Trust building within multicultural project teams

Master thesis

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Abstract

Motivation: Teamwork is a prevailing form of organizing the work processes in modern organizations. Trust is considered one of the important elements of teamwork, especially in multicultural teams because of their inherent complexity factor. At the same time, building trust in multicultural teams appears to be more of a challenge as opposed to single culture ones due to cultural diversity of team members.

Purpose: The objective of this paper was to explore and explain the process of trust building within multicultural teams. The main focus was to examine how national culture affected trust formation among team members. In addition, the paper studied such aspects as the importance of trust in teamwork and understanding of the concept of 'trust' among team members.

Methodology: The study was accomplished by employing the case-study research strategy and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. The empirical data was obtained on one hand, by conducting interviews with a project team that consisted of a variety of different nationalities and, on the other hand, by supplying the abovementioned with an additional interview with an expert within the field of leadership and organizational development.

Findings: The analysis revealed a number of benefits of establishing trust in teamwork, the obstacles to trust building and conversely, the factors that facilitate trust development within a team. Based on the existing theories within the academic domain of trust and culture, "The explanatory model of trust building within multicultural teams" was proposed and subsequently, modified according to the collected empirical data. Overall, the study confirmed the proposition that national culture affects trust hence calling for special attention to trust building process within multicultural teams.

The study opened a number of avenues for further research.

Keywords: trust; trust building; national culture; multicultural project teams; expectations

Table of Contents

1 Introduction

The increasing complexity of the workplace resulting from the internationalization of business and high degree of interdependency and interaction between employees, requires cross-cultural understanding as one of the essential aspects of work (Earley, 2001).

Interest in trust as an important dimension of organizational functioning has been caused by its substantial and varied benefits that facilitate organizational effectiveness and success. The need for trust is especially pronounced these days due to the ongoing restructuring from hierarchical to more networking organizational forms in contemporary companies. A large body of evidence has been presented by researchers showing that trust makes uncertainty and complexity tolerable, enhances cooperation, improves communication and affects group and organizational performance (Kramer & Cook, 2004). In particular, trust within teams facilitates innovation and creativity; increases motivation and overall makes the working processes smoother and quicker (Six, 2005).

Teamwork is a prevalent form of organizing the work processes in modern organizations (Earley, 2001). Teamwork implies sharing information and ideas, integrating perspectives and coordinating tasks (ibid). In service industries, by promoting teamwork organizations are trying to enhance employee's abilities to deliver excellent service while minimizing stress and pressures (Wilson, 2012). Among the factors that affect productivity and effectiveness of a team, the cohesion and interpersonal relations between the team members are the determining ones (Adler, 2001). Researches show that trust is a necessary precondition for team's cohesion and synergy and that trust is generally associated with outcomes such as team satisfaction and sense of relationship commitment (Nooteboom & Six, 2003), willingness to share knowledge with each other and supportive behavior (Jensen & Fuglsang, 2016). Consequently, trust may reduce misunderstandings and conflicts, facilitate higher motivation and job satisfaction and lead to overall better performance (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006).

Although trust is a desirable aspect of teamwork, its establishment within a team may not be an easy task. Trust building is challenging even for single-culture teams but it may be even more challenging for multicultural teams (Adler, 2001). This is due to the fact that people, depending on their cultural background, might attribute a different meaning to the

concept of trust. Furthermore, the sources of trust, its attributes, perceptions and expressions may also vary from one national culture to another. Consequently, there is a need for studying trust development with an added cultural dimension to the concept. The latter gains particular relevance when taking into account that globalization has significantly increased cultural diversity among employees of organizations in various industries, of which the service industry is not an exception.

1.1 Topic delimitation and research question

The purpose of this master-thesis is to contribute to the body of research related to the concept of trust in organizations. More specifically this paper is aiming to explore and explain how national culture may influence the process of trust building within a multicultural project team. In addition, the research is looking to analyze the importance of trust within the team as well as to identify eventual differences in understanding of trust among the team members.

By combining the deductive and inductive approach and using the qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, this paper is aiming to answer the following research question:

How can trust be built in a multicultural project team?

1.2 Structure of the paper

The paper consists the following eight chapters: Introduction; Literature review; Methodology; Analysis; Discussion; Limitations; Further research; Conclusions and managerial recommendations.

2   Literature review

This literature review will provide a critical overview of the theoretical and empirical studies that relate to the trust building process within multicultural teams. The first section will demonstrate the major studies that have been performed to date on multicultural teams focusing on the challenges around multicultural teams, how 'trust' is interrelated with these challenges and what role it plays in multicultural teams' functioning. The second section will scrutinize 'trust' as a concept outlining the existing gaps within the field and presenting theoretical perspectives relevant to this study. The third section will address the concept of 'national culture' and its influence on trust building within multicultural teams. Finally, in the last section an explanatory model of trust building within multicultural teams will be introduced along with the guiding propositions for this study.

2.1   Challenges within multicultural teams

Teamwork on a guiding change coalition can be created in many different ways. But regardless of the process used, one component is necessary: trust. When trust is present, you will usually be able to create teamwork. When it is missing, you won't.

John P. Kotter (Wise, 2016, p. xiii)

To begin with, the author would like to provide a working definition of a project team used in this study. The following definition belongs to Mussnug and Hughey (1997) who describe *project team* as

"a group of people that work together for a period of time, share common objectives and complement each other's competences in order to accomplish a task that none of them could complete individually".

This definition implies that there is high interdependence within a team and that the goals can only be achieved by joint efforts. The overall performance of such teams therefore depends on "an ability of team members to work together as parts of a single organism" (Ends & Page, 1977).

A team is considered multicultural in this study if there are three or more team members of different ethnic backgrounds, which complies with the definition by Adler (2001).

There are many who believe that cultural differences are not important in people's interactions and that everyone is more or less similar across cultures and that focusing solely on individual differences is be enough (Adler, 2001; Gannon, 2000). It is moreover common among people from multicultural business environments to think that "all differences, controversy, and misunderstandings are rooted in personality" (Meyer, 2014). In fact, however, culture is one of the significant factors that determines the effectiveness of multicultural collaborations (Adler, 2001).

According to the statistics, single-culture teams tend to be of average effectiveness, whereas multicultural teams have the potential to become the most effective and productive teams in organizations, but they also can be the least productive (DiStefano & Maznevski, 2000; Gannon, 2000).

To support the above statement Gannon (2000) refers to a bell curve that shows the relative productivity of a series of 800 four- to six-member teams (see Figure 1). The figure originates from the study made by Dr. Carol Kovach and demonstrates that there is a wide disparity in the effectiveness of multicultural teams, which suggests that there are certain factors in multicultural collaborations and communication that might either facilitate or hinder the effectiveness of such teams (Gannon, 2000). The figure also implies that cultural diversity adds a unique feature to multicultural teams that increase their potential compared to single-culture teams that have a limited ability to reach high effectiveness (ibid). Consequentially, the question is how to fully unleash the potential of multicultural teams and what conditions should be in place to stimulate the teams' progress toward high performance.

When we examine a team as "a single organism" (Ends & Page, 1977) we can distinguish basic team's processes that allow the team members to work effectively together. One of the models that discloses such processes is the OST model proposed by Lane (2009). According to this model, the team should be "Organized", meaning the team members should know their tasks and objectives, that the team's composition is aligned with those objectives and that the roles within the team are clearly defined. The next two layers of the model are "Social" and "Task" processes, where the former refers to the team's ability to effectively communicate and resolve conflicts, while the latter talks about the ability of task planning and executing.
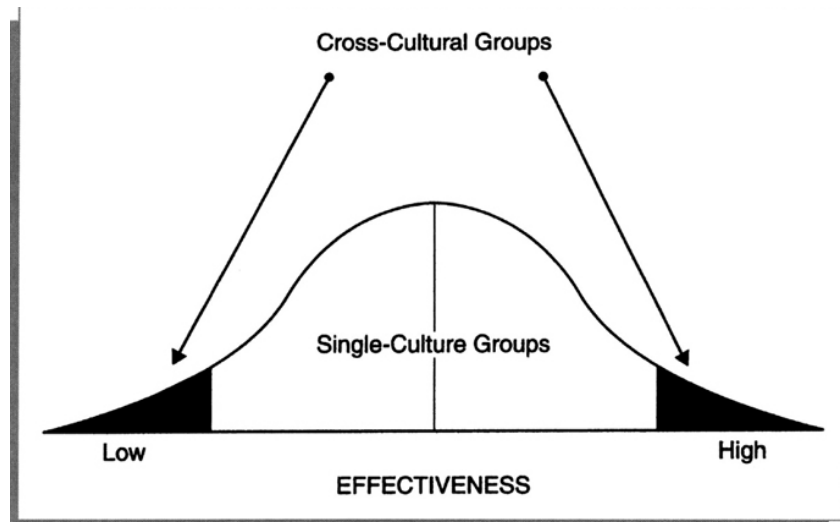
Figure 1. Single-Culture Groups, Cross-Cultural Groups, and Group Effectiveness. From *Working across cultures: applications and exercises* (p.1), by M. Gannon, 2000, London: Sage Publications.

These processes are necessary conditions for any team to be productive; however, they are not sufficient for those teams that face more challenging tasks or environments (ibid). Therefore, the OST model has additional, "advanced dynamics" for more complex teams, whereas one of the characteristics is "building trust and respect".

Trust as an additional feature of team development can be also observed in other similar models, e.g. the models presented by Adler (2001), Earley & Gibson (2003) and Bradley, Kirkman & Shapiro (2005). All these authors believe that effectiveness of multicultural teams to great extend depends on how well diversity is managed in such teams. They propose that trust is one of the important components in teams functioning by means of which a team might reach its full potential (Adler, 2001; Earley & Gibson, 2003; Bradley, Kirkman & Shapiro, 2005).

Despite the common acknowledgement of the thesis that multicultural teams seem to face more difficulties in their functioning compared to their single-culture counterparts, the actual empirical studies on multicultural teams appear to be noticeably lacking in the area. Among those that exist to date however, we find a general statement that national culture adds up extra complexity to teamwork and that such teams need to be managed with extra care. Each of these studies offers its own perspective on how to address cultural diversity in teams in order to turn this challenge into an advantage. Let us advert to those of the studies that are of the most relevance for this paper.

Behfar, Kern and Brett (2006) reveal that multicultural teams due to the inherent diversity of cultural backgrounds have to deal with an extra layer of complexity when encountering challenges in their functioning. The researchers identify challenges, some of which are common for both single-culture and multicultural teams while the other ones are only unique for multicultural teams. They further contrast the reasons for similar challenges in both types of teams and discover that members of multicultural teams besides personality traits have also to deal with cultural traits when tackling those challenges, e.g. when dealing with "Direct versus Indirect Confrontation".

Consequently, expressing or confronting different perspectives leads to tensions among team members in both types of teams. However, in multicultural teams the complexity is added by how conversation tone and direct confrontation are perceived. Depending on culture, the style of response can be perceived as either weak or passive or overly aggressive what eventually leads to misunderstandings and wrong judgments among team members. Other examples in the study demonstrate the same pattern, e.g. when a certain behavior or reaction invoked purely due to some cultural characteristics is perceived as inappropriate or even offensive.

The researchers Behfar, Kern and Brett (2006) further identify the strategies for managing those challenges and group them into three general approaches. The first approach is "Adaptation" or acknowledgement of cultural diversity. It is applicable for teams where members are able to narrow down differences to "external sources", in particular national culture, instead of blaming personality. Avoiding escalation of tensions and conflicts allows them to adapt and create common norms for eliminating disruptive behavior. Conversely, "Managerial intervention" is applied in teams that fail to differentiate between personality and culture, whereby conflicts take extreme forms and therefore require setting norms and rules by managers. Finally, an "Exit" is proposed to eliminate a team member that disrupts the team and for whom the other strategies have failed.

The respondents of this research have indicated that in teams where the last two approaches have been applied "a severe lack of trust, or a lack of respect among members" has been observed (Behfar, Kern and Brett, 2006, p. 255).

Therefore, the study suggests that cultural awareness is one of the important competences in teamwork that mitigates conflicts and facilitates integration among team members.

Ochieng and Price (2009) in their study support the abovementioned point of view encouraging to look at all team's processes through cultural lenses. The researches highlight that cultural diversity in teams introduces different understandings and expectations regarding team's dynamics and processes. These discrepancies require attention from the management; as otherwise, it can cause destructive conflicts in teams. They argue that the role of a project manager is to facilitate internal integration within a team. The authors believe that integration is a key factor for the teams to be successful and that the degree of integration defines the teams' ability to outperform single-culture teams. Consequently, the study identifies the key factors that facilitate successful integration process in multicultural teamwork. The empirical data has been gathered from eight well-established heavy engineering construction organizations. Through the interviews of 20 project managers, the authors create a framework of eight key dimensions that need to be considered when managing multicultural project teams. The dimensions address issues within multicultural teams that relate to the differences in working methods, power distance, language, direct versus indirect communication, decision-making norms and other culture related issues. Common to all of these dimensions is that they facilitate establishing an environment that acknowledges and values cross-cultural complexity, enables team's unique culture, guides team members' behavior and helps to avoid conflicts and misunderstandings.

Among the abovementioned key dimensions, "trust" has been identified as one of the highly scored variables, which in turn is of a significant importance for this study. The respondents emphasize that trust can be built through implementing honesty and cultural empathy, establishment of good interpersonal relationships and mutual respect among the project team members, which in turn can be a challenging process as pointed out by the previous study.

Another prospective belongs to Scarlat, Zarzu and Prodan (2014) according to who cultural diversity in project teams can be managed through establishment of common values among team members. They argue that the common values help reducing uncertainty and conflicts, as the behavior of team members becomes more predictable and communication more effective. They assign a crucial role in defining procedures and rules within the team to a project manager and underline that the task of a good team leader is not only in

organizing the technical aspects of a project, but also in managing cultural diversity, what calls for special multicultural competence. The researches introduce their perspectives by using the team lifecycle model that includes five stages: forming, storming, norming, performing and final withdrawal. They note that this lifecycle is common to all types of teams; however, the storming and norming stages with multicultural teams are especially challenging as cultural diversity adds new obstacles to the process. Moreover, at these two stages the cultural clashes are likely to occur, but if wisely managed members of the team learn to understand, tolerate and complement each other. Once the differences are acknowledged and team members agree on the norms and rules, the culture of that particular team is born. The authors state, that the productivity of the team depends on how well it copes with the difficulties on those initial stages.

The abovementioned studies mainly elicit the fact that multicultural teams face a number of additional challenges solely because of different cultural backgrounds of team members and therefore such teams require special attention when managing. One of the main challenges however is to overcome misunderstandings and disagreements among team members. The researches (Behfar, Kern & Brett, 2006; Ochieng & Price, 2009; Scarlat, Zarzu, & Prodan, 2014) underline the importance of cultural awareness in interpersonal interactions, the formation of tolerance and respect towards each other. Trust is presented as an evidence of cohesiveness in teams, as an important element in team's functioning. It is acknowledged that trust is more needed within multicultural environment, as there is more uncertainty and ambiguity. Yet at the same time, it is more challenging to establish trust in such environment due to cultural diversity among people. This dilemma is a starting point of the present study stipulating the need to look closer into the notions of "trust" and "culture" in the following sections.

2.2 Trust

Trust has been studied by a number of disciplines, including psychology, sociology, economics, political science and philosophy (Rousseau et al., 1998). Given the difference across the disciplines in terms of understanding the phenomena behind trust, it is not surprising that the concept of "trust" has been approached in different contexts. Each of these branches of science offers its own conceptualization of trust with different views on

its nature and development processes. Consequently, this renders the concept of "trust" particularly complex, which in turn requires setting up clear boundaries and conceptual apparatus for the sake of clarity of a particular study. *This study aims to explore the process of trust establishment at interpersonal level in the multicultural project team context.*

Trust in organizations has a long history of attention from the academic world (Costa, 2003). This interest has been caused by positive associations of trust with such individual-level outcomes as job satisfaction, organizational citizenship behaviors, organizational commitment, turnover and job performance (Lewicki et al., 2006). Moreover, trust has also been recognized among researchers as means of lowering transaction costs in uncertain environments, thereby providing firms with an additional source of competitive advantage (Doney, Cannon & Mullen, 1998). Trust is seen as an essential element of intra- and inter-organizational social systems, enabling more open interpersonal communication, information and knowledge sharing at different levels of an organization (Jensen & Fuglsang, 2016). However, during the last two decades trust in the organizational context has received a new wave of interest due to significant changes in global markets. To cope with a high speed of economic and technological development and conditions that are dictated by the increasing pace of globalization, contemporary organizations have to be more flexible and able to react quickly to any changes, be innovative and mobile in their production. Thus, new ways of functioning have been adapted within companies that are considered leading and successful. They have transformed their organizational structure making it flatter and more team centered. The authoritarian management style has been substituted by egalitarian with focus on collaborative work that emphasizes sharing knowledge, empowerment of subordinators and involving them in decision-making. Given these developments, trust is becoming one of the critical elements in working relationships. As noted by Mayer and Gavin (2005) the presence of trust allows, individuals and groups cooperate freely without the need to monitor others or engage in self-protective behaviors. Additionally, trust reduces uncertainty and ambiguity associated with constantly changing environment (Six & Skinner, 2010).

2.2.1 The existing gaps within the field

A review of the most recent studies on trust in working relationships has revealed common recognition among researchers that trust is one of the most important elements in teamwork. At the same time, several gaps have been identified in the existing studies on trust development.

First of all, the researchers argue that studies on this topic have been highly affected by the lack of agreement in defining the concept of "trust" (Costa, 2003). That poses one of the reasons as to why trust is difficult to build and maintain as "there exist misunderstandings and confusions about what trust is" (Six & Skinner, 2010).

Secondly, the dynamics and processes of trust development in interpersonal work relationships in general remain largely unexamined (Jensen & Fuglsang, 2016) and in particular, little research is available that examines trust at the team level of analysis (Serva, Fuller & Mayer, 2005).

Thirdly, many basic trust processes remain unclear and the trust literature has been criticized for being "long on theory and short on empirical research" (Werff & Buckley, 2014). Hence, more empirical research is needed that would measure and analyze trust at the team level (Webber, 2008).

Another noticeable gap is that longitudinal research on trust development remains minor, which results in many unanswered questions to date as to understanding changes in trust over time. Furthermore there is a lack of context-specific insight into trust development in organizations, which limits our understanding on antecedents of trust as they may differ across contexts (Werff & Buckley, 2014; Webber, 2008). Specifically, in high-risk environments that are characterized by instability and uncertainty or where interdependence in task accomplishment is high, the foundation of trust and its degree may vary considerably (Colquitt et al., 2011).

Last but not least, the research attention has been primarily focused on vertical trust relationships, such as trust in an organization or a supervisor/leader, whereas empirical work focused on horizontal trust dynamics is still missing (Werff & Buckley, 2014; Yakovleva, Reilly & Werko, 2010).

The arguments outlined above indicate that the existing studies on trust development are incomplete and inconsistent, which proves the topicality and relevance of the current paper. This study will attempt to make its contribution by addressing the abovementioned gaps with the exception of the gap of longitudinal studies on trust development. The main objective of this study is to *empirically* explore and explain the process of *interpersonal trust* building among team members in *a multicultural project team*. Consequently, this study is context specific and addresses the problem of trust building on a horizontal level. Moreover, the researcher is interested in clarifying the meaning of trust among team members of different nationalities.

2.2.2 The concept of trust

As mentioned above, because "trust" is an interdisciplinary concept there exist numerous approaches and attempts to conceptualize and define it in the academic domain. Some of those approaches are consistent and compliment each other, whereas the others are contradictory. Reviewing the literature on trust one can run across different terms that actually refer to the same phenomena. Another pitfall mentioned by Pilluta (n.d.) is that some researchers approach trust from the static point of view, whereas the others build their conceptualizations on trust as a dynamic process. Moreover, depending on the research tradition, trust can be viewed both as mono and bio-polar concept, the levels of trust differ in their amounts and nature (for a review Lewicki et al., 2006). In general, it could be said that there is a lack of a clear structure in the attempts to conceptualize trust, which makes research very challenging. Yet at the same time, it confirms that there is a need for further studies of the concept.

Because of the vast number of studies on trust, the author of this paper limits the review to only those theoretical conceptualizations that are relevant for the current research.

2.2.3 Definition of trust

To reflect the nature and mechanism of trust that is relevant for the current research the author offers an interdisciplinary definition of trust that is compiled from the works of Lewicki & Bunker (1996); Mayer, Davis & Schoorman (1995) and Rousseau et al. (1998). Consequently, the following definition of trust is used throughout this research:

"Trust is a set of positive expectations towards the behavior of others and the willingness to become vulnerable to the actions of another party, despite uncertainty regarding motives and intentions, irrespective to the ability to monitor or control that other party."

First of all, this definition captures the essence of trust formation, namely, that trust depends on the fulfillment of certain expectations that people have towards other's behavior, however, there is a possibility that expectations or hopes might not be satisfied and as a consequence inhibit trust (Nooteboom & Six, 2003). Secondly, the willingness to be vulnerable indicates that partners are ready to rely and depend on each other's actions without control. By applying this definition to the context of project teams, which is characterized by high interdependency among team members, it can therefore be concluded that trust is one of the vital features in the team functioning.

2.2.4 *Attributes of trust and trusting behavior*

There is a growing consensus among researchers that trust involves a belief or expectation, however, the content of those beliefs and associated behaviors differs across the field (Doney, Cannon, Mullen, 1998). For instance, Mayer et al. (1995) distinguish three dimensions that according to their study inform the decision to trust, namely, ability (a set of skills or competences), benevolence (positive orientation, including genuine concern and care) and integrity (a belief that the trustee is honest and fair with the trustor). Gillespie (2003) identifies reliance (relying on another party's skills, knowledge and actions, including delegating and giving authority) and disclosure (sharing work-related or personal information) as two dominant categories of trusting behavior in work context. Costa (2003) in the literature review identifies the following behavior indicating trust: open communication, acceptance of influence, forbearance from opportunism and lack of monitoring. Burke et al. (2007) characterizes trust as knowledge sharing and collaborative actions. Ochieng and Price (2009) distinguish honesty and respect for others as fundamental elements of trust. This discrepancy in characteristics of trust is not surprising because, as we shall see below, even the nature or basis of trust can be different.

Currently, there is an ongoing debate among researchers regarding universality of the concept of trust and its development across cultures. With that, there are two perspectives on trust: 'etic' (culture-general or universal) and 'emic' (culture specific) (Dietz et al.,

2010). According to the former one, the concept remains the same across cultures, whereas followers of the latter argue that attributes of trust, its understanding and expressions are different depending on culture (ibid). Ferrin and Gillespie (2010) provide a review of empirical studies on trust that shows evidences of both points of view: "In every category of our review we found evidence of cross-cultural differences and also evidence of trust universals across cultures" (Ferrin & Gillespie, 2010, p. 42). For instance, they point at the meaningful differences across countries in the average *level of generalized trust*, which will be explained and discussed later in this chapter. At the same time, the *determinants* and *consequences* of trust can be both culturally specific and universal (ibid). There is furthermore evidence that the trustworthiness characteristics of ability, benevolence and integrity are universally applicable, whereas manifestations and interpretations of these characteristics may be culturally specific in some countries (ibid). Ultimately, Zaheer and Zaheer (2006) suggest to apply an "integrative emic-etic approach" in studies of trust which implies that the meaning and components of trust may vary across different national contexts and then in collaboration, researchers can distinguish similarities and differences within the concept.

The current research will contribute to clarifying the meaning of trust across cultures. The members of a team representing different cultures will be interviewed among other things on their understanding of trust, the behavior associated with trust and the expectations they have towards their teammates in order to trust them.

2.2.5 Levels of trust

Levels of trust refer to the basis on which trust can be formed. In spite of the differences in terminology, there is a common distinction between two types of interpersonal trust, i.e. cognitive and affective. Erin Meyer (Meyer, 2014) explains cognitive trust as trust that comes form the head. It is based on the confidence people feel in another person's accomplishments, skills and reliability. Cognitive trust centers on beliefs that the other party is reliable, pleasant, consistent, intelligent and transparent.

Affective trust, on the other hand, arises from feelings of emotional closeness, empathy or friendship. This type of trust comes from the heart. Affective trust is founded on the socio-

emotional bonds among individuals and characterized by mutual care and concern, support and a belief in the intrinsic virtue of such relationships.

Erin Meyer (Meyer, 2014) further argues that people according to their cultural origin, develop sense of trust for one another differently. For instance, American people draw a sharp line between cognitive trust and affective trust in business environment. People do not tend to mix practical with emotional because it is considered unprofessional. They only rely on cognitive trust in business relationships. In contrast, for Chinese besides cognitive trust, affective trust is also important; they try to establish personal ties and affective bonds with people they are doing business with. Meyer provides a "Trusting scale", where countries are rated from high task-based to high relation-based trust. The further a culture falls towards the task-based end of the scale, the more people from that culture tend to separate affective and cognitive trust in working relationships. The further a culture falls toward the relationship-based end of the scale, the more cognitive and affective trust are bound together in business. There also exists solid empirical support to this thesis, e.g. studies by Chua & Morris (2006); Webber (2008); Gerbasi & Latusek (2015).

2.2.6   Propensity to trust

'Propensity to trust' is another construct of trust, that relates to a "person's predisposition towards trusting other people in general" (Rotter, 1967, as cited by Dietz et al., 2010). It is also known as 'generalized trust' or the willingness to trust others (ibid) and can be different depending on one's personality, life experiences, cultural background (Hofstede 1980, as cited by Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995), education and several others socio-economic factors (Costa, 2003). Propensity to trust remains relatively stable throughout adulthood (Dietz et al., 2010). Eventually, "propensity will influence how much trust one has for a trustee prior to data on that particular party being available" (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995, p. 715). In other words, some people trust others *a priori*, whereas others have to build a considerable 'credit of trust' before actual trust.

The two abovementioned constructs of trust, i.e. levels of trust and propensity to trust may affect people's expectations towards other's behavior and thus impact the trust building process. Therefore, the author will be considering both of the constructs when examining the process of trust building within a multicultural team.

2.3 Culture

A fish only discovers its need for water when it is no longer in it.
Our own culture is like water for the fish. It sustains us.
We live and breathe through it. (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1993, p. 27)

Culture, in its essence, is a very extensive and multifaceted concept. It incorporates various spheres and levels, which can interact and influence each other. To visually assess the multidimensional nature of the concept we should refer to the " Bipartite representation of a cultural mosaic" proposed by Chao et al. (2005) and shown in *Figure 2*.
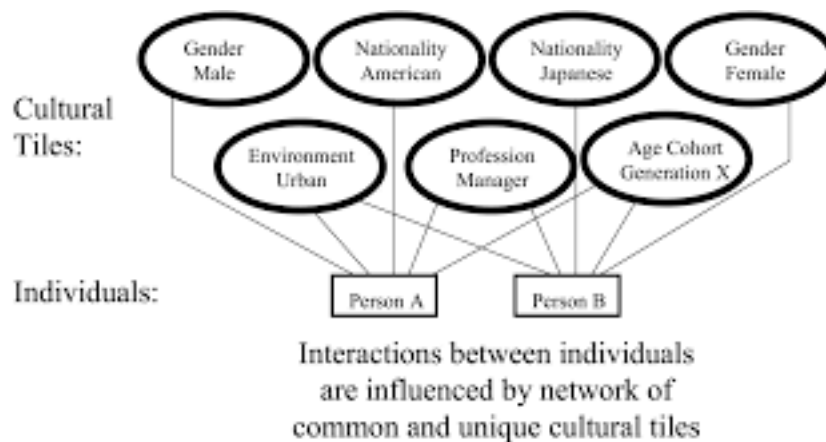
Figure 2. Bipartite representation of a cultural mosaic. From "The Cultural Mosaic: A Metatheory for Understanding the Complexity of Culture", by Chao et al., 2005, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *90(6),* p. 1128-1140.

As we can see from *Figure 2* each individual has a particular network of cultural tiles or spheres, which influence his/her behavior and, furthermore, some cultural tiles can dominate depending on the context and individuals with whom an interaction takes place (ibid). Therefore, not only national culture might affect the formation of trust but also subcultures such as professional, demographic, religion, etc. can influence the process of trust development. In any particular situation one or many of the subcultures might dominate superseding a national factor in trust establishment (Dietz et al., 2010). In multicultural project teams, for instance, an extra challenge is added by the fact that members of the team represent not only different nationalities but also different professional areas, departments and even subsidiaries of an organization.

Considering the complexity of the concept, it should be noted that the present study focuses only on national culture and its influence on trust development. National culture, as it is viewed in this paper, implies similar social background, educational system and life experience (ibid). The term _national culture_ is best described by Hofstede as *"collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another"* (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2001).

2.3.1 The influence of national culture on thinking and behavior

To answer the question what culture is, how it is formed and how it affects people's behavior this study refers to the work by Schein (1990) who proposes to analyze culture at three different levels. By the term 'level', he means the extent to which the cultural phenomenon is visible to the observer. The three levels are observable artifacts, values and basic underlying assumptions.

Observable artifacts include all visible manifestations of culture. In organizational context, it could be buildings, interiors, dress code, manner of interaction and communication, organizational structure, etc. Despite obvious visibility, the challenge with these artifacts is that it is very difficult for an outsider to decipher them correctly and to catch the actual meaning of those artifacts. The artifacts do not provide the answer to why things are organized in a certain way and what meaning they have on members (Schein, 1990).

Secondly, 'values' express group's beliefs or norms and predetermine people's behavior. Understanding of values helps forming a meaningful description of another culture and its artifacts (Doney et al., 1998; Dietz et al., 2010).

Thirdly, 'underlying assumptions' is the deepest level of culture that "determines perceptions, thought processes, feelings and behavior" (Schein, 1990). Assumptions are unconsciously learned from the early childhood and eventually, through socialization outgrow to stable values and norms that define a person's perceptions of the world, relationship with the environment and people and as a consequence, dictate one's behavior (Dietz et al., 2010). "Behavior not based on our own basic assumptions may be inconceivable or hard to accept" (Dietz et al., 2010, p. 15). Both, the fundamental works of Hofstede & Hofstede (2001) on identification of 'cultural dimensions' and Hall (1976) categorization of culture as high versus low context, illustrate the impact of culture on

people's perceptions and behavior. Overall, the above stated fits perfectly into the *definition of culture* provided by (Gibson, Maznevski & Kirkman, 2009, p. 47-48):

"Culture is the configuration of basic assumptions about humans and their relationship to each other and to the world around them, shared by an identifiable group of people. Culture is manifested in individuals' values and beliefs, in expected norms for social behavior, and in artifacts such as social institutions and physical items."

This definition supports the logical constructs used throughout the current research and is therefore applied in this paper.

2.3.2   The influence of national culture on trust

Based on the above-mentioned definitions of culture and mechanisms of its formation and manifestation, it can be suggested that culture functions as a kind of a guide in people's lives. In essence, culture defines the rules of behavior in a society and interactions among individuals; thus, it determines what is acceptable and what is to be condemned. Culture to a large extent shapes identity and defines human reactions to certain situations (Dietz et al., 2010; Schein, 1990). Consequently, culture directly affects the formation of the vital principles and basic concepts including what people understand as foundation to trust, what processes trustors use to form trust and what they consider trustworthy behavior from themselves and from others (Zaheer & Zaheer, 2006, as cited by Dietz et al., 2010; Doney et al., 1998).

As has been outlined before the very notion of "trust" encompasses a set of specific expectations in behavior, therefore, it would be fair to assert that these expectations are formed based on the values and norms inherent in a particular culture. The study by Doney et al. (1998) confirms this, e.g. in their study, they develop a theory as to which cultural norms and values facilitate or inhibit the formation of trust. They propose a "Model of National Culture and the Development of Trust" where Hofstede's (Hofstede & Hofstede 2001) four out of six cultural dimensions (individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, high versus low power distance and high versus low uncertainty avoidance) are studied to analyze the way trustors develop trust in a target (specifically, whether trust is based on calculative, prediction, intentionality, capability or transference processes). One of the findings relevant for this research, is that when partners share the

same norms and values, "there is a greater chance that a trusting relationship will form, because the direction the target takes to earn trust is the same route the trustor follows to establish whether the target is trustworthy" (Doney, Cannon & Mullen, 1998, p. 616).

It is worth noting that according to some papers, e.g. Ferrin and Gillespie (2010, previously reported) the knowledge of the impact of culture on interpersonal trust is rather limited and therefore requires further research, which serves as additional proof of the relevance of this study.

2.3.3 Managing culturally diverse teams

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, one considerable obstacle that prevents effective management of multicultural teams and consequently limits their potential is the ignorance of cultural diversity. According to some studies, e.g. Lane (2009) and Adler (2001) only few managers believe that culture significantly affects operations and processes in organizations influencing the behavior of individuals and teams. Moreover, recognizing cultural differences is often associated with negative elements such as discrimination, favoritism, dominance of one culture over another and is overall perceived as primitive and even immoral (ibid). Adler (2001) states that managers who recognize the diversity within organizations are perceived as "prejudiced, racist, sexist, ethnocentric and unprofessional" (ibid). She suggests that there is a common tendency within organizations to see people regardless of their gender, race and ethnicity and therefore, to judge them solely based on their professional skills. She calls this as "culture-blind approach" and claims that it is a big mistake, which is entailed by confusing the recognition of culturally based differences with the judging of these differences. Consequently, recognition is not the same as judgment as it simply means acknowledgement that people's behavior differ depending on their national culture and that these differences influence organizational functioning. Judgment, on the other hand, implies labeling of cultural differences as good or bad and hence leads to inappropriate and even offensive behavior that is vastly undesirable in organizations (Adler, 2001).

The confusion between recognition and judgment coupled with the perception that cultural diversity causes problems, leads to managers explain variations in behavior by factors other than culture (ibid). As Alder (2001) and Meyer (2014) state, there is a tendency to

ignore cultural differences in organizations due to the perception that dividing people according to their culture creates stereotyping and therefore "puts individuals in boxes with 'general traits'" (Meyer, 2014). Furthermore, instead of talking about culture, it is important to judge people as individuals, but not just as "products of their environment" (ibid). Therefore, it is often assumed that "all differences, controversy, and misunderstandings are rooted in personality" (Alder, 2001).

Meyer (2014) argues that it is not enough to be open to individual differences. To begin with, she agrees that individuals, regardless of their cultural origins, have varied personality traits and that people's behavior does not have to be judged based on where a person comes from. However, it does not mean that learning about cultural contexts is unnecessary. "To work successfully with people around the world, you need to have an appreciation for cultural differences as well as respect for individual differences" (Meyer, 2014). Therefore, if only the personal aspects are considered, it becomes increasingly difficult to achieve business objectives, as people perceive things and situations only from their own cultural lenses, sometimes without even realizing that. The knowledge of cultural differences is useful for business partners as it helps understanding peoples' perceptions, cognitions and actions (ibid). Hence, the overall conclusion is that both the personal and cultural differences are equally important for building trust in multicultural teams; nevertheless, the focus of this study is limited to the cultural differences only.

Another approach used in organizations and in particular in managing multicultural teams is to avoid issues related to cultural differences that has been identified by DiStefano and Maznevski (2000). They refer to it as "equalizer strategy", which is a pattern of behavior in teams when cultural differences are deliberately suppressed. The purpose of this is to reduce challenges associated with diversity and to smooth out processes. Consequently, differences in ideas and perspectives are also being suppressed, which in turn greatly limits potential of teams. This pattern of behavior has a very negative impact on team members. It is essentially the same as in "act through the filter" (Lane, 2009), whereby members of a team have to constantly think how to participate and present their ideas instead of actually present their ideas and reflect on others' ideas. In the long term, it leads to frustration and demotivation, distrust and negative stereotyping (ibid). DiStefano and Maznevski (2000) state according to their research that the majority of multicultural teams

deploy exactly this strategy while claiming they are "doing well". They have also discovered that the key success factor within high-performing multicultural teams is the ability to "unlock creative synergy" through explicit recognition and acceptance of each other's differences. Synergy means that team members "understand, incorporate, and leverage their differences" (ibid). This ability allows teams to be flexible in managing internal as well as external challenges.

2.3.4 Trust building within multicultural teams

Synergy or cohesiveness is a measure of the degree of trust within a team (Adler, 2001). Therefore, building trust within a multicultural team is an important stage in the team's development cycle; as once successfully accomplished it becomes the foundation for future effectiveness. The abovementioned researchers argue that cultural awareness, when each team member is equally aware of their own and other team members' cultural characteristics, is of significant importance for trust building. Cultural awareness allows team members differentiate stereotypes from the actual personality and behavior. In other words, cultural awareness allows "to understand why members from other cultures think, feel, and act the way they do" (Alder, 2001). The ability to decode cultural differences reduces misunderstandings and communication barriers among team members, and at the same time it increases attractiveness to each other and the willingness to establish an open dialog and active participation in solving team's objectives (Adler, 2001; DiStefano & Maznevski, 2000; Lane 2009; Meyer, 2014). An empirical support for the positive correlation between team members' cultural awareness and team performance including trust formation can be found in studies by Moon (2013) and Moynihan et al. (2006). First, they have found that the more experience team members have with working within multicultural teams, the more ability they have to recognize and adjust to each other's cultural differences. Secondly, they have identified that the degree of cultural intelligence of team members determines the team's cohesiveness and effectiveness.

2.4 The explanatory model of trust building within multicultural project teams

The model presented in *Figure 3* has been put together based on the theoretical and empirical studies reviewed above with the primary intent of outlining the author's perspective on and proposed logical construction of trust building within multicultural project teams. To begin with, the model illustrates how national culture relates to trust. Secondly, it describes the process of trust formation. Thirdly and mainly, it serves as a guiding tool throughout this research.

If we read the model from the left side, it shows that deepest assumptions, values and norms that are rooted in national culture form team members' expectations toward their colleagues' behavior, communication and reactions, and together with that define the propensity to trust and the needed type of trust in working relationships. Hence, if the expectations are fulfilled, then there is mutual acceptance, attractiveness and therefore, trust arises. Conversely, if the expectations are not fulfilled, there might arise misunderstandings and mistrust among team members. In order to prevent the negative circle that leads to distrust, members of the team have to admit that everyone is different, appreciate diversity and perceive differences as opportunities and not as obstacles. That means allowing people to be who they are, i.e. hearing each other's opinions, respecting each other and avoiding judgments and prejudices. Yet achieving this requires that team members be culturally aware and sensitive towards themselves and others. Cultural awareness helps to decipher patterns in behavior and communication, to be tolerant and patient towards other's cultural peculiarities. Therefore, adopting cultural awareness and mutual acceptance in a team in the early stages of team formation would increase the chances of the team members to establish a dialog, set up the common rules and norms as well as align each other's expectations. Consequently, the team would be able to create the new culture that is unique for that particular team, and through that achieve synergy.
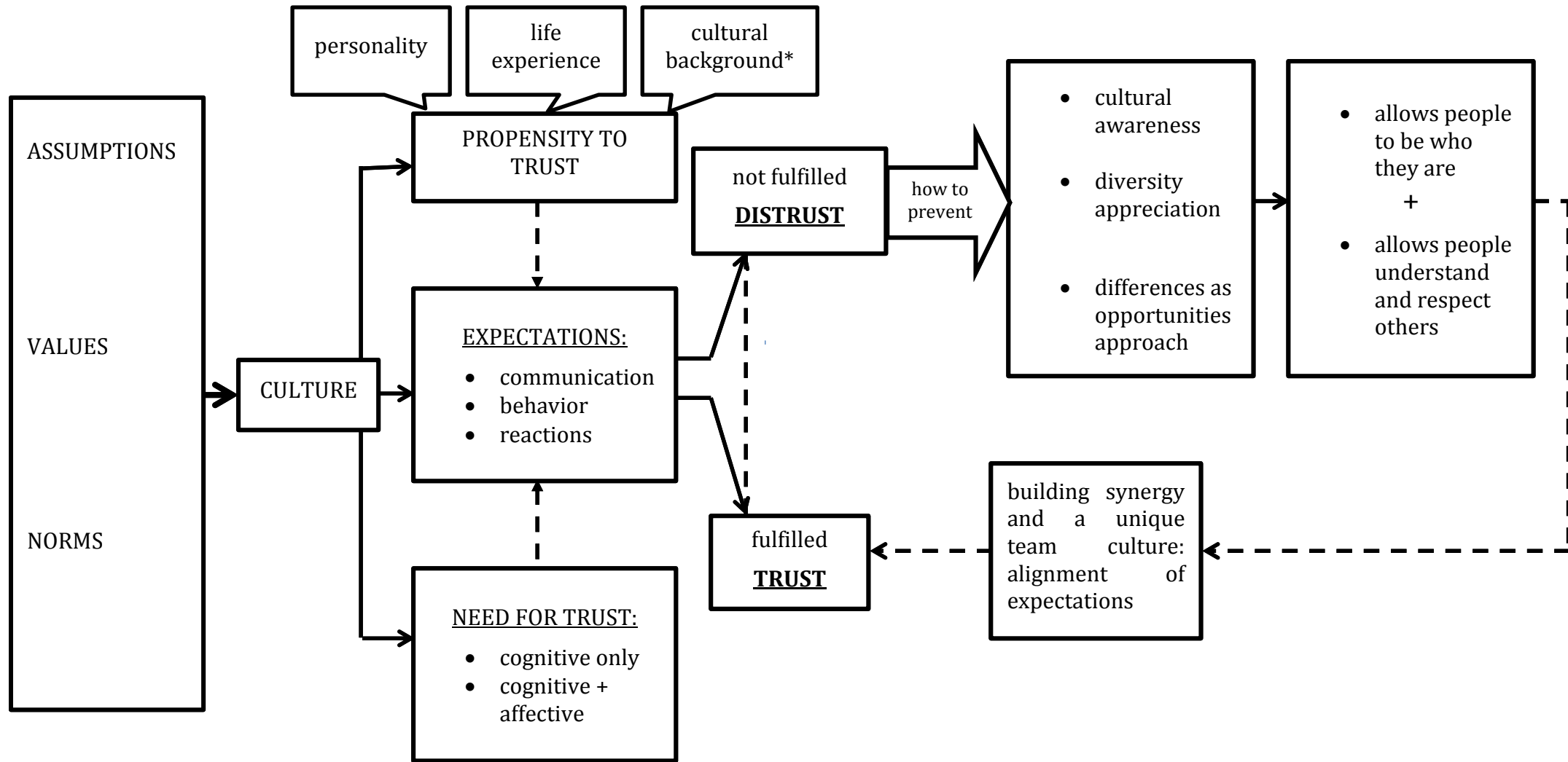
cultural background is only one of the factors that affect the propensity to trust

Figure 3. The explanatory model of trust building within multicultural teams (created by the author)

Taking into account the identified limitations in the field, including:

- the lack of empirical research on interpersonal trust development on a team level in general and within a multicultural context in particular;

- the ambiguity in the meaning of trust across cultures and expected behavior associated with trust;

- the lack of studies on the impact of national culture on trust development

the following theses are proposed:

1. The understanding of trust and its attributes vary depending on national culture
2. Propensity to trust and the need for trust (affective/cognitive) differs across cultures
3. Trust within a team is a necessary condition for the team to be efficient (productive)
4. People have certain expectations towards others in order to trust them
5. Trust building is more challenging within multicultural teams (than within single-culture teams) due to differing national culture of team members whereby national culture affects the process of trust building
6. Cultural awareness/cultural sensitivity is important for trust building within multicultural teams

The abovementioned propositions and the model are going to serve as guide for data collection and analysis in this study.

3 Methodology

To answer the main research question of this study: *"How can trust be built in a multicultural project team?"* a qualitative case study strategy has been deployed by the author. To explain and justify the chosen method and research design the chapter is organized according to the layers of "the research onion" (see Appendix A, Figure 4) proposed by Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill (2008).

3.1 Research Philosophy

The author's philosophical stance is based on ideographic ontology and interpretivist epistemology. This in turn should be viewed in the context of the author's beliefs that the world or reality is socially constructed and can be understood only through the perceptions of participants or 'social actors' (Farquhar, 2012). According to interpretivist philosophical assumptions the knowledge about a particular phenomenon is derived from the close contact with the participants and subsequent interpretations of the data by a researcher. It is important to investigate phenomena from the social actors' point of view and their understandings (ibid).

Organizations are socially constructed realities. The essence of the phenomenon in question, namely "interpersonal trust building within multicultural teams" is clearly a social process that is constructed through the people's interactions. Therefore the author's purpose is to investigate this phenomenon through a team members' point of view.

3.2 Research approach

The main objective of this research is to explore and explain the process of trust building within a multicultural team. To achieve this, a mix of deductive and inductive approaches has been employed. The former is considered reasonable because an extensive amount of theoretical studies on trust and culture has been identified. The latter is justified by the fact that little has been found with regard to trust building within the multicultural team context. Therefore, the existing literature on trust and culture has been consulted to determine the relationships between the two concepts. This in turn has provided basis for creating the explanatory model of trust building within a multicultural team and

formulating the guiding propositions. However, the established model only serves as the starting point of the research. The researcher's intention has been to further inductively explore the process of trust building within a particular multicultural project team. More precisely, to gain team members' opinions on what may prevent or, on the contrary, contribute to trust building within the team.

3.3 Research strategy

In order to address the research questions of this study a single-case study strategy has been used. A case in this paper is understood as "a unit of human activity embedded in the real world which can only be studied or understood in context" (David, 2009). Hence in this study the 'unit' of analysis or the 'case' is "the process of trust building" within the context of a multicultural project team.

The choice of this particular strategy has been due to several reasons outlined below.

To begin with, the case study strategy allows to "investigate real-life events in their natural settings" (ibid), which correlates with the chosen philosophical stance of this research and inductive aspect of the study. Namely, that trust is created by social actors and can only be studied through the interaction with them.

Secondly, the case study strategy has considerable ability to generate answers to the "how" questions (Saunders et al., 2008), which is consistent with the purpose of the current research as to *explore* and *explain* the process of trust building within a particular context. Context is playing a vital role in this research, as according to the literature review, there is a lack of studies on trust development within multicultural teams.

Finally, the case study strategy stipulates building a theoretical framework along with the propositions because generalization of results is achieved by comparing the previously developed theory with the empirical results of the case study, so called *"analytic generalization"* (Yin, 2003). Therefore, the function of the case study in this research is to probe the explanatory model of trust building within multicultural teams that has been created based on the existing theories of trust and culture. The case study in this research is demonstrating as to what extent the theoretical model is illustrative within the context of a particular multicultural team, what elements are concordant with the model, what

elements are, on the contrary, non-conformant and how the model can be modified as per the received data. Hence, the theoretical model serves a reference template to which the empirical results from the real case study are compared.

It should be noted at the same time that the quality of the research would be much higher if there was a possibility to do a multiple-case study research. Such approach would allow making comparisons between different cases and hence improve the overall external generalizability of the findings.

3.4 Method

As previously mentioned one of the critical steps of doing a case study is the creation of a theoretical framework and propositions. In order to establish "The explanatory model of trust building within multicultural teams" and propositions for this study the secondary literature sources including books and journal articles have been explored. The literature has been extracted from the electronic databases such as Libsearch, Business Source Complete, SCOPUS, Blackwell Encyclopedia of Management and Sage Navigator. To ensure the quality of data and exhaustiveness of the results, the author has employed three different approaches for information retrieval including subject search, author search and citations search. During the literature search the following journals have been examined: "Journal of managerial psychology", "Journal of business communication", "International journal of cross cultural management", "Journal of organizational behavior", "Cross cultural management: an international journal", "Journal of management and organization", "Journal of international business studies".

Inasmuch as the literature review suggests prevalence of the quantitative methodology in the empirical studies of trust to date, there exists a pronounced gap of qualitative methods and therefore the need to explore the latter. This fact along with the nature of the research question has led to the decision by the author to deploy *a semi-structured interview* for the data collection. This particular qualitative method has been chosen because it allows "to obtain descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomenon" (Kvale, 2007). This in turn is aligned with the objectives of the study to explore and explain the process of trust building from the team

member's point of views as well as the experience they gain from their day-to-day interactions.

3.5 Time horizons

The research has been planned to be a cross-sectional due to time constrains and limited access to the company. The process of trust building has been studied at a particular point of time of the team's existence.

3.6 Techniques and procedures

3.6.1 Setting

This study took place in the Danish container shipping company "Maersk Line", which is one of the core businesses of the Maersk group headquartered in Copenhagen. Maersk Line provides ocean transportation in all parts of the world by operating 630 container vessels and serving 59,000 customers through 306 offices in 114 countries (Maersk 1, 2016). The company employs 7,700 seafarers and 22,000 land-based employees (ibid) that represent a wide variety of nationalities and professions. The Maersk group is a family owned company, which is known for its long history of operation started in 1928. Throughout the years the company's reputation as a credible and valuable business partner has been built by means of its values with trust in the center. Mærsk Mc-Kinney Møller (1913–2012): "The basic principle is that people can trust us. Authorities can trust us, employees can trust us and business connections can trust us" (Maersk 2, 2016).

The company's culture has a strong commitment to diversity and inclusion that enables its employees "to be free, to be themselves, do their best, inspire others and realize potential for themselves and their teams" (Maersk 3, 2016).

The interviews were conducted on the premises of the IT department in a room designed for group meetings, which had all necessary facilities for conducting interviews. So, for example, considering the anonymity of the interviews, participants felt safe as nobody could hear the conversation besides the interviewer. Secondly, the separate room provided the absence of any interruption. Finally, the acoustical properties of the room allowed to make high-quality recording of the conversations.

3.6.2 Participants

A single-case study is justified when it is a representative or a typical case (Yin, 2003). In the context of the current study, a representative case was considered to be any multicultural project team, members of which had been working together for some period of time so, they had had a history of trust building. Furthermore, it was important that the participants were willing to contribute to the clarification of the research problem.

The selected project team was deemed to have met all of the criteria outlined above. The team was established to build and deliver a piece of an IT solution to a business unit within Maersk. By the moment the interviews took place the team had existed for 10 months. The participants' demographic data is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Participants' demographic data.

Respondent	Age	Gender	Level of education	Nationality	Role within the team	Years of employment in the company	Years of working within a multicultural environment
A	57	male	high-school	English	solution architect	more than 10 years	more than 10 years
B	49	male	university	Swedish	project manager	less than 1 year	9 years
C	45	male	college	Spanish	test manager	less than 1 year	less than 1 year
D	38	male	college	Spanish	technical lead	less than 1 year	4 years
E	27	male	university	Greek	quality coordinator	less than 1 year	less than 1 year
F	37	female	university	Indian	business analyst	2 years	more than 10 years
G	32	female	university	Chinese	IT analyst	less than 1 year	3 years
H	33	male	university	Indian	business analyst	2 years	more than 10 years
I	43	female	university	German	project resource coordinator	more than 10 years	more than 10 years
J	38	male	university	Bosnian-Swedish	development team lead	2 years	more than 10 years

The team chosen for the research was considered representative first of all, because of the variety of nationalities it consisted of. Secondly, people within the team were representing

different functions of the organization and they had never worked together before and had not known each other before the project commenced. Moreover, some people within the team joined it as external contractors (Respondents C and D). Lastly, the level of interdependency among the team members was considered to be high as the overall performance of the team was dependant on each team member's input; tasks could only be accomplished by joint effort, which required a high level of coordination, coherence and trust among people.

3.6.3 Procedure and measurement instruments

The preparation stage for the interviews included development of the guiding questions (see Appendix B) that were based on the literature search results, explanatory model and working propositions. In other words, the guiding questions were designed with a thought in mind that they would help answering the research question of the study. The questions were divided into four sections. The first one was aimed at collecting the participants' demographic data. The second section was focusing on how team members understood trust, considering differences in their national culture. The third section was aimed at investigating the importance of trust within a multicultural team and what type of trust, either cognitive or affective was more needed. Finally, the last section was addressing the trust building process within the team. This section was structured in such a way as to encourage the participants to reflect on the presence of trust within the team, the history of its building and related challenges and, most importantly, to get their vision of what was needed in order for trust to be established among people of different nationalities and working as a team.

To increase the validity of the guiding questions for the team they were tested on two people of different nationalities not related to the team yet having multicultural experience to check whether the questions were understandable and clear as well as to control the overall consistency, coherence and duration of the interview.

In order to schedule the interviews invitation letters were sent out in advance to all members of the chosen project team that altogether consisted of 15 people. Each of the invitation letters contained among other things information about the research topic and purpose. It also advised the invitees about the anonymity of the interview and research. To

increase the quality of data the participants were asked to think of particular examples of how trust had been manifested in their team and whether they had had particular challenges with establishing trust themselves. As far as the practicalities were concerned, it was explained that the interview would take place on-site in the IT office. All participants were offered a number of date and time options so they could choose among the most suitable ones. And finally, it was mentioned that the interview would take a maximum of 45 minutes to complete.

In the end, a total of 10 people accepted the invitation.

For ethical reasons, it was decided that the interviews should be anonymous, the names of the participants were not mentioned during the interviews and the researcher did not discuss the recorded information among the participants. The interviews were conducted on an individual basis throughout the four days period respecting the convenience factor for the respondents. The conversations were recorded by means of a digital voice recorder. At the beginning of each interview the topic, the purpose and the motives of the research were explained to the participants. The participants were equally advised on the anonymity of the interview. Following that, it was explained that the interview contained four main parts and that the researcher was interested in investigating the topic from the participant's perspective as they were deemed as having direct experience of working within the multicultural team, so their meanings and opinions were important. The interviewees were also advised that the interview would be recorded.

The questions were asked following the four main sections but the sequence of the questions within each section was not strictly observed in order to better follow and support the line of thinking of individual participants. In general, the interviews were organized in such a way as to allow the participants to provide stories and concrete examples related to the research topic. The researcher was also trying to clarify the meaning of the received answers to reduce possible biases and misinterpretations. At the end of the interviews, the participants were given a chance to supply any additional thoughts and comments.

During the interviews, the researcher was trying to establish good interpersonal interactions with interviewees by empathetic and active listening. It is worth mentioning that according to the author's individual assessment, the overall atmosphere of mutual

trust was established during the interviews and that the participants were willing and motivated to provide the information to the best of their knowledge. Nevertheless, it should also be mentioned that after each interview there was a distinct perception by the author that the participants felt relieved and relaxed once the voice recorder was switched off, whereupon they began to talk more freely and in less formal manner.

After each interview, the researcher allocated 15 minutes of quiet time to reflect on what was learned from the preceding interview and take notes of that in the researcher's work journal.

3.6.4 The interview with an expert

To increase the validity of the findings and get a more holistic picture of trust building within multicultural teams, the interview with an expert within the field of leadership and organizational development was also organized. The expert's name is Inger Draeby. Inger has 30 years of experience of working as a consultant for teams with mixed nationalities in a variety of organizations in Denmark and abroad. Her primary specialisation is to support multicultural teams so, people are able "to work better together and to create an understanding together" (Draeby, interview, July 11, 2016). Apart from consultancy Inger is a member of Centre for Dialog and Organization in Aalborg University and works as a senior associate in Mil institute, Sweden. Inger has a number of publications including the article "Breaking the codes – working with cross-cultural groups", and a co-authorship in the book "Cultural intelligence: the art of leading cultural complexity".

The interview took place at the Inger Draeby's office where she was asked a number of questions related to the research problem (see Appendix C for guiding questions).

3.6.5 Data analysis

The interviews were analysed by means of the NVivo software package. Prior to listening to the recorded interviews, the thematic categories were created in NVivo according to the guiding propositions and the explanatory model of trust building. The interviews were then listened to and the data was allocated either to the defined categories or to new categories that emerged during listening. Ultimately, all the data was sorted out and after that it was coded to a limited number of themes and issues. Valuable and representative

quotes were selected to illustrate the themes and support the analysis; tables and graphs were created to make the reporting of the findings more visual and transparent. The results compiled from the interviews were then compared with the data from the interview with the expert to see whether there was a level of coherence and, in general, to provide more holistic answers to the research question. Overall, the results were compared with the explanatory model to conclude to what extent the model was representative for the process of trust building within a particular team and how it could be modified. After that the conclusions of the research were drawn.

3.6.6 *Reflection on the researcher's subjective position*

The guiding propositions and explanatory model presented in the previous chapter both stipulated the initial idea of how trust might be built within multicultural teams before the interviews were conducted. The author however did not have the intention to confine the research to only these particular theoretical constructs. On the contrary, in order to minimize eventual bias the researcher attempted not to guide the interviews strictly within the boundaries of the initially defined framework, and consequently tried to be mindful of gaining new insights into the research topic, on one hand and not imposing personal opinions on the respondents, on the other hand.

4 Analysis

In this chapter, the data from the interviews will be analyzed. Firstly, the results from the interviews with the project team will be presented. The structure of this analysis section will follow the three main parts of the interview: understanding of trust, the importance of trust in team work and the trust building process. Secondly, a separate section of the analysis will cover the results of the interview with the expert Inger Draeby. The findings from each section will be organized so as to allow answering the main research question of this paper: *How can trust be built in a multicultural project team*?

4.1 Understanding of trust

The literature review has shown that the meaning of trust and its attributes might vary depending on national culture. Alongside with this, predisposition or propensity to trust also might be affected by culture. Therefore, the purpose of this part of the analysis is to examine how team members understand trust and their propensity to trust to see whether there are any differences considering that the team is culturally diverse. This is important to identify, since if there are discrepancies it might also affect the process of trust building among team members in the first place. In addition, the second objective of this part is to investigate whom it is easier to build trust with, either colleagues within the same or different cultures.

4.1.1 The understanding of trust among team members

In the first part of the interview, the participants were asked about how they understand trust and what behavior they associate with trust. The visualization of the answers can be seen in Appendix D, Figure 5. All the participants primarily associate trust with honesty, openness and reliability. Thus, according to their opinions trust arises among people if the latter are open and honest in their interactions and communication with each other, and hence they can rely on other's words and actions. Let us look at some definitions of trust, which have been provided by some of the team members.

The most straightforward definition of trust is provided by Respondent A (English), who says that trust for him is:

"To be open, honest, reliable" (Respondent A, 2:47,7 - 2:52,4).

Respondent D (Spanish) refers to trust as:

"[Trust, it is when] I know that you will be there for me and you know that I will be there for you if needed. [...] To be trusted people should be honest and transparent." (Respondent D, 2:05,2 - 2:30,7).

It is important to note that according to this definition, trust for this respondent is primarily associated with the mutual reliance within the team in difficult times or situations, the unconditional belief that there is mutual willingness to provide support if needed. From this definition it can be deduced that for the respondent D affective trust is an integral part in work relationships. In the next part of the analysis this assumption will be proven.

Respondent F (Indian) explains what she associates with trust and gives an example in which situations trust is important:

"I think honesty comes the first thing as a nature for building trust. So, if I have, for example, some deadlines then, if I am able to achieve those deadlines or maybe not because of some dependency, or whatever so, that is the first thing which should be known to the employer and employee that ok, this is the situation, and being honest is one of the factors which can evaluate whether the trust is there or not" (respondent F, 3:33,8 - 4:09,9).

Thereby trust is associated with the ability to be honest within one's team not only about positive dynamics during the project but also about the uncounted difficulties that might affect the progress of the project.

Respondent I (German):

"Trust would be for me that I can rely on somebody's actions, I can rely on somebody's word; I can also rely that somebody is upright so, telling the good and the bad in a way that is not offending" (respondent I, 2:00,3 - 2:37,7).

The second most common associations with trust seem to be related to the ability to speak out thoughts and opinions in front of others without fear.

For example, Respondent J (Swedish-Bosnian) is saying:

"Trust for me is to dare speak your mind, to dare say what you think without any precaution or any consequences; to be open, to be as you are" (Respondent J, 1:35,4 - 1:50,9).

The two additional associations with trust refer to the willingness to be vulnerable and lack of monitoring:

Respondent E (Greek):

"Trust for me, in general, is that you depend on others in difficult situations let's say; and it is a kind of expressing your vulnerability or something like this. So, you feel more free and you feel more familiar with some people." How do you behave in order to be trusted? "I think the ideal way to do this is just to be yourself and not to pretend something, because maybe later it is changed and you are going to be in trouble. [...] So, I think in order to get trust, you have to be real let's say or something like this" (Respondent E, 2:45,4 - 3:38,9).

Respondent G (Chinese):

"[Trust] is a mutual thing if I trust you I can have your word and I know you are going to make this interaction and I do not need to monitor you and I will trust in what you did, what you said and I think it is vice versa." (Respondent G, 2:10,0 - 2:42,4).

However, despite the prevalent similarities in understanding of trust and the associated behavior, one interesting point is provided by Respondent D (Spanish). During the discussion about cultural differences, he indicated that according to his observations there were some misinterpretations of trust between Scandinavian and Latin cultures. First, he gives an example along the lines of task completion:

"If you say that you are working on it, here [people believe that] you are working on it, in Spain that is not the case, you are working on it, prove it to me. If after three weeks you are still working on it, here (in Scandinavia) they trust, ok I encounter this problem, an unexpected issue, I was sick one day... - 'you are working on it', in Spain no. You should prove to me that you are working on it. And another thing is that when you say that you have it already – they trust that you have it already." (Respondent D, 26:00,8 - 26:40,3).

He then continues and says that:

"Trust is not in my humble opinion, just believing in whatever you say, I do not think that it is trust or at least this is not what I understand by trust. And I think that it is the difference in the treatment of trust here in Scandinavia with the other Latin cultures that I have encountered [...]. Trust for me is that I have seen that what you say it works so, I trust at the next time [in what you say]. [I trust that] it will be valid, it will be ok." (Respondent D, 29:01,4 - 29:56,5).

The observation of Respondent D is essentially valid, since according to the data published by the "Organization for Economic and Development", the Nordic countries tend to report higher levels of trust compared to other countries (OECD, 2016). Moreover, Denmark tops the list with 74.92% of people reporting high trust in others; whereas, e.g. in Spain this figure is considerably lower at just 19.54% (ibid). This data suggests that people in Denmark generally tend to trust each other not questioning the honesty of what is said or promised to them by others.

Hence, it can be concluded from the above that even if people provide similar characteristics of trust there can be discrepancies in what people actually need in order to perceive the other person as a trustworthy one. The credit for trust can be bigger in some cultures as compared to others, which relates to another construct of trust, namely 'the propensity to trust'.

4.1.2 Propensity to trust

To identify a predisposition to trust members of the team were asked whether it was more natural for them to enter into relationship with other team members on the grounds of trust or distrust. Appendix E, Table 2 shows how answers are distributed among the respondents.

There were many in the team who believed that the degree of received trust was directly correlated with the amount of trust they were giving to others. In other words, before expecting trust from others one should ensure others believe they were trusted. Thus the majority of the team starts relationships with colleagues on the grounds of trust. One representative quote belongs to Respondent I (German):

"Trust is also something which for me is a basic. Usually I trust people until I get disappointed. So, it is something, which you bring forward. It is a kind of a payment into the bank which you then hope to get back." (Respondent I, 2:41,1 - 3:04,0).

Another distinctive answer belongs to Respondent A (English) whose readiness for trust depends on the culture his colleague belongs to:

"I think if it is people from western cultures then I trust them until proven otherwise. If it is eastern then the opposite, I distrust them" (Respondent A, 3:41,8 - 4:01,8).

It is important to note that this response signals that trust may be affected by the perceptions of certain national cultures. Later in the analysis the reasons for such discrepancy between cultures will be elaborated on by the same respondent.

Finally, only Respondent E (Greek) reflects upon trust as a lengthy process that might take time to complete, hence he is not certain whether he trusted his teammates from the very beginning:

"[...] I cannot say that I trusted everyone from the beginning [...]. I believe that trust has to be built somehow." (Respondent E, 5:19,0 - 5:52,9).

Later in the interview he continues to reflect on what trust is for him by saying:

"I think trust is words and actions. So, if you say that you are going to do something and you do this then you can be more trustful." (Respondent E, 8:37,0 - 8:51,7).

The above in essence explains why this respondent tends to be careful about trust in the beginning. He believes that in order to be trusted, words have to be justified by actions. This opinion corresponds with the opinion, which was given earlier by Respondent D (Spanish) regarding different approaches in treating trust between the Scandinavian and Latin cultures.

Respondent C (Spanish), in effect, confirms that there are discrepancies in the team members' propensity to trust by saying:

 "There are some people who are keener to consider the other one as trustable and there are also people who do not consider others trustable in the beginning. For example, in my personal case there were members of the team who were, mmm..., it was more difficult for me to win their trust. So, in the beginning I felt that people in the team did not trust me." (Respondent C, 20:03,3 - 20:34,9).

Another respondent when talking about possible obstacles to trust building mentions among other things that when someone has 'a low level of trust' it might also affect trust building within the team:

Respondent I (German):

"I think it is also a team member's approach to trust. So, if you have team members, who have a very low trust level, it is really, really hard work to gain that person's trust. So, if you have people whose levels of trust are very much apart, this can be a discrepancy. [...] Because if there is a person

who is questioning and mistrusting the colleagues both professionally and personally it is going to be an obstacle in building team trust as such." (Respondent I, 39:05,0 – 40:02,0).

It is interesting to note that this respondent does not correlate levels of trust with national cultures but rather with personality traits, which may also be the case as 'the propensity to trust' is not only defined by a national culture.

To conclude it should be noted that the results above support the existing theoretical and empirical studies within the field of trust as in 'the propensity to trust' may vary among people and thereby may affect the trust building process. Nevertheless, the collected data does not allow to conclude whether it is the national culture that influences the readiness to trust. The responses listed above may as well be called forth by other factors such as personality and/or life experience.

4.1.3 Object of trust

The participants were also asked whether it was easier for them to trust a colleague belonging to the same or different culture.

All respondents expressed the opinion that trust arises easier among colleagues from the same culture and there were given two main reasons for that. Firstly, the common language makes communication easier:

Respondent B (Swedish):

"It is easier to trust people from the country you come from but I think that is natural really because you have the same type of language. I mean you understand easily what they are talking about. When they talk about one thing, you understand each other even though you do not express it very detailed, meaning that you understand actually what they say between the lines." (Respondent B, 5:19,4 - 5:54,3).

Secondly, the similar cultural background seems to help decoding the behaviour and actions of other people:

Respondent E (Greek):

"I think it is much easier to trust someone from your culture, because there is not this kind of barriers, like language barriers or culture barriers, because you understand more easily what you want to say, what he is going to express. And also depends on how culture expresses itself, I mean

south-European people are more expressive, they are not hiding themselves so, you understand what they want. Also they use their gestures a lot so, that helps again because it is a body language. So, I think it is much easier to trust someone from your culture and also because you have the same background." (Respondent E, 4:07,4 - 4:54,4).

Respondent J (Swedish-Bosnian):

"I would like to say it is the same [emergence of trust] but if somebody is from the similar culture then I think it is easier to understand because there are some things that you might think does not matter but actually can be quite important. [...] For example, in some cultures if something is not working properly it is ok to go to the manager and say it, while in other cultures if you do that it can be perceived as though you acted behind somebody's back." (Respondent J, 3:33,0 - 4:15,2).

It may therefore be concluded that despite the readiness of the majority of the team members to trust others from the beginning, trust nevertheless arises and builds easier with colleagues belonging to the same or similar cultures. These findings clearly demonstrate that a national culture as a factor may indeed affect the trust building process. People with the same cultural origin can better understand each other, know what to expect and how to react in certain situations. They are also able to read each other's behavior much quicker. In other words, a common national culture contributes to forming invisible bonds among people, which in turn makes interaction smoother and clearer.

To sum up, the interview responses suggest that extra effort is required to build trust to someone from a different culture. In the next section, additional justifications will be given to support this finding.

4.2 Importance of trust in team work

The purpose of this part of the analysis is to identify whether trust within the team is a significant feature. During the interview, the researcher was seeking to ascertain whether the team could perform successfully without establishing trust among the team members. In addition to that, the researcher was interested to learn what type of trust seemed to be more important within the team, that is to say either cognitive or affective.

4.2.1 Significance of trust in team work

As far as the importance of trust for the team work is concerned, all the participants seem to converge on the idea that trust is of significant importance, i.e. every team member is strongly convinced that without trust it is much harder to reach the common team's objectives.

Generally speaking, the need of trust for any project team is well explained by Respondent A (English):

"There is no projects really which one person can do and you need a variety of skills not one person doesn't have all skills necessary, so you have a dependency on other people" (Respondent A, 5:07,7 - 5:27,7).

That is, the high level of interdependence among team members poses the necessity for trust in the first place.

The analysis conducted on the empirical data revealed several benefits of trust for the team. Among those, *the team's efficiency, collaboration* and *knowledge sharing among team members* appeared most frequently. Respondent B (Swedish) who is a manager of the project, while sharing his observations regarding trust within the team, says:

"If you do not have trust [within the team] then your team members start to protect themselves and the work they are doing" (Respondent B, 2:51,0 - 4:38,6).

In other words, without trust people are not willing to share their knowledge which in turn hinders cohesion in team.

Respondent B continues:

"If you have trust (within the team) it generates a project that is actually becoming more self-going and you come to the results faster because if you have trust it leads to collaboration and it means also you are more willing to expose what you do not know and what you know [...] and if you have trust I think people are more open minded in that sense or more free to share what they do not know. I [as a project manager] want to have that kind of environment, where people actually feel that they can be honest." (Respondent B, 10:21,6 - 11:37,9).

The two other most frequently mentioned benefits of trust were *confidence* and *motivation*. Trust gives people the feeling that they are valued by others, that their opinions are heard.

Overall, if trust is present within a team, the working climate improves and people feel more motivated as expressed by Respondent F (Indian):

"Level of trust in my team gives me confidence and motivation to perform even better. When I know that I trust my colleagues and I have a comfort zone of coming to work that gives me motivation to go to work. Of course there are challenges at work and we all deal with them. Trust gives me a lot of confidence and motivation to come and support the team members and the objective of the team and the goal." (Respondent F, 11:18,1 - 11:54,4).

It was stressed by some of the respondents that trust is even more important in multicultural teams than in single-culture teams but at the same time it is more challenging to build trust as people's cultural traits can easily call forth distrust in the team. Therefore, trust building in multicultural teams takes longer time and requires more effort and awareness:

Respondent I (German):

"[If a team is multicultural] you need to learn each other to know. If you are within your own little - I call it 'core family', you are already [aware about] certain things which you can read just by body language so, that is already part of the trust. If somebody has a very aggressive body language and you are coming from a culture where it's more subtle and relaxed then you already feel that something is different. So, from that point of view - yes, if you are moving within your own culture you already have a basis, which you can build on. If you meet somebody from a different culture, first you have to build this basis. With some people it goes fast because you connect and find similarities [...] while with others it needs more work, it needs more observations, it needs more interactions with each other to get to the same level and then build on from that." (Respondent I, 12:54,9 - 13:59,8).

Moreover, as it was mentioned by Respondent F (Indian), the expectations about task performance might also differ across cultures. Therefore, it is important to have a bigger trust factor in multicultural teams as it helps understanding each other expectations:

"[...] I think, it is highly important to have a bigger trust factor in multicultural teams to understand what Danes, Americans and other nations are expecting about the tasks." (Respondent F, 12:59,6 - 14:17,5).

In conclusion, it should be noted that the data points confirm that trust is an important element in teamwork, especially if the team is multicultural. Trust not only contributes to

more efficient functioning of a team, but also minimizes the cultural barriers among people so that the team is able to realize its full potential.

4.2.2 Type of trust

The literature review has revealed that the need for a particular type of trust might differ across cultures. For some cultures it is sufficient to only establish cognitive trust or the so called skills-based trust in working relationships, whereas for other cultures affective trust or the trust that is based on personal bonds is equally or even more important. The frequency of occurrence of the two trust types as mentioned by each nationality within the team can be seen in Appendix F, Figure 6.

For the majority of nationalities both types of trust appear to be equally valuable. Each of the trust types has its own benefits so to say. The cognitive trust secures achievement of the project's objectives as the team members can securely rely on each other's capabilities. Hence, it reduces the need for formal checks of tasks status and thereby speeds up the overall delivery process. The affective trust, on the other hand, increases the team's spirit, enables discussions that are more open, and secures reliability on the interpersonal level. Thus, for example, Respondent F (Indian) explains:

"For me both types of trust are important [...]. The trust factor is very helpful when the tight deadlines are there and the pressure comes in. So, as a person I can really be in peace if the trust factor is there. For example, if I am sick or if I am away from work or something happened, then I know that the person in my team I have the full trust with will take care of my task. [...] If the trust factor is not there, then it can really mislead [...] to a lot of things. So, for me – yes, both types of trust are important. [...]" (Respondent F, 9:13,7 - 11:05,0).

It is important to note that as far as the researcher understands, when referring to "the full trust" the respondent means that she is confident that her team colleague not only is capable of performing a task for her but is also willing to do that because there exists an understanding of mutual care on a personal level.

Another interesting quote belongs to the project manager, Respondent B:

"From the project manager perspective the soft side [meaning the trust that is based on personal relationships: the affective trust] is normally low-prioritized but [both types of trust] are equally important or maybe the soft side is more important."(Respondent B, 11:56,2 - 15:52,1).

The respondent is saying that because he strongly believes that if people within the team have good relationships on the personal level, it facilitates the work of the project as the team members feel comfortable working with each other.

However, for the team members from Spain and Greece the affective trust evidently seems to be of a greater importance, as they mention good personal relationships as a primary foundation of trust:

Respondent C (Spanish):

"I think trust that is based on good personal relationships is more important. You can have an unskilled person but if he is honest and he willing to learn it is better than a very skilled person but not trustable person [...]. I prefer unskilled people but trusty people rather than the other way around." (Respondent C, 5:08,0 - 5:35,7).

Respondent E (Greek):

"I think both types of trust are important but interpersonal trust is more important because skills can be achieved along the way, interpersonal trust is more difficult to build especially with people you do not know." (Respondent E, 7:30,8 - 8:52,6).

Moreover, the team members from Spain state that in Maersk, people communicate mainly on a professional level and not so much on a personal one and that, they are therefore missing personal bonds with people. For instance, when Respondent C (Spanish) was asked about how his current work in Maersk was different compared to his previous work experiences in Spain he said:

"I think the main differences are on the personal level, personal relationships especially outside of the office. [...] In Spain if you have good relationships then it can be extended outside the office. It happened also here because I can meet with people outside but it is not so often as in Spain." So, do you miss personal contact? "Yes, something like that." (Respondent C, 11:24,7 - 12:23,2).

Another team member from Spain, Respondent D expressed that people in Maersk draw a sharp line between professional role and personality and therefore communication occurs on the two levels, which do not necessarily commingle. People behave differently depending on whether it is a formal or informal interaction, which in turn creates the perception of these people wearing masks:

"People come to me and they behave like if I am taking off their masks and I am talking with a normal person, honest person [to whom] I can trust and then we come back to the meeting and they are wearing the masks. So, I do not see that this is trust. In my understanding personal trust is that I trust you, is not that I trust my boss or the head of a human resources because you are the head of a human resources. I think that here [people] respect too much the role. You are not you, you are the role description you have. So, here I think, you lose a little bit identity, the personality. We do not have that boundary so strong." (Respondent D, 30:40,5 - 32:08,0).

This two-level communication creates a feeling of insincerity because from Respondent's D point of view trust includes establishment of personal contacts, personal bonds which gradually become the foundation of professional relationships. This finding demonstrates that people's expectations towards each other's behaviour might differ. In some cultures people expect professional relationships to be based on personal bonds, whereas in other cultures people prefer to separate personal relations and business. As we can see from the graph on Figure 6, e.g. for Respondent A (English) the cognitive trust is enough to have within the team (Respondent A, 5:28,4 – 5:43,5).

If we refer to the Erin Meyer's "Trusting scale" (Meyer, 2014), England is placed close to the task-based trust (cognitive) side of the continuum, whereas Spain is placed close to relationship-based trust (affective). The findings from the interview support that the need for trust might differ across nationalities, nevertheless it is not possible to make any strong assertions or conclusions at this point, as the reference group behind this study is not representative enough.

Accordingly, the conclusion that can be drawn from the above is that high interdependence among team members and extra complexity due to cultural diversity make trust one of the important aspects of teamwork. To reach team's goals and objectives people have to collaborate with each other, feel comfortable about sharing their thoughts and opinions whereby trust acts as an enabler making that collaboration more efficient and open. At the same time, it is more challenging to build trust within multicultural teams due to different cultural backgrounds of people. Therefore, it is important to ascertain what aspects of team functioning may pose impediments to trust building and vice versa, which of them may facilitate the process of building trust within multicultural teams. The following section of the analysis will be clarifying these aspects.

4.3 The process of trust building within the team

In this part of the interview analysis, the researcher is seeking to dissect the process of trust building within the team. During the interview, the respondents were asked to reflect on the history of trust building within their team. The primary focus however is to explore how national culture may affect the process of trust building within the team as there can be other factors that influence trust in teams for instance, team members' personality or organizational culture to mention but a few. Therefore, the researcher is looking firstly to clarify what aspects may prevent building trust among people of different nationalities. The influence of national culture on trust formation may occur in the following three dimensions: the first, how one perceives others through his/her own national culture lenses; the second, what perceptions one has of other's national cultures (stereotypes); and the third, considering the first two dimensions, is the effects of interaction among people of different cultures. Secondly, the researcher is trying to identify the team members' points of view regarding trust building namely, what they believe should be in place within multicultural teams in order to establish trust.

4.3.1 Trust within the team

To open up the discussion about trust within the team the participants were asked whether trust was established within their team. Most of the team members provided positive reflections about the level of trust that had been built within the team by the time the interviews took place. Nevertheless, there were opinions voiced that trust was not utterly perceptible in the team when the project first started, however it got gradually built to a sufficient level as the project carried on. The respondents mentioned such indicators of trust as the presence of open communication with each other, meaning that people do not hesitate to express alternative meanings and they feel comfortable about expressing their doubts or showing others their weaknesses if any; the lack of need to monitor each other's actions or progress on tasks.

Only Respondent D (Spanish) stated that in his opinion there was no trust in the team. He argues that there is no team spirit as everyone is working individually. During meetings, there is not enough sincerity among people and that for some team members it is easier to formally agree on something rather than discuss alternative meanings. It is worth to note

that this respondent previously talked about differences in understanding of trust between Scandinavian and Latin people and expressed concerns about the lack of affective trust. The researcher therefore assumes this may be the reason for this respondent's opposite opinion.

4.3.2   Obstacles for trust building

When asked about obstacles for trust building within the team, besides the obstacles that were directly related to the cultural differences, participants mentioned the importance of having a manager as a role model in trust building, the company's values and personal traits. Such obstacles can also be seen in single-culture teams and therefore they were left beyond the scope of this analysis.

The respondents were asked why it was challenging to build trust in a multicultural team and what key factors, according to their experience, might prevent trust building. They were also asked to provide examples of miscommunications or misunderstandings if any caused by cultural differences. During the data analysis, the following four main themes of responses were identified: communication style, work processes, language barriers, prejudice.

Communication style

Miscommunication due to differences in communication style appeared as one of the obstacles in building trustworthy relationships among team members. Respondents emphasized the differences in communication between the eastern and western cultures, e.g. Respondent D and Respondent A provide examples of miscommunication with Indian colleagues:

Respondent D (Spanish):

"I think that one typical cultural difference relates to the Indian style. They tend to say yes to everything. [For example, if I ask]: 'do you understand this?' – 'yes', 'do you have this already?' – 'yes', [but actually you do not] in my culture it would be considered that you are lying to me. When I ask: 'do you have this already done?' and you say: 'yes' and you do not have it, for me it is a lie. I understood that for them it is a way of saying 'yes, I will have it', despite you are asking me if I have it already. So, I assume that it is a cultural thing." (Respondent D, 22:54,0 – 23:51,8).

Respondent A (English):

"The Indian people we work with, their culture is that they do not want to say "I do not know". [...] If there is something they do not understand so, it makes it very difficult to work with them. [Because] when you say 'do you understand it' they say 'yes' but it is because they do not want to say 'I do not know'. So, it makes it difficult to trust them because you do not know whether they are telling the truth or not." (Respondent A, 4:13,1 - 4:42,1).

The examples above demonstrate typical cultural clashes when the opposing high and low context cultures meet each other. Different styles in communication, e.g. direct versus indirect are one of the common reasons of misunderstandings among people, as national culture implies a certain way of communication. Consequently, what is valued in one culture, e.g. providing a straightforward and clear message or disagreement, might be perceived as impolite and disrespectful manner of communication in another culture. It takes time for people to learn these cultural differences and – what is more important – to distinguish the cultural factor when miscommunication arises. Hence, there is a need for constant reflection in order to understand and adjust to each other's differences. For example, the respondents from China and India reflect on their cultural traits in communication, which demonstrates the process of adaptation and learning:

Respondent G (Chinese):

"Sometimes the way I express myself is more implicit [...] I might not make myself very understood for others. For example, if I talk to my manager, I think the way I speak I need more reasons to explain yes or no, but I do not want to say yes or no directly [...] So, I think that I do not express myself enough about what I need or what I ask for but I am still learning. [...]" (Respondent G, 29:04,6 - 31:35,7).

Respondent F (Indian):

"I have a positive experience here [at Maersk] with trust. Of course, it takes time [to build trust], it takes time to understand a human being [because] a reaction of a person to person can be different and that always goes back to from which cultural background a person comes from. Maybe for example, for Indians it is not really very common to speak out and to put their points. But this is a cultural thing which comes along with the childhood [...] but this kind of things can be overcome by learning and getting exposure to different things." (Respondent F, 7:58,6 - 8:51,8).

The other examples of cultural differences brought during the interviews are related to communication between the project manager and the team. It was mentioned that some of the team members were trying to avoid sharing different opinions directly with the manager in favour of discussing them when the manager was absent. Consequently, during meetings communication was carried out only through particular people. As a result, this kind of behaviour pertaining to some of the team members created confusion for both the manager and the rest of the team. Some of the team members even perceived this as being insincere. However, as the project carried on this dynamics within the team seemed to subside gradually. The project manager himself shared his observation about this phenomenon:

Respondent D (Swedish):

"For example, some members of the team are from Spain and normally, the environment I have been working in Spain, has been very hierarchical, meaning that you have to listen to your boss, it is very rare you are confronting and saying 'no' [...] In Sweden it is ok to say 'you are totally wrong' to your boss. And here in Maersk it feels that the bosses are ok, if you tell him or her the truth, even if the truth is a bad message. So, I have felt that the team has been influenced by that and it took a while to come over that and from my side I had a dialog about that with the team leader." (Respondent B, 41:40,4 - 43:35,5).

Working processes

This category of obstacles implies misunderstandings and misinterpretations caused by different work styles or task implementations. In some cultures, for example, people need more details and clearly defined expectations before they can take up a task; moreover, they may also expect some guidance along the way. Then again, in other cultures initiative and independence are considered as natural parts of executing a task. The respondents from Spain and India, for instance, talked specifically about misunderstandings due to the differences in expectations regarding tasks definition and performance:

Respondent C (Spanish):

[...] It was a misunderstanding with one member of the team who expected something from me that it was not what I was told I needed to give and expected something from me that I really did not know how to do." (Respondent C, 24:59,9 - 25:46,4).

Respondent F (Indian):

"There have been many, many cases [of misunderstandings]. To give you one example, it was the way how the tasks had been defined [...] for a Dane for example, it would be just a high level task definition, but for me I wanted more details. [...] Of course, there is a way to contact and ask that person again but this kind of things sometimes stops you and these are the challenges." (Respondent F, 29:39,3 - 30:47,3).

The respondent from Spain also mentioned that pace of work might differ from culture to culture, which in turn might cause wrong perceptions with regard to other teammates:

Respondent C (Spanish):

"For example, you may have a work rhythm higher than others and then expect others to work as fast as you and this is a mistake because probably you will start not to trust people because you think they are lazy but the only thing that happen is that you are faster than them so, for cultural reasons it can happen also." (Respondent C, 24:07,2 - 24:54,3).

Hence the differences in tasks definition as well as different approaches to its execution may cause wrong expectations towards each other in a team and as a consequence this may lead to misunderstandings and even tensions among people.

Language barrier

The language barrier was one of the most frequently mentioned factors that was deemed as a hindrance to trust building within multicultural teams. Thus, for example, the project manager elaborated on a direct correlation between trust building and language:

"The need for trust within multicultural teams is even higher compared to single-culture teams but at the same time, it is more difficult to establish trust within a multicultural team because people do not speak the same language. People meet at the communication level where everyone is talking English but we understand the language differently, we do not understand in every detail. So, I think it takes longer time to establish trust in multicultural environment." (Respondent B, 18:53,8 - 19:43,1).

Respondent E (Greek) when talking about the obstacles for trust building commented on what was said by the project manager:

"The first one is the language that you do not know if you express what you want the way you wanted. At the same time, you do not know if the other one perceived this the way you wanted. And

actually, if let say, the other one does not speak a lot you are not going to understand if he perceived this like this. So, it is important [...] to find a way to understand if he understood what you wanted to say correctly. [...] Another example is you may say something that you think is funny but the other one, because he is from another culture, might perceive it in a different way, then you may not even imagine that it was something that he/she didn't like." (Respondent E, 15:08,2 - 16:16,0).

Another aspect related to language pointed out by the respondents was that it might also limit one's ability to express him- or herself on every level: personal, emotional, professional. This may essentially block communication and even inhibit responsive action in certain situations. Moreover, it is more difficult to feel or read each other's personality when people communicate using a foreign language. For example, Respondent C (Spanish) is saying:

"In the beginning I had some hard time with the language. I know English since I was a child but I have not used it day to day and I have never used it in a working environment. So, first I had some problems with understanding and speaking, Spanish words came out from nowhere. So, language is important. For example, in the team there is a guy who has very big problems with English so, it is harder to build trust relationships with him for sure." (Respondent C, 28:07,0 - 28:59,1).

Finally, language may cause misinterpretations of a sender message due to different semantic loads:

Respondent E (Greek):

"The definition of 'done' is different in my head. Here if something is done it means that you should not spend time on it from now on, it is considered as 'done'. While in my mind I think that ok, it is done, but if it needs something more, we can work more on it and we can spend more time. So, it was kind of difficult in the beginning to realize when something was really done. So, I had to ask for feedback all the time because I could not understand this fully." (Respondent E 32:57,3 - 33:46,0).

Another example belongs to Respondent H (Indian) who explains how easy it is to run into a misunderstanding purely because one is misinterpreting a phrase:

"[...] there was a case when I had talked with one of my colleagues from UK. I had a question regarding a solution for one event. He said: "If I were you I would do it". What he was trying to say was that you should be doing it this way, what I understood was that he was going to do it for me. So, this is the language: "If I were you I would do it this way" was shortened to "I would do it this

way", because they are quite used to such conversations, they just shorten it [...]" (Respondent H 28:38,6 - 29:59,3).

Prejudice

Prejudice appeared to be another dominant reason for distrust in multicultural teams. For example, Respondent I (German) when asked about why it was more challenging to build trust within multicultural teams responded promptly that one of the main reasons for that was prejudice:

"[...] everybody is prejudiced, everybody has a bad experience at this age. Everybody is even unconsciously reflecting back on stereotypes and then talking from that stereotype to a person. It is usually always a jump to say yes, even if somebody is from a certain area, country, national culture it is not necessarily the way the person is acting. So, you can get to matching or to completely opposite to what was expected. And it is inactive work for everybody to either confirm the positive prejudice that yes, I am like that or contradict the negative prejudice that no, what you think I might be, I am not like that." (Respondent I, 30:15,9 - 31:33,3).

Hence, prejudice may form a certain attitude or stereotypes towards colleagues within the team, which may in turn influence personal and professional relationships and therefore lead to wrong judgments and expectations.

A very valuable remark belongs to Respondent D (Spanish) who pointed out that cultural blindness and prejudice might pose serious obstacles for trust building. According to him it is important to realize that differences may occur and one has to adjust himself to others or make allowance for possible cultural traits. At the same time he argues that it may turn out hard for both types of team members, i.e. those who have previously worked within multicultural environment and those who have no experience with that. As the former may be prejudiced against certain cultures whereas the latter due to lack of prior experience may not even realize that cultural differences cause misunderstandings and that there is therefore a need for adjustment:

"I would say that people who start working in a multicultural environment, they have to switch from their own culture to other people and assume that what you are doing may not be respectful even if you are 100% sure. You have always to give a second and a third chance. I think that in the beginning it might be a challenge. [...] Every culture is different so, you have to be sure even if you did it before [has worked in multicultural environments], you have to start from scratch again. I

mean, if I have another project within a multicultural environment, despite my previous experience I would again start from scratch, because I do not assume that all Russian people are like you, I do not assume that all the Indians are the same. So, I will start from scratch in that sense. I do not know Indian culture because I know 10 Indians."

So, are you talking about prejudice? Prejudice, in your opinion, is one of the main obstacles for trust building in multicultural teams?

"Yes, exactly. If this prejudice comes from your previous experience, I mean, the more you think you know, the more difficult it is to start from scratch. The bigger your prejudice the harder it is for you to drop it." (Respondent D, 35:16,9 - 38:25,3).

To conclude this section it should be noted that the data analysis has confirmed the assumption that trust building process is more challenging within multicultural teams as opposed to single-culture ones, mainly due to differences rooted in national cultures. Cultural diversity implies the diversity of value sets, norms of communication, behaviour and work execution, which means that people may perceive others through their own cultural lenses. As a result, the people form certain expectations towards each other based on their own national culture. Consequently, as demonstrated by the examples in this section, when different cultures meet and interact with each other, certain misunderstandings and misperceptions may arise among people. Moreover, one may unconsciously presume that the way he/she thinks or acts is the only right way let alone that the stereotypes about particular cultures might cause judgments and prejudices. In addition to that, the language barrier limits the degree of people's communication and interactions with each other. Overall, the identified obstacles may cause problems within the team, influence team members' relationships and affect the process of trust building. Nevertheless, there exist certain ways of dealing with the aforementioned obstacles. The next section of the analysis will present the team members' recipes of trust building within multicultural teams.

4.3.3 Recipe for trust building

The previous section of the analysis has revealed that multicultural teams are predisposed to additional challenges that may affect the process of trust building. Consequently, the aim

of this section is to present the results of the data analysis within the area of mitigating the obstacles of trust building and preventing a possible distrust circle among team members.

During the interview the respondents were asked to reflect on the history of trust building within their team and to share their visions regarding trust building within multicultural teams based on their own experience. The researcher is thereby trying to clarify what is needed in order for trust to be established in the team; what aspects help the respondents to build trust within the team as well as what they believe is necessary for establishing trust in multicultural teams in general.

When participants were asked what they needed or expected from others in the team in order to trust them, the most common responses were: to be open and honest, to be willing to share and fulfill tasks. This kind of expectations can be considered as general for trust building regardless of national culture. However, in multicultural teams due to the additional obstacles it may prove to be more challenging to fulfill those expectations. Therefore, the researcher is trying to find out what actually can help people within multicultural teams to become open and honest, to be willing to share as well as how to avoid possible misunderstandings regarding tasks implementation. The received data regarding trust building has been categorized and as a result, seven main patterns of responses have emerged: manager's role; creation of the atmosphere for adaptation; respecting others' point of view; letting people get to know each other better; informal events; communication; cultural awareness.

Manager's role

Respondent H (Indian) provided the following opinion as to what might prevent trust building within multicultural teams:

"Lack of openness, when people are not willing to be honest, when people are not willing to share. So, this hinders the team's progress, it might be handled by putting accountability but that just makes it even tougher to being open and clear." (Respondent H, 30:03,9 - 30:44,7).

Openness appeared to be one of the most frequently appearing characteristics of trust. It is however essential to identify what specifically motivates people to become open and honest. One of the factors according to the responses is the manager's attitude towards the

team's cultural diversity and his/her ability to create an environment where everyone is willing to share:

Respondent E (Greek):

"The team leader should spend a lot of time trying to build trust within the team. [...] He should ensure people speak [...] During meetings people should not to be afraid to express themselves [...] because sometimes it can be good for the others as well to see what you want to say and also the others are going to understand you better and what type of person you are." (Respondent E, 35:54,6 - 37:04,5).

The interview with the project manager revealed that the latter is well aware of personal and cultural barriers that can eventually emerge in the team. Moreover, in the researcher's opinion, the project manager made a positive contribution to building trust within the team by ensuring that people can be heard, respected and involved to a desired extent. The following statements support this perception:

Respondent B (project manager):

"I do not differentiate people by their levels or nationalities and it is one of my foundations really. Everyone on this Planet has value to bring and this is my point. Even if people talk differently, they have different skills and backgrounds everyone can provide or help the project." (Respondent B, 7:43,6 - 8:30,0).

"Some team members are always more open to speak on what they have done and what they do, what is good and so on, but there are also other people who are not saying that and you need to see those people also and allow them to talk and be part of the discussions and you need to listen." (Respondent B, 4:39,7 - 5:03,8).

Cultural differences and the obstacles related to them may be the reason behind some team members' disposition towards remaining silent, closed and not willing to share. That is why in the researcher's opinion, it is crucial to create the environment within the team where people feel comfortable of talking despite the obstacles; the environment in which everyone feels being valued and where the team members are willing to interact and clarify if anything is not understood well enough; the environment in which people are incentivized to become open and speak their thoughts:

Respondent B (project manager):

"You should let people speak and show or demonstrate that they are allowed to speak, because very often there is nothing that is right or wrong, the truth is probably somewhere in between and you need to allow people to express themselves" (Respondent B, 3:59,7 - 4:01,7).

Hence, the above-mentioned findings support the arguments of Ochieng and Price (2009) regarding the project manager's role as a facilitator of internal integration within a team that is accomplished by creating the environment in which cultural differences are not only acknowledged but also valued.

Creation of the atmosphere for adaptation

Assuming that the company's corporate culture, values and work processes are influenced to a great extent by the local national culture and, at the same time, that a significant part of the employees in the company is either Danish or, more generally, Scandinavian, a mutual adaptation is another important factor in trust building. On one hand, a hosting company should help foreign employees with adaptation by creating the atmosphere where they feel welcome. On the other hand, the foreign employees themselves should be willing to adjust to the local culture. Respondent E (Greek) comments on that:

"If you make people to feel that they are at home and make people feel that they are equal in this environment, they are going to be more productive, they are going to enjoy it. So, it is important, but it is difficult as well. People from some cultures feel that they are in a lower position, [...] they are expected commands, they not take an initiative and it is difficult to change. In my mind, Chinese people are like this. It is, of course, not possible to change the whole their history and cultural background but you can make them feel better. At the same time, it is important to make them realize that they are in a different place than their home. [...] They should adapt actually, they should adjust to given conditions, differentiate the situations and also respect the others." (Respondent E, 41:38,5 - 43:52,7).

Respecting others' point of view

Cultural diversity implies different ways of thinking and approaches to solving a particular problem or dealing with a particular situation. The respondents indicated that according to their observations people tend to think that his/her solution or point of view is the best possible one and therefore, they start breaking each other in discussions:

Respondent F (Indian):

"Sometimes we are becoming very passionate about the topic and we think that we are the ones who know everything about it and you know, people start cross cutting each other and that is not correct. So, I think this kind of behaviour should be avoided. We should respect the others' points of view; everybody has something special, so let people be heard. [...] I really appreciate one of the company's values which is 'give respect to others' because we all come from different cultural backgrounds. So, it is important to listen to each other, maybe the other person has a good idea so, do not try to cut him." (Respondent F, 22:00,4 - 25:28,8).

Hence, if there are contrary opinions within the team, disagreements should be expressed in a polite manner. The following opinion belongs to Respondent J (Swedish-Bosnian):

"Privately and professionaly I like people who say what they think, but it is also important to show respect. So, people should find a way to speak their mind in a nice manner." (Respondent J, 12:40,5 - 13:19,2).

When people listen to each other and respect diversity, it makes them feel like they are valued players of the team. Moreover, it increases people's self-confidence, willingness to share and contribute to the project:

Respondent E (Greek):

"It is very important for trust building to see if others are listening to you when you are speaking because this means that they really would like to see what you are saying and taking into consideration your point of view." (Respondent E, 23:22,7 - 23:58,1).

Letting people get to know each other better

One of the ways to build trust with someone who is different in any respect is to let people learn more about each other. When in addition to professional capabilities people get to know about each other's personal traits, it helps them to establish connections. It also helps to understand and accept the other peoples' behavior and ways of expressing themselves and, by doing so, create a basis for trust building. For example, Respondent I (German) says:

"It is very difficult to understand somebody who is speaking different language or having different behavior and having a different look and feel. The moment you find something in common, you can build [trust] from there." (Respondent I, 42:46,9 - 43:02,3).

Another statement belongs to the project manager who stresses among other things the importance of private discussions for trust building:

"If you have that kind of trust when people can share their more private aspects also, I definitely think that it contributes to how the team is working, to the team dynamic, which is important. [...] For example, I am having one-on-ones every second week with the team members, where we actually discuss and talk about more personal related topics as well. And this is also the way of showing that trust is important in the team, if you allow that kind of discussions." (Respondent B, 15:28,8 - 16:49,0).

Informal events

Informal events were mentioned as essential constituents of the team building process that help team members get to know each other better and establish personal relationships:

Respondent E (Greek):

"Number one [in trust building] is communication, you have to communicate with people a lot not only regarding tasks related topics but you also have to participate in external events where people are not stressed and they feel freedom somehow, let's say. So, this kind of activities should be scheduled regularly because trust needs time." (Respondent E, 34:56,0 – 35:54,6).

Then again, Respondent J focuses mainly on the role of the company's values in trust building. He believes that values guide people's behaviour and help them understand what kind of attitude and behaviour is expected from them. At the same time, he emphasizes the importance of informal activities that help people learn more about each other and thereby establish connections:

"Company's values sessions help to build trust; therefore people should learn how they [values] can be implemented in practice, maybe through some exercises. Also people should do some funny things together because it helps to establish good relationships within the team. So, having good team building activities when you can meet not for doing work but for doing something else" (Respondent J, 22:58,9 - 23:40,4).

Communication

Communication was mentioned by the respondents as one of the most efficient ways to resolve misunderstandings caused by cultural differences or language barriers among team members. Moreover, according to the interviewees, communication facilitates removing

prejudices, breaking stereotypes and building bridges between people. Thus, for example, the team members stress the importance of being transparent with each other regarding thoughts, attitudes and intentions to avoid misunderstandings:

Respondent D (Spanish):

"For me it is always starting from scratch, everybody is different. So, if you have 10 positive experiences with 'x' culture does not mean that the 11th is going to be positive and the other way around. [That is why it is important] to be transparent, to be patient, if you have misinterpreted once try to explain twice in a different way." (Respondent D, 38:26,3 - 39:07,4).

Dialog was mentioned as another practical way to avoid distrust among team members. The respondents were pointing out, in particular, that distrust could be seen as the ultimate stage of accumulating misunderstandings or tensions with someone. Therefore, instead of switching to direct confrontation with someone and 'slamming doors', one should attempt to establish a dialog to clarify the reasons behind the observed behavior and understand the eventual irritation factors.

Respondent B (Swedish):

"[Through a dialog] you want to understand what has happened [...] what is the reason for behaving or acting, the reason for a result we see now. For example, in the team here during those discussions I got the information that helped me getting a better picture of what had happened. In some cases there were things that I hadn't even considered." (Respondent B, 34:44,6 - 35:46,7).

Dialog can also be useful for illuminating each other's ideas or points of view and ultimately reaching a consensus:

Respondent F (Indian):

"My recipe would be step up, go and talk to the person you have misunderstanding with. Talk humbly, politely, try to understand the other person, maybe that person is correct, his point of view is correct but it has not to stop you to put across your own points. So, go and express your idea and maybe you will fail once or twice but if you are authentic it will be accepted somehow." (Respondent F, 35:37,4 - 36:49,0).

Finally, providing each other feedback regarding professional and interpersonal aspects of behaviour enables team members to find ways of adjustment and improvement as well as helps to understand mutual attitudes and expectations:

Respondent E (Greek):

"I think that feedback is really important even if it is negative [...] because it is a way of improving yourself. [...] Also a feedback is important for interpersonal relationships. I mean, if you do not ask for feedback you do not know if the other person is going to trust you and would like to work with you [...]." (Respondent E, 33:55,6 - 34:35,0).

Cultural awareness

Cultural awareness implies that one is well aware about his/her own cultural values, which enables him/her to comprehend as to why he/she perceives things or behaves in a certain way. Thereby, cultural awareness helps to recognize cultural differences between people and ultimately acknowledge them. It also allows to explain the reasons behind certain ways of thinking or behavior that may offhand appear different and this eventually helps to become tolerant and respectful. However, the interviewees confirmed the fact that it takes time to recognize both one's own and others' cultural traits. The reflections contained within this category of responses belong to the participants who possess considerable experience of working within multicultural environment. Among them is Respondent H (Indian) according to whom the experience of working within multicultural environments has provided him with a crucial insight into other cultures and thereby has enabled him to interpret and accept other people's perspectives and behaviors:

"When I come to know that there is a good reason [for a certain behaviour], when I come to know the story behind it, then I have less negative opinion about people's perspectives. So, now when I look at people I do not criticize them I just do not have an immediate negative opinion at all. So, multicultural environment is giving me this learning." (Respondent H, 18:42,6 - 19:02,3).

The next quote belonging to the same respondent demonstrates that cultural awareness provides realisation that one of the key factors of trust building within a multicultural team is diversity appreciation. This realisation comes through understanding that because of the national culture influence, people are different, and that it is important to allow people to be who they are and respect their set of values and ideas they provide:

"In a multicultural team what is more important is the recognition and acknowledgment that you are in a multicultural team and that there is going to be a variety of ideas, and it is positive not to have just one set of ideas." What do you mean by recognition? "[...] I would say just being aware of who you are and then being aware of what other people are. Do not lose your identity and at the

same time you should recognize that there might be people within the team of different races, different religions so, I have to respect that. So, do not lose your identity but do not let [other people in the team] lose theirs." (Respondent H, 11:12,3 - 13:37,7).

The following quote belongs to Respondent G (Chinese) who also believes that the most important thing in a multicultural team is acceptance of each other's differences:

What key factors can you mention that might prevent trust building within multicultural team? "Narrow-mindedness, because if you do not want to accept others, it means, that you do not want listen to others. So, the first thing is to be open-minded and to communicate with each other; to accept differences between people. [...] You need to accept their way of life, if the way they work does not impact others I think, just let it be." (Respondent G, 31:39,4 - 33:57,0).

Respondent I (German) indicates that through work within a multicultural environment she learned to be sensitive towards other cultures in the sense that she is trying to adjust her interaction and behavior with colleagues depending on the culture they come from:

"I think I have learned a bit. [...] I am trying to adjust in the sense of opening up. So, how could I build a bridge with somebody who might be different based on a different culture? If I am facing a culture that is overly open, I need to have the same approach compared to the cultures that are more closed." (Respondent I, 35:25,0 – 36:01,4).

Hence, cultural awareness can be considered as one of the valuable skills when working in multicultural teams. Therefore, it is important to raise cultural awareness within the team, especially if it consists of people who do not have enough experience with working in culturally diverse teams or – more specifically – who joined the team as external foreign contractors. Nevertheless, the researcher has to note that neither the team nor the company has taken the effort to arrange the knowledge sessions that would address issues related to cultural differences. Overall, it looks like the appreciation and respect for cultural diversity both exist in the company but this fact alone may hardly be considered sufficient. For example, everyone within the team acknowledges that cultural diversity is a positive aspect of teamwork and indicates the increased excitement of working in multicultural teams. Yet at the same time, the role of national culture and the degree of its impact on the internal processes within the team is much less recognised and taken into consideration. Consequently, this supports the studies by Lane and Maznevski (2014) and Alder (2001) that significance of national culture in organizations is largely ignored. For instance,

according to the project manager of the team, prior to the interview he had never thought about the role of national culture in working processes and thereby the necessity to raise the awareness about each other's cultural differences:

"Now I think what I could do differently in the beginning of the project [...] it might be some kind of workshop around nationalities and differences [...] and talk about the countries people come from and try to understand what is important for those of us from Sweden, for example, how we see things, and how it looks in the other countries. I mean, do you see things the same way like we, for example. I think that is one good thing that can easily be implemented in the project, so you build the understanding of different countries in the beginning, so I think I will do that definitely." (Respondent B, 55:08,7 - 1:00:37,0).

The reflection above can be considered as one of the most valuable practical outputs from the interviews, as one of the researcher's arguments herewith is that learning about each other's cultural differences allows mitigating misunderstandings, judgments and conflicts within the team. Thus, if the effort is taken at the beginning of the project to learn each other's national cultures, e.g. by means of team workshops, it will pay off almost immediately through avoiding unnecessary barriers caused by cultural diversity. Eventually, this kind of workshops would not only facilitate establishing of better personal relationships, but also allow clarifying and aligning each other's expectations. Thereby, the team would be strengthened by its unique culture, which on one hand, would serve as a guiding tool for the team members and on the other hand, safeguard trust within the team.

The findings of this analysis will be later on applied in both the discussion section with the guiding propositions of this research, and the proposed model of trust building within multicultural teams. Before that however, the results of the interview with the expert will be presented.

4.4 Interview with the expert

The interview with Inger Draeby (Inger) revealed the additional valuable details for the current research. Based on many years of experience of working with multicultural teams, Inger shared her opinion regarding universality of the meaning of trust across cultures; provided explanations of why it is more challenging to build trust within multicultural teams; and gave her recipe for trust building.

4.4.1 The meaning of trust across cultures

Trust in Inger's opinion is universal in the sense that it has to do with a connection between two people, which means that people show that they are willing to exchange opinions with one another and that they are willing to do so seriously, not just in a polite chit chat or on a superficial level (3:20,1 - 3:54,6).

However, national culture defines how people identify whether one is a trustworthy person or not:

"How we read another person and read if another person is trustworthy has to do with what we have learned during our childhood and youth about those things and they have always a national colour" (4:05,3 - 4:30,3).

To illustrate this point of view, Inger provides two examples. The first one relates to the differences in communication style between the Western and Asian cultures:

"In the Danish culture we have learned to be quite direct with both opinions and emotions whereas in the Asian cultures people would not do that towards strangers; we would do it with strangers but they would do it only within the family."(4:32,5 - 5:08,0).

Her second example supports the proposition that the need for trust, both the affective and cognitive, or the bases of trust in working environments is different in the Western and Eastern cultures:

"In the Anglo-Season, Western, Northern-Europe countries people connect trust to deliverables that is if what you say is fact based, you have an evidence for what you are saying, you have good arguments then you are trustworthy, that always has to do with what we work with. Whereas when you move to the Latin countries or to the East, people want to build relations before they start to work on the matter. So, the idea of why, for what you can trust the person and when you can trust the person is different." (5:14,8 - 6:28,1).

In Inger's opinion, if a person is not able to reflect on his/her own style and consequently, modify the latter according to the style which his/her colleague represents, then this may eventually lead to misunderstandings and reasons for mistrust.

4.4.2   Trust within teams

When talking about trust within teams, Inger stated that it is equally important in both types of teams, i.e. single and multicultural. However, according to Inger, building trust in multicultural teams is a more challenging process, due to different 'cultural codes'. The cultural codes refer to the ways of thinking and behaviour as well as the ways of communication including verbal and non-verbal, which in turn, are derivatives of national culture. Therefore, trust within multicultural teams requires more attention and transparency:

"There are so many codes that are different. So, you have to pay much more attention when you work in mixed teams because in homogeneous teams we have so much in common that we understand each other codes, we do not have to say so much, we can communicate much more non-verbally and still be understood, which is not the case in mixed teams." (7:38,4 - 8:19,4).

Thus, cultural diversity is imposing an extra complexity on teams, as there is a greater chance of misunderstanding or misinterpreting each other's 'cultural codes', yet, it is possible to raise people's attention about that.

In terms of the recipe for trust building within multicultural teams, Inger provided the three valuable points outlined below.

The first point is related to different cultural codes. According to Inger, raising team members' attention towards each other's cultural peculiarities helps to increase understanding as well as minimize wrong interpretations and cultural clashes within teams. However, in her opinion, this is only the first prerequisite for trust building. Inger believes that trust among people occurs only on the condition of mutual respect and recognition, which is in fact difficult to argue:

"I believe every human being, first of all, needs to be seen, needs to be heard. So, when you get the feeling that I see you, I hear you then you will trust me. And that is a basic, that is a universal thing" (17:26,8 - 17:55,8).

 Therefore, the second point according to Inger is that people have to learn to listen to each other differently. Meaning that people should build on each other's ideas instead of pushing their own ideas and thereby ignoring what is being said by others:

"People have to learn that they have to build on what you have said. So, what you have said is not just run over by me coming and bringing my opinions more strongly. [...]" (16:16,7 - 17:37,5).

According to Inger, this type of behaviour when people simply do not listen to each other is quite common within teams, which is in fact confirmed by the findings of the current research. To deal with this, special workshops can be organized that should help team members realize negative consequences of such behaviours; and the manager's role in this case is paramount, as he or she should be mindful of these things throughout the project.

Finally, Inger is strongly convinced that when people open up towards each other, not only on the professional but also on the personal side, it brings people together; it helps to remove the barriers and facilitates internal integration. Therefore, it is important to encourage people to step out of their comfort zones and show more of themselves, i.e. to show who they are as a person. This exercise, however, requires facilitation of someone who can provide security to people:

"You have to know that you need to provide a security to people in a situation when they are vulnerable in order to make them dare show more of themselves than they would normally do." (15:46,3 - 16:00,5).

To conclude, the interview with Inger shows that when people meet in a business environment it is important to remember that each person is unique regardless of nationality. The more opportunity is granted to people to act as true selves, the more likely it is that trust will arise among the people. This is due to people being able to act as true selves only when they feel that other people accept them as they actually are, treat them with respect and accept their point of view. The cultural awareness in turn helps people to decipher other people's cultural codes and become tolerant towards each other's cultural traits.

5 Discussion

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore and explain the process of trust building within multicultural teams. Before the empirical research took place, the researcher had formulated the guiding propositions and prepared "The model of trust building within multicultural teams". Such 'guiding tools', following the logic of the chosen research strategy, allow the researcher to make analytic generalization. In other words, these tools allow comparing the empirical results with the existing theory. It is important to note, however, that the propositions and the model do not impose any limitations on the research. The researcher's intention has been to present the explanation of the trust building process within multicultural teams based on both the existing theories within the academic field of 'trust' and 'culture' and the empirical results of the current research. Therefore, in this chapter, firstly, the guiding propositions will be discussed to demonstrate to what extent the collected data has confirmed the existing theories. In the second section of this chapter, the empirical results will be used to discuss "The model of trust building within multicultural teams". The researcher will discuss to what extent the initial model is representative and how it can eventually be modified.

5.1 Propositions

The understanding of trust and its attributes vary depending on national culture
This study has supported the fact that the notion of trust is complex and can be explained and perceived differently. For example, despite the fact that people within the team primarily associate trust with honesty, openness and reliability, there have also been mentioned other attributes of trust that are not common for everyone in the team. It is impossible to argue however that those differences are due to national culture, as the scope of the current study does not allow making such statement. Yet, it can be concluded with certainty that even though people can have similar associations with trust, the understanding of when someone is perceived as trustworthy might differ. This is demonstrated, e.g. by Respondent D (Spanish) who talks about the differences in understanding of trust between Scandinavian and Latin people. Accordingly, people might have different expectations towards each other.

Propensity to trust and the need for trust (affective/cognitive) differs across cultures

This proposition has found its confirmation in this study. Thus, for instance, talking about propensity to trust, Respondent C (Spanish) and Respondent I (German) state that there are people within the team whose trust is harder to win. This statement confirms that some people might need more time and justification for trust to arise. Moreover, Respondent E (Greek) directly expresses that trust only occurs through a positive history of relationships when words and promises can be confirmed by actions. The same point of view belongs to Respondent D (Spanish) who argues that in his understanding, trust requires a prior positive experience, through which it can be elucidated whether someone is trustworthy. The interviews with both the team and the expert have also shown that the basis of trust can be different. In some cultures, in order to build trust it is a prerequisite to establish not only purely professional but also personal contacts between people, as otherwise these people might be perceived as unreliable and insincere. Thus, people from the task-based cultures might think that there is enough trust within the team, whereas people from the relationship-based cultures on the contrary, might experience lack of trust. These findings suggest that despite the fact that everyone within the team might admit that trust is important, what meaning people see in trust and what expectations they have towards others in order to perceive them as trustworthy, might significantly differ.

Trust within a team is a necessary condition for the team to be efficient (productive)

The research has shown that trust is one of the main enablers of the team's efficiency as, e.g. the project manager points out, "Trust makes a project self going". Trust is especially important when there is a high interdependence among team members. In that case, there is a need for constant collaboration and knowledge sharing, and trust enables those processes by making them smoother and enjoyable because it mitigates cultural barriers. Moreover, if there is trust within the team, tasks are accomplished much quicker because team members are able to rely on each other and thereby, the need for checks and control routines reduces. Thus, the identified benefits confirm the necessity to consider trust as one of the important features of team development, especially if it is a culturally diverse team. According to Lane (2009), Alder (2001), Earley & Gibson (2003), Bradley, Kirlman & Shapiro (2005) trust should be given a special attention in team building activities, in other words, the need for trust should be explicitly expressed and be one of the priorities of team

management. The interviews with the team however have revealed that despite everyone including the project manager has acknowledged that trust is one of the most important factors of teamwork, trust building has not been declared as formal objective within the team.

People have certain expectations towards others in order to trust them

The analysis of the results has demonstrated that people in order to trust others within the team expect them to be open and honest and to perform tasks properly. However, those expectations are more difficult to fulfill in multicultural teams as opposed to single-culture teams due to cultural differences. Different style of communication, behavior and task implementation might cause wrong perceptions of each other and hence lead to misunderstandings among team members. In addition to that, the degree of openness and honesty may be perceived differently depending on the culturally determined level of trust: cognitive/affective. Thus, for example, it has been confirmed by Respondent D who has a perception that some people are not sincere enough as they draw a sharp line between personal and professional relationships. Finally, prejudice might impose wrong expectations on people from certain cultures and evoke distrust even before the actual interaction takes place. This has been demonstrated by Respondent A whose readiness to trust depends on the national culture of his colleague. Thus, firstly, the study has confirmed that trust implies fulfillment of certain expectations; secondly, that these expectations are formed based on values and norms inherent to a particular culture; and thirdly, that the expectation may be based on certain perceptions related to stereotypes and biases towards other cultures. Therefore, to prevent the distrust circle, it is necessary to align expectations within the team through, e.g. team building activities.

Trust building is more challenging within multicultural teams (than within single-culture teams) due to different national cultures of team members whereby national culture affects the process of trust building

When only taking into consideration the fact that everyone within the team has admitted that trust arises quicker among people of the same or similar culture, it is possible to argue that national culture affects the trust building process. The identified challenges or obstacles for trust building within multicultural teams support this proposition even stronger. Therefore, the assumptions of such researchers as Alder (2001), Lane (2009) to

mention but a few, that the ability of a team to manage its cultural diversity enables internal integration and unleashes the team's potential, can be justified. Thus, cultural awareness is one of the important skills primarily of a manager of a team, but also of team members, which supports the following proposition.

Cultural awareness/cultural sensitivity is important for trust building within multicultural teams

The collected empirical data supports the existing theoretical and empirical studies mentioned in this paper stating that cultural awareness facilitates trust building within multicultural teams. The results of the analysis suggest that cultural awareness allows team members to acknowledge cultural differences and to properly decode them, thereby preventing misunderstandings. It also allows avoiding judgments and clichés regarding each other's' national cultures. Moreover, cultural awareness helps to adjust to each other's differences and align expectations. Cultural awareness however, can be acquired either pro-actively, through targeted education or training or gradually, through experience of working within multicultural environment. The research has shown that the more a particular team member has worked within multicultural environment, the more he or she is able to be culturally sensible and tolerant. However, not everyone who possesses that experience is equally able to manage cultural differences, as people are commonly prejudiced about some cultures rather than inclined to recognizing reasons behind a certain behavior. In other words, people might be aware about cultural differences but only to the degree of existing stereotypes.

5.2 The explanatory model of trust building within multicultural project teams

The results obtained during the analysis confirm the original version of the model, yet at the same time, provide new elements to make it more detailed and complete. The new version of the model is shown in Figure 7 with additional elements marked yellow.

To begin with, the empirical data suggests that both the working style, task definition and implementation can be influenced by national culture and thereby lead to discrepancy in expectations. Therefore, the *'work processes'* have been added to the 'expectations' block.

Secondly, along with the expectations, the '*language barrier'* and *'stereotypes and past experiences leading to prejudice'* can also affect the trust building within multicultural teams. Consequently, these two factors need also to be taken into account.

Thirdly, according to the initial version of the model, the *'cultural awareness', 'diversity appreciation'* and *'differences as opportunities approach'* are the key factors of preventing the distrust circle within teams. Nevertheless, the empirical data suggests that there exist other important factors such as '*transparency, dialog, feedbacks'; 'mutual adaptation'; 'build on each other's ideas'* and *'get to know each other better',* all of which have since then been added to the new version of the model.

The '*transparency, dialog, feedbacks'* factor stems solely from the interviews with the team members. Generally, communication has been indicated to be one of the significant factors of trust building within the team. More specifically, the three types of communication: *'transparency'*, *'dialog'* and *'feedback'* have been mentioned as the efficient ways of preventing and resolving misunderstandings as well as clarifying mutual expectations.

The *'mutual adaptation'* factor reflects the need for being mindful of each other's differences in communication style, behavior and working processes and the ability to modify them accordingly.

The *'build on each other's ideas'* factor stands for the appreciation and respect of each other's points of view and the ability to build on differences.

The *'mutual adaptation'* and *'build on each other's ideas'* factors taken together give rise to the initially suggested *'diversity appreciation'* and *'differences as opportunities approach'* factors.

The *'get to know each other better'* factor indicates the importance for team members to get to know each other not only from a professional but also from a personal side, as the latter enriches communication within teams, helps to establish personal connections and as a result, mitigates cultural and language barriers.

Finally, the new version of the model includes additional blocks that explain how the identified trust building factors can be achieved within teams. These new blocks are *'manager's facilitation', 'workshops'* and *'informal activities'.*

The research has shown that the manager's role is essential in the process of trust building. His or her authority within the team allows setting up a framework for communication and interaction as well as the atmosphere of mutual respect where every team member feels that he/she is equally valued. The specially organized and targeted workshops can help team members, on one hand, to decipher each other's cultural codes and thereby, to elucidate the differences that are rooted in national cultures; this knowledge will allow increasing cultural awareness within teams and finding ways to handle the differences. On the other hand, such workshops might also include activities for exploring each other's personal interests, values and traits, i.e. be focused on getting to know each other better. Moreover, during these workshops team members can practice the techniques that help better listen and build on each other's ideas. The workshops can be facilitated by a manager or an external expert.

'Informal activities' is yet another way of bringing people together as a team and helping them to build personal relationships in relaxed atmosphere.

In the final analysis, the team will stand a better chance to function as "a single organism"; it will be able to establish its own norms and common value system that takes into account everyone's cultural differences. In other words, the team will able to align expectations and build a hybrid culture. This unique team's culture can serve as the guide helping to minimize misunderstandings and distrust.
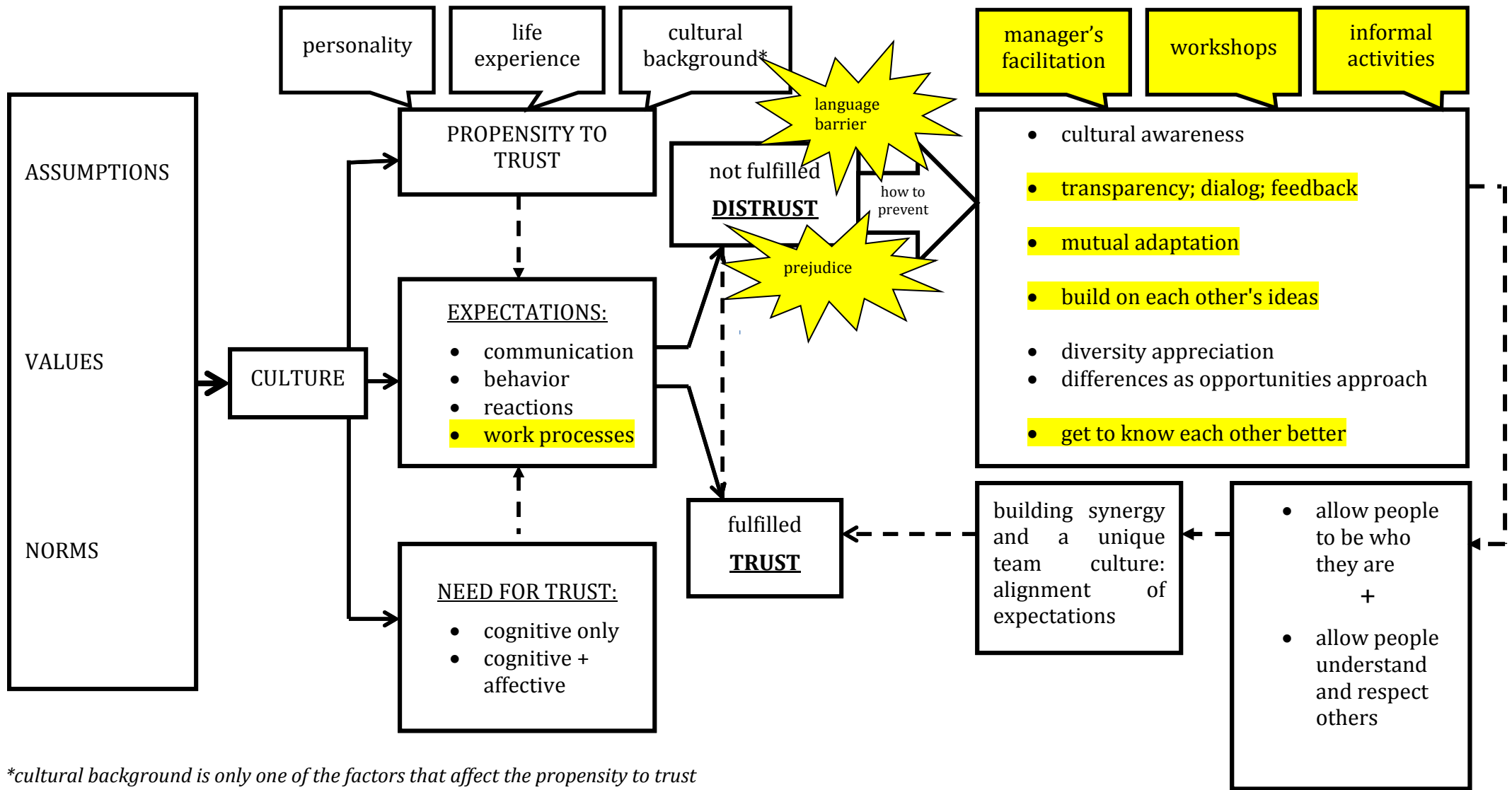
Figure 7. The explanatory model of trust building within multicultural teams (created by the author).

The diagram contains the following elements:

- ASSUMPTIONS
- VALUES
- NORMS

→ CULTURE

Inputs to PROPENSITY TO TRUST:
- personality
- life experience
- cultural background*

PROPENSITY TO TRUST

EXPECTATIONS:
- communication
- behavior
- reactions
- work processes

NEED FOR TRUST:
- cognitive only
- cognitive + affective

not fulfilled — DISTRUST

fulfilled — TRUST

language barrier

prejudice

how to prevent

manager's facilitation

workshops

informal activities

- cultural awareness
- transparency; dialog; feedback
- mutual adaptation
- build on each other's ideas
- diversity appreciation
- differences as opportunities approach
- get to know each other better

building synergy and a unique team culture: alignment of expectations

- allow people to be who they are
  +
- allow people understand and respect others

*cultural background is only one of the factors that affect the propensity to trust

6 Limitations

While the applied methodology helped answer the main research question of this paper, there were several limitations to the study.

Firstly, the cross-sectional study did not allow seeing the dynamics of trust building within the team. The researcher was not able to trace the history of trust building within the team and therefore, had to rely purely on subjective opinions of the respondents regarding the trust development process and level of trust within the team by the time the interviews took place.

Secondly, due to the time constraints only one single method of data collection was applied in the study, while invoking additional methods would raise the reliability of the study. For example, observation would allow measuring the climate/atmosphere within the team; it would also allow direct observations of how the team members communicate and interact with each other. In other words, the researcher would have had the opportunity to observe and examine the level of trust within the team.

Thirdly, the generalization level of the research would be greater if the multiple-case study strategy was applied. Consequently, the representativeness of the trust building model would also increase.

Finally, the understanding of trust and its attributes could be examined on a deeper level. For instance, the specific understanding of the meaning of "to be honest, open, reliable" in different cultural contexts may involve certain expectations, behaviors and experiences, which in turn may pose major barriers towards trust building. The collected empirical data has in fact indicated these differences however, the limited scope and time frame of the study did not allow to explore this in greater detail.

7 Further research

There is a wide spectrum of further areas of research within the topic. Some of the recommendations herewith are based on the outlined limitations. Thus, for example, further researchers may plan to execute a longitudinal study adding another method of data collection such as observation for data triangulation. Applying the multiple-case study strategy will increase generalizability and the quality of the research.

Furthermore, the identified benefits of trust, obstacles to and factors of trust building as well as the overall representativeness of the model of trust building proposed by this study can further be verified, e.g. on larger samples by means of quantitative research methods.

In addition to that, various attributes of trust in different cultural contexts can be explored in detail to the extent of what specific expectations, behaviors and experiences are linked to each of the characteristics of trust.

Another vector of further research is conditioned by the complexity of the concept of trust and culture. According to the literature (e.g. Chao and Moon, 2005; Saunders, 2010), not only is it national culture that influences trust establishment but also other subcultures such as professional, demographic, gender, etc. hence, that can also be explored.

Finally, it may prove interesting to investigate the influence of the language barrier on trust formation as the current research has shown that the former may pose substantial obstacles to trust building.

8 Conclusions

The main objective of the study has been to explore and explain the process of trust building within multicultural project teams. More specifically, the researcher has aimed at examining the influence of national culture on trust formation as well as at identifying the obstacles to trust building and the factors that facilitate this process.

The study has contributed to filling several gaps within the research field. One of such gaps is the lack of empirical research on the interpersonal trust development in a team, and more specifically within a multicultural team. Another gap that the research is trying to close is the lack of empirical studies focusing on the horizontal trust dynamics. Finally, the research addresses the lack of empirical studies exploring the impact of national culture on trust.

To achieve the objectives of the research, the first step was to analyze the existing theoretical and empirical studies on trust, culture and multicultural teams. As a result, the explanatory model has been proposed in order to visualize the process of trust building within a multicultural project team. The second step of the research was to investigate the trust building process within a multicultural project team in Maersk. Subsequently, such empirical data analysis has allowed to complement the initial model with additional elements.

Based on the obtained results of this study, several important conclusions can be made. Firstly, the identified benefits of trust, such as 'team's efficiency', 'collaboration', 'knowledge sharing', 'confidence' and 'motivation' have confirmed that trust is one of the vital components of teamwork, especially if the team is multicultural. At the same time, the findings of the study support the currently existing proposition among researchers that it is more difficult to build trust in culturally diverse teams due to the influence of national culture on trust formation. The study has shown that this influence occurs on different levels. The interviews with the team and expert have demonstrated that the propensity to trust and basis of trust may be culturally determined and as a result, the team members may therefore have different expectations in the first place. In addition to that, the study has revealed a number of obstacles to trust building such as 'discrepancies in the expectations regarding communication style and working processes'; 'language barrier'

and 'stereotypes and past experiences leading to prejudice'. These obstacles cause misunderstandings, misinterpretations and misperceptions among team members and therefore influence their willingness to trust.

Consequently, the study has demonstrated that the ability of a team to manage the cultural diversity is of a great importance for trust building. During the analysis, several factors have been identified that facilitate this ability. The first factor, the 'cultural awareness' helps to decipher each other's cultural codes. The second factor, the 'communication' as in transparency, dialog and feedback allows preventing and resolving misunderstandings. The third and fourth factors, the 'mutual adaptation' and 'build on each other's ideas' facilitate the 'diversity appreciation' and 'differences as opportunities approach', which are the fifth and sixth factors correspondingly. Finally, the seventh factor, 'get to know each other better' mitigates cultural barriers, promotes more relaxed atmosphere during meetings and helps people to be who they are.

Overall, the study has attempted to clarify how the aforementioned factors of the trust building process can be achieved by teams. It has been suggested among other things that a manager of the team plays a crucial role in this process, as he/she is the person in the team with authority and mandate. In addition to that, the other suggested ways of facilitating the trust building process include thematic workshops and informal activities.

8.1 Managerial recommendations

In conformity with the research findings, the author believes that the following recommendations may eventually help managers address the process of trust building within multicultural project teams.

Recommendation 1

At the beginning of the project, raise cultural awareness within a team. Prepare a workshop and spend time on clarifying each other's cultural differences, especially with regard to the communication within the team and the working processes. This will help to align the expectations, adjust to each other's styles and open up a platform for establishing the common guidelines. Thereby the team will be able to benefit from its cultural diversity saving hours of waste time and eliminating frustrations. Such exercises should be

considered even more important if the team contains the members who are new to working in a multicultural environment or the new-joiners coming from foreign countries. One practical tool for the workshop could be the so called "Culture map" proposed by Erin Meyer (Meyer, 2014). The tool allows to visualize each cultural profile within the team and thereby to see the differences and similarities. This will in turn not only help to foresee possible obstacles and reasons for misunderstandings in teamwork but also realize the hidden potential of the team resulting from its cultural diversity.

Recommendation 2

Taking into account the identified benefits of trust and the fact that it is more challenging to build trust within multicultural teams, consider trust building within the team as one of the important activities of team building. Actively pursue establishing an environment where mutual respect and acceptance are integral attributes of teamwork. During meetings ensure that everyone is heard; encourage people to be attentive to each other and to build on each other's ideas. This approach will empower the team to turn the differences into opportunities and thereby benefit from the team's main advantage compared to a single-culture team.

Recommendation 3

Organize informal events. Such activities will greatly facilitate the internal integration and trust building within the team. Relaxed atmosphere is a perfect aid for the team members to start getting to know each other better, which will ultimately help to remove the barriers and make communication within the team more open and enjoyable.

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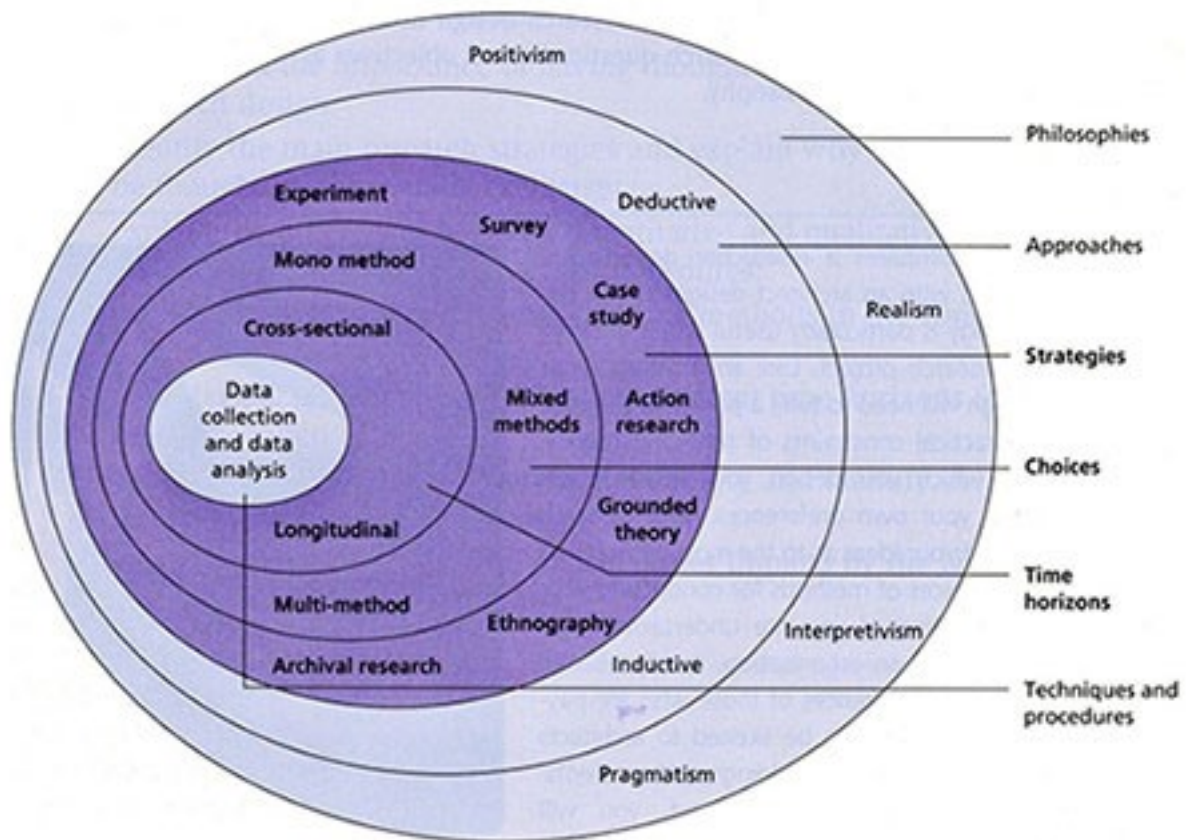## Appendix A: "The research onion"

Figure 4. "The research onion". From *Research Methods for Business Students* (p.108), by M. Saunders, P. Lewis, A. Thornhill, 2008, Pearson Education M.U.A.

Appendix B: Guiding questions for the team

Part 1: demographic questions

1. How old are you?

2. What is your nationality?

3. What education do you have?

4. What is your position in the company?

5. How long have you been working for this company?

6. In general how long have you been working in a multicultural environment?

Part 2: understanding of trust

1. How in general do you understand trust? What kind of behaviour do you associate with trust? What attributes of trust can you mention? How do you behave within a team in order to be trusted?

2. What behaviour do you expect from people in your team in order to trust them? (How do you understand that you can trust one?) What are the consequences if your expectations are not fulfilled?

3. Is it easier for you to trust a colleague from your culture or is it opposite for you? Why?

4. At the beginning of the project, do you tend to trust others a priory and then if your expectations were not fulfilled distrust aroused or is it opposite, you start from distrust and then gradually according to people's behaviour begin to trust?

Part 3: importance of trust

1. In your opinion, to what extend trust is important in teamwork and what level (how deep trust should be) of trust is enough?

2. Do you think that the need for trust is higher within multicultural teams, why?

3. What feelings do you experience if you know that you can trust others in your team?

Part 4: trust building within multicultural teams

1. How do you feel about working in a multicultural team? Do you like it? Why?

2. How is it different for you to work in a multicultural team compare to single/your culture team?

3. Do you think that it is more challenging to create trust within multicultural teams, why?

4. Do you think trust is established in your team? What indicators can you mention?

5. Could you tell me the history of trust building? Do you remember any particular events or actions that have facilitated/enhanced trust in your team?

6. Have you experienced situations of miscommunication/misunderstanding with your colleagues? How did you explain to yourself the reasons for that? Have you tried to overcome this? How?

7. Could you give me examples when you have experienced that in some reasons you don't understand your colleagues' behaviour, actions or reactions? Have you tried to do something about that?

8. Have you experienced that others do not understand you? Examples?

9. What key factors can you mention that in your opinion might prevent trust building within multicultural teams?

10. What is your recipe for an effective trust building? In your opinion, what is important in order trust to be established within a multicultural team?

11. Do you have anything else you would like to add regarding trust within MT?

Appendix C: Guiding questions for Inger Draeby

1. In your opinion, does trust has a universal meaning or it might be interpreted differently depending on national culture?

2. Do you think that trust is especially important within Multicultural teams? Why? What type of trust?

3. Why is it difficult to build trust within Multicultural teams? What obstacles can you mention?

4. What is your recipe for trust building within multicultural teams?

- what might help people from different cultures to open up?

- what do people in multicultural teams need to be aware of to be able to establish trust between each other?

5. Do you think trust building within multicultural trust needs external facilitation? If yes, what kind?
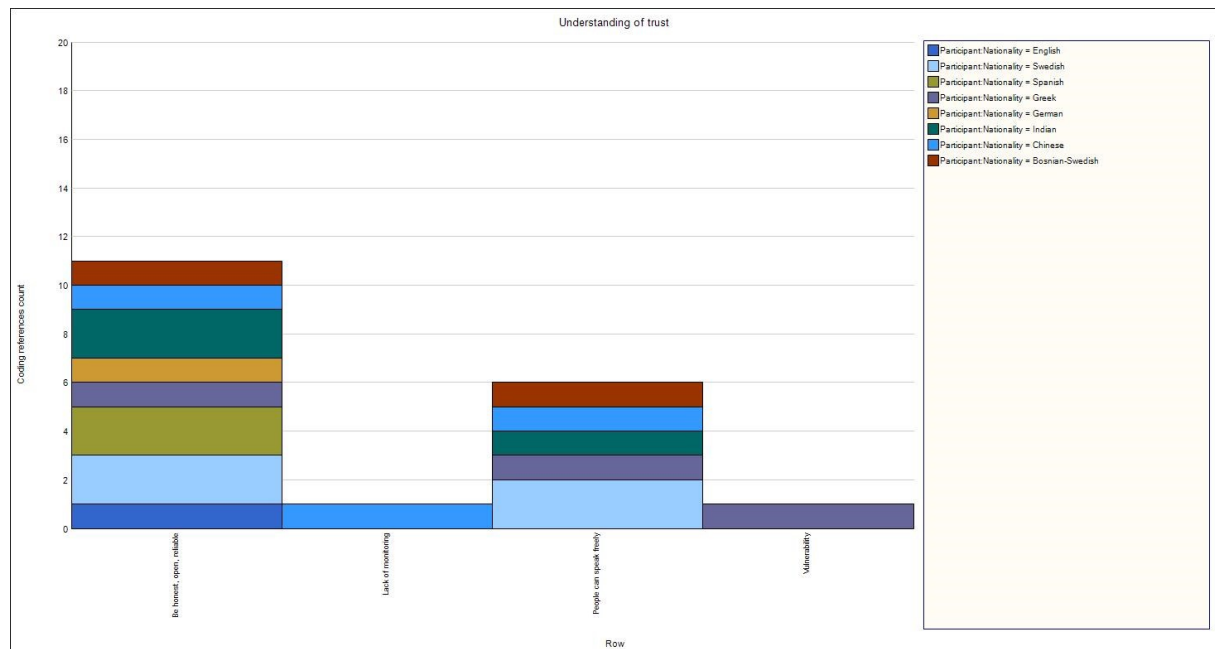
Appendix D: Understanding of trust in the team

Figure 5. Understanding of trust in the team (generated by NVivo).

Appendix E: Propensity to trust

Table 2. Propensity to trust.

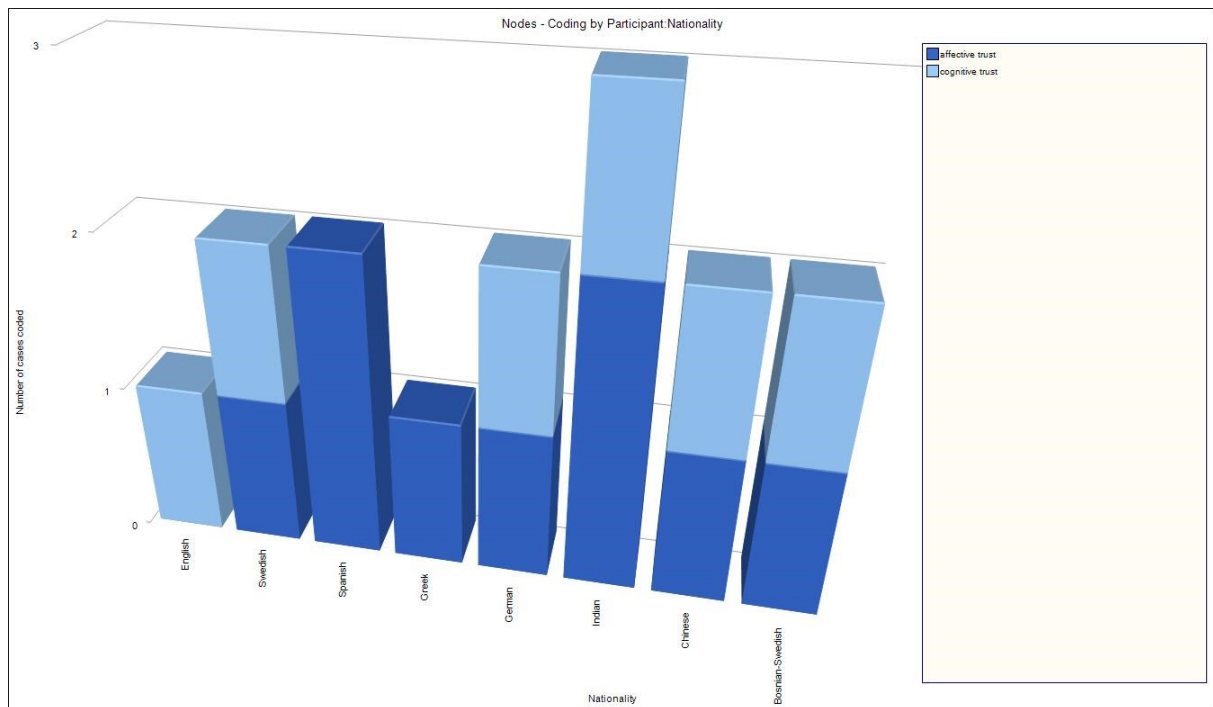| Respondent	Start from distrust	Start from trust
1. Respondent A = English	1	1
2. Respondent B = Swedish	0	1
3. Respondent C = Spanish	0	1
4. Respondent D = Spanish	0	1
5. Respondent E = Greek	1	0
6. Respondent F = Indian	0	1
7. Respondent G = Chinese	0	1
8. Respondent H = Indian	0	1
9. Respondent I = German	0	1
10. Respondent J = Bosnian-Swedish	0	1

Appendix F: Type of trust

Figure 6. Type of trust (generated by NVivo).