted in action over inaction in comparison to Hindu Indians and also expected to see Americans value moral behaviour that went beyond the call of duty more than Hindu Indians would.

Results contribute to understanding cultural commonalities and differences in limiting mechanisms for moral obligations. Both American participants and Hindu Indian participants felt more morally obligated to in-group members than to people on the other side of the world. Moreover, for both groups, the moral obligation for those around the world diminished when the need was small (i.e. there were many potential donors). Another commonality between Americans and Hindu Indians concerned extending benevolence to kin in agent-general terms. Both groups believed that helping a family member was good, suggesting a cross-cultural similarity on the intrinsic versus voluntaristic value of helping kin. Finally, Hindu Indian and American participants did not differ in their attitudes about acts and omissions, as both groups believed that acting was better than not acting. On the other hand, to a greater extent than American participants, Hindu Indian participants showed more moral obligation to both known and unknown community members. Moreover, for Hindu Indian participants, moral obligation extended to community members irrespective of a direct request to help.

Research examining moral judgments across cultures, therefore, suggests little evidence of a common moral code that is universally shared across cultures. For example, people who value individual rights and freedoms over interdependence and social obligations may have different perceptions of moral obligations. In fact, compared to Westerners, non-Westerners expressed a greater tendency toward moral obligation to respond to a broader range of social obligations to help others in need, and this perceived obligation was not dependent on the size of the need or role relationship between the recipient and donor (Miller et al., 1990). Rather, the moral significance arose simply from the unmet need. In contrast, Westerners considered social obligations to be moral only in cases involving extreme life and death situations or in family situations (e.g. parent-child relationship) with moderate need. Moreover, non-Westerners showed more moral obligation than Westerners to help a known or unknown community member, reflecting a more general commitment to the community. As Miller, Bersoff, and Harwood (1990) explain, Westerners' narrower construal of social obligations may reflect the balancing of their own individual rights and freedoms and a personal desire to act benevolently.

4.1.1.1 Relevance of Findings to Multinational Teams

Despite the fact that there is very little research to date examining the impact of culture on teams, the findings detailed above suggest that cross-cultural differences could impact multinational military teams. For example, cross-cultural differences in cognitive processes may have an impact on team processes, such as shared knowledge, communication, coordination, adaptability, planning, and climate. The existing research suggests the potential for many critical differences in

how multinational team members construe situations, which may in turn impact shared knowledge or shared mental models. Mental models are "organized knowledge structures that allow individuals to interact with their environment", because they help them "describe, explain, and predict events in [the] environment" (Mathieu, Heffner, Goodwin, Salas, & Cannon-Bowers, 2000). Within teams, a shared mental model may help predict what other teammates are going to do in a given situation. However, this may be diminished given the cross-cultural differences in cognitive processes.

Team members from different cultures are likely to have very different mental models about what constitutes a moral obligation and what kinds of actions or non-actions are expected as a result. People from a culture that emphasizes individualism over collectivism interpret moral responsibility as objectively obligating and legitimately regulated (Miller et al., 1990). As a result, moral action may be more constrained for those people compared to people from cultures that emphasize collectivism. Morally ambiguous decisions in operations may be exacerbated if teammates do not share a common mental model about what constitutes a moral obligation.

For example, a situation in which a multinational team must together decide what level of aid and resources to commit to non-combatants in operations may reveal quite different normative positions as a consequence of different cultural backgrounds. More subtly, if one member of the team perceives the situation as morally obliging, and the rest of the team does not, these differences could lead to considerable discord within the team, especially when acts of omission violate one's normative expectations. As is argued throughout the report, moral situations typically invoke core values and challenge people's core identities, so much so that acts of omission in operations have been shown to, in some cases, have consequences for a soldier's identity long after the fact (Thomson et al., 2006). When teammates do not share a mental model regarding moral obligation, discrepancy may be viewed as a difference of opinion or, more perniciously, as evidence that one's teammates lack human compassion. The key here is that the interpretation of the varying level of obligation may have additional "baggage" attached to it that extends beyond simple differences in perceptions. Rather, how soldiers characterize themselves and others emerges not only from their military conduct, but also from their ethical conduct.

For the CF participating in multinational operations, therefore, understanding and learning how to manage these potential cross-cultural divergences in cognition and their potential impact on team processes may be necessary to ensure effective team functioning and task/mission success. At the very least, awareness of the many different cultural lenses likely to be in play within diverse teams, and the extent to which this might shape cognition (and moral cognition) is critical. Cross-cultural research should investigate moral judgments in an operational setting to determine the extent of divergence as well as the impact on team processes and performance.

4.1.2   Culture, Motivation, and Morality

As Markus and Kitayama (1991) pointed out, the study of motivation has typically focused on individually embedded needs or motives (i.e. the motive to achieve, to affiliate, to enhance one's self-esteem), largely based in the Western tradition of the autonomous agent. The motive to control one's surroundings by exerting an independent will or pushing oneself ahead of others for personal gain and success are not necessarily motivations shared by all cultures. For example, people with interdependent selves may be more social and have others as the primary reference for individual action. Those with interdependent selves may be motivated by a need to maintain a proper position in relation to others, thereby reducing tension between internal needs, capacities, and rights and demands of the social world. Markus and Kitayama suggested self-aggrandizement of any kind,

even to maintain self-esteem, may be viewed by people in cultures with interdependent selves as a lack of self-restraint. Rather, upholding a particular social role, and complying with those prescribed commitments, obligations, and responsibility may be at the core for those with interdependent self-construals. As such, motives that are linked to the self (e.g. self-enhancement, self-affirmation, self-consistency, etc.) may take a very different form depending on one's culture.

For example, Ross, Heine, Wilson, and Sugimori (2005) conducted two studies investigating the cross-cultural differences in motive for self-enhancement. In their first study, Japanese and Canadian participants freely provided self-descriptions of their current self as well as their past self (approximately 3 years earlier) to explore potential cultural differences in self-other comparisons. Supported by past research (Wilson & Ross, 2001; cited in Ross et al.), downward appraisals (i.e., comparing one's self with an inferior self or other) of past selves in comparison to current selves were thought to be motivated by a desire for self-enhancement. As such, Ross et al. argued that if East Asians are not motivated by self-enhancement, then they should favour both past and present selves equally, unlike their Canadian counterparts who should favour present selves over their past selves in order to bolster self-enhancement. From spontaneous participant self-descriptions, all references to positive and negative self-evaluations and other-evaluations were coded. The researchers also coded whether dimensions were private, such as states and traits (e.g., "I am honest"), or relational dimensions (e.g., "I get along well with others"). As well, they coded references to social (others) and temporal (previous selves) comparisons. Participant's references to objects and events in their lives were also coded, as they were hypothesized to serve a self-expressive function and therefore be related to ratings of the self. They predicted that Canadians would show same-level and downward social and temporal comparisons, whereas Japanese would show same-level and upward social and temporal comparisons. Unlike downward appraisals, upward appraisals involve comparing one's self to a superior self or other.

Results confirmed Ross et al.'s hypotheses. Canadian participants provided a greater number of favourable illustrations of themselves. Although showing a similar frequency of overall favourable and unfavourable self-appraisals, Japanese participants were self-critical for private dimensions, such as traits and states, but rated themselves more favourably for relational dimensions of the self. Although more favourable on relational dimensions, however, Japanese participants were still far more self-effacing than Canadian participants on this particular dimension. On overall self-appraisals, results showed that Canadian participants evaluated their current self more favourably than their past self, but Japanese participants did not. The former reported positive improvements to their private, internal self. With respect to comparisons to others and their previous selves, Canadian participants made as many self-enhancing downward comparisons and same-level comparisons, whereas Japanese participants made a large number of same-level comparisons. Ross et al. suggested that, in contrast to downward or upward comparisons, the same-level comparisons reflect a desire to accurately depict the self in comparison to others and past selves. Moreover, Canadian participants tended to evaluate others more unfavourably, perhaps in an effort to make them look better in their own eyes, given they provided such comparisons spontaneously. Finally, results showed Canadian participants viewed objects and events in their world as positive, which may represent expressions of the self and are therefore appraised in a manner consistent with the self (Prentice, 1987; cited in Ross et al.).

In their second study, Ross et al. (2005) investigated cultural differences in temporal distancing from favourable and unfavourable experiences. Previous research showed that, to absolve themselves from blame, Western participants temporally distanced themselves from unfavourable past experiences when these impacted their current self perceptions. To do this, they recalled that negative events occurred farther in the past than positive events, even when these positive and

negative events actually occurred at similar times (Ross & Wilson, 2002; cited in Ross et al.). Again, Ross et al. reasoned that if Japanese are not driven by self-enhancement, then they should not be motivated to create more temporal distance between themselves and negative events than between themselves and positive events, and would therefore show no bias in their time estimates. Ross et al. gathered participant responses of past events that either induced pride or embarrassment, expecting that Canadians would distance themselves from the latter and Japanese would not show this kind of temporal biasing for self-enhancement and maintaining self-esteem. Ross et al.'s predictions were confirmed. Moreover, the ease at which participants could recall these events was also collected. Results showed Canadian participants felt closer to proud events and reported that these events to be easier to recall than embarrassing ones. Canadian participants also reported greater pride when reflecting on these events compared to Japanese participants. Japanese participants, on the other hand, felt equally close to proud and embarrassing events and did not find any difference in ease of recall.

In North America, there is a predominant emphasis on self inflation or aggrandizement, emphasizing one's successes over failures. This cultural norm may not be reflected in the thoughts and actions of people from other cultures, especially those that maintain an interdependent self-construal. Ross el al. provided evidence that self-enhancement is a stronger motive for Canadians than for Japanese. Canadian participants appeared motivated to preserve self-regard by distancing themselves from embarrassing events and keeping proud events close at hand. They also showed a bias to derogate their past selves in favour of their current selves. These biases, however, were not present for Japanese participants. Perhaps people from other cultures, such as Japan, are motivated to promote a modest presentation of the self as it relates to others. As Ross et al. suggested, East Asians might be more balanced in their self-appraisals, as this might enable them to integrate into the group more effectively than if they emphasize their own accomplishments.

Cultural differences also extend to an important motivational component in MEDM, the concept of agency. As Morris, Menon, and Ames (2001, p. 169) stated, "[a]gency conceptions allow perceivers to make sense of an outcome by asking these questions, Who is behind this? What purpose does it reflect? What enduring characteristics does it reveal?" In moral terms, questions of agency relate to who is accountable, why they behaved in this manner, and whether their actions reflect an immutable vice or virtue? For those with independent self-construals, agency may be experienced as an effort to express one's internal needs, capacities, and rights, whereas, agency among interdependent selves may be experienced as an effort to be receptive to others and their needs and demands (rather than to one's own) in order to realize connectedness and interdependence with those in the social milieu (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). As Ji et al. (2000, p. 944) suggested, "[c]ontrol is so important to Westerners that they often fail to distinguish between objectively controllable and uncontrollable events, tend to perceive more control than they actually have, and report mistakenly high levels of predictability of events".

For example, Americans are often said to be motivated by the need to be in control. Compared to other cultures, they tend to excel in conditions where they have greater control (Yamagushi, Gelfand, Mizuno, & Zemba, 1997; cited in Ji et al., 2000). In one study, American children reported higher levels of motivation than Japanese and Chinese children when they were given the choice of which anagram they could solve (Sethi & Lepper, 1998; cited in Ji et al., 2000). When mothers selected the anagram for their children, Japanese and Chinese children's performance increased. Moreover, in their perceptual task investigating covariation judgments, Ji et al. (2000) introduced the "illusion of control", i.e., pressing a button on the computer to move on to the next pairing of objects (see above in Section 4.1.1 Culture, Cognition, and Morality). They found Americans showed increases in their estimated covariation between pairs of objects and their

confidence in their estimates when participants had the illusion of control, whereas Chinese participants' calibration of covariation was impaired by the illusion of control. However, control is not simply eradicated from the mind of people from cultures with interdependent self-construals. As Ji et al. explained, in interdependent cultures, control is seen as accommodating the existing reality and as including both group and relational needs.

Other studies investigating cross-cultural differences in agency explored cultural perceptions of the norm of reciprocity. This norm is largely based on the agent's prior experience with the recipient of helping behaviour, and it has been sometimes construed as a teleological mechanism for sustaining social stability (Gouldner, 1960; cited in Miller & Bersoff, 1994), viz., reciprocal helping behaviour purposively leads to positive ends. However, because it is not associated with individual rights and freedoms, the norm of reciprocity does not necessarily obtain moral status in a Western context. As Miller and Bersoff (1994, p. 593) explained, "in cases that do not involve rights-based claims, reciprocity considerations are classified as conventional if the individual links them to social role expectations or other social structural concerns and as preconventional if the individual links them only to individual interests". Typical Western expressions of moral behaviour include autonomous self-regulation. Indeed, to some, actions are moral if and only if an agent "freely" chooses them (Kant, 1785).

When reciprocity norms are prominent within a given situation, however, the ability to freely choose one course of action over another may be lost. In fact, empirical research has shown that actions taken in response to perceived reciprocity norms are construed as less altruistically motivated than those actions arising from spontaneous decision-making (Barnett, McMinimy, Flouer & Masbad, 1987; Peterson & Gelfand, 1984; Bar-Tal, Raviv & Leiser, 1980; cited in Miller & Bersoff, 1994), including perceptions of one's own past helping behaviour (Thomas & Batson, 1981; cited in Miller & Bersoff, 1994). However, Miller and Bersoff argued this interpretation of the norm of reciprocity reflects a cultural assumption of agency that may not be perceived in other non-Western cultures. In fact, they argue, East Asian cultures might see this reciprocity norm as morally binding because it underscores a need to act in accordance with an interpersonal duty-based ethical code that is closely tied to their fundamental commitment to the community. As such, helping may reflect a self that is in part socially constituted and embedded within the greater social context (i.e. interdependent), rather than reflecting an independent choice.

To test this, Miller and Bersoff had American and Hindu Indian college student participants read one of nine possible hypothetical scenarios of agents extending a hand to an acquaintance with low needs and who had not asked for help. For a third of the participants, the action was undertaken spontaneously, for another third, the action was done based on the norm of reciprocity, and for the final third, the action included a monetary reward and the helping behaviour was solicited. To assess motivation, participants were asked questions about the agent's behaviour as well as the agent's internal state and traits. They predicted that American participants would view agents as less intrinsically motivated if they had helped as a result of the reciprocity norm rather than spontaneously helping, whereas Hindu Indian participants would view agents as intrinsically motivated when they helped in response to the reciprocity norms as well as spontaneously. Hindu Indian participants, they predicted, would see both instances of helping as morally binding and hence a result of the agent's altruistic motivation. Miller and Bersoff did not expect to see cultural differences when participants read about an agent helping in return for monetary gain.

Results showed that, unlike their American counterparts, Hindu Indian participants believed reciprocal actions carry moral force and they viewed reciprocal actions as well as spontaneous actions as equally intrinsically motivated. Americans, on the other hand, viewed reciprocal actions

as less intrinsically motivated than spontaneous actions. For American participants, spontaneous action says something about the person's true agency, since "the self tends to be conceptualized as prior to and most genuinely expressed outside of social role expectations" (Miller & Bersoff, 1994, p. 600). As noted earlier, other studies investigating cultural differences in agency and moral behaviour showed that American participants interpret prosocial actions that go "above and beyond" the call of duty as more praiseworthy than their Hindu Indian counterparts. Presumably, this kind of action reflects an individual's own personal intentions and choice to act altruistically and not merely acting according to prescribed social responsibility (Baron & Miller, 2000). In contrast, the dichotomy between actions enforced by social control processes and actions arising from spontaneous action may be more entwined in cultures that value interpersonal relationships with community members (Miller & Bersoff, 1994). As Miller and Bersoff conclude, the moral force of reciprocity norms is a consequence of cultural construals of agency (i.e. interdependent or independent) as well as the relationships between self and others.

Similarly, Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt (2002) investigated cultural differences in motivation to perform social obligations. These researchers were interested in how these social obligations impacted one's life satisfaction. Social obligations may be viewed differently by people in different cultures. On one hand, social obligations may be universally perceived as conflicting with personal desires and wants. On the other hand, social obligations could be seen as socially controlled "shoulds". Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt explained that human motivation can be broken down into two categories, "wants" and "shoulds". The first category (i.e. what we want) represents autonomous self-regulation, and is comprised of intrinsic motivation (i.e. an internal desire to act in particular way) and identified motivation (i.e. a desire to adhere to values that have been internalized). Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt have documented a number of studies showing that autonomous self-regulation is associated with good psychological adjustment and well-being. The second category (i.e. what we believe we should do) includes introjected motivation (i.e. internalized external mechanisms that govern our behaviour through psychological processes like guilt and anxiety) and extrinsic motivation (i.e. motives for actions lying outside the self). In contrast to self-regulated motives, these "shoulds" reflect controlled processes outside the self and are often associated with dissatisfaction and decreased psychological well-being. But as Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt have pointed out, this depiction of motivation (i.e. the "wants" being healthy and the "shoulds" being unhealthy) might be influenced by cultural biases. Indeed, social obligations that may appear overly burdensome and unpleasant to those in more individualistic cultures (e.g. because they frustrate personal freedom), might actually be viewed by others as self-determined motivations to fulfil such obligations. Strong interpersonal relationships may be founded on the fulfilment of obligations and expectations to others within the social sphere. This led Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt to speculate that people from collectivist cultures might have a different motivational structure than those from individualist cultures. In collectivistic cultures, introjected motives (e.g. social obligations) may become identified motives. Duty, therefore, becomes desirable and personally fulfilling.

To further these ideas regarding cultural differences in perceptions of "shoulds" and "wants", Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt explored the motivation of Anglo Americans and Latino Americans. Specifically, they investigated whether the motivation to help another person was impacted by the relationship between recipient and donor (e.g. very close, medium close and distant). They expected that Latino Americans would not only want to help more but also believe they should help compared to the Anglo Americans. Moreover, they predicted cultural differences in motivation regarding very close (e.g. mother, best friend) and medium close (e.g. friend, cousin) relationships, but not distant relationships (e.g. a stranger on a bus). Finally, Janoff-Bulman and

Leggatt investigated the cultural differences regarding the connection between motivation and life satisfaction, expecting Latino Americans would derive life satisfaction from fulfilling obligations and duties, whereas Anglo Americans would not, underscoring the latter's perceived value in autonomous self-regulation. Participants read scenarios describing people in need and then asked if they would help, if they thought they should help, if they wanted to help, would they feel good for helping, and would they feel badly for not helping. Following this, they were given a scale to rate their life satisfaction (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985; cited in Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt, 2002).

Results showed that people with a collectivist cultural background (Latino American participants) viewed social obligations to help others as both more obligatory and personally satisfying than those with an individualistic cultural background (Anglo American participants). More specifically, considering relationships with a "medium" level of closeness (e.g. friends), compared to American participants, Latino American participants reported themselves to be more likely to help accompanied by a greater belief that they should, that they wanted to help, and that failing to help would make them feel badly while helping would make them feel good (Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt, 2002). According to Latino American participants, relationships that included a medium level of closeness were understood as morally obliging, but they also reported that they wanted to help, which demonstrates the connection between 'shoulds' and 'wants' among collectivist cultures. As Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt (2002, p. 268) explained, culture is "an effective medium for socializing obligations – shoulds – as identified motives, consistent with personal values and thereby desirable and personally fulfilling". Indeed, Latino American participants were more likely to see their social obligations, i.e., "shoulds", as "wants" than Anglo American participants, whether the relationship was considered very close or medium close. According to Janoff-Bulman and Leggatt, this demonstrated that socially controlled behaviours for people within a collectivist culture can come to be interpreted in a self-regulatory manner. Moreover, life satisfaction was associated with both duties and desires for Latino American participants. For individuals coming from a collectivist culture, then, acting obligingly is not necessarily in conflict with personal freedom or with one's sense of life satisfaction.

Applying a socio-historical approach often used by anthropologists, Morris et al. (2001) showed how different cultural conceptions of agency can be understood as a combination of external (material) and internal (mental) representations that impact decisions and actions. They reviewed a number of cultural artefacts, such as texts (philosophical, religious, novels), public institutions (educational, legal) and discourses, from America and China, because such artefacts both reflect and shape particular knowledge structures. Their analysis showed that individual agency in North America emerges from a long tradition of historical texts, including religious writings on the individual soul and political philosophical writings on individual rights and liberties. In contrast, individual agency is an illusion in prominent Chinese philosophy and religion, such as Buddhism and Taoism. Rather, the individual is subordinated to the group and to the relationships emerging from this. This distinction is also apparent in contemporary texts. For example, American novels and cinema often portray the protagonist in conflict with the social establishment, which he or she must transcend. This self-overcoming becomes a popular cultural archetype with inescapable moral consequences for the individual, because failure to overcome is linked with weakness of character and an abandonment of one's ability to self-govern. Looking at public institutions, Morris et al. pointed out how the American legal system is an adversarial process, where individuals (lawyers, defendants, and witnesses) must defend their claims under a tough judicial process. Chinese law, on the other hand, promotes group duties and upholds the capacity for group punishment. Differences in agency are also reflected in the education system, where Americans are encouraged

to express themselves and are responsible for their own esteem. Chinese students are encouraged to be obedient and learn by rote (Biggs, 1996; cited in Morris et al.). This, Morris et al. explained, impacts the accessibility of particular conceptions of agency by providing a particular context and expectations for expression. For example, classrooms that encourage self-expression foster "self-motivated" students, whereas classrooms that encourage obedience foster "duty-motivated" students.

With respect to internal (mental) representations of cultural differences in conceptions of agency, Morris et al. cited a number of studies. For example, East Asian (e.g. Singaporean) participants endorsed organizational autonomy over individual autonomy to a greater extent than their American counterparts (Menon, Morris, Chiu, & Hong, 1999; cited in Morris et al., 2001). Cultural differences can be seen in judgments of intentionality as well. American participants view more acts as intentional than Chinese participants (Ames & Fu, 2000; cited in Morris et al., 2001), and Japanese participants thought organizations were intentional to a greater extent than American participants (Ames, Zemba, Morris, Yamaguchi, & Lickel, 2000; cited in Morris et al., 2001). As a whole, Morris et al. provided evidence suggesting that cultural differences in conceptions of agency are a result of the interplay between internal (mental) and external (material) representations. Differences in agency (i.e. individual versus group) reflect the accessibility of a conception of agency, which results from engagement with a particular social stimulus.

Like Morris et al., Markus, Uchida, Omoregie, Townsend, and Kitayama (2006) investigated cultural differences of agency by comparing Japanese and American Olympic news coverage. This approach, they argued, provides a glimpse of the construction of meaning in a natural, yet constrained, cultural activity, because media simultaneously reflects *and* fosters a sociocultural perspective of agency. Like Morris et al., Markus et al. (2006, p. 104) view American constructions of agency as largely disjointed, i.e., "relatively separate from the agent's personal experience or history, his or her current subjective state, and the actions of other people". On the other hand, East Asians likely view agency as conjoined, i.e., "interdependent with and responsive to the agent's past experience, his or her current subjective state, and the actions of other people" (Markus et al., 2006, p. 104). Figure 1 graphically depicts these two models of agency.
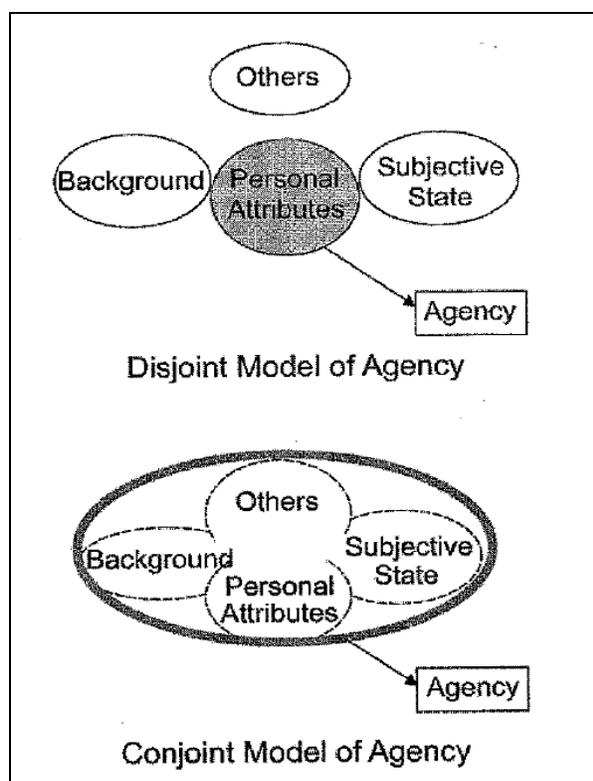
Figure 1: Disjoint and conjoint models of agency (Markus et al., 2006)

Consequently, Markus et al. hypothesized that American coverage is limited to an athlete's characteristics, whereas Japanese coverage focuses more broadly, and includes past experience, subjective experience, and the contribution of significant others. They also hypothesized that unlike American coverage which focused primarily on positive features, Japanese coverage would present a more holistic account of the athlete's performance over time that included both positive and negative features. To test these ideas, they undertook a content analysis of Olympic news coverage (newspapers and television) in America and Japan from 2000 and 2002. Researchers analyzed reports about 77 Japanese and 265 American athletes and coded these reports in categories related to personal characteristics, athletic background, competitors and competition, other people, emotional states, motivational states, and reaction to Olympic performance.

As predicted, despite being the most frequently used category for both groups, the personal characteristics were significantly more frequent in American coverage compared to Japanese, and occurred significantly more often than any other category within American coverage. And though they both emphasized an athlete's strength, Japanese reports included significantly more descriptions of personal characteristics that went beyond his or her athletic prowess and descriptions of general heath during the games. Unlike Americans, whose second most frequently used category was competition, Japanese second most frequently used category was athletic background, providing evidence for a conjoined model of agency that includes personal experience in the sport (e.g. trials and tribulations) and history (e.g. length of time). Indeed, Japanese coverage went beyond personal characteristics and competition and included many more categories, such as emotional and motivational states, relationships, background, and reaction to performance, to describe athletic activity (Markus et al.). Moreover, despite both cultures focusing more frequently

on positive features, Japanese coverage was more equal in positive and negative features compared to Americans, who focused more readily on positive aspects. In general then, Japanese news coverage of Olympic athletes was much broader than Americans, suggesting agency is conjoint.

In the second study, Markus et al. asked American and Japanese college students to select which information would best serve in a news story about an Olympic athlete. From the categories used in the previous study (i.e. personal and unique characteristics, background, coach/team, other people, competitors, motivation, emotion, etc.), participants were asked to select the 15 most relevant statements for a media report, and answer whether she is a good role model, whether the public will like her, and whether she represents American or Japanese athletes. Again, results showed that American participants chose descriptions that emphasized personal attributes and uniqueness of the athlete significantly more often than Japanese participants, and the latter chose descriptions pertaining to athlete's coach and team, motivation, emotion, etc. significantly more often than the former. Moreover, Americans chose positive statements more often than negative statements, whereas Japanese chose an equal number of both positive and negative statements. Results also showed that the athletes depicted in these compilations did not differ in their ability to serve as a role model, their likeability, or national representation.

As a whole, results provide empirical support for cultural differences in the accessibility and pervasiveness of particular models of agency in Japanese and American cultures. Markus et al. believed that Olympic performance requires a cultural-specific set of assumptions and knowledge that play out in media accounts, which are important cultural mediators because they simultaneously reflect and foster sociocultural models of agency. In essence, the social context of the Olympian provides a social situation in which models of agency are readily accessed, revealing their cultural salience. Participant descriptions reveal the construction of meaning around the concept of agency and these descriptions present "the dynamic mutual constitution of psychological processes and sociocultural contexts" (Markus et al., 2006, p. 110). Agency in America reflects an unbounded, disjointed model, concentrating specifically on the positive attributes of the individual. In contrast, agency in East Asian cultures (e.g. Japanese and Chinese) reflects a holistic, conjoined model, which includes multiple sources of influence and implicates a number of factors.

Clearly, this conjoined model of agency goes beyond the self and ultimately broadens one's sense of accountability. Maddux and Yuki (2006) presented Japanese and American participants with a scenario in which they acted as the president of a large company that had to cut employees and salaries by 15%. Following this, participants completed a number of ratings showing the extent to which they felt responsible for a number of individuals and subsequent events (such as impact on the employees' families, increase in societal crime, etc.). Results showed that Japanese took more responsibility for subsequent events following the mock lay-offs and salary reductions compared to Americans, and also thought a greater number of people would be affected by their actions. In fact, Japanese participants took more responsibility for societal crime arising from the layoffs a year later. This sense of responsibility for distant subsequent events was replicated for unintentional events.

In a follow up study, Maddux and Yuki presented participants with a scenario in which they had caused a traffic accident. Though American participants reported more responsibility for damage to their own car and the car immediately implicated in the accident than did Japanese participants, Japanese participants assumed greater responsibility for indirect effects, such as a second accident occurring as a result of their accident and commuters experiencing delays. In fact, Japanese

participants experienced more negative affect as the result of these indirect consequences than because of the direct consequences of the accident.

Though this research is compelling, Maddux and Yuki caution that these findings represent perceptions of consequences stemming from actions that negatively impact others and not from prosocial actions. It remains to be seen if this finding will be replicated for prosocial behaviours. Interestingly, this sense of responsibility might emerge from a cultural desire to avoid *taijin kyofusho*, "an extreme form of social anxiety in which individuals are excessively afraid of hurting or offending others and/or being judged harshly by others" (Maddux & Yuki, 2006, p. 681). This psychological disorder is identified only in Japan. Nevertheless, the research showed that Japanese perceptions of the relationship between a wide range of events and their own interdependence with others in the greater whole invoked a greater sense of responsibility for the consequences of their actions, both intentional and unintentional.

4.1.2.1 Relevance of Findings to Multinational Teams

As the research hints, cross-cultural differences in motivation may impact multinational team processes. For example, team climate may be affected by cross-cultural differences in perceptions of agency and responsibility. Relative to Westerners, non-Westerners tend to pardon breaches of justice on the basis of external situational variables more readily, and this is argued to stem from Non-Westerners considering a fuller context when making judgments. People from Western cultures tend to judge wrongdoings in absolute moral terms (viz. either right or wrong), without absolving individuals (e.g. because of situational factors). These differences in perceptions of responsibilities, both one's own and those of others, have the potential to impact seriously on the climate within a team. For example, individuals who maintain a disjointed conception of agency may expect a greater degree of personal initiative in team members than individuals who maintain a conjoined conception of agency. If team members do not act in accordance with these expectations, this may create negative stresses (e.g. issues of trust, lower cohesion, etc.) within the team.

The available literature also suggests that people from non-Western countries are likely to report a greater sense of personal responsibility than Westerners for indirect events that emerge as a consequence of an earlier action they undertook. The former perceived their sphere of influence far beyond one's immediate control both in space and time. Though Westerners showed a strong sense of responsibility for those events in their immediate control, they did not show strong support for how their actions impacted in more distal situations. A team task such as operational planning, for example, could be profoundly impacted by cross-cultural differences in team members' perceptions of responsibility. A Commanders' sense of responsibility will likely drive decisions around tactics, and this will be influenced by his or her cultural background. Agreeing on the sphere of influence, for example, may be challenging in multinational teams.

Another team process likely to be impacted by different cultural conceptions of agency is team communication. Research suggests that those from collectivist cultures with a conjoined model of agency are more likely to direct their communication to superiors (e.g. team leaders), whereas those from individualist cultures may communicate more readily with team members (Conyne, Wilson, Tang, & Shi, 1999; cited in Salas et al., 2004). Individuals with a conjoined concept of agency may feel less empowered, and therefore feel more obligated to stay within the hierarchical structure of the military. Consequently, the flow of information in a team may be different because of cross-cultural differences. Moreover, as will be seen in the next chapter, the way in which team

members communicate with each other may also be impacted as a result of cultural conceptions of agency.

Research should investigate how attributions of responsibility and conceptions of agency impact team processes (e.g. team climate, team communication, and team planning) in an operational context.

4.1.3   Culture, Emotion, and Morality

Cultural background also impacts on the experience and expression of emotions. Culture helps to determine what emotions are acceptable to express, the degree to which they can comfortably be expressed, the behaviours in which individuals will engage to regulate certain emotions, and the way in which actions will be interpreted relative to the observer's own cultural influence on emotions (e.g. Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Recent research suggests that emotions are understood somewhat uniformly across cultures, and there are strong similarities in emotional experience across cultures. For example, research by Kitayama, Mesquita, and Karasawa (2006) showed that although there is no one-to-one mapping between emotion concepts in all languages, factors such as pleasantness and social orientation (i.e. whether the emotion encourages or discourages social interaction) were distinguished in all languages studied. This finding indicates that the same aspects of emotion are experienced by, and salient to, members of different cultures. However, the expression of emotions and the interpretations of emotions are much more complex and may vary to some extent according to culture.

In a review exploring how culture shapes emotion, Tsai, Knutson, and Fung (2006) explore why some research finds culture to have little impact on emotion, and some researchers find larger effects. This discrepancy, they argue, may be attributable to researchers focusing on two distinct forms of affect. Specifically, they argue that researchers must distinguish between "ideal affect", or how people want to feel, and "actual affect", or how people actually do feel. Researchers taking an ethnographic approach (usually sociologist and anthropologists) find that culture strongly influences emotion, whereas researchers taking an empirical approach (often psychologists) find that there are more cultural similarities than differences with respect to emotion. However, they argue that the ethnographic approach focuses primarily on ideal affect, whereas the empirical approach tends to focus on actual affect, which does not appear to be as strongly influenced by culture.

Tsai et al. (2006) performed several studies to investigate these ideas. The authors developed measures of both ideal and actual affect, using the same set of 25 emotion questions. To measure ideal affect, respondents were asked to rate how much they would ideally like to feel the emotion. To measure actual affect, respondents were asked to rate how much they typically feel each of the emotions. The respondents represented three cultural backgrounds, European American, Asian American, and Hong-Kong Chinese, which were thought to have the largest differences on the individualist/collectivist dimension.

Results showed that actual affect and ideal affect were relatively distinct, as there was only a small correlation between participants' scores on these two measures. As well, results also showed that culture had a larger effect on ideal than actual affect, though the difference was small. For example, European American and Asian American participants valued excitement more than Hong Kong Chinese participants. This suggests that there are similarities across cultures related to actual emotional experience but that how people want to feel, the ideal affect, will be partially determined by cultural valuation. Unfortunately, as distinctions between ideal and actual emotions are not

prominent in the existing literature, most research is likely to under-represent this critical nuance. However, this distinction is particularly relevant for MEDM, as it indicates that the morality of emotions could be judged differently based on cultural factors. Ideal affect may be more important for moral emotion than the emotions that people actually experience, as it seems to be more closely related to values. This, of course, is speculative.

There have been several other theories about how culture may influence emotion. Kitayama et al. (2006) argued that cross-cultural differences in emotion are manifestations of distinct "cultural affordances". That is, cultures may differentially support particular emotional responses because they emphasize and legitimize different values. These values can be expressed, for example, in cultural artefacts (e.g. tasks, routines, symbols, and stories) that either implicitly or explicitly indicate emotions (and presumably emotion-based behaviours) that are more or less culturally acceptable. One prominent difference in emotional expression amongst cultures relates to funeral rites. While it may be wholly acceptable to wail and to throw oneself on the coffin of a loved one in some societies, Western society typically pushes for restraint and more private expressions of grief. Simply observing the values in place about the expression of emotion can give critical information about how emotions are likely to be manifested within a given culture.

Just as self-construals are shown to shape cognition and motivation, they also appear to shape emotion. Markus and Kitayama (1991) suggested that culture determines how people view themselves (i.e. self-construal) and this shapes one's interpretations of events, thereby influencing the emotions they experience. The cultural focus on an independent self-construal versus an interdependent self-construal will have a strong influence on whether an individual's emotions are ego-focused or other-focused. The former centre on the self and are expected to be typical of individuals from most Western cultures valuing independence and autonomy. As Markus and Kitayama explained, ego-focused emotions have the individual's needs, goals, and desires as the referent, and typically include anger, pride, and frustration. In contrast, other-focused emotions have other people as the primary referent, and include respect for another, empathy, and shame. Because different cultures emphasize different values, and because these values are likely to promote distinct emotions, certain emotions should be more prevalent for members of different cultures as a consequence.

Markus and Kitayama cited past studies demonstrating that members of independent cultures versus interdependent cultures showed differing levels of ego-focused and other-focused emotions. Matsumoto, Kudoh, Scherer, and Wallbott (1988; cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991) examined ego-focused emotions within American and Japanese undergraduates. Participants ranked several emotions (joy, sadness, anger, guilt, fear, shame, and disgust) according to the frequency, intensity, and duration with which they were felt. American and Japanese students' ratings of the relative frequency of emotions were the same, but American students reported that they experienced emotions of higher intensity and longer duration than the Japanese students. This was argued to be as expected because most of the emotions rated in this research (except shame and perhaps guilt) were ego-focused emotions. Because American culture is more ego-focused (independent) than Japanese culture, it is unsurprising that the emotional experience of Americans was more intense and occurred for a longer duration than that of Japanese participants.

More recent work by Kitayama et al. (2006) investigated "socially engaging" emotions (e.g. friendly feelings and guilt) and "socially disengaging" emotions (e.g. pride and anger). Because Japanese culture is more collectivist than American culture, they predicted that Japanese emotions would be more closely linked to social engagement, promoting social harmony and interdependence in comparison to American emotions. To test their hypotheses, Kitayama et al.

conducted two studies. In the first study, they employed a diary method to assess the intensity and frequency of emotions experienced by Japanese and American students. Participants wrote a brief description of the most emotional episode they experienced at the end of each day for 14 days, and also rated how strongly they felt these emotions. In Study 2, participants were presented with situations (e.g., "positive interaction with friends"), and were asked to remember concrete examples of the situations that they had actually experienced, and then rate the extent to which they had felt 25 emotions during the situation. Specifically, Kitayama and colleagues predicted that positive engaging emotions would be more prevalent in the Japanese sample because these were associated more with an interdependent self-construal, whereas positive disengaging emotions would be more prevalent in the American sample because these were more associated with an independent self-construal. The findings were consistent with these hypotheses.

Additional analyses also explored the relationship between well-being and socially-engaging or socially-disengaging emotions. These analyses showed that both engaging and disengaging positive emotions were positively correlated with feelings of well-being (as measured by the degree of feeling positive emotions, such as happiness) for both Japanese and American participants. However, for Japanese participants, well-being was better predicted by positive-engaging emotions, but for Americans well-being was better predicted by positive but socially-disengaging emotions. Similar findings were also reported by Kitayama, Markus, and Kurokawa (2000). Culture appears, therefore, to have an influence on the experience of and the relative importance of emotions.

There is also evidence that in addition to influencing the emotions and emotional intensity felt in a situation, differences in interdependence or independence within a culture can motivate behaviours that are intended to regulate emotions in different ways. Research examining cultural approaches to conflict found that Chinese people displayed more other-focused behaviours compared to American people (Bond 1986; cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The Chinese conflict-resolution model tended to begin with a process of disclosure, during which each participant described their perspective of the common problem and accepted mutual constraints that each would adhere to throughout the discussion. Once these conditions were established, parties provided their own opinions or views without manifesting negative emotions that would alienate the other party. According to Bond (1986; cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991), these strategies were carefully used to limit conflict and the expression of negative emotions, which are highly undesirable to highly-interdependent people.

Matsumoto and colleagues (2002) attempted to explain differences in emotional regulation across cultures by reasoning that members of independent cultures might value free expression of emotion, while members of interdependent cultures might value emotional restraint. As Markus and Kitayama (1991) explained, independent people should believe that ego-focused emotions tell us something "true" about ourselves. As such, for people from independent cultures, there is benefit in experiencing ego-focused emotions, and failing to attend to them is perceived as a potential betrayal of the self. In contrast, interdependent people would be more inclined to regulate, suppress, or even altogether fail to recognize ego-focused emotions in favour of other-focused emotions, such as respect for someone, empathy, or shame. According to Markus and Kitayama, expertise in the expression and experience of other-focused emotions and repression of ego-focused emotions leads to the promulgation of reciprocity and interpersonal relationships. Given that reality is socially constructed within cultures, then, some cultures (e.g. those with an interdependent orientation) may not provide adequate opportunity to express intense internal, ego-focused emotions, such as anger. Thus, the cultural dimensions in play (e.g. interdependence or independence) may affect the acceptability of emotions, the behaviours in which individuals will

engage to regulate certain emotions, and the interpretation of the relationship between actions and emotions.

There is other evidence that culture may contribute to differences in perceptions of others' emotions based on behavioural cues. For example, Matsumoto et al. (2002) examined whether members from American and Japanese cultures would interpret emotional expressions similarly. Matsumoto et al. hypothesized that there should be differences in emotional sensitivity between the two cultures based on their respective orientations to individualism and collectivism. Collectivistic societies tend to place more value on considering other people, including being sensitive to others' emotions. Thus, Matsumoto et al. thought that Japanese participants would be more accurate judges of emotional displays than Americans, at least for more ambiguous stimuli (i.e., the lower-intensity emotional displays). Specifically, they hypothesized that Japanese participants would show greater accuracy in their judgments of the emotion displayed in facial expressions, at least for lower-intensity emotions.

Another difference between Japanese and American culture is that they have different norms about expressing emotion. In general, Japanese norms discourage strong emotional expressions, whereas American culture views emotional expressions as an appropriate form of communication, which thus should be emphasized. If these norms were externalized, then, they may help to predict people's ability to judge how a target person was actually feeling based on the intensity of the emotion that this target person expressed.

The stimuli used in the Matsumoto et al. study were based on stimuli from the Japanese and Caucasian Facial Expressions of Emotion set created by Matsumoto and Ekman (1988; cited in Matsumoto et al.). These displayed happy, angry, sad, or surprised expressions. There were four levels of intensity in the expressions: "very high", "high", "low", and "neutral" expressions. The proportion of stimuli consisting of Caucasian vs. Asian faces is not reported, although the authors state that the stimulus set "reliably portrays the universal emotions" (p. 731) and the selected emotions are considered to be universal emotions.

Participants were asked to make a judgment and two ratings for each of the face stimuli. The judgment consisted of a choice of the emotion which participants thought was expressed in the picture, and participants were supposed to choose only one from a selection of emotions. The choices were: anger, contempt, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, surprise, no emotion, and "other" (which required clarification from the participant). Participants were then supposed to rate the intensity of the external display of the emotion (display-intensity rating), and the intensity of the target person's subjective experience (experience-intensity rating). These last two ratings were done on two 9-point scales, with 0 representing "none" and 8 representing "a lot".

All participants were more accurate at rating the high-intensity expressions than the low-intensity expressions, although the low-intensity expressions were still rated accurately at higher-than-chance levels (there were no consistent differences between the emotion-judgment accuracy for the "very-high-" and "high-" intensity conditions). As such, there was no evidence that Japanese participants were more accurate than American participants at judging the emotion of low-intensity expressions. Therefore, this study did not support the idea that culture impacts the overall ability of a person to interpret another person's emotions. This research argues that basic understanding of emotional displays is an innate, or at least a universal, ability.

However, there was evidence that culture impacts the interpretation given to emotional displays. There was a significant three-way interaction between participant culture, stimulus emotional-display intensity, and rating type (i.e., display versus experience intensity). This interaction showed

that the Japanese participants rated the experience intensity as higher than the display intensity if the display intensity was low, but their ratings of intensity were similar for the expression and the display for high-intensity expressions. In contrast, American participants showed the opposite pattern. American participants rated the experience intensity as lower than display intensity for high-intensity expressions, but their ratings of intensity were similar for the expression and experience of low-intensity expressions. In other words, both Japanese and Americans believed that people were sometimes experiencing different intensities of emotion than they were showing, but the Japanese believed that people showing low-intensity emotions were actually feeling more, and the Americans believed that people showing high-intensity emotions were actually feeling less. Japanese believed that emotional experience and expression were congruent if emotional intensity was high, whereas Americans believed that emotional experience and expression were congruent if emotional intensity was low.

According to Matsumoto et al., the interaction between participant culture, stimulus emotional-display intensity, and rating type may be explained by differences in cultural norms. Because Americans have the norm that emotional displays are appropriate and should even be exaggerated, this leads to the inference that extreme emotional displays are likely to be exaggerations of actual feeling. This results in the judgment that extreme emotional displays are not a direct result of actual emotion, and likely the subjective experience is less than the display. In contrast, since there is no norm that emotional displays should be minimized, when less-intense displays occur, there is no reason to think that the display is not accurate (or they should have been exaggerated further for communicative purposes).

In contrast, Japanese have the norm that emotional displays should be diminished. This leads to two possible interpretations of strong emotions: either the situation is "safe" for a true emotional display, or the emotion is so strong that it cannot be hidden (e.g., the person is suddenly very surprised). Thus, there is reason to believe that strong emotional displays are true representations of the subjective experience. However, because the Japanese norm is to diminish emotional displays, low-intensity emotional displays are likely to occur, even when the person is actually subjectively feeling very emotional. Therefore, low-intensity emotional displays likely reflect stronger emotions, and the participants in the Matsumoto et al. study judged the subjective emotions as higher than the displayed emotions, but only for low-intensity expressions.

There was another unpredicted difference between the two groups of participants. American and Japanese participants did differ in their ratings of emotional intensity. American participants rated the intensity of both the emotional expression and the subjective emotional experience of the target individual as higher than the Japanese participants. Whether this is a genuine cultural difference in the interpretation of emotional intensity or just a chance finding from this study will have to be investigated further.

Although other-focused emotions are favoured in interdependent cultures and ego-focused emotions are favoured in independent cultures, it should be noted that ego-focused emotions are not absent from interdependent cultures. In fact, Japanese people have been argued to evidence anger more often in the company of strangers than among acquaintances, suggesting that ego-focused emotions may be more permissible in non-interdependent relationships occurring within interdependent cultures (Matsumoto et al., 1988; cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Given the importance of in-groups to Eastern cultures (Matsumoto et al.), this acceptance of the expression of ego-focused emotions toward out-group members is not surprising. However, research does support the distinction between ego-focused and other-focused emotions along cultural lines, although this distinction may be more relative than absolute.

Recently, the connection between morality and emotions has been empirically established. A number of psychologists have demonstrated the role of emotion in regulating moral judgments. For instance, Greene and Haidt (2002) showed that damage to the medial prefrontal cortex can render individuals' somatic markers (emotional cues that direct cognitive attention) ineffective. Consequently, in spite of retaining abstract social knowledge and otherwise adequate cognitive functioning, these individuals often make detrimental real-life judgments. This finding suggests that *effective* decision-making is mediated more through emotion than through reason. Moreover, Pizarro (2000) argues that empathy is an informative moral signal because it sensitizes us to the distress of others and indicates that moral reasoning is salient, so much so that a lack of empathy would make it more difficult to recognize a moral situation. Indeed, emotions may stimulate or even organize our cognitions about a moral question. Although there is evidence that emotions, including moral emotions, are expressed and interpreted differently across cultures, there is unfortunately little if any discussion in the literature about the cultural influences on moral emotions (e.g. such as empathy) from these sources.

Moral emotions are thought to provide an important link between moral standards or beliefs and moral behaviours by providing a strong source of motivation for moral behaviour. They can be positive (e.g., pride, gratitude) or negative (e.g., shame, guilt). Positive moral emotions act as a reward for "right" behaviour, and negative moral emotions act as a punishment for "wrong" behaviour. Emotional feedback can be a result of actual behaviour (consequential emotions), but people also anticipate the likely emotional consequence of a behaviour (anticipatory emotions). Both consequential and anticipatory emotions can have a strong influence on people's behavioural choice (e.g., Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007).

Some researchers go further in defining moral emotions, stating that emotions are "moral" to the extent that they actually motivate behaviours facilitating the well-being of others (with others defined as either specific individuals or society in general). Tangney et al. argued that the morality of an emotion can be assessed by identifying how effective the emotion is at facilitating relationships and benefiting individuals. For example, they state that guilt is a more moral emotion than shame, because guilt motivates people to make amends, whereas shame motivates people to hide their behaviours and to remove themselves from relationships.

There is evidence of both commonalities and differences in moral emotions based on culture. For example, most cultures share a harm morality, the notion that hurting others physically or psychologically is wrong (Haidt, Koller, and Dias, 1993). However, the relationship between behaviour and moral emotional reaction may vary cross-culturally. Both Chinese and American participants reported feeling guilty about harming another person. However, Chinese participants reported feeling more guilty than Americans (Stipek, Weiner, & Li, 1989; cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Cultural differences also shed light on the connotations of emotions. Americans reported the most frequent source of guilt was "violating a law or moral principle", whereas Chinese reported the most frequent source of guilt was "hurting others psychologically" (Stipek, Weiner, & Li, 1989; cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This emphasizes that the connotation behind an emotion such as guilt can be viewed as an abstraction in independent cultures, but as involving a real person in interdependent cultures.

In examining the universality of emotions, Niiya, Ellsworth, and Yamaguchi (2006) examined Americans' reactions to the Japanese emotion known as '*amae*'. Amae can be defined as the ability "to depend and presume upon another's love or bask in another's indulgences" and this is "a key concept for understanding not only the psychological makeup of the individual Japanese but of the structure of Japanese society as a whole" (Doi, 1973, p 8, 28; cited in Niiya, 2006). Amae is an

emotion felt when a request (that would be seen as inappropriate within most relationships) is made in the context of a close relationship. Its inappropriateness typically stems from the requester's age or social status relative to the person being asked. Amae could be triggered by asking one's mother to do something one would not expect others to do (e.g. pick up her son or daughter from the airport), and expecting her to agree by virtue of the close relationship. Amae can be experienced by both the requester and the granting individual. However, Niiya and colleagues note that the person being asked the favour is more likely to see the request as inappropriate and is hence more likely to feel Amae. Because of its uniqueness in Japanese society, Amae has not been widely recognized as a moral emotion. But, given that the normative force of the request determines if Amae is felt or not, it can be construed as a moral emotion.

Not surprisingly, the experience of Amae is a highly complex one. Amae can engage positive or negative feelings. If the request is borne out of a desire for intimacy or unconditional love, it is experienced positively. But if it is selfish or manipulative, it is experienced negatively. Niiya et al. hypothesised that positive Amae may be more likely to be experienced by Japanese, who value interdependence, but negative Amae may be more likely to be experienced by Americans, unless the situation is seen to be under their control, because they value independence. They tested their hypotheses across two studies with Japanese and American undergraduates using a scenario that included close friends.

Results indicated striking similarities between Americans' and Japanese' understanding of Amae. First, both perceived Amae between close friends positively, especially when the situation was in their control. Second, Americans recognized Amae for what it was, despite the lack of a specific word for it in common parlance. Niiya et al. suggested that although Amae was recognized and experienced positively by both cultures, it may be interpreted differently. For example, Amae might be seen as affirming relationships in Japan, and as affirming a sense of control in the U.S. This finding indicates that although the same moral emotions may be felt in all cultures, there may be cultural differences in nuance, focus, and intensity.

In their study looking at the cultural differences in the emphasis on different ethical principles between Americans and Filipinos, Vasquez et al. (2001) investigated potential cultural differences in emotional reactions to different types of moral violations. Previous work speculated that particular emotions were associated with particular ethics. Specifically, Haidt, Koller and Dias (1993) suggested that because the Autonomy ethic is focused on personal freedom, violations of personal rights would be considered the most immoral acts according to that ethic. Violations of rights are associated with the emotion of anger. Hence, anger should be the most prevalent negative emotion in cultures emphasizing the autonomy ethic. Similarly, the community ethic is focused on interpersonal harmony, so violations of hierarchy would be considered serious immoral acts. Because violations of hierarchy are associated with contempt, contempt would be the most prevalent negative emotion in community-focused cultures. The divinity ethic is focused on sanctity and purity, so violations of purity would be considered highly immoral, and as violations of purity are associated with disgust, disgust would be the most prevalent negative emotion in divinity-focused cultures. Thus, autonomy relates to anger, community to contempt, and divinity to disgust. These predictions, however, had not been empirically validated.

To examine these hypotheses, Vasquez et al. (2001) investigated whether orientation to a particular moral rhetoric would amplify one particular emotion over others. American and Filipino participants were presented with moral violation scenarios and photos depicting the moral emotions of interest (anger, contempt, disgust) and "filler" emotions (happiness, shame, fear, sadness). Participants were asked to read the scenario and match the photograph to the proper moral

violation. As postulated, anger and contempt were associated with autonomy and community, respectively. Contrary to the expected findings, however, disgust was not associated with divinity, and contempt was the emotion most associated with divinity. Moreover, as Vasquez et al. predicted, in response to moral violations of Autonomy, Americans responded with anger more often than Filipinos, whereas the former was less likely to use anger for violations of community or divinity compared to the latter. Thus, empirical evidence shows that particular ethical codes are associated with different emotions, although the divinity ethic does not appear to be strongly associated with any specific emotion (at least of those examined). This supports the notion that cultures that uphold different ethical perspectives will also express different emotions in response to moral violations.

Research by Miller and Bersoff (1998) also explored how emotions influence judgments of morality, and whether cultures show evidence of different emotions impacting on moral decisions. They examined the relationship between culture, moral judgments of responsibility to help, and the emotional response of "liking". They presented American and Hindu Indian participants with vignettes involving an adult making a low-effort request of another adult (the request was always denied). The relationship between the requester and requestee was varied, with half being family members and half being either a work relationship or a relationship established through another community setting. The "liking" manipulation involved describing the relationship as "close" or "not close", as well as varying several other aspects of the story to emphasize the closeness of the relationship (e.g., "they shared a warm and affectionate relationship" versus "had never developed a strong emotional bond"; Miller & Bersoff, p. 447). Hindu Indian participants generally rated the behaviour of the requestee as less desirable than did American participants, indicating a cultural difference in the degree of morality ascribed to helping behaviours. Supporting this assessment, Hindu Indian participants also judged the responsibility to help as higher than the Americans. However, only the Americans showed sensitivity to the liking manipulation, with perceived responsibility toward the requester rated higher when this person was more liked. This finding suggests that moral emotions can act as feedback for behaviours, as well as helping to determine moral judgments of behaviours. Moreover, which emotions serve these purposes differs by culture. This suggests that generic definitions of "moral emotions" may be possible, and it may also be possible to predict what the "ideal" moral emotions will be within a culture, but because actual emotions are less influenced by culture, the actual instantiations of these moral emotions may be more difficult to predict.

4.1.3.1 Relevance of Findings to Multinational Teams

This section shows that there is some evidence that emotion will vary across cultures. Cultural dimensions, such as interdependence and independence, appear to influence what emotions are acceptable to express, the degree to which they can comfortably be expressed, and the behaviours in which individuals will enlist to regulate certain emotions. Research suggests non-Westerners may experience "engaging" emotions (e.g. friendly feelings and guilt) more readily than Westerners, whereas the latter may experience "disengaging" emotions (e.g. pride and anger) more readily than the former. As well, there is some evidence that people interpret emotions differently as a result of their culture, and culture influences those emotions that individuals want to feel. Emotion is an essential element of communication. Indeed, as a social process, communication includes one's openness and style as well as one's expression of feelings and thoughts (Essens, Vogelaar, Mylle, Blendell, Paris, Halpin, & Baranski, 2005). Given that information exchange in multicultural teams might be hampered by language barriers, team members may rely more on emotional cues when learning to communicate with team members. It may well be likely then that

cross-cultural differences will influence this critical team process. In sum, the research related to emotions shows good evidence of cross-cultural similarities and differences, with the latter perhaps impacting on communication in multinational operations.

4.1.4 Culture, Behaviour, and Morality

Though Markus and Kitayama (1991) did not include behaviour in their original investigation of the self and culture, there is evidence showing that culture can impact behaviour. This has been found in examinations of the effectiveness of self-managed work teams (SMWTs), conformity behaviour, negotiation behaviour, behaviour when facing social dilemmas, and the categorization of moral and social responsibility.

For example, Kirkman and Shapiro (2001) wanted to understand why SMWTs, which have generated considerable success in the US, have not yielded similar results in nations that are culturally dissimilar. SMWTs can be understood as "teams whose members collectively manage themselves, assign jobs, plan and schedule work, make production- or service-related decisions, and take action on problems" (Wellins et al., 1990; cited in Kirkman & Shapiro, 2001, p. 597). Such teams have been shown to be responsible for increased productivity, quality, job satisfaction, and commitment to the organization. However, as Kirkman and Shapiro (2001) explained, most of these positive findings have emanated from US, Britain or Australia, and not from interdependent or collectivist cultures. In fact, Mexican business executives have reported serious problems with SMWTs (Nicholls, Lane, & Brechu, 1999; cited in Kirkman & Shapiro). As such, the differing success of SMWTs could be directly attributable to cultural differences between the U.S. and other cultures. It should be noted that this finding is of particular interest because it is somewhat counterintuitive. Given collectivist cultures are by definition more group-oriented, it would be expected that SMWTs would be more, not less, effective in these cultures.

This discrepancy between the success of SMWTs in collectivistic versus individualistic cultures led Kirkman and Shapiro (2001) to investigate the impact of specific cultural values (i.e. individualism versus collectivism) on SMWT performance. They speculated that cultural differences may be associated with fundamental differences in perceptions of what teams (i.e. working collaboratively with others) should be and/or on the value of self-management (i.e. embracing authority and responsibility). In short, they predicted that resistance to the constructs of teams or self-management would influence the relationship between the values in play in a specific culture and actual team effectiveness at the team level. As collectivistic cultures emphasize the group good, group commitment, and working together, greater team collectivism will directly relate to less resistance to teams and foster greater team productivity, team cooperation, and team empowerment. This effect would produce effective SMWTs.

Another characteristic of SMWTs that may be relevant to cultural differences is that they require members to share responsibility interdependently, moving them away from thinking merely of their own self-interested activities toward the group's goals and their role in it. Individuals from cultures that readily invoke unequal distributions of power (Hofstede, 1980) throughout society and institutions, however, may resist such self-management, even if they are collective in other ways. As Kirkman and Shapiro pointed out, this could lead to poor SMWT performance.

Team outcomes explored by Kirkman and Shapiro (2001) included productivity (e.g. meeting or exceeds goals, finishing tasks on time), cooperation (e.g. sharing information, communicating, working together to get the job done), and empowerment (e.g. team flexibility, team confidence, positively impacting the organization). They compared these relationships in two US-based

Fortune 100 multinational companies. One company had facilities in Belgium, Finland, and the US, and the other had facilities in the Philippines. Both companies had SMWTs in place for more than a year before data collection began. Kirkman and Shapiro's results showed that the more collectivist the SMWTs, the less likely they were to resist team-related items (such as viewing team members as eager, supportive of team work, etc.), resulting in greater productivity, more cooperation, and increased feelings of empowerment. However, there were no cultural differences evidenced for resistance to self-management. Thus, this study supported the idea that SMWTs should be effective in collectivist cultures, although this finding had not been previously reported.

Conformity is another aspect of behaviour that has been found to differ cross culturally. For example, Bond and Smith (1996) conducted a meta-analysis exploring the relationship between culture (individualism/collectivism) and conformity behaviour. They noted that many studies attempting to replicate Asch's Line Judgment Task (1952, 1956; cited in Bond & Smith, 1996) have shown mixed results. As these studies were often conducted in different countries, they wondered whether cultural differences might explain some of these discrepancies. Bond and Smith argued that the value that people from different cultures place on the group versus the individual may account for variation in conformity behaviour across cultures.

Controlling for other moderating variables, Bond and Smith's (1996) meta-analysis included cultural value measures from research by Hofstede (2005), Schwarz (1994) and Trompenaars (1993). Results using Hofstede's indicator of individualism/collectivism showed that participants from individualist cultures conformed less than those from collectivist cultures. Similarly, Trompenaar's measure revealed more conformity by participants from collectivist cultures than for those from individualistic cultures. Lastly, using Schwartz's three cultural dimensions that compare to individualism/collectivism (conservatism and intellectual/affective autonomy) showed that participants who valued intellectual/affective autonomy were significantly less likely to conform. These overlapping measures, then, provide good support for the differential relationship between culture (specifically, perceived group pressure) and conformity behaviour. Those from collectivist cultures might be more motivated to fit in, belong, realize group goals, and accept one's position within the group than those from individualistic cultures. In this sense, conformity could be understood as "tactfulness" or "social sensitivity", and maintaining harmony may require minimizing any potential disagreement with the group (Bond & Smith, 1996). One way to do this is to conform quickly to views of the group, even if these views are incongruent to one's own.

Negotiation may be another type of behaviour which differs cross culturally. Recent research suggests that East Asian cultures valuing collectivism or interdependence may work to maintain good social relationships by avoiding confrontation in negotiation situations (Ma, Anderson, Wang, Wang, Jaeger, & Saunders, 2002). Ma and colleagues (2002) investigated cross-cultural differences of Canadian and Chinese participants conducting bargaining and negotiation. A competitive style (as advanced by individualistic cultures) could employ "zero-sum tactics", such as threats and positions, to force concessions from a negotiation opponent. Using a more collectivistic and cooperative style, on the other hand, could require use of problem solving methods, sharing information and ensuring concessions benefit all parties.

Chinese and Canadian students participated in a negotiation simulation in their respective countries. Participants were paired off, assuming either the role of the buyer or the role of the seller. One task involved the Knight/Excalibur scenario in which participants must negotiate for automotive parts. Participants were instructed to do their best based on their defined roles. Relevant measures included participants' perceptions about the negotiation situation (i.e. whether they would adopt integrative/cooperative or distributive/competitive stances) prior to the negotiation,

behaviours during the negotiation, and outcomes (i.e. gains and satisfaction) following the negotiation.

Results showed that Canadian participants' perceptions of the negotiation structure had no bearing on their initial offer or assertive conduct in the negotiation. Canadian participants made larger initial demands than Chinese participants, but the latter acted more assertively when they perceived the situation to be cooperative/ integrative. Ma and colleagues explained that Canadians made larger initial demands because people from individualist cultures are typically guided by personal goals, whereas those from collectivist cultures are guided by the desire to establish relationships. Ma et al. further explained that Chinese participants behaved assertively when they viewed the negotiation as integrative because they saw this as a win-win situation and presumably wanted to maximize mutual outcomes. On the other hand, Chinese participants were cautious when they perceived the situation as competitive/distributive. Results showed that for the Chinese, cooperative and assertive behaviour predicted satisfaction with the process, whereas the size of the initial offer predicted economic gain for Canadians. These findings show that people from individualist countries are primarily focused on personal gain, and those from collectivist cultures are more focused on satisfaction with the negotiation process.

Behaviour when facing social dilemmas may also differ across cultures. In another study investigating the impact of culture on behaviour, Wade-Benzoni and colleagues (2002) investigated its impact on cooperative and resource allocation behaviour in a social dilemma.[6] Although there are many forms, social dilemmas are constructed as common organizational and social situations. Wade-Benzoni et al. used an asymmetric 'resource dilemma', where collective non-cooperation results in severe depletion of future resources, and cooperation results in varying benefits, to determine whether resolutions would look differently in non-Western cultures (e.g. Japan) compared to Western cultures (e.g. American). Individuals from collectivist cultures tend to apply an "equality norm", where everyone receives similar compensation, whereas individuals from individualist cultures apply an "equity norm", where people receive compensation based on their contribution (Wade-Benzoni et al.).

Hence, these researchers predicted that American participants would be more egocentric (i.e. choose in way that favours oneself) when resolving an asymmetric social dilemma and would expect others to act the same. They reasoned that as egocentrism centres on upholding one's own self-interests, individuals from individualist cultures would be more likely to make egocentric choices than those from collectivist cultures. People from collectivistic cultures, on the other hand, make their choice in order to uphold group interests rather than to further their own personal goals. As such, Japanese participants were expected to act more cooperatively when resolving the dilemma and to allocate resources more evenly than American participants. Wade-Benzoni et al. also predicted that the relationship between culture and behaviour (i.e. cooperative and resource allocation) would be influenced by culturally-consistent cognitions (e.g. egocentric perspectives and expectations of others). Finally, they predicted that there would be an interaction between culture and change in behaviour (i.e. cooperation and expectations of others') following group discussions, because they believed communication may promote understanding of another's perspective, may establish an

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[6] A social dilemma is often used by philosophers as the justification of a system of morality. For each individual, by acting in isolation and choosing what appears to maximally benefit the self without the consideration of others, ultimately does so at the cost of his or her own self-interest. It is argued, therefore, that the alternative course of action is to be forced into prudent cooperation by a system of rules. For a useful discussion on social dilemmas see *Morality and Rational Self-Interest*, Edited by David P. Gauthier. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1970.

allocation norm for a diminishing resource, and may help foster commitment to this norm (Van Lange, Liebrand, Messick, & Wilke, 1992; cited in Wade-Benzoni et al.). As such, they believed that American samples would benefit from communication more than Japanese samples.

To study this, Wade-Benzoni et al. provided American and Japanese participants with an asymmetric social dilemma based on a real-life crisis in the shark fishing industry. The position of participants on the individualism/collectivism scale was first measured. Each participant was then assigned to represent one of four different commercial or recreational fishing associations, whose combined activity was depleting the resource faster than it could be replenished. Participants were told that they should work to maximize their association's current profits without depleting the resource pool and to maximize the net profit their association would receive. They were also told that their profit consisted of two parts, that received from the current harvest and that received from anticipated future harvests. As such, over fishing now would result in a decrease in future stocks and in future profits. At the outset, participants were asked what they thought was a fair solution to the dilemma, what they thought they would harvest, and what they thought others would do. Once they had completed this, participants were organized into groups to discuss the crisis and devise potential solutions. Following group discussions, they received information about their respective association's position, and each participant then documented their proposed resolution as well as what they expected other group members would do.

Results showed that in resolving the asymmetric social dilemma, Japanese participants were both more cooperative and allocated resources more equally (i.e. each party took a similar load to reduce the amount of fishing) than American participants. Importantly, American participants also expected others to be less cooperative. This suggests that people in individualist cultures adopt a perception that others are out to serve their own self-interest. American participants reasoned that those who cared more about the future should take more responsibility to protect the resource than others who were more concerned about present profits. Wade-Benzoni et al. explained that in asymmetric social dilemmas, American participants expected the less powerful negotiators to bear a greater burden. However, both culture groups were equally egocentric. Although expectations of others' behaviour mediated cooperation behaviours for both cultures, egocentrism did not. Once participants had discussed the dilemma as a group, as predicted, Americans and Japanese expected others to harvest less than previously indicated, and this change was stronger for American samples. However, though both groups did show a general change in the direction of more cooperation, the prediction that Americans would show a greater change in cooperation than Japanese following the discussion was not confirmed. According to Wade-Benzoni et al., this research suggests that greater cooperation among Japanese groups arises from their belief that others will behave accordingly.

There is also a suggestion in the literature, however, that the judgments and behaviour of people in collectivist groups may show specific biases because of their need to ensure continued group participation and membership (Smith & Bond, 1993; cited in Bond & Smith, 1996). In fact, although this need for harmony may make collectivists more cooperative with in-group members, the same courtesies may not be extended to out-group members. In fact, some have argued that the cultural norms in play within collectivist cultures are often extended only to members of one's in-group, whereas the norms in play within individualistic cultures may be applied more equally to in-group or out-group members (Triandis, 1989; cited in Bond & Smith, 1996). This is an important nuance to capture before generalizations regarding the cooperative behaviour of collectivist cultures can be made. Nevertheless, Wade-Benzoni et al.'s research does underscore the need to take cultural values and norms into consideration when thinking about the resolution of difficult dilemmas (including tough moral dilemmas).

Research also found cultural differences in the categorizations of moral and social responsibilities lead people to different choices in resolving moral dilemmas. For example, Miller and Bersoff (1992) examined the way American and Hindu Indian children and adults reason about conflicts regarding justice-based obligations and interpersonal-based obligations. Participants were presented with conflict situations across two experimental sessions. In the first session, participants judged fifteen various individual breaches, including justice breaches, friendship breaches, non-breaches, and breaches of social conventions of varying seriousness. Participants then rated the desirability/acceptability of the behaviours portrayed, explained why they responded this way, asked if they thought it was governed by objective obligation and was legitimately regulated, and asked to assess the degree of harm from justice breaches or degree of uncaring from interpersonal breaches. In the second session, participants judged more complex conflict breaches and had to choose between one breach or the other, where fulfilment of one meant the violating the other. Participants indicated which action the individual in the situation should take. One option represented an objective obligation option and the other represented the interpersonal responsibility option. Participants then justified their choice and answered if they thought it was governed by objective obligation and was legitimately regulated, and then asked to indicate the desirability of each alternative.

Results showed Hindu Indian participants chose the interpersonal responsibility option more often than American participants, and this difference was greater in situations depicting non-life-threatening violations over life-threatening violations. On desirability ratings, Americans rated justice choices more desirable than interpersonal choices, and they also downplayed the uncaring from interpersonal violations in light of harm to the victim as a result of justice violations. In contrast, Hindu Indian participants rated interpersonal choices more desirable than justice choices and thought the degree of uncaring exceeded the degree of harm. All participants rated justice breaches as moral issues. Again, cultural meaning systems reveal that, for Hindu Indians, interpersonal duty fulfilment is a distinct normative framework that is likely based on an interdependent construal of the self in relation to others, where relations with others like friends and kin are important moral commitments. These participants gave moral priority to beneficence over justice for reasons perhaps embedded in Hindu cultural context and practices, and this led them to choose a different moral course of action than American counterparts. This is consistent with other research which showed that in a conflictual situation, Western participants indicated they would be most concerned with obtaining justice, whereas non-Western participants indicated that their primary concern would be to preserve relationships (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002).

4.1.4.1 Relevance of Findings to Multinational Teams

The research outlined above suggests that culture can shape how one behaves, and this might have implications for multinational military teams engaged in team activities, such as negotiation. In many operations, CF personnel often find themselves engaged in negotiation with a number of different parties. For example, much of the work of multinational United Nations teams in peace support operations includes negotiating with groups that have conflicting needs and interests. Cross-cultural differences in conflict resolution and negotiation could affect any number of team processes, but seems particularly likely to influence team coordination. Team coordination is believed to be essential for task completion, and it "occur[s] when team activities are executed in response to the behaviours of other members" (McIntyre, Strobel, Hanner, Cunningham, & Tedrow, 2003, p.5).

Recall, research on cognitive framing shows non-Westerners view a conflict situation as compromise-focused, whereas Westerners see it as a win-lose situation. Conflict resolution framing for Japanese upholds a face saving approach (*taimen*), so much so that conflict is typically suppressed in Japanese culture to promote social harmony (Ohbuchi & Takahashi, 1994; cited in Gelfand et al., 2001). Research showed non-Westerners made fewer demands and tended to cooperate more at the beginning of a negotiation than Westerners. During the negotiation, the former tended to act assertively only when they perceived the other party to be cooperative, possibly to maximize mutually favourable outcomes. Other research showed that those from collectivist cultures tend to have fewer interpersonal conflicts compared to individualist cultures (Oetzel, 1998; cited in Salas et al., 2004). Consider the challenge for diverse team members entering a negotiation situation as a unit but with very different views about what an acceptable outcome might be to a moral situation. The failure to anticipate how a team member will behave might impact the team's coordination and could ultimately hinder the team's performance.

Given the 3-D approach within the CF today, non-kinetic effects such as negotiation and conflict resolution are important tasks to be accomplished in operations. Raising awareness about how culture is likely to influence a range of relevant behaviours may help to promote effective team-training strategies for diverse teams. As well, cross-cultural research could investigate differences in approaches in order to advance strategies that maximally benefit the team's ability to coordinate and resolve moral conflicts in operations.

4.2   Summary

As the research detailed in the preceding sections shows, there are a number of cross-cultural differences in psychological processes, such as cognition, motivation, emotion, and behaviour, which could impact MEDM. Markus and Kitayama's (1991) insightful explanation suggests that how one sees the self in relation to others and the world (i.e. one's self-construal) explains an important amount of the variance in these psychological processes across cultural groups. In part, we inherit or adopt a particular historical context, which shapes how we approach, interpret, and understand situations. For example, Westerners have inherited a liberal democratic tradition, and consequently concepts such as individual rights and freedoms are at the forefront of their moral thinking. Over at least 300 years, these concepts have supplanted notions of duty and loyalty to community and state, which appear to be still very much a part of the moral thinking in non-Western cultures. Of course, this does not mean that concepts prominent in the liberal democratic tradition are not important to individuals in Eastern cultures today. Vasquez and colleagues (2000), for example, showed that non-Westerners combined a past orientation (social harmony and interpersonal concern) with a new orientation toward universal rights and freedoms. Nor does this mean that the notion of community is erased from the minds of Westerners. What it does mean is that the most prominent and expected way of seeing the self in any given culture[7] will influence how individuals interpret and respond to situations, including morally charged situations, their cognitive representations of the situation, their motivation, the emotions that they experience and even their moral and ethical behaviour.

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[7] Despite the fact that most of the cross-cultural research pits East against West, it is important to note that there will be other perhaps more subtle cultural differences between those countries within the West (e.g. Americans vs. Colombian vs. Belgium) and the East (e.g. Afghanistan vs. China vs. Japan).

To recap, research highlights cross-cultural differences in basic cognitive processes such as attention, knowledge organization, and styles of reasoning. Non-Western participants (e.g. Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Hindu Indians) who maintain an interdependent self-construal, typically pay greater attention to situational and contextual factors than Western participants (e.g. Americans, Canadians) who maintain an independent self-construal. Importantly, the former show greater field dependence and the latter attend more to particular properties of the object in isolation from the context. Non-Westerners describe acquaintances through context specific and relational information, whereas Westerners typically use more attributional descriptors. Similarly, where non-Westerners group objects according to relationships and context, Westerners group objects according to categories. Styles of reasoning also showed that Western samples rely on formal reasoning (rule-based, analytic and logically structured) and favour the law of non-contradiction, whereas non-Western samples rely more on intuitive reasoning (experienced-based, holistic, and associative) and favour the law of contradiction. Research has also shown how culture influences cognitive framing of conflicts, such that Japanese were more likely to construe conflict situations as compromise-focused, whereas Americans were more likely to see it as a win-lose situation in which blame was ascribed to only one party.

In the moral domain, research provides evidence for cross-cultural differences in moral judgments and decision-making as well as differences in overriding moral perspectives. On one level, research showed that individuals interpret moral issues differently as a consequence of their culture-specific meaning systems. That is, people who construe the self in relation to others as interdependent considered a wider range of helping behaviour as moral (i.e. objectively obligating and legitimately regulating) than did people with a more independent self. Moreover, for those with an interdependent self-construal, obligations to help others extended to those in the community who were both known and unknown, even without a direct request for help. Research also revealed cross-cultural differences in judgments of accountability. Those from non-Western cultures tended to take a broader range of contextual factors into account before ascribing responsibility to transgressions. They pardoned individuals who were young or under emotional duress. Westerners were less influenced by these factors, and their judgments relied more on the internal attributes of the individual and personal choice.

Cross-cultural examinations of moral judgments also showed little evidence for a shared or universal moral code which exists across cultures. This may reflect fundamental differences in self-construals in relation to others and the world. The moral orientation of Westerners revolves almost primarily around the construct of autonomy with notions of individual rights and freedoms, whereas other non-Westerners' moral perspective balances concepts such as individual rights and freedoms more readily with concepts associated with community, such as hierarchy, status, and interdependence. In fact, for Westerners, the normative force arising from concepts associated with community were construed as the result of personal choice or a particular context. It appears then that there is strong evidence suggesting cross-cultural differences in cognitive processes that also affect MEDM processes.

Research also showed several critical cross-cultural differences in motivation, such as self-enhancement and conceptions of agency. For example, the motive to control one's surroundings by exerting an independent will or pushing oneself ahead of others for personal gain and success are not necessarily motivations shared by all cultures. Research shows Westerners exercise greater self-enhancing motives than non-Westerners. When describing the self, the former provided more self-enhancing self-descriptions. They also reported that proud events felt closer in time and were easier to recall compared to embarrassing events. Non-Westerners self-descriptions were even-handed and neither too self-critical nor self-enhancing. They also thought that proud and embarrassing events were equally far away and memorable.

Conceptions of agency seemed to be a product of culture, and this appeared to shape perceptions of motivations behind altruistic behaviour. Unlike their Western counterparts, non-Westerners believed reciprocal actions to help others carried moral force, and they viewed these actions as well as spontaneous actions to help others as being equally intrinsically motivated. Westerners viewed spontaneous actions to help others as more intrinsically motivated than actions that derive from reciprocity, presumably because the former reflects one's true moral intentions and not prescribed social responsibility. Moreover, individuals with an interdependent self-construal viewed social obligations to help others (e.g. mother or friend) as both more obligatory and personally satisfying than those with an independent self-construal, suggesting the close link between personal "wants" and social "shoulds" in interdependent cultures. Those with an interdependent perspective view controlled behaviours in a self-regulatory manner.

As noted earlier (see Section 4.1.2, this report) other research showed that Western media coverage of Olympic athletes reflected a disjointed model of agency, whereas non-Western coverage reflected a conjoined model of agency. Western coverage chose descriptions that emphasized personal attributes and uniqueness of the athlete, non-Western coverage, on the other hand, went beyond personal characteristics and competition in describing athletic activity, and included many more categories, such as emotional and motivational states, relationships, background, and reaction to performance. Research also suggests cross-cultural differences in attributions of responsibility. Non-Westerners reported greater responsibility for indirect effects that arose as a consequence of their actions compared to Westerners.

There is also some research suggesting cross-cultural differences in how emotions are experienced and interpreted. For example, existing research supports the distinction between actual affect (i.e. how people actually feel) and ideal affect (i.e. how people want to feel), and culture influences the latter more than the former. Cultural variables, such as the expression of interdependent or independent self-construal, may determine what emotions are acceptable to express, the degree to which they can comfortably be expressed, the behaviours in which individuals will engage to regulate certain emotions, and the way in which actions will be interpreted relative to the observer's own cultural influence on emotions. Research has shown that when asked to describe the most emotional episode they experienced at the end of each day for 14 days, non-Westerners described having experienced more positive "engaging" emotions (e.g., friendly feelings and guilt), whereas Westerners described having experienced more positive "disengaging" emotions (e.g., pride and anger). Although the experience of both engaging and disengaging positive emotions were positively correlated with feelings of well-being (as measured by the degree of feeling positive emotions, such as happiness) for both samples, the engaging emotions were more strongly related to well-being for the non-Westerners and the disengaging emotions were more strongly related to well-being for the Westerners. The latter experienced emotions (joy, sadness, anger, guilt, fear, and disgust) with greater intensity and duration than the former, presumably because these were considered ego-focused (e.g. anger, pride, frustration) as opposed to other-focused emotions (e.g. respect for others, empathy, shame) and therefore more relevant for Western samples than non-Western samples. Research examining approaches to conflict found that non-Westerners displayed more other-focused behaviours to limit the expression of negative emotions compared to Westerners.

On the moral level, there is also evidence that culture influences those emotions closely associated with morality (such as guilt, shame, empathy, etc.). Both Westerners and non-Westerners reported feelings of guilt about harming other people, however, the latter reported feeling more guilty. Guilt was also shown to manifest itself differently on the basis of culture. For Westerners the most frequent source of guilt was violation of a law or principle, whereas for non-Westerners, it was hurting someone psychologically. Moreover, there is some evidence that particular ethical

perspectives (e.g., autonomy or community), emanating from different cultures, are associated with different emotions. This suggests cultures that uphold different ethical systems may express different emotions in response to moral violations. Finally, research showed that liking (or not liking) another person has differential impacts on perceptions of responsibility toward that person in different cultures. Specifically, non-Western participants felt responsible regardless of how much they liked someone making a request of them, but Western participants' perceptions were influenced strongly by whether they liked the person.

Finally, research provided evidence that cross-cultural differences result in different behaviour. For example, those coming from independent cultures conformed less than those coming from collectivist cultures. Those from collectivist cultures might be motivated to fit in, belong, realize group goals, and accept one's position within the group, interpreting self-expressions of disagreement as tactless and socially insensitive. Other behaviours, such as negotiation, showed non-Westerners avoided confrontation and fostered good social relationships. Westerners made larger demands at the outset of the negotiation compared to non-Westerners, and the latter acted assertively only when they perceived cooperation in the negotiation situation perhaps to maximize mutual outcomes. In resolving an asymmetric social dilemma, from the outset, non-Westerners were both more cooperative and allocated resources more equally than Westerners, and the latter also expected others to be less cooperative and believed responsibility remained an independent choice. However, in newly formed groups, those who come from an individualist culture are more willing to cooperate than those from a collectivist culture. Finally, choosing to uphold one of two possible ethical courses of action in a dilemma, non-Westerners chose the interpersonal responsibility option over the objectively obligating option more often than Westerners, and this difference was greater in situations depicting non-life-threatening violations over life-threatening violations. Non-Westerners also gave moral priority to beneficence over justice for reasons perhaps embedded in their cultural context and practices, and this led them to choose a different moral course of action than Western counterparts.

Cross-cultural differences in these core psychological processes will likely have implications for CF personnel participating on multinational military teams. Very few conflicts today are managed or fought unilaterally, which means that a number of nations will pull together a multinational coalition and operate under a common organization and common mission mandate. However, even a common mission mandate within these multinational operations does not guarantee that members from divergent cultures will see, interpret and behave similarly, even when they face a common situation. Cross-cultural differences in cognition, motivation, emotion could lead to very different expectations and behaviour, especially when confronting moral and ethical ambiguity in operations. Indeed, each one of these psychological differences could impact on any number of team processes (including shared knowledge, team climate, coordination, communication, planning, performance monitoring/feedback, leadership/team management, interpersonal relations and adaptability) in any number of ways. Moreover, team processes are not discrete, but intersect with and influence one another, and this could easily extend to team performance. People from different cultures may also interpret and resolve moral and ethical dilemmas using different decision-making processes, and this has the potential to greatly influence both the process and performance of multicultural teams in operations. As will be shown in the next chapter, CF commanders identified several cultural influences that impacted on them as individuals and as team members.

5. Scenarios

In a previous contract investigating MEDM, CF commanders' were asked to detail the moral dilemmas that they faced while in operations and how they resolved these (Thomson et al., 2006a). Using an unobtrusive conversational protocol, participants were encouraged to speak freely and openly about moral and ethical dilemmas they faced in operations to document the actual decision-making process they used. In some cases, CF commanders reflected on the cultural issues that impacted on the situations they had faced. These cultural issues related to unique perspectives as the result of varying national culture as well as perceived differences in organizational culture. For the current project, the full transcripts of these interviews were once again reviewed to identify potential themes relating to cross-cultural differences in MEDM. The following two sections are a collection of excerpts from those interviews, and they detail CF commanders' perceptions of cross-cultural differences between the CF and other nations' militaries as well as perceptions of CF organizational culture. The third section of this chapter documents current training approaches to cultural awareness and training and introduces a further model for developing cross-cultural competency (Selmeski, 2006) among CF personnel before concluding with recommendations for research that will potentially compliment cross-cultural training in the CF.

5.1   CF Commanders' Perceptions of National Culture

Because archival data from a previous study did not specifically seek information about many of the factors described in this report, it was necessary to establish that CF commanders viewed culture as germane to MEDM in operations. Upon examination, national cultural identity appeared to be a relevant component, and in many cases CF commanders compared Canadian culture to a number of other nations. In ethical terms, they believed that Canadian soldiers were different from other nations' militaries for the following reasons.

First, CF commanders believed Canadian soldiers had a unique set of values and attitudes, which influenced how they operated overseas. For example, a few commanders identified CF members' ability to look beyond their own value system to understand others' perspectives. The ability to "*understand the other nation's, the other group's, the other tribe's values, and…get reconciliation*" was seen as a particular "*Canadian characteristic*". This, they believed, arose from Canada's unique multicultural, multiethnic experience. It also reflects the fact that members of the CF are well educated in comparison to other nations' militaries. For example, one CF commander reflected on his experiences training in the US. He said,

> "*…I have tremendous respect for them* [Americans]*…They are very determined and they will move mountains…They're also extremely good at things that we* [Canadians] *don't do regularly. The high level formation, the division brigades stuff that we don't do anymore…but they're also very specialized…*[and consequently]*…I think our lower junior ranks have a broader education in view of things than the US junior rank will. 'That's my job and that's all I'm doing.' And that is not just in the technical law, it* [is] *also in the neighbourhood, how I will deal the situation.*"

Consequently, these CF members thought of themselves and other Canadian soldiers as having a greater universal awareness of others. In fact, at least some of these CF commanders noted that the image of Canada and its representatives abroad was positively acknowledged by others. As one

interviewee explained, simply belonging to the CF often elicited a degree of respect in the moral domain that other nations could not achieve. He said,

> "...compared to other nations that are very, very well trained and very, very experienced, I think ethically, morally, Canadians tended to be looked upon as fair brokers. And I think...Canadian integrity was pretty well a given, I think. I know in the sector I had, both sides admired the Canadians...."

Canadian values and attitudes, emerging from its multicultural roots and commitment to human rights, seem to have contributed to CF commanders being perceived to have integrity and to be fair. In this sense, the beliefs and attitudes about team members from a specific national culture could certainly influence the level of respect that they are immediately accorded. For example, one obvious difference related to divergences concerning the importance of protecting basic human rights. Not all of the contingents in a complex mission will necessarily believe that all people share the same rights.

In Angola, one particular incident involved a moral conflict between an officer from an African country and Canadian officer. The former had purchased a 13-year old girl at the market from a family who was starving. As the CF commander explained, "*he brought her back, and she was going to be his mate*". It might have been acceptable in another culture, but it definitely conflicted with Canadian values. Following an intense row between the two officers, it was finally resolved that the African officer had to return the 13 year old girl to her family. In this case, Canadian values prevailed. But as the CF commander explained, this was only because the Canadian officer out ranked the other officer. It is difficult to predict the outcome had the latter out ranked the former.

CF commanders believed that, in general, "*Canadians...make better moral decisions of what's right and what's wrong. We bring that with us. We are not corrupt and we see the value of human life. We respect it. I don't know, maybe we place a higher value on it.*" Indeed, Canada was perceived by these interview respondents as "*more humane*" than other nations' militaries. The importance of showing humanity, however, was interpreted by some to be in conflict with a warrior culture, which seems likely to give priority to accomplishing the task rather than protecting humanity. As one soldier explained, "*a lot of my generation, good people, good soldiers, got extremely emotional when they said we have to be reflective of Canadian values...*[For them]*...it meant that we were watering down and we weren't soldiers. And I said 'You're missing the ball. This is taking the best of what is a Canadian.'*" Overall, the values and attitudes in play even within a Canadian context may not necessarily be equally endorsed by every CF member.

Other examples of how cultural values and attitudes impacted on the decisions made during operations were also evident. For example, one commander shared his experience from a multinational mission and described how he chose to treat others. He explained how an African contingent had fallen on "*hard times*" with a black market petrol scandal, and as a consequence, everyone in the mission was bad mouthing them.

> "...a lot of these comments, I thought, were racially based...But I always treated them like race wasn't there and I would say, 'Look you guys, just a minute now. We have had our armies stationed in Europe for the last forty years dealing with European defence problems, sort of warfare of the nature that were here. And we're here in Europe, although it was a pretty unique part of Europe, but here we are in Europe, we've been here for forty years, we've been training for this for forty years, we have equipment, we have people, we have adapted techniques and everything...A country gets the army that it pays for and that it wants. And so, we are just doing the job we have been paid for. Now [they] have been at

home in Africa all their lives and their army is probably very, very good at dealing with problems [there]. *But here they are now in our territory and maybe they are not as good as we are because their country hasn't had to meet these requirements where we have too. So, don't look upon these guys as being useless. If we had to go to* [their country] *and do a job,* [they] *would probably kick our ass because they would be better at it.' So I would always approach it that way.*"

When faced with these negative racially motivated comments about this particular African contingent, this commander had to decide whether to address these comments directly or to let them continue. Interestingly, he noted that the stance of others was typically to do the latter. "*I always felt that people…willingly just let this stuff go by*". However, his desire to exemplify more egalitarian values required him to act and to attempt to provide a more balanced view of the strengths and opportunities of the disparaged contingent, dispelling the observed prejudice and promoting Canadian values of respecting the dignity of all people.

In talking about diverse team members, another commander noted the need to take a broader view of teammates' skills:

"*There are a lot of things that can really turn you off very rapidly to an individual or a group of individuals and a lot of time their skill sets are not as high as ours. They are extremely low…so you can get very frustrated, very rapidly with them. But my whole point is, if you look beyond that stuff, everybody can teach you something.*"

Adherence to human rights and respecting the dignity of all people influenced how CF commanders perceived the relative merit of others, and this in turn was manifested in their conduct. As one CF commander recollected, Canadians "*act in a way that other people feel valued*". One of the keys within multinational teams, then, is recognition of both the strengths and weaknesses of other team members, and creating a supportive environment in which team members are accorded respect.

There were also perceived differences between Canada and other national contingents regarding respect for the rule of law. Recognizing national variances in interpretations of law and justice, one CF commander recounted how he upheld the Canadian perspective when responding to allegations that someone under his command was involved in black market activities, such as pilfering UN supplies for personal profit, prostitution and drug dealings.

"*I said, 'I want the level of proof that you would require in Canada…I want a Canadian level of proof.' Which he did, and he came back with nothing. And I said, 'Where did this…*[allegation]*…come from?' Where it came from was typical of this area. One business man is successful, second business man condemns him …And that's what this guy had gotten…none of it was true. But I was ordered to act on this…and I couldn't….I wrote back…*[to the General]*…'I respectfully decline to implement your order at this time, owing to the fact that the military police report was very faulty. It contains hearsay evidence, rumour. And were I to act on it, I would be behaving in a manner that is sort of the antithesis of what the UN stands for.' Those types of words. And he called me back and he said, 'Yeah I agree. I am sorry, I agree with you completely.' But, I guess maybe if I would have been from …. someplace where I don't have the tradition of Canadian justice and law and order, I suppose I would have carried this out and this fellow would have been unjustly fired.*"

This example provides some evidence of the importance of "grounding" when working in multinational contexts. Rightly or wrongly, the commander was unwilling to condemn the accused

person to the questionable standards of evidence accepted within the area of operations. Rather, he demanded that the evidence be of a higher standard before he would agree to take action on it. This raises the interesting question of whether individuals should act in a way that is consistent with the culture (broadly defined) in which they operate or whether they should risk insensitivity to that culture when the values in play are not perceived to be just. For this Canadian commander, the decision was to adhere strongly to the Canadian standard of law. One potential problem within a very diverse team, however, is that team members may feel equally committed to their own culture's values and beliefs, so to have team members be unyielding to accept other standards may be problematic.

The interviews also showed many different interpretations of right and wrong even within national cultures with relatively high levels of similarity. Despite the similarities that Canada has with Great Britain, one CF commander mentioned that they had different interpretations of what was legal when working to recover weapons from civilians. He recollected,

> "*We were in Bosnia and one of their jobs was to capture forbidden weapons, and of course there was a big competition from each unit to see who would get more weapons...and every CO wants their picture with 300 weapons 'recovered from my area!' I was getting kind of annoyed that the British were having such a great success in their area...are we doing something wrong? So I asked my OPSO to speak to the British 1ˢᵗ Battalion Launch Guard. How exactly do you do it? Well it's the same thing we do...We were not allowed to search a house unless we had intelligence there was a weapon. So, for a voluntary thing, it's knock at a door, 'Hello Ma'am. We're here to recover weapons. Would you happen to have any?' 'No, I don't have any.' 'Well thank you very much, have a good day.' The British approach was, knock at the door, 'We're here to recover weapons. Would you have any to give us today?' And if the person says 'no', they're obviously hiding something. So we search them. Now there's an interpretation of legal kind of restrictions. No wonder...so we had a long talk about it. Short term kind of success, for long term problems, because we're trying to teach them democratization and rule of law and here we are stomping the doors and acting like Tito's kind of secret police there. Yeah, we're not doing that...We're not the same as the Brits, but we work fairly close together.*"

Whereas the behaviour of the Canadian forces seemed somewhat more constrained by absolute adherence to the law, the behaviour of the British forces in this particular case suggested that they were more prepared to deviate from this absolute adherence in order to get more weapons off of the street. In other words, military necessity may have demanded a more liberal (or relative) interpretation of the rule of law to foster mission success. Whatever the case may be, consistent with cross-cultural research in cognitive psychology, this anecdote suggests culture plays a role in framing our interpretations and judgments, and this includes interpretations and judgments of the rule of law.

There were cases where CF commanders perceived cross-cultural differences in professionalism. For example, discussing other nations' security forces in comparison to Canadians, one said,

> "*I believe that we have good values as Canadians...It is common in the third world the security force pick up switches and will whack people into line to maintain control at the feeding station because people that are starving, that are dying of thirst, whose family members dying are very desperate and will rush the truck and grab the water and food and take as much as they can for themselves not thinking about the group. Therefore, you can lose control and you can have your supplies looted. It is very common, you'll see local police pick up a switch and even UN peace keepers from other nations to pick up a switch*"

to maintain order and discipline and ensuring people everyone will get their chance. I couldn't do that as a Canadian."

Another reported his inability to truly comprehend the degree of hatred motivating some nations' combatants. He confessed,

"*These people are just full of hatred and they've killed women and they've killed children and they've killed old people, for what? And we have to deal with them. I had negotiated with them. That was a terrible experience, interesting experience, but terrible, because I suspect that most of them have killed people and I found that very disgusting to negotiate with* [them]."

What seemed characteristic of Canadian soldiers was their capacity for compassion. As one CF commander explained,

"*We bring something different. Compassion as well as fairness (at the same time…know our guys will kill you, if that is what the situation is). And there's strength at the individual level. We don't have to come in with a company and a battalion with the guys with weapons on, automatic fire, and devastate things. I mean that's the American approach. Individually and in small groups, we can give the presence of strength and fairness …Afghanis or Iraqis understand. Very powerful, so that's what makes us different.*"

This perceived capacity for compassion coupled with a strong commitment to justice was viewed as an operational strength. In fact, among CF commanders, there was a perceived cross-cultural difference in the level of emotion that was deemed acceptable for soldiering. For example, one criticized the "*Brits stiff upper lip*", suggesting too much stoicism "*hides the humanity of the leader*". He commented that "*in tough times…subordinates are looking for a leader who shows a bit of humanity*". Outward expressions of emotions allow others to see the "*true you*", the "*human being*", and this he believed differed between the CF and the British forces. Perhaps then Canadian soldiers permit themselves to be more emotionally engaged compared to other nations' militaries.

Conceptions of agency and responsibility seem to differ in the CF compared to other nations' militaries as well. For example, one CF commander reflected on situations in operations where "*other nations…just froze*", and simply "*took care of their troops and did nothing more*". He thought that this was "*competent leadership*" but with "*very narrow ethical actions*". What differentiated Canadians from those in other militaries, he argued, was the junior level leaders (including non-commissioned sergeants and warrants) had been trained to assume responsibility, to take the lead, and to be proactive. In comparison to the "*major powers*", he stated, "*most of the time they'll*…[Canadian junior leaders]…*make the correct decision because they feel empowered, they feel trained, and we give them self-confidence*". Reflecting on the U.S. Army, he explained that "*you do not have the mission command empowering subordinates where an ethical situation, ethical dilemma could be discussed that I feel we have in the Canadian Army. That does not exist to the same extent at all in the US.*" One outcome of such empowerment may be a more lateral relationship between superiors and subordinates. But what potential conflicts might emerge in missions where this relationship is not recognized? What impacts does this have on the team climate, such as trust, cohesion, and motivation? How do these cross-cultural differences impact the way in which team members communicate with one another?

It was stated that some national contingents in operations strictly adhered to the hierarchical structure in the military, which resulted in different treatment for junior and non-commissioned officers. One CF commander presented the reality of this position,

> "*If you are a junior rank you're a piece of dirt. They would talk to you like, use your last name, and talk to you like you were garbage. You knew their job better than they did, and you could do it. And you were doing it, and you were making them look good... I was working for a Canadian directly so I could ignore the rest of it. Very difficult working for incompetent people from other cultures or other nations, who are incompetent. In some cases, not very nice people either, like no ethics, no values...*"

As such, a high degree of agency within the CF does not mean that this was recognized by other nations. In this case, subordinates were treated as inferior, and this conflicted with CF expectations and values.

To this point, all of the examples provided have indicated a perceived cross-cultural difference with respect to the moral domain (e.g., values, treatment of others, rule of law, agency, etc.). The interviews also revealed some perceived cultural differences with respect to more pragmatic aspects of operations. For example, sharing a similar understanding and knowledge of tactics was thought to differ by national culture, and this lack of shared knowledge impacted the efficiency of the task. For example, one CF commander reported,

> "*The transportation I got from the French. Sometimes they would task mostly* [another nationality] *to do it for them. But I preferred the French because they were easy to brief and the* [other nationality] *were not as professional in these things. They did it, but it took longer to explain to them what had to* [be done]. *You nearly had to tie them together like you do the little kids in the streets there when they go with the rope.*"

Other CF commanders reported a high degree of technical competency in Canadians compared to some other contingents. As such, they were often employed over other nation's militaries, despite the wrangling that ensued. As one mentioned,

> "*I don't have any hang-ups about race and religion and stuff like that. And, in fact, that's the thing I tried to work very hard to get rid of when I was there...the Canadian battalion was the best and they had the best equipment too...I don't base that on anything other than pure military skills as I understand them.*"

Overall, there were a number of examples where CF commanders perceived a cross-cultural difference between the CF and other nations' militaries both morally and pragmatically. However, given that these perceived cross-cultural differences remain merely anecdotal, the extent of these differences is unknown. Though useful for capturing individual experience, anecdotal accounts need to be supported by more systematic research. Whether they indeed reflect a true state of affairs requires empirical validation. And as will be shown in Section 5.3, there is an increased interest in developing cross-cultural awareness through training within a number of military systems, including the CF.

5.2   CF Commanders' Perceptions of CF Organizational Culture[8]

Up to this point, culture has been dealt with mainly in terms of comparing national culture. However, an organization has its own culture that is fostered and maintained by its members, and

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[8] From the outset, it should be pointed out that the majority of the moral and ethical dilemmas that CF commanders confronted in operations occurred during the 1990s and as such may not accurately depict the current CF organizational culture. While participant accounts may be historic, divergent perceptions of organizational culture will be an important factor when considering cultural influences on MEDM.

this shapes cognition (i.e. perception, interpretation, understanding, and knowledge representation) as well as motivation and behaviour. Understanding the nuances of organizational culture may also play an important role in developing cultural awareness in CF members. It was important, therefore, to examine the archival data to identify CF commanders' perceptions of the CF organizational culture. These interviews showed that CF commanders deployed in operations in the 1990s identified two divergent cultures within the CF: one that emerged from the reality of operations and one that reflected the political environment at National Defence Headquarters (NDHQ) in Ottawa (Thomson et al., 2006a).

Describing a moral dilemma emerging from this the divergence in organizational culture, one CF commander described a case where he felt constrained in developing his concept of operations for a mission. In developing this mission plan, even though he was a United Nations commander, he was pressured to adopt a less aggressive concept of operations from Canada's national defence headquarters, "…*this was 1997, just a few years after the Somalia crisis, so we had a national defence headquarters in Ottawa that was very gun shy, very nervous…so the lawyers were almost in command of the Canadian Forces and they would look at every word in the mandate and if it was not legal you could not do that and so on.*" He believed that this "*watered down*" plan was unethical, as it would not allow him to provide the level of protection necessary to protect innocent civilians. Another CF Commander described the reaction of a "*senior officer from Ottawa*" upon hearing about a stand-off that could have resulted in an escalation of force by Canadian troops on a peacekeeping mission as "*a gasp*". For many CF commanders, they described the organizational culture at NDHQ in Ottawa at that time as extremely risk aversive, which led to a number of moral and ethical dilemmas in operations.[9]

For example, risk aversion was reflected in the ROEs, often disadvantaging CF commanders in operations.

> "*You are always subject to Canadian law, doesn't matter what you are doing. You run up against the issue and when you are a Canadian commander in an area like that, you are all alone, there's nobody watching you and then you run up against rules of engagement. The UN had a set of rules of engagement that governed when you could use deadly force…any force including deadly force, there is a UN set of rules of engagement. And then, not every country but a lot of countries, but Canada all the time, then takes those and within those makes up a Canadian set of rules of engagement. And sometimes, they are equal. But sometimes, the Canadian rules are more stringent. They will never be more liberal, but sometimes they're more stringent. And in this case they were. I have forgotten some of the areas, but I probably will be able to recall them, but in some cases the Canadian rules of engagement were more stringent. So for the Canadian battalion, they had to follow these set of rules. The Kenyans could follow this set of rules. But when I gave the Kenyans something to do, an order to do something, I couldn't give them these rules, I had to give them Canadian rules…and that's the law, that is. When I came back, it bothered me a lot, it was a dilemma and it bothered me a lot and I asked the question, and they said, 'Well…nay nay.' But if the crunch would have come, if something would have happened and you would have been called to account, you can't choose a nationality to do a job just based on a more liberal set of rules of engagement. I had to follow Canadian rules of engagement even if I was giving orders to Czechs or Kenyans or Jordanians.*"

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[9] For a full description of moral dilemmas and moral challenges invoked by divergences in CF organizational culture see Thomson et al., 2006.

Considering risk taking more currently, one CF commander thought that each country will have varying levels of risk, which he argued has nothing to do with "*cowardice*". Rather, risk taking has everything to do with the "*importance of the mission*" and its relation to a country's national security and force protection. Indeed, one CF commander believed that the CF organizational culture has shifted its priorities to protect its members. As he explained, "*When I was trained, the mission was paramount... Nowadays, force protection, the safety of your troops, is paramount. And they say we do both. But quite frankly, if there's a conflict, force protection is number one. This is not wrong. This is not right. That's the way it is.*" This shift to a more risk aversive culture has the potential to create difficult ethical situations for commanders, because operations may require a constant balancing of mission requirements and force protection requirements.

CF commanders also described contexts in which they felt there was an absence of higher command within the CF organizational culture during the 1990s. For example, one reported,

> "*I worked in almost complete absence of any higher direction...there was no operation order from the UN or Canada as to what we were doing. I had a one line mission statement which was 'create the conditions that were necessary for the cessation of hostilities' – period! And you interpreted that as you wanted. And different commanders along the way interpreted that different ways. It was left to me to determine what we were going to do and what was achievable...What surprised me though was the continued lack of interest...on what it is we were actually doing and how we were doing it...We were referred to, or thought of ourselves as, 'fire and forget' battle groups. Kind of like a 'fire and forget' missile where you send it off and it goes and you hope it hits its target. That's not mission command. It was never the intent of mission command and it's not anywhere close to it. It is almost a negligence of responsibility toward people and that was the air that was the atmosphere what we worked in the mid 1990s – the leadership void that we were all going through.*"

However, it is important to note that the CF as an organization appears to have addressed this issue, as he concluded, "*I don't believe that's true today. I don't see any examples for it today.*"

Another CF commander suggested that the CF is much more "*prescriptive*" today, providing greater command from the higher levels. For those serving in theatre throughout the 1990s, the atmosphere within the CF was said to be one of "*mistrust*". As one CF commander said, "*we mistrusted our leaders and unfortunately our leaders mistrusted us...Rather than 'Welcome home, nice to see you. Good job!' It was sit down, and we're here to ask you questions.*" Again, the current CF organization has undergone many changes to align its NDHQ culture with its operational culture.

There is also reason to believe that MEDM should be understood differently because of different cultural influences within diverse CF elements (i.e. army, navy, air force). As one CF commander from the navy suggested, decisions of a moral or ethical nature will be made far lower down the chain of command in the army compared to the navy. He stated,

> "*My perspective on the Navy compared to other services, I think moral, ethical, the big moral ethical decisions, you know the life or death decisions, I think in the Army, they are forced to a much lower level because of the way we do operations...The Army puts fingers on triggers at very low levels and that generates a different set of problems. I hate to say it, but something as basic as do I pull the trigger or not decision is put in some very junior hands in the Army and that's the way the Army does command and control – out of necessity. The Navy does command and control very completely differently and everything*"

is very, very centralized on a ship. And in essence the only person with his finger on a trigger on a ship is a CO. So you're talking about a guy who's 45 years old with 25 years plus of service and a huge amount of experience that builds up to that, driving ships and staff jobs and all the rest of the things. But he is the guy, except in some very, very narrow totally self-defence situations that makes the decision whether you are going to shoot or not. And that, I guess you could almost say goes back to a naval tradition of decision-making in the fact that you go back to the seventeen hundreds…So, that generates a whole set of different issues on how, I guess, how the Navy trains people to make those ethical issues and who makes them. You know, when you look at it in a battalion of soldiers, you've got seven hundred guys making ethical trigger decisions. On a ship, similar size unit, there is one person making trigger decisions."

The operational structure that differentiates the navy from the army suggests that training MEDM may need to be tailored to the particular environmental elements in the CF. Although there is a visible acculturation process for new recruits into the military, understanding organizational culture at a general level as well as at a specific level is a critical part of understanding the impact of culture on MEDM in a military context.

It is important to understand cultural influences (both national and organizational) because, as representatives of Canada abroad, CF members perhaps more than other Canadian citizens need to know what particular Canadian identity they should embody. There should be a strong CF ethos that is consistent with the Canadian identity, and CF members should manifest this in their beliefs, attitudes, and actions. As the following section details, adequate understanding of cultural influences will be facilitated in part by the acculturation process in the CF and this understanding is the first step in what Brian Selmeski (2006) refers to as "cross-cultural competency" (3C).

5.3   Training Approaches Promoting Cultural Awareness

In recent years, cultural awareness training has become relevant for a number of military systems. Recognizing past deficiencies in this domain, nations such as the U.S., Britain, and France have worked to equip soldiers deploying in foreign lands with an understanding of existing cultures. Currently, there are a number of cultural awareness training programs designed to assist soldiers. For example, the United States Marine Corps (USMC) provides cultural training for its soldiers prior to deployment to Iraq. They use a training software program called *Tactical Language and Culture Training System*. As the soldier moves through a simulation accomplishing a task, his or her cultural sensitivities come into play (Maestre, 2006). He or she must work through these discrepancies as part of the task. The particular training vehicle encourages situational awareness as participants learn through computer screen prompts without relying on paper handouts. As Cpl Reddinger explains, "when you look at a pamphlet, you're taking your attention from what's going on around you. To be able to know some of the phrases without looking at a piece of paper helps you maintain situational awareness" (cited in Maestre, 2006). Because much of the mission in Iraq involves "civil affairs actions", soldiers require greater knowledge of the Arabic language and culture. Given that a pamphlet (or check list) approach can simply be discarded, using simulation training may ensure that trainees better integrate their knowledge of culture and carry it with them. Within the CF, all soldiers who are preparing to deploy overseas are given cultural awareness training in some form or another. For example, prior to deployment, each rotation for the current mission in Afghanistan receives cultural awareness training in the form of classroom lectures as well as role-playing. Soldiers enrolled in the United Nations Military Observer Course (UN Mil Obs Course) at the Peace Support Training Centre (PSTC) in Kingston, ON, preparing to deploy to

a number of different mission locations (e.g. Africa, Middle East), receive extensive documentation about the cultural influences within their respective mission areas as well as classroom cultural awareness training.

Selmeski (2006) presents an approach to cross-cultural training that focuses on general cultural training, because he believes mission-specific training yields short-term benefits and that only a broad conceptual inquiry and systematic approach to understanding culture is likely to produce the necessary long-term benefits which will be applicable in multiple situations. In his opinion current operational, applied, and strategic culturally-oriented research projects are generally isolated efforts which have not received substantial support from senior officials. Moreover, Selmeski is of the position that Canada, in particular, has remained "somewhat ambivalent" in the area of pursuing greater cultural knowledge that offers a rich understanding of other cultures' modes of thinking and acting. He (2006, p. 3) argues this is a consequence of "national and institutional myths and assumptions", i.e., the belief that, because Canada is a multicultural country and the CF is representative of the Canadian population, small increments of training on a particular culture will adequately prepare CF personnel for the variance in cultural experience. There is at least some anecdotal evidence of this bias. Recall that CF commanders believed that members of the CF were able to reconcile other's value systems with Canadian values in part because of Canada's multicultural heritage, although we do not have evidence that this perception of the ability to reconcile disparate value systems is unique to Canada or Canadians. Nonetheless, Selmeski fears that this inclination to be overly optimistic about CF members' potential for what he calls "cross-cultural competency" may prove problematic. If, as a nation, Canada believes itself to be ahead of other nations (e.g. by virtue of its tolerance for multiculturalism), it may fail to adequately train its military personnel to actually be cross-culturally competent.

Accordingly, cross-cultural competency (3C) is a multistage process that provides the individual with "the ability to quickly and accurately comprehend, then appropriately and effectively engage individuals from distinct cultural backgrounds to achieve the desired effect" (Selmeski, 2006, p. 12), required for "culturally complex operations". He further explains that "3C presumes that the individual has no in-depth knowledge of these cultures and fundamental aspects of these other cultures may contradict one's own culture". 3C then is a "way of thinking" rather than simply gathering and collating cultural facts. Learning merely facts about a culture is, he speculates, static and these facts represent only parts of the whole, limiting the range of circumstances in which they can be applied. Using only fact-based cultural awareness training may then prevent soldiers from adapting appropriately to a culturally complex situation. Indeed, the ability to dynamically understand and integrate different cultural information and how it relates to the whole is essential. Moreover, facts alone, Selmeski argues, cannot help soldiers understand *why* and *how* their approach to individuals from another culture might be failing. Although facts may be useful as a short-term application (e.g., quickly briefing soldiers before deployment), only on-going learning while embedded in a cultural context will be adequate for the long term. Although a provocative alternative approach the 3C model has yet to be empirically demonstrated and what this exactly means for CF training, Selmeski does not elaborate.

However, to remedy the shortcomings of a solely "fact-based" approach to cross-cultural awareness, Selmeski proposes a framework for 3C that parallels the CF's Professional Development Framework (PDF)[10]. Consistent with other models of development (e.g. Kohlberg),

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[10] The CF Professional Development Framework (PDF) was designed as a hierarchical template and guide for developing competent leaders in the professional ideology reflective of the CF ethos and particular leader capabilities. It covers five capacities: expertise, cognition, social, change, and professionalism. For a full description, see WALKER, R.

Selmeski adopts a stage approach and identifies four gradients for obtaining 3C, which includes moving from cultural self-identity, intra-cultural facilitator, pluri-cultural leader, to culminate in the ability to be a cross-cultural ambassador. The cross-cultural ambassador is a person who possesses the competency to morally reason effectively in culturally conflicted situations using his or her own framework. Presumably, those situations entail divergences between one's own cultural values (e.g. Canadian) with another cultural value system and the reconciliation of the two. As the framework shows, stages of development are actualized when individuals attain a level of competence (or status) across five capacities: expertise, cognitive, social, change, and professional (Table 3).

Table 3: CF Professional Development Framework applied to 3C (Selmeski, 2006)

Role and Professional Developmental Level	Expertise	Cognition	Social	Change	Professional Ideology
Senior – Cross-Cultural Ambassador (Col/Gen and SGMs)	Understanding culturally complex contexts.	Ability to create unique world views which are relevant to complex settings.	Ability to represent own and others' cultural perspective to multiple audiences.	Ability to align cultural signals to create common, shared, or imagined community.	Ability to develop own framework for moral and ethical reasoning in culturally conflicted settings.
Advanced – Pluri-Cultural Leader (Maj/LCol and Plt/GSgy -> 1SG/SGM)	Knowledge of broader cultural context in which military operates (cultural context).	Post-modern reasoning and cultural sense making.	Ability to develop common objectives while recognizing diversity.	Ability to shape group understanding and align team behaviours to context.	Ability to conduct ethical reasoning in culturally conflicted settings.
Intermediate – Intra-Cultural Facilitator (Lt/Capt and "strategic corporal")	Knowledge of key facets of culture (role of religious belief, national identity, military identity).	Reasoning to draw inferences from behaviours and symbols to underlying cultural aspects.	Ability to work with individual and group differences.	Self-understanding and ability to adapt behaviour to context.	Conduct cultural self-regulation (avoid offending, signal own values).
Novice – Cultural Self-Identity (cadet, new officer and enlisted equivalent)	Information on the culture concept and ability to apply prescriptive training.	Reasoning to understand how culture shapes the person.	Awareness of inter-personal and inter-group differences.	Self-insight and receptivity to cultural awareness training.	Recognition of implicit ethos and identification of cultural references to guide conduct.

Specifically, this framework argues that CF personnel range in terms of their 3C, with different individuals at different stages based largely on their rank. For example, the novice who obtains cultural self-identity consists of individuals who are cadets, new officers, and enlisted equivalents. According to Selmeski, obtainment at this level means apprehending information on the concept of culture, beginning to understand the influence of culture on our psychological processes, identifying cultural differences, embracing cultural awareness training, and recognizing ethos and cultural references for driving behaviour. On the other hand, the senior who becomes a cross-

W. (2006). The Professional Development Framework: Generating effectiveness in Canadian Forces leadership. Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press.

cultural ambassador consists of individuals who are Colonels, Generals or SGMs. Presumably, members in these ranks have, over the course of their careers, developed the appropriate expertise, mental and social capacities, the broad-mindedness to accept change, and a high degree of professional ideology. Differing levels of competence at different stages will have implications for comprehension and acquisition of 3C. According to Selmeski, personnel at each level will exhibit marked differences in understanding cultural nuances, subtleties, and abstractions. Moving to higher levels of cultural competence, of course, will require increasingly complex and abstract skills, and skills such as focus, knowledge, and guidance will reflect either high or low levels of cultural competence, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Characteristics of 3C at low and high levels (Selmeski, 2006)

Aspect of Cross-Cultural Competence Being Compared	Lower Cross-Cultural Competence	Higher Cross-Cultural Competence
Focus	Task/job completion	Professionalism
Knowledge	Procedural/declarative	Conceptual/abstract
Acquisition	Learned (often by rote)	Discovered/acculturated
Guidance	Explicit/formal	Implicit/informal
Reference	Internal (the institution)	External (society, government, etc.)
Premise	Modernity	Post-modernity

Consequently, programs meant to foster 3C must vary according to the stage. A "one program fits all" approach to cross-cultural competency will be inadequate under this framework. Rather, there needs to be a consideration of cross-cultural competency as a function of position, and an understanding of the different training needs of different levels of military personnel, particularly since Selmeski believes there needs to be high-level cross-cultural competencies for senior personnel.

Regrettably, Selmeski's reliance on the link between cross-cultural training and professional development (and perhaps Kohlberg's stages of moral development), commits him to speculate people higher in rank will be able to comprehend more degrees of cultural abstraction than people of lower rank. And yet, there is no empirical evidence suggesting 3C is a consequence of rank. Rather, it could be that multicultural experience (e.g. the number and length of deployments overseas) is an important basis of cross-cultural competency, or an interaction between type of multicultural experience and some individual difference factor. This in turn may be correlated with rank, but not necessarily. Consider those on the ground speaking with natives in Afghanistan. These soldiers are as likely to be more junior CF personnel (e.g. Capt, Lt, Sgt, corporals, and privates), and yet, they may be in a better position to develop 3C than their superior officers as a result. Indeed, one mode of developing 3C, according to Selmeski involves not simply foreign deployments, but going "outside the wire". This may not often include high ranking officers. As such, these officers may have less actual contact with the native culture. If cultural competency emerges from being immersed in the culture, then CF members in the more junior ranks may in fact demonstrate as high 3C because of their interactions with the culture "outside the wire".

In the current framework proposed by Selmeski, it seems that training for 3C would benefit more if the focus shifted from rank to function. There is no doubt that cross-cultural competency is

significant for all ranks. However, given the current operational realities for CF personnel, it may be that 3C training should account more for the particular roles and tasks individuals undertake. For example, dismounted soldiers may interact with local villagers, whereas senior officers may interact with government officials. When thinking about mission success, would not the private knocking on village doors seeking information and the colonel speaking to parliamentary officials be expected to act at a similar level of cross-cultural competency? Cross-cultural competency after all is equally vital in both cases. One problem with Selmeski's framework is that there is no expectation that this will be the case. He would expect the one to be an "ambassador" and the other to be a "cultural facilitator". And yet, there is some convergence among CF personnel that the failure of cross-cultural competency in such diverse circumstances will likely have similar negative implications for the mission (Thomson et al., 2006b). There is therefore an implicit sense that all CF members reflect a high level of cross-cultural competency irrespective of rank.

Furthermore, foreign deployments may not a priori foster 3C. There is no reason to assume that experience will lead to lasting cross-cultural competency. Rather, it may have the opposite effect, promoting intolerance to other cultures, cultural arrogance and greater xenophobia. Of course, these are empirical questions that could be examined as part of the CF pre- and post-deployment activities.

At a higher level, perhaps Selmeski's primary means for developing 3C, education, is the most effective way to get the process moving. By education he sees instruction in the liberal arts (with a strong emphasis on anthropology and its methods) as fundamental. For Selmeski, this kind of degree will expose individuals to concepts (such as holism, cultural relativism, social stratification, etc.) and theories (such as functionalism, structuralism, cultural materialism, etc.) that will help them understand the position of another culture more holistically in comparison to one's own. He believes that the liberal arts with the emphasis on critical thinking will facilitate a high degree of competence across the five core capacities. This line of argument is similar to that advocated by Dan Henk, associate professor of leadership and ethics at the US Air War College. He argues that deep cultural expertise is an important component of cultural competence. Henk (2006, also cited in Holmes, 2007) advocates a long-term approach to cultural competence, and similarly describes this as a career-spanning endeavour. In fact, at the 6th Canadian Conference on Ethical Leadership retired Lt Gen Romeo Dallaire also endorsed a liberal arts degree for CF personnel as a means to foster more critical thinking in a changing operational environment.

Overall, Selmeski suggests efforts to broaden cross-cultural competency to date have been largely unsatisfactory. Considering the U.S. initiatives, he states the impetus to communicate cross-cultural knowledge has been generally superficial and flawed. When military systems give attention to developing cross-cultural competency, this attention needs to be more than "knee-jerk reactions to the deployment-of-the-day". Rather it needs to reflect a broader commitment to training cultural competency beyond the simple facts about other cultures. Adequate cultural training will require a more integrated approach to developing and training cross-cultural competency that will assist CF members resolve tough, culturally complex decisions and dilemmas.

It seems likely that some degree of context-specific training as preparation for deployment does and will remain important for the success of military operations. Again, all CF members receive some cultural awareness training prior to deployment, and one of the first tasks is to evaluate the effectiveness of these programs. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that mission specific training could be enhanced by current research in a number of liberal arts domains. The merits of Selmeski's cross-cultural competency framework must be investigated empirically to determine what mechanisms will work best in the current CF training system.

For the purposes of this project, one way to make transitions and efforts between cultures easier for CF personnel deploying in a number of mission areas and consequently lead to 3C is through research that looks at the cross-cultural differences in psychological processes, such as MEDM. It is necessary to use empirical research to understand how culture impacts thinking, intending, feeling, and acting. As detailed in this literature review, there are a number of psychological processes likely to diverge in multinational teams and these cultural differences need to be understood in an operational setting. Existing research may not necessarily generalize to the complex operational environments in which many military teams will need to perform. Therefore, some of the areas that might be pursued to understand more comprehensively MEDM in multinational military teams include the following.

- How does culture shape one's construal of a moral issue in operations? What are the factors involved in this judgment, and how do they vary according to culture? How do cross-cultural differences in constituting moral obligation impact moral and ethical decisions in a multicultural military team?

- How do cross-cultural differences in attributions of responsibility impact MEDM in a multinational team in an operational context? Do variances in conceptions of agency foster differences in expectations of team members?

- How do cross-cultural differences impact team activities, such as conflict resolution and negotiation, when confronting a moral crisis? How do differences in approaches enhance team performance and task outcome?

- How does culture influence moral emotions (e.g. empathy)? Do emotional expressions differ across culture such that team communication may be impacted? Does culture impact psychological resilience when coping with moral and ethical decisions?

Of course, there are a number of other potential psychological issues to consider when investigating cross-cultural differences in MEDM. As well, cross-cultural research regarding MEDM in multinational military teams needs to consider the kind of military team, the team tasks, the team processes and the impact on team performance. This will help to narrow the focus of research. With empirical knowledge of these cross-cultural differences, it will then be critical to integrate this into the education system in the CF. Understanding cultural influences on thinking, intending, feeling, and acting will help promote those skills that will benefit multinational military teams that may confront tough moral and ethical dilemmas in operations. A multi-disciplinary approach to culture that utilizes research in psychology, anthropology, sociology, political science, history and philosophy will be necessary to provide useful information to CF personnel.

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(U) Canadian Forces (CF) operations today occur within the Joint, Interagency, Multinational and Public (JIMP) framework. This shift has implications for moral and ethical decision–making (MEDM) in operations, in part, because of the potential for cultural differences to exert influence. As part of a multi–year program at Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC) Toronto investigating MEDM in an operational context, this report considers the impact of culture on MEDM. The first part of this report discusses the relevant theory and research related to the impact of cultural diversity on psychological processes, with particular attention to MEDM. Though there are a number of cultural dimensions for investigating cross–cultural differences, this report limited its scope by focusing primarily on the individualism/collectivism dimension, also understood as independent/interdependent self–construal. Research highlights cross–cultural differences in cognition, motivation, emotions, and behaviour. In general, people from non–Western cultures (collectivist or interdependent) pay greater attention to situational and contextual factors than people from Western cultures (individualist or independent), and this shapes how they see, think, and interact with their world. Cross–cultural differences impact MEDM in that they shape construals of moral obligations, judgments of accountability, attributions of responsibility, conceptions of agency, feelings of guilt, and ethical stances to conflict resolution and negotiation situations. Cross–cultural differences could also impact on team processes. Practical implications of these differences on multinational team processes are also considered. The second part of the report highlights anecdotal evidence of cultural differences in operations elicited from senior CF commanders in a previous study (Thomson, Adams, and Sartori, 2006a). Upon examination, national cultural identity appeared to be a relevant component for commanders' MEDM in operations. In many cases, CF commanders compared Canadian culture to a number of other nations, suggesting Canadian soldiers were ethically different for a number of reasons. These anecdotes presented some of the situations that CF personnel may confront in multinational operations and suggest the value of cultural awareness training and education for CF members at all ranks. A new alternative framework for developing cross–cultural competency (3C) (Selmeski, 2006) is reviewed, and recommendations for future cross–cultural research in a military context and integration into the CF training system are made.

(U) Les opérations militaires des Forces canadiennes (FC) s'inscrivent aujourd'hui à l'intérieur du cadre interarmées, interorganisationnel, multinational et public (IIMP), ce qui a des conséquences sur la prise de décisions morales et éthiques (PDME) lors desdites opérations, car il se pourrait notamment que les différences culturelles entrent en ligne de compte. Dans le cadre du programme pluriannuel mis sur pied par Recherche et développement pour la défense Canada (RDDC) – Toronto pour étudier la PDME dans un contexte opérationnel, le présent rapport examine l'impact de la culture sur la PDME. La première partie de ce rapport porte sur les théories pertinentes ainsi que sur les travaux de recherche relatifs à l'impact de la diversité culturelle sur les processus psychologiques, tout en accordant une attention particulière à la PDME. Bien que plusieurs dimensions culturelles aient pu être prises en compte dans l'étude des différences interculturelles, les auteurs du présent rapport en ont limité la portée en mettant principalement l'accent sur la dimension individualiste/collectiviste, également connue comme le concept de soi indépendant/interdépendant. Ce travail de recherche soulignait les différences interculturelles en matière de cognition, de motivation, d'émotions et de comportement.

Généralement, les personnes issues de cultures non occidentales (collectivistes ou interdépendantes) accordent une plus grande attention aux facteurs conjoncturels et contextuels que les personnes issues de cultures occidentales (individualistes ou indépendantes), ce qui influence la manière dont elles voient et pensent le monde dans lequel elles vivent, ainsi que la manière dont elles interagissent avec les autres. Les différences interculturelles ont une influence sur la PDME dans la mesure où elles façonnent la perception des obligations morales, les jugements en matière de responsabilité, les attributions de responsabilité, la perception des institutions, les sentiments de culpabilité, ainsi que les positions éthiques en matière de résolution de conflits ou lors de situations de négociation. Les différences interculturelles peuvent également avoir un impact sur les processus collectifs. Les conséquences pratiques de ces différences sur les processus collectifs multinationaux sont également examinées. La seconde partie du rapport porte sur des données empiriques relatives à des opérations militaires durant lesquelles des commandants supérieurs des FC ont relevé des différences culturelles signalées lors d'une étude précédente (Thomson, Adams et Sartori 2006a). L'examen de ces données a permis de constater que l'identité culturelle nationale semblait constituer une composante pertinente pour les commandants qui devaient prendre des décisions morales et éthiques lors de certaines opérations militaires. Des commandants des FC ont, dans de nombreux cas, comparé la culture canadienne avec celle de plusieurs autres nations, laissant ainsi penser que les soldats canadiens se percevaient différemment d'un point de vue éthique, et ce, pour un certain nombre de raisons. Ces rapports empiriques présentent certaines situations dans lesquelles le personnel des FC pourrait se trouver lors d'opérations multinationales et insistent sur la nécessité de former et d'instruire les militaires de tous grades des FC en vue de les sensibiliser aux différences culturelles. Un nouveau cadre visant l'acquisition de compétences interculturelles (3C) [Selmeski 2006] a été examiné et on a formulé des recommandations relatives au lancement de travaux de recherche interculturelle dans un contexte militaire, de même que leur intégration dans le système de formation des FC.

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(U) culture, cultural awareness, cross cultural differences, individualism, collectivism, moral decision making, ethical decision making, multinational

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