School of Language and Intercultural Education

Frameworks for the management of cross-cultural communication

and business performance n the globalizing economy:

A professional service TNC case study in Indonesia.

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Abstract

Globalization increases the integration and interdependence of international, national and local business and stakeholder communities across economic, political and cultural spheres. Communication technology and the international role for English suggest the integrating communication reality is simplifying. Experience indicates integration produces complex heterogeneous dialogue and asymmetrical relationships with no shared interpretive systems. The global/national/local nexus presents management with universal and particular paradoxes mediated through diverse and contextual micro-level communication practices and behaviors. This thesis derives from a professional service (environmental engineering) TNC request for help to address the business communication and performance concerns implicated in the production of professional bi-lingual English and Indonesian reports for clients. At the heart of the corporate concern lie the multicultural nature of interactions between individuals, organizations and wider stakeholders involved in the Jakarta Indonesian branch office operations. A developing nation context adds further complexity. This thesis contends that these micro-level organizational concerns link to critical macro-level concerns for the development of more responsive, ethical and sustainable management and governance. This thesis argues for an elevated notion of the role of communication management to enable business to pursue more sustainable goals, improve business performance, and address the issue of risk. A multidisciplinary literature review enables the development of a multifaceted theoretical framework that links macro-level management issues to this micro-level contextual concern. This multifaceted interpretive framework guides a qualitative research design that includes ethnographic-oriented case study-based methodology applied to map the participant worldviews. Further data analysis of the impact of diverse participant and stakeholder perspectives on the interactions, relationships and performances involved in a specific mining development project involving the international investment sector, a national proponent developer, the national regulatory agency, local and indigenous Dayak community stakeholder communities, and the consulting TNC is included. The micro-level findings have implications for the management of international business, the higher educations sector and civil society organizations at both micro and macro levels.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my parents:

Carol Hardy, B. Com (Edinburgh)

(1910-1985)

Eugenieuz Hardy (formerly Harmider) AM (1980), MSc. M Econ (Lvov), LLM (Lvov),

C. Eng (Lvov), Civ Eng (Heriot Watt), Delegate for the Polish Government in Exile for

Australia (1980-1990)

(1904- 1991)

Whose comprehensive multicultural and multilingual influences laid the

foundations for this interpretation and journey.

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Chapter 1: A transnational corporate business concern for the production of professional service English language reports

A simple request for help

This research derives from a request for help from an expatriate manager of a professional project team working in Indonesia in 1997. The international company involved provides environmental engineering, environmental planning and geo-technical services to a wide range of international clients. It has 160 offices worldwide. The request for help derived from frustrations and difficulties that result from a multicultural and multilingual work environment where bi-lingual project report writing is required. The request was directed to me as a post-graduate student at the time in an education faculty with prior academic and teaching background in English, communications and media studies, and a keen interest in globalization debates. A comment made when discussing the request for help was that 'there must be something that you could provide' - implying the provision of an instructional package on English language report writing.

This chapter explains the interpretive response to this corporate request. It discusses how this micro-contextual communication problem is conceived to articulate to wider critical and societal concerns about the contemporary corporate management and human resource development challenges economic globalization now presents. It is this thesis' contention that wider critical and societal concerns for the impact of globalization have significant implications for the corporate and human resource management (HRM) of communication functions and performance. This chapter introduces the multidimensional conceptual logic, which justify the tying together of a micro-level corporate communication and performance concern to wider macro-level societal concerns for the pivotal role of managing corporate cross-cultural communications in the context of globalization.

Conceptualizing a response to a specific corporate communication problem

The development and attainment of high skill levels in communication is now considered fundamental to all aspects of professional and institutional life.

> Within the academy, the workplace and the professions, writing is perhaps the central means by which our individual life chances are enabled or restricted, our daily realities explored and explained, and our professional communities and activities structured, instantiated and defined

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> ... [T] he more we come to understand these academic, workplace and professional worlds, and the behavior of those who work in them, the more we see how writing works to create the intersubjective, communal and personal understandings that make them possible (Candlin & Hyland 1999, p. 3).

Sophistical communication skills, in particular, professional writing is now fundamental to all levels of workplace participation, identity, and the very way specialist professional communities engage with the world. In addition, in a multicultural and multilingual professional workplace, writing and communications have a significant intermediary and cross-cultural role. This makes the communication environment, at all levels, more complex. Candlin and Hyland (1999) note the way writing works to create intersubjective, communal and personal understandings. However, in a multilingual and multicultural professional business environment the role of various general and specialized cultural and technological modes of communications also restrict or inhibit intersubjective, communal and personal understandings. Thus, the greater stakeholder communication complexity of a multilingual and multicultural global corporate context has significant implications for managing corporate and human resource performance.

In an international professional service corporation located in a multilingual and multicultural developing nation such as Indonesia, the communication complexity is obviously not only multicultural, but also multilayered. This thesis contends that only by addressing the deeper multilayered and multicultural nature of professional and interpersonal stakeholder perspectives that frame participant interactions, will a deeper understanding of the corporate communication and performance concerns be achieved. This micro organizational context presents an exciting opportunity to investigate these issues and consider the wider management ramifications.

Framed this way, the initial response to the request to improve the English language skills of the professional Indonesian staff was that the needs of the Indonesians *and* the company could not be met by the delivery of a 'one-size-fits-all' English for Special Purposes (ESP) course for English Second Language (ESL) students. More broadly conceived, communication and performance concerns articulate to the specific purposes of language usage, cultural assumptions and worldview, literacy levels and requirements, and related professional, management and communications performance issues (The New London Group 1996; Cope & Kalantzis 2000). It was apparent that

multidimensional contributory factors were implicated and that these factors interconnect and interweave. A problem noted in one dimension has ramifications for another. Only comprehensive research into the implications of the stakeholder diversity would reveal the diverse participant perspectives and indicate how the specific multicultural needs should be addressed.

Four research questions

Having arrived at the early hypothesis that the multicultural and multilingual nature of the diverse stakeholders involved in this micro corporate setting are the critical factors underpinning the bilingual report writing communication and performance concern, the following four key research questions provide a multidimensional framework for inquiry. Responding to these four questions would provide multifaceted insights into the nature and impact of diverse stakeholder perspectives, and thus, enable extrapolation about how the specificities of this micro communication concern articulate to wider corporate communication and performance management concerns in the context of globalization.

1. What are the characteristic cultural assumptions underpinning the thinking and behavior patterns of individuals, the national and international stakeholders in this corporate setting?

2. What impact does the global, national, local and individual stakeholder diversity have on the communications and performance functions in the corporate context?

3. How does the specific professional service work of this company and its associated management and human resource communication and performance concerns relate to wider economic, political, governance and ethical concerns for the multinational activities of the international corporate sector?

4. What recommendations do the research findings of this case study make to improve the performance of individuals, management and corporations operating in similar multilingual and multicultural organizational contexts elsewhere?

At the early interpretive stage of the research design these questions provided a theoretical strategy to investigate this problem with the aim of gaining a deeper and more holistic understanding of the complex contextual communication reality and the diverse stakeholder perspectives. Addressing these four questions would enable deeper knowledge of the micro-contextual reality and thus, present the opportunity to extrapolate more generalized understandings about wider management and human resource development (HRD) concerns facing international business operations.

The implications of this corporate communication concern for management, professional development and the higher education sector

At the initial stage it was apparent that the professional development and performance concerns facing this professional service TNC also related to the contemporary management and HRD challenges facing both international business and universities. The cultural and linguistic complexity in this workplace directly relates to the challenges universities now face in addressing the complex pedagogical issues associated with preparing graduates at all professional levels from diverse socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds for employment in an increasingly internationalized work environment. Essentially, an international work environment means a multicultural and multilingual work context in which the negotiation of diverse local, national and global worldviews and practice is fundamental to performance and outcomes. These management and pedagogical challenges are linked to critical concerns for the development of a more ethical and sustainable approach to the governance of the global economy (Henderson 1991; Sahtouris 1999; Soros 2000). This macro-level reality places cross-cultural communication at the heart of concerns for the quality of the new civil world order. A developing nation context presents additional critical concerns.

Universities in Australia have had significant reductions in public funding (Reid 1996). Universities now face the reality of an increasingly competitive marketization of the tertiary sector (Reid 1996; Marginson 1997; Marginson & Considine 2001). Alliances between universities and the corporate sector are growing. Universities now draw on international sources for expanding their student numbers. Management schools have played a leading role in this internationalizing trend. An international student body has significant implications for assessing the role of cultural and linguistic diversity in determining and responding to particularized learner needs, course content and teaching practice. It also has significant implications for the need to design curriculum, teaching and learning practices that address the development of the multifaceted and multicultural conceptual communication and performance skills considered critical for all professionals to negotiate international work. Thus, with the increasing numbers of students seeking international employment, both universities and international business have a shared interest in raising awareness of the role that cross-cultural communications play in a multicultural and multilingual professional work

environment. Both universities and the international business have a shared interest in the implications of cross-cultural communications for management functions and performance, and professional HRD.

With the international role of English as the business language, the universal development of proficiency in English communications across the higher education sector is considered critical to maximize both graduate employability and to the address employer and employee communication skill requirements in an increasingly international professional workforce (Mawer 1999). As growing numbers of graduates are employed by the international business, there is also emerging recognition of the diverse value-adding potential of graduates with multilingual and multicultural skills (Cope & Kalantzis 1997; 2000). These universal and particularist cultural and linguistic communications challenges mean that an internationalizing university must address the twin realities of a universal-quality, mass market-oriented pedagogical vision of students and the wider community, while at the same addressing the pedagogical implications and value-adding potential of a pluralistic – multicultural and multilingual - student body and their future employment settings. This complex reality places cross-cultural communications and the management of this at the core of professional HRD and performance.

Despite these institutional challenges, under the universal cultural logic of a mass market approach to tertiary education, the current educational system still favors the imitative students, not the creative, critical and analytical emergent professionals with a broad and independent understanding of society at large (Greenwood & Levin 2000). Arguably, this conformist approach to performance is linked to a narrowly framed and 'competitive' Darwinian 'survival-of-the-fitest'cultural interpretation of the fundamental nature of evolution. Living system theory emphasizes both the fundamental collaborative and pluralistic nature of healthy living systems (Sahtouris 1999). The 'unhealthy' implication of conformist and competitive approaches is the ethnocentric cultural self-interests of the most powerful. Yet, there is broad-based consensus of the need for knowledge workers to be creative, adaptive, multi-skilled and problem solving-oriented (Toffler 1971; Naisbett 1994; Handy 1997; Thurow 1999; Drucker 2001).

The changes brought about by economic globalization have significant implications for re-conceptualizations of the changing strategic role of senior management. The multinational corporations (MNCs) of the future are conceived to be held together not just by ownership, but more importantly by strategies such as alliances, joint ventures, minority stakes, know-how agreements and contracts that will build confederations (Drucker 2001):

> One of the most important jobs ahead for top management of the big company of tomorrow, and especially of the multinational, will be to balance the conflicting demands on business being made by the need for both short-term and long-term results, and by the corporation's various constituencies, customers, shareholders ... knowledge employees and communities (Drucker 2001, p. 5).

This evolving strategic corporate direction highlights the pivotal role of communication and the challenges that management will face as a result of the necessary integration of diverse stakeholder cultural perspectives, needs and interests. Arguably, understanding the impact that culture and language has on individual, organizational and wider stakeholder communication functions and performance will be an essential requirement for management and knowledge workers.   The development of cross-cultural communication skills, and the management of this, will become pivotal to determine the quality of transactions, interactions and relationships between diverse stakeholders.

Thus, this thesis conceives that this real-world communications-based problem links to both the contemporary pedagogical challenges facing universities, and the kinds of management, human resource and business challenges facing the professional staff of international business. Furthermore, this specific communication problem is interpreted as articulating to the way variables such as language, culture, literacy, professional knowledge, and management and business factors are variously interwoven and converging into micro-level workplace communication and performance issues. Recognizing the need for greater engagement with research generated from real-world problems rather than theory, and recognizing the need for universities to develop deeper understanding of the impact of diverse culture and language in corporate communications and performance, the university supported this interdisciplinary approach.

The multidisciplinary rationale for a multidimensional interpretive framework

This broad conceptualization of the communication problem indicates the value of undertaking a multidisciplinary literature review to develop a multidimensional interpretive framework.

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Multidisciplinary contemporary cognitive, social, and cultural theory highlights the complex and dynamic interrelationships between cognition and communications, and the relativized and interlinked ways experience, culture and language build meaning (Bateson 1972; Shank & Abelson 1977; Bernstein 1990; and Gumperz & Levinson 1996). However, across disciplines such as pedagogy, socio-cultural linguistics and management, there is chagrin at the lack of investigation into the ways these theoretical understandings impact upon the thinking and behavior of individuals and groups in specific institutional and organizational contexts (Fairclough 1989, 1995; Schank & Cleary, 1995; Gumperz & Levinson, 1996; Harris & Moran, 1996; Adler, 1999). These diverse perspectives call for more holistic, critical and context-specific analysis of the interrelationships between cognition, communications and culture, and the ways this affects thinking, practice and performance functions in real world contexts. Under the integrating influences of economic globalization the workplace realities for many professionals are becoming increasingly multidisciplinary, multicultural and multilingual. The corporate request for help presents a real world opportunity to respond to this call.

The staff of the company undertakes multidisciplinary professional project teamwork culminating in the production of highly specialized reports designed to provide technical and professional advice to a wide variety of national and international clients and stakeholders. This role places it in the new information-based economic sector; its workers are essentially knowledge workers. In the new information-based economy the quality of language and the quality of service converge (Fairclough 1992). These converging, but increasingly complicated functions, articulate to the specialist professional knowledge and multifaceted communication and technical skills required of knowledge workers. A multilingual and multicultural workplace puts extra demands on management and knowledge workers. A developing nation context adds a complicating political dimension. Environmental engineering and management services link the product sold to sustainability concerns. Thus, inherently, this type of professional service work is considered to have economic, political, cultural and social dimensions.

> Writing as text is ... not usefully separated from writing as process and interpretation, and neither can be easily divorced from the specific local circumstances in which writing takes place nor from the broader institutional and socio-historical context which inform those particular occasions of writing (Candlin & Hyland 1999, p. 2).

The relatedness of writing to other social activities and its power to shape the way human life unfolds through purposeful, personal acts of intervention, indicate the critical role of professional and business writing in mobilizing social action (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson 1999). Understood in this way, the processes of writing, and the way texts are produced, is a site of struggle and change where diverse cultures meet (Candlin & Hyland 1999). These notions about the political and multicultural nature of business and professional services work are of direct relevance to the type of professional services offered by the company requesting help.

The evolving multidisciplinary fields of environmental engineering and environmental planning add a further epistemological dimension, which articulates to disciplinary-based paradigmatic change from traditional 'mechanistic' science to post-modern 'organic' and systemic life science conceptual models (Kuhn 1962; Capra 1982; Birch 1993; Sahtouris 1996). The professional services of an international environmental engineering and environmental planning service company located in a developing nation offer a potentially rich ideological site to identify the complex nature of struggle and change where diverse cultures meet. It is conceived that in this multicultural context the complex nature of struggle and change involved in this specific type of professional service work, will include economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental dimensions. Thus interpreted, the work produced by this TNC professional services company is conceived to have a powerful role to play in the way it shapes and contributes to human life, and the quality of physical environments in a developing nation context and, hence, the wider global context. This raises critical epistemological and imperialist questions about whose knowledge is incorporated and applied in this type of professional work.

From another perspective, in the new global information economy English is gaining increasing acceptance as the business language (Crystal 1997). This apparent universalizing linguistic trend creates an additional human resource challenge for the governments and citizens of developing nations wanting to gain access to the economic benefits of globalization (Tayeb 1996). Nowhere is this challenge more apparent than in contemporary Indonesia. The growing acceptance by business of the strategic 'lingua mundi' (Lo Bianco 2000) role for English raises critical concerns about cultural and linguistic imperialism (Said 1978, 1993; Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1994). Integrating global

communications technology has also raised broader critical debates for cultural convergence and cultural imperialism (Schiller 1969, 1991; Nye 1990; Featherstone 1990; Lull 1995).

Indonesia is a complex developing nation facing enormous economic, political, cultural, linguistic and HRM and governance challenges highlighted through the converging economic and technological processes of globalization (Schwarz 1999). These multifaceted, networked and critical issues have additional bearings on the conceptualization of the macro dimensions of the specific micro corporate communication and performance problem. Moreover, Indonesia has recently faced the devastating realities of near economic collapse and a political revolution. This contextual reality contributes yet another dramatic dimension to this communication problem, the specificities of the work place and the lives of the people concerned. A developing nation context highlights the asymmetrical nature of relationships in the global economy.

The building of specialist professional and communications skills required by the professional corporate sector presents a serious pedagogical challenge for both native English language teachers and students (Kress 1997; Mawer 1999). There is greater complexity when English is a second language for the learners (Hanks 1996). Adult learners bring with them already complex thinking, cultural and communications interpretive frameworks, skills and styles which are the outcome of historically formed cognitive patternment (Lee 1997), mind-sets (Hofstede 1980) or schemata (Schank & Cleary 1995). This patternment, or schemata, constitutes an individual's 'worldview'.

> A worldview is not merely a philosophical by-product of each culture, like a shadow, but the very skeleton of cognitive assumptions on which the flesh of customary behavior is hung. Worldview, accordingly, may be expressed in cosmology, philosophy, ethics, religion, ritual, scientific belief, and so on, but it is implicit in every act (Wallace 1970, p. 143).

Adult learning requires individuals to acquire, interpret, recognize, change, or assimilate a related cluster of information, skills and feelings (Mawer 1991).

For cross-cultural adult learners, however, there may be little fit between the conceptual logic of the worldview derived from their primary culture and that of the new culture. There may not be appropriate related clusters of information, skills and feelings to draw on to facilitate learning. An important implication of the concept of worldview lies in its links to the predictability of behaviors

and motivations (Pennington 1985). The cultural assumptions constituting a particular worldview give valuable explanations for cognitive styles, language practices and the behavior of individuals, and communities. This multidisciplinary conceptual logic underpins the rationale of the first two research questions concerning the mapping of the socio-cultural worldviews of the professional Indonesians and management to determining the impact that these particularized worldviews have on thinking, and behavior and, therefore, corporate performance.

Thus, it was initially apparent that the adult learners' needs in this multicultural and multilingual corporate setting would be complex. The complex nature of the corporate context and its internal and wider international corporate stakeholder community would have significant impact on corporate and communications functions (Hall & Hall 1995; Hofstede 1997; Trompenaars 1997). Hence, stakeholder diversity has important corporate implications for project and business functions and management. Better understood and valued, this internal corporate cultural and linguistic diversity can have a wealth creating and value-adding potential (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, 2000; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000). Thus conceived, the communication problem has serious human resource, and management performance and profitability implications. The principal motivation of the company derived from concerns for project fiscal performance. Addressing the wider stakeholder needs in this corporate context highlights further an agenda for mobilizing responsive and ethical social and corporate change. In order to address these related issues, all stakeholder needs should be analyzed for the development of meaningful and effective instructional design (Reigeluth 1996), which can facilitate that corporate performance change.

The communication challenges facing the stakeholder participants in this local corporate context - the Indonesian staff, expatriate staff, management and clients and wider stakeholders - will have individual, national and international socio-cultural dimensions. For example:

- The personal, familial, historical and socio-cultural local and national background experiences of the individual Indonesian and the expatriate staff and management have variously shaped shared and diverse aspects of their local and national worldviews and associated communications practices;

- The evolving Indonesian socio-cultural and political history frame the contemporary socio-cultural political, economic, cultural and linguistic reality in which this corporation operates;

- The historical, political and cultural background of the international sector - the corporate company, the international stakeholder clients and wider international representatives – will frame the international corporate culture and linguistic reality in this corporate context; and

- The multidisciplinary professional services offered by the company have specific epistemological assumptions and associated communicative conventions and preferred interpretive strategies.

Each of these diverse socio-cultural perspectives are conceived to impact on the diverse understandings and interpretations about individual and corporate professional and communication performance.

Thus, conceived this way investigating how each of these diverse socio-cultural perspectives variously shape individual and shared worldviews will give both an explanation of the communication problem and a deeper understanding of the inter-related role and impact of diverse cultural assumptions and communication practices in corporate performance. The thinking, cultural logic and behaviors derived from diverse local, national, and global socio-cultural stakeholder dimensions will affect: the values and practices in the work place environment; the interpersonal relationships of project team members and management; the production and content of the professional service product; and the relationships with clients and wider stakeholders. While the initial request for help was narrowly framed as concerns to improve the English report writing skills of the Indonesian staff, conceived more holistically the communication problem is understood to involve all stakeholders, not just the Indonesian staff.

Therefore, recognizing the critical role of the diverse cultural ways of thinking represented in this specific corporate context - the Indonesians, the expatriates, the local management, the TNC Headquarters (HQ) management and its various stakeholders and clients – suggests that mapping the diverse cultural, linguistic and communications reality in this micro context, would offer insights into the deeper nature of the problem of communication. The traditional positivistic approach of academic research, with its cultural preference for grand theory and generalization, is often criticized for failing

to capture and take into account the important idiosyncratic and experiential particularities of a lived reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The idiosyncratic and experiential particularities of individuals and groups of people in a lived reality will have significant impact on their behaviors and interactions. This indicates the value of applying a qualitative ethnographic-oriented (Garfinkel 1967, 1984; Goffman 1967; Spradley 1979; Wolcott, 1973, 1995, 1999) research strategy to map the complex and diverse local, national and global cultural and communications and performance dimensions in this setting.

Hence, this research recognizes the value of multidisciplinary thinking about cognition, language, culture, and identity as these concepts are understood to reflect and refract (Richardson 2000) through the debates on linguistic and cultural literacy, and professional and management communication and performance. The multidimensional micro- /macro-level socio-cultural contextual framing to the specific corporate communication problem have important bearings on this. Mapping these diverse stakeholder dimensions will provide a deeper understanding of the specific communication problem and present the opportunity to design responsive management strategies that acknowledge the pivotal role of cross-cultural communications in the global economy. This thesis pursues a multidisciplinary literature review to develop a multidimensional theoretical research framework that addresses the multifaceted nature of the communication and performance problem, and in turn, enables consideration of how this micro problem relates to macro-level management concerns for the impact of globalization.

Organization of the thesis chapters

Chapter 2 reviews a range of multidisciplinary social science and humanities perspectives for interpreting the deeper impact of globalization. The implications for Indonesia are woven into the discussion. Chapter 3 engages with perspectives included in the management and international management literature, in particular, reviews how the field interprets the impact of globalization, and the prevailing concepts associated with managing this. The two literature review chapters inform the development of the multidimensional and networked discursive framework with which to critically interpret the micro-level communication reality while linking it to wider macro-level concerns for the complex impact of globalization. This multidisciplinary discursive interpretive framework is

summarized in the Appendix. Chapter 4 outlines the rationale to apply a qualitative case study methodological research design. Chapters 5 to 8 present the case study research with Chapter 9 presenting the micro-oriented conclusions and Chapter 10 the macro-oriented conclusions. All references are included in Chapter 11.

Thus, findings derived from investigating the thesis research questions will be of interest to the case-based corporation, to the management of national and international, profit and non-profit, corporations alike, and to the higher education sector. While this research specifically addresses these multicultural communication issues in a micro-level workplace context of Indonesia, it is considered that this multidimensional interpretive strategy will offer wider cross-cultural management insights with macro-level implications. Thus, in a small way the research strives to respond to Denzin and Lincoln's (2000) call for qualitative social science and humanities research to engage with 'moral' discourse to critically frame conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalization, freedom, and community. Moreover, a moral dimension derives from the desire to identify how issues articulated to this micro-multicultural communications reality link with managing the macro societal realities that face us all.

Chapter 2: Frameworks for interpreting the inter-related economic, political and cultural impact of globalization

Introduction

> From sound bites to learned texts, 'globalization' reverberates through the corridors of politics, commerce, industry, scholarship, communication, environmentalism and popular culture. In moving from prophecy to assumption about the world, globalization is invoked to signify sweeping social, cultural and institutional change, the end results of which are sometimes said to define our age (Ferguson 1992, p. 69).

Ferguson notes the all-pervasive and multidimensional nature of the processes of globalization. The complex ramifications of globalization are evident across wide ranging and interconnected economic, political, social and cultural spheres around the world. An enormous amount of the change, disruption and uncertainty in the lives of individuals, communities and nations is attributed to the effects of globalization mobilized by the communication technology revolution and the competitive economic practices of powerful transnational corporations (TNCs). The transition from national to global is going to be far more turbulent than the transition from local to national (Thurow 2000). "When the world was moving from local to national economies, it already had national governments ready to learn how to manage the progress: In contrast there is no global government to learn how the new global economy should be managed" (p. 7).

The greatest challenge is to comprehend the implications of globalization for nations, organizations and individuals to develop appropriate management strategies. Engaging with multidisciplinary ideas about the interconnected nature of contemporary economic, political and cultural change, creates the opportunity understand how the deep impact globalization on individuals, communities, organizations, management and workers is mediated through communications. Moreover, a deeper understanding of the networked nature of the sweeping social, cultural and institutional changes linked to globalization indicates the need for a more ethical framework to guide the design of responsive, sustainable and civil society global management strategies.

The impact of economic globalization on developing nations is significant. For a young developing nation, such as Indonesia, still historically grappling with the recent challenges of managing

independent nationhood, the chaotic impact of globalization over the last decade has been both positive and extremely traumatic and turbulent. The 1997 economic crisis resulted in the curtailment of previous economic growth, a significant flight of international investment soon followed by economic collapse. The previous decade brought the nation high levels of economic growth, increasing middle class numbers, rising standards of living, and increasing standards of education (Schwarz 1999); with this economic growth and national development came additional political and cultural change (Sen & Hill 2000). Since the demise of President Suharto's New Order military regime, the nation painfully struggles to find a new style of political leadership, devolve government and reform institutions, and create the political stability necessary to encourage international investment to return (Manning & Van Diermen 2000). International business plays a role in development. A developing nation, like Indonesian, is especially dependent on international investment and business for economic growth. This chapter presents diverse perspectives that discuss the impact that international business activities have on national and local communities as they pursue new global markets, engage diverse human resources, and pursue effective business operation goals.

Globalization change processes: Integration, interconnection, and flows

'Globalization' generally refers to the growing economic and cultural interconnectedness of different parts of the world, accelerated by large scale financial and trade movements between nations. This enormous rise in the movement of finance and products has been facilitated by the revolutionary development and expansion of new digitized communications technology (Carey 1993). A consequence is new, complex and rapidly changing integration and interdependence between nations, regions and peoples. The term 'globalization' is to be distinguished from the related terms of 'internationalization' and 'transnationalization'.

Internationalization refers to movements, whether economic or cultural, between nations and their citizens. Transnationalization refers to the economic and cultural reach of capitalist market corporations. Both terms indicate different aspects of the historical and evolving interaction and interdependence processes of globalization (Thompson 1995). "Globalization conflates the normative and descriptive, and consequently carries ideological as well as temporal, spatial, historical and geopolitical implications" (Ferguson 1992, p. 73). The inclusion of the ideological, temporal,

historical and geopolitical conceptualizations of globalization begin to address the complex, multidimensional and chaotic movement and flows of capital, information and trade, which derive from the increased numbers of TNCs, deregulation of labor markets, and the development of global markets.

The historical movement towards globalization is not a new phenomenon (Fernandez-Armesto 1996). The increased geographic movement and volume of trade derived from the expansionist and colonizing activities of several Western European nations contributed greatly to an emergent world economy. These historical expansionist activities link to important technological developments and their international transference and application (Mokyr 1990). The new international communication technologies (ICTs) have been critical to both the development and management of historical and spatial expansion (Innis 1950; Goody 1977; Marvin 1988; Carey 1988). New digital communication technology has revolutionized the global scale of expansion. This expansionist process is described as globalization only when, as a result of the complex dynamism of these economic and associated cultural 'flows', the growing interconnectedness of different regions and localities becomes systematic and reciprocal to some extent, and only when the scope of that interconnectedness is effectively global (Thompson 1995). The result is an emergent new 'global' socio-cultural and organization sphere, or field of action, operating alongside national and local spheres.

New world systems: the emergence of global-oriented worldviews

The first pictures of the earth taken from the moon are *the* key catalytic icon for representing the emergent 'global' worldview of a reconceived earthly reality of mythical proportions (Campbell 1988; Houston 1993; Roszak 1993; Havel 1994), and are symbolic of "a new synthesis of science and spirit; a shift from the geocentric to heliocentric world view" (Campbell 1988, p. xviii). This earth image gave veracity to the term "the global village" (McLuhan 1962), symbolically altering the fragmented mental map of a finite planetary space. This event dates a historical shift beyond the modern age to "a new age in the life of humanity" (Havel 1994, p. 232). There have, however, been many and often-contradictory interpretations of just what that new a more visible and powerful supranational global order, a "new world system" (Wallerstein 1990) means, indicating a discursive shift from many national concerns to the world geopolitical stage (Ferguson 1992). The image of the planet can

signify a structural and multifaceted conceptual shift in focus away from the dominant national to global or '' orientations.

Universal concepts tend to conflate the nature of particular realities through the application of a "deductivist" (Garcia Canclini 1992) logic, which over emphasizes the value of generalizations:

> [T]hose macro-social theories ... use 'the great movements of history' to make sense of what happens in subordinate groups - theories apt to forget that such movements construct themselves according to interactions basic to groups in every day life, and that they sometimes fail by trying to do without them (Garcia Canclini 1992, p. 26).

'' approaches tend to 'write out' the particularities of diverse local realities in sociocultural, linguistic and economic systems. The theories of cultural and media imperialism (Said, 1978, 1993; Schiller, 1969, 1991), linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) and scientific imperialism (Galtung, 1980) critique this conflating tendency.

Appropriations of the image of the earth from space are also used to signify complex and particular (national and local) discursive perspectives. From a macro geophysical perspective, the image of the 'small blue planet' signifies the finite and ecological nature of the globe (Lovelock 1979, 1987; Merchant 1992; Roszak 1993), an image applied to promote concerns for environmental sustainability, diversity and humanity. This ecological systems perspective highlights the need for the development of new sustainable global systems management frameworks (Eckersley 1992; Sahtouris 1998). Similarly, from a humanist perspective, the image of the earth signifies the rich diversity of local economic, political, social-cultural and environmental reality. Moreover, both (global) and particularist (local) interpretations of the image of the earth from space emphasize a world without distinguishable national borders (Ohmae 1990).

The capitalistic market economy is considered to be the new 'universal' economic world system, giving priority to ceaseless accumulation of capital optimized by worldwide flows of labor and commodities (Wallerstein 1991). In order to facilitate these flows to mobilize the capitalist world economy: "state boundaries must be permeable, and so they are. At the very moment that one had been creating national cultures each distinct from each other, these flows have broken down distinction by simple diffusion" (Wallerstein 1991, p. 98). The influence of global economic and consumerist flows, such as food habits, clothing styles, architecture, and entertainment, imply a steady

process of internationalization, or homogenization, of culture in everyday life, and the destabilization the previously bounded national economic, political, and cultural systems.

The new global world order: Theorizing culture and change

Nevertheless, an homogenizing notion of an emerging new global culture is too simplistic. Globalization results in the perception of the development of a new culture on a global scale:

> Heterogeneous cultures become incorporated and integrated into a dominant culture which eventually covers the whole world. . .Things formally held apart are now brought into contact and juxtaposition. Cultures pile on top of each other in heaps without obvious organizing principles. There is too much culture to handle and organize into coherent belief systems, means of orientation and practical knowledge (Featherstone 1995, p. 6).

The emergence of a new global cultural sphere is cautiously accepted, but this view is juxtaposed with the pluralist national and local cultural systems. Thus, universalism emphasizes converging and homogenizing dimensions to globalization, while particularism emphasizes the dynamic ways diverse national and local cultures interact with global culture.

A plethora of heterogeneous dialogue

The increased interactions between the juxtaposed emerging global culture and particularist local/national culture increase "heterogeneous dialogue" (Appadurai 1990). Heterogeneous dialogue is extremely complex. There are too many variable interpretive dimensions to develop unified, or homogenized, global cultural forms. For example, five dimensions are conceived to impact on the particularized aspects of emerging global culture, - "ethno-scapes, techno-scapes, finance-scapes, media-scapes and ideo-scapes" (Appadurai 1990). Each of these scapes builds different dynamics, or cultural movements, which interact at a more localized societal level to contribute to and react with diverse localized cultures. The ethno-scapes result from flows of people such as tourists, refugees, immigrants and workers; the techno-scapes refer to the industry and technology movement by TNCs and government agencies; the finance-scapes are the result of rapid flows of financial trade, of global money transfer; the media-scapes are the complex flows of information produced and distributed by a range of communications systems; and the ideo-scapes are the result of the flow of dialogues and actions involving political actions. Two additional aspects: townscapes and landscapes "are produced by the global diffusion of information, images and professional culture and sub-culture and supported by international capital flows" (King 1991, p. 11). This multifaceted global 'scapes' concept has

implications for the production and consumption of goods and services, the management and human resource agendas of TNCs, and the ways these are interpreted, assimilated and locally modified.

An interpretive framework for global cultural change: 'The universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism'

The integration and compression flows between global, and local cultures, and the complex and diverse ways in which global cultural systems interact with local cultural systems result in "a massive twofold process involving the interpretation of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism" (Robertson 1991, p. 73). This notion of an inter-articulated global/local explanation for global cultural change implies that both universalizing and particularizing processes occur in different dimensions of economic, political and socio-cultural spheres, and variously in response to the impact of different local contexts. This inter-articulated (universalizing and particularizing) concept explains the growing complexities, interdependencies and the significant rate of change in cultural and institutional systems in global, national and local communities. cultural logic tends to conflate the homogeneous nature of global systems, while particularist cultural logic may inflate the capacity of local systems to modify and over-ride global systems. The implication is that both processes need to be taken into account when assessing the complex impact of culture.

The inter-related universal and particular organizing principles for culture, language and cognition

Recognizing the paradoxical nature of culture under the dynamic influences of globalization, various writers (Capra 1982; Henderson 1991, Roszak 1993; Jagtenberg & McKie 1997; Sahtouris 1999; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000) look to developments in post-modern science, such as *Gaian* living systems theory (Lovelock 1979, 1987, 1992), complexity theory (Mitchell Waldrop 1992); and *chaos theory* (Gleick 1988), to understand the organizing principles. The butterfly metaphor is often cited to indicate how, under the principles of chaos and complexity theory (Mitchell Waldrop 1992), one small variable factor in one dimension can have enormous consequences in another. Similarly, the mathematic concept of fractals (Mandelbrot 1982) explains how, at one level patterns appear chaotic, but, at another, are self-similar, or repetitive. The cultural logic of chaotic systems analysis provides another explanation. For example, the chaotic fluctuations of the stock market are explained

by chaos theory (Gleick 1988). From a cultural perspective: "In our view, the new mappings of chaos theory offer new possibilities for the analysis of disorder and fluctuations in texts and society" (Jagtenberg & McKie 1997, pp. 33-34). Explaining the 'self-similar' or repetitive patterns in culture, Jagtenberg and McKie note that: "cultures encode the circumstances of their production" (p. 34). Concepts about self-similar cognitive patterns (Pinker 1997; Calvin 1998) or "memes" (Dawkins 1976; Blackmore 1998, 2001) are considered to be a basis for a universal theory of cultural evolution, and cognitive theory for the shared and particularized nature of "schematic" cognitive patterns (Schank & Abelson, 1977) of belief and behavior.

Linguists draw on chaos and complexity theory to explain and particularist aspects to the patterned and the dynamic nature of language systems (Larsen-Freeman 1997; Lee 1997). The strength of, and 'relativized' (Whorf 1956; Gumperz & Levinson 1996) nature of local linguistic, communicative and cultural interpretive systems is thus, implicated. These multidisciplinary perspectives variously hypothesize the complex, dynamic and interrelated and particularist dimensions to cultural, cognitive and communicationss systems.

These multidisciplinary perspectives offer inter-related explanations on the evolving and interdependent nature of global, national and local cultures, institutions and communities under the influences of globalization. Research into the impact of culture and communication needs to tease out the complex and multilayered nature of shared and idiosyncratic interpretive variability that indicate the universal *and* particular aspects of human experience, behavior and their relationship. The dynamic and organic nature of change in all systems is also implicated in explanations of the diverse ways individuals and communities draw on local, national and emerging global cultural systems to interpret their experiences, and the behavior of others. Specific communities emphasize the homogeneous nature of their constituency at the macro-level, while cognitive theorists (Bateson 1972; Schank & Abelson 1977; Schank 1982; Minsky 1986; Schank & Cleary 1995) note how experience is diversely organized schematically to meaningfully frame micro-level interpretations.

Similarly, social and linguistic theorists (Goffman 1974; Tannen 1979, 1984; Gumperz 1982; Roberts, Davies & Jupp 1992; Gumperz & Levinson, 1996) discuss the particularized (relativized) and shared

way the interpretation of behavior and interactions are "framed" (Goffman 1974) to organize interpretations to make sense. Gidden's (1984) theory of structuration explains the role of "social structure" (the institutional articulation of social systems embodying rules and resources), which are then "recursively implicated in social reproduction" (Lull 1995, citing Gidden 1984, p. 377). Similarly, the particular impact of "habitus" (Bourdieu 1977, 1984) and "agency" (human volition, creativity and transcendence) (Lull 1995) diversely shape the meanings that individuals make of their experiences. This multidisciplinary work emphasizes *both* the particularized and universalized nature of cultural, language and cognitive systems, and the critical role of culture, language and cognition in actively shaping both idiosyncratic and shared interpretations of the experiences and the identity of individuals, and the relationship of these to context.

These perspectives support the development of a more holistic 'world systems analysis' based on an integrated interdisciplinary approach aimed to critique the closed and institutionalized conventions of nineteenth century fragmented inquiry (Wallerstein 1994). Thus, in mapping the complex and multidimensional variables in the broad communications, cultural studies, and educational field and, to this list I add the field of management, we need new and bigger maps (Jagtenberg & McKie, 1997).

The implications for evolving Indonesian national discourse

This universalist and particularist framework to understand the dynamics and inter-relationships between global, national and local culture is particularly valuable to develop deeper understandings of the role of culture in a national context like Indonesia. During last fifty years since independence the leaders of Indonesian were pre-occupied with the national application of various homogenizing and assimilationist policies designed to bind and mark the boundaries of the diverse and disparate peoples of the archipelago. The aim was to alter, or add, a nationalist layer to the existing diverse local mental maps, cultural traditions, communicative systems and particularized senses of identity. The pre-existing local pluralistic worldviews derived from the often-innovative assimilation of diverse historical and external cultural influences then incorporated into diverse traditional local socio-cultural and linguistic systems (Fox 1998). The nationalist leaders believed that national identity would be built by the application of specific cultural, linguistic, pedagogical, and governance policies that act as symbolic and homogeneous ideological socio-cultural glue. National identity would provide a shared

ideological interpretive and interactive framework through which to make collective 'Indonesian' sense of their experiences. This post-colonial nationalist development strategy derives from the homogeneous cultural logic of the nineteenth century European nationalist movements (Andersen 1991; Grant 1996; Day & Reynolds 2001). Nineteenth century European nationalism was further linked with Western style industrial development and modernization to provide a macro-level Indonesian national model for development.

Presidents Sukarno, and then Suharto, applied a range of unifying governance strategies, such as the institutionalization of *Bahasa* Indonesia as the national language (McGlynn 1998; Jones 1998); the incorporation of the pluralist religious-based "Pancasila" Five Principles national integration discourse (Grant 1996; Schwar, 1999); and more latterly, a "kekeluargaan" (Mulder 1994, 1999) Indonesian conceptualization of a family as the cultural model for the social order, a national curriculum that promoted literacy, and science and technology education; and significant investment in a government controlled satellite television system (Sen & Hill 2000). While these specific strategies were applied to address the challenge of building a shared and cohesive modern national culture, they also indicate how pre-existing and powerful ethnocentric cultural logic was appropriated to strengthen national discourse and identity. For some thirty years, the coercive administrative strategies of the military New Order regime achieved political stability, significant economic growth, increased national literacy and education levels, and facilitated modernization. The military coercively played an often-violent role in suppressing local or factional expression and dissent.

Between the late 1980s and the late 1990s Indonesia came increasingly under the influences of globalization. The Suharto regime developed a range of policies to gain the benefits of foreign investment and technology while minimizing the external western cultural influences of globalization. Some policies encouraged economic, fiscal, trade and labor flows alongside coercive strategies applied to stem the flow and perceived destabilizing global cultural influences (Schwarz 1999, Sen & Hill 2000). The investment in the early 1980s in new satellite television technology built a centralized national system of communication through which information was 'filtered' to promote cultural notions of national cohesion, modernization and development across the disparate islands (Sen & Hill, 2000). With significant economic growth, increasing education levels, a rising middle class and

increased levels of consumption, paradoxically this technology also contributed to global cultural and consumption influences on the middle classes (ibid). Furthermore, simultaneously critical and reformist political debate arose, which forced the introduction of liberalizing media influences (ibid). This paradoxical turn of events in Indonesia highlights the link between the universalizing influence of the global economy, communications technology, and the ways this development contributed to a permeability of national boundaries with the resultant global economic, political and cultural flows working to erode bounded national political and cultural institutional power. As a result growing number of middle-class Indonesians came under the influence of western capitalist consumer culture.

The new world order: Asymmetrical power relations

Power is an additional factor for interpreting the impact of globalization on the changing nature of relationships between nations, communities, organizations and individuals.

> Power is the ability to act in pursuit of one's aims and interests, the ability to intervene in the course of events and to affect their outcome. In exercising power, individuals employ the resources available to them; resources are the means, which enable them to pursue their aims and interests effectively (Thompson 1995, p. 13).

Thompson's reference to 'individuals' applies to institutions, organizations and communities at the three global, national and local societal levels. In the context of globalization, power is best considered as a complex set of interacting and often countervailing human, material and symbolic flows (Thompson 1995). These flows lead to diverse, heterogeneous cultural positions and practices that persistently and variously modify established, or institutionalized, vectors of social, political and cultural power (Lull 1995). Power is conceptualized both in terms of the asymmetries between participants in discourse events, and in terms of the unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed (and, hence, the shape of texts) in particular socio-cultural contexts (Fairclough 1992).

Four types of power: The four types of power reflect the different kinds of activity in which human beings typically engage, and the different resources typically drawn on in exercising power (Thompson 1995). Diverse forms of power complexly overlap in dynamic ways.

> *Economic power* stems from human productive activity that is activity concerned with the provision of the means of subsistence through the extraction of raw material and their transformation into goods, which can be consumed or exchanged in the market.

Political power ... stems from the activity of coordinating individuals and regulating the patterns of their interaction. All organizations involve some degree of coordination and regulation, and hence some degree of political power in this sense.

Coercive power involves the use, or threatened use, of physical force to subdue, or conquer an opponent ... historically the most important institutions for the accumulation of resources of this kind are military institutions, and the most important form of coercive power is military power.

Symbolic power ... stems from the activity of producing, transmitting and receiving meaningful symbolic forms ... Individuals are constantly engaging in the activity of expressing themselves in symbolic forms and interpreting the expressions of others (Thompson 1995, pp. 14-16).

A critical approach to power pays attention to the complex, dynamic and asymmetrical ways in which symbolic power overlaps with economic, political and coercive power in the processes of globalization (Thompson 1995).

The break-up of the Soviet-Union resulted in a worldwide shift of power. This geo-political change, coupled with the revolutionary developments in technology, transportation and communication, and the rapid development of the global market-based economy, had dramatic impact on both the political and economic centers of power and the asymmetrical nature of relationships between nations and peoples (Smart, 1992). A substantial disconnect arose between global business firms with their new 'global market' worldview and national governments who focus on various interpretations of the 'welfare' of *their* voters. "Countries splinter, regional trading blocs grow, and the global economy becomes evermore interconnected" (Thurow 1997, p. 9).

The global free-market economy holds a universal cultural assumption that "it is the duty of the economically fit to drive the unfit out of business and into economic extinction. Survival of the fittest and inequalities in purchasing power are what capitalist efficiency is all about" (Thurow 1997, p. 243). This competitive Darwinian notion of evolution is outdated: "Among the principles essential to the health of living systems are empowered participation of all parts and continual negotiation of self-interest at all levels of organization" (Sahtouris 1998, p. 2). These competitive cultural assumptions promote an aggressive and assertive economic model in which the nations of the world are asymmetrically positioned in developed (progressive) and developing (deficit) relationships. Symbolic power interweaves with economic and political power to emphasize and reinforce the asymmetric and interdependent nature of relationships. This asymmetry has implications for the flow and counter-

flow of communications and further impacts on the quality and nature of interpretations shaping international human interactions and relationships. The global power imbalances associated with a competitive market approach indicate the need for a paradigm shift.

An "organic systems approach" (Sahtouris 1998) notes the interdependence between all parts of a living system, emphasizing the importance of collaboration and effective communication between all parts of a living system. The characteristic feature of healthy living systems include: complexity, understood as diversity in parts; empowerment through the full participation of all component parts, a balance of interest through the negotiation of self interests at all systemic levels; reciprocity of parts in mutual contribution and assistance; self-reflexivity or self knowledge; response-ability to the internal and external stress of change; input/output to matter/energy/information from other systems; transformation of matter/energy/information; conservation of what works well; and innovation involving the creative change of what does not work well. The implication is that a healthy system requires the constant negotiation and flow of information, and a dynamic and interdependent balance of power, which suggests that the new global economy is neither a healthy, nor a sustainable system.

Changing global power relations: An Indonesia perspective

The history of Indonesia highlights the ways in which asymmetrical and complex set of interacting and often countervailing human, material and symbolic flows shape the quality of both global and national external relationships, and internal national and local relationships. Since independence in 1949, Indonesian international relations have been embroiled in the shifting strategic global alliances between the binary Communist Soviet/Capitalist Western nations (Grant 1996; Schwarz 1999). After gaining independence from the Dutch, fervently nationalist President Sukarno became increasingly preoccupied with building not only national, but also expansionist regional, political power as a counter-response to decreasing regional European colonial power in Asia. Thus, latterly he looked to Communist China for economic support (Grant 1996). By contrast, with the country in political and economic chaos, when in 1966 President Suharto took power Indonesia looked to American support (Grant 1996). Suharto entrusted economic development policy to a handful of mostly US-trained economists, known as the "technocrats" who had little choice but to look to the outside world for help (Schwarz 1999).

Within a short time the new government stabilized the economy and created the opportunity for modernization through the development of the nation's rich natural resources, the agricultural sector, manufacturing industries and human resource capabilities. In order to create political stability and reduce the political divisions in the society President Suharto gave a significant political role to the military, banned the communists, disqualified political opponents and disenfranchised voters, and forced other political parties to merge (Turner et al. 2000). This 'dwifungsi' (dual military function) political and administrative strategy contributed to political stability while coercively enforcing centralist administrative power that enabled central power to reach through to the regional and local village administrative level by co-opting the support of local and traditional leaders (Slamet-Velsink 1994; Schwarz 1999; Shiraishi 1999).

Suharto drew on the cultural ideology of the most numerous and powerful ethnic group – the Javanese - to build a powerful symbolic system that morally justified his authoritarian political architecture and the conceptualization of the social order as a cohesive family – 'kekeluargaan' (Mulder 1994; Antlov & Cederroth 1994; Schwarz, 1999); the traditional Javanese attitudes to knowledge and the power framed the interpretations of how Indonesian society was to become modern (Day & Reynolds 2000; Andersen 1990). This kekeluargaan-based notion of national culture and the social order was linked with the application of the *Pancasila* Principles. Together, these powerful and integrationist symbolic strategies laid the foundations for a national ideology that would over-ride factional ethnic or religious perspectives and interests (Mulder 1999). This governance approach indicates how powerful economic, political, coercive and symbolic strategies interweave to build a powerful national discourse.

 Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the West supported Suharto and ignored the coercive strategies applied to maintain national political stability and economic growth. Maintaining regional stability served the West's regional political interests. However, since the break up of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the global economy, developing nations, such as Indonesia, must negotiate with powerful international investment agencies, such as the IMF and The World Bank, and TNCs. Support is conditional on political and institutional reform that is leveraged over approvals for

investment funds. With a collapsed Indonesian economy, political indecisiveness and instability, and a slowing global economy, an increasingly risk adverse global community needs to address the impact of asymmetrical political, economic coercive and symbolic negotiations and decision.

Just as national governments interweave a range of powerful economic, political, coercive and symbolic strategies to pursue their aims and interests, so too, international business draws on various economic, political coercive and symbolic forms of power to frame institutional discourse and strategic management policies to purse specific aims and interests. The power to control discourse is seen as the power to sustain particular discourse practices with particular ideological investments in dominance over other alternative and oppositional forces (Fairclough 1992). The history of Indonesia is a dramatic story of the ways in which the differentially powerful global, national and local discourses and their common sense assumptions conflict and compete.

Accessing power: The critical role of symbolic and cultural resources

Within any socio-cultural system – global, national or local – individuals will have differential access to the various types of power. The kind of access to power that individuals or groups have depends on their various socio-cultural, economic and political resources. For example, having access to symbolic power includes access to: the technical means of fixation and transmission; the skills, competencies and forms of knowledge employed in the production, transmission and reception of information and symbolic content or "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1984); and the accumulated prestige, recognition and respect accorded to certain producers and institutions or "symbolic capital" (Thompson 1995). Cultural capital and symbolic capital have significant implications for the complex nature of communications and power relationships. Various communities have diverse representative and interpretive resources that give them cultural and symbolic capital in specific contexts.

In Indonesia, where national discourse draws heavily on Javanese culture, it is predictable that a Javanese ethnic background gives an individual the important cultural and symbolic resources to give access to important national political and economic spheres of power. Similarly, the contemporary circumstances of the 'Peranakan', or ethnic Chinese, links to the symbolic and cultural capital that derived from their historical community role as merchants, often highly literate and, therefore, of

value to both the Javanese aristocracy ('pribumi') and the Dutch colonial administrators (Kumar & Proudfoot 1998). Today the economic power of the Chinese gives them access to political power through their economic power, but negatively this significant economic and politic power is culturally linked the legacy of their historical position as colonial tax collectors (Goodfellow 1997). As a consequence, their Chinese cultural legacy gives little cultural capital. In a coercive and discursively homogeneous national cultural sphere, their assimilation is essential to build their Indonesian cultural capital and maintain disproportionate access to economic and political power. Thus, in a culturally assimilationist national context for other sub-cultural ethnic communities to exercise power, individuals, organizations and communities need to acquire specific political, economic, cultural or symbolic kinds of resources. Similarly, to win economic and political power in the global sphere specific cultural and symbolic resources are required. Without powerful symbolic and cultural resources Indonesia is placed in a cultural capital 'deficit' position to engage in the global market.

These various aspects to power highlight the critical need for Indonesia to develop a human resource capability equipped with the appropriate (usually development nation determined) professional, cultural and linguistic knowledge and skills (cultural and symbolic power) to gain access to international capital investment (economic power). Since the recent traumatic shift in internal power from the coercive top-down military political rule of the New Order regime to a more participatory, reformist and devolved national governance model, under increasing international pressure the leaders and people of the nation grapple politically, economically and symbolically to find agreement about the appropriate internal management strategies that will address the pluralistic needs of its diverse peoples (Schwarz & Paris 1999; Manning & Van Diermen 2000; International Crisis Group 2000). This state of affairs dramatically frames the evolving nature of contemporary Indonesian external and internal macro- and micro-level relationships with significant implications for the nature of inter-personal and inter-organizational communications.

The new global ICT networks give bottom-up access to more critical discourse on power (Lull 1995), destabilizing dominant and institutionalized forms of hegemonic power across global, national and local spheres. The growing strength of this 'counter-culture', is identified in the increasingly sophisticated global/local activities of diverse community groups and NGOs. Their organizational

sophistication highlights the new role of ICTs in the acquisition of requisite cultural and symbolic capital, with the power of local groups strengthened by links to global institutional partners.

The new ICTs are a powerful resistive political force for local peoples. In Indonesia the New Order regime was unable to control the political use of new communication technology, such as the mobile phone and the Internet, used to amass support for 'reformasi' (Sen & Hill, 2000). The implication is that ICTs have a powerful universalising role in the global economy through its digitized and replicative cultural capacity to spread disruptive and counter-culture memes (Dawkins 1976; Blackmore 2001), which, in turn, can mobilize resistive cultural and political power. Memes are a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation (Dawkins 1976) that are stored in human brains, books, or inventions, and passed on by imitation with historical or behavioral implications (Blackmore 2001).

The increased multivocality (heterogeneous dialogues) in the global media links with the dramatic destabilizing of the traditional power of nineteenth century homogeneous notions of national discourse (Gellner 1983). Furthermore, the political and economic inequalities that underpin these homogeneous national discourses are now questioned (Hobsbawn & Ranger 1983). Despite the Indonesian national motto of "unity in diversity", the application of a coercive and centralist political system and powerful national cultural discourse smoke screened the inequitable access to political, economic and symbolic power of the diverse peoples of the nation. The most numerous ethnic group, the Javanese held the dominant political position, and with Javanese cultural logic dominating national symbolic discourse, the Javanese also held the dominant cultural position, while the comparative few 'Peranakan' Chinese Indonesians held the economic power (Antlov & Cederroth 1994; Goodfellow 1997; Schwarz 1999). An institutionalized transmigration policy relocated large numbers of ethnic Javanese and Balinese people from the most populated islands of Java and Bali across the archipelago spreading national ideology.

Since the fall of Suharto in 1998 and the considerable destabilization of political and economic power relations, this historical inequity has come to the fore through numerous ongoing examples of violent

inter-ethnic and inter–religious group clashes, and significant inter-political faction struggles (Schwarz 1999; Hefner 1999):

> The erosion of the nation-state, national economies and national cultural identities is a very complex and dangerous moment. Entities of power are dangerous when they are ascending and when they are declining and it is a moot point whether they are more dangerous in the second or the first moment (Hall, S 1991, p. 25).

"How can we have reconciliation", asks many times Nobel prize-nominated Indonesian writer Pramoedya, "if the country is divided by murder?" (Vatikiotis 2000)

The role of hegemony in the maintenance of dominant power

The concept of hegemony, developed by Gramsci in the 1930s, explains how the dominant classes, or groups hold onto power by appropriating and incorporating (or in the case of Indonesia, ignoring) the symbolic power of dissenting and marginalized voices rather than by employing coercive power (O' Sullivan et al. 1994). A paradoxical consequence of this appropriation process is increased cultural dynamism and complexity in both political and economic systems, at all societal levels. This notion emphasizes that, while the resistive and subversive opposition of sub-cultural and socio-political movements apply strategies to reconstitute power relations, the dominant incorporate, or appropriate, oppositional values to hold on to power. Similarly, to maintain its powerful economic position in the global economic sphere capitalism is continuously reterritoralizing with one hand what it was deterritorializing with the other (Deleuze & Guattaru 1987).

Shifting power and *reformasi* in Indonesia

In Indonesia, in accord with the concept of hegemony and faced with a mandate for 'reformasi' (Manning & Van Dierman 2000), the Wahid and the Megawati administrations grapple with the challenge of incorporating marginalized voices into a re-conceptualized economic, political and cultural sphere, while the powerful maintain their dominant position and political stability is returned. In the process, local and regional leaders demand devolution of centralist economic and political power, and factions in the regions like Aceh and West Papua struggle for independence; and fundamental Islamic groups clash violently with Christian groups in Seluesi and the Maluki islands; President Megawati, a strong nationalist like her father Sukarno, applies a silent and inactive governance strategy, while her ministers claim to address local concerns for political and economic

administrative reform. As a part of reform the political power of the military was separated. President Wahid allowed the Peranakan Chinese Indonesians to publicly partake in previously banned Chinese cultural activities. This confessional reform was a political strategy to encourage the wealthy Chinese business people to reinvest in Indonesia, but, according to Pramoedya: "Nothing has changed. The bureaucracy is still the same. Everything is as it was under Suharto's New Order. It's all hot air." (Vatikiotis 2000, p. 78)

The complex reform issues facing the Indonesian leadership beg the deeper questions of who is being globalized, or deglobalized, to what extent, and by whom (Ferguson 1992). Critics point out that: "there is no social 'must' in capitalism" (Thurow 1997, p. 304), only a strong competitive 'survival-of-the-fittest' motivation for markets, growth and profitability for shareholders. The free-market economy appropriates democratic cultural values into its discourse in order to build a moral basis for its fundamental asymmetry. However, there is a basic cultural conflict between these competitive market assumptions, and the consensual, participatory and equity values of democracy. Under the prevailing survival-of-the-fittest competitive values model new epicenters of economic growth dramatically rise and fall with chaotic political, social, cultural and environmental consequences for regions, nations and local communities. The human and environmental costs raise ethical and sustainability management concerns (Henderson 1991; Hamilton 1994; Elkington 1997; Sahtouris 1998). Nowhere has the consequences of this powerful and interconnected global/local political, economic, environmental and cultural reality been more critical than in the contemporary experiences of the citizens of Indonesia (Manning & Van Diermen, 2000).

During the 1990s the rapid economic growth rates of the South East Asian 'tiger' nations was linked to a maturation of the global economy. The new century was predicted as an Asian century and considered to de-center the dominant power of western nations (Naisbett 1995). The rapid development of nations in the Asian Pacific Rim, along with the growth of the middle class, was held up as indicators of the progressive consequences of the world-wide economic growth. The Asian model of export-led growth gave most of the Third World hope that they too could rapidly close the economic gap with the developed world (Thurow 2000). The West attributed the Asian nations' success to "Asian cultural values, or Asian cultural family values" (Mahbubani 2000).

With the rapid flight of investment capital and the collapse of currencies in 1997 the Asian tiger nation model fell into tatters. Critical global media debate attributed the economic collapse to the cultural practice of the 'corruption, nepotism and cronyism' of the national elites, and the lack of transparent and democratic governance. These misuses of power were linked to the very same Asian cultural family values (ibid). In Indonesia, the nightly television news 'Siaran Berita' (TVRI) broadcast ongoing critical 'reformasi' 'korupsi, kolusi dan nepotisme' (KKN) debate. The West encouraged, often demanded, democratic and institutional reform as a condition for economic re-investment.

In a near collapsed economic context, people are more concerned for their day-to-day economic struggle than ethical concerns for achieving political equity (Mahbubani 2000). A human cost of the ongoing economic crisis is considered to be the loss of education for a generation (*The Jakarta Post* May 9th 2000). The Western assumption is that democracy is a system that is easily transferred from one location to another (Mahbubani 2000). While powerful Western nations flag democracy as a universal system of governance, democracy in the West is not practiced as a universal system. Each nation interprets a democratic system of governance with some supporting 'first-past-the-post' model, 'one-man-one vote', 'preferential' systems, 'compulsory voting', 'non-compulsory voting', etc. In repressed economic circumstances Indonesia struggles to build a democratic model of governance that is both culturally meaningful and workable.

With the end of the Cold War geopolitical national framework and the weakening national integrity, writers like Huntington (1996) predicted that 'tribalism' based on ethnicity and religion would dominate international and intranational conflicts. The events of 11th September 2001 re-focused on debate on the veracity of this claim. The last decade has brought ongoing violent religious and ethnic clashes of the Balkan states, the eastern states of the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, and in Indonesia. These conflicts have been essentially tribal in nature, indicating the strength of sub-cultural local community identity. Complex and asymmetrical political, economic and symbolic power relationships lie at the heart of these intra-national and international conflicts. However, despite diminished national power, the centrality of the nation-state still remains an important hegemonic

force within which global and international alliances are formed and contested (Pillai & Kline 1998). Nowhere is this more so than in contemporary Indonesia..

The theory of cultural imperialism

The theory of cultural imperialism (Schiller 1969) critiques the asymmetrical way specific power interconnects across economic, political, coercive and symbolic domains. Today, anti-globalization protesters present imperialist arguments against the power of global corporations. Developed in the late 1960s, the theory of cultural imperialism arose in response to the existing Cold War balance of geo-political power and the growth of television. This work grappled with the dominant position of the United States of America, and the implications of this for the development of emerging global culture. This work was criticized for its narrow structural focus, with more recent concerns for the pervasive spread of Western culture re-invigorating the debate.

The relationship between ICTs and how these re-organize political power by breaking down the old parameters of time and space to extend the reach of colonizing empires, was first theorized to in the early 1950s (Innis 1950, 1951). When Schiller (1969) first posited his cultural imperialism argument, the United States was the dominant economic, technological and military power over the three geopolitical sectors - the First World capitalist nations, the Second World communist nations and the Third World consisting of those developing nations that had gained independence from former European colonial empires (including Indonesia). For the first time a worldwide audience watched the American flag placed on the moon. US political and economic dominance was linked with the spread of television. The growth of American programming promoted the spread of American cultural consumerism, and thus, reinforced worldwide American political, economic and cultural dominance. With underdeveloped nations placed in both a dominated and dependent position, it was assumed that American consumerist values over-road and subsumed traditional and local values. Thus, a strong critical response resulted:

> The concept of cultural imperialism today best describes the sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social systems to correspond to, or even promote, the value of the dominating center of the system (Schiller 1976, p. 9)

Twenty years later Schiller (1991) was still convinced of the overall validity of his ideas. When the Soviet empire walls came tumbling down these nations, along with China, moved towards free market capitalist models and pursued American cultural and consumerist values; Thus, the developing world and the states of the former Soviet Union "[were] seen as an extremely vulnerable and deliberate target for American cultural exports" (Schiller 1991, p, 4). For Schiller, "most of the Third World nations seem more helpless than ever to resist the demands of their creditor and overseers" (p. 15).

Linking common concerns with Schiller's theory, Said (1978, 1994) notes how dominant Western cultural discourse constructs the binary ideology of "the core" for representatives of the developed Western nations and the "peripheral", or 'the other', for the rest. This imperialist framework becomes a discursive device to interweave progressive assumptions into the dominant Western cultural assumptions across political, economic and cultural spheres, while building 'the other' as a multidimensional deficit model. This imperialist core/peripheral model applies to cultural discourse on individuals, communities and nations.

Recognizing the ways that cultural ideology is interwoven through economic political, coercive and symbolic domains, the assumption that a country can be described as peripheral only in the domain of economics indicates limited understanding. Language such as this reinforces binary or hierarchical relationships between cultures and nations (Abou-El-Haj 1991). "Beyond our primary categories - global/local - we have yet to find a language capable of describing equal exchange in a world of unequal exchanges. Is our vocabulary so impoverished because there is no such thing to be described, or because we have difficulties envisaging it?" (p. 143)

TNCs assume an important imperialist role in the economic processes of globalization, but the cultural assumptions of their nations of origin are inevitably interwoven into their corporate values (Schiller 1991). The critical focus of contemporary anti-globalization protestors on the global fast food industry, the clothing industry, entertainment industry, biotechnology and agricultural industries of gives Schiller's thesis support:

> The cultural submersion now includes the English language itself, shopping in American-styled malls, going to theme parks ... listening to the music of internationally publicized performers, following news agency reports or watching cable news networks in scores of

foreign locales, reading translations of commercial best sellers, and eating in franchised fast-food restaurants around the world. Cultural domination means also adopting broadcasting systems that depend on advertising and accepting deregulatory practices that transform the public mails, the telephone system into private profit centers (Schiller 1991, p. 15 citing Englehardt 1990).

Thus, global consumerist culture is dominated by the economic and politically powerful core nations, or more specifically, America:

Western technology, the concentration of capital, the concentration of techniques, the concentration of advanced labor in western societies, and the stories and imagery of western societies: these remain the driving powerhouse of this global mass culture ... [A]nd it always speaks English (Hall, S 1991, p. 28).

These decade old comments remain relevant. These writers cite the imperialist nature of the international role of English in mediating global culture. A further distinction between imperialist interpretations of the global economic activities of European nations and the powerful English speaking nations, such as America and the United Kingdom, is implicated.

European developed nations strongly express resistance to American cultural imperialism. Demonstrating this, in a resistive European national response to the corporate cultural imperialism associated with US-based global companies, the French Government Minister for Education, Claude Allegre, (*The 7.30 Report*, June, 2001; *The Economist*, December, 2001) recommended in 1998 that all French school students take up *any* language other than English as their second language besides French, the lingua franca. There is further evidence of European developed nation resistance to the economic activities and consumerist culture of American TNCs:

The development of local communities is based, among other things, on their ability to share and acknowledge specific qualities, to create an identity of their own that is visible outside and profoundly felt inside. The phenomenon of globalization offers, among other things, a great opportunity for exchange and diffusion, but it does tend to level out differences and conceal peculiar characteristics of single realities. In short, it proposes median models, which belong to no one and inevitably generates mediocracy. Nonetheless, a burgeoning new demand exists for alternative solutions, which tend to pursue and disseminate excellence, seen not necessarily as an elite phenomenon, but rather as a cultural, hence universal fact of life (*Charter of Association*, Slow Cities Movement 1999).

The Slow Cities movement emphasizes the value of local economic and cultural distinctiveness and identity advocating sustainable environmental practice in the pursuit of economic development, which

is rooted in culture and tradition. The economic successes of Slow Cities strengthen a case for 'Slow Capitalism'. "From law to economics to lifestyle, Europeans are looking for ways to enjoy the good life, but stay productive" (Foroohbar 2001, p.39). This example highlights the flow and counter-flow of human, material and symbolic exchange across local, national and global societal spheres.

This trend emphasizes a more particularized European cultural approach to a global market, which may distinguish the cultural assumptions of their TNCs from those of the English speaking nations of America and the United Kingdom. It emphasizes the negotiated and particularized nature of the process of European unity. This alternative view highlights the dominance of ethnocentric American/Western cultural assumptions underpinning the claimed universalism in globalization discourse. European arguments give weight to the value adding and wealth creating capacity of local particularism (Pascal Zachary 2000).

American-based TNCs are the "first scaffolding of universalism" (Schiller, 1991, p. 20, citing Schiller D 1985). American cultural values are interwoven into the -oriented organizational structures and practices of its TNCs. Linked to this are conceived diplomatic conventions and practice (Featherstone 1995). Multinational corporations have the power to act independently, thus weakening the integrity of national cultures through their capacity to direct flows of cultural goods and information from the dominant economic centers to the peripheries (Featherstone, 1995). This coercive power applies to the activities of the core global financial centers. "Soft power" (Nye, 1990) is how cultural values and practices are now interwoven into international institutions. Soft power is the ability to co-opt rather than command, "cultural imperialism with a semantic twist" (Schiller 1991, p. 18). .

It is time for a deeper examination of the rationale, cultural values and practices that frame the chaotic and asymmetrical nature of the capitalist system:

> The deeper explanation is that market capitalism is not just an economic system. It is also a set of cultural values that emphasizes the virtues of competition, the legitimacy of profit and the value of freedom. These values are not just universally shared. Other countries have organized economic systems around different values and politics. As a result, spreading capitalism is not simply an exercise in economic engineering. It is an assault of other nation's culture and politics that almost guarantees a collision. Even when countries adopt some trappings of

capitalism, they may not embrace the basic values that make the system work (Samuelson 1998, p. 64).

A question about what values can be universally shared, how these are to be determined is posed. The validity of the multiple and diverse ways in which economic wealth can be built, measured and shared conceded.

Parameters for considering the international role for English as the business language

The spread of the English language places language, as well as culture, at the heart of critical perspectives on globalization. Thirty years ago it was predicted that language would be an important vehicle for mediating various power struggles between global, national and local communities' accommodation and resistance to capitalism in the new realities created by the "information age" (Toffler 1970). Tied to the power and reach of market capitalism, TNCs and the new communications technology, English has become the unifying linguistic vehicle or "lingua mundi" (Lo Bianco 1999) for global discourse, international business, education and diplomacy.

In 1994 there were more than one billion English speakers in the world - people who speak English as a mother tongue, as a second language, or as a foreign language; 60% of the world's radio broadcasts are in English; 70% of the world's mail is addressed in English; 85% of international telephone conversations are in English; and 80% of all the data in the several 100 million computers in the world is in English (Naisbett 1994). A billion people are learning English, about a third of the world's population is in some sense exposed to it and by 2050, it is predicted that half of the world will be more or less proficient in it (*The Economist* December, 2001). An OECD Internet survey (*The Australian* 1999) identified that of the secure server sites 3.2 million Web pages, 91% are in English. "If you are trying to use the Internet to reach a global market, then a Web page in English will reach not only those whose first language is English, but the even larger number of people for whom English is their second tongue" (p. 39). In the late 1990s between 1.2 and 1.5 billion people, nearly a quarter of the world's population, were fluent or competent in English (Crystal, 1997). No other language matches this growth. Even Chinese, comprising several spoken languages, but unified by a common writing system, is known by only 1.1 billion (ibid). "Much of the world ... is coming to resemble a new kind of Babel, a cozy little global village of common understanding" (*Time* 1997). This utopian rhetoric assumes to celebrate inevitable global linguistic and cultural homogeneity.

An important link is made between a diaspora of English language usage, the globalizing take-up rates of ICTs and the free market economy. A strong relationship between the core centers of economic and political power, the growth of English language usage, and the idea that English use is a key factor in accessing improved standards of living, is made. However, the corollary of these rising figures for English language usage is the cost to global linguistic diversity (Crystal, 1997). "'Half the world's languages are faced with extinction. Does it matter?" (*Time*, 'Cover' 1997) "The emerging global market has brought many benefits, but it has also raised a host of questions about who helps the losers and who is in charge" (Walsh 1997, p. 37).

> There is hard evidence that the number of languages in the world is shrinking: of the roughly 6,500 language now spoken, up to half are already endangered or on the brink of extinction. Linguists estimate that a language dies somewhere in the world every two weeks ... Languages, like all living things, depend on their environment to survive. When they die out, it is for reasons analogous to those that cause the extinction of plant and animal species: they are consumed by predator tongues, deprived of their natural habitat or displaced by more successful competitors. In this type of linguistic natural selection, though, the survival of the fittest is not determined by intrinsic merits and adaptability alone; the economic might, military muscle and cultural prestige of the country in which a language is spoken plays a decisive role. A language's star rises and falls with the fortunes of its speakers (Geary 1997, p. 50-52).

This rhetoric expresses the alternative and dystopian side of the linguistic ledge,r especially for less powerful peoples. Herein the link between language, power and the competitive values of economic globalization is made.

Many local languages now face extinction. Estimates suggest that 80% of the world's 6000 languages will die out within the twenty-first century (*Time* 1997). For indigenous peoples, the loss of language links to the loss of a way of life, of a way of seeing reality, of a culture. This dramatic depreciation in the reservoir of world languages necessitates critical engagement with the underlying political, economic and cultural issues that contribute to this decline. The story of the evolution of the linguistic systems is the story of human linguistic development - of the long evolution of thousands of systems of discerning, selecting, organizing and operating with relationships - relationships that build diverse cultural world view models for interpreting experience (Whorf 1937/1956). The indifference of the powerful elite of the world (Kundnani 1998/9), for whom this loss seems convenient, utilitarian and natural, indicates the critical implications of this linguistic trend.

Does this linguistic loss pose the same kind of sustainability questions that are framed around the dramatic loss of biodiversity? "A sustainable society is one that satisfies its needs without diminishing the prospects of future generations" (Brown cited in Capra & Stendl-Rhast 1992, p. 166). Sustainability emphasizes the need for cautionary and long-term temporal perspectives to manage inter-related socio-cultural, economic and environmental spheres (Elkington 1997). The more holistic sustainable management agenda links with the need to address asymmetric power relations across communities and between nations, and to raise questions concerning the relationship between the diaspora of English and contemporary imperialistic strategies for mobilizing "soft power" (Nye 1990, 1999, 2000). For now, this sustainability rationale is fundamentally at odds with the short-term survival-of-the-fittest competitive cultural assumptions of the capitalist free-market system.

A more sustainable linguistic approach would encourage recognition of the value-adding potential of having multiple language skills (Lo Bianco 2000). Business must be convinced of the creativity and value-adding potential of both cultural and linguistic diversity (Pascal Zachary 2000; Cope & Kalantzis 2000) and recognize its pivotal role in building a more inclusive, tolerant and multilingual and multicultural global society. 'The universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism' (Robertson 1991) conceptual model for cultural change also applies to interpret the more complex nature of linguistic change and the international role for English as the business language. From a utopian perspective, this role for English offers the kind of opportunity to make "progress towards the kind of peaceful and tolerant society which most people dream about" (Crystal 1997 p. ix). In reality, in diverse national, and local communities, the English language is modified, adapted, resistively and creatively appropriated to incorporate particularized local cultural meanings, logic, and linguistic patterns with the fragmentary result of the emergence of a myriad of "Englishes" (Kachru 1991; Phillipson 1992; Pennycook, 1994).

> We must now recognize that the linguistic, culture and pragmatic implications of various types of pluralism; that pluralism has now become an integral part of the English language and the literatures written in English in various parts of the non-Western world ... In international contexts, English represents a repertoire of cultures not a monolithic culture (Kachru 1992, p. 362).

This particularizing local response calls for a reappraisal the complex nature of international role of English.

There is a huge gap between simplifying utopian 'global village' discourse and the real-world experiences of those for whom English is not their mother tongue. For many non-western peoples access to, and competency in, English is fundamental to further educational and economic opportunities. The attainment of English communications skills represents key cultural capital for individuals and nations accessing the global economy. The treatment of those with little or no English varies enormously, and the treatment of those attempting to learn English, or for whom English is their second language, also varies enormously (Gumperz 1982; Roberts, Davies & Jupp 1992). In line with imperialist Western cultural logic, non-Western peoples have discursively been constructed as a cultural deficit model, as being positioned in a binary argument to support a Western 'civilized' cultural discourse model (Said 1978, 1993). English usage plays a 'civilizing' role in the cultural logic of Western imperialism.

Linguistic imperialism

"The notion that English is in fact an essential corner stone of the global capitalist system needs to be examined in greater depth' (Phillipson 1992, p. 10). The historical basis for the spread of English outlines the various colonial and imperialist contextual approaches to language planning, and teaching (ibid). English teaching, and the institutionalization and professionalism of that function, politically serve both the cultural and linguistic imperialist agendas of the core English speaking Western nations. The outcome of this historical process is that English teaching continues to reinforce asymmetrical international power relationships, with standardized English marketed as the requisite language of development, modernity, and progress.

However, throughout the world bilingualism and multilingualism at both the individual and societal level are common (ibid). The spread of English should be reassuring for societies that believe that bilingualism or multilingualism is an aberration (Kachru 1992): "In reality, acquiring and maintaining another language has historically been normal activity and mono-lingualism is not an ideal state" (p. 11). The commonality of multi-lingualism contrasts with the historical pattern in the core English-speaking nations where, until recently, the policy has been institutionalized mono-lingualism. Mono-lingualism is a legacy of the nineteenth century unification policies designed to build cohesive

national identity and the power of the dominant national elite (Gellner 1983). During the nineteenth and early twentieth century mono-lingualism provided the powerful core nations with standardizing administrative advantages (Innis 1950; McLuhan 1962; Anderson 1991). Supported by its bureaucratic use, an official language had an important role in implementing and institutionalizing the collective "imagined community" (Anderson 1984) of the nation.

> Modern nation states have well-developed bureaucratic systems for their inter-nation policing of their populations as well as for the management of their external relations. Their systems of rule are legitimated in terms of the politics of citizenship and the bonds of national solidarity as expressed in language and custom (Dandaker 1994, p. 287).

Mono-lingual language policies were conceived to mobilize sub-cultural assimilation. Thus, monolingual policies reinforce dominant core (ethnocentric) power across economic, political and cultural institutional domains.

> Linguistic imperialism permeates all kinds of imperialism for two reasons. The first has to do with form (language as a medium for transmitting ideas), the second with content ... Linguistic imperialism is a primary component of cultural imperialism, though it must be remembered that cultural dissemination can also take non-linguistic forms ... Linguistic imperialism is also central to social imperialism, which relates to the transmission of norms and the behavior of a model social structure, and these are embedded in language (Phillipson 1992, pp. 53-54).

These imperialist notions linking language practices and content, cultural imperialism, social imperialism and power apply to the institutional language and communication practices of TNCs.

Scientific imperialism

There are powerful interconnections between linguistic imperialism, cultural imperialism and the sub-type of "scientific imperialism" (Galtung 1980). English has a pivotal role in mediating the western cultural values of science.

> If the Center always provides the teacher and the definition of what is worthy of being taught ... and the Periphery always provides the learners, then there is a pattern of imperialism ... A pattern of scientific teams from the Center go to the Periphery nations to collect data (raw material) in the form of deposits, sediments, flora, fauna, archaeological findings, attitudes, opinions, behavior patterns and so on for data processing, data analysis and theory formation (like industrial processing in general). This takes place in the Central universities (factories), in order to send finished products, a journal, a book (manufactured goods) back for consumption in the center of the Periphery, first having created a demand for it through

demonstration effect, training in the Center country, and some degree of low-level participation in the data-collection team. This parallel is not a joke; it is a structure (Galtung 1980, p.130).

This industrial metaphor builds a simplified unidirectional flow model that emphasizes the hierarchical assumptions about the value of western knowledge over particularized and indigenous people's knowledge systems. It highlights the systemic way western science is conceived as a universal system to interpret the nature of diverse and particularized realities. Progressive cultural assumptions about western epistemology interweave with universal notions about language, culture, science and pedagogy. As with notions, powerful western science discourse 'writes out' particularities and conflates the value of generalizations.

Thus, a unidirectional flow model for the dissemination of western science discourse is flawed. In light of the strength of local and particularized interpretive systems, it is predictable that when people come from 'the peripheries' to study or work in 'the core' their assumptions and interpretations may not be shared. Science discourse is not culture-free (Kuhn 1962) but embedded with western cultural paradigmatic assumptions (Capra 1982; Capra & Stendl-Rhast, 1993). These comments have implications for the marketization knowledge industries, conceived of as 'the third industrial wave' (Toffler 1970); The need to for human resources literate in science, technology and English interweave in the progressive development discourse of developing nations.

Historically, the powerful national bureaucracies strategically institutionalized and applied policies aimed at strengthening the collective worldview of an imagined community of the nation (Dandaker 1994). Today, the international management of TNCs has a powerful role in conceiving, implementing and institutionalizing the collective imaginings of their corporate community and corporate culture. Parallels can be drawn between the core/periphery cultural framings to bureaucratic systems, the politics of citizenship and unified notions of cultural solidarity expressed through standardized language and custom in the corporate activities of TNCs. The word 'invention' no longer accounts for just technological advances, but also constructivist cultural categories (Sollors 1995) aimed to hierarchically design unified notions of corporate culture and identity. Science discourse plays an important role in constructing progressive and modern identity for nations, industries and corporations.

Nationalism is based on the principle that political sovereignty is legitimate if, and only if it can make the claim to represent the nation (Geller 1983). The oversimplified view of national culture as something integrated, unified, settled and static is inadequate to further capture the current phase and dynamism of globalization (Featherstone 1995). The suppression of various levels of complexity and diversity in imagining national communities historically serves the agendas of the powerful.

The story of the history of the Indonesian archipelago, with its pivotal location on the important trade routes between Europe, the Middle East and China is the ongoing story of the assimilation, adaptation and appropriation of external influences meaningfully incorporated into diverse local socio-cultural systems (Fox 1998; Hill 1996). For example, the contemporary religious pluralism, the result of the historical influence of the five world religions – Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Catholic and Protestant Christianity – has been significant. The impact of these religions varied in relation to the strength and nature of local 'adat' (cultural laws and belief systems) and cultural systems. Similarly, the islands have rich linguistic history involving the assimilation of external languages such as Arabic and its associated evolving writing practices, along with strong diverse local oral traditions (Ekadjati 1998; Suryohudoyo 1998; Proudfoot & Hooker 1998; Fox, in McGlynn, 1998; Durie, 1998).

The evolution of a collective sense of place, in combination with diverse linguistic, cultural and social ways for making sense of the many Indonesian ethnic groups, is best understood by the concept of "syncretism" (Slamet-Velsink 1994). Under syncretic cultural logic, the capacity to hold and reconcile two different conceptual notions at the same time is highly valued. This syncretic cultural logic underpins the national motto 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika', or unity in diversity. The notions of 'structuration' and 'habitus' give a theoretical explanation for the complex and proactive socio-cultural change processes of adaptation, appropriation, and incorporation that have historically been, and still are, fundamental to the particularized cultural values of the diverse peoples now constituting the modern Indonesia. In light of this assimilationist cultural history, and the high value placed on syncretism, it is predictable that the contemporary cultural, linguistic, social and scientific values mobilized by the processes of globalization will inevitably be influenced by local historical assimilative patterns, resulting in hybridized cultured (Lull 1995). This local hybridization concurs with the findings of ethnographic research into local audience reception of global television programs

(Ang 1985; Liebes & Katz 1990; Lull, 1991; Serberny-Mohammadi 1991). Research findings informed the development of active audience theory (Radway 1984; Morley 1986, 1991; Hodge & Trip 1986), which emphasizes the active and pluralistic ways in which audiences interpret text contingent upon the everyday life practices of individuals and the specifics of their local culture.

Third cultures, third places

Nevertheless, the particularized national and local formational sense making frameworks inculcated in our early experiences may not be so useful, or relevant, for those whose everyday life and workplace is increasingly mobile and transitory, as a result of economic globalization. "We have, therefore, to get used to increasing our own flexibility and generative capacity to switch codes, to try different frames and models if we are to make sense of [the] images, experiences and practices we encounter" (Featherstone 1995, p. 82). In response to the multicultural nature of experiences created by globalization, new transnational "third cultures" (ibid) emerge that are less directly concerned with the interests of particular nation-states and represent a level of social life not easily incorporated into old models. This third culture is developing a new polycentric habitus; less specifically located, with identifiable sets of practices, bodies of knowledge, conventions and life styles. Third culture is essentially polycentric in its cultural worldview, having the capacity to switch cultural values and practices according to context. Linked with the increased culture flows and mobility, the emergence and experiences of this third culture heightens awareness of the complex problems of intercultural and multilingual communications.

> The problems of dealing with others in everyday practices, and in deciphering others' images of us and constructing adequate self-images in a complex configuration, are merely symptoms which increasingly surface in everyday life and become theorized in terms of the difficulties of handling multiplicity (Featherstone 1995, p. 84).

Operating in this context requires individuals to be locally responsive and have polycentric cultural, communicative and interpretive resources, and so the need to develop "multiliteracies" (Cope & Kalantzis 2000) becomes pivotal.

For those claiming to be a part of third cultures, their habitus is less fixed, more mobile. The term, "third place" (Crozet, Liddicoat, & Lo Bianco 1999), applies to describe "the unbounded point of intersection where interactants from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds meet and

communicate successfully" (p. 1). Many of those who identify with a pluralistic and cosmopolitan third culture are the product of the huge familial, ethnic and corporate translocation, dislocations and cultural diaspora occurring through migration and travel. Arguably, this type of cultural hybridity, in fact, frames a new direction for the new world order and driving the creative successes of capitalism: "Mixing trumps isolation. It spawns creativity, nourishes the human spirit, spurs economic growth and empowers nations" (Pascal Zachary 2000, p. ix). Multicultural formational and life experiences by necessity build flexible, code-switching polycentric cultural worldviews at the individual level.

At the global, national and local organizational level, the adept handling of cultural diversity is the secret of both economic competitiveness and national vitality (Cope & Kalantzis 1997; Pascal Zachary 2000; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000). Those nations that value multiculturalism will be most successful in the twenty-first century. "Americans are trapped in outmoded ways of thinking about ethnic and racial mixture. That diversity is a big plus for US global competitiveness isn't widely appreciated. The nation's power - political economic and cultural - depends heavily on diversity" (Pascal Zachary 2000, p. x). Thus, it is conceived that the growing number of people with links to the multiple habitus of evolving third cultures have an important mediating and reconciliation function in building a polycentric understanding of diverse stakeholder perspectives. There is a new category of professionals (lawyers, accountants, management consultants, financial advisers, architects, environmental and socio-cultural planning consultants, etc.) emerging in response to deregulation of financial markets and the growing international employment opportunities in TNCs. Added to these are increasing numbers of design professionals specializing in, for example, IT, media, consumer culture, and popular culture. International professional service organizations do not always reflect the values of their national (often American) origins. Their experiences in multi-habitus indicate the value of local responsiveness and polycentrism. "Their relative autonomy and global frame of reference necessitates that they take into account the particularities of local culture and adopt organizational practices and modes of orientation which are flexible enough to facilitate this" (Featherstone 1995, p. 91).

> [C]osmopolitan intellectuals and cultural intermediaries ... who do not seek to judge local culture in terms of their progress towards some ideal derived from modernity, but are content to interpret them for growing audiences .... They are able to work and live within third cultures,

as well as seemingly be able to present other local cultures from within, and 'tell it from the native's point of view (Featherstone 1995, p. 98).

Third culture sits between the core and the periphery (Hannerz 1991). Conventionally third cultures are dominated by those sourced from the core. In order to address this asymmetry, it is time for this to change. TNCs providing the types of professional service functions listed above can offer an important intermediary role for responsibly mediating between global and local interests in their pursuit of markets.

Conclusion

This chapter presents a diverse range of theoretical concepts and arguments to interpret the deeper and interconnected nature of economic, political, cultural and institutional change brought on by the dynamic processes of globalization. The expansive economic strategies of competitive market-based capitalism and the convergent and integrating processes of the new communication technologies are recognized to be the driving forces mobilizing both radical and incremental change at all societal levels. The material presented provides multidisciplinary perspectives which, when networked, provide a multifaceted conceptual basis to gain a deeper understanding of the complex universalizing and particularizing nature of cultural change across global, national and local spheres at macro and micro levels. The implication is that the quality of cross-cultural interactions and their interpretation lies at the heart of more effectively, efficiently and ethically managing global, national and local stakeholder interactions and relationships. This reality has significant implications for international management and HRM, and the internationalization of the higher education sector. The discussion indicates the potential value of applying these theoretical concepts to the complex economic, political and cultural reality in a developing nation like Indonesia.

Chapter 3: Diverse and evolving models to conceptualize the nature of management and work

Introduction

A competitive global market increases interaction between diverse developed and developing nations and their corporations as they position to partake in, and gain the benefits of, economic investment, new markets, new products, competitive labor and natural resource advantages, and profitability. This chapter discusses several key disciplinary interpretations about the changing nature of management and work, in light of contemporary understandings of the complex impact economic globalization is having across economic, political and cultural spheres. It critically reviews concepts promoted in the discourse in key academic texts that dominate international management pedagogy, and thus, promote the field's prevailing management perspectives on the impact of culture and communication in international business and HR performance. The material is reviewed in light of the theoretical understandings on the inter-relationships between culture, language, thinking and power as presented previously, and discusses the implications of these for a re-conceptualization of the pivotal role of cross-cultural communications to more effectively manage business performance.

The global economy: A universal or pluralist cultural model for business?

Under the converging influence of communications technology, economic globalization and material consumer culture, there is agreement that, in some sense, the world is a homogenizing melting pot. Chapter 2 indicates how the ubiquitous international style of modern corporate and hotel architecture, fast food chains, department stores stocked with rows of universal consumer products, the same entertainment and advertising images on television screens everywhere, promote this homogenizing impression (King 1991; Featherstone 1995;Thompson, 1995). From a panoptical perspective this international "fast capitalism" (Gee 1994) consumerist culture presents a universal global economic development model for diverse national and local communities.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rapid marketization of the Chinese economy, it seems that western capitalism remains as *the* monolithic economic system. The implication is that national and local communities must adopt this capitalist market model to improve the economic

circumstances of their citizens. From a powerful position the western 'individualist' cultural model is discursively promoted as *the* monolithic economic model for global capitalism, along with the prevailing western worldview of powerful American/English speaking nations. In particular, the individualist cultural assumptions of the western model dominate academic management discourse (Adler 1997; Lane, diStefano & Maznevski 1997). However, just as universal conceptualizations of emerging global culture are understood to be too simplified, so too are universal cultural notions of a monolithic global capitalist economy of limited conceptual value, and hence, the concept of a universal market economy needs interrogation.

A monolithic model of global capitalism is a myth. There are currently at least five successful cultural models of capitalism able to effectively compete in world markets: the western individualist form (United States and United Kingdom): the communitarian form (Western Europe); the large 'keiretsu' networked form of firms (Japan); the 'chaebol' form (Korea); and the Chinese family business form (Trompenaars & Hampten-Turner 1997; Redding 1998). Each of these powerful capitalist models is based on distinctive cultural values and practices. With rising levels of international business and the competitive culture of economic globalization, the corporate representatives of each of these culturally particularized business models increasingly interact.

The various business and management strategies successfully applied by these culturally diverse business models are grounded in the historical and cultural traditions of their particular societies (Trompenaars et al. 1997; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000; Redding 1998). Thus, under the converging and integrating driving forces of economic globalization corporate representatives of particularized capitalistic systems face the day-to-day reality of culturally diverse and asymmetrical business expectations, negotiations and relationships. The result can be complex heterogeneous dialogue with no shared interpretive framework. It is this thesis' contention that significant corporate performance and wider socio-cultural and political costs derive from failures to acknowledge and address this consequential complex cross-cultural communications reality. The complex and multicultural nature of diverse lived corporate experiences that result from engagement in the global market economy highlight the dominance of the individualistic cultural values of the western model in international management texts.

There has been a fundamental historical assumption in the leading management texts, based on a culturally Darwinian competitive and progressive discursive logic (O. B. Hardison jr 1990) that the Western free-market economy is a superior model. In light of the multicultural nature of the global economy, this ethnocentric assumption is questionable (Channon 1998). The previous chapter critiqued this power associated with this discursive culture by linking it with economic, cultural and epistemological imperialism (Said 1978, 1993; Schiller 1969, 1991; Galtung, 1980).   Comparing Western theory and Eastern management practices identifies very different and variously successful cultural approaches often based on very different performance assessment criteria.

In international management discourse the individualist cultural characteristics of the western model are conventionally characterized as offering a valuable and universally applicable cultural model, while the other business models are noted for their particular and often problematic characteristic cultural differences (Trompenaars, 1997; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 2000). This binary framing affirms the discursive power invested in the cultural assumptions of the western model and highlights the way the ethnocentric cultural assumptions of the western model become naturalized, or taken-for-granted, in evolving global business and pedagogical discourse. There are serious cultural differences in the ways in which corporations of diverse national origins are managed and considered to be successful. Moreover, it is only fair to conceive of contemporary global capitalism as a new world system only if the dynamic complexity of diverse and particularizing models operating within that system is recognized, along with their diverse operational strategies and performance objectives.

The critical role of individual and corporate interactions in the new global economy

Despite the revolutionary nature of the new communications technology and its revolutionary capacity to move trillions of dollars around the globe, the vast majority of personal, organizational and transnational interactions still depend on the quality of interpersonal face-to-face, person-to-person human interactions. Representatives of developing nations struggle to learn the dominant culture and language of the global market in order to attract international foreign direct investment (FDI). The cultural and linguistic diversity of participants inevitably impacts upon the quality and outcomes of interpersonal interactions. The asymmetrical nature of interactions further affects the quality of micro interactions of individuals often with macro-societal level consequences. This outcome suggests that

corporate interactions in the global economy have an important political, cultural and moral role, as well as a business role. As the most powerful organizational apparatus in the global economy, in many cases having more economic power than national economies, the international activities of TNCs have political, cultural and ethical consequences along with their economic and business objectives. Thus, the quality of those interactions between corporations and nations becomes critical not just for business functions rationale, but also for the quality and sustainability of civil global society.

Under these circumstances, it is this thesis' contention that addressing the cross-cultural role of all communications is considered to be central to improving business performance and, by implication, global international relations. Corporations, managers and workers must increasingly negotiate the complex challenges that cultural and linguistic diversity presents business. The heterogeneous global cultural and interpretive communicative reality is dynamic, multifarious and multilayered and, therefore, communication functions and performance have crucial intermediary consequences for inter-mediating local, national and global organizational and stakeholder aims and interests.

A more holistic business management approach includes social capital, as well as economic capital (Handy 1997). The sustainable companies will be those conceived of as communities, not properties, who see their people as citizens with all that implies, and who understand that they need an implicit license to operate in their societies, where they are citizens too (ibid). What are the deeper implications for management in re-conceiving companies as communities, and how should social capital be conceived in this context? Employees are likely to be attracted to an organization, and more likely to be retained, if their cultural background is valued rather than ignored or disparaged (Iles & Hayers 1998). This indicates the importance of management to address the multidimensional public and private aspects of the "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1984) as represented in a work force.

The pivotal role of management and knowledge workers

OECD estimates predict that more than half of the wealth of advanced industrial societies is derived from wealth created by knowledge workers who now account for eight out of ten new jobs (Handy 1997). This new wealth creating capacity of knowledge workers links to the rapid growth of the

information economy in developed nations, which indicates the shift from manufacturing to information industries (Toffler 1971).

> The terms "knowledge industries", "knowledge work" and "knowledge worker" are only 40 years old ... Now everyone uses them but as yet hardly anyone understands their implications for human values and human behavior, for managing people and making them productive, for economics, and for politics (Drucker 2001, p. 8).

In support of the notion of a company as a community, the new knowledge workers of the information economy "want to bring their whole personalities to work with them, to feel at ease and at one with the aims of the organization" (Handy 1997, pp. 157-8).

Knowledge workers tend to identify with their knowledge, having more primary allegiance to their specialized branch of knowledge, rather than an organization (Drucker 2001). Knowledge is non-hierarchical and either relevant, or not, to a given situation, and thus, the knowledge society is a society of seniors and juniors rather than of bosses and subordinates (Drucker 2001). These ideas necessitate a significant shift in operational management functions and culture from a command and control to a mediation and coordination role between knowledge workers, clients and wider stakeholders. This cultural shift emphasizes the cross-cultural and multicultural nature of multidisciplinary professional services work.

While TNCs tend to be organized along product and service lines and controlled by ownership in the future that are likely to be held together and controlled by strategy (Drucker 2001):

> There will still be ownerships, of course. But alliances, joint ventures, minority stakes, know-how agreements and contract will increasingly be the building blocks of a confederation. This kind of organization will need a new kind of top management ....One of the most important jobs ahead for the top management ... will be to balance the conflicting demands on business being made by the need for both short-term and long-term results, and by the corporation's various constituencies: customers, shareholders ... knowledge employees and communities (Drucker 2001, p. 5).

Confederated strategic relationships further highlights the necessity for high levels of skills in cross-cultural communications in order to effectively mediate and negotiate particularized self-interest between diverse strategic participants and stakeholders in order to gain "synergistic" (Harris & Moran 1996) and "win-win" (Henderson 1991) benefits.

One implication for corporate management is recognition of the value of the social and cultural capital of an organization's internal human resources. This implies addressing both the private and public dimensions of its membership, in order to build loyalty, to develop effective intra-organizational communications systems, and facilitate the kind of corporate synergy that will enable the specific needs of diverse clients and wider stakeholders to be effectively addressed. The previous chapter notes the value applying of more holistic paradigmatic logic to systems management. A holistic "healthy living systems" approach (Sahtouri 1998) networks multidisciplinary perspectives in order to develop strategies for both coping with and managing the multicultural communicative stakeholder complexity, and importantly, for designing value-adding potential and improving business performance.

The shared nature of professional identity has important management implications (Drucker 2001). The previous chapter indicates the complex, multilayered and variable nature of identity:

> The paradox of the increasing divergence of life worlds and the growing importance of differences is the blurring of their boundaries ... As peoples are simultaneously the members of multiple life worlds, so their identities have multiple layers, each layer in complex relation to the others. No person is a member of a singular community. Rather, people are always members of multiple, simultaneous and overlapping communities - communities of work, of interest and affiliation, of ethnicity, of gender, and so on (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, pp. 247-8).

Multiculturalism is fundamental to a multilayered notion of identity. Multiculturalism indicates the need and capacity to switch between pluralistic value systems, practices and behavior.

The world of work, along with family, local and interest community membership are the key cultural domains for adults to negotiate individual and collective self-interest. Each of these key domains is intricately interconnected and impact on worldview and identity. The acquisition of cross-cultural competencies is fundamental to facilitating these negotiation at all communal levels (ibid). Both business corporations and knowledge workers must come to terms with the multilayered and multicultural reality of the world of work. To better understand the role of culture, language and communications in improving business performance, it is necessary to develop new kinds of competencies in the work place (ibid). The new world order and the impact that this is having on work places has indirectly elevated effective communications and language use to the position of becoming the key arbiter of workplace performance (Mawer 1999). For knowledge workers, the quality of

language and the quality of service have become synonymous (Fairclough 1992). These comments are pertinent to the workplace realities and responsibilities of international professional services.

TNCs, their management and employees must learn how to negotiate this changing cultural complexity. This pluralist new world business order necessitates the application of different models of work, organizational models, production models, new attitudes towards managing people and an elevation of the critical role of managing the impact of culture and communications. To achieve this, all sectors and stages of industry need to develop specific cross-cultural and multilingual interpretive and communicative skills. This presents enormous human resource challenge for governments, the higher education sector, business and communities. It places learning as the key to economic success for individuals, communities and nations (Latham 2001; Rylatt 2000).

What is the evolving treatment of these issues in key management texts, and more specifically international management texts? Western culture has had a critical role in framing the prevailing discourse on the nature of work, management and industry and the design and teaching of prevailing corporate structures, practices and behavior. A historical approach to twentieth century management discourse identifies the power and the ethnocentric paradigmatic logic of these overarching cultural assumptions. A historical framework presents insights into the ways specific and powerful cultural assumptions are embedded in theory and practice through institutionalized discourse processes that render them invisible or naturalized conventions (Fairclough 1989).

Rendering the evolving but ethnocentric cultural assumptions in the management discourse more visible explains the residual power given to certain values applied to dominate both discourse and practice, even when there is widespread recognition of the need for change. This cultural analysis process, in turn, opens the management field up to cross disciplinary evaluation to its response to the contemporary understandings of changes in the new world order, technology, and globalization. The revolutionary rate of change calls for collaborative multidisciplinary engagement to develop "new times" (The New London Group 1996) pedagogical and governance models which begin to address deeper understandings of new world order realities, and promoting more holistic and sustainable approaches to organizational management and design, and management teaching and learning. The

need to incorporate wider understandings of the political, cultural and economic nature of business activities and the various impacts of these on the diverse contexts is considered fundamental to manage the new and complex organizational challenges.

The implications for management and human resource development (HRD)

How do TNCs address the human resource challenges of the multilayered nature of identity, culture and communications? Adler (in Lane, diStefano & Maznevski 1997) stresses that the last decade has seen the common and evolving strategic global responses applied in organizations that include new global approaches to production, marketing and finance. But it is only now that an equivalent evolution in HRM is beginning to emerge. This raises the important question: how are these 'global' company strategies culturally framed? Many firms still manage people as if neither the external economic and technological environment, nor the internal structure and organization of the firm had changed (Adler 1997). In terms of managing performance this neglect is bound have economic and political costs and this situation needs urgent remedying.

Improved HRM and HRD can help TNCs, regardless of their national origins, to avoid the complex economic, political and cultural costs. This logic supports the idea that strategic management will be critical to more effectively negotiate the converging and integrating global economy Drucker's (2001).

> Multinationals shift around the globe natural resources, products and services; they recruit people in different countries and introduce *alien* management styles and ways of doing things into host countries; they create as well as serve various markets, while all influencing people's tastes. Some of the more powerful multinational firms can even influence economic and political policies and practices of whole nations . . . They have to face and handle all sorts of risks - political, economic and cultural. They are subject to rules and regulation and legal systems in the various countries in which they have an interest (Tayeb, 1996, pp. 4-5).

In order to respond to such complex economic, political and cultural operational environments, international firms must effectively manage all their resources. The most important of these resources is the firm's work force (ibid). Under the paradoxical universalizing and particularizing culture of globalization concern that the complicated nature and composition of the work force poses the greatest challenge for organizations and managers is acknowledged (Adler 1997; Handy 1997; Tayeb 1998).

The value of a cultural approach to management, human resource development and stakeholder relationships

A cultural approach to HRM, good business practice, coupled with good cultural skills, is an essential combination (Lane, diStefano & Maznevski 1997). However, the deeper meanings and value of a cultural approach is not widely recognized and therefore infrequently applied. In response there are calls (Adler 1997, Lane, diStefano & Maznevski 1997; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000) for research to build deeper knowledge to demonstrate that cultural approaches offers much to improve the practices of international business management, indeed business, in general. The clashing of value assumptions lies at the heart of all conflicts. "In a sense all of life is an intercultural experience" (Harris & Moran, 1996, p. 120), it is an ongoing "process of coping and acculturation" (p. 121).

The role of culture for both individuals and communities is to provide ready-made solutions to problems, by establishing patterns of relations, and for developing ways for providing group cohesion and consensus. However, the plethora of heterogeneous dialogue of the new world order highlights the complex impact of diverse, dynamic and multidimensional cultures and their associated communicative styles. Cultural assumptions and behavior that work well in one context are problematic in another. In the multicultural business settings, diverse participants and stakeholders struggle to find common cultural ground. Assumptions of shared understandings abound. Misunderstandings and offense is commonplace.

In response management writers (Handy 1994, 1995, 1997; Tayeb 1998; Lane et al. 1997; Adler 1997; Drucker 2001) identify the need for radical changes in the way that people are managed. Their works support the core notion that the concepts of culture, identity and communications lie at the heart of contemporary management and HRM challenges, and promote the value of networking multidisciplinary perspectives.

> If a business is now, in its essentials, a collection of people, it will make more sense to think of it as a town or a village, rather than a piece of machinery. This will eventually change the way we think about businesses. It is already changing the way we think about them. The language of political theory - leadership, constituencies, alliances, power and influence - is replacing the old engineering and property language of structure, planning and control, and even management (Handy 1997, p. 163).

The language of political theory and cultural theory contribute evolving conceptualizations of leadership, constituencies, alliances, power and influence, and their associated communications practices that address new world global realities. In addition, the language of healthy living systems discourse (Sahtouris 1998) offers biological principles for managing more sustainable and networked communities. The value of conceiving businesses as complex networked communities has useful applications at all three societal levels. But how does the management literature conceive the nature of communities and how does this translate into recommended practice?

The following discussion reviews key contemporary international management pedagogy texts to identify the dominant thinking in the field. These key works indicate the cultural framing to discourse on contemporary corporate and human resource management challenges, and the kinds of preferred strategies and practices that dominate in management pedagogy discourse (Harris & Moran 1996; McDonald & Thorpe 1998; Lane, diStefano & Maznevski, 1997; Bartlett & Ghoshal 1998; Adler 1997; Schneider & Barsoux, 1997; Niemeier, Campbell & Dirven 1998). Collectively, these texts *do* promote the concept that the 'problem' of culture is central to business performance and HRM; Unfortunately, in general, the cultures of 'others' are often discursively framed as being curious, alien, or problematic. However, there is some consensus that elevating the issue of culture and communication offers the greatest potential for improving corporate efficiency, effectiveness and profitability for business organizations. Concruently, the ethnocentric western cultural assumptions that frame notions about performance, efficiency, effectiveness, quality and growth, for example, are less questioned. There is a fundamental reluctance to engage with the deeper cultural and political ideological meanings implicit in dominant discourse and the wider ethical and governance concerns implicated in international business and human resource management. This slow growth and limited focus calls for greater research in this field (Adler 1997).

The powerful position of ethnocentric western cultural assumptions in management discourse
The ethnocentric economic and cultural perspectives of the western individualist model dominate the globalization discourse and management pedagogy (Channon 1998). "Most management schools are in the United States; the vast majority of management professors and researchers are American trained; the majority of management research still focuses on United States companies" (Adler 1997,

p. 12). The result is a body of pedagogical discourse framed on the 'taken-for-granted' value of Western ethnocentric cultural assumptions. Until now, Americans have been able to ignore the need to 'think and act globally' because the United States has such a large domestic market, and English has become the international business language (Adler 1997). Many Americans assume that they do not need to speak other languages nor go to other countries to succeed in corporate work. This parochial assumption is certainly not true for young Brazilians, Swedes, Israelis, Thais, but the intense global competition of the 1990s now renders parochialism self-defeating for all nations (Adler 1997).

American 'individualistic' ethnocentric assumptions, the reductive and mechanistic paradigm assumptions of traditional western science (Capra & Stendl-Rast 1992) combined with competitive and progressive 'Darwinian' evolutionary cultural logic (Hardison jr. 1989) to dominate twentieth century management theory, discourse and practice. Together these assumptions frame evolving western interpretations about the nature of management and various business approaches to organizational design, production and their related approaches to corporate control and human resource management. In the twenty-first century radical change will not be possible without drawing critical attention to the historical and discursive power given to these values. Making the individualistic cultural ideology of the western capitalist model more transparent is the first step to raise awareness of the impact that ethnocentric western assumptions have on thinking, and practice. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the cultural values, practices and behaviors of western capitalist corporations reveals the ways in which these serve economic, political and epistemological imperial agendas (Schiller 1969, 1991; Galtung 1980; Nye 1990; Gailbraith 1992; and Postman 1993), and demonstrates the link between these and growing acceptance of the English as *the* international business language (Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1994).

Cultural analysis reveals how, without the development of sensitive cross-cultural and multilingual negotiating competencies, problems inevitably occur when TNCs, with their classically multi-divisional bureaucratic organizations (Bourdieu 1977; Fairclough 1992), inappropriately apply their ethnocentric values, attitudes and practices in contrasting cultural settings. The multicultural nature of both the internal and external composition of these organizations, their functions and their stakeholders indicates the value of analysis of the constituent cultural assumptions to explain many

external, internal and interpersonal cross-cultural communication problems and performance inefficiencies.

The evolving western cultural models of work: Fordism, post-Fordism and productive diversity

The work of Cope and Kalantzis (1997) provides a valuable multidisciplinary, networked and critical approach for rendering more visible the evolving and taken-for-granted western individualist assumptions about the nature of work. Dominant twentieth century management and work assumptions link to the historical nineteenth century conceptualization of nations (Gellner 1983; Anderson 1991). Cope and Kalantzis' work links the historical assimilationist, multicultural and pluralistic (Castles 1997) discourse of national discourse with the evolving and discursive cultural models for management and work.

Historically, the United States of America has had a powerful 'assimilationist' cultural and linguistic policy approach to frame national discourse to integrate its diverse multi-cultural and multi-racial citizenship (Aronowitz 1997; Gilroy 1998). However, recent global events have meant that now America has to address the cultural and linguistic pluralism within its previously conceived assimilationist population. Recent figures indicate that more than half the Californian population speaks Spanish as its first language. Drivers in California can now take their driving test in 32 different languages (Eccleston 2001). Hispanics and Latinos now account for 35.3 million of the national population, with another 34.6 million African and Black Americans and a further 10 million of the total 281 million American population Asian (ibid). These figures indicate a radical change in the cultural and linguistic make up of the American population. The events of the 11th of September 2001 foreground the additional complicating issue of religious pluralism. Conservative voices call for the assimilationist "patriotic Americanization of immigrants" (ibid, p.13). However, in light of the increased pluralism of the American population "there is an increased multicultural ideology which makes it difficult to talk of assimilation" (Camarota, cited by Eccleston, 2001, p. 13).

This increasing pluralism indicates that America needs to address what this internal cultural and linguistic diversity means for its historically conceptualized monolingual and assimilationist model of a cohesive national culture. These intra-national changes have consequences for reframing American

approaches to human resources, management, international business and its powerful role in international relations. They suggest that particularizing political, cultural and economic events at the local and national, as well as, international level is fast outdating the dominant American-western culturally assimilationist business model.

Cope and Kalantzis (1997) offer a framework to categorize the evolving cultural assumptions of the dominant western individualist-based models for work. They critically review some of the heavily subscribed ideas discussed in the contemporary international management literature that link to the dominance of the western model of capitalism. Their framework provides a useful analytical tool for classifying the ethnocentric value assumptions in discourse and practice. Identifying both the power and the dominance of the western cultural logic to frame the prevailing work and management theories and practices indicates why there is often resistance to change, and whose interests the maintenance of the status quo serves.

Three twentieth century western management models

The three distinctive twentieth century models frame the dominant western cultural assumptions about the nature of work, management and business organizations are: "Fordism"; "Post-Fordism"; and the emergent "Productive Diversity" (Cope & Kalantzis 1997). Each of the three models has three distinct paradigms best summarized by the metaphors: the "culture-as-machine" model; the "culture-as-sameness" model; and the "culture-as-negotiated differences" model (ibid). The three paradigm models, in turn, link to specific approaches to technology, the division of labor, management, organizational culture, the social order and communications. Each of the three models has specific approaches to workers, leadership, HRM, and of the related communications patterns and notions of worker and management identity. A strong discursive relationship between the evolving theoretical notions of work place communities and evolving homogenized and particularized notions of national communities is evident.

Fordism: Culture-as-machine model

The early twentieth century American management writer, Taylor (1911), incorporated the reductive paradigmatic values of traditional science to discursively frame a 'scientific model' for management,

production and work. The reductive analytical methods of deconstruction and measurement were applied to systematically identify the micro details of the production process. This scientific analysis informed the design and engineering of standardized production efficiencies conceptualized as a complete industrial system. The purpose of approach was to minimalize the idiosyncrasies of the worker, the impact of the cultural context for production, and so account for any external inefficiency that may impact on the scientifically engineered production model.

> [This] included beliefs that the primary, if not only goal of human labor and thought is efficiency; that technical calculation is in all respects superior to human judgment; that in fact human judgment cannot be trusted, because it is plagued by laxity, ambiguity, and unnecessary complexity; that subjectivity is an obstacle to clear thinking; that what cannot be measured either does not exist or is of no value; and that the affairs of citizens are best guided and conducted by experts (Postman 1993, p. 51).

Thus, a highly efficient production system, supervised by a hierarchical and authoritarian management structure, was conceived to render the complex cultural variables of the worker irrelevant. Like science, it was assumed to be 'culture-free' and a culture-free approach to the conception of workers made the model highly transferable from one national context to another. Ford's car manufacturing plants, with their hierarchical control system, minimal functional input required from the worker, and standardized, mass production output, were recognized as the supreme application of these scientific ideas to a manufacturing industry.

The systemized universal values developed by Taylor and Ford dominated the largest part of the twentieth century culture of work and management. Underlying the cultural logic of the machine metaphor technology is the enabler of mass production, or 'mass momentum' which is driven by a linear and deterministic: "one part of the machine always sits in a fixed relationship to the next, or one worker on the production line does a set task at a precise time in the production process, which they are unable to change" (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, p. 11). The production machinery has in-built clock-like efficiencies. All production factors are analyzed and quantified in order to maximize efficiencies.

The cultural characteristics of the labor force were 'written out' of the process. Labor's role is simply to mobilize the production machinery. Only a hierarchical and authoritarian manager understands the whole production process. The decontextualized focus on production efficiencies and a hierarchical management structure built a powerful controlling function into the role of management. The overall

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communications model within an organization is conceived of as a transmission model, flowing from the top down to the workers in a linear and hierarchical fashion. The cultural vision applied to uniform Fordist notions of clients and markets and the external social order. Many examples are still found in manufacturing operations in developing nations where manufacturing TNCs pursue the benefits of reduced labor, resources and production costs, while giving little consideration to the context of production and the nature of the workforce. The cultural legacy of the Fordist 'scientific' model for management and work is pervasive.

However, culture-free claims and science's culture free notions of truth and objectivity are subject to post-positivist criticism (Kuhn 1962):

> All of this, of course is the stuff of culture - of human imaginings, human doings and human understandings of their doings. Yet deceptively perhaps, the metaphor of the machine gives us the feel of the mechanical and the scientific, of the material world outside of human agency and motivation, outside of culture (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, p. 11-12).

Serious critical review of this model emerged in the final quarter of last century as new and differentiated markets began to demand more differentiated products and services. Simultaneously, competition between companies brought new demands for higher profitability and greater efficiencies. In response an alternative cultural model for work emerged.

Post-Fordism (Piore & Sable, 1984): The "culture-as-sameness" model

Several factors led to changes in work values: the workforce became increasingly educated; there was rapid development in technology and communications; living standards in the developed world were raised, there was increased global economic activity, and thus, the nature and type of work required became more complex. Knowledge and technology industries became a significant growth sector of the developed nation economies. New and specialist niche manufacturing, service and professional industries emerged. In order to solve the 'problem' of complex and specialist production systems and differentiated production contexts, management theory drew on the thinking in a number of disciplines including psychology, anthropology and education.

Generally, these multidisciplinary perspectives signaled culture to be an important variable in determining management, worker and market behavior. Research in these fields showed how a range

of issues, such as worker motivation, responsibility, shared values, corporate identity and the personification of relationships with clients, were now understood as being both complex and culture bound (Cope & Kalantzis 1997). Additionally, there was the trend towards the internationalization of business (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1988). The failures, high costs and inefficiencies of this international trend gave impetus to the development of business research to better understand the impact of diverse national culture, language and communication on international business performance. In response, research focused on a national comparative cultural analysis approach.

To meet conceived particularized 'niche' market needs, sophisticated technology is applied to product differentiation. To meet the needs of this product differentiation, labor, now educated to perform diverse functionary roles and relationships, operates in flexible and multi-skilled teams. These differentiated functional shifts indicate a more flattened or "dispersed" (Cope & Kalantzis 1997), rather than a hierarchical management model. Thus, more workers are expected to take on management functions, as well as other specialist functional roles.

Influenced by the comparative anthropological-oriented management research of Kluckhohn and Stodbeck (1961), in the late 1970s and the 1980s a number of influential international management text engaged with aspects of different national cultural approaches to work and management (Hall 1976; Harris & Moran 1979; Hofstede, 1980; Laurent 1983; Bartlett & Ghoshal 1988). This body of work emphasized the variances in the national cultural values, attitudes and behavior of managers. National cultures were characteristically conceived as an assimilationist or homogeneous 'culture-as-sameness' models. Research made the link between essentialized (homogenized) notions of national cultural characteristics and the performance failures of international businesses. These comparative national cultural approaches are widely promoted and subscribed.

This work applied a range of quantitative and qualitative methodology to survey the comparative values of managers while other research contrasted particularized national ways of interaction and communications. Four important post-Fordist multicultural-oriented frameworks continue to be very influential today: Five dimensional cultural categories of value-orientation (Kluckohn & Stodbeck 1961); Two dimensional high-context, low-context national communication framework (Hall 1976);

Five dimensions of national culture (Hofstede 1980); and The Survey of Comparative Management Style (Laurent, 1983). International management pedagogy writers, such as, Adler (1997); Lane, diStefano & Maznevsky (1997); Dowling, Welch & Schuler (1999), dedicate significant discussion the implications of this work. The purpose of classifying and contrasting national cultural values were to predict behavior, identify underlying conflicting values and so, through heightening awareness of the impact of the culture-bound nature of different national values, reduce *mis*-understandings, *mis*-communications, *mis*-takes and improve business performance. The development of these analytical frameworks for mapping the national value assumptions was an important step in acknowledging the shared sense-making role national culture plays in framing diverse characteristic attitudes, behaviors and communications styles and conventions.

The link between the national background of managers and contrasting ways of interaction, communication, leadership, and attitudes to work, motivation and management was emphasized. However, under the Fordist high cultural value for efficiency, reductive and quantified analysis methods, in response an all-powerful and all knowing hierarchical system of management continued to dominate discourse and practice. By contrast, the worker discursively remained as being inefficient, problematic, curious, exotic and/or inferior. This ethnocentric western and pragmatic rationale links to critical concerns for cultural, linguistic and epistemological imperialism.

With the growth in international business interest arose in the impact of the national origins on management concerns, and the role of leadership in managing the 'problem' of multicultural diversity through the application of hierarchical and assimilationist management approaches, which maintained hierarchical control over the complex and fragmenting influences of distance, worker and market diversity (Lane et al. 1997). Lane, et al. (1997) list typical western executives assimilationist and hierarchical oriented traits: all knowing; holding a domestic vision; predicting the future from the past; caring for individuals; owning the corporate vision; dictating goals and methods; being alone at the top; monolingual; and inspiring the trust of the board and shareholders. Senior management has an elite, hierarchical, isolated (ivory tower) and paternalistic role with a dependent and 'child-like' model for workers. Despite changes in worker education, responsibilities and accountability and the growing

importance of the information economy, leadership is reluctant to recognize this and devolve authority and power.

A range of convergent cultural management strategies are applied to pragmatically standardize practices, simplify organizational complexity and maintain hierarchical control systems. In line with assimilationist logic, these ethnocentrical and pragmatically framed standardized notions conflate or the complexity of lived realities in order to build 'universal' management strategies conceived to be rational and efficient. Thus, while post-Fordism acknowledges the impact of diverse national origins of management and workers in determining corporate successes, practices remain heavily influenced by authoritarian attempts to 'write out' the particularizing influence of cultural diversity. Thus, Post-Fordist ethnocentric approaches do not address the need to move beyond merely recognizing the existence and impact of cultural diversity to actually recognizing, respecting and working with that diversity through strengthening nexus of global/local socio-cultural and institutional parameters, with less power given to nations (Wood 1996; Thurow 1997, 2000; Friedman 1999;Pascal Zachary 2000).

Nevertheless, the value of conceptualizing homogeneous and fixed notions of national culture is increasingly questioned (Hall 1991; Featherstone 1995; Lull 1995). Many nations are now conceived to be historically pluralistic, with additional complexity added through immigration and migration. With the changing nature of industry from the dominance of manufacturing production to knowledge, technology and service products and industries, conventionalized and hierarchical notions of management and workers' roles are questioned. The convergence of these factors in the new world order presents dramatically changing realities for both organizations and workers. Under changing global circumstances workers now may have multiple local, national, and/or cosmopolitan cultural identities. Notions of identity built on homogeneous national conceptual frameworks may contribute to ethnocentrism and stereotyping. This suggests that essentially ethnocentric post-Fordist assumptions about the nature of work do not go far enough to address the more complex and dynamic role that culture now plays in work?

 International business texts, such as Lane, et al. (1997), Adler (1997), and Harris and Moran (1996), put cautionary caveats on the usefulness of various tick-list national cultural mapping strategies.

These warnings do recognize the 'ecological fallacy', or the potential distortion of reality that can result from the application of certain statistical measurements of characteristics found in a sample population when these are applied to generalize about the whole population. Applying 'stereotypical' national characteristics are potentially unproductive, and may not match the real world. Stereotypes, like other categorical types, can be helpful or harmful depending on how we use them (Adler 1997). "Stereotypes never describe individual behavior; rather they describe the behavior norm for members of a particular group" (p. 75). In practice, stereotyping as a cultural labeling strategy implies judgments that are not only categorical but also value-laden. This convenient coding and categorizing process can hide pluralistic sub-cultural ethnocentric assumptions. When not reflectively and sensitively constituted, these judgments may reinforce prejudice rather than promote effective and productive cross-cultural exchange. Essentialized notions also give offence to individuals and sub-cultural communities.

Rather than being trapped within the more commonly asked, and unfortunately misleading, question on 'if' organizational dynamics are universal or culturally specific, focus should be on the crucially important question of 'when' and 'how' to be sensitive to national culture (Adler, in Lane et al., 1997). It is this thesis' premise that the answer to the 'when' aspect of this question should be 'always' and, additionally, 'everywhere'. For now, and even more so in the future, appreciating and being able to manage cultural differences at home and abroad is becoming more and more a part of everyone's job (Schneider & Barsoux 1997).

This reality highlights the need for sophisticated cross-cultural, linguistic and other modes of communication skills for both managers and workers (Cope & Kalantzis, 1997, 2000; Mawer 1999). Without these, how can they know when stereotyping is useful and when it is unproductive, and when it is crucial to be culturally sensitive and how to communicate that sensitivity in productive and meaningful ways? Without moving beyond the checklist approach to national culture, how can anyone recognize the critical differential access to cultural, economic and political power that underpins all cross-cultural situations? (Fairclough 1989; Roberts, Davies & Jupp 1992) All business activities and interactions need to be recognized as being multicultural to some extent.

However, "cultural holism is a difficult business. The connections are complex. The distinctions are subtle. The dynamics are hard to trace and hard to manage" (Cope & Kalantzis, 1997, p. 13). The assimilationist approaches articulate to the different historical ways national culture has been constructed to simplify culture in order to often coercively build a strong cohesive sense of identity (Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawn & Ranger 1983). As indicated earlier, many countries today are experiencing the political and social consequences of having a national culture framed on a historically assimilationist model (Castle 1997; Gilroy 1997). Governments around the world grapple with 'managing' the consequences of histories that do not address the internal sub-cultural and ethnic diversity that constitutes their population (Schlesinger 1991; Giddens 1998). Sub-cultural, indigenous and migratory ethnic groups bemoan that their languages have been 'written out' of national discourse by the politically and culturally powerful (Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1994).

Because of the high levels of coercive power invested in the hierarchical system of management, at one level there may be conformity, at another resistance. International management has heavily subscribed to integrating and simplifying notions attributed to the international role for English as a "lingua mundi" (Lo Bianco 1999) apparently globally mobilized by the new global communications technology and conceived to inter-mediate the complex multicultural communications challenges of globalization. However, as the previous chapter indicates this is a key example of a potentially costly homogenizing management strategy that write-out and mask the complex impact of contextual cultural and linguistic communicative diversity.

The homogenizing and prescriptive approach to management creates key paradoxical problems for multinational corporations. Outlining this paradox, Dowling, Welch and Schuler (1999) citing Laurent (1986) say that:

> In order to build, maintain, and develop their corporate identity, multinational organizations need to strive for consistency in their ways of managing people on a worldwide basis. Yet, in order to be effective locally, they also need to adapt those ways to the specific cultural requirements of different societies. While the global nature of the business may call for increased consistency, the variety of cultural environments may be calling for differentiation (Dowling, Welch & Schuler 1999, p. 16).

The implication is that both universal and particular approaches to management are required.

Re-conceptualizing models of leadership

In response to these paradoxes the future characteristics of leadership need to be: leader as learner; holding a global vision; analytically interpreting the future; caring for institutions and individuals; facilitating the visions of others; using power and facilitation; specifying processes; part of an executive team; accepting paradoxes or order amidst chaos; being multicultural; and inspiring the trust of owners, customers, and employees (Lane et al. 1997). Implicit is a qualitative and subjective cultural notion about leadership that is more about being consultative, listening, guiding, emotionally involved and able to respond to the diverse needs and self-interests of the individual community members and wider stakeholder needs.

Thus, this thesis conceives an alterative corporate 'mothering' cultural label to be a valuable contemporary metaphor for conceptualizing a devolved and empowering particularized cultural model of leadership under the reality of global diversity. This 'mothering' role implies the need to be aware and responsive to particularized stakeholder points of view and needs. Sahtouris (1998, p.13) cites Mexican elder Xilonem Garcia: "Anyone who knows how to run a household knows how to run the world." The implication is that we are able to apply the unity and diversity principles of healthy living systems intuitively at the family level. Not many people starve three of four children and over feed the fourth, for example, or beautify one corner of their garden by destroying the rest of it (ibid). This comment suggests that a universal mothering and facilitation assumption applies the management of the negotiation of the particularized needs and self-interests of the diverse members of a family.

Sahtouris (ibid) thoughtfully argues that beyond the family group, at the level of local communities and towns, we lose sight of these nurturing and empowering principles and when we consider the management of nations, or the world, the capacity to apply living systems principles is lost entirely. A new polycentric and responsive style leadership implies devolution of authority and focus on empowering and active worker participation. A new style of corporate leader is concerned with mediating with diverse stakeholder interests in order to be able to understand social, cultural and environmental capital, as much as the economic capital of a corporate community. Thus, it fits more with devolved and pluralistic cultural notions of an organization as a community.

Recognition of the principles of cultural complexity as a productive force is an essential first step in moving towards the positive and pro-active evaluation of the internal and external complex cultural diversity. However, diversity leads to "higher performance only when members ... [are] able to understand each other, combine, and build on each other's ideas" (Adler, 1997, citing Maznevski, 1994, p. 537); in other words, only when they communicate effectively with each other.

> Recent research suggests that all teams need the following communications skills to function effectively; the motivation to communicate, the ability to see situations from another person's perspective, the ability to create a shared sociability, the ability to explain problems appropriately, the ability to establish agreed-upon norms for interacting, and the confidence that other team members are skilled enough to work effectively together (Adler 1997, p. 142).

Thus, recognition of diversity is not enough. The underlying attitude changes and particular cross-cultural and multilingual skills for negotiating difference are necessary to make cultural diversity a key productive factor for business.

Productive diversity: The 'culture-as-negotiated-differences' model

'Productive Diversity' model for management and work values cultural difference in the work context in a positive, productive and central way. This model highlights the critical importance of re-conceptualizing the role of communication:

> As a common way of speaking to communication that includes different and complementary skills, styles of thinking and languages. For beyond differentiation, we need flexibility. Beyond complementary skills, we need multiplicity. Beyond dispersal, we need devolution. Beyond replication, we need negotiation. And beyond fragmentation, we need pluralism (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, p. 128).

The consensus principle of cohesion or shared purpose is recognized as being essential for any organization to work. However, under the polycentric logic of the productive diversity model the real multilayered diversity of work forces, stakeholders' needs and the issue of ethnocentrism and power need to be addressed in determining consensus about preferred goals and strategies.

The productive diversity model indicates the need for the development of a new interpretive framework, "to map the direction of change in a historical and global context, and to suggest a framework of action in which the members of organizations might ... meet their needs and ends" (ibid, p. 129). The principles of integration, responsiveness, inter-activeness, synergy, and the reflexive and complementary relationship of differences (Harris & Moran 1996) frame the cultural logic of the

model. The underlying qualitative meanings of these principles indicate a shift in direction towards a more negotiated and inclusive approach to work understood as the active and productive outcome of a polycentric team and polycentric stakeholders. Teamwork involves the application of more flexible, adaptable, open and responsive approaches to team functioning, designed to enable the negotiation of strategies for problem solving.

Effective and reflective cross-cultural communication skills lie at the heart of the performance of multi-skilled teams. The function of multi-skilled teams is the delivery of creative solutions to meet specialist market needs. Diversity, whether of identity, nationality or functional background, can be a resource, but only if it is managed carefully (Iles & Hayers 1998). Learning to work successfully with difference is becoming imperative, but the nature of polycentric skills and strategies involved need to be clarified. "In particular, closer attention needs to be paid to the nature of difference, the nature of the task, the phase of the task or projects, and the skills and competencies of individuals involved" (ibid, p. 217). 'Synergy' involves a new way of thinking which helps free one from outdated patterns and break the shell of permitted ignorance (Adler 1997, citing Fuller, 1981). Contributing to team synergy, workers not only contribute specialist knowledge, but also take responsibility for some management functions. Synergy is understood to lead to those serendipitous, unplanned solutions that the negotiations and collaborations of productive teamwork can deliver. Cultural synergy is a process-oriented management approach to account for the impact of cultural diversity (Adler 1997). The underlying cultural assumption is heterogeneity - the assumption that we are not all the same, that we all have valuable points of view to contribute.

For cultural synergy to occur, the underlying assumptions need to shift from valuing universalism to assumptions that both similarities and differences are of equal importance (Adler 1997). The many valid and varied solutions diverse cultural perspectives offer to address problems needs to be recognized. Team members must feel free to draw on all their life's experiences as well as functional skills in seeking insights. Replacing ethnocentric assumptions synergy assumes 'cultural contingency' - that the best way depends on the cultures of the people involved (Adler 1997). Under a productive diversity model of work, shifting the underlying cultural assumptions to principles of heterogeneity, similarity and difference, equality, and cultural contingency in the design of organizational strategies

confronts the entrenched patterns of ethnocentrism and power. This approach makes good business sense because:

> Organizations need integrative flexibility in order to be able to harness diversity in the service of creativity. They can create value monopolies in two ways: by adding cultural value to their products or services, and by servicing a diverse clientele. An organizational culture of flexibility is crucial to the success of both of these endeavors, and the two endeavors are very closely related (Cope & Kalantzis, 1997, p. 131).

The pivotal role of on-going learning

Learning is the key for making differences work; particularly in multinational project teams (Iles & Hayers, 1998). For potential synergies to occur, team and organizational members need to be not only inter-culturally competent and able to understand their differences, but to be able to communicate effectively and integrate across these differences. These competencies are likely to involve: empathy, negotiation, the collective ability to create a shared reality, open solutions to conflicts, and the ability to use cultural differences as a resource (ibid). This sort of creativity cannot be learnt in generic steps, but for some small generic steps may be an important step to building polycentrism. "Creativity is the subject of complex and symbiotic cultural interactions" (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, p. 132).

Recognition of an organization as a site of cultural hybridity that values diversity provides management with the generative potential for creative problem solving and innovation. Mapping organizational and stakeholder cultural hybridity becomes a key management strategy. Heightened multicultural and linguistic awareness, and the role of cross-cultural communication skills, are the key tools with which to form an organizational culture of 'cohesion-in-diversity'. However, the acquisition of effective cross-cultural skills for negotiating cultural difference demands reflective and critical awareness of one's own cultural assumptions, as well as others.

> The new and changing contexts of work, technologies and communication media require not only a broader repertoire of communications skills, but also the ability to deal with ambiguity and complexity. With the converging of notions of working and learning, reflection and critical thinking have become vital, everyday aspects of work (Mawer 1999, p. 58).

This emphasizes the comprehensive and multidimensional nature of learning required of knowledge workers in the global information economy. It is this thesis' contention that while everyone needs to develop these cross-cultural communications negotiating skills, in light of the increased management

and professional functions placed on knowledge workers, a specialist senior strategic cross-cultural and communications management function position is required to promote and co-ordinate a productive diversity organization model and practice.

The field of management is not alone in receiving criticism for its ethnocentric cultural assumptions. This articulates to multidisciplinary recognition of the crisis of western epistemology. For example, similar ethnocentric criticism has been made of the assumptions about early childhood experiences, development and personality, which are blind to the power of context, as promoted by the discourse of western psychology (Kagan 1998). Cognitive theorists critique narrow and ethnocentric framed notions of intelligence (Gardiner 1993; Goleman 1996). Under productive diversity assumptions there is core recognition that in applying any coding, there is a simplification or even distortion of reality that often serves the interests of the powerful.

International business needs to recognize that the 'writing out' cultural and linguistic ethnocentric process is a costly potential consequence of the apparent convenience of using English as the international language. Speakers of only one language are increasingly disadvantaged in intercultural negotiations. They have access to only limited interpretations of a situation, or are very dependent upon highly competent cultural and linguistic mediators. Simple communicative formulas and fixed linguistic protocols are of limited communicative value in building cultural cohesion out of cultural diversity. This mean for a devolved organization simple communicative formulas, or fixed linguistic protocols, have limited value.

> At its [a devolved organization] nether reaches there is a plethora of different communicative styles: Different messages and different ways of hearing messages, different specialist registers, and indeed, often very different languages spoken. Yet to hold it all together, to centralize the devolution and to make the most of the different communicative differences, the organization requires of its citizens the distinctive discursive style of the multicultural polis: cross-cultural communications skills, an ability to listen for and to hear communication and cultural differences, and a communicative repertoire broad enough to be able to shunt backwards and forwards from one communicative form or style to another (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, p. 164)

This thinking underscores the central concerns of this research. In response, this research predicts the value of mapping organizational and stakeholder socio-cultural and linguistic diversity in order to be

able to design a range of polycentric strategies that sensitively address and manage the inevitable communicative complexity in international business operations in Indonesia. In order to create wealth from conflicting values, identifying difference alone will not add-value. Mapping cultural diversity is only the first step. The imperative is to integrate and reconcile often-contrasted values (Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars, 2000); "Exceptions must be integrated into a new rule, individuals must be integrated into the community, and analyzed pieces must be integrated into a new synthesis" (p. 8).

> Because differences abound between functions, disciplines, genders, industries, ethnic groups, and nations of the world, reconciling such dilemmas should be an important part of creating wealth, and of developing a humane, peaceful, and just system of world governance (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000, p. 9)

Thus, in acknowledging the fundamental multicultural nature of the lived experiences of individuals and communities, it is apparent that international management, in fact all management, in general, needs to recognize the value-adding potential of that diversity and the critical role of communication in designing management strategies that mobilize the negotiation of diverse cultural worldviews, identities, and their associated behavior and self-interests

Conclusions

This material highlights the value of networked multidisciplinary thinking to indicate how the negotiation of differences of culture, identity and language are critical for determining the development of polycentric and more ethically framed management strategies for the twenty first century. The development of critical analytical strategies to carry out sensitive assessments of the impact of cultural and linguistic diversity in specific socio-cultural and organizational contexts is of central importance. It is this thesis' contention that the reflective application of socio-cultural and linguistic impact assessments to identify the diverse stakeholder points of view of internal corporate teams, clients and wider stakeholders, offers a valuable opportunity for international business to develop more effective, sustainable and holistic management strategies. This thesis posits that such an approach would have significant implications to improve business, professional and inter-stakeholder communication performance, the negotiation of self-interest and thus, the aversion of risk. This research aims to make a contribution to this new direction.

The professional field of management and management pedagogy must develop appropriate polycentric and responsive (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 2000) management approaches and competencies that are needed to realize Handy's (1997) quest for a more reflective, sustainable and responsible form of capitalism conceived of as a healthy living system (Sahtouris 1998), and respond to Cope and Kalantzis' (1997, 2000) call for greater understanding of organizations as designers of social futures. These multifaceted ideas have significant implications for interpreting the deeper nature of the communication problems international business, in general, and more specifically the professional service TNC operating in a developing country such as Indonesia.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction: A qualitative research design strategy

The literature review supports the application of a qualitative research design strategy to investigate this micro-level corporate communication problem, and the ways in which this links to wider global concerns. Qualitative research is a situated research activity in which the methodological design aims to employ a range of data gathering methods and interpretive strategies that renders visible multidimensional aspects of the problem, the participants, and the lived realities of the context (Denzin & Lincoln 2000). The interpretive strategy focuses on the meanings that humans create and use to guide their behavior. Discourse is the social process by which meaning is both made and shared. It is assumed that within any situation meanings can vary and create multiple realities (Jacob 1992). The study of discourse can provide a window into aspects of human life that are otherwise opaque to us (Gee, Michaels & O'Connor 1992). A further assumption of the goal of interpretation is that the components of social life (values and practices) are mutually influencing (Lincoln & Guba 1985).

Thus, in this research design strategy the researcher's role is conceived of as a bricoleur or "a kind of professional do-it-yourself person" (Levi-Strauss 1966, p. 16) bringing a range of interpretive, methodological, and theoretical strategies together in order to develop deeper understandings of the multidimensional communications problem and its broader implications. Arguing justification for the conceptualization of the qualitative researcher as multiskilled bricoleur, Delamont (1992, p. 149) cites Salomone:

> There is a great need in contemporary scholarship for a close integration of cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspectives, and in order to achieve this intellectual synthesis one must venture beyond the confines of specific academic departmentalized disciplines, and wrestle with the 'demon' of cultural ethnocentrism (Salomone 1987, p. 206).

In a complex multicultural and multilingual business corporate context it is predictable that there will be multiple operational discourses competing, conflicting and confusing the pluralistic ethnocentric taken-for-granted sense making strategies of the diverse participant members. In other words, the result is a plethora of heterogeneous dialogue with no unified or shared organizing principles.

The concept of the qualitative researcher as bricoleur applies across the four - interpretive, methodological and theoretical, and researcher - aspects of the qualitative research process (Denzin & Lincoln 2000). These four aspects of the qualitative research process are in practice interwoven and interconnected:

- The interpretive bricoleur produces bricolage - that is, a pieced together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complicated situation.
- The methodological bricoleur is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks, ranging from interviewing to intensive self-reflection and introspection.
- The theoretical bricoleur reads widely and is knowledgeable about many interpretive paradigms ... that can be brought to any particular problem.
- The researcher-as-bricoleur theorist works between and within competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms (ibid, pp. 4-6).

This research strategy addresses these four 'patch work quilt' design aspects of the qualitative research process.

Through the application of these multidimensional design aspects the researcher builds an integrated and analytical interpretive model. The conceptualization of the research questions and the multidisciplinary literature, theory and qualitative research design are interrelated, each one building on the others in a process of unfolding, incubation, creativity, intuition or just plain common sense (Burns 1994). This chapter outlines and discusses the various methodological strategies employed in this research design as well as arguments concerning the particular bricolage choices made. It is envisaged that together they build the research process, enabling multidimensional responses to the research questions this thesis poses.

In making the choice to pursue a qualitative research strategy, it is noteworthy that the volume of social research supported by universities is overwhelmingly quantitative in design (Scheurich 1997). The vast majority of business school research is quantitative. Traditionally, qualitative research has been applied in the fields of anthropology to study the cultures and practices of indigenous or native communities, i.e. those societies that are considered peripheral. Less qualitative attention is focused on core contemporary institutional culture. Yet, increasing concerns for interpreting cultural change, corporate culture, management culture, organizational learning culture, and leadership visions indicate the potential utility of qualitative interpretive approaches. This preference for quantitative approaches

exists despite a lengthy critique of positivism and the quantitative strategies of the language of objectivity, distance and control (Greenwood & Levin 2000). This situation indicates the powerful cultural legacy of positivism's claims on truth and objectivity. There are more cynical views:

> [T]he positivist version of quantitative research is socially convenient for those in power who do not want to be the "subjects" of social research and who do not want criticism of their social actions to be brought forward by social researchers. Invoking impartiality and objectivity, positivistic social science absents itself from the controverted social arenas in which the ills produced by bureaucracy, authoritarianism, and inequality are played out, or it washes out this profile through the deployment of numbers rather than words (ibid, pp. 92-3).

Without being drawn into a wider debate on this topic, the point is made to indicate the institutional risk taking elements in undertaking research framed on a qualitative interpretative design strategy.

Interpretive researcher as bricoleur

The interpretive choices made are reflectively understood as being shaped by the researcher's personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, by those of the people in the setting, and by the higher educational institutional framing to its production (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In undertaking this research, multifaceted learning is an important part of the methodological research journey involving an ongoing process of self reflection and analysis of how this project has in fact been significantly shaped by personal history, biography, gender, social class, race and ethnicity. This parallel auto-ethnography (Ellis & Bochner 2000) process is an important component of the reflexive nature of qualitative interpretive practice. In other words, the qualitative research processes not only reveals the cultural assumptions of the subjects, but also those of the researcher. The issue of the developing relationship between the researcher and the subjects in the processes of qualitative interpretive research practice is an issue that will resurface throughout the research design and interpretation processes.

In essence, this communication and performance problem is conceived to be a direct consequence of the cultural and linguistic diversity that is found in the situated context, and in the internal and external stakeholders. "Cognitive and language-based ethnographies tend to be built on those communicative breakdowns that are directly experienced by the researcher, and that are to be resolved by the researcher's attempts to understand what made the breakdowns occur" (Chambers 2000 pp. 857-8). This perspective indicates that through the research process the researcher will inevitably

experience misunderstandings and misinterpretations until a deeper understanding is gained about the nature of the contextual communications practices. The underlying assumption motivating the ethnographic type of interpretation of the research design is that the various stakeholders, who live with the day-to-day situational realities, may have limited understandings of the problem. The researcher's task is to draw out and map the diverse stakeholder perspectives in order to gain a deeper understanding of the cross-cultural nature of contextual communications.

It is predictable that the diverse community members will have developed assorted coping strategies that may even compound the problem further. The role of worldview is to guide the interpretations of experience. Thus, pursuing the interpretive role of an ethnographic type of research, the research practice engages with both the 'hows' and the 'whats' of the social reality. Practice is centered on investigating how various people methodically construct their experiences and their world and in the configurations of meaning and institutional life that inform and shape their reality-constituting activity (Gubrium & Holstein, 2000). The adoption of an interpretive ethnography method focuses on identifying and rendering more visible the locally crafted, but diverse meanings to be found within the social interactions of the diverse participants in the corporate setting where the problem exists.

Linking micro-level and macro-level analysis

In this corporate context the participants are not just local. They represent local, regional, national and even global communities. One of the recent trends in the social sciences has been to reinstate the local within the larger contexts of regional, national, and even global events (Chambers 2000).

> This focus seems particularly relevant to applied research and action, where deliberate efforts to intervene and bring about change invariably place the populations subject to such efforts in a relationship with a larger sphere of influence. Increasingly, applied ethnography is *about* these relationships, rather than about the experiences of particular groups of populations in isolation (Chambers 2000, p. 858).

Thus, the multifaceted interpretive focus of microanalysis is to contextualize this in relation to macro societal concerns. Conceived this way, the multidimensional interpretive process is understood as being a political act motivated by the kind of ethical dimension identified as constructing a civic social science based on a politics of hope (Lincoln 1999).

Adopting this interpretive approach, both Chapter 1 and Chapter 5 present background material that

indicates why the micro-level communication problem was conceived to be articulated to wider macro-level economic, political, socio-cultural, governance and ethical concerns to better manage the impact of globalization, and that the management of cross-cultural communications has a pivotal role to play in the design of more effective and sustainable international management strategies. Associated with the realization of the need for an interpretive paradigm, or guiding set of principles within an ethical dimension, Lincoln and Guba (2000) go further in calling for the addition of a 'spiritual' dimension. This call for a spiritual dimension to be added to an ethical and political set of guiding principles reflects the critical influence of post-modern, post-colonial and feminist sensibilities about the value and maintenance of global cultural, linguistic and environmental diversity and a more equitable and sustainable approach to managing economic resources. Essentially, the incorporation of political, ethical and spiritual paradigmatic concerns such as these informs the macro-level interpretive framing of this situated micro local reality.

Theoretical bricoleur: Conceptualizing a multidisciplinary theoretical interpretive framework

Chapter 1 indicated the scope on which the corporate communication problem is conceived. The literature review discussed the multidimensional logic on which a multidisciplinary theoretical framework informs the interpretive design. Hence, this research design draws on and networks a range of multidisciplinary theoretical perspectives, which are all conceived to have integral bearings on the research focus. The literature review highlights how diverse, but interconnected, theoretical and critical perspectives provide a multidimensional framework to both interpret and give a wider framing to the situated communication problem, its participants and stakeholders. The literature review identifies the value of networking inter-relationships between multidisciplinary discourse from the fields of globalization, cultural studies, cognitive theory, critical language studies, pedagogy, international management, human resources and the history, politics, and culture of Indonesia. Together, perspectives from these fields offer multidimensional conceptual frameworks for describing and interpreting the nature and meanings of this research focus. In general, these diverse fields share an evolving understanding of the value of multidisciplinary discourse and the value of engaging with open, competing and overlapping perspectives to interpret a complex and situated contextual reality.

More specifically, each of these fields offer theory, discussion and debate for engaging with different

aspects of the core concepts of cognition, culture, communications and identity, which are understood to lie at the heart of this specific contextual communication problem. The key conceptual notions from this multidisciplinary literature review develop a multidimensional interpretive framework for researching the management of cross cultural communication and business performance in a professional service TNC operating in Indonesia. A valuable summary, which includes description and graphic representation of this multidimensional interpretive framework are in the Appendix. The conceptual logic drawn from the literature review provides theoretical justification for the choice to pursue ethnographic, biographical conversation and discourse data gathering techniques. Descriptive, analytical and critical interpretive methods capture and interpret multiple dimensions of the culturally diverse stakeholder points of view.

Interpretive bricoleur: Making visible the multiple stakeholder points of view in a case study

The contextual corporate setting presents a classically bounded case study research focus. A case study is not a method, but rather a choice of what is to be studied (Stake 2000). Qualitative interpretive methods provide a strategy to draw out and make visible the complex contextual reality of a case study. "Seeking a different purview from that of most crafters of experiments and testers of hypotheses, qualitative researchers orient to complexities connecting ordinary practice in natural habitats to the abstractions and concerns of diverse academic disciplines" (Stake 2000, p. 440). Extending the essential "what and how" (Gubrium & Holstein 2000) questioning strategy with which to approach case study inquiry, Burns states that:

> A case study must involve the collection of extensive data to produce understanding of the entity being studied. The case study is the preferred strategy 'when', 'how', 'who', 'why' or 'what' questions are being asked, or when the investigator has little control over events, or when the emphasis is on contemporary phenomenon within a real life context ... A case study allows an investigation to retain holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events. The main techniques used are observation, interviewing, and document analysis ... The focus of attention is on idiosyncratic complexity (Burns 1994. p. 265).

In line with the description of the interpretive methods of qualitative case study research, the focus of attention lies in mapping the particularized cultural complexity of this organizational setting through the techniques of observation, interviewing and discourse analysis.

Research questions: Reiterating, the 'what' and 'how' research questions, as presented in Chapter 1, will guide the interpretive techniques of observation, interviewing and discourse analysis:

1. What are the characteristic cultural assumptions underpinning the thinking and behavior patterns of individuals, the national and international stakeholders in this corporate setting?

2. What impact does the global, national, local and individual stakeholder diversity have on the communications and performance functions in the corporate context?

3. How does the specific professional service work of this company, and its associated management and human resource communication and performance concerns, relate to wider economic, political, governance and ethical concerns for the multinational activities of the international corporate sector?

4. What recommendations do the findings of this case specific research make to improve the performance of individuals, management and corporations operating in similar multilingual and multicultural organizational contexts?

A good case study brings a phenomenon to life for readers and helps them to understand its meaning (Gall, Borg & Gall 1996). A good qualitative case study weaves a complex narrative in order to bring a situated reality to life. "More will be pursued than was volunteered. Less will be reported than was learned" (Stake 2000, p. 441). In order to address the multivocality aims of this research, the case study will present stories within stories. This research makes no assumptions about how typical this case study unit really is. It is less concerned with drawing any general and transferable conclusions (Burns 1994). It is assumed that the case study will have unique and idiosyncratic features as well as some shared with wider associated population groups facing similarly framed communications challenges. The narrativized data gathering methods are chosen with a view to engender subjective interest in the participants, and in the issues raised, in order to promote wider critical and creative thinking. Individual participant narratives can, on the one hand, challenge cultural stereotypes and, on the other hand, confirm cultural stereotypes.

The methods of data collection – observations, interview and discourse material – can present multidimensional information on the organizational context, the wider national context, the multicultural participants and thus, the nature and causes of the communication problem. This

strategy aims to capture the multiple stakeholder perspectives rather than serve any positivist-oriented claims on truth. Instead, the multidimensional approach aims to give the multi-vocal interpretations credibility. The more comprehensive the researcher's contextualization of the case study is, the more credible the interpretations of the phenomena in the context (Gall, Borg & Gall 1996). More important than the use of triangulated methods to achieve credibility are concerns for the achievement of interpretive rigor. In other words: "Can our co-created constructions be trusted to provide some purchase on some important human phenomenon?" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 179)

The history, physical setting, and the environment, the number of participants, the activities, the schedules and temporal order of events, the division of labor, routines and variations from them, significant events, their origins and consequences, the members' perceptions and meanings, and social rules and basic order patterns, are key factors that give multidimensionality to context and, therefore, credibility or trustworthiness to interpretations (Altheide & Johnson 1994). Local meanings are important; foreshadowed meanings are important; and readers' consequential meanings are important (Stake 2000). This emphasis on the diversity of meanings included throughout the interpretive research process indicates the ongoing nature of the interpretive act. Thus, closure is of less concern. This kind of deeper probing into stakeholder perspectives and contextual concerns will enable important "authenticity" (Guba & Lincoln 1989) claims to the qualitative interpretive process.

Methodological bricoleur: Multi-modal data gathering methods

> Documenting the ordinary takes a lot of time ... Many qualitative field workers invest little time in instrument construction, partly because even the familiar case is too little known ... The ordinary is too complicated to be mastered in the time available (Stake 2000, p. 445).

This statement indicates that when applying ethnographic (Wolcott 1995; Delamont 1992) and discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989, 1992) research methods such as interview and observation, the researcher needs to have comfort in living with uncertainty, with an open mind to all possibilities. The ethnographic-oriented research action plan was to carry out:

- Interviews with both the Indonesian professional staff, expatriate staff and management;

- Record researcher observations in field note book form in addition to documented observations of a specific project recorded by a key informant;

- Participate in all formal and informal interactions with both Indonesian and expatriates that

- might arise; and
- Gather material documenting a range of participant project team member perspectives on the progress and performance of a specific company project. The choice, if possible, of a project involving local, national and international stakeholders is conceived to be of the greatest value in addressing both the micro and macro nature of the cross-cultural communications research focus. It was conceived that much of this material would be sourced remotely.

Thus, the researcher, conceived of as interpretive bricoleur, intends to gather, analyze and interpret the discourses included in ethno-narratives or storytelling sourced from the diverse stakeholder participants as together they build a multidimensional picture of the complexly conceived situated organizational reality.

While conventionally, interviews and observations are presented as separate techniques, much of the material notes in observation diaries derive from ongoing dialogue and conversational interaction with participants, as well as non-participant observation (Fontana & Frey 2000). Thus, observations will involve and be derived from descriptive, explanatory, clarifying questions and answer conversational exchanges, as well as informal, private and more socially-oriented conversational interactions. The interview, even an unstructured one, is just a more formalized and discrete oral communications ritual than those conversations that are included in observation notes. In turn, interviews and observations become written textual resources to which cultural analysis can be applied. In this way, these methods are interrelated and process-oriented in the diverse way they contribute to multilayered interpretations.

How do we present ourselves as researchers? Some cross cultural concerns

In describing and discussing practical concerns for the practice of interviewing and observations, several important key factors impact on the successes and limitations of these techniques and their effect the participants: the ethical considerations of confidentiality, gaining trust, and establishing a rapport (Fontana & Frey 2000). "How do we present ourselves as interviewers? Do we dress up, or dress down?" (ibid, p. 653) This decision is critical because once the interviewer's presentational self is 'cast', it leaves a profound impression on the respondents and has great influence over the successes (or lack of it) of the study" (ibid, p. 653). There were several dimensions to the way the researcher is presented to the participants, which has important implications on the kind of trust and rapport that are

established.

The key informant who had brought the simple request for help is the researcher's partner of many years. Through professional consulting work as a project team manager in the Jakarta office on a fly-in-fly-out basis, he had worked over several years with many of the Indonesians who would participate in the research. Thus, during that time he had spent a significant amount of professional and private time investing in building meaningful relationships with some of the Indonesian staff. Coupled with the key informant's high-level professional skills, the President Director had personally indicated that he valued my partner working in the Jakarta office because of the underlying trust that he had developed with many of the Indonesian staff. In acknowledgement of the trust and rapport he had with the local staff, he had told of many instances when various staff came to him with professional, management and private family concerns. Thus, while daunted by the fact that I had never been to Indonesia and the amount of data I had to obtain from the Indonesians in a limited amount of time (two visits of ten days in length), I sensed that I could benefit from the rapport and the trust he had previously built. The aim of a qualitative approach was to further build on that trust.

Thus, I was presented as a key expatriate member of staff's wife. This role indicated one dimension of my identity. In the context of Indonesia this position gave me the ascriptive status and social role of Ibu Helen. In this cultural context, ascribed status may have inhibited rapport. My partner warned me that there would be significant 'curiosity' on the presentation of the spouse of an expatriate member of staff. With the exception of one senior Indonesian member of staff, who I had met while studying in Australia, this private dimension to expatriate life was a new workplace experience for the local staff. However, despite the conventional high power distance (Hofstede 1981) associated with an ascriptive status role, I hoped that the trust and rapport that my partner had achieved would be transferred to me so as to enable the Indonesians to feel comfortable in talking with me. In a culturally collectivist country, such as Indonesia, personal investment in the quality of relationships is conceived to be highly valued.

As a married woman with children, the respected role of an *Ibu* also sat well with the more conventionally cultured as 'feminine' narrativized approach of the research. I was aware that while

this role may make my asking questions acceptable, in this specific national cultural context my role as a middle-aged wife of a senior expatriate member of staff also would impact on the kinds of responses given. I was aware that, in general terms, Indonesians do not like to be the direct bearers of bad news, or give criticism of others. It is not considered culturally appropriate etiquette. This contextual knowledge would have significant implications for the kinds of responses that the Indonesian participants would give and the sensitivity and reflection required in the interpretations. In other words, this particular cultural context would require as much reflective 'reading between the lines' as interpreting the actual words spoken on the tape. In this cultural context, I was to learn that the kinds of responses given by the participants told me much about my own ethnocentric assumptions and the ways these framed the questions that I presented to them.

In order to reduce the power distance between myself and the staff (who were younger), and wishing to distance myself from the management of the company, on being introduced to everyone I presented myself as an independent research student. I was aware someone associated with an international university had ascriptive status in this developing nation context because of the high value given to study overseas. These interpretations of role and identity indicate both the need for reflection and the possible multiple interpretations of the research in this type of context. The researcher and student role presented a more socially relaxed position with the Indonesians. In explaining to the staff the nature of my research, an important issue was that my partner's empathetic concern for the challenges they faced at work had led to the inception of the project. I also told the staff that this research presented me with the valued opportunity to get to know those people with whom my partner had spent significant amounts of private and professional time, and that I had a keen interest in learning about Indonesia.

Ethical considerations

All the participants were reassured that all confidentialities would be protected. I reassured them that I was not working for the company or management. In order to protect participant identities real names were not used. There was no intention to convey any cultural meaning in the choice of the names given to the participants. Names are only given to 'bring to life' the narratives. The company name has also not been disclosed, nor the names of associated client companies, with the exception of

reference to The World Bank Group. The client is part of The World Bank group of investment agencies that is involved in financial investment in development projects in developing nations. In order to identify the cultural assumptions of the client, widely available promotional material produced by The World Bank Group was included in the analysis in order to develop an understanding of this organization's worldview and the way this shapes institutional culture and practice. In light of the fact that The World Bank Group claims to operate on the ethical values of transparency and that this particular agency is the recipient of widespread public debate, it was deemed very important to include this material. The name and location of the project included in the research, or staff involved, were not revealed. The protection of all participant identities is essential to protect personal as well as commercial interests.

Bearing in mind the Indonesian aversion to saying 'no' when asked to do something by someone with ascriptive status, it is not surprising that all those approached seemed happy to partake in the research. As the field trip time was running out, the only awkwardness I sensed was in those who had not been given the opportunity to be interviewed. This indicated that the participants felt that their involvement with the research gave them status within the office. Verbal reassurances were given to those who did not get the opportunity that I would have really liked to talk with them all, but that time was the critical restriction.

Ethnographic interviews

The conventionally case study interviews usually use the unstructured or open-ended form of interview so that the respondent is more of an informant (Burns 1994). Yet, it must be acknowledged that there is "no intimacy without reciprocity" (Fontana & Frey 2000, p. 658 citing Oakley 1981). As the wife of an expatriate member of staff and a representative of an Australian university, it soon became apparent that there was much information that some of the participants wanted to learn from me about Australia such as family, life, culture, politics, the education system, etc. Thus, the interviews and the information included in the observations often had reciprocal information giving dimensions. In qualitative research the use of the word participant (Fluehr-Lobban 1994 cited in Anggrosino& Mays de Perez 2000) is indicative of the intended collaborative nature of the interview model. Indicative of the interactive nature of the interviews at the completion of one interview one of

the participants said: "ok so now I want to know all about you" and the conversation continued with reversed roles.

The primary purpose of the unstructured ethnographic type of interviews with the participants was the collection of biographical and ethnographic data from life history stories. Explaining the turn to biographical methods in the social sciences, Chamberlayne, Bornat and Wengraf (2000, p. 1) say that "the late 1990s has seen an intensified search to take better account of the interweaving of human socio-political development (Newton 1999) and to find research tools which could 'prise open the different dimensions of lived totality' (Gottfrieds 1998, p. 452), and reconnect with 'the vitality; and the 'bedrock reality' of everyday lives (Crook 1998, p. 524)". The strong desire to link micro and macro levels of socio-cultural analysis explains the rising popularity of biographical methods in the social sciences.

> For biographies, which are rooted in the analysis of both social history and the wellspring of individual personality, reach forward and backwards in time, documenting processes and experiences of social change (Giele 1998; Bertaux & Thompson 1998) and biographical methods with their long and diverse genealogy (e.g., Mills 1967) provide a sophisticated stock of interpretive procedures for relating the personal and the social (Chamberlayne et al. 2000, p. 2).

This explanation for the rising popularity of biographical methods sits well with the aims of this research.

"[A]n attempt to deepen our understanding of individual agency as 'historical' means avoiding excessively present-centered and functionalist 'over-socialized concepts of man'" (Chamberlayne et al. p, 8 citing Wrong 1961). More specifically, an informal biographical approach is noted to provide valuable insights into the multi-ethnic diversity that makes modern Indonesia (Watson 1999). The experiences recorded in individual Indonesian life histories give deeper insights into the relationship between multi-ethnic cultural and linguistic diversity, the impact of contemporary politics and society concerns, and the idiosyncratic and collective ways experience shapes worldviews. Interviews concerned with gathering biographical data enable the researcher to build an interpretative map of an individual's worldview, or mindset. Individual perspectives may reinforce characteristic national stereotypes or give rise to question these. However, the open style of interview is not conceived of as providing "opportunity for an authentic gaze into the soul of another, or even politically correct

dialogue in which researcher and researched offer mutual understanding and support" (Silverman 2000, p. 823).

While the interviews were unstructured, the intention was to introduce a range of specific topics into the flow of conversation when appropriate. A more reductive, comparative and closed interpretive approach could have involved the participants being given a tick-list chart with socio-cultural categories such as age, gender, marital status, ethnicity, etc., to fill in privately. However, the assumption in choosing this more open, and less structured biographical conversational method was that the unpredictable and idiosyncratic nature of the dialogue would yield much more information from the participants' points of view.

Fourteen biographical oriented interviews were carried out. Thirteen of these were with professional Indonesian staff members and one with the expatriate president director of the company. The interviews were up to two hours each in length and carried out during two separate site visits, one in late March 2000 and then in mid-June, 2000. As discussed, the biographical interviews were of an informal and reciprocal conversational nature.

> Methodologically, this approach provides a greater spectrum of responses and greater insights into the lives of the respondents ... to avoid hierarchical pitfalls (Reingarz 1992), because it encourages them to control the sequencing and the language of the interview and also allows then the freedom of open-ended responses (Fontana & Frey 2000, p. 659).

Three of the Indonesian participants actively directed the sequencing of topics, changing the subject and avoiding subjects on which they did not wish to disclose information. It is noteworthy that these more assertive three had all completed international degrees to Masters Level. I was aware that there were dangers that a more relaxed, reciprocal and non-hierarchical Australian cultural approach may not be responsive enough to local hierarchical socio-cultural values. However, in fact all of the respondents opened up in varying degrees and at different stages of the interviews to reveal important biographical details and stories about their lives. For those, who appeared reluctant to discuss certain topics, the ongoing expressions of interest, of empathetic and reciprocal responses, and the maintenance of conversation flow, were critical to gain their trust.

The manner, order and depth with which the specific biographical socio-cultural topics were touched

on varied from respondent to respondent. The interviews were experienced as an active and negotiated interaction between both participants, and thus, were actively shaped by both the participants and the context in which they took place. The Indonesian participants were chosen on the basis of their availability, so as to minimize intrusion on office routine and work demands. Moreover, I was mindful of the fact that the participants were not being interviewed in their first language. They were reassured that their English language proficiency was not being assessed during the interviews. The interviewees had variable English language skills and there were several occasions when they were unable to find the appropriately meaningful English word to communicate their meaning. Sometimes I would offer an English word. Several of them were confident enough to tell me whether this was what they meant or not. On several occasions the English/Indonesian dictionary was used at their instigation in order to find the appropriate meaning. They were made aware that I had undertaken some Bahasa Indonesia study at university, and thus, I was an apologist to them for my poor level of second language skill. I was also reflectively aware that as a result of my own multicultural background, I had a tendency to mimic the communicative style when speaking with people for whom English is a second language. Thus, the interview language was conversational and informal.

Conflicting with Burn's (1994) recommendation for the interviewer to adopt detached and limited response strategies in order to prevent the interviewee from telling the interviewer what they think they want to hear, I was aware prior to the interviews that a part of the local cultural nuance when interviewing Indonesians is that no matter what, they will tell you what they think you want to hear. Thus, I was aware that there would be few comments delivering bad news or criticism, as these sorts of responses are not considered culturally appropriate. This specific local cultural communications characteristic meant that interpretations had to be made in light of this and judged against material derived from other sources in order to build up multiple points of views. As a consequence of the time restrictions for the interview, direct questions were included. Descriptive and structural (Spradely 1978), and in some cases analytical and reflective, questions were posed along with many very general conversational questions.

Besides yielding a significant amount of information, this interview strategy appeared to shortcut the development of relationships with each of the participants. The strategy was more about achieving

deliberate subjective immersion (Wolcott 1995) within the limited time, rather than Burn's recommended detached style. Indonesian culture places a high value on investment in personal relationships. The respondents indicated that they valued the time spent investing in relationships and demonstrating concern for their professional circumstances. It was apparent that generally speaking, few of the fly-in-fly-out expatriate staff invested in them in this way. I was especially touched by the enthusiasm displayed by one young woman, who usually displayed a more formal interaction style that conveyed the high ascriptive status of her Javanese background. This formal manner was abandoned on hearing that I had returned on the second field visit, and she ran upstairs and burst smiling into the office to greet me. Thus, after the interviews the participants were responsive and often enthusiastic about further group discussions or conversations with individuals that yielded material recorded in the field-notes.

The project related interviews

On my second visit I found that a young professional Australian (Verity) had joined the company as project coordinator. After attending the first scoping meeting for this project with staff I was aware that the specific challenges it presented to the multidisciplinary and multinational project team encapsulated many of the micro and macro dimensions of this research. The client was an international stakeholder, other international investors (Japanese) were also financially involved, and the proponent developer was a national Indonesian government company with the development project having significant implications for local and regional Indonesian community stakeholders. The project task involved both the environmental and socio-economic impact assessment of the development proposal. It was obvious that the project team members would face the challenges presented by having to variously address and reconcile the global, national and local needs of culturally and linguistically diverse stakeholders. Thus, with the agreement for ongoing support from key participant staff, I decided to follow the progress of this project. Several staff members agreed to act as informants and continue to send me relevant document material for the duration of the project.

Subsequently, Verity was interviewed to gain her perspective on the project's ongoing communication and performance issues. She was the project's editor and local coordinating manager. She continued to send email copies of progress reports on the project and other documents. Ongoing dialogue also

occurred with my partner (Philip) who acted as a key informant on this particular project on an ongoing basis. He was project manager for the socio-economic and cultural impact assessment team. He also made his own field note diary about his experiences and perceptions of the project. One of the Indonesian staff (Tiga) also on the team agreed to inform me through email. At the end of the project the President Director (Dr. Fritz) also gave feedback on his assessment of the performance of the project. The presentation of this exciting and extremely relevant project was coincidental. I had intended to track multiple perspectives on the progress of a project, but the timely nature of this project was serendipitous. Attention has been drawn to this because it indicates the flexibility and openness that is required when undertaking qualitative research.

The project is presented as a sequential narrative. The narrative draws on the diverse source materials gathered in order to present multiple perspectives on its progress and the communication and performance issues that arose. This narrative presents a window into the complex workplace realities experienced by national, local and expatriate professionals working on this type of project in a complex national context. Besides presenting a descriptive narrative on what happened, this narrative also includes analysis of the underlying cultural assumptions of the various participants and their associated behavior. The approach to this analysis derived from the multidimensional interpretative framework presented in Chapter 4. Thus, the narrative indicates the critical impact that cultural and linguistic diversity has on professional and business functions and performance in undertaking this type of professional service. The narrative and analysis also reveals the broader ethical and political nature of this type of work with diverse global, national and local stakeholders.

Transcription and analysis

All the interviews were tape-recorded. The inclusion of a small recording device during the interviews did not seem to cause concern for the participants. At the conclusion of each of field trip these recorded interviews were transcribed in verbatim, with notes included on the mannerisms, body language, tone and gestural cues where these were observed. This transcribing was a time consuming task requiring careful and concentrated listening in to accurately record the Indonesian English dialogue. The Indonesians, both male and female, commonly used soft speaking tones.

Many close readings of the transcripts took place in order to analyze and code the conversations into ethnographic-based subject topics areas. Conversational topics included the following ethnographic socio-cultural categories: names; age, gender, marital status; ethnic grouping; regional background; language; education; family; religion; career, professional function, and international experience. These categories chart a range of private and public, formational, pedagogical and professional socio-cultural important influences experienced at particular stages of their lives. Together these formational influences structure the cultural logic and linguistic resources of an individual's worldview or interpretive framework. The thinking behind this strategy was that, collectively presented in a socio-cultural matrix, this type of ethnographic categorization presented important insights into diverse, individual and collective aspects of the participants' background and the particularized ways this background might frame specific interpretations of their experiences. Thus this coded information gave critical insights into the particularized and shared local, national and global nature of the participants' identities; in other words, the complex and multilayered nature of their identities.

The interviews were focused on individuals, on understanding both the particular and the shared aspects of their identities, values and practices. Kluckhohn's (1947) ethnographic work in which his case study research identified the value of integrating cultural concepts with ethnographic data in order to develop both policy and programs is noteworthy (Chambers 2000). Kluckhohn argued for the value of ethnographers paying attention to the covert dimensions of culture, or to those cultural configurations that lie somewhere beyond a people's conscious awareness of their own culture.

> Kluckhohn suggested that ethnography could uniquely serve to make explicit those cultural configurations that inform human behavior, even though they may not be explicitly recognized or easily verbalized by the 'native' (Chambers 2000, p. 853).

Thus, this kind of interpretation is considered being particularly useful in research when groups that hold different cultural configurations come together, i.e., is in multicultural settings.

The fourteen ethnographic-oriented interviews were analyzed with color-coding of conversation topic sections according to the categories listed above. A summary of each interview essentialized findings. This color-coding of sections of the dialogue facilitated further deeper analysis through the broader contextualization of the material. The separate categories integrate to present a matrix table that indicates the socio-cultural diversity within this small sample of Indonesians. This coding enables

comparison to be made between the various participant's background to reveal the shared and particularized aspects of their socio-cultural backgrounds. However, more particularly, the analytical interpretations focused on specific sections of dialogue, which indicated the deeper aspects of their biographical background and how this had influenced their cultural worldviews. The individualized conversations gave personalized and rich accounts of the experiential dimensions to the lived-meanings of these socio-cultural categories.

Close reading and analysis of the conversational dialogue revealed 'thick' descriptive biographical data which offered insights into the complex, diverse, idiosyncratic and shared nature of their lives to this point in time. After this first stage of the analysis, the material was represented in a descriptive narrative style of written discussion that includes large sections of dialogue where appropriate. This dialogic material gives the reader the opportunity to engage with the interviewees' perspective. This description and discussion narrative was broken into the various ethnographic socio-cultural categories. In each category sample dialogue indicated the diverse individual perspectives. The aim was to include as much as the dialogue of the informants, so they could speak for themselves and thus give an indication of the type of background, thinking, logic, and motivations that may give more sensitive explanation for their contemporary values, behavior and motivations. Thus, the idea was to present a diverse multivocality in this narrative. The analysis, description and discussion of this interview material were interpreted in light of the research aims. Insights gained from informants through observations on other occasions were also included. The discussion also includes insights gained from the multidisciplinary literature review and, more particularly, material on Indonesia.

The current literature on interviews advocates a reflexive approach to open style ethnographic interviews understood as storytelling in which both the 'hows' and the 'whats' are examined (Gubrium & Holstein 1998).

> Interviewers are increasingly seen as active participants in interactions with respondents, and interviews are seen as negotiated accomplishments of both interviewers and respondents that are shaped by the contexts and situations in which they take place (Fontana & Frey 2000, p. 663).
> It has become increasingly common for qualitative studies to view the interview as a form of discourse between two or more speakers or as a linguistic event in which the meanings of questions and responses are contextually grounded and jointly constructed by interviewer and

respondent (ibid, p. 662 citing Schwandt 1997, p. 79).

While it may be true that the material included in these interviews cannot be lifted out of the interviews or decontextualized, the experience of partaking in them, and in the processes of analysis and description in light of wider reading gave the researcher many valuable insights into the thinking and behavior of the participants that have wider repercussions.

Contrary to valuing the impartial, neutral, and distanced stance of quantitative interviewing, this engaged style of interviewing is valuable for its emotionality and reciprocity. In the context of business corporations, increasingly conceived of as communities rather than structures (Adler 1997; Handy 1995), this emotionality and reciprocity builds important empathy, understanding and more meaningful interrelationships, which have important consequences for improving shared understandings and cross-cultural communications. The valuable nature of this experience indicates that this style of interviewing could make an important contribution to building the community culture of organizations, in general.

Observations: Inhabiting the borders between post-colonial and hybrid cultures

Much of the contemporary ethnographic field consists of studies of those who inhabit the "borders between cultural areas," of localities that demonstrate the diversity of behavior and attitudinal patterns, of postcolonial hybrid cultures," and of the social changes and cultural transformations that typically are found "within interconnected spaces" (Gupta & Ferguson 1996, p. 35 cited by Angrosino & Mays de Perez 2000).

A range of diverse cultural places, diverse behavior and attitudinal patterns and hybrid cultural contexts were experienced in the two ten day field visits to Jakarta. On both occasions my partner was working on projects in the office. His being there gave me an important reference point for short-cutting some of my information gathering, introductions, finding out about local etiquette, and who to ask for what and how, etc. With limited time, this support facilitated my participatory role. In line with the conventional work place pressure experiences for the expatriate consultants, work continued during the weekend.

Observation of the general activities in the office, meetings, and project team briefings were carried

out. These meetings were with mixed Indonesian and expatriate staff. English was predominantly spoken in the presence of expatriates, with Indonesian spoken between the Indonesians. Meetings conducted solely in Indonesian were observed, along with meetings with sub-contracted expatriate and Indonesian (usually university academics) consultants, as well as clients and other stakeholders. The majority of these meetings took place in the case study office. However, a meeting was observed with a PT. Indonesian government company in their office. Notes were made on communication processes, patterns and protocol, languages spoken, and body language. These observations were checked with other key participant expatriate informants and with the Indonesians where appropriate.

These observations were recorded in a notebook diary, which was later typed. During both visits to Jakarta we were given accommodation at the home of the President Director. The extra private time spent with him and his Indonesian wife (who had also previously been a professional employee in the office) gave the opportunity to have many informal and valuable discussions about the office, the company, the staff, the projects and his management approaches to these issues, as well as local political, economic, corporate and management perspectives. As well as this I could be a participant observer of frank conversations on office and project issues between him and my partner outside of the workplace. Notes about these discussions were included in the diary.

The two ten day visits offered an intense opportunity for participatory observations, and data gathering to enable the collection and interpretations of narratives giving multidimensional perspectives into reality framing the communication and performance problem in this Jakarta office. This discussion indicates the way interviewing and observations are a methodologically interwoven, and interconnected ongoing processes of data gathering, analysis and interpretation. This multidimensional interpretive framework enables the link to be made between the material gathered in this micro-level contextual case study and the researcher's wider concern for the macro implications for the pivotal role of cross-cultural communications in designing more ethical and sustainable management models in the macro-societal context of globalization.

Chapter 5: The micro-level international corporate communication and performance concern

Contextualization and interpretation

This chapter presents detailed contextualizing information on the request for help from an expatriate manager of a professional project team working in Indonesia in 1997. It outlines the complex nature of the communication problem, and, in light of the perspectives included in the literature review, explains how this specific micro communication and performance concern articulates to macro management challenges presented by the processes of economic globalization. The overarching values that guide the discussion are the multicultural nature of contemporary reality, the implications of this diversity for all interpersonal and institutional communications, the critical importance of finding ways to value and reconcile cultural difference and thus, address and manage the value-adding and wealth creating potential cultural diversity offers individuals, communities, organizations and nations (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, 2000; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000). This chapter discusses the background of the case study as framed around the following issues, which further explain the logic of the application of multidisciplinary theory to frame the interpretation of the deeper nature of the investigative task:

- How the research problem was identified;

- The TNC organizational context;

- The nature of the research problem;

- The complex nature of the professional service product;

- Indonesian national and local concerns;

- The human resource and management implications;

- The Indonesian national context; and

- The impact of the S.E. Asian economic crisis on the Jakarta office of the TNC.

This chapter indicates why this particular business communication concern links to wider critical concern for the impact of globalization on national and local communities and the pivotal issue of developing more responsive cross-cultural communications management strategies so that international business can better contribute to the management of a more efficient, ethical and

sustainable global society. The literature review supports the initial realization that if the research design was holistically framed to investigate the ways in which this micro concern is embedded within macro global society concerns, then the findings would be of wider strategic, as well as specific value to both the international business community, business in general, as well as the internationalizing higher education sector.

- **How the research problem was identified**

The impetus for this study goes back to a conversation in 1997 with a representative of a professional service industry. The informant, a senior environmental planning consultant with a professional service environmental engineering TNC, was operating as an expatriate project manager engaged on projects involving the development of the environmental impact assessment and the environmental management strategies of a range of mining, tourism and infrastructure development projects in Indonesia. This Jakarta-based branch office is involved in projects that spread across the Indonesian archipelago. The informant indicated that the Indonesian staff's limited English language communication skills were fundamental to the cause of his professional difficulties in being in charge of the production of consultancy reports.

- **The TNC organizational context**

With over 130 offices throughout the world, the TNC is one of the largest international environmental engineering organizations. The head office is located in the United States. The company offers a wide range of environmental engineering, environmental planning and geotechnical services. As such it is an important example of the new global knowledge industries. The company serves a range of clients, including those in large-scale international mining, infrastructure and other industry sectors. The professional expatriate employees of the international company include some staff being permanently located in Jakarta, while others work on a fly-in and fly-out as needs be on a specific project basis.

The corporate activities of a professional service company, particularly one offering 'state of the art' environmental engineering services, would be embroiled in professional concern in providing clients with products that respond to the critical, ethical and sustainable debates for the impact of

development in local and national communities and environments. Thus, the nature of the particular specialist TNC information service product offers opportunity to engage with the links between the type of work carried out by staff members, the end product for clients, and how the company perceives that its service provision relates to critical debates about the ethical and sustainable implications of international development for national and local communities. These inter-linkages between globalization, corporate power, specialist corporate functions, diverse human resources and wider stakeholder concerns also indicate that the work carried out by this company has bearings on emerging global development guidelines and the development of global governance frameworks. This thinking indicates the multidimensional and embedded nature of the broader ramifications to this company's business interests, its professional service product, corporate and human resource management, performance and communications concerns.

At the time of the request, the South East Asian division of the company was operating in various Asian countries including the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and China, as well as Indonesia. The circumstances found in the Jakarta office have relevance for performances in the wider regional offices. As stated, the projects undertaken by the Indonesian office are usually for large-scale mining and infrastructure projects set across the diverse sub-cultural and physical environments of the Indonesia archipelago. The impact assessment of the development projects involves the liaison with local, national and international stakeholders.

- **The complex nature of the professional service product**

As stated, this TNC offers environmental engineering and environmental impact assessment and other allied information. This highly specialist service information draws on expertise derived from a wide and complex range of scientific, technical, design and socio-cultural disciplines. Each of these disciplines has their own cultural assumptions and parameters for defining community membership. Individuals will have received their tertiary education in diverse national contexts. It is predictable that the ethnocentric cultural assumptions of the national context in which tertiary education occurs will have impacted upon pedagogical and professional approaches of individuals. Thus, professional diversity of project teams adds another dimension to the already multicultural reality. The diversity of projects and range of professional skills needed is indicated by the following examples of recent

company projects:

- **Environmental impact assessment and environmental compliance/regulators**:

  Coal mine developments and expansion (Kalimantan);

  Gold mine developments (Kalimantan and Sulawesi);

  Copper Mine (West Papua) - environmental audit, and social audit;

  Power station - development; and

  MRT (Massive Rapid Transit) System feasibility proposal (Central Jakarta)

- **Expert advice**:

  Coastal Tourism Development (Yogyakarta);

  Island Tourist Resort (Bintan); and

- Restructuring advice to the Indonesian Ministry for the Environment (BAPEDAL).

- **Audit advice**: for a range of manufacturing and other premises throughout Indonesia;

- **Technical consulting work** to construction, mining, and infrastructure projects; and

- **Forestry management** studies and assessment.

- **Risk advice and quality management** for copper mine (West Papua); and

- **Social, cultural and economic impact** of project (Kalimantan).

These development projects generally rely heavily on the investment of foreign capital and expertise. As such they directly link to the integrating and expansionist practices of global capitalism. Diverse international investors add further to stakeholder cultural complexity. The developments occur across the Indonesian archipelago and thus, local stakeholder interests are also implicated.

These projects indicate the complexity and diversity of professional knowledge skills that underpin the company's service products. What makes a product distinctive is the way it is designed - customized - to serve the identity, lifestyle, or interests of a particular type of 'customer', whether this be a person or another business (Gee 2000). The knowledge and practical skills it takes to design and create value, to produce it efficiently, and to market it effectively, becomes the premium in the new capitalism - the true 'value added' (Reich 1992). The projects list and the diversity of stakeholders highlight that this work has corporate business, ethical, cultural and political dimensions interwoven into regulatory environmental and economic technical and professional work.

Different members of project teams have a specialist academic/technical background in a particular science and technology field. The various disciplinary fields have their own generic communications strategies for gathering, presenting and analyzing data, as well as discussing findings and constructing arguments to support professional decisions and recommendations (Fairclough 1995a; Gee 1996). Similarly, disciplines have their own cultural logic (or 'orders of discourse') implicitly understood through these generic information ordering, knowledge building and communications modes (Fairclough 1992; Kress 1993; Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson 1999; and Candlin & Hyland 1999). Therefore, misunderstandings and conflict can easily arise between multidisciplinary project team members who work in a shared linguistic environment. A multilingual and multicultural environment adds another dimension for misunderstandings

Thus, the production of reports for international clients relies not only on the cognitive and technical skills of team members, but also on the specific English language for special purposes (ESP) communications competencies of employees. Conforming to international quality standards criteria, the production of reports is also dependent on the specialist skills of presenting the relevant cultural literacies of science, technology and international business, usually framed on dominant western cultural logic. These reports, in turn, must then make sense to a range of different international clients and interested stakeholders. The building of these highly specialist linguistic and cultural written communications skills is challenging for those professionals whose first language is English, and even more so for those of multicultural and multilingual backgrounds. Moreover, the development of sophisticated communications skills is becoming an essential requirement for all professionals wanting to participate in the global economy. The professional development of these skills is dependent upon a deep understanding of the links between cognitive patterns and the specific cultural logic that underpin specialist language usage that in turn enables practitioners to be able to competently perform these multifaceted and highly skilled tasks.

This type of professional service TNC is complexly positioned between: meeting the basic business and regulatory compliance needs of global clients, addressing diverse national and local stakeholder development and community needs, and wider critical societal concerns. At the same time in a competitive commercial environment, it must be concerned with developing cutting-edge professional

and technical products that contribute to more responsive, ethical and sustainable environmental international business practices. In this way, it is conceived that a professional service company such as this has a serious intermediary and implementory role to play in the emerging sphere of corporate responsibility and the development, design and promotion of responsive management frameworks for more sustainable global society. The effective management of cross-cultural communication is conceived to be pivotal to achieving this.

This broadly conceived role of the reports prepared by the staff of this professional service TNC indicates their deeper political role implicated in the act of writing these reports in order to mobilize social action (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 1999). These broader interpretations of the work carried out by the management, expatriate and Indonesian staff of this TNC make this research opportunity challenging, exciting and of relevance to all those concerned for the kinds of impact that globalization is having on us all. It highlights the inter-relationships between critical concern for the political, cultural and economic impact of globalization.

- **The nature of the research problem**

The informant had worked with the Indonesian staff on several projects prior to raising his concern. He explained that this 'English language problem' resulted in significant pressure being placed on the expatriate project managers due to project inefficiencies, misunderstandings and delays. He commented that this significant production pressure and frustration is not only experienced by the expatriate staff, but also by the local Indonesian staff who find it very difficult writing reports in English. Rigorous professional industry requirements create significant pressure for the Indonesian staff team members who, struggled to operate in two languages. The informant explained that all too often, this situation left the project managers with the task of not just co-coordinating the project team, and evaluating all inputs, but often having to extensively and tediously edit, or even in the worst case scenario, rewrite whole reports.

The reports involve the input of multidisciplinary team members with each having multiple specialist professional, management, technical, research and writing functional roles. As such these multidisciplinary team members are an example of the growing number of sophisticated knowledge

workers. Under these local work place circumstances, in reality, the preparation of reports becomes an enormous task that is heavily dependent on the performance capabilities of a key individual expatriate. The rigorous documentation process not only identifies the project teams' findings and recommendations for clients, but it is also presented as a 'quality assured' international standard professional service product. The company's international corporate reputation and the reputation of its client companies are based on the quality of these reports. In this way, as well as providing the international corporate sector with environmental development and management guidelines, these final reports stand as a quality-marketing tool for the professional service company to win future contracts. Those clients are usually large TNCs. The final report is distributed widely and therefore, is read by many including the relevant individuals in the client corporation. With English being the international business sector's global corporate language, reports prepared for these clients must be prepared in a high quality professional standard of international English.

The informant explained that the work involved added bi-lingual production demands. Where gaining national compliance is a regulatory necessity, the report is also read, and often formally assessed, by various Indonesian national government departmental representatives. In this case, the report must be presented to the relevant Indonesian Government Department in Bahasa Indonesia. Meeting the relevant Indonesian statutory requirements, and hence specific government department demands, are an essential part of meeting the client developer's needs in seeking official national project approval. Thus, copies in both English and Bahasa Indonesia are frequently required.

Added to this bi-lingual production process, project documentation is often required to be presented in specified formats as a part of the requirements of the quality assurance process. Document requirements may also stipulate further constraints on report formats and generic style, for example, to indicate which particular methodologies have been applied to verify the research, data and evaluation process. This complex production reality indicates that documentation needs to be able to meet the demands of close scrutiny by a range of both international and national authorities. Meeting these specific and sophisticated multicultural, linguistic, professional, generic and quality standards are essential for the reports to meet government agencies' statutory requirements and thus, for approval to be given and essential clients' needs met.

- **Indonesian national government professional concerns**

One basic requirement is that, in presenting the report to the appropriate Indonesian Government department for assessment and approval, the Bahasa Indonesia version must make sense to the Indonesian Government representatives who will undertake the review and approval process. The company was informed that the Indonesian government agencies would not receive and approve reports that are written in an 'Anglicized' version of Bahasa Indonesian. An official example for this specific request was received by the company from, the Executive Chairman of the Central AMDAL Commission of the Department of Mines and Energy (DOME) in May 1996. A company representative translated from Bahasa Indonesia to English:

> After evaluating various AMDAL [Indonesian environmental impact assessment] documents it has been found that sometimes it was difficult to understand the content of the documents, because of the improper use of words and sentences. It turns out that the AMDAL documents have been prepared in English first and then translated into Bahasa Indonesia.
>
> To avoid any further misinterpretations and misunderstanding, all mining and energy companies are requested to prepare AMDAL documents in Bahasa Indonesia. In cases where the company requires AMDAL documents in English they should translate them from the Bahasa Indonesia version of the documents.
>
> I trust that all relevant parties can implement this request (Cantor 15 May 1996).

This official request implies that reports need to read as Indonesian language texts. In other words, Bahasa Indonesia reports are specifically required not to read as direct translations of professional western English language reports. The memo indicates that reports should be prepared in Bahasa Indonesia first or separately from their English language production. There are several implications: that direct translations become difficult to comprehend in another language; that Indonesian language reports are framed in institutionalized Indonesian cultural logic, whereas the English language reports are framed in western cultural logic; and that their cultural logic is very different. Questions concerning wider human resource and political reasons for this directive became an additional interest for the wider socio-cultural and political framing of this research.

- **The management and human resource implications**

The explanation for these professional work place issues begins to indicate why the informant described report writing as being both a complex and arduous task, and why improving team member

performance has important implications for business and human resource performance. It was apparent that this multidisciplinary professional work was complexly multicultural. Under these demanding circumstances the informant recognized that the situation would be improved if professional and technical report writers and translators had improved bilingual skills. However, the complex nature of highly specialized professional work raises the question as to how useful a bilingual English/Bahasa Indonesia translator would be without knowledge and skills in the highly specialist communications and cultural literacy associated with the professional service the company provides. The implication is that bi-lingual skills are not enough, and that high specialist multicultural competencies are required as well. In the informant's experience, in the context of Indonesia, finding professional staff with these added linguistic qualifications, whether of a local or international background, is extremely difficult. He added that he had had similar experiences when working on a United Nations agricultural development project in Iran, though there was less time production pressure, because it was not a competitive commercial organizational work context. The implication was that the some of the issues framing international aid projects were different to those framing international business work.

This complex report-writing regime has additional consequences for human resource management and the management of other aspects of corporate culture: for example, the company's human resource recruitment and development policy, internal reporting structure, quality assurance compliance, client relations, the competitive project tendering process and budget management, shareholder profitability expectations, etc. In order to meet important production deadlines, expatriate project managers often responded to the complex issues created in this multilingual environment by adopting work production strategies that resulted in the exclusion of the Indonesian staff. The necessary focus on 'getting the job done' in a hurry, under pressure and the associated implications for the nature of team leadership, undermined relationships with the local professional staff who, the informant stated, were upset by such practices. As a consequence of the need for expatriates to efficiently meet productivity goals, the encouragement of more equitable team building and human resource development strategies instigated by some of the expatriate staff, and advocated by the company management, were often undermined. Some expatriate staff were aware that sensitivity on their part, the use of strategies aimed to empower the local staff and concern for professional development, play an important role in

building the Indonesian staff's professional and management competencies. Others were less considerate.

Under these demanding workplace circumstances the need for efficient budget and time-line controls, integral to the competitive nature of the production cycles of international business, added more stress to the production cycle. The informant explained that regrettably, in these circumstances the situation often became personalized. He felt that this often had a serious and long-lasting counter productive effect on office culture, teams and work productivity. Despite every attempt to make instructions clear, the professional Indonesian team members often seemed unable to carry out certain intellectual and task functions. Indonesian project team members often masked their uncertainty and, instead, would indicate that they understood everything. Project managers often only discovered that the Indonesians were unable to perform well into project time lines. These comments indicate that the Indonesians approached work very differently to the expatriate staff. They also indicated that significant management, cultural, and linguistic issues were implicated in the informant's concerns.

Realizing the commercial significance of these communications and production issues, the company manager allocated funding for English language lessons for the Indonesians. However, the informant added there was little evidence that this was improving performance. He indicated that as far as he knew they were just spending time with an Indonesian native English language teacher doing traditional grammar and spelling exercises. However, the company understood that the English language problem involved important commercial and human resource issues for the company operating in a developing national context and an increasingly competitive international professional service market. The English language quality and the professional quality of these final reports interweave to represent a key marketing requirement for retaining clients, gaining further contracts and expanding the business. It was recognized that more professionally competent local staff would add to the company's local competitiveness; thus the initial request for help from the management to provide specific assistance in developing a solution to the English language-writing problem and full cooperation in this research.

- **The Indonesian national context**

The TNC's professional Indonesian staff indicates an aspect of the political and economic successes of the thirty years of the Suharto New Order Regime. The rising standards of living and education in Indonesia during the Suharto New Order Regime led to the rising numbers of increasingly educated middle class. However, since the economic crisis in 1997 and the downfall of Suharto in 1998, the country struggles to find a new way to build a more transparent, decentralized and democratic national political framework that will once again encourage economic investment and consequentially economic growth in the stagnant economy. Thus, for the natural resource rich Indonesian nation, attracting the investment of TNCs in mining, tourism and infrastructure development projects is imperative to both the economy and political stability of the nation. This situation highlights the asymmetrical nature of negotiations and relationships between national representatives of Indonesian interests and those of powerful TNCs and international development funding agencies.

At the same time, with a rising educated middle class with growing access to new media technologies, and the critical political influence of local, national and global NGOs, the manner in which these TNCs conduct themselves in local communities, the kind of impact that their development projects have on local and regional communities, and perceptions of the trickle down economic benefits to be had by local communities, is also of great concern to Indonesian citizens.

Bahasa Indonesia has an important nation-binding role. For Indonesians it is the language associated with institutionalized and bureaucratized socio-political functions. As the same time, most Indonesians are multilingual and speak diverse regional languages and local dialects (Lindsay, 1997). These diverse languages link to diverse sub-cultural and ethnic community membership and multifaceted identity. Traditionally, Indonesians have been an oral communications-oriented people. The New Order Regime established significant investment in building a national education system. This system aimed to substantially develop literacy levels and build school retention rates in order to address the national shortage of skilled human resources. Growing acceptance of the international business role for English places an additional linguistic burden on Indonesia to develop the human resource capabilities required engaging with the global economy. For Indonesians the necessity to develop English language skills in order to both comprehend and participate in global economic

activities is a great personal burden to add to life in an already complex national reality.

More particularly, the literature review indicates that the deeper nature of this burden relates to a more complex model of the dialectical and relativized nature of socio-cultural and linguistic systems, and the strength of local cultures and languages, in framing the ways people interpret their experiences and the behavior of others (Appadurai 1990; Robertson 1991; Garcia Canclini 1992; Fairclough 1992; Featherstone 1995; Gumperz & Levinson 1996; Pascal Zachary 2000). Embedded in international English usage are the cultural assumptions and cultural logic of the peoples of western English-speaking nations, for example, United States, Britain, Canada and Australia. However, each of these groups also has relativized and colloquial versions of English which do not necessarily make sense to another English-speaking national group. Gaining high levels of competency in professional international English language communication skills is challenging enough for native English speakers. Contemporary learner theory (Schank & Abelson 1995) indicates why, for adult Indonesians, the cross-cultural and multilingual nature of the challenge is enormous, if not impossible, especially in light of the kinds of English language learning opportunities available. These multidimensional issues will be embedded in the micro communications practices found in this TNC.

Prior to the economic crisis, for the rising numbers of the Indonesian middle class the impact of global consumer culture added another important new layer of cultural influence. In the 1990s, privileged Indonesians, enjoying the benefits of this economic boom, conspicuously consumed Western products and life-style. Significant investment in development resulted in the building of enormous shopping malls, and luxurious hotels in Jakarta and major regional cities. The informant explained that prior to the economic collapse amongst the young Indonesian staff there was a preference for frequenting the five star international hotels, The Hard Rock Cafe, Planet Hollywood, the Multiplex cinemas, Macdonald's and other American fast-food establishments in their free time.

Noting the popularity of these international consumer culture activities with the middle class population, *The Jakarta Post* (June 29th 1997) included several articles as part of a feature on the development of this new international and consumerist phenomena. The 'yuppie' phenomena was introduced in a front page article titled: "Yuppies reap fruits of economic boom" leading with the

following explanation:

> The success of the New Order economy has allowed the emergence of a group of young people who have better access to education and working opportunities. Most of them are well educated, well dressed and relatively well paid. Popularly called yuppies, these young professionals often lead a lavish lifestyle and have become an integrated part of the middle-class of Indonesia (p. 1).

Other articles such as "Indulgence is the middle name of many Indonesian yuppies" (p. 9) and "How do executives deal with stress?" (p. 9) discuss the claim that the leisure and consumer activities of this emerging professional group have become a necessity, rather than a luxury. These cosmopolitan activities are described as compensation for the hard and long hours of work required.

In this context, for Indonesians English usage inevitably becomes linked to the prestige of partaking in cosmopolitan consumer culture. A high status is placed on English as the language of business: "English-speaking people say English is the universal language. I don't know about that, but I know that in Indonesia, it's the only way to do business." "In Indonesia if you want to get anywhere, speaking Indonesian, however politely, won't get you there" (Sari 1997, p. 1).

> I've learnt, the hard way, that an English (or American accent) is your ticket to cracking what could potentially resemble a kryptonite vault. To many Indonesians, who cares that you're speaking in their native language (and yours). Who cares that you're supporting the government's campaign of "Indonesianization". As the surly secretaries prove, if you don't speak English, you're nobody.
>
> And what does that say about Indonesia's identity? Why after 50 years as a sovereign nation, do we still regard a foreign language as more compelling - superior even - than ours? Why does a command of English, which does not necessarily imply living overseas, command so much more respect?
>
> After nearly two decades of speaking English, I am learning an English lesson I probably wouldn't have learnt anywhere else; how to speak English for the sake of being perceived as different, separate and better (Sari 1997, p. 1).

The reference to the government's campaign of Indonesianization may link to the request made by the Director of the Department of Mines and Energy (May, 1996) for the company to present their reports in appropriate Bahasa Indonesia. They highlight how power becomes associated with specific linguistic use. They highlight the links between language concerns and issues of cultural identity, politics and recognition of the perceived need to have English language skills in Indonesia in order to gain the material benefits of globalization. These comments indicate the emergence of people of "third

culture" (Featherstone 1995) who occupy a polycentric global-oriented "third place" (Crozet, Liddicoat, & Lo Bianco 1999). These comments were made before the long lasting consequences of the economic crisis set in.

The literature review indicates how individual identity is now influenced by a range of global, national and local variables under the dynamic influences of globalization and spreading global consumerist culture. At the same time local and national formational influences are fundamental to the development of specific worldviews and interpretive strategies. Global cultural influences are inextricably linked to the activities of TNCs. However, meaning is predominantly made though local perspectives. Thus, each of the three societal tiers – global, national, and local – will have varied impact upon the cultural identity and resources of individuals, communities and nations to be found in this organizational context. This understanding emphasizes the multi-layered nature of identity. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Indonesia. For Indonesians, the shared national and pluralistic local nature of individual cultural identity is mediated through complex, historical and evolving specific linguistic resources, cultural traditions, competencies and communications practices. Membership of the communities of each of the three tiers depends on the kind of socio-cultural and economic resources individual Indonesians have which, in turn, gives them access and participation in these societal spheres.

The various expatriates and Indonesians in this company will variously derive their specific identity from the three societal tiers. Therefore, it is predictable that embedded in samples of specific micro-communications practices found in this office will be information about how the specific worldviews frame the communications practices, interpretations and actions of the individuals involved. The literature review confirmed that in order to gain deeper insights to the kinds of cultural frameworks and cultural assumptions that individuals draw on to make sense of and interpret their experiences, and therefore guide their responses and behavior, a socio-cultural mapping strategy would be valuable. Mapping the multilayered nature of individual's key formational socio-cultural influences that contribute to their specific world views can begin to give some deeper explanation for the mis-understandings and mis-communications that occur between individuals and groups of people from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Thus, it was conceived that a socio-cultural mapping strategy could indicate the weight given to the specific influences sourced from the three socio-cultural tiers. Through a socio-cultural mapping strategy, information can be gathered which gives explanation for what is understood and what does not makes sense and in which language. This information will have significant bearings on the way individuals carry out their specific professional functions, respond to management, liaise with wider stakeholders and perform their duties in general. It will highlight the critical relationship between cross-cultural communications and performance. This information in turn can then provide a more informed basis on which to determine specific individual HRD and management strategies that are designed to reconcile cultural differences between stakeholders and, thus, improve corporate business performance.

The worldviews and interpretive frameworks of the individuals in this corporate context will give them a range of resources and strategies for functioning both personally and professionally in this TNC. Some aspects of their specific history and socio-cultural background may hinder their meaningful participation and effective performance. The cross-cultural communications and language skills of both the international and local professional staff will determine how they participate, perform and the outcomes achieved by individuals and team members.

- **The impact of the S.E. Asian economic crisis on the Jakarta office of the TNC**

The severe economic crisis hit the boom-time economies of the nations of South East Asia in 1997. The impact on Indonesia was, and continues to be, devastating. The middle class has been severely affected. As a consequence of economic hardship, the crisis spilt over to bring down the Suharto New Order government after thirty years of power. The economic and political crisis had significant consequences for the management and staff of the TNC case study office. Under these circumstances the management faced the challenges of trying to meet the profitability demands of head office. The crisis had the potential to destroy the developing pool of multidisciplinary professional local human resources and the good will that had taken years to build. The management also faced concern for the personal economic welfare of the local staff, and the security of some individuals. This dramatic turn of events highlights how management cannot ignore political, cultural and economic issues in this kind of a developing nation business context.

Away from these day-to-day realities, Head Office indicated little interest in these national and local human resource and business issues. These issues identify the complex management role faced under these extreme political and economic national circumstances by an international manager, positioned as intermediary between head office demands and local realities. To add greater complexity to the management issues, in 1998 the case study TNC was subject to a merger/take-over by an American-based multinational engineering company.

The chaotic national circumstances brought about by the regional economic crisis significantly affected the time framework of this research project. In 1998 the dangerous political circumstances meant that expatriates were advised by their embassies to leave Indonesia or at least maintain a very low profile. The decline of the economy meant that development and project work shrank dramatically. Significant numbers of the staff were retrenched and there was little business activity to observe. However, the Jakarta office survived the crisis in reduced form. Thus, the research component of this thesis was unable to be carried out until March 2000, when President Wahid was appointed, and the situation became more stable and some international business activity resumed.

The researcher understands that the specific interpretive framing of this research project is an interactive process shaped by her socio-cultural framework – her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, ethnicity, education and professional experiences, etc (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). These factors interweave to frame the interpretation of both the micro nature of the specific corporate communication concern and the wider contextualization of this within broader multidimensional macro concerns. In addition, critical reflection instigated by undertaking a comprehensive and multidisciplinary literature review further heightened the researcher's awareness of the mix of personal, professional and academic background perspectives that led to the framing of the research.

This discussion indicates how this office, its international management and staff, and Indonesian employees, must face the complex challenges that this professional service product provision presents. The research aims to better understand these complex professional challenges and the role that cultural diversity plays in both business and professional performance in this specific multicultural environment. It aims to gather data that will contribute to a deeper understanding of the professional

development needs of the staff and management working in this context, particularly as these issues are mediated through specific behavior, communications and language practices: Framing the English language 'problem' in this way presents the opportunity to critically engage with some aspects of the complex consequences of globalization.

Chapter 6: Mapping the socio-cultural worldviews of a sample of professional Indonesians

Introduction

Despite the significant emphasis on building national human resource capacity by the New Order regime, there is a shortage of qualified technical and professional people in Indonesia. This shortage indicates why people with professional qualifications and work experience are so valuable to the developing nation and the future reform strategies applied to re-build political stability and stimulate economic growth. This section of the case study seeks to better understand how a small sample of Indonesians interprets their professional functions and their specialist work. A background in the historical and socio-political circumstances that have contributed to the modern Indonesian nation today gives important insights into the impact that complex political, cultural and economic formational circumstances has had on shaping the collective and idiosyncratic aspects of the worldview of individuals.

As an elite group, the interpretation of their professional functions is critical not only for their employer, but also for the future development of the nation. Professional Indonesians are conceived to have a central leadership and contributory role in creating the kinds of visions and strategies that will determine the kind of future that Indonesians want. They may also have a critical role in negotiating Indonesian international relations and opportunities for engagement in the global market economy. The degree of international and Indonesian cultural awareness and cultural responsiveness between stakeholders will determine the kinds of opportunities created and the achieved outcomes. Thus, this section of the case study research concerns the mapping of the socio-cultural worldviews of a small sample of professional Indonesians. The underlying assumptions is that by mapping the socio-cultural world views of these Indonesians, strategies can be developed to mobilize greater understanding of the role that cross-cultural communications plays in performance issues and thus, determine the appropriate and responsive management strategies to facilitate more meaningful interactions between diverse stakeholders.

Since independence in 1949, Indonesia has seen dramatic social, economic and political change. Prior to the economic collapse in 1997 the country achieved enviable economic growth rates and a rapidly growing middle class. This short independent time frame is clearly reflected in the coming to power in 2001 of Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of the nation's first President Sukarno. In recognition of the critical national governance role of qualified professionals, on the 8th of August 2001, President Sukarnoputri announced that her new thirty person cabinet was to be largely made up of professional and technical people rather than politicians because she considered that these were the people who had the appropriate skills to carry on the necessary reform process required to rebuilt economic growth and political security. Some thirty years ago President Suharto applied a similar political strategy by placing a key group of advisers known as 'the technocrats' into leadership positions (Schwarz, 1999). Many of the technocrats had western tertiary education.

The numbers of professional people employed in the international business sector today is numerically limited. These people have a critical intermediary role in negotiating between national, local and global interests. Indonesia needs significant international investment for development. The inflow of investment is now dependent upon institutional reform and rebuilding political stability. Thus, the future development of the nation is dependent on building a reservoir of human resources with not only the requisite and technical and professional skills, but also the requisite cross-cultural communication skills necessary to engage with the international business sector. With growing acceptance of the international role of English as the global business language, the attainment of requisite international English language skills becomes critical for those involved with the international sector. At the same time, for the international business community to function effectively and improve the outcomes of negotiations and business performance, understanding the cultural assumptions framing the interpersonal interactions and behavior of individual Indonesians and Indonesian institutions also becomes critical.

Contemporary theory emphasizes the important inter-relationships between cognition, culture and language for gaining deeper insights into the specificities that constitute worldviews, i.e., those variable socio-cultural formational factors that have had a critical role in framing the kinds of idiosyncratic and collective sense that people make of their experiences. The rational and practical

logic of specific worldviews are supported by specific cultural assumptions mediated through specific patterns of communications practices and linguistic skills and cognitive logic. Individuals and communities draw on their socio-cultural resources to made sense of their everyday experiences, and guide their behavior and interactions. The mapping of key formational socio-cultural characteristics of this sample of Indonesians will identify important shared and idiosyncratic aspects about specific cultural patterns of communication and behavior.

The material presented in the literature review indicated the dangers of relying on worldview concepts based on essentialized and homogeneous notions of national socio-cultural characteristics. The identification of essentialized national characteristics merely offers the first step in heightening awareness of the underlying diversity that exists between the cultural assumptions of various nations. Applying an essentialized and homogenous tick-list approach to identify Indonesian cultural characteristics will inevitably write out the more particularized complexity that constitutes the multicultural national population. In order to meaningfully address the needs of real people there also needs to be increased awareness of the multilayered and particularized nature of cultural identity and the ways this variously shapes the sense they make of their every day life experiences. More specifically, gaining a deeper understanding of the worldview of the participants working in this Jakarta office will give insights into the underlying reasons for the communication and performance problem associated with their limited English language skills.

This section presents qualitative material that maps significant socio-cultural dimensions of the worldviews of a sample of thirteen Indonesian. The material was derived from the analysis of the transcripts of thirteen interviews conducted during the two ten day field trips to Jakarta, the first visit being during March 2000 and the second during June 2000. The participants represent the privileged sector of Indonesian society that has completed senior high school, undergraduate studies, and in some cases, post-graduate degrees from Indonesian and international tertiary institutions.

The interviews were informal discussions of one to two hours in length, discretely structured around key socio-cultural themes. The interviews were all recorded and transcribed in verbatim. As the majority of the participants spoke softly and had mixed proficiency in English, this required close

listening. The interviews revealed rich content. The contents were analyzed into the following socio-cultural categories: name, age, sex, marital status, religion, ethnic grouping, regional origins, languages, education, family background, career paths, international experience and professional functions. These socio-cultural categories present multidimensional aspects of their biographic history that variously contributed to specific cultural, cognitive and linguistic patternment built in a multilayered fashion. Importantly, each of these dimensions would have had various impacts on aspects of their contemporary professional performance.

The material included in these categories is not clear cut, but rather interconnected, and often overlapping. For the purposes of this presentation of findings they are discussed separately and thus, some repetition is unavoidable. In order to clarify, or contextualize the participant dialogue, support material derived from key expatriate informants and observations recorded in the field notes diary will also be included. Significant participants dialogue has been included in order to let them speak for themselves and to present multiple points of view. This interactive narrative strategy is used to demonstrate the link between what they say and how they say it as well as indicating their English conversation skills.

These socio-cultural categories provide an ethnographic-based framework to discuss the various ways local, national and global cultural influences shape the interpretive frameworks and communication practices of the participants. Identifying the deeper implications of the various cultural perspectives presents the opportunity to identify the underlying cultural nature of the miscommunications and misunderstandings experiences, and thus, corporate inefficiencies indicated. Tables summarizing the key details from the participant responses for each category are included. An organizational chart identifying the participants and their current position is also included.

The Indonesian informants' socio-cultural variables

1. Names

The real names of the participants have not been included. The Indonesian numbers from one to 13 has substituted their first names. Therefore, they are referred to as Satu, Dua, Tiga, Enam, Lima, Empat, Tujuh, Delapan, Sembilan, Puluh, Pak Sebelas, Duabelas and Tigabelas. However, the

cultural significance of their names has been considered. The informants' names indicate the assimilative cultural traditions (Fox, 1998) and reflect a range of European, and Arabic, as well as local linguistic influences. One name calls for further explanation. I asked Armstrong for the origin of his name.

> "Because I am born in 1969," was the reply.
> "Ah, the man on the moon," I said. "Your parents were obviously very impressed with the technology of getting a man on the moon?"
> Armstrong replied: "Ah yes, ah because he is also working in the technical..."
> "Your father was also an engineer?" I asked.
> "Yes," he said adding, "Especially in the Batak, we are usually using the name of what we want our son to be, as in King Arthur or um."

His Batak parents' choice of name indicates an honoring of the 1969 technological achievement of US astronaut Neil Armstrong's moonwalk. In 1969, President Suharto was formulating and implementing the New Order the strategic national modernization, development and cultural policies to encourage economic development and to bind the diverse population. At the time, the tremendous success of the event of putting a man on the moon did much to promote the cultural values of western science and technology and more specifically America.

The literature review highlights how the pictures of the earth taken from the moon are conceived to symbolize a reframing perceptual moment in the history of mankind (Campbell 1988; Ferguson 1992; Houston 1993; Roszak 1993; Havel 1994). The iconographic image of the earth pictures taken from the moon promote the utopian values modern western science and technology offer the world, and simultaneously convey the finite and fragile nature of planet earth. This event is identified as being a critical moment in contemporary globalization discourse and an appropriate symbol for the paradoxes globalization presents. Thus, the naming of Armstrong indicates the global spread of recognition of this western achievement, and both the scale of hopes and future ambitions that these parents living in Northern Sumatra had for their boy.

To illustrate his point, Armstrong also referred to the Anglo-Saxon King Arthur. This example indicates the assimilative way that Batak draw on the diverse cultures. Supporting this naming tradition, I later met a Batak geo-technologist called Amazon. This appropriative practice is a

consequence of the geo-political location of Northern Sumatra with the Straits of Malacca historically a conduit for trade, colonization and migration. This history has created appropriative and assimilative local communities. Many Batak have been converted to Christianity. The symbolic use of names indicates the high value that some Batak place on individual achievement and ambition. This practice could indicate that these ethnic people draw on more western individualistic cultural assumptions.

For the Javanese, family names reflect social importance (older or younger), rather than gender (brother or sister) (Draine & Hall 1998). The topic of names was not discussed with the Javanese participants. However, a well know example can be seen in President Sukarno's daughter, President Megawati Sukarnoputri, which means the daughter of Sukarno. 'Mega' means cloud. President Megawati's birth was a dramatic experience. Her mother was giving birth in the middle of a storm when the roof collapsed due to the enormous weight of water from a tropical cloud burst (Powell 2001). Wati is her mother's family name. 'Putri' means daughter. Thus, many aspects to her identity are indicated in her name. These cultural dimensions to naming in Indonesian indicate that when two Indonesians are introduced and names are exchanged, implicit in this simple interaction may be the exchange of explicit socio-cultural information about the two people and how they should further communicate with each other. In contrast, many Chinese Indonesians (Peranakan) have taken Indonesian names as an assimilationist strategy. Only one young man of Chinese ethnic background in the office had an obvious Chinese name.

2. Age

Table 6.1: The approximate age of the Indonesian participants

Name	Age	Name	Age
Satu	mid-30s	Delapan	mid-20s
Dua	early 30s	Sembilan	late 20s
Tiga	30 years	Puluh	late 20s
Empat	27 years	Pak Sebelas	62
Lima	30 years	Duabelas	early 30s
Enam	27 years	Tigabelas	late 20s
Tujuh	30 years		

This section contextualizes the age of the participants within important shared generational experiences that relate to wider historical, economic and political circumstances in Indonesia. These

wider circumstances will have had significant impact in shaping the idiosyncratic experiences of individuals along with their national identities as Indonesian citizens. The participants' ages range from the mid-twenties to 62.

Pak Sebelas

At 62, Pak Sebelas' life experiences have been shaped by the history of key national and international events. Born in 1938, he has experienced the closing years of the Dutch colonial rule, the Japanese invasion, and the struggle for independence, the years of Sukarno's rule, and then the thirty years of Suharto's New Order regime to the turmoil and changes facing the nation today. As the most senior professional Indonesian, his perspective is extremely valuable. As the most senior Indonesian he has the ascriptive status of being the 'bapak' or father figure for the rest of the staff. This status gives him the respect and honor deemed culturally appropriate for a highly valued father figure in a hierarchical and paternalistic social order. This high ascriptive status comes not only from his age, but also from his aristocratic Javanese (priyayi) background and his leadership role for many years as a senior civil servant.

The inclusion of this type of 'bapak' in the staff of an international professional service company is essential for success in Indonesia for three reasons. Firstly, a high ascriptive status person performs his inter-actional functions both internally and externally, in the appropriate Indonesian cultural manner. This position has both prescriptive linguistic and cultural behavior implications. As *the* Bapak, he leads in an authoritative and paternalistic manner, displaying the appropriate cultural forms of etiquette and guiding the Indonesian collective style of group discussion (musyawarah) that, in turn, leads to collective and consensus-based decisions (mukafat). On many occasions I observed Pak Sebelas casually enter the room where group discussion between project team members was taking place in Bahasa Indonesia, interrupt the discussion, make softly spoken comments and leave for the discussion to continue. He may do this several times during a meeting, not staying for the whole meeting.

Pak Sebelas conveyed a modern interpretation of a more imposing traditional interpretation of the father-figure role. Several of the informants commented about his atypical approachable style and relaxed sense of humor. Sembilan explained Pak Sebelas' less formal and traditional manner:

> "Yah, we respect him, but I think he is more liberal. In Javanese we have two words 'sun kenam' - we can joke with him, we can sometimes be quite naughty, we treat him like a friend or the same as us, the same age or something. This is in humor or something like that. But in work, he is the boss, not a real Java that we have to come and we have to sort our sentences differently." (Sembilan, 23/3/00)

This comment indicates both formal and informal styles of communicating in Indonesian and that the formal style requires careful consideration over grammar, vocabulary and etiquette. Inquiring how Pak Sebelas fitted into the senior management I asked Puluh if he had to treat Pak Sebelas in a more traditional Indonesian way. He replied that:

> "He is the Bapak, so basically I cannot treat Pak Sebelas and Pak Fritz [the German President Director] in the same way in some respect. So he will still be the Pak Sebelas with respect to the former Department of Mines and Energy. So he's ok compared to the other Bapak. His talking is funny, he is socializing."
>
> "He has a sense of humor", I said.
>
> "Yes, so basically he is not in the position to make that I am the Bapak, but from my perspective he is [strong emphasis] the Bapak, and I have [strong emphasis] to respect." (Puluh, 23/3/00)

These comments indicate both the respectful nature of the traditional bapak role, and Pak Sebalas' individualized interpretation of this. The paternalistic aspect to the bapak role indicates a "communitarian" cultural dimension (Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars, 2000) to Indonesian leadership in which specific chosen individuals have ascriptive leadership responsibilities involving the maintenance of social harmony. Pak Sebelas' atypical interpretation of this role indicates the impact of other influences.

The inclusion of someone like Pak Sebelas is essential because his status is recognized in business and the public service. This local status enables the senior expatriate management to gain both official and interpersonal access to similarly senior people in the government, political or business sectors. At important meetings between senior Indonesians and international corporate representatives, I observed that his intermediatory role was central. The senior Indonesians would address their discussion to Pak Sebelas, whether they are speaking in English or Bahasa Indonesia, often using Bahasa Indonesia directed to Pak Sebelas to clarify what the expatriates had said, and often to represent expatriate

communications more appropriately. Both the flow of interactions and confirmation of meanings were frequently mediated through him. Thus, how he switches interpretation and communicates information has a pivotal role to group understanding.

The breadth of his senior government and professional experiences enable him to be an important resource for the corporate memory of his field in Indonesia. The long-term nature of his professional and institutional knowledge makes him an invaluable resource for identifying the relevant people, procedures and related past project work for both the international and Indonesian staff. Thus he has an important senior networking and relationship-building role for the company. As more dimensions are revealed during this discussion a deeper understanding of the important cultural role-played by Pak Sebelas will emerge. Dr Fritz, the President Director of the Jakarta office, recognizes the unique cosmopolitanism and breadth of experience of Pak Sebelas. The previous people engaged in the senior bapak role in the office held a more honorific role. Dr Fritz was aware that there would be difficulty replacing him.

The young professional Indonesians

The other twelve Indonesians fall into the 25 to 35 year old bracket. They were all born after 1966, the year that marks out the beginning of the New Order and the demise of Sukarno. Their lives have been significantly framed by the specific national strategic policies that enabled the New Order to achieve its goals of political stability and economic growth. This political formation had serious cultural repercussions for the institutional nature of the development of their collective worldviews. The authoritarian and military regime, with its overarching integrationist national cultural policy had significant impact on their young lives. They represent the sector of the privileged sector of Indonesian society that was the recipients of many of the material and cultural benefits of that thirty years of political stability and economic growth.

During their formational years the authority of government decisions went largely unchallenged. Supported by a large and complex hierarchy of state-based officials, the New Order had almost unlimited powers to regulate all the activities of all corporations and persons within Indonesian society (Schwarz, 1999). In this coercive political architecture, there was no popular control over

bureaucrats and officials (Antlov & Cederroth 1994). Indicating the pervasiveness of this authoritarian political architecture, the national administrative network extended right down to village level supported by a powerful military presence. The cultural ramifications of this coercive institutional political framing will unfold as the participants tell their various stories.

Growing up during these thirty years these young Indonesians have, until recently, also only known Suharto's style of national leadership. They witnessed a cultural leadership style that evolved from General, to President, to a 'regent' conveyed as the authoritative and paternalistic father of the nation, or the one who knew what was best for his children (Grant 1996). This paternal authority was backed by a hard line military regime that coercively overviewed all social action. More latterly, these Indonesians witnessed his authoritarian leadership style decline into one where his decisions served the interests of the corrupt and nepotistic business interest of his children, instead of the interests of the nation. Finally, they witnessed his defeat and demise, and the national dishonor of huge fraud and corruption charges.

The previous thirty years enabled them to benefit from the improved consumer and material conditions enjoyed by an expanding middle class. The most successful period of economic growth occurred in the decade during the early 1980s to 1990s (Schwarz 1999). Many of the participants were either teenagers or young adult university students at this time. They must have been very optimistic about the excellent career opportunities for those pursuing higher education. However, ironically participation in improved standards of living and this consumer culture also exposed them to the inflowing influences of global popular (Sen & Hill 2000).

Duabelas, an office director and the operations manager, explained that western film and music products were an important part of her teenage and later years.

> "But even though I am in big family, I like to spend time in my own room, and I had my own television in my own room." "I don't like to be with the family at night, I studies a lot, I read, study and watch television." "I watched a lot of movies." "Some foreign films, some Indonesia and I was always discussing with the friends in the school." (Duabelas 12/6/00)

I asked her if western pop music was available in Palembang when she was growing up. She replied:

"Yes for sure". So I asked her if she was free to buy what she wanted and she said: "Yes, maybe

because I was six years older than my sisters and brothers, so I was quite close to my mum, but not really close with my father". Now as a successful professional woman with a busy career, she said that going to see the latest western movie at one of Jakarta's many cinema complexes or watching a DVD version in her apartment and going to the gym are her favorite and most frequent means of weekend relaxation.

Prior to the 1997 economic collapse, my partner explained that he would often join some younger expatriate staff in accompanying the young Indonesian staff to places like the Hard Rock Cafe, Planet Hollywood, or at the large multiplex cinema and shopping centers to watch the latest American film release after work. However, since the economic crisis, he said that this type of activity no longer occurs. Perhaps the cost of these international places is now too high for many middle-class Indonesians. Many of the Indonesians had since been married and many were also financially responsible for other family members, and the education of younger siblings. Perhaps this conspicuous consumerist behavior was not considered culturally appropriate for responsible married people.

The political and economic chaos that occurred after the 1997 crash was very traumatic. Aspects of this are revealed throughout the interviews. The office had to downsize dramatically. Dua explained how he had been affected:

> "Yes, I could say that that was very hard time when we had to lose friends, plus I lost my boss, my manager, because he was transferred back to Brisbane. And then we lost about two senior geo-technical engineers, and then we lost another expert, and then everybody. So I have to run this section by myself, alone. And then last year, um, in October we had the merger of [the company] and we get another geotechnical engineers. We now have two, and this makes me happy too now because I have another college man, I have assistance and now it looks like the construction sector starts again, so I am a happy man." (Dua 17/3/00)

Dua's emphasis on his discomfort at being alone and happiness at being joined by another staff member points to the collective nature or group orientation of practice and discomfort with individualism.

It is extremely disheartening that the economic conditions are not improving four years later and this is having an impact on their future plans. I asked Delapan about her husband, who was a pilot with

Merpati (Diary, 14/6/00). She explained that all was not good. Before the crisis Garuda and Merpati had a non-competitive domestic provider arrangement. However, international provider Garuda became caught up in a large international bankruptcy debt after the crisis and so began 'poaching' on Merpati's domestic market. Prior to this Merpati had taken on and trained extra pilots including her husband. Now there is a much-reduced workload and her husband has only five days a month work. Therefore, she is worried about his future career. "The pilots have not been laid off, that is the Indonesian way, the small amount of work is shared," she said. This corporate strategy reflects the communitarian cultural assumptions of collective responsibility. Their only hope would be if he could get an international license. However, this is very expensive and they are unable to afford it. Similarly affected by the crisis, the husbands of both Enam and Tigabelas were either unemployed or managing only to get a small amount of part-time contractual work. These stories indicate that under contemporary political and economic circumstances many are not so optimistic. Several commented that they believed it would take ten years for real reform in Indonesia.

The unpredictable reformist leadership style of President was very different to Suharto. The interviewees, along with the Indonesian media, expressed a sense of confusion with his contradictory and seemingly indecisive style of leadership. The degree of political stability and rising standards of living experienced by these young Indonesians through Suharto's thirty years of power may not have equipped them for the life world challenges associated with the uncertainty, instability, and economic stagnation Indonesia faces today. The country's populist democratic political reform means incorporating very different styles of government, reconciling factional political, ethnic and religious societal debate suppressed for so long. Recognizing that democratic change would take a long time Pak Sebelas explained:

> "What is difficult for Indonesia is that you can't have democracy if you still have a king, but Indonesian, mostly is still the kingdoms, small kingdoms, so it is not democratic a kingdom. So Sukarno, no democracy. And then Suharto they start, but no. You can have talk opening, open discussion and criticize, but can he accept critic? And then if you punch somebody, his revenge is that he punch you back." (Pak Sebelas 9/6/00)

His comments highlight the power given to authority and the lack of political freedom under the New Order Regime. He then compared the approach of Indonesian politicians to the "affective" (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000) and open debating style of Australian parliamentarians. On a visit to

Australia he had been taken to observe the New South Wales parliamentary debate and was later introduced to members of the House.

> "And I asked why you argue like this? You there, you sit there, and afterwards it is nothing [speaking in an excited high pitch tone]. Still friends, but not here, it is impossible. You would be killed then, killed then [strong emphasis]. So it is different. So democracy in Indonesia, it will take a long time". (ibid)

Pak Sebalas' comments indicate the alien nature of affective rhetorical displays from political leaders. This western individualist cultural approach contrasts to the more 'neutral' cultural mode of discussion acceptable after thirty years of autocratic rule in Indonesia rather than vigorous western parliamentary debate.

Whatever their socio-economic background, the material conditions experienced by these young Indonesians are very different to their parents. The degree of this change was indicated in meeting an aunt of the young professional Indonesian woman now married to the company's President Director (Dr Fritz). They live in a luxury apartment on the thirty third floor of a fifty story high building that was one of eight fifty stories high towers rising out of the largest shopping mall and cinema complex in South East Asia. Members of President Suharto's family had developed this modern complex at the height of the economic boom in the early 1990s. Each of the eight towers symbolizes a member of the presidential family.

On entering the apartment early in the evening with Dr Fritz and my partner I saw a small fragile looking elderly woman covered in a traditional sarong lying in the middle of a large Persian rug that lay over the marble floor. She had been asleep and we had woken her. She quickly got up and was introduced to us by her niece, Dr Fritz's wife. Apparently she always slept on the floor when staying with her niece. She had come to help with the domestic duties. She spoke no English. Her niece, on the other hand, spoke English, German, Bahasa Indonesian and Javanese. Immediately after the formal introductions she returned to her position on the floor and went back to sleep without bedding, surrounded by Indonesian art works, computers, a large screen television, DVD/CD players, etc and the four of us chatting by her. After dawn after the first Moslem prayers of the day I heard her moving around the apartment. Her niece later said that she no longer had the necessary discipline to rise so early for prayers. She commented about the contrast between having members of her family

that still do "black magic" with chickens and that of her privileged, professionally and internationally educated cosmopolitan life.

With the exception of Pak Sebelas, all the interviews fall into the mid twenties to mid-thirties age-bracket. At this stage of their careers they could have important leadership and contributory roles for guiding the future environmental management and more general development strategies of the natural resource rich nation.

3. Gender

Table 6.2: The gender of the Indonesian participants

Name	Gender	Name	Gender
Satu	Female	Delapan	Female
Dua	Male	Sembilan	Female
Tiga	Female	Puluh	Male
Empat	Female	Pak Sebelas	Male
Lima	Male	Duabelas	Female
Enam	Female	Tigabelas	Female
Tujuh	Male		

This section discusses the ways that gender influenced the private and professional experiences of the informants. Eight of the participants were female and five were male. The overall professional staff in the office divided more equally with 14 males and fifteen females. In discussing educational opportunities and experiences it became apparent that in Indonesian families there was a high commitment to providing educational opportunities for all children. The absence of gender in educational and employment opportunities was noteworthy. A secretary who now works in a subsidiary office was the only one who made a remark related to gender roles (Diary, 23/3/00). When I enquired about her secretarial diploma she said: "a secretarial science diploma is just the kind of qualification that all mothers dream of for their daughters to get a good job and have the best life chances".

Rather than gender affecting career choices, the linking of the word science to secretarial studies implied that science was the strongest cultural value framing education. Similarly, indicating that

science is a core national educational value, Tigabelas' librarian studies qualification is a part of a degree in communication science. The building of this national gender-neutral approach with a strong emphasis on science deserves further explanation. The Indonesian Ministry of National Education's "Overview of the Education System" and the outline of the curriculum content (Indonesian Ministry of National Education, 2000) explain that the current vision underpinning the Ministry's approach is fundamentally concerned with the pursuit of economic development built on a sophisticated and internationally competitive population well educated in science and technology.

> At the beginning of 1994/1995 all the way up to 2018/2019, Indonesia has been entering into the Second 25 Year Long Term Development Plan/PJPII as the most determining phases, also known as 'the take-off era'. The most significant nature of PJPII is the strong emphasis on human resource development GBHN 1993 (The National Guidelines of the State Policy) stated that: "PJPII significantly stresses on economy as the most determining factor of development, coupled with the quality improvement of human resources; and supported by strengthening, binding and integrating the development of other areas which are carried out analogously with the success of economic development in the framework of achieving the purpose and target of national development."
>
> The emphasis on human resource development that appears in all sectors and sub-sectors of the national development is a testimony that Indonesian has made a strong commitment to attain excellence in mastering science and technology to equal other nations in the world.
>
> The government is aware of the role of quality human resources in mastering science and technology as a governing factor in achieving excellence (The Indonesian Ministry of National Education 2000, p. 1).

A review of the curriculum of the compulsory nine years of education, introduced in 1993, shows a significant emphasis on mathematics and science. While the participants were educated mainly during the latter part of the First 25 Year Long Term Development Plan, this strong emphasis on science and technology knowledge has been a core value to both the Ministry's national human resource vision and policy. Many of the participants were making the choices about their tertiary education at the time of the implementation of the Second 25 Year Long Term Plan. Under this education policy pursuing national modernization and economic development through science and technology, it is understandable that families with high education values would encourage their children to succeed in science and technology regardless of their gender.

More traditional gender role concerns about their choices in their private lives arose. I asked Tigabelas if her husband, who at the time had only limited part-time consultancy, would support her by helping in the home with their child if she were awarded an overseas scholarship. She said: "yes he could, he likes to be at home". However, she added: "but this is not the Indonesian way for a man, better the woman stays with the children and the man go out". Thus, Tigabelas indicated that now that she had a child her opportunities for further study were now closed off. By contrast, Empat had had a baby in Germany while undertaking Masters study on a university scholarship. Her husband had joined her in Germany to help look after the baby.

When I asked Enam (who was pregnant) if she thought that she could handle further post-graduate studies or work-experience in an overseas office, she replied: "Yes, I think so because there are lots of examples of success – Empat - and a lot of my friends also went to the masters while they have a baby - in Indonesian and overseas". She added: "Our dream, what you call our dream together to take the overseas study because we really want to go to - he really wants to take the e-commerce masters and I want to take environmental health and safety, but now we don't have the money".

The comments in the next section reveal that while gender made no difference to professional choices, these women had many private gendered concerns related to family life. In the office the kind of professional work undertaken by the staff in the office was not linked to gender. All members of staff undertook field research in the regions where development projects were located. Both the females and the males indicated that they enjoyed doing this. The roles of the non-professional staff were, however, divided according to gender. The secretaries were all female while the kitchen staff, general office support and drivers were all male.

4. Marital status

Table 6.3: The marital status and number of children of the Indonesian participants

Name	Marital Status	Name	Marital Status
Satu	Married- 3 children	Delapan	Married
Dua	Married - 2 children	Sembilan	Single
Tiga	Single	Puluh	Single
Empat	Married - 1 child	Pak Sebelas	Married -3 children
Lima	Single	Duabelas	Single
Enam	Married	Tigabelas	Married - 1 child
Tujuh	Married		

This section discusses the various issues concerning the values placed on marriage and related family and work concerns. It indicates the importance of marriage in shaping adult identity in Indonesia and how this may be changing. Five of the thirteen participants were single and eight were married. Three of the eight women were single, while two of the five men were single. These two single men were approximately 30 years old and of Chinese Indonesian ethnic origins. All of the single participants, with the exception of Lima, expressed a desire to be married. This indicates the maintenance of high cultural value given to the institution of marriage. However, Lima said that he preferred to travel and work or study overseas again. Marriage would restrict his career opportunities.

It is noteworthy that a young Australian female professional staff (Verity) said that while the staff were friendly, she felt that they did not completely accept her because she was not married to her Australian partner with whom she lives in Jakarta. This was despite her speaking Bahasa Indonesia and making what she thought were considerable efforts to be culturally sensitive and friendly. This private arrangement placed a moral question over the Indonesian staff's ability to 'take her in'. She was the only female expatriate staff member at the time. All three of the permanent expatriate male staff, are married to Indonesian women. The remaining expatriate men in the office on a fly-in-fly-out basis were all married. It seemed that generally there was a strong pro-marriage value.

While marriage remains strong, people are marrying later. In 1988 the average age of marriage was 20.1 years and by 1990 this had increased to 21.9 years (Throssell 1995). The five single Indonesians

are significantly older than the national average for marriage. In the 1980s the government introduced the 'dua anak cukup perempuan atua laki-laki sama saja' (two children is enough whether they are a boy or a girl) birth control program. Again, the cultural emphasis here is gender neutrality. Comparing the number of children the participants have with their parents indicates a lower birth rate between the generations. Most came from families with at least four siblings. Contemporary Indonesian women are having only half as many children as their counterparts in the 1960s (Hugo 1996). However, there are substantial variations between regions. In 1991 the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in Java and Bali was 2.7 compared with 3.5 in the provinces of Aceh, North, West and South Kalimantan, North and South Seluesi, West Nusa Tengarra, and 3.8 in other provinces (Hugo 1996). Tiga, whose family comes from West Nusa Tengarra, said that her father had taken three wives, two of who had died. Thus, she said that she had a large family, some 12 brothers and sisters.

Four of those informants who were married had young children. Two informants in the thirties have two children, and the younger two had only one. Two of the married participant women were expecting babies later in the year. The majority of the children are under one year old. The numbers of women having babies in the last twelve months may indicate a conventional shift back towards private and family values over work-place career and consumption values in times of tremendous political and economic uncertainty.

Despite fewer numbers of children per family, the women all expressed anxieties about mixing motherhood, career and economic provider responsibilities. They all expressed reservations about leaving their children and returning to work after three months maternity leave. Employing others for childcare was easy to arrange, but they had concerns for the quality of that childcare. They all commented that they had 'nice girls' looking after their babies or children. The monetary cost of childcare in the home is very affordable. All the mothers live in a nuclear family arrangement away from extended families living in the regions; being a professional in Indonesia means that the best job opportunities are located in Jakarta. As stated, many of the women were the primary source of income. Contact with the extended family was now limited to a few times a year. This mainly occurred when many return to the regions to be with their families, usually for an extended two-week holiday around Idul Fitri, celebrating the end of Ramadan the Muslim month of fasting and prayer.

All the mothers expressed concern for their child's nanny's low level of education. Empat raised concerns about the nanny instilling values that that conflict with her family values. "While I am not there I do not know what sort of things she is filling my little daughter's head with!" She also spoke of the distress she felt about her nanny's inability to read and understand the instructions on pharmaceutical bottle labels and the dangers this presented when the child was ill:

> "Quite difficult for my daughter actually, only with my servant who has no good education, like last night my baby coughed and my servant give her the medicine for nose and it make me very nervous. And I took my baby to the doctor to ask if it is dangerous and only laugh and said no, no. It makes me laugh." (Empat 20/3/00)

Tigabelas said that she had a very kind girl living full-time with her and her husband: "she wear the jelabah, this means she is a good girl." In other words, the wearing of the Muslim headdress conveys that she lives according to strict Islamic values. These parental concerns articulate to the enormous educational and life style gap between the Indonesian social classes, particularly in the major urban centers.

Satu explained her solution to the nanny's inability to help her two boys (aged 6 & 7) with homework:

> "There is a pick up car every day, the car comes to my house everyday and after they are finished they bring to home and the nanny look after them. And I monitor by the phone to see if they have the homework, what you have for homework, and in the afternoon, because the distance from my house to the office is too far, yah, I stay in D [the location]. It is maybe 30 kilometers from here, it takes two hours from here, even we use the own car it takes a minimum of two hours from here. I usually start [the journey to work] at six thirty and I reach the office at eight thirty or nine."

> "And then there is the afternoon also. It is maybe 7.30 or 8 pm before I reach the home. Because there is so many crowded points between the office and my house, very crowded."

> "Because my husband also works in Jakarta [they come by car together], not so far from here in Thamrin. He works for the government department, institution, National Atomic Agency, but he finishes work at four, the government finishes earlier, so he can take care of the children, like homework and monitor and after he finished I get home." (Satu 17/3/00)

Embedded in these comments about family arrangements was additional information about her husband's high status-giving government employment and the difference in the number of working hours between the international business sector and government agencies and the impact of this for family life.

Implicit in the differential hours worked between the government sector and the international sector are cultural assumptions about the nature of time. The Indonesian government work hours are framed on a 'synchronic' cultural notion of the multiplicity of mutual responsibilities (gotong royong) life dictates beyond the world of work. Similarly, it is understood that government employees will have high ascriptive status and thus will have wider responsibilities in the community. This approach contrasts to the international sector's linear, 'sequential' and efficiency orientation to time management and limited concern for private dimensions to worker's lives.

Satu, Dua, Enam and Tigabelas all expressed concern for the time consequences to family life that result from working for an international company. "So if like last Sunday we have to come to work, to the office because we have discuss the presentation that we have to give on Monday, so I bring all my children because they complain why on Sunday you still work. So I bring my children. So they play a game here [indicating her office] and I work in the conference room." (Satu, 17/3/00) Dua, Enam and Tigabelas also have partners who either worked for the government as a public servant, or did flexible private contractual consulting work. Dua's wife works for the Government Ministry of Health in the Drug Control Authority:

> "That's the advantage of government but, ah, have got very low salary, but they are secure, that's the only advantage working for the government, that you are secure.
>
> I think most of the government is working less hours, ah usually I think, but it depends on which authority you are working for. For my wife, she usually left the office at about 3.45 pm." (Dua, 17/3/00)

This sectoral employment means that spouses can get home up to three hours before. Enam's husband works in private consulting in air quality, and Tigabelas' husband as a consultant geologist (both, often part-time or unemployed for extensive periods since the crisis). With the high value placed on marriage, families and wider family responsibilities, I sensed that there was a conflict of values between individuals' commitment to private responsibilities and the high work demands of this kind of international organization.

Dr Fritz was aware of the costs for families associated with the long hours of work that is standard practice in this American-based company, and the length of time staff had to travel across the city to get to and from work. Recognizing the personal costs, he said that he would be interested in

supporting their needs by giving them the opportunity to work from home when appropriate, through

the use of computers, laptops, email, etc. Unfortunately, he added, despite their high educational and

professional levels, he could not make any assumptions about the kinds of facilities that they had at

home. There may not be reliable power lines, phone lines, or even enough space in their homes for

work. Interestingly, Dr Fritz saw taking work home as some kind of a solution indicative of his strong

workplace values. While trying to be locally responsive, his solution indicates his western cultural

prioritization of work obligations over wider community obligations. Several of the married women

commented that they thought that Duabelas, who is single, has an international Masters Degree and

has attained a directoral level of seniority, "is a work-aholic". This indicates they thought she favored

western workplace values like the expatriates. Implicit in their interpretation are disparaging,

compulsive, and egocentric notions about the nature of expatriates' work ethics.

5. **Ethnic background**

Table 6.4: The ethnic grouping of the Indonesian participants.

Name	Ethnic grouping	Name	Ethnic grouping
Satu	Javanese (Central)	Delapan	Javanese (C & E)
Dua	Javanese	Sembilan	Batak
Tiga	Mixed Sumbawan,	Puluh	Chinese Indonesia
Empat	Javanese (Sundanese) & S. Sumatran	Pak Sebelas	Javanese (C & E)
Lima	Chinese Indonesian	Duabelas	S. Sumatran & Saudi Arabian
Enam	Javanese (Sundanese)	Tigabelas	Javanese (Sundanese) & Chinese Indonesian
Tujuh	Batak		

Ethnicity is especially important at a time when Indonesia grapples with debate about what diversity

means for a more democratic Indonesia. This small sample of thirteen professional Indonesians

includes people of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Jakarta is a city where there is high intermixing of

ethnic groups. Within this group Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, Sumbawan, Seluesian, Chinese

Indonesian (Peranakan) and mixed Southern Sumatran and Arabian backgrounds are represented.

Most had mixed ethnic backgrounds. However, when asked they considered themselves to be

Indonesian foremost. The importance given to national identity indicates the New Order's nation

building policy successes. However, the participants referred to the importance they placed on both their ethnic background and regional origins. The location in which they were raised and length of the formative time spent there tended to reinforce their sense of ethnic identity. The majority of the married informants had spouses that came from similar ethnic or regional backgrounds. This further indicates the strength of sub-cultural identity. The discussion is grouped into four categories: Chinese Indonesians, Batak, Javanese (Central, Eastern and Sundanese), and others.

Chinese Indonesian (Peranakan)

The two men with Chinese Indonesian backgrounds were very reluctant to talk about themselves in ethnic terms. They both looked Chinese. The one female, whose father was a Chinese Indonesian, did not disclose this background at all, revealing only that her family all 'came' from Bandung in West Java. The information about her Chinese background was revealed by one of the expatriate informants. The percentage of Chinese Indonesian ('Peranakan', born in Indonesia and 'Totok', born in China) amounts to only 3% of the total population. However, it is widely acknowledged that this 3% of the population controls approximately 80% of the nation's wealth. Of all the ethnic minorities in Indonesia, few have had as large an impact on the country as the Chinese (Turner et al. 2000). As a result of their merchant and trading origins, the Chinese Indonesians have typically been town and urban dwellers. As sophisticated urban dwellers they made important contributions to the hybrid cultures that developed in coastal towns (Kuman & Proudfoot 1998). By learning the local languages, marrying local girls, and changing their names to Indonesian sounding names, historically the Chinese Indonesians have made significant efforts to assimilate and integrate into the broader community (Goodfellow 1997).

Despite this commitment to integration, resentment of the Chinese Indonesians economic success derives from their historic role as tax collectors for the Dutch colonial regime. Their high literacy rates, adaptability and success as merchants resulted in favors being extended to them by the Dutch administration (Antlov & Cederroth, 1994). The consequence has been local resentment and the development of a deeply rooted view of the Chinese as clannish, aloof, subversive, opportunistic, disloyal and corrupt (Goodfellow 1997). This ethnic stereotyping has resulted in repeated violent ethnic purges of Chinese Indonesians and their properties in times of economic hardship. Until

recently, the New Order cohesive national policy banned ethnic Chinese language, public cultural and religious displays.

The economic success of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia indicates they hold different cultural assumptions about work to those of the indigenous Indonesians. The ethnic Chinese have dominated entrepreneurial business with comments being made that it is only now that Javanese entrepreneur business people are beginning to emerge (Mann 1999). This suggests that that they have more in common with western individualistic competitive cultural assumptions. In line with western cultural assumptions, ethnic Chinese value achieved and material status, whereas local work models place a higher value on ascriptive status and communitarian collective responsibility. In general, for the Chinese collective cultural value assumptions are based around the family.

In 1998, as the hardships of the economic crisis were deeply felt by the Indonesian population, and in response to the powerful economic position of the Chinese Indonesians, in a historical repetitive pattern many became victims of violent protests and the willful destruction of their private and business properties. Many Chinese Indonesian women in Jakarta were terrorized and raped (Schwarz 1999; ICG 2000). Many fled the country taking their valuable investment funds offshore. In March 2000, traveling through many commercial districts of Jakarta there was significant evidence of the vandalism and fires inflicted on known or suspected ethnic Chinese properties that stood empty and neglected as a reminder to passers by.

Mental scars are not so easily seen. The recentness of these anti-Chinese purges explains why it took the two Chinese Indonesian men a long time to reveal their ethnicity. Lima said that his family had not experienced any discrimination or specific tensions related to the political and social turmoil that resulted from the economic crisis. It is noteworthy that Puluh only began to talk about his traumatic experiences after I revealed my father's Polish political background. Then he said:

> "[T]he most interesting experience that I have during these past two three years political crisis was the 13th of May accident, the chaos, or the riot, or whatever. This has a major experience in my life, because at the time, maybe the one before that, we are in the office and there is a demonstration ... At that time, there is some demonstration and everyone thought to go home earlier. Without having any bad assumption I go to work the next day. I went here at nine o'clock and everything getting hot, there is burning here and burning there and we cannot go

because it is everywhere and it is safer if I stay in the office, yep, and then, slowly some people went home, but I stay in the office until the evening and I cannot go home. I stay in the office until tomorrow morning until five o'clock and then I drove home and in front of my parents home I have to drive zigzag, because there is a burnt car here and a burnt car here. At five o'clock I got home and for one week I did not come to the office." (Puluh, interview 23/3/00)

Puluh described the tension experienced as being on 24-hour neighborhood security during the time that he could not come to the office. "We start twelve hour shift for the neighborhood watch, so I do the twelve hour and then go home and the other take over. And that is the experience for this one week." He had never experienced anything like this before. When I asked him what was the most frightening - the sound of riots, the smell of burning? He said, "no noise, silence, but there, in that a particular feeling because you do not know what it is happening outside. I don't know what is happening in my home, my parent's home, my brother's home." He obviously felt very threatened and vulnerable because of his ethnicity.

Tigabelas did not mention her ethnic Chinese background. She was timid and uncertain throughout her interview. She did say that she felt vulnerable living in Jakarta. Discussing how she feels about her young daughter growing up in Jakarta, she said:

> "I hate it in the city, more pollution, I would like to move back to Bandung.
> There is the robberies in the city. I am afraid to go out after six, especially Jakarta, there is more demonstrations, more robbery, more gangs. I have seen the robbery on the bus twice or more, in front of me, in front of my chair, and they say I want your money. I want your watch and if you don't I will kill you and they have a gun and knife. And I just watch and could not do anything, but all the other people just do the same as me." (Tigabelas 14/6/00)

During the height of the riots she requested my partner to send some pepper/mace sprays for the women in the office to use if needed in coming to and from the office. She said that she always had the spray in her purse. "I have already used it when the senior high school student asked me for some money and I said, ok, you want this." At the height of the demonstrations she said that in order to move between work and home: "I just get a taxi and run away". While the Chinese Indonesians are a privileged business class, the eagerness of even educated Indonesians to blame their woes on these people shows deep-rooted ignorance and resentment (Turner et al. 2000). In Tigabelas' case she is not a part of the wealthy elite. She is a part of the struggling middle class.

While many wealthy ethnic Chinese fled, the majority stayed because Indonesia has been their home for many generations. Early in 2000, President Wahid liberalized the laws allowing the ethnic Chinese to openly partake in Buddhist and Confucian celebrations. The purpose was to reinsert the Chinese Indonesians into a more democratic Indonesia, and encourage the return of their crucial financial investment. During the first field visit in March 2000 Buddhist straw sculptures marking the ends of streets where special family festivities were being celebrated were pointed out. At Taman Ancol, a modern multi-theme recreation, art and entertainment park, Chinese Indonesian families openly participated in traditional Chinese dragon dances accompanied by a Chinese orchestra. Wahid's liberalization of cultural policy encouraged more tolerant recognition of the value of ethnic Chinese Indonesians' contribution to the nation.

This precarious history has impacted upon the communications styles that Chinese Indonesians have developed in order to subtly communicate their ethnic identity to each other (Wolff 1997). There were times when culturally sensitive topics arose, such as comment on their Indonesian colleagues' approaches to work and performance, both Lima and Puluh would modify their normal speaking manner, tone and body language. These two men were usually notably more outspoken than the others. However, despite this willingness to individualize their opinions, the tone of their voices softened, they lowered their heads and they subtly looked around to see if any one was nearby. Tigabelas spoke so softly as to be inaudible at times. After speaking frankly but very quietly, Lima often broke into a high pitched laugh in response to his negative or critical comments. Puluh often looked around to see it anyone was listening to him. We were in the conference room, exposed by a glass wall. During the interview Puluh gradually moved his body from a side-on position to one where his back was towards the glass wall. If both Puluh and Lima were about to reveal something private, they would lower their heads and draw their bodies closer to me. This behavior indicated that the two men felt that there was a need for caution, or privacy to be able to speak frankly.

The subject of ethnicity and the role of this in work attitudes arose with Puluh. He thought for a moment and then said that the key issue concerning his attitudes to work ethic was not his ethnicity, not study, but having to live and study overseas. Puluh had completed a Masters of Construction

Management in Australia at the University of NSW. He said it was not the specific learning of technical or professional knowledge that changed his approach:

> "But living overseas will give me some other point of view; First that we have to work hard to get what we want, that is the first point."
>
> "So you cannot just sit there, get the paid and work it out and - that's the thing. The teachers that I had before I have been overseas that's what I try to compare with the others here which is not having the opportunity to study overseas.
>
> Comparing them with those doing the living overseas, whether doing a master, bachelor or what ever, most who of them, who have been overseas, they know how to work in the sense that they have to do everything right, hard and precise. Most of the people, maybe including myself, if I don't go overseas, I work here the, - I just do my stuff as I do - precisely, that's ok, if not, that's ok also. I can get paid at the end of the week, five o'clock, why should I work harder. I have my work, if I do something wrong my boss will be going." (Puluh, interview 23/3/00)

In other words, his overseas experiences encouraged him to be more competitive, individualistic, performance and achievement-oriented.

His comments identify a prevailing model of work in Indonesia, which is very different to that which he experienced while studying offshore. He said that learning to manage time as well as "work hard and precise" were what he gained from overseas study. This suggests that he had to shift from dispersed local synchronic cultural approaches to managing time to sequential work practices assuming time efficiency values. His comments imply that the experience enabled him to learn to develop an independent "inner direction" (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000) approach to work performance. He added that while you cannot make the assumption that everyone going overseas would manage to learn this, "you can generally make the assumption that people who only study in Indonesia will not have those work values, you can generally make that." His statements also indicate that he believes that only through the somewhat traumatic reframing experience of living and studying overseas can local attitudes and practices be changed.

I asked him whether there was any difference in work attitudes between the ethnic groups in Indonesia:

> "Definitely, they have a different approach at some level, but basically it depends of their own personality characteristics, even those, these characteristics will be affected by the local

environment. But I believe that it will be 90% from their own characteristics, at least the family characteristics.

If someone is Batak, the Batak work hard, the Javanese they work slowly, but precise. But generally my understanding is that we [have] some Batak here that generally work hard but they are careless, but others may not work so hard but it is precise." (Puluh 23/3/00)

Puluh generalizes about the stereotypical characteristic strengths and 'weaknesses' of the different ethnic groups' attitude to work, but he also reflectively emphasizes the importance of family and individual personality in determining the work attitudes of individuals. This individualized attitude is in sharp contrast to the communitarian, coercive and outer directional cultural assumptions that frame the collective strategies of various nation-building policies.

Reflecting on the ongoing importance of the Chinese Indonesians in contributing a dominant investment role for business activities for the future Indonesian economy Puluh said he believes the Chinese will continue to have a central investment and business role. The issue was whether this critical ethnic Chinese role was openly acknowledged, or not:

"Much more in the open, if they are just opening these things [cultural restrictions] up just to get Chinese investor capital in, it won't make any difference, because the investor is there. Either [whether] you open it or not, they [the Chinese] are just talking about money (Puluh, 23/3/00).

In other words, investor capital will be attracted to a good business opportunity and good economic indicators are the only issue for Chinese Indonesian capitalists, not whether the government is democratic or autocratic. I asked if it was important for the nation to be more open about the diverse cultural reality and to apply a more tolerant interpretation of the principles of Pancasila. His reply was "in the politics and social life, not the economics". This comment is noteworthy that the separation of these suggests that Puluh has applied more atomistic specificity cultural logic to economic matters..

Other Indonesian staff members not of Chinese Indonesian ethnic backgrounds made reference to the new more liberalized laws about the Chinese. For example, when Enam was asked whether she was optimistic President Wahid could keep all the different people in Indonesia happy she mentioned this ethnic-based cultural liberalization. "Yah, he is, the new Wahid, more world wide in thinking, it is not repressive, like for the Chinese. Before they cannot celebrate their culture, their New Year or whatever, or the Confucian religion is not allowed, but now." She was optimistic about the future.

Discussing local attitudes to work and team performance with Lima he said he preferred working with the expatriates. When asked about working with the other professional Indonesian team members he replied: "I prefer to work with very limited [few] personnel". Trying to find out what he meant by this response I asked if he was interested in offering technology transfer to the Indonesians because of his extensive overseas post-graduate study and work experience (in Britain) and he said – "I would prefer to do that if they really have what you say, ah, have the will to do so." "You mean if they were motivated?" I asked trying to clarify what he meant. "But I don't [do] think that they have very little motivation. Their thoughts when they are at the office are really somewhere else," he explained indicating he believed they had low motivational cultural approaches to work performance. "So they have a minimum approach to do what they have to do rather than taking any initiatives or doing more than that?" I asked him. He responded laughing in a high-pitched manner: "oh yes, ah ha, I think it is natural since they were born". His rhetoric, tone and the tension in his voice indicated that he identified himself as having very different work attitudes to the other Indonesian staff. These comments reflect that Lima has developed an individualized inner direction and this motivates him to competitively perform, while his colleagues value more apply more communitarian collective and outer direction strategies to work practice.

I continued with the line of discussion by asking why he was different considering that he had grown up and been educated in the same national environment. He replied that he did not know for sure, but said that he could be different for a number of reasons: "All these types of things, my parents push me really hard to get me a good mark from my teachers when I was at school, and secondly because I was education in the U. K. or something like that". Then, lowering his head and his voice, he said in a soft tone "and also enters [a long pause] being a Chinese ethnic is one reason why I am motivated enough to be distinct from others, ah ha!" "So your sense of identity is ethnic Chinese? I inquired. "Ah ha" he said. I then asked if that identity was stronger than being Indonesian? "A kind of fifth or sixth generation or something like that, I cannot place any more," he replied. Then I asked him when he is overseas what does he feel like - an ethnic Chinese, or an Indonesian? "I just feel like an Indonesian", he said. This suggested that both his individual family background and his ethnic Chinese background had encouraged him to be more individualistic and achievement oriented.

Asked about the experience of being a Chinese Indonesian over the last two years he said that "no it wasn't too difficult really - because, especially the government in introducing equality" with reference to the new liberalized cultural policy. He agreed that before the new government came to power it was a bit scary "but it happened several times before like that, like in 1995, 1974". Like Puluh, Lima's overseas experiences have made a significant impression on him and as a result he is keen to undertake further work and study in England. "The reason why I like to work in Manchester is just to expose me to more international environment where I can prove to myself that I am equally acceptable over there because of my capability and my knowledge, just something like that." (Lima) Lima's concern to prove his equality further indicates that, like Puluh, he values western achievement status over the traditionally more important local ascriptive status. Lima's individualized work values contrast with the collective local work values. His polycentric cultural worldview incorporates very different concepts of professionalism to the prevailing Indonesian concepts.

Batak

The female and male Batak informants proudly identified their ethnicity. Batak people come from Northern Sumatra in the area surrounding Lake Toba. The ethnic group is divided into several sub-groups with different territorial links. The Batak tribes were traditionally repressed and squeezed in between the Acehenese in the North and Minangkabau to the southwest. The term Batak was originally a derogatory Malay word meaning 'robber' or 'black mailer' (Grant 1996). This meaning derives from their history, location and 'adat' (traditional law). Anthropologists consider this group as a model of all ancient proto-Malay cultures on the Indonesian archipelago. The Batak once had a reputation for cannibalism that was based on their adat (Draine & Hall 1998). At the heart of the traditional Batak village, religion and ritual is based on a respect for past generations of clan ancestors, and a sense that these deceased can remain close to their living descendants through the use of periodic animal sacrifice (Rogers 1998).

Islam arrived in the southern Batak societies in the 1820s and the German Rhenish mission brought Protestantism to Angkola and Toba starting in the 1850s (Rogers 1998). Today, about half the Batak people are Moslem and half Christian due to the colonization of Dutch Protestant missionaries (Grant 1996). Traditionally Batak culture values the ritualistic use of song, dance, music and sculpture.

Batak people also value highly developed oratorical skills (ibid.). Today many Batak people are popular culture singers and entertainers. Rigid kinship ties and communal authority over land may have been the factor in extensive Batak migration to other islands during this century (Grant 1996). The Christian Toba Bataks are prominent in the army, education and commerce. This position suggests Christian Batak place a high value on achievement and education. The background of the two Batak informants reflects these characteristics as both are Christian and have parents and siblings who are tertiary educated. As well as an undergraduate degree in civil engineering, Tujuh has a Masters in geotechnical engineering from The Institute Technology, Bandung (ITB).

Explaining why he went on to do Masters study, Tujuh said that: "I think that I have to improve myself before getting engagement of getting married, so I think it will be difficult after that". Further indicating his parents' high education value as being characteristic of Batak, Tujuh said that:

> "In our tradition, especially coming from North Sumatra, they want their child to get, ah, the best education and they will pay until they couldn't pay any more, and so, just take the education and we will worry about the money, that's what the parents say " (Tujuh 23/3/00 interview)

Sembilan's background also reflects Christian Batak cultural values. Her parents are from the Medan region, where she spent her early childhood. Her father taught in Adventist Christian schools. However, the family relocated to Bandung, West Java, where there was another Adventist College. The link between a Batak ethnic background, the high number of Christian Batak and the high levels of commitment to education indicates that these people are, in general, very achievement-oriented.

Both indicated that they placed a high value on their Batak heritage. Reinforcing the traditional values of rigid kinship ties and communal authority, Sembilan explained the contemporary importance of identifying kinship lineage patterns in obtaining family approval for a prospective marriage partner. "Batak families know their family history back at least fourteen generations," she said proudly. She explained that this knowledge determined if a prospective couple is related. Marriage with a relative, no matter how distant, is not acceptable. Unfortunately, she said that as yet, she had not found a suitable marriage partner. In Tujuh's case, indicative of the importance of maintaining his Batak cultural identity, he is married to a Batak woman.

I asked them to describe what Batak are like. Both said they are "more straight forward" or "direct" than other ethnic groups, such as the Javanese. In fact, said Tujuh in an amused tone, "they are more like Australians - they say what they think". He had worked for three months in Australia. He added: "while the Javanese may worry about hierarchies, he feels they are all just people on an equal basis." However he said "you must be local sensitivities in working in different contexts and with different people. To do this means that you have to work slowly and listen a lot to find out how they are". This comment indicates the complex role of different language usage in mediating specific cultural identity. It indicates that Batak value hard work, because in order to be sensitive to others you have to work slower. This sensitivity indicated a need to be responsive to an overall collective approach, indicating it was the most contextually powerful discourse. Tujuh's comments also indicate a similar contrast between valuing inner direction by Christian Batak (as with the Chinese) and outer direction with other Indonesian groups.

As already noted previously, Puluh described the Batak approach to work as being "hard working, but careless." Sembilan is the Quality Manager - "I work for quality ISO14000 - like a police [laughing]. Ah checking after everybody if they are doing their work, following the procedures, it is quite challenging also". Discussing the challenges of working in quality she said: "sometimes it is stressful, but I have to go on, but if I can work in this, I can learn something and maybe I can get another lesson". Sembilian's responsive attitude to the value of learning through being challenged indicates she values achievement and derives personal satisfaction through further developing individualistic inner direction and responsibilities.

The Javanese

The island of Java is shared by the three distinct groups: - the Javanese ('Jawa') which occupy Central and Eastern Java, the Madurese originating from Madura island of the east coast, and the Sundanese from West Java. The Javanese account for two-thirds of the island population, while the Sundanese and Madurese account for twenty and ten percent respectively (Kong 1996). The island can be divided into four main cultural areas. The Javanese heartland is Central and East Java, the site of the power of the historical kingdoms, whose past glory is reflected in the monuments of Borabodur and Prambanan, and the palaces of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The second cultural area is the northern

coastal area, known as 'paisisir'; a hybrid culture derived from mixed Javanese, Malay, Arabic and other cultures. The third cultural area is in the western Priangan highlands where the Sundanese are located. The fourth area is located in the east. Traditionally known as Blambangan, a former Hindu kingdom, this fourth group consists of a mix of Muslim Osing people and pockets of Hindu Tenggerese people (ibid).

While the Javanese can generally be distinguished along these lines, such differences are not clear-cut. Urban Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese will have more in common with each other than their rural cultural counterparts. As Table 6.4 indicates, seven of the informants referred to themselves as being Central Javanese, with two more (Enam and Empat) identifying their Sundanese ethnic background. Two of the remaining five specified their parents had mixed Central and Eastern Javanese backgrounds. These distinctions indicate that it is not enough just to say you are Javanese. Pak Sebelas, Satu, Dua, and Delapan have Central and Eastern Javanese ethnic backgrounds. With the exception of Dua, whose spouse comes from the region where he grew up, all have spouses from similar Javanese ethnic backgrounds, indicating a will to maintain familial ethnic identity, while living in Jakarta. Tigabelas' mother and husband have a Central Javanese background. Both Enam's parents are Sundanese, while Empat's mother is Sundanese.

In framing their respective visions for the modern nation of Indonesia, both Sukarno and Suharto drew heavily on Javanese ('kejawan') cosmology and culture to lay down the foundations for both the social model for both national and individual identity (Mulder 1999). President Suharto's authoritarian regime was justified in the name of Central Javanese "tradition" and "authenticity" (ibid). The New Order regime's strategic program was to build a 'Pancasila' state peopled by "Complete Indonesia Men" (ibid) through a heavy investment in values education. Therefore, to understand New Order values an understanding of the Javanese background to this Central Javanese mystical patterns of thought is necessary in order to recognize the very values that "inform the cultural engineering of nation building in Indonesia" (p. 10). "The Javanese, and thus Javanization, are spreading everywhere." "They educate all and sundry on how to be Indonesian. This indoctrination program is part of all schooling" (p. 11).

The most important historical sites of Central Javanese power derived from the royal courts of Surakarta (Solo) and Yogyakarta, and the civilization is generally known as 'kejawen'. Indicating the value of her Central Java background, Satu's tone softened further when she said she came from Yogyakarta. "I just work in Jakarta, so my dialect is still Javanese", she said, directing me to understand how speaking her Yogyakarta Javanese dialect was an important hierarchical Central Javanese identity marker. Adding to this high ascriptive status ethnic background, she said that she was a graduate of Gajda Mada University, in Yogyakarta, so named after the famous Prime Minister of the fourteenth century Javanese Kingdom of Majahaput. She further confirmed the strength of her Central Javanese links by stating that, like her mother, her husband came from Solo (formerly Surakarta) and he too was a graduate of Gadja Mada. Satu is considered to be the 'Ibu', or mother figure in the office. She is the oldest Indonesian woman in the office and this, combined with her Central Javanese background, makes her high status suitable for this self-appointed position. This role involves mentoring, 'mothering' and modeling Javanese etiquette to the younger Indonesian women. This informal 'mothering' role contrasts to the senior professional leadership role of Duabelas, who as company director and manager of operations is the more senior Indonesian woman, but younger, single, not Javanese, and lives a more cosmopolitan lifestyle. Duabelas' interactions with the staff are more detached and professional-oriented.

Pak Sebelas' age contributes to his respectful hierarchical position, but his aristocratic Javanese background is more important. The powerful position of the Central Javanese with their historical links to regencies and aristocracy ('priyayi') has resulted in the Javanese being the arbiters of etiquette and 'good taste'. Tone of voice is just one aspect (Mulder 1999). Pak Sebelas interacts with a softly spoken tone of voice. Indicating the critical link between Javanese etiquette, and language practice as an ethnic identity marker Delapan explained the contrasting speaking styles between East Java and Central Java:

> "The East Java there is sounds rough, but the Central Java dialect is smooth, very kind people who used to live in Central Java, who speak in a low voice and are very kind or something like that" .... "The people in East Java speak in a high voice like maybe the people who do not get used to it who think does this man yell all the time!" (Delapan 23/3/00)

Note the connection Delapan makes between speaking with a low voice and being 'very kind'. The implication is that a softer tone of voice links etiquette to higher social standing. These comments

indicate how a Central Javanese communicative style is valued as 'good taste' and others described as 'rough' being lower on a hierarchical socio-cultural scale. These hierarchical etiquette notions link to the Javanese concept of the nature of "the complete Indonesian man" (Mulder 1999).

Javanese higher morals or ethics are also linked to cultural notions of good manners and good taste (ibid). According to the Javanese worldview social relationships should be well ordered and combine in a harmonious totality. Such relationships are hierarchically organized, with people having certain status positions that relate to each other in morally unequal ways. This hierarchical order of society is part of the total cosmic order.

> From these considerations follows the kejawen ethic, such as the imperative to seek 'budaya' (culture: knowledge and wisdom). With that one will know one's place in society and in all-encompassing Life; one will also know the ethic and task that belong to one's place. People should live attuned to it all. In their phenomenal existence they should respect the order of society, honor elders and superiors, and be considerate of inferiors by taking 'the measure of oneself'. They should care about harmonious relationships, at least outwardly, and thus avoid all open conflict. To do this requires knowledge and mastery of the self, of drives and emotions. People must cultivate and strengthen their inner self, their 'batin' (ibid, pp. 79-80).

Thus, for the Javanese, tone of voice is just one outward aspect that communicates a hierarchical level of ethical strength and the cultivation of a person's inner self. The notion of 'batin' underpins the overarching communitarian, diffusion, neutral and ascriptive cultural dimensions which frame the Javanese worldview and determine cultural notions of appropriate behavior.

I asked Satu whether "her personality - her outgoing personality" was a factor leading her to work in the area of marketing manager in the office. Her response shed light on the question's ethnocentric assumptions. "Would you explain", she asked. I said that because she liked talking to people, liked communicating with all sorts of people, that she had developed a confident personal style. "No that is not my personal style", she said in a definitive tone. "After I, ur, follow another activity there, it make me ur confident. Because I have to read a book continuously, so my confidence, my skill in communication will be grow, yah" (Satu, 17/3/00). Just prior to this statement she explained that the President Director had given her a book to read on marketing (written in Indonesian). I had missed the cross-cultural cue. "So every day I always reads the book on how to communicate with the other,

how to in plan with another people. So this make me have the skills to - [could not find the word], yah".

It is not the western cultural notion of her individualistic personality that guides her behavior and professional function, but more the judgment of those above her that guides her into marketing. It is this directive along with her age, ascriptive central Javanese status and demonstrated good taste and etiquette that results in her marketing functions. In support of this decision she says she dutifully reads the material in the marketing book every day. Thus, through this outer directed activity she seeks 'budaya' (culture, knowledge, wisdom). Regular disciplined reading of the marketing book (which she said is an Indonesian translation of an American text) will guide her behavior and so make her confident. In light of the characteristics and strength of her worldview it is predictable that her interpretations of the book would be framed by the cultural logic of her Javanese worldview.

In line with Javanese etiquette conventions, two expatriate staff members said that Satu would not give any bad news or negative opinions on anything to do with the office. From a Javanese perspective bad news implies culturally inappropriate criticism of seniors. Satu gave only good news. However, this cultural interpretation may not, in reality, match business circumstances. This Javanese concept of good manners and etiquette framed the feedback expatriates received when inquiring about project progress. The Indonesian members of a project team would say that work was progressing well, when it was not, or in some cases had not even commenced. This response was culturally more appropriate than to be the bearers of bad news to someone more senior.

Dua explained how knowledge of the different hierarchical dialects of Javanese was important in business. "For example if you are talking to the government, you cannot use the common Javanese language. You have to use the more formal." Thus, for the powerful Javanese communicative tone, style and dialect become important indicators of not only ethnicity but also hierarchy. Modern spoken Javanese uses nine levels reflecting rank, status, age and degree of acquaintance between speakers (Draine & Hall, 1998). Dua's comment suggests that verbal interactions predominantly occur in Javanese, rather than Bahasa Indonesia. With the dominant power of the Javanese, it is important for organizations (international and local) to have staff who can appropriately communicate these

ascriptive status and hierarchical identity markers conveyed through behavior, speech, and content to facilitate dealings with government and senior officials in Indonesia. The word 'priyayi' or Javanese aristocrat is still synonymous with government officials and civil service employees today (Draine and Hall, 1998). When Tiga came to Jakarta she applied on several occasions to the civil service, but despite having appropriate tertiary qualification and career experience, was unsuccessful. She attributed this to her Sumbawan ethnic background.

Observing Delapan, it was obvious she was from a high-ranking Javanese background. Despite being one of the youngest members of the professional staff, her aloof and serious manner, erect posture and body movements promoted an image of formal manners and Javanese 'good taste'. Verity (an Australian) had said that she was unsure of herself with Delapan, that she did not know how to talk to her, how to relate to her, because she seemed so formal and serious. I interviewed Delapan in a small private office. In this private setting formalities quickly dropped and she delighted in speaking about her privileged Javanese background as the daughter of a General who during his highly successful career had been Indonesian diplomatic military attaché in New Delhi and Beijing.

This background, while exposing Delapan to Javanese 'priyayi' values and manners, had also given her international and cosmopolitan experiences. Her tone became enthusiastic when discussing her time in India. This affective discussion indicated that this international experience had given her the capacity to switch between neutral Javanese etiquette to more affective universal etiquette. Like Delapan, Dua, Satu and Empat all have ethnic Javanese backgrounds and have high-ranking military fathers. Enam's father was a District Attorney in Bandung. These young professionals' paternal backgrounds reflect the Javanese dominance of the senior ranks of the political and military sectors of Indonesian society.

During the New Order the military had the dual functions ('dwifungsi') of political and military power. The socio-political role of the military expanded dramatically throughout Suharto's regime.

> Military officers are allocated seats in the National Parliament and in the People's consultative assembly ... military officers also hold seats in provincial and district assemblies, and are seconded to non-military posts in the government, serving as ambassadors, provincial governors, and district chiefs, as well as within the top ranks of the bureaucracy. By the early-

1990s, an estimated 14,000 military personnel held posts outside the formal military structure (Shiraishi 1999, p. 75)

This dual military rule had not only a political role, but also supported a coercive and centralized administration system that extended from Jakarta to promote and institutionally enforce the values of the nationalist vision. It is hard to separate out the interweaving of culture, politics and authority to better understand the impact of the Javanese worldview on major Indonesian institutions (Mulder 1999; Sen & Hill 2000). Thus privileged opportunities have historically been given to those with high-ranking military status. The representation of four Javanese informants with high-ranking military fathers supports this. Delapan, Dua and Empat indicated that their formative experiences as a part of military families with regular movements to different regional locations has opened them to the worldviews of other ethnic groups and heightened their awareness of their specific cultural values and attributes.

The other ethnic groupings nominated: Sumbawan, Minangkabau, and Arabic (Saudi Arabia)

Two of the participants came from other ethnic backgrounds. Tiga identified herself as having a Sumbawan ethnic background, with one set of grandparents from South Seluesi. Coming from a large family, Tiga also referred to important family connections with Lombok, and Bali. This complex ethnic background articulates to the complex history of the West Tengarra region, including the island of Sumbawa. Sumbawa is historically divided between two linguistic and, to some extent, ethnically distinct peoples: the Sumabawanese speakers who reach west from Lombok, and the Bimanese speakers who independently occupied the Tambora Peninsula and the east (Turner et al. 2000).

The regional history reflects important Balinese and Makarese (Seluesi) ethnic influences. After the Dutch took over the region in 1669 they maintained distant supervision of what they considered to be a politically unstable island with poor commercial possibilities, only taking direct control in the 1900s (ibid.). Since then, Javanese, Makassarese, Buggis, Sasak and other ethnic groups have migrated there. This pluralistic history helps to explain Tiga's mixed ethnic background, her multilingual skills, and her open attitude to different ethnic groups. Pointing to the islands of Bali, Lombok, Flores, Komodo and Sumabawa on a map, she said that she "could get on with and speak with all these peoples". This comment emphasises the importance of conversational skills in local languages. In light of continuing support by President Megawati for the new decentralization legislation, which

came into effect from the 1st of January 2001, and local resentment of the Javanese in the regions, Tiga's diverse ethnic communications skills may become more valued. Within the office the expatriates valued her local socio-cultural navigational skills, multilingual skills and adaptable nature in the field.

Despite knowing me quite well and having previously spent time staying with my family, at the start of Duabelas' interview she hardly opened her mouth to speak and gave minimal responses. After a few "ah, ha" I said to her you are the one who is supposed to do the talking and we both laughed. Then she said abruptly "my grandfather from father coming from Saudi Arabia." Her Saudi Arabian background has created all sorts of tensions in her life. Indicating this she said: "that creates a terrible fate for me". She looks Arabic. Her Saudi born grandfather was a trader, as was her father. Her father's family settled in Palembang, Sumatra where he met her mother. She was the first born in a family of seven siblings. In the times of political unrest and ethnic clashes after the 1997 economic crisis she felt particularly vulnerable. In fact, was so anxious that within a week the Vice President, general manager for SE Asia organized for her to go to Melbourne for a year to complete the second year of a Masters of Business Administration qualification. This suggests that it is not only the Chinese that feel vulnerable in Indonesia in times of crisis.

Duabelas' mother comes from Palembang. Many references that Duabelas made indicated that her mother is of Minangkabau ethnic origins:

> The Minangkabau are known, by their compatriots, as the 'gypsies of Indonesia'; they have a reputation as an adaptable intelligent people, and are one of the most economically successful ethnic groups in the country. Though Muslim, Mingangkabau society is still matriarchal and matrilineal.
> According to Minangkabau adat, men have no rights over their wives other than to expect them to remain faithful. The eldest living female is the matriarch and holds the power in her house-hold ... She is deferred to in all matters of family politics. The most important male member of the household is the mother's eldest brother, who replaces the father in being responsible for the children's education and offers them economic advice when they get older. He also discusses, and advises them on their prospective marriages (Turner et al. 2000, pp. 574-575).

Despite having a strict and conservative Moslem Saudi father, she said that her mother was her primary influence. She added: "but since I was a little I like the risk taking women, I always like to

read about this woman." Her mother allowed her to have a television in her bedroom. "But even though I am in big family. I like to spend time in my own room, and I had my own television in my own room." "I don't like to be with the family at night, I studied a lot, I read, study, watch television." Her mother allowed her to buy western pop music. When I asked her why she was allowed this freedom she said: "maybe because I was six years older than my sisters and brothers, so I was quite close to my Mum." This freedom seems to conflict with the more traditional patriarchal Arabic and strict Islamic convention, indicating that her mother had a powerful position in the family. Laughing, she described herself as "a mum's daughter":

> "[M]y Mum likes me close to her all the time... yep, not allowed to go camping, not allowed to go far away, or not allowed everything... Yes, I am quite protected, so we are not allowed basically because my Mum is afraid that if we felled down and break a leg we were not allowed playing soccer, because can broke a leg. We were not allowed playing cards, because that can destroy your eyes, we are not allowed swimming because of the sun and we might drown, so a lot of things we were not allowed, but we do it all now, when we grow up." [laughing again] (Duabelas, 12/6/00)

Duabelas explained further what she had meant by the terrible fate of having a Saudi father. She had to learn Arabic for six years. This was because she went to go to a "special school, but a Moslem school. I wearing the [inaudible]." At this point her voice became so soft it was inaudible, but I understood that she meant the jelabah and hajib (or 'chadour'). "I was covered from six years old." When she came to Jakarta to look for work after graduating from university she had to stay with her father's family. "I stay with my grandpa which is difficult because he is very strict". Another grandpa, I inquired. "Not direct grandpa, my grandpa's brother," she said.

> "He became my grandpa, not even allowed to have a phone call from a guy: Should be at home not later than six o'clock because six means night, too late to go home. I have some cousins, not allowed to sit at the same chairs close to each other, even with my cousins because we are very strict Arabians and so between men and women there is no contact. And that is how I have to live for three months until I said to my mum if you want me to be working in Jakarta and have a good career I will move from this house and I will get a boarding house." (Duabelas, 12/6/00)

After discussion about her relationship with her mother I asked about her father. "So what happened in your father's life?" "My mum divorce with my father, more than five years ago." So you don't see him now, I asked. No she replied. Did you see him much in you childhood, I asked. "I see him much

until the last five years." So the family continues on their own? I asked. "But that is fine, we survive," she answered.

Another cultural aspect to her Saudi Arabian background was revealed on separate social occasion (Diary, 13/6/00). Her uncle had recently introduced her to an arranged marriage partner. Duabelas adamantly rejected this. She was embarrassed by the experience and did not want the Indonesian staff to find out. These comments on Duabelas' ethnic background indicate the multiple and often contradictory nature of her multi-ethnic background. The extreme contrasts in values that these two ethnic backgrounds have resulted in Duabelas making a clear decision at a young age about which ethnic group would have the most impact of her identity formation, obviously the one that places women in a leadership role. Since her parents have divorced, Duabelas is continuing to pay for the education of her five younger siblings, along with supporting her mother, who is not well. The outcome of this syncretic background is that she has taken on the matriarchal family responsibilities. Subsequent sections will present polycentric aspects of her additional individualistic and inner-directed approach to her Indonesian communitarian role and responsibilities.

Both Duabelas and Tiga are independent professional Indonesian women. They also have a close working relationship and are risk takers in the sense that they volunteer for new experiences and new professional challenges. Their individualistic behavior implies that their ethnic background frees them from the prescriptive Javanese cultural expectations impacting on the social choices of others. There may be social costs. Despite their very different ethnic backgrounds, both displayed characteristic body language that I interpret as conveying social discomfort or uncertainty. During meetings with mixed expatriate and local staff and during their interviews, I observed both gradually slide down their chairs until virtually just their eyes peaked out from in front of the table. This affective display contrasts to the more neutral and upright manners of formal Javanese etiquette and as such this behaviour physically marks them out as being non-Javanese.

This section indicates the sub-cultural importance of ethnic grouping in framing the identity, values and behavior of the participants. For some, a specific Javanese ethnic background has meant opportunities and privileges. The local ethnic diversity included in this group of professional

Indonesians is a potential value-adding resource for both managing the nation and the company. With continuing support for decentralization policy and legislature, professionally educated people with locally cultural sensitivities and linguistic skills could become an important resource for both the nation and corporations for field research, the strengthening of local relations and the development of strategies for building local institutional strengthening. Pak Sebelas recognized that insensitive Javanese ethnocentric cultural approaches give offence to other ethnic groups. Hence, awareness of the complex role of ethnicity in Indonesia needs to be highlighted.

6. Religion

Table 6.5: The religious backgrounds nominated by the participants.

Name	Religion	Name	Religion
Satu	Moslem	Delapan	Moslem
Dua	Moslem	Sembilan	Christian
Tiga	Moslem	Puluh	Christian
Empat	Moslem	Pak Sebelas	Moslem
Lima	no religion	Duabelas	Moslem non-practicing
Enam	Moslem	Tigabelas	Moslem
Tujuh	Christian		

Religion can have critical and diverse impact in shaping the various cultural dimensions to an individual's worldview. The literature review indicates the significant cultural influence of the five world religions - Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism - on various ethnic groups and sub-groups in Indonesia. Religion is an important identity marker for Indonesians. In order to design a nation-binding policy to draw together this historic religious diversity, the first Pancasila principle states a shared "Belief in one God". This principle, as interpreted by Sukarno and the Javanese syncretists, can mean any world religion God: - Allah, Vishnu, Buddhism or Christ, etc. Indonesia is a nation based on a fundamental religious foundation rather than being a secular state. Being an atheist or agnostic is not an official choice.

I asked Lima if he had a particular religion. He said "not really, not particular. They [his parents] ask us what we want to believe as long as it is not Moslem or something like that [accompanied by high pitched laughter]. That is quite contrast with the Chinese culture or something like that." Stating that

he has no religion and was ambivalent is a radical break away from the approved institutional response. His candid response also indicated family had disdain for Islam. This frankness was conveyed to an expatriate. Implicit was his cosmopolitan understanding of the commonness of this type of response in western society.

The coercive framing to the official New Order government religious policy will have affected the religious affiliations in government census. According to the Department of Religion figures, in 1995/6 88.8% of the population was: Islamic, 5% Protestant, 2.9% Catholic, 2.4% Hindu, 0.7% Buddhism and 0.2 listed as others (Fox, 1998). Since the 1980s Indonesia has experienced a historically unprecedented Islamic revival (Hefner, 1999). This 'revival' derived from policies implemented to redress the rising number of 'abangan' or non-practising Moslems of Javanese ethnicity. As stated, with the interweaving of religion, culture and politics, membership of Islamic communities provided the greatest opportunity for religious and political debate under the coercive restrictions of Suharto's regime.

The majority said they were Moslem. In Indonesia Islam is not a homogenous group (Hefner, 1999). There is significant pluralism between the traditional and modern interpretations of Islam. The resurgence is attributed to three factors:

• The educational expansion of the New Order stipulating compulsory religious education, which was vigorously enforced;
• The expansion of Moslem institutions coincided at a time when Indonesians were looking for a new moral framework to make sense of their rapidly changing society. The change in local structures and prestige led to changing cultural identities. The change led to local elites to invest their resources, not only in local relationships, but, in consumer items, education, and capital goods capable of serving as currency in the national market place;
• The strengthening of state power and the weakening of local tradition. Throughout the New Order period mosques, Islamic schools and Moslem publications offered the best opportunity for open discussion of public issues (Hefner 1999, pp. 42-43).

Thus, when nine informants said they were Moslem, how this religion influences their cultural outlook and behavior is open to further interpretation.

According to the dictates of Islam, a good Moslem attends prayers five times a day ('Shalah'). The office has set aside a prayer room for those who pray during the day. The room is discrete and

through the normal course of the day's activities it is not obvious to an outside observer who is going to prayers and who is not. Some staff attends a nearby Mosque. In Indonesia Friday afternoons are set officially aside for worship and thus, government offices and many businesses are closed. International companies operating in Indonesia need to take into consideration the fact that many of their staff will be fasting during the month of Ramadan and that this may affect their performance. After Ramadan, Idul Fitri is the traditional time when many return to their families to celebrate the end of Ramadan. These visits last up to three weeks and thus, staff numbers in an office during this holiday time will be significantly affected. Ramadan usually occurs between December and March. Thus, as a western company with Christian members of staff, the office will also be closed for Christmas. These important pluralistic religious events mean that productivity during this time is severely affected by the various staff observing religious traditions and holidays at this time of the year. Management needs to incorporate these events into project time lines.

Enam asked if she could go to prayer before her interview. She said she would be about twenty minutes. She explained that she partook in prayers four times during the day commencing at 5.45 am with the call to prayer coming from the Mosque. On occasion when I was about to go into Satu's office, I walked away on seeing her on her knees praying. She was very pregnant at the time and perhaps felt more comfortable praying in the privacy of her office. She had covered her office clothes with a white head cover and long while top. Empat was the only female member of staff to always wear a headscarf. She discussed the difficulties being a Moslem and wearing the hajib (head dress) created while studying in Germany. Empat left for Germany on her own one week after getting married. Informants said that prior to her marriage Empat did not wear the headscarf. This suggests that she interpreted the wearing of the veil as being appropriate for a married Islamic woman.

Her comments indicate how the religious aspect of worldview can create culture shock and significant trauma for Indonesian international students.

> "Ah very hard situation that I have with the head cover. In Indonesia they really appreciate it, but in Germany they always ask why, why and why do you wear it? But it is difficult to explain because it is my religion and they always ask and they always make me feel like it is a [unable to find the appropriate English word]"
>
> "When they want, want to know me difficult, and I make it so. I don't want anyone to know about me because they always ask and ask and ask and make me afraid. I don't know why and,

ah, actually in Germany they have the - what you call it, a housing for students, but they combine man and women. This is not for me. [Makes me feel] uncomfortable. And I don't know, maybe due to the - , is the culture, if we don't feel close to somebody we will go far. I don't know. Maybe it is Indonesian culture for better for us to always ah.- meet with our - ." [she could not find the word "The same kind of people," I suggested.

"The same culture, Indonesians or maybe the Chinese would be better than the Europeans, because I cannot accept that they would live together, the men and women without married." (Empat, 20/3/00)

The contrast between contemporary European cultural practice and student life, and Empat's conservative religious values contributed to her traumatic culture shock. Wearing religious-based clothing brought her significant unwanted attention, the manner of which, in the context of Germany, she found frightening. Empat's experience links with similar comments Islamic women made after the events of September 11th, 2000. In Indonesia wearing the headscarf has valuable communitarian and religious attributes. Germany is a country that is reluctant to address the implications of national diversity (Pascal Zachary 2000). The incessant curiosity of the Germans may have come from a genuine cross-cultural interest, but Empat was unable to cope with all the individual and analytical or questioning attention. For her it was a natural symbol of her rites de passage. Empat said that in her course the students were about 50/50 German and overseas students. When I asked where the overseas students were from she said "a few from Africa, but most come from Asian and Arabic, maybe South America". She was the only one that wore the headdress. That must have been very difficult, I said:

"At first only one, but then a second one after that, if - ah we can't accept them without suspecting that they will always - ah - underestimate us. So actually they can't accept us too so after like three months I can be -." [She could not find the word] (ibid).

The use of 'underestimate' is significant. The outcome was mistrust of capabilities, intentions and a strong sense of alienation.

I asked if the community kitchen was a problem for her religious practices and beliefs. She said it was the bathroom rather than the kitchen that was a problem. "Sharing a bathroom with the boys and [nervous laugh]. Actually, I don't really care about it. But, ah I am not used to it ha ha". As a consequence of this alienation, when her mother and husband joined her, she moved out of student accommodation and was better able to cope. She limited her interactions with Germans to the bare essentials, making friends with people from Pakistan or Asia. This suggests that in Germany her

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Islamic religion added very high levels of stress and culture shock over and above those that could be expected undertaking international post-graduate studies. It is predictable that this trauma would have a negative impact on her interpretations of her academic experiences.

The issue of the headdress arose again. She was the only person in her family to wear the headdress - "my sister-in-law, or my sister, or my mother or my mother-in-law, they don't wear a head cover, they just praying like that." She added that wearing the headscarf makes her feel more comfortable. I suggested that maybe wearing it in the context of Indonesia communicated that she was a respectable married Islamic woman, without having to explain all the time.

> "Ah ha. I feel that if I wear the head scarf I am quite the same if like going outside at night with a man that is not my husband, if like say I don't wear the head cover, if my mother ask me ok go to the restaurant, I feel ok, why not. But in our culture maybe my mother or whatever will [say], oh why you do it like this and go with the other men and come back late at night with another man - but if I wear the head dress"
>
> "Then that signals that you are living a life according to Islam", I said. And she replied:
>
> "Yes, yes, yes. It is quite difficult, but I am afraid that people will think that I wear the Moslem clothes, but I don't act like a Moslem way or different culture - actually I am more afraid of what people think than the scarf."

Empat's husband had just returned from six months living in Germany where he had been undertaking pre-requisite German language study before applying to a post-graduate course. Unfortunately he had not gained the required level of German language competency. It seems wearing the headscarf was important to convey that she was married when her husband was overseas. These comments confirm that for Empat the wearing of a headscarf has complicated social identity and religious implications.

Tujuh said his family was Christians going back three generations. This religion had not created problems for his family. He added that it had only been an issue over the last two years because of fanaticism. "It is only a problem if we Christians try to convert them from being Moslems - they have their own ways." He had friends of all religions. When I asked Sembilan about her family religion, she said that her grandmother was Adventist. She added that the family first became Christians, "but maybe first not Adventists, but the missionaries come to Sumatra, Padding and then to my family." Puluh said: "his parents were Confucians, but their children were Catholics". Is this because you went to Catholic schools, I asked, and he replied:

"Yes that is the first reason. The two schools at that time either the public one or the Christian ones. One of the requirements is that you have to be Catholic to have the biggest probability to be accepted to these schools so for that reasons we goes to Catholic." (Puluh, 23/3/00)

He said that now he is a Catholic: "I am not really good Catholic, but I am Catholic". A Protestant or Catholic family background and education would have instilled different -oriented cultural assumptions into the worldview of these Indonesians.

Tiga, a Moslem, discussing work issues on a project in Manado, Northern Seluesi where the people are predominantly Christian said: "but this is not significant for me. In fact, there are more Christians up there. I just tried to treat them like human, not special, just people." Tiga led the direction of the interview at this stage indicating that she particularly wanted to convey her religious tolerance despite the ongoing violent religious based clashes in the region.

As mentioned, Duabelas had a strict and conservative Moslem background throughout her Arabic elementary schooling. When she first came to Jakarta in search of employment she stayed with her Arabic father's family where many rigid Islamic-based strictures were placed on her. After a few months she could no longer cope with these restrictions and so moved out into a boarding house. Since her parents divorced her links with her father's family have significantly reduced and thus she had changed: "I was a good Moslem, I never drink wine, I never go out at night, all those things". However, now she no longer gets up for prayers. I asked her if working long hours for an international company had made it more difficult to fit in Islamic practices and she replied: "No, it is just me. It is my personality." "I seem to manage to get up for prayers for a few days when I goes to my Mum's, but after that no."

She was impressed with the accommodation made for Moslem students in Australia - that there were prayer rooms for students, that the canteen had halal food, and also the supermarket: "They put the pork correct with the chickens, but I still not eating". Despite her liberal approach to life, I suggest that there are some traditional cultural boundaries that she would not go over and she replied: "something I can't go over". She would have a social glass of wine, but she could never eat pork. Pak Sebelas also indicated that while he was a Moslem, he had an open attitude to this. He said that he did not drink alcohol, smoke or drink coffee and over the years this had been an issue in his

international interactions. However, this was his personal preference, rather than religious conviction. In the appropriate context he would sometimes have a drink. The informants' religious comments give a window into the more complex nature of Indonesian religious pluralism. While the majority nominates Islam as their religion, there are many degrees of conviction. The particularized reality is more diverse than the official statistics presents.

The first Pancasila principle allows for the pluralistic worship of world religions and the intention of Pancasila value education policy was to over ride the local adat or spiritual systems. During my field research, several expatriate team members were preparing to visit Dayak communities in Kalimantan to assess the impact of a mining development. While I was eating lunch with several of the female Indonesian staff one stated that Pak Philip (my partner) already knew a Dayak black magic spell for affecting violent retribution against someone. They were excited and amused by this topic. In response Verity asked if magic was still used in Indonesia. The response was an overwhelming "oh yah, yah".

Sembilan, a Christian of educated parents, from the Medan region in Northern Sumatra, said that whenever she went to her mother's family, her mother warned her not go to particular locations without her aunties, uncles and grandparents because they were bad black magic places and therefore, very dangerous. Despite the New Order Regime's attempts to override and outlaw local adat or religions, they are still very much a part of the religious sub-culture in Indonesia. The international media broadcast further evidence of this. Prior to President Wahid's impeachment his rural-based Islamic supporters claimed that they were invincible to physical harm because a magic spell had been cast over them. They claimed to be able to resist knives, bullets and burning. These comments are included to indicate the pluralistic and multilayered nature of Indonesians' belief systems and the diverse impact that this has on individual and collective worldviews.

Irrespective of the official religious policies of the New Order government, mysticism on Java is said to have risen as a reaction against the changes of modernity and related moral decadence (Mulder, 1999). Javanese mysticism is popular. The strengthening of membership of mystical groups is especially popular in times of social stress:

> The everyday experience of powerlessness seems to confirm the wisdom that it is better not to hope for anything, to be content with little, to make a virtue out of suffering, and to turn inward rather than to look for rewards in the outer world. With the present development towards and experience of atomicity and insignificance in wider society, all sorts of religious expression appear to thrive, from fundamentalism to new sects and cults, from holier-than-thou moralism to individual-centered mysticism. In brief, there is no shortage of options to search for identity, equilibrium and esoteric company (Mulder 1999, p. 27).

With the demise of Suharto, there has been more public acknowledgment of the unaccounted for religious pluralism beyond the official five world religions.

An international company may require the Indonesian staff to separate their personal convictions from modifying interpretations of their professional functions. But how does an Islamic worldview impact upon professional environmental management and impact assessment? Unfortunately I was unable to address this deeper question. If the government is to pursue the new reformist and decentralization national policy directions, particularly with regard to regional development, then the issue of addressing local 'adat' (law and religion) may become increasingly important. Within this group of people the specific cultural dimensions of various religious worldviews contrast Protestant Christian cultural assumptions with various particularist Islam cultural assumptions about the nature of relationships with people, nature and time. It would be valuable to heighten both the Indonesian and the expatriates understanding of the various ways their diverse cultural assumptions derived from their religious belief systems influence their professional outlook.

7. Regional origins

Table 6.6: The regional origins of the Indonesian participants including parents and spouses

Name	Regional Origins	Name	Regional Origins
Satu	Yogyakarta, Central Java Husband: Central Java	Delapan	Father - Central Java, Mother - Eastern Java; moved around Java Husband - coast between W and C. Java
Dua	Born and educated in S. Seluesi Wife - S. Seluesi	Sembilan	Parents: N. Sumatra and South Malaysia
Tiga	Formative years - Sumbawa, later Lombok, Grandparents S. Seluesi	Puluh	Family - Banjai, N. Sumatra, born and lived in Jakarta
Empat	Early years - Ujang Padang, S. Seluesi; High School - Bangung, W. Java; Father - Palembang, S. Sumatra, Mother - Bandung, W. Java Husband - Bandung, W. Java	Pak Sebelas	Formative moved between C. and E. Java, Palembang, S. Sumatra (18 years); Jakarta. Wife - Palembang s. Sumatra & Padang, W. Sumatra.
Lima	Bandung, West Java	Duabelas	Palembang, S. Sumatra
Enam	Father: Bandung W. Java; Mother from Ciamis, W. Java; raised in Bandung; Husband - Bandung, W. Java.	Tigabelas	Bandung, W. Java.
Tujuh	Parents: Medan, N Sumatra; Wife - N Sumatra		

Most indicated very strong links with particular regions. Puluh and Lima had little or no links to regional Indonesia. Puluh was the only one to have been born and raised in Jakarta, and Lima, was raised in Bandung, West Java. Both were of Chinese Indonesian ethnic origins. Puluh said that his older siblings had been born in Banjai, Northern Sumatra, but the family no longer had links there. Lima had little attachment to the city of Bandung in West Java. He would prefer to move to England:

> "The reasons why I like to work in Manchester [UK] is just to expose me to more international environment where I can prove to myself that I am equally acceptable over there because of my capability and my knowledge just something like that." (Lima, 21/3/00)

Lima seeks to strengthen his international rather than parochial ties.

The others did express strong links with regional Indonesia. Most completed their tertiary studies in regional cities. These cities included: Bandung, West Java; Yogyakarta, Central Java; Ujang Padang, South Seluesi; Palembang, South Sumatra; and Mataram, Lombok. Only Puluh and Delapan went to university in Jakarta. They moved to Jakarta for employment. This indicates the centralized nature of

employment for professionals in Indonesia. However, contradicting this many of the participants had professional siblings (doctors, engineers, bankers, accountants, etc.), currently working in regional cities. This contradiction suggests that this particular group of professionals has a preference for international sector employment that is mainly located in Jakarta.

Several of the married participants with children, would prefer to live in the regional cities where they grew up and where their parents are still living. "So maybe if I am in Bandung I can ask my mother that she could spend maybe two hours a day with my baby." (Empat) "I hate it in the city, more pollution. I would like to go back to Bandung." "There is more robbery in the city. I am afraid to go out after six." (Tigabelas) They indicated these regional cities offer a more suitable environment for raising children, free from the dangers, costs, travel problems and pollution of Jakarta. Pak Sebelas spent eighteen years (1970-1988) living and working in Palembang, South Sumatra as regional manager for the Department of Mines and Energy. His three children were all raised and educated in Palembang. I asked if his wife originally was from Palembang.

> "Not quite. I think his father is from Palembang, but her mother is from Padang, which is West Sumatra. But her grandmother is from Malaysia. So my children are what? Are we Javanese or what, no we are Indonesian [laughing] very mixed, very mixed." (Pak Sebelas, 9/6/00)

This mixed regional background may account for some of Pak Sebelas' cosmopolitanism.

I introduced the topic of the new government's decentralization reform shifting legislative power away from the dominance of central government to the regional authority.

> "Actually I supported that from the first time, otherwise too centralized. Otherwise, there is a man from Irian and he would like to mine, maybe a small bit of land - so do you have to go to Jakarta? And this is expense; Should be able to authorize it there."
>
> "Also because the Jakarta economy and the local economies are operating of very different scales", I asked.
>
> "Yes, very different, yes. Was in 1988, or 1989, not 57, 1957, we had what you call some riots, but not a coup - ... Yes protests .... Yes, this was more than that because we have an army . . . Ah yes, a crackdown, a military crackdown in Sumatra and Kalimantan ... Not communists, this is the jealousy between the central and the region ... It was just because Java more developed compared to the rest. So this is just jealousy, just jealousy. So when I was in Palembang, I can feel that." [His tone of voice significantly raised].
>
> "For example, the main road, it is good there, but compared to Java it is very bad . . ." Pak Sebelas, 9/6/00)

Pak Sebelas' non-characteristic affective tone reflects the political, economic and cultural tensions that exist between centralist and powerful Jakarta and the regions.

I asked if he was aware of any tension between himself and the locals in Palembang because he is Javanese and he replied no but: "it was an issue and when I was married, here I could hug my wife, but not there." His comment draws attention to Jakarta as being more modern and liberal. "So you he had to adapt your behavior to their local ways", I asked.

> "They always called the Javanese a, a bad guy, yes a bad boys because the Javanese they working for the Dutch."
>
> "In administration", I asked.
>
> "And also in the plantations ... The Dutch they like very much the Javanese and the Chinese and Ambon ... and the Manadonese, the Manadonese is talking Dutch, I think," he replied.

His references indicate the colonial historical legacy to the relationships between regional groups of people and residual tension of this experienced in the regions.

I returned to the issue of decentralization and how the nation is going to manage the shift in power because the regions have not been trained in how to manage and use power, and there is an acute human resource shortage.

> "No, my private thoughts. my private. Well everyone from outside Jakarta looks to Jakarta and um, it is very, what you call it, not rich but, um ..."
>
> "And as they work in their plans they would like to be like Jakarta. So they need the money and they also need power. And they feel that so much years, maybe fifty, yeh, that they haven't got attention, enough, enough attention. And then their income from the natural resources goes to the central government. Mostly Aceh. When we have a meeting on the national development starting from 1970, always protests from Aceh or so many years, so they want to be independent."
>
> "So the regions have to have something to trade, to give them an economic base," I said.
>
> "So these will want subsidization from the central government. Very expensive. They cannot even pay." (Pak Sebelas, 9/6/00)

These comments indicate the interweaving of cultural, economic and political factors implicated in regional decentralization and human resource issues. Addressing the deeper nature of these will have an increasing impact on the nature and successes of international-based investment and development project in the regions. Many companies currently face high costs associated with increasingly chaotic

and lawlessness affecting their local mining projects (e.g., coal mining in Kalimantan, gold mining in N. Seluwesi). This has implications for the work carried out by the company.

The strong regional links of Dua were difficult to interpret. He explained that he had a Javanese ethnic background, but added that, because he was born in Ujang Padang in South Seluesi where his Naval Admiral father was stationed, he has a strong South Seluesian identity. He completed all his education there including university and afterwards, worked for a local company. His wife is also from South Seluesi. His said that his father's career moves resulted in his two brothers being born in Surabaya, East Java and Yogyakarta, Central Java and "so they are Javanese". So you are a nation building family, I said. "Yah [laughing gently], you could say that." The result was a very fragmented family life. Why he remained in Ujang Padang was unclear. Then I hypothesized that his father probably had several wives, as is acceptable to Islamic and Indonesian custom. I asked him - so your identity, do you think of yourself as Indonesian, you think of yourself as Javanese or as a world citizen? "I still call myself, because my wife comes from South Seluesi", he replied. "I grew up there, I was born there, went to school there." (Dua, 17/3/00)

When asked to compare South Seluesian people to Javanese people, Dua said: "Seluesi people are very sensitive and sometimes I would say a little rude. It is different with the Java, you can easily speak with them, but with people from South Seluesi you have to be more careful." Again, the emphasis is on the Javanese as the arbiters of good taste. Dua's nomination of Seluesian 'sensitivity' would, in Javanese terms indicate that they were more affective which could be interpreted as a weakness. Showing emotions is not in keeping with the Javanese ideal of controlling and not displaying emotions. The display of discipline is more valued and thus, indicates an individual's inner strength ('batin') achieved through the control of emotions (Mulder 1999). Emotions and sensitivities are also indicative of individualism, which goes against the collective and harmonious nature of Javanese socio-cultural values. Thus, one could speculate that Dua's emotional ties to South Seluesi imply some independence and resistance to Javanese ways. As a result he is able to switch between the appropriate contextualized behaviors.

By contrast, both Empat and Delapan found that the regional translocations associated with their father's military career were disruptive and unsettling, especially in their formative years. They moved every few years. Empat, who also spent some time living in Ujang Padang, indicated that there was a positive side and a negative side.

> "On the positive side you learn to be learning new things, new persons, but it is like that I should lose my close friends and then lose them again... we promise to make a letter, write a letter, but it... it make me, ah, survive when I have to go to Jakarta, when I finish my Bachelor and come to Jakarta, I feel like when I leave my previous schools." (Empat, 20/3/00)

Empat's father came from Palembang, South Sumatra, but lost regional links due to his military career. Her mother comes from Bandung. The moving stopped fifteen years ago when her father died, and the family lived in Bandung thereafter. Her husband comes from Bandung, where she completed her senior high school and undergraduate tertiary studies. She would like to return to Bandung to live and raise her daughter, but there is no work there, she said indicating a strong attachment to Bandung. Discussing the issues of regionalism with Tiga she said:

> "Currently the social issues, the cultural issues is a big, big issue and it will get bigger in the next time, yah. Yes, the atmosphere, it makes something now."
> "Everybody have to listen to everybody, but sometimes, ah it is quite difficult to make them understand about what we want for them, even good for them. If we communicate that it is not really good, they do not accept that."
> "We are the consultant right, if we bring another project to their environment, they must understand because it belongs to them, ah ha." (Tiga, 17/3/00)

Tiga is aware that having staff that can instigate locally responsive communication interactions with the various local peoples in the regions is critical for her professional work and the reformist future of Indonesia.

The Indonesians indicated that they returned to the places of their regional origins to be with family and maintain the connections whenever they could. The 'Idul Fitri', celebrated after Ramadan, was the main time for this. At the height of the economic crisis these regional and familial links were critical to the survival of many people living in Jakarta. Many returned to their regions of origin for family and village support. The maintenance of family connections to particular regions plays a strong role the multilayered identity of individual Indonesians. Aspects of ethnic sub-cultural and regional

life have been important in framing the formative communications experiences of individuals and the development and maintenance of regional and ethnic identities and ties. Regional and local community differentiation is articulated through linguistic diversity. Greater national recognition and valuing of these strong and pluralistic regional links could be a vital resource for both reforming Indonesia, and for companies instigating international development projects that require human resources with local and regional knowledge, communications skills and local cultural responsiveness.

8. Education

Table 6.7: The educational institutions attended for primary, secondary and tertiary qualifications attained at undergraduate and post-graduate levels.

Name	Education	Name	Education
Satu	Primary & secondary state schools - Yogyakarta; Tertiary: B. Ag Sc. (soils) Gadja Mada University; 3 month course (EIA & project management), University of Bradford, UK	Delapan	Primary and secondary - several Javanese state schools; 2 years high school Indonesian Diplomat School New Dehli, India; Tertiary - B. Eng. (environ) Trisatki Uni, Jakarta.
Dua	Primary and secondary - Ujang Padang, Seluesi; Tertiary: B. Sc (geology) S. Seluesi State Uni.	Sembilan	Primary and secondary - Adventist Schools, Medan N. Sumatra and Bandung. W Java; Tertiary - Dip Sec Sc. Adventist College, Bandung; Dip Publ. Rels, London Publ. Rels College, Jakarta.
Tiga	Primary and secondary - Sumbawan state schools; Tertiary: B. Ag Sc. (crop production) Mataram Uni, Lombok; 3 six weeks remediation training, Aust. Gas Light Co, Sydney.	Puluh	Primary and secondary Catholic boys school, Jakarta; Tertiary - B. Eng (civil) Uni Indonesia; post grad - M. Construction Management, Uni NSW, Aust.
Empat	Primary - Ujang Padang, S. Seluesi; Secondary - Bandung; Tertiary B. Eng (environ(. (ITB); post-grad - M.Sc.(hydrology) Stuttgart Uni, Germany.	Pak Sebelas	Primary - from parents, late primary and secondary Dutch Catholic high school, Surabaya, E. Java; Tertiary: B. Eng (mining exploration) ITB, Bandung. W. Java.
Lima	Primary and secondary - State Schools Bandung; Tertiary - B. Eng (environ), ITB, Bandung.	Duabelas	Primary - Moslem Arabic school, secondary state high School Palembang, S. Sumatra; Tertiary: B.

			Eng (Chem) Uni Palembang; post-grad MBA Monash Uni, Australia.
Enam	Primary and secondary - Bandung state schools; Tertiary: B. Eng (environ) ITB, Bandung, W. Java.	Tigabelas	Primary and secondary - state schools Bandung; Tertiary: B. Com Sc. (library Studies), Padjadaran Uni, Bandung, and W Java.
Tujuh	Primary & secondary school Medan, N. Sumatra; Tertiary: B. Eng (civil), ITB; post-grad M. Sc. (geol) ITB, Bandung.		

This section discusses the early educational experiences; the educational role of Indonesian principles - Pancasila values education program; and the New Order's modernization education aims: science graduates; and post graduate studies.

Early educational experiences

The majority attended state government primary and secondary schools, with four attending various Christian schools. Pak Sebelas gave the most details about his early primary education. The Second World War and then the ongoing struggle for Indonesian independence significantly affected his early experiences. His formal education was interrupted by the Japanese invasion. He did not attend school until 1946, when he was eight years old. His older brother received only one year of formal elementary school because of the Japanese occupation. I asked him if his parents had strong education values. He replied; "yah, and then during the war, we stay home and my father and mother teach us." His father had been a teacher before he got a position with Shell in 1932. His father had studied at Bandung Technical High School, which later became the Institute Technology Bandung (ITB). The Dutch established the technical college during the 1920s. Only the local elite was given this opportunity. All his father's formal education was in Dutch. I asked Pak Sebelas if those war experiences were strong in his mind:

> "Oh yes, strong in my mind, yah. It was terrible, really terrible. It was really people almost starving, yes. We had to look for food, not only food, but also clothing. You know that it was even so bad that some people had to use the rice bag, you know, the rice bag for clothing, but fortunately I didn't have to. And my father at that time, during the Japanese occupation worked for the sugar, a sugar company." (Pak Sebelas, 9/6/00)

He then mentioned something that related to the identity-shaping legacy of the hardships of this formative history. "For me, my family call me 'MacGyver', because I do everything," he said referring to an American television series about a former university science researcher who becomes an international troubleshooter.

> "I can do everything, can mend. Even when I was a student I can what you call, I can sew trousers . . . . In 1965, the electricity, there is a problem and the voltage went down, down. So I make a transformer. I go to the pawnshop or whatever to get the material and I read these things from a book, and my wife joke, hey you still learning, you never stop learning [laughing a lot].

I suggested that his father must have been a bit of a 'MacGyver' also and he said "that is right." I explained that I had a Polish engineer father like that, who had cupboards full of things that he would not throw away in case it might be useful. Pak Sebelas laughed even more saying "cupboards full of things, mustn't throw away!" When I said if my family ever needed anything for sure my father would say - I've got something that might work and he laughed and laughed and said in a high pitched voice "that sounds like me!" The formative experiences of the Japanese occupation and the struggle for independence obviously made a deep impact on his worldview.

When he finally went to school in 1946 he attended a Catholic Christian School that was based around a Dutch educational model. "Yah, a Dutch model. And even though I am a Moslem, but went to a Christian Catholic School. They had the Dutch teachers," he explained. I said that this must have been the only way to get any formal education at that time. "Yeh, and the quality is good. My father went when he was young," he added. Only a select group of upper class Javanese would have been given this Dutch educational opportunity. I learnt later from an expatriate informant that Pak Sebelas actually had a Javanese noble title, but he had abandoned using this "as it made things too complicated."

During elementary education, the Dutch were fighting against Indonesian independence. "Sukarno is in 1947", he said. "They tried to get rid of him, the Dutch, two times in [19]48 and [19]49, two time. It was terrible then, yah." After finishing high school in Surabaya, Pak Sebelas went to ITB to study an engineering degree in mining exploration. The course was half geology and half mining. While studying at ITB "we are short of lecturers and we have to contract to get lecturers from the USA. So

our lecturers were usually from the USA." Thus, his lecturers and texts were in English. Exposure to this Dutch model and then American tertiary education as well as the multi-religious context begins to account for Pak Sebelas' adaptable and cosmopolitan approach and his later international career achievements. His Javanese 'priyayi' background gave him the necessary high ascriptive status to pursue these opportunities, his multicultural background the flexible polycentrism.

Similarly, Duabelas' educational experiences were multicultural and multilingual. She attended a conservative Islamic Arabic elementary school until twelve. She had to speak Arabic and cover herself according to strict conservative Islamic practice. "I spoke Arabic until I was twelve years old. And I never used it any more," she said pragmatically. It seems that the Arabic school resulted in her developing a strong resistance. How she was able to exert that choice is unclear other than the strong influence of her Sumatran mother. She then went to Palembang State high school and then Palembang University where, after four and a half years, gained a degree in Chemical Engineering. Having already developed a critical and independent identity, to maximize her academic and cultural extension when she attended her MBA program in Australia, Duabelas consciously set about group project work only with students who were not Indonesian. This suggests that, like Pak Sebelas, her multicultural, and multi-religious upbringing were instrumental in her developing a more individualistic and inner directional polycentric identity, while still being Indonesian.

Sembilan had been through a private Christian education, as did Tujuh and Puluh. Puluh attended Catholic Schools in Jakarta. Sembilan's elementary, secondary and tertiary education was in Adventist Christian schools and colleges, where her father worked as a math teacher. These institutions were located in Medan, Northern Sumatra and Bandung, West Java. A Christian-based education system would have resulted in the various incorporations of (Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars, 2000) cultural values. It is predictable that this European and Christian-based system would have been oriented to develop more individualistic and inner direction cultural dimensions in contrast to an Islam or Indonesian state systems which would have been concerned with developing collective, communitarian and outer directional cultural dimensions as fundamental goals of the state education system. The rest of the participants made little or no reference to their elementary education, referring only to extra curricula activities, such as private English lessons. Only those

whose experience of frequently changing schools were noted, along with the difficulties and impact that this had on them.

Interestingly, no one made reference to the teaching of Indonesian principles or Pancasila other than they had it every year. It was a major part of the New Order government's strategy to bind the nation through an ongoing values education program. Sembilan referred to it as a component of her Diploma of Secretarial Science. I regret not specifically raising the topic, as it has been so central to the New Order education system. During my discussion with Puluh on the opening up of Indonesian with regard to the Chinese, passing reference was made to the need for a more open approach to the interpretation of Pancasila and the principle of 'unity-in-diversity' - the nation's motto. Pancasila values education has been a fundamental integrationist building block over the past thirty years. The lack of reference may indicate the naturalization of the values of Pancasila for Indonesians. How did this teaching influence Indonesian cultural specificities?

Values education for building a nation: Pancasila - Indonesian Principles

The 'Indonesian principles' or Pancasila values education program was taught throughout all three educational levels. The five principles, as laid down by Sukarno were: faith in one God; humanity; nationalism, representative government and social justice. Pancasila became the blueprint of the nationalist movement (Grant, 1996). Pancasila was a great invention (ibid). Along with the mandatory flag, anthem, constitution, Declaration of Independence, and stories of resistance, it has evolved into the prime emblem of the nation. To many or most Indonesians, Pancasila is destiny, incorporating national identity and its related philosophy of life.

> In a way, the current official interpretation has maintained, yet frozen, the esoteric explanations, at the same time as the formula has been drawn back to earth, not only becoming a unique ideological basis for organizational life, but also the moral measuring rod for all sorts of activities (Mulder, 1999, p. 121).

Pancasila is thought to be the source from which all Indonesian law emanates. However, Mulder's interest lies in the connection between the teachings of Pancasila as a state doctrine and the Javanese world of thought of 'kebatinan' mysticism and the interpretation placed on these by the New Order Regime. This perspective ties national strategic discourse to the beliefs, identity and behavior of individuals.

It was a core subject every year. This powerful policy set to reframe diverse collective ethnic and religious identities, values and practices by imposing an overarching, culturally integrated and homogeneous value system that promoted a shared national cultural identity. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, in order to curb civil unrest, new laws were introduced to place greater censorship on the press and a wide ranging indoctrination program was undertaken to spread the word of Pancasila (Schwarz, 1999). Pancasila was thought to lay down the basis for a well-ordered and highly civilized society. Soldiers, teachers, politicians, doctors, even overseas students were required to attend classes to better understand the meaning of Pancasila in Suharto's Indonesia (Schwarz, ibid). During this period Pak Sebelas, as a senior government employee, would have participated in the adult education program, as would the participant's parents.

Applying the Javanese practice of 'kebatinan' or development of inner strength, knowledge and discipline gave the citizens a shared ethical framework to live up to by applying the Pancasila principles. Pancasila principles provide the communitarian, neutral, ascriptive status, diffusion and outer directional (Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars, 2000) basis to the national system of cultural logic. A number of things construct the morality of the society:

  • It entails a steady emphasis on obligation: the places people occupy imposes duties. Being faithful in these duties creates harmony and harmonious conformity is understood as a noble purpose;
  • Hierarchy comes naturally and is thus, moral in itself. Service to the father, the parents - and by extension the boss, to the patrimonial dynast - becomes self-fulfillment. Thus, the individual is defined by place and duties; and subjected to the welfare - harmony - of the whole;
  • Pancasila society appears to be a collectivistic arrangement in which the individual is a subservient part of the whole. To make this attractive, people are promised the double reward of a harmonious totality, and personal fulfillment in conformity (Mulder, 1999, pp. 122-3).

The propaganda messages of the state "belong to an idealized past, with an idealized structure of society in which organic and integrationist ideas can flourish; subsequently these ideas are formulated as the family principles" (ibid. p. 123). The principles operate at every level of society.

The New Order state accomplished this through coercive dissemination of a prescriptive outer directional-oriented national culture. This national culture overrode local diversity understood as being divisive.

It is the Great Teacher, displaying ceremony, election rituals unanimous nominations, unity-in-diversity television shows, endless series of successful development projects, mantra-like speeches, uniforms and more uniforms, happy, family-planned families, cleanest villages, obsequious women called Ibu, grateful civil servants, and so on. Such manifestations are supposed to - and do - take the sights off political and economic decision-making. They obscure social cleavages and concede considerable freedom to those few who do indeed take the decisions (ibid, p. 123).

In the key socializing agency, the education sector's (both private and public) approach in delivering this integrationist values education project was to repeat the same values over and over again, expecting them to sink in and then regulate behavior. "Its social engineering is value engineering" (ibid, p. 124).

There is a wide gap, however, between state ideology and official knowledge, and everyday experience. "From economic development, the green revolution, and the incorporation of the village leadership as the apparatus of the state, have exacerbated cleavages and, sometimes, strife. The eternal village of gotong-royong [mutual obligation], musyawarah and mukafat [discussion and consensus] simply is not there" (ibid, p. 125). Despite this gap between the imagined and the real, the official interpretation of the principles of Pancasila play a fundamental role in explaining the behavior, values and identity of Indonesians.

Achieving the New Order's modernizing education aims: science graduates

Alongside a national Pancasila curriculum, and the nation-binding role of the lingua franca, there was a firm policy emphasis on the teaching of science to reframe the nation as modern and developing. All of the participants have specialist science or engineering degrees, with two having qualifications in secretarial science and communications science. Only the international qualifications, such as Duabelas' MBA, Puluh's Masters of Construction Management, and Sembilan's Diploma of Public Relations (all gained from international educational providers) do not use science or engineering as rhetorical disciplinary descriptors. These undergraduate qualifications bear some testament to the educational successes of the New Order policy of human resource development through the promotion of science education.

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Pak Sebelas referred to himself as being a 'MacGyver'. Several young Indonesians made reference to the program during conversations and several expatriates commented on its popularity with Indonesians. It was the only television program referred to. It is appropriate to comment on this subject because the hero is a scientist and this western program was broadcast despite otherwise rigorous censorship. Presumably it was broadcast because of its pro-science values. 'MacGyver', an American action drama series, concerns a good looking former post-doctoral research scientist who leaves the closeted world of academia to solve real world mysteries and intrigue always succeeding through the application of scientific knowledge. It is popular with Indonesian university students: "Their devotion was because 'MacGyver always stood up for human rights'" (Sen and Hill, 2000, p. 9). The programmers knew the series rated well, but had no idea of the possible reason for its popularity (Sen and Hill), assuming that it was the pro-social science values. An audience wanting to be a part of Indonesian modernization would also identify with the pro-science values.

Most of the participants reported taking four to five years, with some longer to complete undergraduate science degrees. Five of the participants are graduates of the prestigious Institute Technologi Bandung (ITB). Some said the expatriates in the office often referred to them as the "ITB Mafia". Lima explained the history of the environmental engineering degree at ITB which he, Empat and Enam had attained.

> "The department was established in 1962 [the same period when Pak Sebelas attended and the lecturers were predominantly American] as a part of the civil engineering department, but then it was called sanitary engineering . . . Which is really waste management and 1984 they changed the scope of the lectures and changed the name into environmental engineering."

I asked Lima why he chose to study environmental engineering.

> "Back in 1986 when I was in the final lap of senior high school and I had to decide in which direction I should further go into further education. At that time, therefore, alumni of our high school were invited to give us an insight into the different disciplines like economics, finances and etc. And at that time I don't know why I fall in love with environmental engineering because it combines disciplines between physics, chemicals, biology and human environment."
>
> "So it is holistic", I suggested.
>
> "Holistic, that is a strong guiding force for me to chose the discipline." (Lima, 21/3/00)

Lima often used impassioned rhetoric, such as "I fall in love", or "English is a wonderful language", when talking about his work, the English language and England. Unlike the other Indonesian informants he expressed also his negative feelings about people and work. This marks him as being

individually 'affective'. Javanese/Pancasila notions of neutral etiquette consider emotional displays a sign of weakness.

Delapan explained that she had completed a Bachelor degree at Trisatki University, a private university in Jakarta. The course was introduced in 1986. "The university teach about global knowledge, about the environment, water, air, solid waste, things like AMDAL [the Indonesian Environmental Impact Assessment process]." I asked if she had specialized in her degree.

> "After when I was about to graduate end of 1996 the faculty created a new policy with specialization over seven semesters so, um, the students can choose whether they want to do it on air, water, solid wastes and something like that. Water is divided into waste water and so we can design waste water treatment plants and technology for drinking water treatment or something like that ... For my final project I had a research on the optimization of titanium to reduce ah, bacteria in concentration in the water."(Delapan. 23/3/00)

Sembilan did a three-year secretarial science diploma at the Adventist College in Bandung. "Most the subjects is just general secretarial subjects, one was secretarial correspondence, like typing, dealing with computers, some accounting like the principles of accounting and then other principles, more accounting, and then Indonesian principles and religion." (Sembilan, 23/3/00) To this subject list she added English "many English, oh yah, a lot, because most of my teachers taught us to speak English so when we have English correspondence, we have conversation 1, 2, 3, we also have shorthand." She was unable to do further studies at a state university because her Diploma qualification was not recognized.

> "It is quite difficult. To the private university, it's quite ok, but to the state university it is difficult. They have different programs. Because the education system we have lots of different levels of universities. So like, in my university, if I get what you call it, each year we have a final test, and then final exams some of the subjects we have to take another examination from the government. [an external examination] And after that we can go to graduation. And in this case I did not take this one, and I dislike that because, why should I take the same subjects two times? The same examination! They do not approve our local examination."

Sembilan's tone became resistive and assertive. With her father being a teacher in the Adventist system and all her siblings graduating from there, this resistance links to frustrations with the government accreditation process. It indicates an existing tension between the two education systems. This tension would derive from their different cultural assumptions. Her way around the problem was to take courses offered by private providers or distance education. She had since completed a

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Diploma of Public Relations offered by an international private provider through being awarded a company scholarship.

Tigabelas took five years to complete her degree in Communications Science at a private university in Bandung. Unlike the confidence and assertiveness expressed by Sembilan, Tigabelas was unsure of herself. She spoke in a very soft frequently inaudible voice. She explained that the foundation year included basic units in journalism, public relations, public speaking and library studies. She chose to specialize in library studies. It took her five years "because I am slow." "So I made for my thesis I take one and a half years". Her library studies course subjects were oriented to elementary and junior high schools library teachers. She had to do practical work in a school that she said was quite well equipped. I asked how she liked that experience and she replied emphatically:

> "I hate it [then laughing]. Um, maybe the children make me nervous, they were little children in an elementary school, you know and they say why, why, why. I ask them about their habits, what they think about the library, their opinion about the library about and I asked the librarian too." (Tigabelas, 14/6/00)

I suspect that her anxiety about the natural inquisitive nature of young children links to anxieties about the social responsibilities of having at hand the culturally correct answers. I ethnocentrically queried if she had written a good report. "I don't know", she replied. But you passed, I added, to which she unexpectedly said: "I got an A". Her response suggested it was not up to her to say or judge whether she had written a good report. However, her negative feelings about being a teacher librarian were so strong that she never pursued this area of employment.

Post-graduate studies

Tujuh was the only one to have completed a Masters program in Indonesia. This was at ITB. After graduating he said that "for eight months I was working with my teacher, my lecturers and after that I think that I have to improve myself before getting engagement or getting married, so I think it will be difficult after we do". I asked if he was doing research or consulting work during this eight-month period. "Consulting work because he has his own company that I am working with him," he explained. Is it common for teachers to do private work?, I asked. "Yah, because for the full-time teaching in the university it is not enough. Salary is low, even for research it is very difficult to get some funds for research." The company often subcontracted university academics to do specialist

work. The quality of this work varies greatly. Management explained that engaging local university sub-contractors was often a government condition for winning local projects. Tujuh's university consultant work was for Indonesian companies. He continued to work while doing the two-year Masters program. "I still working with him in consulting. I have to go to Bandung and make something and in the morning I have to go to Jakarta and then back to Bandung in the afternoon." The travel took him about six hours, "but I am using the train so I can sleep". Tujuh explained that his Masters included three semesters of coursework and a one-semester research project. His project was based on geotechnical modeling.

The President Director explained that there were few opportunities to undertake post-graduate studies in Indonesia. There was virtually no funding for research. Duabelas said that she did the first year of her Australian MBA program with an affiliate university in Jakarta, but only because one of the company clients, a large international mining company, did not want her to leave - "and they disagree if I will study abroad." The year studying in Jakarta involved:

> "A supported MBA course for the class every Saturday for one year so [the Australian university] has like an association with the uni school here that if I study here I will get a [Australian university] certificate, and some [Australian university] teachers will come here. That is a two years program, but you just study for Saturday. So I studied there for a years and we finished the [international mining company] main work. So I decided to take the opportunity to study abroad because at the time Indonesian market has collapsed, it was around March, 1998 at the 1997 economic problem." (Duabelas, 12/6/00)

So I asked why she chose Australia. "Why Australia, good question. Firstly, I choose Australia because it is cheaper and closer and because also we have offices there. And secondly, because I wanted to be transferred within the same school." (ibid, 12/6/00) I then asked Duabelas if it was harder work studying in Australia:

> "Um, harder in Indonesia because I work during the day and then study at night and weekend and there it is just studies and fun [laughing] but harder because a different country and some I did not like, um. But only in the beginning, just a few months in the beginning and after that I am ok."

The Director for Corporate Affairs of the company explained how invaluable Duabelas was to the company's Indonesian operations. " I don't like going anywhere if [Duabelas] is not with me" (DCA, interview 4/4/00). This director, a former Australian Federal Government Minister for the

Environment said that she relied heavily on Duabelas when she came to Indonesia for high-level consultations and negotiations between international companies and the Indonesian government. In appreciation of Duabelas' valuable role the Director entertained her in her home on the completion of her studies along with the former Prime Minister, Keating's family. Duabelas indicated that this opportunity was very important. Duabelas' Australian study heightened her awareness of the cultural differences between Indonesia and Australia and the impact of this on business performance. To indicate her awareness and achievements she gave me a copy of an essay on the Indonesian cultural approach to business, for which she obtained a distinction.

Both Lima and Puluh undertook "parent's scholarships" (Puluh) to attend Masters program overseas. Lima went to England and Puluh went to Sydney. Lima was particularly impressed by the strong relationship between industry and the university. The company sponsored his research project "investigating the options to be applied in a project like that".

> "It was quite specific, ah the dissertation - raw water injections. Basically I am looking at the equipment that can separate solids from water without importing chemicals or mechanical equipment so the particles should do this on their own because they have their own weight, gravity or something like that." (Lima, 21/3/00)

Confirming the success of his project, he explained:

> "In addition to that I get additional one year industrial placement in the UK because of the dissertation, so I was more exposed to the reality study world while I was in UK. It gave me a real added study to improving my understanding of environmental consulting practice, basically, and to use the English more appropriately in the spoken and written English." (Lima, 21/3/00)

Lima highly values the opportunity to participate in applied cutting edge industrial research. This opportunity is not available locally. His reference to the use of appropriately spoken and written English highlights how he developed awareness of the cultural specificities of English professional and academic writing. Lima was waiting for an opportunity to return to the UK Company.

> "Still the same thing and I undertake another time with this consulting company, but slightly different project, but still same technology that I will use with some modification but for other applications, not just oil and gas industry, but also the nuclear industry."

The company gave him leave to return to the UK for six months industrial research in June 2000.

Puluh completed his Masters of Construction Management (1997) at a university in New South Wales by fast-tracking 18 subjects in one year. He said that his time in Sydney "was the most interesting, but the most difficult time in life that I ever had. For I have to study from morning until two or three o'clock. I have never done that in my bachelor degree." Fast tracking was one of the reasons, "but also the other reasons is maybe because my mother language is not the English. I to get proficient in English, to have two or three times the effort as the local students do." I asked if the university provided English support classes:

> "The university provides such a system within the international student program, but at that time I think that I can follow up the subjects with a bit more effort and so that I did not join that program at that moment. Basically, I just double up my study." (Puluh, 23/3/00)

I asked how he found writing his assignments?

> "It is not that easy for myself, but with some support from the other friends and also my supervisor. Basically, we are doing most of the assignments in groups - four of us. Three is from Indonesia and one is from Papua New Guinea."

This effort indicates a strong individualistic motivation to learn which he partially achieved by adopting a group-oriented approach to work. This points to his intermixing of both inner directional and collective strategies to facilitate learning.

I asked if it would have been better if he had mixed with local students.

> "Yah basically, we have one lecturer from the Papua New Guinea so he is quite good, his English is perfect. Also the two courses - one is the construction management basically for the overseas students and the other, they call it project management, this is the after hours course, basically for the project managers in Sydney. So I think during that time we have three or four subjects that is combined between the two courses. So basically we have to deal with the other courses, so we have to discuss, we have argument, we have to defend our argument."

I asked how he found arguing.

> "It is totally different with the one we have, which is basically as the office. It is more the way of thinking and the perspective which is much more broad and is much more better as compared with us. Is basically more the Indonesians students, we are the Indonesian students so I as can say we picked most of the subjects with them basically." (Puluh, 23/3/00)

Puluh links learning to argue at university with the cultural logic required in the office. He recognizes the value of mixing with native speakers of English. However, the strong collective dimension to Indonesian students' identity means that they were naturally attracted to work together. Puluh's collective approach contrasts with Duabelas' conscious decision to not study with any Indonesian students during her MBA course, and Lima's recognition of the need to leave Indonesia to gain

immersion in research opportunities and professional English language skills in comparison to the others. As a result of their individualized and inner directional strategies, these three all expressed considerable confidence about their polycentric knowledge and skills. They were able to reflect and comment on the contrasting cultural approaches to both work and learning between Indonesia, Australia and UK.

The attitudes of Lima, Puluh and Duabelas contrast with those of Empat, who completed a Masters of Hydrology on a German scholarship in at a German university. Empat's comments as presented previously indicate her cross-cultural trauma. The President Director was a prize winning doctoral graduate of the university and had supported her application. Her survival strategy was to withdraw from wider cultural contact beyond the classroom. She only mixed with people from Pakistan or Asia - "I don't know why," she said. They had closer values to you, I suggested. "Yes, we have some culture," she replied.

Empat's comments about assessment in Germany suggest that the German university considered science to be culture-free. She was told not to worry about her report writing because English was not her first language. As long as she could present data in generic forms and make her lecturers understand what she meant, then this was acceptable.

> "We have the seminar in our classes when a student present something in English and when I give them my work I ask the professor - how is my English and they [say] oh no problem in that - it is not your native language, your mother tongue, so forget it. Just remember the topic you present."

> "It is only until the professor can catch what we did, just like that" (Empat, 20/3/00).

She made a presentation to the academic staff at the conclusion of a semester of research. I asked if this presentation was written and oral?

> "Yes, I have to present it in front of the class with the overheads or something like that. I present charts, figures and bar. Actually it is quite easy to present in class because everyone can read"

> "Without have to explain one by one, makes me feel uncomfortable to explain because my English is poor."

These comments, together with comments made by expatriates on the performance on various Indonesian staff members, suggested that quantitative scientific generic information methods such as bar diagram, a chart, etc. can become critical outer directional and visual guides for Indonesians to present information in a form that 'looks' professional. Expatriates stated that the information presented very often did not make sense, but it looked like a bar diagram or a pie diagram or flow chart. Being able to analyze the figures indicates the need for western cultural 'specificity' assumptions rather than Indonesian 'diffusion' orientations. Non-reflective culture-free assumptions about teaching science in Germany contributed to Empat's lack of professional confidence. When I asked if it was difficult having German teachers for whom English was also a second language she said "in the class I just close my mouth without saying anything, but just listen and listen and listen, but then in my house I speak Indonesian and chat, chat, chat."

Most of those who had not had the opportunity to study overseas stated that they "dreamed' of the opportunity. The following comments indicate the high level of motivation to study overseas held by those who have not had the opportunity, but recognize the difference that it has made to those who have. Tiga said that she would like to take a Masters in Environmental Management overseas. "So I would like to improve my English. If have improved very much in three months [with reference to her participation in a three months remediation course in Sydney] so in two years I could speak very well, learning to argue." (Tiga, 17/3/00) The following year Tiga was awarded a scholarship to study in Sweden.

Enam also said she would like to pursue further studies, but something more specialist, than environmental engineering, which was her undergraduate degree. "Maybe health and safety, because there are not too many here in Indonesia. There is no major in health and safety in a university in Indonesia." She added that her husband wanted to do a master in e-commerce.

> "I think that overseas like Australia have more advanced technology than here and I want to study English language more, it really, really helps in working here, it really influences your career, if you are like - a - like capital, English is like capital for Indonesians." (Enam, 23/3/00)

Delapan, like Enam, said "to go overseas to study was her dream".

> "But since we - it is very expensive overseas if I am to apply myself I would like to apply for a scholarship. There was in 1998, I got an offer to study in Germany and wrote to the university,

but unfortunately they no longer provide scholarship for this further study, but the University of Stuttgart is a I was accepted but not a scholarship."

"So how can I pays my living allowance - very expensive. I tried AUSAID too, but no luck. They prefer to choose government officer to obtain scholarship rather than private." (Delapan, 23/3/00)

Duabelas also confirmed Delapan's notion that AUSAID was only for government: "AUSAID is more for government but the British one [the British Business Council] that [name] got, is more industry".

I asked Delapan what type of masters she would like to do. Her undergraduate degree was in environmental engineering.

"Yah , I want to learn about the environmental management systems. I interested in exploring about - protection techniques, ISO14000. The globalization will bring more demand on agricultural products, yeh, and something like that. And I hope that maybe some day I can do something real to improve the conditions in my country. You know, because sometimes I hope for a better environmental awareness in my country, but then with the, ur, situations, conditions um - low income and then people have to work hard just to stay alive, to provide, but it is impossible for them to think about the environment and I have to separate my wastes from plastics, with something like that."

I asked if she was interested in business studies. "Ah ha, yes I plan to, but for now to get my masters first. But I know I cannot rely on my technical. I have to learn about business and management. It is important to make teams work." Delapan's comments indicate that she is patriotically reflective about the challenges facing Indonesia and considering the contribution she could make.

I asked Pak Sebelas whether he thought that the technical competencies of the new young graduates were good: "yah, actually students some is ok and some is quite bright". However, he added

"But actually, it should come from a university that is well known . . . Yes the standard like the ITB, if they graduated from ITB, then the standard is ok. But if they graduated from another university you need to question them to find out the standard. But, I a lecturer [when he worked in Palembang] and during the final examinations I was disappointed with their knowledge, very simple mathematics, they don't know." (Pak Sebelas, 9/6/00)

Pak Sebelas had been a part-time lecturer at the University of Palembang. Pak Sebelas said that because he and his wife had traveled much with his work and seen many countries "so we decide to give our children [3] some additional education besides their local Indonesian education." So I mentioned the significant cost and he replied assertively: "it is not cheap, but it is important". As a

result, one daughter went to Canada, and his son and other daughter both went to Sydney to do further studies.

These educational experiences of a privileged group are very different to those less well off, especially in the regions. Talking to Pak Sebelas I said that the New Order philosophy was to provide egalitarian educational opportunities for the people of Indonesia, but the reality was different. He said: "there is not enough teachers, lecturers." "In the 1960s we were sending teachers to Malaysia." "Exporting our human resources to Malaysia, but now Malaysia is more developed than us!" This critical comment, also relevant to the 'languages' section, indicates a perception of the limited human resource development successes of the New Order:

> "So in the regions where they also have also have schools but also the quality because everything is centralized. is in Java, you see. Some of them is reluctant to be sent to the regions. Some of them are willing to be sent to be working but there are difficulties in language. Indonesian dialect of Java is difficult to be understood by the Irianis .... They told me when you send a teacher, not to send someone from Java." (Pak Sebelas, 9/6/00)

This highlights the inequalities of educational opportunities and the centralist ways the allocation of teachers and resources reinforces inequality.

Tiga spoke of how it was very different in the regions to Jakarta, especially in the eastern parts of Indonesia.
> "When I go to them, I just talk to them like a friend and sharing about our ideas [development projects] and sharing, maybe I have not much money, but sharing. Not only are they poor, but they have low level of education, that's the most important thing." (Tiga, 176/3/00)

To give them education, I suggested:
> "Yes, the most important thing for me is the way they are thinking about their future, that's the most important because the first time I speak with people I talk about education. There is a higher education level in Jakarta and most of the big cities, and in the village is - [her voice faded]"

And the more education you have the more choices you have more ability to make decisions and see what might be. "Not for themselves, but for their children, for the future" said Tiga.

This section on the educational experiences of the participants indicates the particularized cultural nature of the experiences, motivations, approaches and outcomes that individuals gained through the

formational processes of their schooling and university studies. In particular, some of the comments indicate the various kinds of pluralistic and privileged background experiences that have influenced some to develop more individualistic identities, approaches to work and their significant ambitions indicate that they are becoming achievement status-oriented.   Their successes and academic achievements also indicate the significant commitment to education values of all their families. Thus it appears that as a result of their educational experiences this group has mixed and particularist cultural assumptions. This diverse polycentrism gives some explanation for their employment in the international sector.   Their comments indicate various levels of understandings about the deeper meanings of these cultural assumptions and various levels of skills at appropriately switching between the two value systems when appropriate. The discussion indicates that outer directional cultural assumptions predominantly frame the national education strategies

The notion of a "third place" (Crozet, Liddicoat & Lo Bianco, 1999) is used to conceptualize the cultural location of polycentric or cosmopolitan people who have developed intermediary multicultural and multilingual communications skills necessary to function in national and international socio-cultural domains.   Peoples with intermediary cultural negotiations skills are conceived of as being a part of "third cultures" (Hannerz 1991; Featherstone 1995). Pak Sebelas's comments indicate that he can feel 'at home' in third places with third culture. Similarly, the more reflective educational comments made by Duabelas, Puluh and Lima suggests they are developing cross-cultural skills. In general term, these three are able to reflectively discuss and identify the overarching cultural differences between their own culture and those of the international places where they have studied.

9. Families

Table 6.8: The education fields of the participants' parents and siblings, and their employment sector.

Names	Families	Names	Families
Satu	Father: Pendidikan Uni; Career: (army). 1. Brother AABRI (Army) Academy; 2. Akademi Telekom; (PT Telkom); 3. B. Eng (civil) Gadja Mada Uni., Publ Works Dept; 1. Sister - dentist. Husband: Gadja Mada U, Nuclear Atomic Agency; three children	Delapan	Father: General (Army) International Diplomat; 1 Sister: B. Management (tourism) Singapore; 1. Brother: B. IT (current). Bilitaharapan U. Jakarta; Husband commercial pilot Merpati (NZ trained)
Dua	Father: Naval Admiral; 2 brothers; Wife; Ministry of Health; Two children	Sembilan	Father: teacher Adventist College; 3 siblings graduates of Adventist College, Bandung - business administration; nursing, and economics.
Tiga	Father (deceased): small farm and business; 5 siblings accountancy, and business.	Puluh	Parents: high school; 1 brother - B. Eng (civil) Jakarta, M. Eng Yogya Tech Uni; 2 Brother B. Com, Oregon, MBA San Diego - stock broker Shanghai Bank; 3. Brother B. Management Jakarta, M Com. NSW Uni
Empat	Father (deceased) high-ranking army officer; 1. Sister - B Eng (electr) ITB; Brother 1, B. Ag sc. (ITB); Brother 2.B. Econ ITB; Husband: B. Eng (environ) ITB. 1 child,	Pak Sebelas	Father: teacher and Eng.- ITB - Shell; Wife, B. Pharmacy ITB; 1. Daughter B. Psych Jakarta uni, post-grad Canada - human resources, employment international mining co. 2. B. Soc Sc (foreign affairs) Jakarta uni, Dip IT NSW TAFE - works IFAFL; 3. Daughter BA (German) Jakarta; Dip Graphic Design N Sydney TAFE.
Lima	Father: business; 1 brother B. Com ITB (banking)	Duabelas	Father trader, mother sewing school business; siblings 6. 2. Sisters: B. Accounting (Palembang Uni) employed International Corps - TNT and Consulting. Co; 1. Brother B. Eng (chem) Palembang, Petro-chem ind; 2. Eng (chem) Palembang; 3. Brother high school; 3. Sister junior high.
Enam	Father: Law Padjadajab Uni,	Tigabelas	Father (deceased) B. Sc (geol) ITB; 1 sister

	District Attorney, Bandung; 1. Brother Bogor Agr. Inst, BPPB (Bank restructuring board.); 1. Sister B. Ag Sc, BAPEDAL (Regional Planning Board); 2. Brother - UPN Yogja, agric. sector; 3. Brother: - Indo Corp Inst, banking; Husband: B. IT ITB. 1 child (Aug 2000)		B. Econ Padjadajab Uni; 1 brother BA (Russian) Padjadajab Uni - property marketing; 2. Sister B. IT (current) ITB; Husband: B. Sc (geol) ITB - freelance consultant; Child 1.
Tujuh	Father: engineer 1. Sister - medical; 2. Sister B. engineer; 1 brother: B. Eng (civil); 2. Brother: B. Eng (Mech); Wife: B. Accounting (banking)		

This section indicates the high value the parents placed on the educational achievement of the participants and their siblings. Table 6.8 indicates the comprehensive academic achievements of the siblings, their professional areas of employment, the sectors they are employed in and the regions of Indonesia in which they currently work. The fact that the basic literacy rate for the Indonesian population is around 77%, but fewer than half of primary school students will make it to junior high school and half again will make it to graduation (Turner et al., 2000) is an indicator of the significant educational achievements of these families in relation to the rest of the population. This group of young professionals and their siblings represent valuable professional human resources for the future of the nation. Indicative of their privileged socio-economic position, some of the parents' generation received a tertiary education and include teachers, a lawyer, and engineers. Several others had careers as high-ranking military officers and thus, had attended military colleges for their training. The remainder was in business. Despite the privileged nature of this group of parents, the participants indicated the high personal costs of providing these significant educational opportunities for them. The younger generation's achievements indicate that they took advantage of these educational opportunities.

Tujuh said that his two brothers and two sisters had three engineering degrees and one a medical degree in addition to his engineering degree and geotechnical masters. I commented that education was very important to the family: "Yah in our tradition, especially coming from North Sumatra, they

want their child to get, ah, the best education, and they will pay until they couldn't pay any more, and so just take the education and [don't] worry about any money, that's what the parents say." (Tujuh, 23/3/00) I said that that must have put a lot of pressure on them to succeed and he answered:

> "Because they say don't think about money, just learning." Because they make sacrifices, you must learn, I suggested and he responded: "yes because sometimes in my home town, sometime people have to sell their house or their land just to give their children."

Tujuh indicates the high cost that some parents will pay for the education of their children.

Puluh spoke about the academic achievements of his brothers. One brother completed a civil engineering degree at a university in Jakarta and then did a Masters in civil engineering at Yogyakarta technical university. Another completed a bachelor degree in commerce at Oregon University and then an MBA at San Diego University. The third did a management bachelor degree in Jakarta and then a master of commerce at the University of NSW. Puluh has a civil engineering degree and a master of construction management from NSW University. Two brothers are now working as stockbrokers and the other in business development in the travel industry. They all got "father's scholarship" said Puluh. I said that his parents must be very happy with the results of their investment and their hard work, and he replied: "Yes they are very happy, my parents just finished their high school. They are very happy, but basically, we are the ones who are very proud of them. For they start at zero and we start from maybe 100 or even bigger." This is a very big advantage, I suggested. "And basically I think, don't think that even though we have these masters degrees from the overseas universities that we be this - as advantaged as compared to my parents," he stated. This comment reveals a very high respect and honor paid to the achievements of his parents, and gives a sense that the younger generation recognizes that their achievements are not individual, but collective family-oriented achievements.

Empat's story was different. Her father died fifteen years ago. She explained that her sister had an electrical engineering degree from ITB and her brother was studying agricultural economics at university in Bandung. Empat has an environmental engineering degree from ITB and a Masters of Science (hydrology) from Germany. She said that they did not get any help from her father's family: "ah maybe the relationship between them is not quite close. But my father's family is not rich people so they have their own problems [laughing]." Her mother had to trade in things like carpets and

clothes to survive and educate her and her sister. So now she and her sister support the mother and pay the university fees of their young brother. I asked her if it was her mother who thought that investing in education was the way to build a better life and Empat responded: "um actually, it was my sister, my sister really hard - [working]". Then she added:

> "Working and give direction to me and my young brothers. Actually my sister seeing, maybe after seeing my mother really hard and she has been thinking that she has to have a good knowledge and a good education. She forced herself actually".

Empat said her sister was only one year older than herself. Reflecting the shared nature of social responsibilities she added that while she was in Germany, her scholarship was generous enough to send money home to her mother.

Duabelas' family story, like Empat's, was also somewhat different from the others. Duabelas has six younger siblings. Duabelas is around thirty years of age and is six years older than her nearest sibling. Her mother divorced her father five to six years ago and the family has not had anything to do with him since then. Thus, Duabelas' oldest younger sibling was just completing high school when the parents divorced. Since then her two younger sisters both have gained accounting degrees from Palembang University and two younger brothers have chemical engineering degrees, also from Palembang University. Her youngest brother is in senior high school and her youngest sister is in junior high school, and only 13 years old. Her mother ran a sewing school for many years in Palembang, however illness meant that she had to stop this soon after the divorce.

I said to Duabelas, now a Company Director: "so you have been a very important role model for your family, as well as for the company here too." She replied: "yeh, this is particularly important for my family because I pay all their school fees". Having been successful in the international sector has meant that she could give educational opportunities to her six siblings. Both of her sisters are now employed as accountants in the international sector in industry in Jakarta, having gained these positions through Duabelas' work and contacts. Duabelas' early interest in successful and risk-taking women, her individual academic and professional successes have resulted in her becoming a significant role model for the rest of her family, as well as creating ongoing opportunities. Arguably both the development of her independent and inner directional thinking and strong sense of collective social and economic responsibilities have been critical for her family.

The ongoing commitment that participants have to their siblings' education indicates the overall strength of a collective reciprocity or mutual obligation cultural value assumption. Because they were given opportunities, they owe opportunities to others. The academic achievements of these families indicate some sectors of Indonesian society's responses to the New Order Regime's science and education policies. Their academic histories also indicate significant recognition of the value of investing in international education to open up new employment opportunities in Indonesia, and the high investment some families are prepared to make to gain competitive employment advantages.

10. Languages

Table 6. 9: The local, national and international languages used by the participants

Name	Languages	Name	Languages
Satu	Central Javanese; Bahasa Indonesia; and English	Delapan	Basic Javanese, Eastern and Central dialect; Bahasa Indonesia; and English
Dua	Bugginis and Makassan (S. Seluesi); specified four basic Javanese dialects; Bahasa Indonesia; and English	Sembilan	Batak; Bahasa Indonesia, English; and v. basic French.
Tiga	Sumbawan; basic Masak (Lombok); basic Balinese; basic Manadonese (N. Seluesi); Bahasa Indonesia; and English.	Puluh	Bahasa Indonesia, and English
Empat	Basic Sundanese; basic Javanese; basic Makassan; Bahasa Indonesia; and English	Pak Sebelas	S. Sumatran dialect; Central and East. Javanese dialects; Bahasa Indonesia; and English
Lima	Bahasa Indonesia and English	Duabelas	Arabic (12 years school - not used); South Sumatra dialect; Bahasa Indonesia; and English
Enam	Basic Sundanese; Bahasa Indonesia and English	Tigabelas	Javanese dialect; Sunda; Bahasa Indonesia; and basic English
Tujuh	Batak; Bahasa Indonesia; and English		

Bahasa Indonesia (Malay) was historically given a strategic regional and nation-binding linguistic role. It has been the historical language for trading and administration and the language used for inter-ethnic and regional communications. It was the language which brought with it new ways of thinking. English is now the language that brings new ways of thinking to the nation. As the lingua franca, standardized Bahasa Indonesia mediated a range of institutional strategies and policies for

communicating nation-binding shared cultural assumptions. Indonesian officially mediated the cohesive cultural values of education, economic development, science and technology, and government bureaucracy to lay down the foundations of a shared national identity for the citizens of a modernizing nation. However, for a largely oral communications-oriented people this imposed institutional and administrative role means that for everyday interactions local language usage is still widespread. With the Javanese accounting for some 60% of the population, this language-group is widely practiced along with many other diverse local languages. For Indonesians the challenge is to know what is the appropriate language, with the appropriate degree of formality or informality, to use in an appropriate context. In this pluralistic national society diverse language usage mediates diverse political, cultural and economic perspectives, power and logic.

This section includes references to the various local languages, Bahasa Indonesia, and English languages. Their comments give a clear impression why the Indonesian population is universally considered to be multilingual. Their comments indicate the challenges that this linguistic complexity creates for individuals. It also shows the significant investment made by the informants to develop English language skills and suggests the kinds of factors that have made this difficult and their successes somewhat limited. Table 7.9 identifies the different regional, national and international language skills and levels of skills referred to by the participants. Comments revealed the role that local languages have had in their lives. Their linguistic skills emphasize conversational, not written skills.

> Most Indonesians are fluent in at least two languages, namely their regional languages and Indonesian, using them for different occasions and to express difference experiences. Indonesian is used in the wider world for education, discussing and expressing concepts and ideas, and for dealing with bureaucracy. Regional languages are increasingly reserved for expressing emotions such as anger or love, for telling jokes and for intimate conversation with family and friends. In other words, Indonesians code-switch: a university student in Central Java might speak polite Javanese to her parents at home, colloquial Javanese to her boyfriend, brothers and sisters or when bargaining at the market, a mixture of Indonesian and Javanese to her university friends, and standard Indonesian to her lecturers or government officials (Lindsay 1998. p. 128).

Lindsay emphasizes the oral aspect to multilingualism. This description emphasises that with this access to multiple linguistic and dialect skills, the patterns of conversational usage are dynamic as

speakers both switch and mix according to the context. "This happens when people borrow words and phrases from their regional languages just to use the word that 'feels the best', or perhaps to be more intimate, conversational and colloquial when speaking Indonesian" (ibid).

It is noteworthy that a Javanese university student would tend to speak in various Javanese dialects in most social contexts and use only Bahasa Indonesia in institutional contexts such as in the university or government organizations. This widely used local language maintains its powerful communicative position despite significant governmental effort to make Indonesian the lingua franca. It seems that this policy has succeeded at a more formal and an institutional level and thus may have added complexity to an already complex linguistic context. This rich diverse linguistic reality highlights the importance of skill in making contextual choices about linguistic appropriateness.

Local languages

The informants spoke about their first languages, those spoken at home. The majority indicated that the regional language and/or languages of their parents were important. Most stated that they have at least a basic skill level of the language or dialects of their ethnic background and/or regional origins. "Because I in South Seluesi, ah the main local language is, they call Bugginis and Makassa [the local languages of the Bugginis and Makassan peoples], so I can speak both local languages, or at least I can understand that they talking in those languages" (Dua, 17.3.00). I asked if this knowledge helped him working in the field. "If you are dealing with the local, it will be very [strong emphasis] important, if you can speak in their local languages. Sometimes, it will be very, very useful, very, very helpful." Tiga emphasized the value of local languages when working in regional Indonesia slightly differently: "oh yes, it very important because if you go to a different place and you can speak their language, they feel like family". Tiga said that even though her knowledge of several local languages was only basic, that level of skill was enough to make regional people respond in a friendly and genuine manner - like family.

While Dua was explaining the importance of the local languages of his regional origin (S. Seluesi) he suddenly added: "And also, I have forgotten because my parents were Javanese, so I can speak

Javanese too, actually you see [laughing gently]." I ethnocentrically commented that he is very talented with languages and he replied:

> "No, but just, um, I would say that I can understand if you would speak Javanese because you know, the Javanese, there are four or five different kinds of languages in Javanese and it depends on, ah I don't know how to say this, because, for example, if I of the same age as the person or the same position I can use the rough Javanese language, but if I speaks to someone who is higher than you or more older than you, you should use a different Javanese dialect. There are four, I understand. There are four that at least I know that are Javanese."
> "For example if you are talking to the government, you cannot use the common Javanese language. Yes, more formal and yes, more formal." (Dua, 17.3.00)

Dua's comments indicate the link between ethnic and regional background in exposure to local languages. Being multilingual in Indonesia has nothing to do with western notions of 'talent'. It is not talent, just naturalized practice.

Satu said she "comes from Central Java, Yogyakarta [considered the heart of Javanese civilization], I just work in Jakarta, so my dialect is still Javan." Implicit is the strong formational linguistic role-played by her Central Javanese ethnic and regional background. She disparagingly writes out linguistics influence from living in Jakarta, obviously valuing her Central Javanese dialect skills. As previously noted, modern Javanese uses nine levels reflecting rank, status, age and degree of acquaintance between speakers (Draine & Hall, 1998). Thus, for Satu, having a Central Javanese linguistic background and skills gives her important social status.

Delapan spoke about the consequences of her father's military moves to different parts of Java and the impact this had on her formative local language development she said that:

> "We moved to Manuin, a small city in Eastern Java. We stayed there only one years and then we moved to again to Malang, next to Surabaya, the capital city of East Java." "When I was in Malang, I learnt to talk in Eastern Javanese dialect. I spent there only two years and then I moved to Magelan. There is a place where the army is located. My father spent six years there." "And I learnt a different dialect of Javanese, the east there it sounds rough, but the Central Java dialect is more smooth. Very kind people who used to live in Central Java, who speak in a low voice and are very kind or something like that and I spent six years, I learnt quickly the different types. And the second year of my high school my father went back to Malang so I went back to Malang and in Malang I have to adapt to make the dialects again. But it comes to my surprise that I forget my Central Java dialect as soon after I learn to speak in an East Java dialect because in Central Java you have to speak in a low voice and then, but

when I practiced it in East Java it was all gone. And I stayed with my friends in Magelan for just a holiday and they speak in the Central Java there like and I realize that I have forgotten my dialect. The people in East Java speak in a high voice like maybe the people who not get used to it think this man yell all the time." (Delapan, 23/3/00)

Delapan described this personal history in an enthusiastic manner. This formative dialect switching had dramatic consequences. Note the distinctive emphasis on the importance of tonal qualities. Similar to Delapan's "yelling" reference linking localized etiquette and dialect, Sembilan explained that the difference in style between Batak language and Indonesian: "the difference is louder than the ways they [Batak] speak is louder than the others, um, directly." "I think that is it." These comments emphasis the importance of the tonal quality ('loudness', 'softness', 'roughness', and 'gentleness') in oral communications associated with regional languages and dialect. Similarly, the comment about whether a language was direct or indirect emphasizes notions of etiquette associated with languages. The inference was that both Bahasa Indonesia and more formal levels of Javanese dialect were indirect while local languages and colloquial levels of Javanese were more direct, or 'rude'.

For Empat, her lack of local language skills with her father's regular military career movement resulted in childhood fitting in problems. She referred to her early years when she was in basic school in Ujang Padang, South Seluesi. The locals spoke Makassan. She did not. When asked if this prevented her from making local friends she said; "oh yes, especially the close friends that I could invite to our house or something like that, but it is not a new experience for me so I am already used to it" (Empat, 20/3/00). Again, there is emphasis on the importance of local languages skills in enabling interaction with local communities.

Puluh was the only one who said Indonesian was the sole language at home. All the participants, with the exception of Lima and Puluh (the two Chinese Indonesians), had skills in some regional language or dialect. Others said that Indonesian was the choice at home when the parents were unable to communicate in their regional languages. Lima referred to a little Dutch being spoken in the home by his parents because they had had some Dutch education. He specifically emphasized that in his home the primary language was "Indonesian without the dialects" - giving the impression that he had little interest in the socio-cultural contextual particularities mediated through the various hierarchical

Javanese dialects. It appears that the cultural influence of these Javanese hierarchies has been assimilated into Bahasa Indonesia speech patterns. Several said that their parents switched to local languages when they were young either to discipline them, show their anger, or to exclude them from the conversation (Enam, Tujuh and Sembilan). However, they soon learnt to understand what their parents were saying in local languages.

In her early schooling in Bandung, Tigabelas said that the use of local languages was not allowed at school or in the playground. Similarly, Tujuh said that where he went to school (in Medan, N. Sumatra) where there was a significant population of Chinese "and even though it is against the regulation, it is not allowable, but them they speak in Chinese". The restriction of local languages to the home and playground relate to the New Order government's coercive approach to promoting the integrationist policy of literacy development in the national lingua franca in order to build a sense of a unified homogeneous national population. Therefore, the use of local languages, especially Chinese, was considered divisive.

Pak Sebelas spoke of the linguistic and cultural difficulties that arise from sending teachers, predominantly trained in Jakarta, to the regions.

> "So in the regions where they also have schools, but also the quality, because everything is centralized, is on Java you see. Some of them [teachers] is reluctant to be sent to the regions. Some of them are willing to be working there, but there are difficulties in languages. Indonesian dialect of Java is difficult to be understood, to be understood by the Irianis .... They told me when you send a teacher, not to send someone from Java." (Pak Sebelas, interview, 9/6/00)

The implication is that, while teachers have been institutionally trained in Bahasa Indonesia, with the majority sourced from Java they tend to use the oral communications style and manners of the Javanese dialects in interpersonal interactions. The regional use of this dialect is offensive and contributes to misunderstandings. While the government claimed to have an egalitarian approach to education, there is a significant difference between the educational resources available in the outer regions and those dominated by Jakarta. From a regional perspective both Indonesian and Javanese language usage is imbued with the authoritarian, administrative and centralist wealth accruing meanings of the Javanese dominated New Order Regime culture. Despite the successes of

implementing Indonesian language binding policies, in reality, the lingua franca and Javanese may also magnify regional political, cultural and economic differences.

I asked Tiga if the expatriate management was aware of the staff's local language skills and she replied with a definite no. The President Director had little knowledge of the staff's backgrounds. I asked Tiga that if there was a project located in the regions, whether management would send someone from the region. Tiga responded: "ah sometimes we will do this to carry out a social study, it is quite good if we choose people from there, but mostly our strategy is to collaborate with local people to help us, in collecting data or something." That is where someone like you becomes very, very useful, I commented. "I don't believe it", she replied modestly. Again this emphasizes that for Indonesians to be multilingual is natural and simply a consequence of living in a pluralistic society, rather than anything to do with specific individual intellectual talents as it is constructed in mono-linguistic national contexts.

The various comments on the role of local languages in their lives and work indicates that despite attempts to spread the use of Bahasa Indonesia through the schools programs, the use of local and regional languages, and dialects remains very important and central to local and regional life and communities, even in Jakarta. However, they also indicate that, for this group of professionals local languages were important in their formation, but are less important now in their professional lives and life in Jakarta. With their children growing up in Jakarta and at the most spending three weeks holiday each year with grandparents and extended families in the regions, will these regional languages and associated cultural sensitivities be lost to these families in the future? Despite their family connections to different ethnic groups and the regions, their children will grow up speaking colloquial Javanese and writing formally in Bahasa Indonesia.

Having studied one semester of Bahasa Indonesian with Indonesian teachers, in attempting to practice my skills, I became aware that key words in the vocabulary I had been taught were not the same as those used locally. When I questioned them about the word they used, the reply was usually "oh that is the Javanese word". This pluralistic linguistic situation adds complications for those expatriates trying to learn to communicate sensitively with Indonesians.

National Language - Bahasa Indonesia

This section discusses comments made about the nature of the national language, and its role in institutional life. Eight said that regional languages and dialects were spoken in the home as the primary language when they were growing up. However, by the time they got to school, all thirteen were using Indonesian for most of their classroom work. As the national lingua franca it served several purposes: the linguistic socializing agent, the official state language; the unifying language of inter-ethnic communications; and importantly the language of modern science and technology (Yoesoef 1998). Together these purposes create a sense of a shared cultural framework on which to build cohesive national identity mediated through Indonesian. At the heart of any system of nationalism is the development of a sense of cultural homogeneity and the standardization of the national language (Gellner 1983, 1994).

All received their primary and secondary education in Indonesia. Importantly, the use of Bahasa Indonesia in schools made it the linguistic vehicle of science and Pancasila values education. To this generation the role of Indonesian as the language of modernization has been naturalized. Dua explained that while the various differences between the ethnic cultures are "very, very different, um, in the culture, in the language, in custom, everything. One thing make us in one is because I think we are one nation and in Bahasa". The word 'Bahasa' literally means to speak. Indonesian use enables the diverse peoples to speak to each other. But for the nation pursuing the goals of modernization, of developing a modern national workforce, the development of written literacy in the standardized version of the lingua franca is also critical. Thus, Bahasa Indonesia is the authoritative institutionalized language for the education sector, for the government and the media. The Javanese cultural influences of Pancasila and Javanese 'batin' notions 'the complete Indonesian man' became interwoven into official and institutionalized language practice.

The tertiary linguistic experiences of the participants varied. Dua said in his geology degree "some is in Indonesia but mostly our literature is in English." Tiga said hers was different. "I did explore information in English, but mostly they were in Indonesian. But we can understand, describe or understand our idea or theory in Indonesia because our text books were written in Indonesian." (Tiga, 17/3/00) Enam said that in first year there was a foundational course that all students undertook "we

take the basic study like math, English, Indonesian and then physics and chemicals, something like that". Tujuh, who studied geo-technical engineering at ITB where Enam also studied environmental engineering, said that "basically we were using the texts books, all our literature is mainly in English, we just had about three I think that was already translated in Indonesia, so, but our teacher at the university did in Indonesia." In her secretarial science diploma taken at regional Christian university, Sembilan said that as well as subjects in Indonesian language and principles [Pancasila values education] she had to do a lot of English and one other language. She had chosen French in preference to German. This she found very difficult and gave up after one semester.

This mixed English and Indonesian language usage at university relates to the restricted availability of various disciplinary text materials and their country of origins. Since independence there has been shortages of supportive text materials for courses along with qualified local lecturers. When Pak Sebelas undertook his mining exploration engineering degree in Bandung during the early 1960s, he said that all his lecturers were from America. "[A]t that time in Bandung, we are short of lecturers and so we have to contract to get lecturers from the USA…. So our lecturers were usually from the USA." I asked whether this meant that the USA staff would only speak English and he relied laughing - "yes of course!" He added that it was not too hard to study in English: "no trouble in geology because the lecturer has used the drawings, so very easy. And I got an A." This emphasis on the universal communicative capacity of drawing links with other participant comments about pie diagrams, bar diagrams and other generic forms. These references suggested that simplified 'scientific' graphic representation was considered important for communicating information. But perhaps their powerful visual symbolism was more important than the individual's specific capacity to analyze and interpret their codified meanings. Someone with ascriptive status, facilitating group discussion and directing consensus may guide the interpretive process in Indonesia.

Pak Sebelas added that there were many American texts books available at the time as America was giving a lot of aid to Indonesian at the time. Similarly, Duabelas, who studied chemical engineering in Palembang, said that all her texts books were written in English, but the lecturers taught in Indonesian. I asked whether she thought that most of the students could understand these English texts books: "yes, I think when they read most of them understand when they read text books, not so

much complex language, simple." This indicates that the constant switching between the two languages suggested that the meanings of science worked exactly the same in whichever language they were presented. In other words, science meanings are considered to be culturally neutral and not subject to particularized cultural interpretations. Tigabelas, who has a communications science degree (library studies), said that all her university texts where in Indonesian. When I asked her about her first year mass communications texts she said that these were in English. This indicates that during their tertiary education the experience of having to switch between reading Indonesian and English was a common experience along with being addressed in Indonesian by lecturers and writing assignments in Indonesian.

In Indonesia the cultural assumptions framing education have historically been concerned with building communitarian 'outer directional' skills in students. Western texts are written to be interpreted through specific analytical and 'inner direction' cultural skills thus enabling the student to apply the knowledge. A text framed on outer directional logic aims to develop the student's skill to reproduce the material. Under outer directional cultural assumptions it is not the role of the student to interrogate or even ask for clarification about the deeper meanings in the textbooks, or the teacher. Questioning the 'guru' teacher may infer criticism and is therefore not appropriate cultural etiquette. Thus, it is of less importance what language the textbook is in or the teacher uses because, as long as the student can re-present the required material from the textbook or the lesson, then educational goals have been achieved. This concept (along with the cultural convention of not being the bearers of bad news) led me to understand why the informants all said that receiving their tertiary education in a mix of Indonesian and English languages was "not a problem".

However, working in the two languages in an international work place requiring the use of specific inner directional cognitive skills to professionally function within a western cultural practice context dramatically changes the situation. When I asked Lima whether he did most of his report writing in the office in Indonesian or English he said; "a combination of both languages, but I can say mostly in English. But when we work in both language it is very difficult because how we substantiate or put our thoughts in these two languages is very different." I added: "Because the languages reflect different worldviews that they are trying to communicate." Lima replied enthusiastically "ah ha, ah

ha so I love to work in English, it is a wonderful language."[laughing gently]   He added that whichever language he worked in he found it rather difficult. Several of the participants commented that Indonesian is a "simple" language and it is difficult to translate many of the English ideas into Indonesian and visa versa. I interpreted this notion of Indonesian being a simple language related to the cultural notion of outer direction that meant that its usage was more descriptive, prescribed and standardized, as well as it cultural conventions being naturalized locally.

Duabelas gave me an international mining company public relations booklet written in both languages. She pointed to the different number of words used in the two languages to convey the same meanings. The Indonesian text was usually longer than the English text, with pictures usually placed under the English text because there was more space on these pages. This difference in text length links to the more direct style of English and the more indirect and circumlocutory way information is presented in Indonesian.

Coincidentally, Pak Sebelas was the senior government representative who sent the original memo (1996) to the office requesting that the company reports submitted to the Indonesian government should make sense in Indonesian and not be a literal translation from the English. I explained to him that this memo, which he had written when he was employed by the government, had been the catalyst for this thesis and he remembered writing it.

> "So sometimes this is difficult. But the AMDAL [an environmental impact assessment report] is the Indonesian. It is the formal document in Bahasa Indonesia. It is the Indonesian Government regulations so it should be in Bahasa Indonesia. If you want to translate it into English, you can do that, but the Bahasa Indonesia version is the valid, legal" . . . "The legally binding one." (Pak Sebelas, 9/6/00)

Then I added that besides being the legally binding document I would imagine that the government people charged with reviewing a report that had just been directly translated from English may have had huge trouble understanding and evaluating the content, despite it being in Indonesian, and he replied: "yeh, it is difficult. If you change the word order, you change the meaning, one word in one language may take several in another."

It is predictable that an English language report would be direct. The direct presentation of content would also be culturally framed argumentatively in line with inner direction cultural interpretive

assumptions. It is predictable that an Indonesian language report would be indirect and circumspect in its presentation focusing on addressing the standardized generic qualities in line with outer directional cultural values. The English language report would also support an argumentative and 'affective' cultural orientation, while the Indonesian report writing style would support a 'neutral' and consensus cultural orientation. An English language report may directly dictate who is responsible for what in the management process whereas in Indonesia the practical and on the ground realties mean that these issues are more open and negotiated.

Pak Sebelas drew attention to the added translation problem that if the translator is not from the same field, his technical field, then it becomes even more complicated. He then gave an example: "I was [with] the chairman of a [international mining company], give a presentation in Bahasa Indonesia to officials from various disciplines and they use the hotel translator [laughing incredulously] and every time I think, no you are wrong." He said that when he was in Japan and he asked a friend to translate something and his friend said: "what is it - electricity, no, no that's not my discipline." These comments indicate the sophistication of Pak Sebelas' understanding of the cultural variables that complexly affect communications. This sophistication enables reflection and the capacity to speak more directly about them.

I explained that in an office such as this, the staff is caught between having to meet the complex cultural demands of the international sector and the specific Indonesian cultural requirements, and that both sets of documents are culturally and professionally sophisticated in different ways. To develop these skills in technical people is a great challenge. He responded reflectively: "Yes it is, you are right, you are right now." He asked whether I had seen the English version of a current project, to which I replied that I had, but that it was in a rough English translation draft form. "It is still in the Indonesian style. So it needs to be translated by a native speaker. Should be translated by a native speaker, otherwise this is Indonesian", he said.

When I asked Duabelas, how she liked translating work she responded laughing: "boring, very boring. I didn't like translation, but at that time it was ok. But after the first few years I say no not that, is not

my thing, but I think it is only the first year that I have, but then I start to get involved with the [technical work]." Then she said that:

> "Translation is always a problem if you send it out ... Because the one who do the translation should understand the content, other wise the meaning will be funny. Like if, for example, in the translation, if we have something about 'rehabilitation' and the outsider translate it as 'the nurse' and other thing like 'community' for us is like big addition 'a community' - like 'masyaraka' and the one who does not understand will translate as 'the people'. You must always know the context and the content is different." (Duabelas, 12/6/00)

This confirms that some of the Indonesian staff are aware of the cultural and professional complexities involved in the processes of translation. When an Indonesian project team prepares report material in Indonesian it goes through several people before the final document is submitted to the Indonesian Environment Department (BAPEDAL) for assessment and approval. A bilingual expatriate senior member of staff will edit the work technically. Afterwards either Pak Sebelas or Duabelas have key editing role to see if the Indonesian writing is appropriate and it makes sense.

For the Indonesians, as a consequence of Indonesian being the language for school, the language for science and the language for all institutional and official discourse - the language of unity and modernization - its role in mediating national cultural values through official Indonesian report writing is now naturalized. The next section reveals how English has always been a part of the participants' secondary and tertiary education.

International English

> Southeast Asian nations, which boast hundreds of local languages must work to make English the lingua franca of the region, Singapore's Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong said yesterday. Mr. Goh said the leaders of the ASEAN had, at their two-day summit in Singapore, discussed the need to increase the use of English - the main language of business and the internet in much of Asia. "Its importance cannot be overemphasized, he said, adding that competing as a group in the global economy required a common language" (*The West Australian*, 25 November 2000).

This statement indicates how linguistically Indonesia is severely disadvantaged in the competitive global economy when compared with the former British colony Asian nations. The interviews revealed that the participants had made significant investments to develop their English skills. The outcome varied depending on the type of experience they had. New Order government recognized the

emerging powerful international role for English by introducing it into the national curriculum. The majority of the informants said that they had English lessons during their junior high school.

Elementary, secondary and private education experiences with English

Those who attended Christian schools were introduced to English earlier. Tujuh, a Christian Batak from Medan Northern Sumatra said that he began English lessons in his third grade of school. Similarly, Sembilan, also a Christian Batak from the same region, began learning English in elementary school, but she said it was "just vocabulary and make some simple sounds like that." Puluh, who had a Christian education, said that he had to do English at twelve. When I asked what his English classes were like he said: "it was like English class, most of the people I don't think that they like the different languages at that level, which is totally different with the current situation here which the five and seven years old children they have the extra curricula." So they are starting much younger now, I inquired. "Yes, but at the same time I don't think that most people they like to work to do the English class," responded Puluh. His comment may relate to the way it was and is still taught.

The participants said that their school English classes were boring - lots of grammar and memorizing vocabulary, and that their teachers were all Indonesians. Several bemoaned the fact that they had not been exposed to conversational English. However, several did partake in extra curricula English. Commitment to private tuition by their parents indicates an early recognition of the importance of this to the future of their children. Lima, Enam, Tujuh and Duabelas all had extra curricula English lessons. They said that the emphasis in these was also on grammar, vocabulary and comprehension with little or no opportunities for conversation. However, atypically Duabelas said that her private English lessons were based around audiotapes, which had given her the added advantage of listening to a native speaker. Asking Satu about her school English classes she commented that "that is theoretical, yah, not conversational - grammar and vocabulary, so I think that education in English should be changed so that it is not only theoretical but also the conversation, yah. It is very important as the theoretical." This comment from Ibu Satu was culturally surprising because it was critical. It may indicate the depth of frustration that their language learning experiences had given them all.

Post-secondary and international experiences with English language learning

Delapan had a unique experience. During junior high school her father was transferred to New Dehli, as the Indonesian defense attaché and there she attended the Indonesian school for two years.

> "When I came there in 1988 there is about forty students from junior high school to senior high school and more students for elementary. When I came there I met lots of new friends and even in one class there is only four pupils or five students in one class" (Delapan, 23/3/00)

They were all the children of Indonesian diplomats. All the lessons were in Indonesian, "except for English, we had an Indian to teach us English, yes. She is a very nice lady actually. She spent most of her life in the UK and she is the only non-Indonesian teacher in the school." She had a very different experience of English to everyone else in that she had more conversation with a teacher who had good conversational skills. Delapan's tone became animated and very enthusiastic.

> "Ah ha, um when in Indonesia we have a text book you see, like in senior high school they have a text book to teach us lots of grammar and vocabulary and rest reading and writing. But the lady use Indian textbooks for teaching us to learn English, and sometime she would say lets open the book at page 30 and learn about using the noun, but another time she asks to borrow story books from the library, we have a small library, and then she ask us to read."
> "To translate", I asked.
> "No just to read and we read the different part of the story and at the end she will ask us what is the story about."
> "So you had to tell", I inquired.
> "Yes, using our own words and then she will explain the difficult words that we didn't know. It worked with me. And sometimes she would come into the class and she would say, OK lets just talk. She didn't teach anything, she didn't even ask us to open a book or something, just let's talk. What do you want to talk about? Then we discussed about everything and yah."
> (Delapan, 23/3/00)

These comments and their enthusiastic tone indicate that it was the different approach to language education that excited and motivated Delapan. This positive experience and affective response is in sharp contrast to the 'bored' comments by the others and indicates the cross-cultural value of native speakers.

Despite boring school experiences, several had undertaken extra-curricula English since graduating from university. For most, this investment did lead to international work or further study opportunities. Empat said that when she was first employed by the company she could not write any English at all. "I learn English at work and I took a course and [the company] support me with this." I asked her about the English language lessons that the company had been providing the staff. "But it

is only the speaking, without the knowing structure. But I took an English course in, what you call it, to communicate, speaking, and after then how to write, - but actually, I just until how to speaking, without how to write." So you do not feel confident about writing yet, I asked. "Oh no", she replied emphatically.

Others said that there were benefits in undertaking preparatory English courses before going overseas to study or work. Satu spoke about her English experiences before undertaking overseas training and employment opportunity. "For three months, I trained in the British Council ... Before coming to UK we got three months training in English with the British consul because the institution that work there with the British consul to arrange." After this she went to a UK university for three months training: "with nineteen people from Indonesia go the information in project management and environmental impact assessment." When I asked whether it was difficult getting professional training in English, she replied: "yah, yah, but there are so many discussions and presentations and things like that, so in this training in the British consul we got used to discuss things with other people, to give the presentation in the English language."

This was her first experience of being taught by native speakers. Satu raised the topic of the problem of understanding the different English dialects. "But the thing in UK is that there is the dialects, it is difficult to catch the dialects. And it is difficult to translate into clear English". Similarly, I asked Lima how he coped with the English dialects.

> "The good ones sounded like the BBC or something like that. It is quite good around London, but as you go further north, you get the Manchurian [Manchester] dialect or something like that, and you go even further north to Newcastle-on-Tyne to the north east, it sounds not like English [laughter]." (Lima, 21/3/00)

Tiga had had no extra English tuition before the company gave her the opportunity to go to a three-month training program in Sydney. "Before I went to Sydney, my English language was very, very bad." She explained: "The management want me to learn about remediation technology there." "I had no alternative to use the Indonesian language there, I must use. I had to use the English language and that made a significant impact." I asked if there were other international participants in the contaminated soil remediation course and she said enthusiastically; "oh yeh, they were there from

London [the UK company office], from Pakistan, from Melbourne, from Sydney also. Before that I was really embarrassed about my English".

In order to gain acceptance into post-graduate studies in the UK, after graduating Lima did a six months intensive English language course at The British Institute (TBI) in Jakarta. I asked whether he thought this course was valuable.

> "I think it was quite valuable provide me with quite solid to go to the UK, and even after I go to the UK I still took two months intensive English course for undergraduate courses at the university that I wanted to study. I realize that the course were quite different from what I learnt in Indonesia, because basically -" (Lima, 23/3/00)

So I asked what was he studying in the course in Indonesia. "Basically the grammar, bit of special, but more for the general than the academic course." Prior to gaining acceptance into the Masters program he did another two months course in English at the university in the UK. Lima said that when he applied to do a Masters program at the University of Manchester he passed the English entry exam and so did not do any more courses in English for academic purposes.

Discussing how he had developed his English skills, Tujuh said that:

> "I think I learn English a lot when I work in Australia. I joined up here with [the company] and I went to Perth and spent three months in Perth in the Perth office. And after that two years ago went to Adelaide for three months and even in Adelaide I have to go to the desert where no body can speak, um, and I have to stay there alone and I have to supervise and even Aboriginal people come sometimes."

"That must have been a very strange experience", I commented. "Yah, that is right, that I think has improved my English very well", he replied. (Tujuh, 23/3/00) Tujuh said that he didn't speak to anyone outside of the office, while he was staying in Perth on the first visit, except the receptionist at his West Perth apartment. In reflection Tujuh understands how valuable this overseas experience was in extending his knowledge. The strangeness of the experience and lack of interaction with locals implies that he experienced culture shock. Despite this he would like to return to Australia for more work experience and training, but thought it would be very hard on his wife, who does not have so good English and she would be very isolated while he was working. His concerns for his wife suggest the level of culture shock and isolation he must have felt. Dua, who had not had the opportunity to go overseas, made a similar personally responsive comment about his wife's limited English skills and

that this placed restrictions on him. These comments raise concerns about the negative culture shock effect on professional and English development immersion experiences.

Sembilan explained that she had improved her English skills as a result of doing a Diploma in Public Relations with the London Public Relations College in Jakarta. The company had awarded her a part-time scholarship so she could continue to work. When I asked if the course was all in English, she responded:

> "Ah, no because some of the teachers are Indonesian, but was a quite good. Actually some are American, some Filipino, some from Canada - different dialect so this is very challenging also. First time I heard a Canadian dialect and I thought that she was an American and she said oh no, no - Canadian."

"And they [different English accents and dialects] are all different", I added.

> "Yah, different and sometimes when like I go with Pak [President Director of German background] we meet Indian, so Indian English. Actually I am familiar with the Malaysian English, Singapore and the Indian English because when I was a kid in Sumatra, actually we turn the TV to this channel, Malaysian, Singaporean. So it is easier to get their channel than the Indonesian channel." (Sembilan, 23/3/00)

The additional concentrated listening and comprehension skills are required demands for learning from teachers with different English accents using colloquialisms.

I asked Puluh, who had studied, undertaken training and spent a holiday in Sydney on three separate occasions, about how he found the different English accents, and in particular, the accents amongst the expatriate. For example, amongst the expatriate permanent staff there is a German accent, an American accent, and a Yorkshire regional accent and an Australian accent. Puluh responded:

> "Jesus ahshush! In spite of this his type of heavy accent is a very difficult boy." [referring to the German President Director]
>
> "I get the experience when I were first in Sydney. First if you ever deal with an accent you don't know how it is going be and how you have to deal with that accent. Once you meet the accent you think that you see a King Kong! Don't talk just smile!"

"And nod a lot", I suggested.

> "That's it. But after I get familiar and I see all expatriates basically are not Indonesians from the street, from the school, I get used to them and then you can deal with it and talk to them and understand them."

"And they *want* you to ask questions and they *want* you to criticize", I added.

"Yeh, so basically it is totally different, ah they talk to one another directly without the any cover, introduction or anything. Straight to the point most of them, but they are totally different to the Indonesians where you have to have this values, cultures, this is the right form."

"So did you find this directness difficult at first," I inquired.

"Yes, Why this guy acting like this, why this lady saying this, why this person saying that, why he keep asking me about this?" (Puluh, 23/3/00)

Puluh's 'King Kong' reference symbolizes the high degree culture shock felt by Indonesians in their first offshore experience. However, his immersion experiences taught him the basic valuable cross-cultural lesson - not to approach people as if they were Indonesians. He recognized that he had to listen and observe intensely and then reinterpret their behavior. For Puluh it was not English that caused him concern, but interpreting the different cultural practices and behavior mediated through in these words. Puluh's comments also indicate that a silent Indonesian nodding his head in response to English dialogue does not necessarily mean that understanding is taking place.

Duabelas completed the first half of an MBA program in Jakarta, supported by the company. The university in Jakarta had affiliation with the MBA program at Monash University (Australia). During the year studying she had only two weeks full-time in English with staff from the Australian university and Indonesian teachers, who also had to speak only English. During the rest of the academic year the course was presented in Indonesian. In 1998 she went to Melbourne. Duabelas said that it was important to make contact with other Indonesian students doing the course but it was important "as long as not in the group study, because I preferred to have the international" "Extension", I suggested as she hesitated looking for the appropriate word. "Yah, for friends and for social with Indonesians, but not for study." If they had group work some of the Indonesians wanted to be in groups that were all Indonesian, but she wanted to be in a group that had no Indonesians. Duabelas' independence indicates that she understood the constraints of being in an all-Indonesian student group and how this would limit cross-cultural learning. Her action indicates that she recognized the need to have cross-cultural reframing experiences to learn how to think and act differently.

These comments indicate they have made a significant investment to improve their English skills, with varying successes. Both family and their employer have invested in this. Several pursued

specific extra English language courses and classes throughout their tertiary studies. Puluh did not pursue English classes while studying overseas, however, he argued positively for the value and benefits of being immersed in an overseas English-speaking context. Several said their experiences had confirmed the importance of living overseas where they had to speak English. All those who had had the opportunity to pursue English studies through the teaching of native speakers recognized the critical benefits of this. There was consensus on the lack of appropriate and useful English learning opportunities in Indonesia.

English at work

All work in both Indonesian and English. I asked how confident they felt at report writing in English. Satu said "because for my technical, like the soil, this is a lot of specialist terms, yah, and that is not so difficult yah." Dua commented: "ah we have to [write in English] due to the [company] standards in here. So most of the time - is to foreign companies, so we have to. I have been forced to do it so I have to doing [laughing gently]." I asked if he just did the writing for his specialist area and data presentation and he replied "And sometimes I have to do the analysis research. " "This writing", he said "its usually it is difficult, but it is getting easier and also because most of my job I have someone to review it so." He indicated that an expatriate would review it - a local expatriate if it was an environmental auditory report, or an expatriate in one of the Australian offices for geotechnical writing. Dua's comments indicate he understands the cross-cultural nature of analytical research.

Like Dua, Tujuh said someone in Brisbane or Melbourne reviewed his English report writing. When asked whether he felt confident writing he replied: "Um, I think I am confident, yeh, I need the specialist for the grammar, the grammar is not good. But usually, firstly I am writing in my mind and if the work is just very [couldn't find the English word] and after that I get a rest and a little bit relaxed and then I can [correct the English]. Both Dua and Tujuh's suggest that they feel their skills develop through the report reviewing procedure, even when this is remote. This acceptance of the reviewing process highlights a comfort with collective responsibilities for the production of work.

Empat, on the other handed, admitted that she did not feel confident at writing in English at all. "I write in just enough until Pak [a young bilingual Australian expatriate] or Pak Rob. [a senior bilingual

American expatriate] understand what the meaning of my report and they will make the corrections." When I asked if having expatriate staff with bilingual skills helped she said; "ah yes, actually they help us, because they understand Bahasa Indonesia, they understand Indonesian culture, how we, ah, communicate." And how you think, I added.

> "And how we think and something like that - and they can understand that in Indonesia it is really simple and we speak different rather than the. In English it is quite different, ah there are we say the adjectives first and the noun last, but it is the opposite in English, and actually Pak J. and Pak B can understand that - oh Empat means like this   but make me want to try hard to write English. But I don't know why, but maybe I not talent to. It is always difficult for me." [laughing] (Empat, 20/3/00)

Giving another perspective several expatriate informants (including some with Indonesian skills) explained that sometimes the Indonesians' draft English copy is so poor that it is difficult to make any sense of it. It is only after considerable time taken 'talking them through it' that any basic clarity and consensus about the meanings can be arrived at. This difficulty applies to their presentation of data, discussions, methodology and recommendations, etc. Often 'easily' understood scientific generic modes of communications do not make sense. An expatriate informant said that information on the surface can basically look right, which may give it local symbolic cultural value, but "the figures don't add up and therefore, are meaningless".

Empat explained that it was not a problem working with an expatriate like Philip, who does not have Indonesian skills, because he "always speak slow and want to listening to what we [say]." These comments reinforce the importance of sensitivity in interactions between expatriates and Indonesian staff members. I asked if she felt confident enough to ask an expatriate to give her further explanation if she did not understand something:

> "If I am in a meeting I just [say] yes and yes, but if I have to meet with him personally, then I ask him, sorry please explain again. But maybe I can guess or he explains this, I won't ask, I won't ask once more."

In that case, she added laughing, she would go and find someone else to explain - an Indonesian. Empat's comments indicate that silence, or head nodding does not necessarily indicate that an Indonesian necessarily understands what is being said. Her comment also indicates that behavior will vary with context. In a group context, an Indonesian may not ask for further explanation for a number of reasons, for example, fear of exposing themselves and losing face, of being too individualistic, and

fear of critically implying that those communicating to them lack clarity and are not making sense. This Western 'clarifying' behavior is considered rude and inappropriate.

I asked Lima whether he wrote reports in English or Indonesian.

> "A combination of both language, but I can say mostly in English. But when we work in both language it is very difficult because how we substantiate or put our thoughts into those two languages is very different."

"Because the languages reflect the different world views they are communicating," I said.

> "Ah, ha, so I love to work in English, it is a wonderful language [laughing]."

> "But the more you work in English, do you find it difficult to go back to writing in Indonesian, the code-switching between the two?" I asked.

> "Rather, it has been an uneasy task whether I work in English or Bahasa Indonesia, always difficult." (Lima, 21/3/00)

Lima really values English culture and strives to incorporate English cultural logic into his worldview.

Puluh said he was quite comfortable moving between the two writing styles. "I am ok, but I am not as good as 'A'. 'B' he is perfect, 'C' is perfect, Lima is perfect, but I am in between and I have to use my dictionary, but I get there." He said he would continue to improve but would not get to be perfect. "Only living and working in an overseas office could one get to be perfect," he added. Puluh emphasized strongly that overseas immersion experiences gained from living and working with native speakers was the only way to really improve. His reference to Lima implies recognition of the ways Lima has incorporated English ways of thinking, as well as communicating.

Delapan said: "I usually work in English." "I don't think that my English is fluent and I don't have a very good understanding in grammar and vocabulary, but I learnt a lot from the first time I came here, and all this time I have learnt a lot." When I asked if the two language reports end up being very different, she replied: "yes the difference maybe is that in Indonesian we have more long sentences and in English it is short." When asked about how she felt about doing translations Sembilan said:

> "Actually I am happy to do it even though it is quite stressful. The first time there is some technical terminology that I cannot understand and I need someone to explain what it is about or something like that, but is quite a challenging work. I find something when I translate it so it, um. I've got something, for example, how to operate this instrument, so when I translate it I

go - oh this is how it works or something like that, but even though it is quite stressful, I get something." (Sembilan, 23/3/00)

Despite the difficulties involved in this work she highly values the wider learning involved. In her area of quality, she explained that the work developing quality assurance guideline reports was first drafted in English, edited by an expatriate and then she along with other Indonesian team members would translate this into Indonesian. I asked if it was difficult to transfer the quality ideas into Indonesian. "Yah, it is difficult. Sometimes you cannot express it as we want in Indonesia and then we write it in English, but we can't express it as we want in Indonesian." The implication maybe that many concepts of quality are very western in their cultural assumptions and, therefore, alien to Indonesian ways of thinking.

Pak Sebelas, who has traveled extensively, when asked about whether he did much writing in English said: "oh yes almost there is some seminars, some speaker in US, UK I was invited as a guest lecturer in England." I then asked if it was harder to develop writing skills, as well as the speaking skills.

"Oh it was hard, yes, oh yes writing is very hard actually. If I want to write there should be nobody but me, don't interrupt me because I have lost all the subject that I want to write. It is difficult. So today I have to write continuously. Otherwise you interrupt and it is gone and it is not connected sometimes." (Pak Sebelas, 9/6/00)

Working in English, even for someone who has extensive experience, at this level requires extraordinary concentration.

Tigabelas' work involves searching for information on the Internet for the professional staff. I asked about the issue of searching for information in English. "But my English is quite bad," she said. So I asked how she worked out what was the appropriate information when an Internet search resulted in several sites. "Sometimes I open the dictionary, not only Indonesian-English, but also English-Indonesian," she replied. I asked if many members of staff asked her to get information from the Internet. "Yes, everyone does," she said. Is this because their computers are not on line, I enquired? They all were on line.

The comments made indicate that they all believe their English skills have significantly improved through working in an international business context. The comments indicate varying awareness how the two languages 'work' culturally beyond simple structural and grammatical arguments. The

repeated educational emphasis on the structural aspects of language limited their deeper cultural understandings on English usage. Scientific writing in either language is considered to be culturally neutral. This line of thinking is supported by the assimilation of specialist and technical English words into Indonesian vocabulary. Only a few, especially those who had had English immersion experiences, were aware of the deeper cultural aspects to language and how this made language learning more difficult.

I asked several who were parents what would be their approach to learning English with their children. Dua explained that now if the children go to state primary school they start English when they are about eight years old if they go to a private school, but not until fifth or sixth grade if they go to a state primary school. When I asked if he thought the next generation would be more motivated to learn English than his generation he replied with reference to his son: "yes, he has [strong tonal emphasis] to learn English." The father will give the motivation, I suggested. "Yes he had to be, yes, because we realize that language, especially English is the one."

Similarly, Enam said: "I will encourage my child to learn English from the very beginning and I will plan it to speak in English." Previously, Enam had explained that her husband has good English, "he had better than me because he likes football [soccer], he really love, more than like." "In the past if it is direct television so he has to listen from the radio in English." The radio teaches very good listening, I said. "Oh yes, and he also has to understand what is in radio and makes him speak more clearly," added Enam. By listening to international commentators, which meant he had to become familiar with various English dialects and colloquialisms and motivated by his love of the sport, this medium had improved his understanding. With the liberalization of television broadcasting and the current international investment in Indonesian television networks (*The West Australian*, November 25, 2000. p. 71) there may be more media-based opportunities for exposure to English.

Enam made an interesting comment with regard to the cultural impressions created by western movies. She said that she had learnt a lot of English from the movies and that this makes it more interesting.

> "I planned to have it much better for my baby. I think, I think I will have to encourage my baby to think globally, think worldwide or something like that. Because like for me, for

example, I just make the relationship with strangers, with foreigners when I work in [the company]. So before what I was always thinking is that all 'bules' [while people] is like in movies, strange family life like in the movies and I thought that it is very far from my position and I just knew foreigners from here."

"But before graduating, before working my thinking about bules very ah - high wave [act superior], so a little bit afraid to talk with. So I want to encourage my child to get along with foreigners from the very beginning to make them more confident." (Enam, 21/3/00)

Enam highlights an Indonesian audience's relativized interpretation of the values projected in the western media.

The comments in this section demonstrate varying understandings of the cross-cultural implications of language learning. Determining whether individuals had inner direction/outer direction and affective/neutral cultural dimensions provided an indication of the deeper cross-cultural insights into language learning of individuals. It is generally accepted that learning second language places added demands on the learning of tertiary students. However, applying the inner direction, outer direction cultural framework to educational models places variable focus on the inter-relationship between cultural assumptions, language and learning. For second language students working in an international context awareness of the need to develop inner directional cultural skills, of the need to learn to apply different cognitive functions to interpret information, i.e. to meaningfully analyze, criticize, internalize and synthesize information, appears to play an important role in having success in learning how to function in English.

11. Career

Table 6.10: The career paths of the informants since graduation.

Name	Career	Name	Career
Satu	Indonesian palm oil, coal and oil consultancy companies (soil scientist); British oil ind, consulting co, 6 weeks training, UK; 1995 to present case study company;	Delapan	Part-time consulting Jakarta; 1998 to current case study company
Dua	Local company, Ujang Pagang, S Seluesi - geologist; 1992, Pt Environment co., Jakarta; 1996 to current case study company (takeover Pt company) - geologist.	Sembilan	Casual secretary; Korean Trading Co. merchandising assistant 6 weeks; 1995 to current case study company.
Tiga	Indonesian water & irrigation consult. co, Lombok (3 years) & Jakarta (8 months); 1996 to current case study company	Puluh	Indonesian construction company - site manager; 1998 to current case study company
Empat	Case study company 1996 to present including 1 year study leave - environmental engineer	Pak Sebelas	1964 Govt Dept Mines & Energy. Jakarta - mining engineer; 1970 Regional Director Dept for Mines & Energy, Palembang, S. Sumatra; 1988 director, Dept for M & E, Jakarta; 1998 to current Director case study company.
Lima	Indonesian water supply co. 1993-4; 1995 UK industrial cons, 1996 to current case study company, 2000 1 year leave of absence back to UK company	Duabelas	Foreign exchange co, Jakarta (3 months); case study subsidiary; 1992 to current case study company.
Enam	1995-7 case study company; 1997-9 Indonesian national bank; 1999 international environ engineering company taken over by case study company	Tigabelas	Hotel hospitality near Bogor, W. Java (short term); 1997 to current case study company.
Tujuh	ITB Un geo-technical consultancy (Bandung); 1996 International environmental eng co., taken over by case study co.		

Since university for many the company has been their most significant employer. Satu, Dua, Tiga, Lima, Puluh, Pak Sebelas, Duabelas and Tigabelas all worked for Indonesian companies prior to the company. For Empat, Enam, and Delapan the company was their first full-time employer. Satu graduated from university fourteen years ago then, moved to Jakarta. Thus, she has worked longer with other companies than the others. She was employed by an Indonesian consulting firm, through which she worked on projects for the palm oil industry, the oil industry and a coal company. After this she worked for a British consulting company and finally joined the case study company in 1995. The British company gave her the opportunity to undertake a three months training program in environmental impact assessment (EIA) and project management, after which she was also given the opportunity to work in UK for six months with a British company.

Dua graduated in 1991 and then he worked for a small local company located in Ujang Padang, South Seluesi. In 1992/3 he moved to Jakarta and joined an Indonesian environmental company that was a subsidiary of the case study company. He worked there for four years before transferring to the case study company in 1996. Similarly to Dua, after graduation Tiga worked for a Jakarta-based consulting company's regional office in Lombok. She was employed there for three years. This was a specialist water resources management and irrigation consultant company. Then she moved to the Jakarta office. I said this must have been a very big change in her life: "yep, very [strong tonal emphasis] big", adding "but for me it is not difficult because I have experience in leaving my family before". So you are very adaptable, I suggested. "Adaptable," she repeated laughing. "I have to be that for life is a struggle here." During the eight months with the Indonesian consulting company she gained experience working with some international companies - the Japanese International Coordinating Agency (JICA) and an English consulting company. In 1997 she joined the company.

Both Empat and Enam came directly to the company together after graduating in environmental engineering from ITB in 1995. Since that time Empat took two years study leave in Germany. When Empat went to Germany on a scholarship, my partner explained that missing out on this opportunity obviously unsettled Enam. On the advice of a brother working in the banking sector, she left the company to take a career change in banking. I asked why she made this move:

> "Because ah my brother told me that because he works at the bank, he told me that you will get a better career at the bank, you can get loans for housing or something like that, and also my boyfriend, who live in Bandung."

At the bank in Bandung she did management training for about one year. This occurred before the economic crisis. I asked how she liked this training and work and she said:

> "It is interesting because I also like to calculate. I like to - ah economic engineering, because how we were trained. It was mainly analysis financial, or something like that, but then, I was placed at a new branch here in Jakarta, that I have to - . It is really new. I have to do funding, funding marketing, which did not suit with me. I was moved to branch banking supervisor which was quite boring too, and I find myself not suit with this." (Enam, 21/3/00)

The bank survived the crisis and was not liquidated. Unhappy with her banking work, she gained employment as an environmental engineer with an international consulting company. However, soon after joining them, they were taken over by the company and once again, she found herself working in the same office.

After graduating in 1992, Lima gained employment with an Indonesian water supply consultant with whom he stayed for about a year. I asked how he liked this work and he said: " um I think - they were more locally-oriented and specialist within water supply. The job was quite boring actually." Lima left this job to take a six months intensive English language course with the British Institute and then another three-month intensive course in the UK. This indicates that his family had the financial capacity to afford this and the investment gave him the opportunity to do a Masters in environmental engineering in the UK. After completing his Masters he did further research with an English consulting company. Lima then returned to Indonesia. He applied for work with several British companies with offices in Jakarta but was not successful. Then he heard about a vacancy with the company through the alumni of his Indonesian university (ITB). I asked how he felt about this job and he replied: "it is quite a lovely job and very challenging to me and already completed several different types of jobs and I really like it." Lima has since taken another six months leave to return to undertake further research with the British company in Manchester, and then returned to the office in Jakarta.

After graduating, Tujuh joined his lecturer's private consulting company, and then he did his masters, while continuing to work. After completing his masters he was given the address of an international

environmental engineering company from his professor and he gained an interview with this company. I asked if he specifically wanted to work for an international company:

> "Yes that is right, yeh, because one of the questions from the general manager is why did you come here and said because I want to learn, because if I work with a local company I don't improve my ideas, we are too little of the - [he could not find the right word], we can't make the decision, but if we want to keep on learning - ."

I then asked about his experience working with this international company and he replied:

> "Actually for every step we have procedure and procedure and we have to fill in form, and usually when I was working with my professor was make a report, and that was it, and make a calculation and there is no form, there is no step. We are the ones who decide the step that we have to do, not in here, there is a form and a working procedure." (Tujuh, 23/3/00)

Despite being qualified to master level and undertaking consultancy work with his former professor, the emphasis on procedural controls for maintaining quality was a new experience.

The implication is that decisions made by his professor were not scrutinized or reviewed. In an ascriptive status society having reached this high level of qualifications university academics and sub-consultants are endowed with powerful and unquestioned status. The company's varied experiences with academics acting as sub-consultants links with the unquestionable hierarchical cultural status of local academics. The company found that most academic sub-consultants reports that contain various dimensions of data, methodology and findings that are significantly sub-international standard. When the clients for these reports are international companies, this situation means that significant amounts of time need to be spent scrutinizing the details, or actually going out into the field and re-doing the work.

The company was Delapan's first employer. She heard about the company through word of mouth. I asked why she specifically wanted to work for an international firm:

> "Maybe because, maybe um to improve my English in the first, and second I have a change to work with native speakers of English and I hope that it will improve my English, and in the international firm, I guess there is the environment to learn. In Indonesia sometimes, ah like an old system. My friend she works in an Indonesian firm, but she was recruited by an the boss is from Australia and is the one that recruited my friend to work in the company. But then she told me that the colleagues mostly with Indonesians, sometimes, not cooperative, yah. Well I don't want to make discrimination about working with Indonesians, but sometimes the Indonesian boss can be very ... [couldn't interpret] or something like that." (Delapan. 23/3/00)

So do you find the expatriate management makes it work easier, I asked: "yah, ah ha". The comments made so far by Lima, Tujuh and Delapan indicate that all were individually motivated to join an international company for the greater learning opportunities offered in comparison to working for a local company. This suggests that seniors with hierarchical authority determine local work place culture.

Sembilan planned to work in Bandung after completing her secretarial science diploma, however, it was too difficult to get work there and so she moved to Jakarta. She had several short-term casual secretarial positions. Her longest position was for six weeks working as a merchandising assistant with a Korean clothing trading company. When I asked what working with Koreans was like she said: "Actually they were very nice people, just for me, but to others they are simply what you call it, a bit rude. When they speak, if Indonesian heard Batak, oh then they speak louder, but Koreans it's more than Batak [laughing]!" She left the Korean company because her Korean boss: "He is quite rude to my friends and I think, oh one day they will treat me like that and I went no way! And I know it is better to make a move". At the time she was thinking about further study, but was then employed as a secretary with the company. She has been with the company five years and has been given the opportunity to further study completing a Diploma of Public Relations.

Puluh had worked part-time as a site supervisor for several construction companies while he was doing an engineering degree. After he completed his Masters of Construction Management in Australia he went back to this area and a local company. I asked what it was like working for those Indonesian companies:

> "At that time much more like to - , it is bit difficult to get experience when I work this time. Firstly, this was because I worked for the same medium size company for all the organizations so what I think is only day-to-day perceptions on the field, which is at the moment maybe the main purpose of the work. Basically. I just know how to do this, how to do that, how to produce the data, just the day to day technical experience." (Puluh, 23/3/00)

I asked Puluh what it was like working for the company:

> "Interesting, very interesting. I cannot compare or comment because I don't have any standards, but this is interesting company. The most important effect that I have from this company is that I work for them. Firstly with [an expatriate manager], as my supervisor, and later with [the current senior director] and this is definitely two different perspectives

> compared to the one that I have previously ... There is more logic brought, and understandable procedures." (ibid).

This comment about logic and procedures links with Tujuh's similar comments on his first experiences with forms and procedures when working for an international company. Lima, Tujuh and Puluh all indicate that they all preferred this more challenging approach to work. This suggests that they have assimilated some western work value assumptions.

Duabelas explained that there were few big companies in Palembang, "and I am not a typical government person". So she came to Jakarta seeking employment after gaining a chemical engineering degree there. The first job was with a foreign exchange company, where she stayed for about three months "but I feel it is really different with my background". Then, she was interviewed for a position as a translator with the company and offered a position because with her technical background she could understand the scientific language. However, she found this work:

> "Boring, very boring [laughing]. I don't like translation, but at the time it was ok. But after the first few years I say, not that, is not my thing. But I think it is only the first year I have, but then I start to get involved with the [professional work]." (Duabelas, 12/6/00)

Duabelas described the culture shock she experienced at her interview. An American, now holding a very senior position with the company interviewed her.

> "Um the interview with Pak B was quite difficult because he has the big moustache, and then sitting like this, with foot like this [with his feet crossed on the table, stretching back with his hands behind his head], and talking like this [his hand covering his mouth], it was very difficult for me."

This body position in which the soles of a person's shoes, or feet, are directed towards another person is highly insulting in Indonesia. However, despite this poor initiation Duabelas took the translating position. Thus, Duabelas has been with the company for eight years and is the longest serving and at director level is most senior of all the participants along with Pak Sebelas.

Tigabelas finished her Communications Science degree majoring in library studies but because she disliked her fieldwork research experiences in an elementary school she pursued work in the hospitality field. She worked in a hotel near Bogor, West Java, and for a short time did a German language course because "most of the guests were German". She said she was 'very bored'. She stayed with this position for only three months. She then got a job doing computer work, which

involved working at night, which she said was tiring. Then she saw a job announcement while visiting her university in Bandung.

> "I saw the advertisement that they are looking for a librarian at the [case study company] and so it was out of date really, but I did not notice about the date and ok, I will make an application and then three months, three months later I got a phone call to come for an interview with you and then, I have an interview with [three expatriate representatives of the company]." (Tigabelas, 14/6/00)

The job interview was more like a chat than an interview. I asked how she coped with understanding the different English accents of those interviewing her. She said she "thought their English was very good. And they just ask me if I can organize everything and I said I can organize this and it is amazing because there is documents everywhere." She has been with the company since 1997. Her comments, like many of those already mentioned, indicate that they valued the challenges presented by the company and that there are less professional challenges and learning opportunities working for a local firm.

Pak Sebelas was employed with the Department for Mines and Energy in Jakarta as a mining engineer immediately on graduating form ITB in 1964. It was very easy to get a good job at that time because of the severe shortage of technically trained people. He explained that there was very little mining activity at the time - "very little, only slowly, slowly. There is oil and gas, and we move forward after Suharto take power, and then foreign investment start to come in. Then that makes us busy." Six years later he moved to Palembang where he became a regional director of the Department for Mines and Energy. He added that he was also giving lectures at the local university where there is a mining school. He stayed in Palembang for eighteen years before returning to the department's central office in Jakarta as a director.

During his time in Jakarta he said that he was also on the board of commissioners for a company. I explained that because he had worked for this government department since 1970 he had the valuable 'corporate memory' of the both the public and private mining and energy corporate sectors. This corporate memory made him valuable to others, including the international sector. He commented: "it is very easy for communications". Because you know everybody, I suggested, and he laughed saying "yes, almost everybody". I continued: "and you know the links between everybody, and this is very important in Indonesian, that there is respect and honor between people", and he responded

emphatically "oh yes". Pak Sebelas' senior public servant position gave him many opportunities to travel all over the world. Extensive travel in Australia included visiting many regional mine sites and universities.

It is apparent that all value the opportunities to learn and extend themselves through working in this international office. This enthusiasm contrasts to the 'boring' description that labeled their local employment experiences. Many were aware of the differences in corporate environment and culture between Indonesian companies and international companies. They were all keen for professional development to help them to meet the rigorous demands of the international sector.

12. International experience

Table 6.11: The informants' international experiences

Name	International experience	Name	International Experience
Satu	UK university - 3 months course; UK consultancy work - six weeks	Delapan	2 years schooling New Dehli, India, holiday Beijing, China; Asian Development Bank conference, 2000, Singapore.
Dua	None	Sembilan	None
Tiga	3 months remediation training Sydney, Aust. Gas Light Co.	Puluh	Sydney, NSW 3 times: post-graduate study (fast-track); three months professional development, accountancy; and holiday.
Empat	2 years post-grad study, German university	Pak Sebelas	Extensive international experience, conferences, mine site inspections, seminars, guest lectures, universities Indonesian government representative tours.
Lima	2 years post grad. Study (UK), I year industrial placement UK Co., current returned to UK	Duabelas	Melbourne Vic. one year post-graduate study; holiday Sydney and Perth; Sweden 2 months petro-chemical engineering professional development.
Enam	None	Tigabelas	None
Tujuh	3 months professional development, Perth office, 2 months professional development Adelaide office		

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The high value that the Indonesian staff places on international experiences, whether these involve post-graduate study, or training, staff development or just an opportunity to work in an international context has become apparent throughout the preceding sections. They all recognize that international and immersion experiences have a dramatic impact on their English skills, as well their professional skills. Several have been surprised by the cross-cultural outcomes of these, and the ways they were changed.

For Satu, her three months training in environmental impact assessment (EIA) and project management at a university in the north of England, and then the opportunity to work for six weeks with an oil industry consultancy company near London, were both very interesting and a culture shock. She was in a group of 19 people coming from Indonesia for the training program. People were very friendly and wanted to know about Indonesia: "and they were surprised because they only know Bali, you know. They know nothing about Indonesia". This experience motivated her to work in an international consultancy when back in Jakarta.

Tiga spoke about the outcome of her three months training program in remediation technology with the Australian Gaslight Company in Sydney in February 1999. "Before I went to Sydney", she said, "my English was very, very bad". "Before I was very embarrassed about my English." She said that she worked with a team of people from all over the world - London, Pakistan, as well as Melbourne and Sydney. Thus, after this experience she would like to do a master in environmental management qualification so she could not only improve her professional skills, but also her English skills. "If have improved very much in three months so in two years I could speak well - learning to argue."

The previous sections indicate Empat's international post-graduate experience in German was traumatic. The trauma derived from culture shock and the multiple lingual pedagogical context as well as the particular responses that local German people had to her wearing her Moslem headdress. Additional trauma resulted from the informality of life style between the sexes. She made no German friends and 'survived' the experience and completed her studies because her husband and mother joined her and they were able to get independent accommodation away from the university. She minimized her interactions with Germans, even when shopping in supermarkets, because she was

afraid they would interrogate her about her Islamic dress. She also had the additional trauma of giving birth to her first child in a German hospital. She had not attended any pre-natal classes prior to this and she learnt the German words for "push" and "breathe", because she knew that there would be no time to consult the German/English/Indonesian dictionaries while in the labor ward.

Lima spoke only in very positive terms of his overseas study and work experiences in the UK. He highly valued the opportunity that came because of the links between industry and university research, resulting in a one-year industrial placement. This experience exposed him to "the reality study world while I was in the UK. It gave me the real added study to improving my understanding of environmental consulting practice, basically, and to see the English more appropriately in the spoken and written English". Lima is able to express reflective and critical understandings on the different cultural approaches to work practices in Indonesia and UK. Having internalized the international experience, he now prefers to work with expatriates, and not Indonesians. This suggests that he has 're-entry' (Adler, 1997) difficulties and is unwilling to reconcile the cultural differences. He feels an equal to these expatriates, but he also suggests that that he feels superior to the Indonesian professional staff, particularly those without, or with little international experience. He has little interest in transferring what he has learnt overseas to other Indonesians staff members, because he believes that they are not motivated to learn like him.

As described previously, Delapan's international experiences were not professional, but derived from her father's career movements as a diplomatic military attaché in New Dehli, India and Beijing, China. In June 2000, she was given the opportunity to attend an Asian Development Bank conference in Singapore. Delapan explained that while English was the lingua franca at the conference, there were so many different accents that it was difficult to understand a lot of the speakers. She attended the workshops on sustainability and the environment, saying that she felt confident enough to ask questions in this context, but not in the forums. Delapan would really like the opportunity to pursue overseas study, but says she could not afford this. She would also like for her husband, a pilot, who has already undertaken training in New Zealand to obtain his international pilot's license, but the cost is prohibitive.

Puluh described his time studying in Sydney as "the most interesting, but the most difficult time in my life that I ever had". After completing his Masters Degree study in Sydney he later had the opportunity to do three months accountancy professional development in the Sydney office. Since then he has returned to Sydney again for a holiday. Puluh's Australian experiences have given him the capacity to reflect on the different cultural approaches to work between Indonesia and Australia, i.e., approaches to time management, and work ethic, etc. He has successfully incorporated those practices into his individual approach to work. However, unlike Lima, he is not critical of the Indonesian staff but rather accommodating and responsive. Puluh believes the only way to change people's Indonesian cultural approaches and develop their English skills was for them to have extensive international experiences. When I asked if he would like to go overseas for an extensive period he said: "once in a while, six months, three months, but not permanently. I am not that type of a person that if I am overseas I want to go back home, home home. But I am not the person who like to stay. I am an Indonesian type of person". Puluh said that he thought that he had a very good future here, "but I don't know if I should spend all my time one office. I think that I need something to compare". When I asked if he thought that someone with his qualifications and experience would be valued locally, he replied: "I think so. At least I am the type of person who would like to work harder and learn more. Experience is one thing, but it is really trying to get more motivation".

Pak Sebelas has had extensive international experiences traveling as an Indonesian government representative attending conferences, seminars, mine site inspections, tertiary institutions and giving lectures. As a result he has given all three of his children the opportunity to study and work overseas in order to give them a more cosmopolitan outlook, international standards of skills and good English skills. Pak Sebelas said: "you should internationalize, otherwise you will be left, this is the competition for looking for a job". His elder daughter works for a large international mining company in the human resources area and compensation banking section. His son studied social politics, majoring in foreign relations in Indonesia, and then undertook computer studies in Australia. He now works for the Indonesian/Australian Language Foundation (IALF) in Jakarta. His second daughter studied languages at undergraduate level - Spanish, Dutch, French and English, majoring in German language and culture. Since then, she has completed a course in Australia in graphic design and

currently works in this area in Jakarta. The outcome of all of this investment is a very cosmopolitan, adaptable, culturally polycentric and multilingual Indonesian family.

I asked Duabelas, who works closely with the expatriate staff and has studied management in Australia, what was the difference that she noticed in the work people who have had overseas experience: "they have more self-confidence when dealing with the client and they have more confidence technically". Then Duabelas added:

> "We see not only technical things, but also through the study there they learn to be more independent and to arrange and take care of themselves. That is what I learnt as well. That is what I learnt from Australia, not only the MBA, but other things as well. " (Duabelas, 12/6/00)

Self-reliance, I suggested:

> "Yah, and the office work, how they do business there, how is the, what is the social life there, and if you don't rely on yourself. There is a small example with the housemaid. Since I was born I lived with the housemaid. Sometimes my family has more than one - two or three housemaids at the same time so we never did any housework, like cleaning the bathroom or things like that. And when I moved to Melbourne it was quite funny because the apartment we shard with other three persons and we make like turns so each week I do cleaning, sweeping the apartment carpet and the other cleaning the kitchen. And the most difficult one is the bathroom, because I never do it before. So my friends, they give me training in how to clean the bathroom. And when my friends come to visit me [from Indonesia] they were laughing, because they are thinking this is not our work for the people to work like this. And so in the past I did have the housemaid, but now I do not. I do not want to have a housemaid now because I survive by now, that is the difference, that is the big difference, to survive by myself."

Duabelas' comments indicate that her international experiences had enabled her to strengthen and assimilate individualistic and inner directional cultural values to reframe her private behavior as well as professional. She takes pride in her personal achievements.

When her family comes to stay with her "my sister thinks my crazy." "Oh they think I am crazy, because of my position as a director. I have enough money if I want a housemaid, but I don't want." This different cultural attitude and practice in the domestic space has made a large symbolic impact on her independent and self-reliance values. She specifically set herself a significant reframing experience through the approach to not do any project work with her fellow Indonesians, forcing immersion on herself. Since her interview Duabelas has been invited to participate in a two-month

professional development program in the area of oil and petro-chemical engineering in Sweden. She was the only participant from Indonesia.

The comments by those who have had international experiences indicate the high value placed on these. They recognize that through this they significantly improve both their professional, technical and English skills. For most, the added revelations gained in living, studying and working overseas was the cross-cultural experience, of finding out how things are done over there, how people live. Previously they only knew of 'bule' ways from movies. Given the opportunity to live, work or study overseas has made an enormous impression on these Indonesians and several who have stayed long enough have internalized the cultural different ways of doing things to a point that they now have multicultural skills. Only Lima found it hard to culturally re-enter his own society, and has indicated little time or tolerance for the Indonesian cultural and hierarchical ways of doing things. As Duabelas said: "when some go overseas and return, this makes those who stay behind highly motivated to have the experience also."

13. Professional function

Table 6.12: The professional function the informants have in company.

Name	Position	Name	Position
Satu	Marketing manager; Environmental management consultant	Delapan	Environmental engineering consultant
Dua	Geotechnical manager; Environmental management consultant	Sembilan	Initially Secretary; now Quality manager
Tiga	Environmental management consultant; administrative manager	Puluh	Business manager, Jakarta Operations
Empat	Environmental engineering consultant	Pak Sebelas	Director; management representative
Lima	Environmental engineering consultant	Duabelas	Director; acting manager environmental services
Enam	Environmental engineering consultant	Tigabelas	Librarian
Tujuh	Geotechnical engineering consultant		

This section presents the references to their professional function and discusses the management implications of these. The comments indicate the kind of impact that the current President Director,

who came to the office in 1994, has had on the professional function opportunities of the Indonesian staff. Related to this, the President Director (Dr Fritz) has also had the enormous challenge of keeping the office financially viable during the last three years since the upheaval of the economic crisis and the ongoing political uncertainty. Figure 6.1 following places the participants and their professional functions in the organization. This indicates the limited number of permanent expatriate staff in the office and their critical position in line command, and as key professional and senior management references for the Indonesian staff. It also indicates the extent to which the current management is both locally responsive and supportive for employing appropriately qualified local professionals.

Satu occupies two professional functions - environmental management consultant and marketing manager. Outlining her professional function Satu said "my mine work has been in the marketing area since one year and a half, yes, but I still work for project because this is make more flexible, yah, if you have got more than one is [she could not find the word]. 'Multiskilled', I offered, so you can do lots of work depending on what sort of work there is in the office: "yah, yah, yah". Satu's involvement in marketing came as a result of senior management's strategy to maintain key Indonesian staff while downsizing of the office. Through her marketing work, Satu has begun liaising with the Melbourne office - "ah we usually have the conference call every month, with all of us here and Australian region." Printed publicity material, such as brochures, usually came form the Melbourne office.

U.S. HEADQUARTERS

Regional Director
SE Asia

Director International
Corporate Affairs
(DICA)

Dr Fritz
President Director
Indonesia

**Expatriate
professionals**

Pak Rob
(expat U.S.)

Pak Sebelas
Director

Ibu Duabelas
Director

Puluh
Business Mananger

Tiga
Admin
manager

Satu
Marketing
manager

Sembilan
Quality
manager

Dua
Geotech
manager

Environmental
manager

Accounting
manager

MIS

GIS

Secretarial

Purchasing

Purchasing

Tiga
Admin
manager

Quality
officers

Tujuh
Geotech
engineer

Geotech
staff

Multidisciplinary
staff

Lima
Environ
engineer

Empat
Environ
engineer

Enam
Environ
engineer

Delapan
Environ
engineer

Environ
engineers

Accounts
staff

Figure 6.1: The case study company organizational chart
Note: Participants 'names' and positions in italic print on chart.

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Satu explained the strategies used to promote the company and win contracts for new projects.

> "Usually, the first we will have an annual magazine or annual report from another er - institution and so we can - er crack or search the prospect for us, yah. So this is the first way to get a new prospect, and the second is the old client, so that we can get the recent project from the previous project [example - an international gold mining company], we work with [the company] since five years ago, and er, after one year we get again a new project, yah, and now we get again, a new project. This is another way to get the projects. And we also come to attend the forums, or seminars, exhibitions, like the mining conference and we will have a new contact client, yah." (Satu, 17/3/00)

Samples of previous work are very important: "it is very important to get the new client, because they know our subject, they know our work".

The company also places advertisements in the international print media in Jakarta. I asked about other marketing strategies such as meetings, and other approaches like organizing working lunches, etc.? She responded most enthusiastically - "oh yah. In Jakarta, you usually do a lot of that, like this afternoon, Pak Fritz will have a lunch with two people from Austrade. Good for information." "In my organization I always see new people, new professionals, yah. Each job has new - ". Satu then directed the conversation to emphasise the important marketing role played by Pak Sebelas and his numerous contacts that were a consequence of his former position as director General of Department for Mines and Energy. These marketing efforts focused on competing with other international consulting firms winning environmental consulting projects from multinational clients.

As discussed, Satu has a Central Javanese background. Her marketing training has only been informal and her skills developed through working closely with the President Director. This opportunity to develop her skill relates to her central Javanese background, her length of service, her more senior age, and her overseas experiences, all of which give her ascriptive status. Through her Central Javanese background she has the necessary interpersonal linguistic skills and communications etiquette based on hierarchical Javanese cultural notions and social mores. In other word, her appointment to marketing is a locally responsive strategy. This background is why Satu is considered to be the 'ibu-ibu' in the office (variously described as 'mother figure' or 'chief gossip'). This specific cultural background is an asset for the company to develop the all important relationship building

necessary for business activities in Indonesia, particularly with senior government officials and their staff.

Dua, a geotechnical consultative engineer, has the added challenge of being the manager of the geo-technical staff. Since the crisis he has also been involved with environmental management work. He explained why:

> "Because most of our work was related to construction. It was very difficult for my section, because not much construction, but we are luck because last year we got a big job too, and we were saved by that big job, so at the end of that situation was about six months." (Dua, 17/3/00)

When I asked about the number of retrenchments during this period he said: "we were 79 in 1997, but we lost one by one". He said that Pak Fritz [PD] informed people about their retrenchment. I asked how he found being the middleman between the expatriates and his junior staff and he replied: "it was initially very difficult for me, because I have no experience before in the management and then, suddenly I assigned by Pak Fritz". Thrown into the pool, I commented:

> "Yes, because on that time, I am the only one left. Actually I had another girl and she was more junior than me, so it was very difficult initially. But then, after almost two years, its a, its getting easier again, and it makes me feel that I have to learn more about the management because sooner or later, because I cannot be like lower people, I have to be management for my career, for my future." (Dua, 17/3/00)

Dua's comments indicate that he found the solitary nature of his work in a severely downsized context very difficult. This discomfort relates to a cultural preference for a collective approach to work responsibilities and to decision-making.

He believes that he must be ambitious. It is the duty of persons of his high social standing. This relates to the privileged military background of his Navy Admiral father. However, his tone was reluctant, not wanting to display individual ambition, rather social responsibility. Dua has had on the job development for this management functions transition. Moving to a management function in an international corporate context would be culturally destabilizing and result in many cultural dilemmas as to how to behave. The western concepts about leadership, decision-making and the management role he would be expected to adopt would be very alien. Dua has worked solely in Indonesia. I asked about his relationship with the senior expatriate staff: "I think my boss Pak Fritz and now [Vice

President Asia/Pacific region], indirectly he teach me a lot. Oh I learn a lot from them - how to manage your project, how to manage your section, how to manage everything – financial."

I asked Dua if he felt comfortable asking senior management questions and if they were good at giving him explanations:

> "Yes so far we have no problems. This is one of the benefits of working with the [case study company] office in Jakarta, is I found my superiors very accommodating, communicative. You can go to him and ask him any time you want about everything, even something personal, that is why I am here [laughing enthusiastically]."

Thus, Dua highly values the learning opportunities working for an international firm, and under the leadership of this particular manager. For Dua the economic crisis has been stressful, but it seems to have forced him to take up new opportunities for professional development.

Tiga, an environmental management consultant, said that in her previous job with an Indonesian consulting company she had been a specialist [agricultural crops], but now "I like to do the general". One of the current projects Tiga was working on involved social, cultural and economic impact of development of local and regional communities as well as the environmental impact assessment. "Currently, the social issues and cultural issues is a big, big issue, and it will get bigger in the next time, yeh, it will be bigger in Indonesia especially, yah," Local feelings matter, I said: "Yes, the atmosphere makes it something now." Everybody has to listen to everybody, I said:

> "Everybody has to listen to everybody, but sometimes, ah it is quite difficult to make them understand about what we want for them, even good for them [local peoples]. If we communicate that it is not really good for them, they do not accept that." (Tiga, 17/3/00)

You have to be very careful in communicating because you are usually talking about big changes that you are bringing to their lives, to their way of life, I added: "yep, we are a consultant, right. If we bring them another project to their environment, they must understand it belongs to them ah ha."

Pursuing this locally responsive communications theme Tiga explained that dealing with local communities added to the complexity. She had to mediate with local government representatives, local university people acting as consultants and representative of NGOs, as well as local communities.

"The lecturers, they have the expertise and the masters degrees, but sometimes we cannot read their data and have to go for clarification and clarify their data. So I have to go to them to discuss what this is meaning and go to the site to check. And maybe if I have time, I go to my friend, my NGO friend who have a -, because in Indonesia now NGO people are quite provocative and political and sometimes help local people, but not have much money . . ." (Tiga, 17/3/00)

Tiga's reference to clarifying the reports of consulting academics links to similar critical comments made by several senior expatriate staff who said that these reports often did not make sense, contradicted themselves and the field data included was often very unreliable. Thus, the Indonesian staff usually needed to re-do fieldwork to check findings, often having to completely re-do the work. This procedure relates to the problem of reconciling quality concerns of an international company whose reputation rests on the standards of work presented with local prerequisite conditions necessitating the involvement of university academics as sub-consultants. Tujuh's previous reference to the lack of procedures and forms that were used when he worked in consulting with his professor and the fact that now one scrutinized their work also link with Tiga's comments on the need to clarify the reports of university consultants.

I asked Tiga about the role of NGOs:

"You know we have got a lot of problems with NGOs here, whether international or local here, because they don't want big different. If we do a mining job, it will be a big impact on the environment. Every activity will impact on the environment. We can avoid the impact, but I speak with them, we must do development, we must do that but do it the best way - . So we must think the best way to protect the negative impact."

I said that local government, local communities and NGOs have very different points of view which you have to resolve: "First I like to discuss how we can about we can look at the same perception is the first thing". To find a shared ground you can all stand on, I suggested:

"Yes, but if I could use this example here [pointing to a tissue box on the table] and I say to the NGO - is you only looking at this end here. It is quite different to the whole picture. So we must sit down together to explore what the meaning is, - that the better way, the better idea."
"The interesting thing is that sometimes we get difficulties, if they don't have the same background to tell about this [pointing to the box a metaphor for the development project]. So then my side it is part of the consulting people to describe about what this means [pointing to their side of the box]. Even if I am sitting on this side, I must know all sides - that's the consultant's job, yah."

This highlights the importance of contacts and of investing in relationships with appropriate local stakeholders in order to be able to get access to both research sites and information. For as Tiga said earlier in the section of local languages - if you can speak with them in their language, they feel like family. This gives insights into the inter-related political, cultural and communications complexity that impact upon undertaking fieldwork in Indonesia.

I suggested to Tiga that her data gathering techniques and science background may only help her to see some sides, but to get to there [pointing to an overall view of the box] you need different cultural understanding and communications. "Yes sometimes we people from a technology consulting company we get problems because we only know the technical things, but if we don't know about other things, it will be technically quite bad, yah." Finally and abruptly, extending her tissue box metaphor, Tiga stated that: "if you are just looking down on the box you see just one view [meaning the outside planes of the box], sometimes the power is in the box". The meaning of this was not clear. Did she mean to emphasise the power of synthesis, or something more locally mystical? Mulder (1999) hypothesizes that Javanese mysticism can underscore the cultural and symbolic logic of this kind of rhetoric in Indonesia. I sense that this symbolic power is linked to their interpretation of the cultural purposes of pie diagrams, bar charts and other generic forms.

Tiga said she wanted to pursue post-graduate studies in environmental management overseas and "learning to argue", in other words to gain analytical and argumentative specificity. Tiga's above comments indicate a good understanding of the intermediatory nature of her professional role and the communications complexity that needs to be taken into account in order to address the diverse stakeholders that are implicated in her professional duties. Tiga's use of the box metaphor indicates reflection and a comfort with using symbolic representations for communicating the real world complexity and challenges that managing 'unity-in-diversity' means and her professional role as a consultant. She has a second professional functional as administrative manager. However, we did not get the opportunity to talk about her perception about her role in this function. She did, however, make a disparaging comment about the salary levels that the company paid to local professionals.

Empat, an environmental engineer specializing in hydrology, commented mainly about the issues of translation in performing her professional function in mixed expatriate and Indonesian project teams. "When I write in and just enough until Pak Philip or Pak Rob understands what the meaning of my report, and they will make the corrections", she said. When I asked her who she would go to for explanations or advice when working on a multinational project team she replied, "another Indonesian, so they can explain in Indonesian". So it is important that the project teams have an Indonesian coordinator as well as an expatriate coordinator so that you can get all the different kinds of information you need, I suggested: "Yes, because I think Pak Rob's [an American] Indonesian is quite difficult to understand for us. I have to listen carefully and then get the meaning of the word, but Pak G's Indonesian is good, and Bu L. She is quite good". Interestingly, both Pak G and Ibu L had recent Australian university Asian Studies qualifications, specializing in Indonesian as well as their professional qualifications. Pak Rob has completed an Asian Studies degree in the 1970s and acquired local language skills as a result of several years living in Jakarta, and he is married to a Seluesian.

As mentioned, Lima, an environmental engineering consultant, considered his job "is quite lovely and very challenging". He especially likes working with the expatriates. He prefers to work in a technical area rather than take on management responsibilities. "From my opinion, management do a lot of talking, which they don't necessarily carry out what they have spoken anyway and so it is easy to speak words if you don't carry it out [high pitched laughter]." Lima is unusually unrestrained in his criticisms. He considered Pak Rob to be one of his best friends, but felt he was incompatible with Pak Fritz [President Director], who he described as being "not disciplined [speaking with a very soft tone], ah usually simplifies everything". Thus, he always goes to Pak Rob when he needed professional advice. I hypothesized that perhaps Pak Fritz simplified things in order to help the Indonesian staff understand what was expected of them. Lima responded - "maybe". I got a strong sense that underpinning this simplifying comment was a strong desire to be treated equally by the expatriate staff and he felt Pak Fritz did not reciprocate.

Enam, an environmental engineering consultant, said that she liked working with the expatriates - "yeh, it is great because I learn a lot especially from Pak Rob [the American]". Learning a lot of

technical, I asked. "Yes, technical and cultural language", she replied. "But mostly Pak Rob [American] is more like common with Indonesians, so he know the Indonesian way", she added. She was comfortable asking him questions. "Pak Fritz [German president director] is good too, but a bit different." A different style, I queried. "Yes, different style, but what - , ah probably call it not afraid - [struggling for the word she meant, using the Indonesian/English dictionary to find the word] - probably reluctant", said Enam. "I feel reluctant to offend his say, but with Pak Rob [American] I feel free to say that I cannot agree with you because um. I think because their style, you know, and also because he [Pak Fritz] is the manager." She found Pak Fritz's [German] English accent easier to understand than Pak Rob [American]. Enam's comments indicate the discomfort some Indonesians feel in their day-to-day dealings with senior people. This cultural values-based constraint impacts upon her professional behavior.

As mentioned previously, Tujuh, a geo-technical engineer, discussed the importance of local sensitivity when working in different contexts throughout Indonesia. "To do this means that you have to work slowly and listen a lot to find out how they are," he said. Similarly, he added that different technical backgrounds can contribute to project teams' communication. However, he said this issue was not a problem with the expatriate consultants and management. While Indonesians "worry about hierarchies, they are just people on an equal basis". He emphasized that he feels an equal to the expatriate professional and management "These issues are good to hear about through the peer review process". Similarly, Delapan, an environmental engineering consultant, said she thought that the mixed expatriate and Indonesian project teams worked well.

Sembilan was first appointed to the company as a secretary, however, now her functions go well beyond this. In contrast to Enam's comment, Sembilan felt being able to ask questions of senior management was critical.

> "In the beginning when had an interview with him, I cannot understand, I cannot understand what he [Pak Fritz - German accent] say - sorry could you repeat it." "I have to because I think it is better rather than having a misunderstanding. I think it is better like that to say two, three times it is better." (Sembilan, 23/3/00)

These comments reflect the polycentric development of western analytical cultural specificity. Thus, she said: "I have learnt a lot". Sembilan said that in her role as secretary in the office, there were

many skills that she had developed from her academic background (Diploma of Secretarial Science) such as being a company secretary that is a part of the management and administrative structure. She said that as secretaries - "we never write the correspondence and we never compose the letter, because most of the letters are already done. And they are technical ones and so technical people do them". But she was extremely pleased that in this work place after a short period of secretarial duties she has been promoted to acquire more professional responsibilities in quality.

Now Sembilan's primary function is quality manager. "I work for quality ISO14000 - like a police [laughing], ah checking after everybody if they are doing their work following the procedure. It is quite challenging, also". I asked her how she was trained for this position:

> "At the beginning I worked for this ISO and we have a team with Pak Sebelas, Duabelas, Tiga, Dua, and myself, so Pak Sebelas and Duabelas from the management part, and Tiga from the environment, and then Dua from geotechnical, and myself from administrative one, and we work together - we learn together." (Sembilan, 23/3/00)

I commented on the value of working in project and functional teams:

> "Yah, and then they will explain what they are doing and we will explain what we are doing and so we can compare it together and then Pak Fritz, Pak Rob, Duabelas and Puluh, they will combine everything for approval."

She added that they had to develop this work in English: "we make the first draft in English and then, because we ask Pak Fritz and Pak Rob to check it and then we translate it into Indonesian".

Quality concepts are assimilative post-modern (Cope & Kalantzis 1997) western cultural management strategies. It is logical that quality guidelines be first developed in English and then translated to Indonesian. However, in light of the pivotal role of outer directional cultural orientations generally held by Indonesians, the role that quality guidelines could play in directing specific work standards could be very important. If this strategy was to be applied it would be critical that they be written in Indonesian with specific local interpretations and cultural assumptions in mind.

When I asked if she liked her function now as quality 'police' woman she responded laughing: "sometimes it is a bit stressful but I have to go on, but if I can work in this, I can learn something and maybe I can get another lesson." I tasked how she thought that the rest of the staff felt about compliance to quality standards in their work:

"Um, I don't make any research for that. but I look when we have an audit, an internal audit. Some of them feel like, oh this is a game, but some of them think this is just a waste of time. We just do this paper, ah because when they do the paper, so if they compare when they are doing this paper with the needs of the client, something to compare, they think that this is just a waste of time, a waste of energy sometimes. Yah, I know that with this ISO we have more work, we have more paper, we have more expenses."

But then you have a recognized quality product, I added, and she agreed. These comments indicate the difficulties of transferring western management approaches to different cultural contexts and the need for reflectiveness about the role of diverse cultural assumptions.

Puluh's current position is business manager for the Jakarta operations. Unfortunately, I did not get to discuss his professional function with him. However, during both visits to the Jakarta office Puluh spent a lot of time in consultation with a more senior Chinese Singaporean female accountant, who is based in the company's Singapore office. Puluh described her as his "guardian angel", as being "small, fussy, active, fast". He said that most of the time when she was located in other offices he had to attend to at least ten to fifteen emails from her every day, "so there is no difference if she is here or not". So she does very close monitoring of you, I asked: "Because there is no one in her position in Asia", he replied. I then asked if she was a part of a new international corporate structure to which he replied "no she is just part of Pak [the Asian/Pacific International Director]." So this intensely close monitoring of your function is her personal style rather than corporate policy, I suggested and he said yes it was. So you have to be a very flexible kind of person working with all these different styles, I said: "ah, yeh, but I am not very flexible kind of person, but quite adaptable as long as there is good will to work, always willing to learn". Previously he did half his time in report writing for projects but since his 'guardian angel' is closely monitoring him, he is mainly writing accounting reports in both English and Indonesian.

Pak Sebelas became a Director (management representative) after joining the company in August 1998. When I asked how he found working here after his extensive Indonesian Government experience he said: "oh it was very interesting, not what you would call, not a shock, I can adapt to it". Because you have been exposed to the mining industry all over the world, I suggested: "that is it, the only shock is the that in my organization, but you need bribery is. I never really done that in my work. It is a shock that it was here, that the government officials ask for money". So when you were

inside the government, you did not see it, I asked. "Yeh, that is the shock for me, hearing it from the mining companies."

I said to Pak Sebelas that it must be difficult being in the middle between senior Indonesians and senior international company representatives and each with their cultural ways of conducting business, particularly with the more directly, assertive and aggressive manner of some international people: "Yes, like with the [a large mining company]. [This] is mainly American, also [another large mining company]. So they think that everyone, we can buy". So you must have to work very hard at your diplomacy, I added. He then explained that sometimes, if there is a KA [an Indonesian Department of Environmental Protection (BAPEDAL) Terms of Reference report (TOR)] to be approved within a short time, they try to bypass the official procedure. "And sometimes they try to scare our minister, or they call from New Orleans, L.A, or from Washington just to get them to do that and to avoiding the regulations and procedure". Turning to the Indonesian side of the bribery problem he also said: "It is very difficult to be a director with these matters of money, because sometimes they ask for money using your name." Pak Sebelas' comments highlight the way both representatives of the international and Indonesian business sector are sometimes unethical and corrupt.

Originally Duabelas was employed as a translator, but she is now, as a company director, the most senior of the young Indonesians. She was also acting as environmental manager, as the current person holding this position was completing a masters qualification at London University. She said that in 1994, when Pak Fritz took over as office manager, he "gives me the responsibilities to manage the projects which is good". Duabelas described the cultural challenge of moving from translation into this professional role in the international sector:

> "Once Pak Fritz call a meeting. I was not exposed to much yet, still quite young, two years already with the company and the first meeting was quite interesting. So we had me, we had Pak Fritz - Germany, we had clients from the Japanese, three of them. We had one consultant, works for the client - Swedish. And we have one from New Orleans and we have, um, so German, Japan Swedish, New Orleans, and Indonesia - three days full this meeting. At the time after the meeting - for so long I have to concentrate. And the Japanese did not understand English very well, so it is difficult." (Duabelas, 12/6/00)

I asked Duabelas how she found the two different working and management styles of Pak Fritz and Pak Rob:

> "Good, but different kind between Rob and Fritz is he [Fritz] trust somebody, he trust completely, because he believe that everybody can do the work. He just give guidance and do this like this and let us to change the different reports. Ah Rob [he says] ah, ah., ah, that is better, he does the work and let us know like that and then let us do the work and then he correct it."

Thus, she said that Pak Fritz's approach was much better for developing the Indonesian staff's confidences and skills. The implication is that Pak Fritz's management style encourages inner direction in the staff, whereas Pak Rob plays an outer directional guiding role. "Because again, in the first few years different management, the old system was that the Indonesians role like more administrative and supportive functions, just like a hired contractor." She said that she worked with Pak Rob and Pak J, the first office manager but "since Pak Fritz came, since after it was different for Pak Fritz, we work like this". "And we write the report, deal with the client and things like that, that's why I developed quickly with Pak Fritz." Previously under the old management system it was "less technical and more arrange meeting, to finalize the report." The appointment of Pak Fritz has been pivotal to the introduction of Indonesians taking on professional functions.

I discussed Pak Fritz' development strategies, such as the development of technical memos and guidelines that he was implementing to develop the skills levels of the Indonesians staff and Duabelas said:

> "Fritz is very good with this. Every time we have one project we will get together and then we will write down what we have to do. This is the first point - we have to do this, this, this and this, and so afterwards we should have the list. And then afterward, we do it, we come back to him and write and then we have what is considered our responsibilities and that kind is better rather than, for example, I will do an audit with J (Australian senior international expert consultant]. He will write all the audit report, we will give it to me and ask me to comment and add to the original where I think that it is necessary, just to add, not to write from scratch."

So you have seen a lot of skills developing in the Indonesian professional staff: "Yes, since Fritz because before we rely on the expatriates in the office. Now we are much more independent so we can write the report from here and our staff can present and can deal with the client".

The emphasis on learning through technical memos, the development of guidelines based on previously successful project reports indicates a mix of inner and outer directional strategies. Unfortunately, according to expatriates, for those Indonesians who have strong outer directional cultural orientation this strategy often results in the words and sometimes data used in sample guidelines being literally transferred to another project whether the material is appropriate or not. Exampling this type of response, Philip said that he had been given a report, which suddenly broke into descriptions of European temperate climate flora and fauna taken directly from a textbook, which the Indonesian staff used as a theoretical guideline.

The work undertaken by Tigebelas in setting up the library demonstrates a successful example of Dr Fritz's human resource risk-taking and empowering management strategies aimed at encouraging the Indonesian staff to develop their professional skills and confidences. When interviewing Tigabelas, the office librarian, about her current professional duties her tone changed and she became animated and spoke much more clearly and confidently. This appointment was her first professional appointment since graduation. As noted, she said that her interview had been a chat, not like an interview "and they just ask me if I can organize everything and I said that I can organize this, and it is very amazing because there is document's everywhere". She said she had to do lots of sorting and "it make my hands very dirty". She added that it took a long time and "it did not make me confident because I an not an engineer, I don't know." As a result she chose a numbering system to catalogue the material. "So I just ask, what is it - a report, an audit, what is it, because I don't know? So when it is finished, I know, ah yes an audit, this is not audit, this is just a [unable to find the word]," she said explaining about her unsupported learning and individualistic decision-making challenges at the time.

I then commented that she must now know a lot more about engineering and environmental work and how to catalogue it all; "Also the topographical maps and survey of mines". So you made a system that works, I asked and she replied with a proud tone: "yes I made a system by myself, yes". She recognized that this autonomous and empowering experience was very different to those of other Indonesian librarians. Indicating her emotional commitment to this initial enormous task, she said:

> "Before the archives, I sort it at the [previous location] office and there is no office boy or person to help with these documents and I was carrying from [this office] and I was crying

because the animals were eating them, and it was dirty and I was crying for my documents. Some of the boxes were already destroyed." (Tigabelas, 14/6/00)

Her comment makes reference to the conventional subservient role of support staff for anyone with higher status responsibilities. Support staff affirms high status. Thus, an office boy would usually support such physical tasks. The solitary, independent and self-reliant aspect to setting up a library for an international office was an enormous emotional and cross-cultural challenge for Tigabelas. This kind of individualistic opportunity would not be given to a recent graduate working in a government or Indonesian business. She conveyed great pride in her achievement.

Tigabelas said she would like to transfer her information management and retrieval knowledge to the other professional staff. However, even though she tries to give them all the information they need after two days they will come back and ask her to find things for them and bring them to their desk. This indicates that the other professional staff may see her role as subservient to theirs, as a lower supportive role. This supportive role was frustrating. "I have to find for Duabelas and take it to her and then the secretaries ask for some documents. But I love this job". Tigabelas has wider research responsibilities involving the retrieval of information from, for example, various Indonesian government departments, the central public library in Jakarta and the Internet. She explained that to gain information from Indonesian government departments it was essential to have personalized relationships with employees there, and to know the appropriate fee for service. Even in approaching international companies by phone she said it was important to establish a relationship with a specific local secretary and conduct all your communications through her. Emphasizing the importance of personalized interactions, she said that if a report needed to be picked up she would not send a driver, but would go personally to pick it up with the driver. These comments indicate the importance of building face-to-face relationships and interactions.

When I asked if the fee charged was fixed or flexible, she said: "depending on me, it depends on [she could not think of the word], lucky for me that I am a woman", by which she meant that she did not have to bargain so much as a man would. Just as staff would not even come to their pigeonholes to collect material requested to her, despite the fact that they had on-line computers, she said that the professional staff would get her to do most of the necessary Internet searching that they needed. This work meant that she had her English/Indonesian dictionary very close to her. Tigabelas' chagrin at

being perceived in a subordinate role by the other professional staff was reinforced by the location of her office, which is positioned near the kitchen and the house boys and drivers spaces. I concluded that Tigabelas' professional capacity and her capacity to reconcile cultural difference was undervalued in the office. This undervaluing links to a universal supportive definition of the professional role of librarian in western institutions.

This professional functions section indicates that the staff has demonstrated enthusiasm to learn and be challenged by the learning and responsibilities of professional work in an international company. The kinds of responses they had made have depended to a large extent on whether they are 'inner or outer directed', individualist or collective oriented. A few spoke of their jobs with great emotion. They are well aware of the different kind of quality and cultural experience they are getting in working in this international office in comparison to working for an Indonesian company.

Most valued the organizational practice of working in mixed Indonesian and expatriate project teams. Many positive comments relate to the management style of Pak Fritz, his attempts to empower and transfer knowledge, to build both the confidences and skills of the professional Indonesian staff. For some, Pak Rob applies more appropriate outer directional strategies to help them get work done. Pak Sebelas' plays an important outer directional role for professional work and interpersonal interactions. The doubling up of professional functions in several of the staff was a cost saving strategy in a repressed and stagnant business climate. However, several of the staff have successfully been given multi-skilling opportunities and the learning challenges that go with this. Duabelas, Tigabelas, and Puluh's responses are more inner directional and individualist oriented, and they are keen to continue to improve through learning the cross-cultural nature of professional work. Others, such as Satu, Dua and Tiga interpret their functions through Indonesian collective and outer directional cultural logic.

Summary discussion

These ethnographic interviews present a valuable vignette into aspects of the shared and particularized nature of the socio-cultural worldviews of a sample of modern professional Indonesians. They demonstrate the historical impact of government policy in building a strong sense of shared national identity. The powerful national strategic and institutional framework, often coercively applied,

explains the strong overarching political nature of national culture and the political nature of national development and modernization. However, the interviews reveal that beneath the cohesive surface there is significant sub-cultural pluralism and cultural fragmentation. The sub-cultural pluralism represented within this small sample indicates the multilayered nature of identity and the impact that specific sub-cultural values have on pluralistic patterns of cognition, communication and behavior.

Specific socio-cultural variables such as name, ethnicity, language, etiquette, manners and communicative style are, for Indonesians, important collective national and sub-cultural identity markers. Each of the coding categories reveal the networked ways in which formational experiences interweave to contribute to both specific shared collective and particularized worldviews. The inter-relationships between the various socio-cultural influences demonstrate the multifaceted way specific types of influences contribute to the cultural assumptions held by groups of people and individuals. These findings indicate how a biographical narrative approach provides deeper insights into the formation and national development of modern Indonesia (Watson 1999).

This socio-cultural mapping demonstrates the need for caution when applying essentialized or homogenized notions of national cultural characteristics. The use of essentialized characteristics to explain the behavior of groups of people and individuals offers limited value because the more complex contextual reality is simplified by 'writing out' the intrinsic pluralism that constitutes Indonesian population. The diversity of worldviews represented in this small sample affirms the limited value of an essentialized national cultural characteristics approach. The cultural and linguistic diversity noted amongst the Indonesian staff in this company office validates Handy's (1997) argument that in recognizing the diverse human resources of a corporation, it makes more sense to think of that collection of people as a village or a town with all the embedded and networked complexity that these include. This emphasizes the deeper nature of diversity and points of view contained within a community.

This chapter indicates the value of interdisciplinary notions in interpreting the multicultural nature of the worldview of this sample of Indonesians and the implications this has for the management of cross cultural communication and business performance in a professional service TNC operating in

Indonesia. Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars' (2000) framework is a valuable analytical tool for generalizing the underlying and particularist cultural assumptions framing individual discourse. Together the diverse cultural assumptions of individuals and groups of people build the cultural rationale, logic and resources on which individuals interpret, or make sense of, their experiences and the behavior of others. This indicates the cultural complexity included in an international corporate setting and the ways this cultural pluralism impacts on management functions and performance and the cross-cultural nature of all communications. It highlights the need to heighten managements' awareness of the role that culture plays in framing interpretations of communications, functions and performance and the need to develop responsive management strategies to address the impact of these on individual and the wider company performance. It highlights the cross-cultural challenges that the acquisition of international English set for those who needed to engage with the international business sector. The acquisition of sophisticated written English language and cultural literacy is even more challenging. It also highlights the need for international staff to have local cultural and language awareness and skills.

The material reveals the ways professional, and management performance issues, and language and communications are interwoven in a cross-cultural and multilingual business setting (Mawer 1999). Essentially, the perspectives derived from these interviews highlight that the problem of culture *is* central to business and human resource management (Lane, diStefano & Maznevski 1996; Adler, 1997; Harris & Moran 1997, Schneider & Barsoux 1997; Niemeier, Campbell & Dirven 1998). It indicates the limited value of mechanistic Fordist 'culture-free' western organizational notions or multicultural post-Fordist 'umbrella'd-under a-shared cultural vision' assimilative notions for culturally complex organizational communities (Cope & Kalantzis 1997). The very fundamental nature of cultural diversity that exists across all communities emphasizes the value of mapping the specific cultural assumptions of sub-cultural groups in order to heighten awareness and re-address the various conflicting impacts of these. This approach, in turn, provides the opportunity to determine value-adding strategies that can reconcile cultural differences. Background information on both private and public dimensions to individuals' worldviews not only inform on their specific values, behavior, expectations and functional skills, but also enables better understanding of the wider skills and resources they have, which could be of value to the organization.

The interviews reveal how the specific and variable socio-cultural world view assumptions contribute to cross-cultural miscommunications, misunderstandings about expectations associated with work performance, professional tasks, decision making, motivation and interpersonal relationships that arise between project team members, management and wider stakeholders. The material highlights the prevailing particularist national cultural assumptions of Indonesians and how these variously frame the shared interpretations and behavior of individuals. In general, Indonesians draw on particularist communitarian, diffused, affectively neutral, and ascribed status cultural assumptions about the nature of relationships between people. The term 'jam karet', or rubber time, is frequently applied to describe Indonesian synchronous cultural assumptions about the nature of time. Outer directional perspectives frame the nature of Indonesians' relationship with the external world. Assimilationist, appropriative and varied Indonesian interpretations of Islam and the strong political influence of Javanese culture has significantly contributed to the prevailing shared particularist cultural assumptions.

However, the several polycentric-oriented individuals included in the sample also draw on univeralist interpretations where appropriate. This often relates to specific ethnic and religious backgrounds and international experiences. As a result, they have developed the capacity to switch to more -oriented individualistic, specificist, affective and achieved status-oriented cultural assumptions about the nature of relationships, sequential cultural notions for time and inner directional approaches to relationships with the external world. These cultural values framed their interpretations, practice and relationships with the management and expatriate staff, and therefore, significantly framed these individuals' approach to their professional functions and professional development in this international corporate context.

It is apparent that international management needs to be strategically responsive to both universalist and particularist cultural assumptions operating in this business context in order to improve performance and function effectively when operating in Indonesia: Under the increasing influence of globalization it is also important for the Indonesians to further develop human resources with cross-cultural capabilities in order to engage with international business. An international company such as this has an ethical responsibility to provide appropriate opportunities for the development of these

multicultural skills for the Indonesian staff. Thus, more polycentric individuals, such as Puluh, Lima and Duabelas, are important human resource assets for both the company and the country.

This material highlights the complex nature of professional writing in both English and Indonesian. The degree of difficulty in performing professional and writing tasks is intricately tied to the cultural specificities of an individual's background. It is apparent that the quality of English and literacy learning opportunities are limited in Indonesia. Cognitive theory highlights that, without significant cultural reframing experiences, an ethnocentric worldview is only capable of ethnocentric interpretations and behavior. A reflective polycentric worldview with the appropriate cross-cultural bi-lingual communication skills enable an individual to switch between appropriate contextual interpretations and behavior. Thus, the material presented in this section indicates the way in which these diverse cultural worldviews and specific cultural and language practices contribute to the original communication problem that was a catalyst for this research.

Chapter 7: Mapping the socio-cultural world view of management

Polycentric cultural challenges: Personal cultural responses

The previous section indicates that Dr Fritz, the expatriate President Director of the Jakarta office, has made a significant impact on the kind of professional work experiences offered to the Indonesians. Dr Fritz has appointed all of the current professional Indonesians. Despite a long company presence in Indonesia, he is the first manager to recruit tertiary educated Indonesians to engage them in professional functions, not just support functions. In so doing he has faced significant management and professional development challenges to develop strategies to build the Indonesian staffs' skills and confidences. In developing strategies he has made significant corporate change in this office. Understanding his specific cultural worldview will explain the application of his various management and professional development strategies. As the most senior in the Jakarta branch office of this knowledge industry TNC, he is also charged with interpreting and negotiating between head office's cultural and business perspective, the Asia Pacific regional perspective, and the local every day realities of operating a business in Indonesia. The cultural perspectives and expectations of each of these diverse stakeholders' perspectives are very different. Therefore, identifying his worldview is critical to gain deeper understanding on the kinds of strategies he puts in place to meet the global, regional, national and local agendas of the company. This chapter aims to bring to light these issues.

The various concerns of head office, located in the United States, and the SE Asian Australian and New Zealand regional manager, are all very different to those faced by a branch office national manager, especially in a politically volatile and developing national context like Indonesia. It is predictable that the contrasting cultural assumptions will frame HQ's international management strategies, and the management approaches applied by the specific expatriate manager of the Jakarta office. This additional cultural pluralism will variously shape collective and individual interpretations of what needs to be done and how it should be done in order to meet their various interpretations of the diverse self-interests, the goals of the company, and the goals of individuals. It is predictable that the specific worldviews of the various tiers of management representatives will ethnocentrically frame their conceptualizations as to how to achieve key corporate goals. Identifying the cultural

assumptions of this corporate stakeholder diversity will enable the development of strategies to heighten awareness of the impact of ethnocentrism.

Thus, this section concerns the mapping of the cultural orientations of head office, as well as that of the local international management. Underpinning this approach is recognition that this corporate cultural diversity will have serious repercussions for key professional and communications functions and key notions about the nature of work and performance. The material presented derives from analysis of the data contained in the following forms: the transcript of an interview with Dr Fritz; informal discussions with him; an interview with the director for international corporate affairs (DICA); informal discussions with several of the expatriate staff; the interviews and informal discussion with the Indonesian staff; the observations of the researcher; and discourse analysis of a range of head office produced documents.

Dr Fritz is a German national. This nationality adds another dimension to the cultural diversity existing in this office. He has a strong German accent when speaking in English. He is physically very tall. In a high power distance societal context such as Indonesia, his physical attributes, organizational seniority, world-class technical status, and academic qualifications all give him the high honorific status of a western high achievement leader. For many Indonesians this status and physique would be imposing. Dr Fritz's interpretation of his role in both the office and the company is pivotal to the very survival of the Jakarta office. Mapping this underlying cultural complexity adds further insights to the fundamental professional and English communications concerns that led to this research. In addition, mapping the particular ways in which the various levels and regimes of management interpret their corporate role articulates to key wider ethical and societal concerns for the perceived negative impact of globalization.

Firstly, this section briefly outlines the history of the company in Indonesia. This history, which has been largely sourced from Dr Fritz, with additional material given by expatriate staff, gives background information on the changing nature of company's ownership, and corporate relationship with clients and alliances with Indonesian companies. Secondly, this section presents and analyzes Dr

Fritz' socio-cultural background and discusses the impact this has had in framing the leadership model he applies, and the corporate culture he strives to build and maintain.

Corporate history: Interweaving profits, people, politics and culture

The international, US-based company has been operating in various forms in Indonesia since 1951, with a permanent office established in Jakarta in 1972. This history links with Pak Sebelas' previous comment on the high level of American financial and human resource aid given during the 1950-60s, and later under the early leadership of President Suharto. A link can be made between the arrival of this company in Indonesia and historical attempts made by America to expand its economic, political sphere of influence on the nations of South East Asia, formerly caught in the binary global political divide created by the Cold War. It suggests the interweaving of American economic development aid and political agendas.

Since then, the office has expanded and contracted significantly in staff numbers, annual turnover, profitability and projects. Until 1997, the company operated in association with other Indonesian organizations. This arrangement fulfilled a local statutory compliance requirement for the operations of foreign companies in Indonesia. However, the nature of this bi-lateral relationship was passive, with the Indonesian organization being a 'silent partner'. This arrangement included operating in partnership with a PT (meaning Indonesian registered) environmental engineering company and sharing office accommodation. This particular legislative-based partnership ended in 1995. New statutory operating requirements meant that the company had to recruit only a 'silent' Indonesian director in order to be able to operate as an independent company. This corporate history indicates that there were minimum local compliance requirements underscoring the ongoing business presence of this American company.

In order to attract increased foreign investment in 1995 President Suharto liberalized compliance policies. Legislation was introduced allowing 100% foreign-owned investment companies to operate. Thus, in 1998, the company became a PT company, shifting its office from an inner urban suburb to the more prestigious 'Golden Triangle' central business district of Jakarta where it is now located. However, after the economic crisis of 1997 and a rapidly destabilized political climate, the business

climate became very uncertain. While many international offices shut down and their expatriate staff fled the country, this office remained functioning and profitable, albeit with significant staff retrenchments.

During the 1990s the office staff numbers fluctuated from as little as three expatriate professionals (plus support staff), to a maximum complement of about 70 staff in the boom period of 1996/7. Prior to Dr Fritz' 1994 arrival, Indonesians were employed only as support staff and translators. Under his direction during this peak recruitment period he employed many young Indonesian professionals. This significant change in direction indicates a very different strategic approach to human resource management and the need for greater local responsiveness. These young professionals had technical university qualifications relevant to the company's professional functions, i.e. environmental engineering, computer science, architecture, social science, mine engineering, aquatic science and marine biology, geotechnical engineering, and library studies. Those employed were all graduates of Indonesian universities. Senior Indonesians were generally not recruited, except for one or two individuals who were former senior public servants. Their primary role was to act as respected 'bapak' in the office and carry the required cultural respect necessary for company representatives to participate in open forums, client meetings and interactions with government agencies. This human resource strategy is a primary local responsive strategy.

During the peak growth period in 1996 there were also up to 30 expatriates working in the office. These expatriates provided the specific professional expertise on a needs basis. Thus, the majority of these expatriates came to the Jakarta office on a fly-in-fly-out basis. They were sourced from the Australian, New Zealand or American offices. In working to meet the highly competitive performance-based production demands there was little time and opportunity for these expatriate project-based team leaders to contribute to the development of the Indonesian staff's professional skills, other than by role modeling. However more recently, the training and supervision of Indonesian staff are now mandatory under Indonesian law for foreign owned companies operating in Indonesia. In response, Dr Fritz provided English lessons as one human resource development strategy. As the previous section indicates, many Indonesian staff members were given opportunities for further development by taking specialist courses in Indonesia, work experience training in the

various offices in Australia, scholarship support and leave for overseas technical and management higher degree study. The previous section indicates the variable impact of these experiences, and also that for many of the Indonesians these professional development opportunities carried high status and contributed to a collective learning culture.

After the economic crisis in 1997 the office shrank in size to about thirty staff. In 1999 the office had a high ratio of support staff to professional staff. In Indonesia, support staff have relatively low salaries. The logic underpinning this strategy was to allow professional staff to concentrate on their professional and management functions. Dr Fritz pointed out that this management logic is contrary to the popular trend in western companies where people are encouraged to be multiskilled, highly computer literate and self reliant in their dealing with clients and in carrying out their professional and management functions. The western logic underpinning these multiskilling strategies is to minimize the need for support staff and consequently to minimize costs. Dr Fritz argues that in Indonesia it makes more sense for staff to efficiently concentrate on their chargeable functions, aided by low cost support staff. In other words, the expensive expatriate staff time is optimized. In Indonesia, where the professional staff has high ascriptive status, it is considered appropriate that these people have significant numbers of support staff to indicate this status. These strategies further indicate a degree of local responsiveness.

In 1999 the office employed 18 professional staff, 6 secretaries, 1 librarian, 2 accountants, 1 cost controller, 1 quality manager, 1 marketing manager, several drivers and office boys. Expatriate numbers fluctuate. Several of these senior expatriate consultants work in many national contexts. Their individual responses to the Indonesian staff vary. In a high power distance society (Hofstede, 1980) ethnocentric behavior may not be questioned, but comments made by the Indonesian staff indicate that tokenistic approaches to acknowledge them, or exclusionary approaches to work, were highly offensive and communicated egocentric superiority. In other words, non-responsive and ethnocentric approaches were counter-productive to the cohesiveness of office culture and the future skills development of the Indonesian staff.

Dr Fritz noted "there is a great burden on the expatriate management to promote human resource development." (E-mail 1/11/99). Dr Fritz indicated that implicit in his notion of 'burden' is recognition of the constraints of the international commercial performance and time-lines placed on expatriate project team leaders, the strong emphasis on producing a high quality international product, the very different cultural attitudes to work, the limited professional experience of some of the Indonesian staff members, the different cultural approach to higher education and training in Indonesia, and cross-cultural communications difficulties. Thus, some expatriates respond by working alone to deliver the goods and minimizing their interactions with the Indonesian staff. However, others are more reflective of their mentoring responsibilities and make great efforts to involve and empower the Indonesian staff.

As Dr Fritz considered several of the Indonesian staff had developed an appropriate level of professional expertise and personal confidence, local management responsibilities have been shifted to several specialist technical personnel areas: environmental manager (Duabelas - acting), geotechnical manager (Dua), marketing manager (Satu), administrative manager (Tiga), and quality manager (Sembilan). Overall Dr Fritz provides management support and strategic direction for these positions. Senior American adviser (Rob) provides technical support for the staff.

The previous section indicated the various Indonesian staff's response to this arrangement. This integrated technical and management functions approach aligns with identified national German characteristics that are considered to determine corporate success. "Germans do not distinguish management from doing technical work. For German managers there is a perceived oneness, or inseparability of technical duties and management responsibilities. Therefore, management is partly about getting things done, but also means doing it yourself" (Schneider & Barsoux 1997, p. 29). The latter part of this description of specific German national corporate characteristic suggests that in a context such as Indonesia, which is dominated by outer directional cultural assumptions, this inner directional and individualistic German cultural assumption will be problematic.

Thus, with the best intentions Dr Fritz has ethnocentrically transferred a German corporate strategy to the office structure and human resource management functions. The Indonesian interpretation of

giving professional staff management functions may be more valued as higher ascriptive status and not about concern for achieving the efficient integration of functions. To Indonesians, in general, the expectation that this management function should be interpreted as being action or achievement-oriented and individualized would be alien. However, Dr Fritz's culturally responsive mentoring role gives outer direction as to how the Indonesian staff should perform the functions of these management positions. A paternalistic interpretation of this mentoring role would be culturally appropriate and the quality of this relationship would also be critical. Some Indonesians may find this type of relationship intimidating. Others with a more polycentric cultural background that have more in common with his cultural background, for example those of Christian or ethnic Chinese backgrounds, may be comfortable with the relationship and value the opportunity to learn and develop more individualistic inner direction. The application of an integrated management strategy highlights the importance of cultural assumptions in diversely framing interpretations of both conceptualizing the purposes and implications of this strategy.

The office's administrative procedures have been developed over two years contributing to the ISO9001 certification. Both Dr Fritz and Sembilan (quality manager) indicated that the development and focus on the issues of quality have been very challenging. The complex nature of these challenges derives from the fact that quality concepts are ethnocentrically framed on western cultural logic. The imposition of these on the work practices of Indonesian staff has not been easy. Sembilan indicated that several of the staff think that it is an unnecessary waste of time. However, the company received ISO9001 certification in May 1999.

To achieve this, Dr Fritz set action task teams in place to incorporate learning through practice in the development of quality guidelines. The teams were made up of Indonesians who were given sectional management functions. An expatriate led these project teams. It was then the individual Indonesian section manager's task to guide the implementation of these in their specialist functional teams. Dr Fritz took the active overall leadership role. The success of this guided approach to learning lies in its recognition of the need to develop outer directional guidelines. Each of these manager specialists has responsibility for implementation of quality standards within their own teams supported by the

specialist quality manager. The more open and polycentric cultural background of key staff, such as Duabelas, Sembilan and Puluh, are relevant.

Comments made by expatriate staff on how the Indonesian staff in general interpreted the Ministry for the Environment's (BAPEDAL) environmental impact assessment guidelines indicate the tendency to use guidelines explicitly and literally even if sections were not relevant for a specific project. This highlights the cultural dimensions to using guidelines. Staff often matched guideline headings with obvious related 'cut-and-pasted' sections from specialist texts that may not have relevance to a specific project. This highlights the need for reflection on the way interpretive frameworks are applied to the use of guidelines. With the diverse cultural orientations of the Indonesian staff, the successes of the quality assurance management strategies can at best be described as mixed. Discourse analysis of the cultural assumptions contained in these guidelines would give further cultural explanation for the mixed implementary successes.

Revolution and 'reformasi' and then another challenge: Merger and takeover.

In 1999 the company was taken over by an American-based multinational engineering company. In the Australian and Asian offices, this resulted in a merger with a competing environmental engineering company. This HQ-based event had significant impact on the Jakarta office, as it had on all the S. E. Asian and Australian and New Zealand branch offices. At this time in this region there were offices in every capital city in Australia as well as Newcastle, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Manila, Shanghai, Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. The takeover had significant impact on both the corporate culture of the international regional-based division of the company and the morale of staff.

This destabilizing corporate experience was common within a global trend. "In 1999, the worldwide value of mergers and acquisitions rose over a third to more than $3-4 trillion" (*The Economist*, 22/7/00. p. 15). Alarmingly, half of them had destroyed shareholder value, and a further third made no discernible difference (*The Economist*, ibid, citing a KCMG report).

> These mergers continue despite ongoing debates about whether the supposed benefits (such as economies of scale) outweigh the costs of integration, whether greater international competitiveness is derived by promoting greater competition at home, and whether developing

assets and competencies within national borders neglects developing cross-border competencies (Schneider & Barsoux 1997, p. 121).

These critical comments are relevant to the nature of the company take-over. The following analysis of the cultural assumptions of the take-over company, and the take-over motivations reveal key facts that give light on the destabilizing impact and potential consequences. There are many cross-cultural communications implications.

Identifying headquarters worldview

A message sent to the Asia-Pacific staff early in 2000 by the newly appointed international regional director summarizes the new company's strategy. This strategic summary was intended for staff members of the SE Asian regional offices.

- [The company] aims to be a leader or in the top group of suppliers of engineering, environmental and project services in each of the markets it participates in.

- [The company] aims for a balance between mainly environmental work (42% of current business) and engineering type work, and for a balance between public sector (current 55%) and private sector work (currently 45%).

- The balance of [the takeover engineer company] between these sectors has been greatly improved by the merger with [the environmental engineering company].

- [The environmental engineering company] also brought a number of world-class capabilities to [the engineering company] including an environmental management [sub-company name], transportation [sub-company name], project management [sub-company name], and process engineering [sub-company name].

- One of the challenges for Asia-Pacific is for us to tap into these capabilities to help us grow.

- Geographically, [the takeover company] set out some time ago to achieve 20% of its business internationally (ie: outside USA and Canada). While the [environmental company] acquisition has increased this proportion, we still only have about 10% of "international business" approximately half in Europe and half in Asia Pacific, so there is plenty of scope for our growth.

- [The engineering company] will serve multinationals anywhere in the world except where staff are at risk or risks to our business are high.

- [The engineering company] has the intention of creating critical mass in its businesses in five geographical regions namely: USA/Canada; United Kingdom; Germany; France; and Australia/New Zealand

From the bases in these countries where [the engineering company] is already arguably the number one environmental professional service company, we intend to expand into servicing the full cycle of our clients' projects using the broad capabilities of the firm.

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For [the engineering company] Asia Pacific this means we will continue to use our network of Asian offices supported from Australia and New Zealand. Our targets in Asia continue to be our multinational clients in manufacturing, oil and gas, power, mining and chemicals along with selected bilateral and multilateral aid projects, and major world-class infrastructure projects.

Identifying the underlying cultural assumptions in this document reveals the essential corporate mindset and dimensions to the take-over company corporate identity. A fundamental change in the cultural nature of the former environmental engineering company is identified. Statistically, environmental engineering functions (42%) became less important than engineering (52%) and publicly funded projects (55%) dominate the work. While there is emphasis on valuing the acquisition of environmental management competencies, these are nominated as one of four acquired specialist engineering-oriented areas. After the merger, non-American-based work accounts for less than 10% of the company's projects with 5% derived from Europe and the remaining 5% from Asia Pacific.

The regions listed to be developed are Euro-centric in their framing of the international divisions. The Asian branch offices are invisible. This strategic summary identifies that the new company's strongest corporate focus lies in its core North American-based engineering infrastructure project functions serving an internal domestic public sector dominated client business base. With less than 10% of the company's income derived from international projects, the corporate concerns and needs of these offices will be considered peripheral to the dominant multidomestic-oriented mindset of the new company. This corporate strategy identifies an ethnocentric United States domestic-oriented market approach to its professional services and clients, despite the desired expansion of the international division. This strategic plan leaves the international divisions, particularly the Asia Pacific Division, invisible in the new 'global' corporation purview.

The shift towards core engineering functions implies that other areas are understood and valued as subsidiary 'add-on' professional functions. This suggests that the takeover by a company dependent on the public sector clients, and ultimately stock value to shareholders, was domestically motivated by an agenda to gain the advantage of greater competition at home, and increase assets and competencies

within US national borders (Schneider & Barsoux, 1997). Within the new company senior management structure there is no representative of the interests of the former company. Senior company executives were all sourced from the takeover engineering company.

Therefore, it is predictable that the vision guiding the new HQ conceptualization of the company will be significantly sourced from the cultural logic and self-interests of the take-over engineering company. Moreover, it is also predictable that the takeover company will consign subsidiary status to its environmental engineering functions and capabilities. Despite the internationalizing rhetoric, the core domestic engineering focus on the US market will result in less emphasis on the need for developing cross-border competencies or responsiveness. With this domestic business focus, and engineering cultural worldview, arguably the new takeover company will have limited interest in the Asia Pacific region, or in the local management's operational and human resource concerns beyond maintaining profitability for shareholders.

In post-takeover meetings with senior company executives from America, representatives of the company confirmed the limited interest in regional activities. With a strong domestic focus and an American shareholder agenda, head office expressed little interest in the regional activities beyond a required bottom-line profitability. Information on the new corporate structure, integrated accounting systems, and standardized communications software and systems requirements filtered down from HQ. These 'universal' integrating strategies focused on fiscal function, standardized communications systems along with explicit worldwide style guidelines for products. While the company essentially markets multidisciplinary professional knowledge, no systems for sharing knowledge and human resources between offices or regions outside of America were set in place. Instead, the various national branch office managers of the region were drawn into debates on HQ post-modern (Cope & Kalantzis, 1997) assimilationist conceived strategies for integrating corporate image, the official launch of the new company, public relations and marketing issues, and the design of field work uniforms, etc.

Dr Fritz suggested that in the military context of Indonesia, official-looking uniforms would in fact interfere with the staff's capacity to undertake culturally sensitive fieldwork research and may even

endanger staff. There was no response to complex economic, political and socio-cultural local realities and the management and human resource challenges in the various national branch offices from HQ management. There was no strategic plan set in place to further develop the international divisions. Corporate goals focused on one-year profit predictions argued on the value of competitively controlled cost minimization and universally determined quality controlled products. In other words, the HQ management of the 'new' company indiscriminately and ethnocentrically applied universal cultural logic and self-interest.

Being well versed in the commercial, political and cultural realities of business in Indonesia, Dr Fritz, like other branch managers, became very frustrated by this non-responsive and insensitive outcome. As well, most staff knows that the outcome of mergers usually means job losses. Thus, as a consequence of the merger, Dr Fritz faced even greater uncertainty in the already challenging economic and political climate of Indonesia. With little warning and no explanation, the Kuala Lumpur office was shut down. Then there were insensitive discussions about downsizing the Manila office. Rumors circulated within the company that the closure of the Kuala Lumpur office was a strategic 'pay-back' to Prime Minister Mahathir's anti-US capitalist and anti-free market globalization rhetoric. However, despite the uncertain times of the economic and political crisis, Dr Fritz managed to maintain the profitability demands for shareholders as requested by head office back in the USA.

In a letter to all company employees included in the 2000 company Annual Report titled "[The company]: At work around the world" the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer wrote:

> Last year, we became a fully integrated operation under a single organizational structure. Through a major rebranding program, we united the company under the [engineering company] banner. And, we completed the transition to a single, Company-wide e-mail system. These goals were achieved thanks to the efforts of [the Company] employees around the world.

This report was made available to the Asia Pacific regional staff early in 2001. The public relations rhetoric celebrates the imposed achievement of an integrated operational structure through re-branding and a standardized e-mail system. Umberlla'd under these core determined unifying strategies the company is conceived to have become a 'global' corporation. These are coercive post-Fordist culture-as-sameness strategies.

and low context dependent corporate communication and coordination strategies are conceived to create an explicit sense of an achieved collective corporate community across the diverse company offices. These integrationist strategies make the cultural complexity of functionally integrating a global company seem simple and easily managed with the aid of 'culture-free' global technology systems. These ethnocentric strategies 'write out' all the cultural complexity of the international and regional divisions, along with the diversity associated with professional functions and services. The assumption is that these explicit, low context dependent strategies will be uniformly interpreted and applied across the world as they assume that they are in the domestic US offices. Similarly, emphasizing the ethnocentric human resource management orientation of the new company the Chairman, CEO states: "In addition, a unified benefits program and 401(k) retirement has been put in place for all US-based employees." An equitable approach to the retirement needs of the international staff (expatriate and local) is also written out. From early 2001 the resignation of several very senior staff from the international division began.

Drawing heavily on the rhetoric of globalization discourse the Chairman states:

> Accordingly, the theme of this year's annual report is [The Company] At Work Around the World - acknowledging one of the most important components of our success: the people at [the company]. The company's high standard in the industry is a reflection of our first-rate professional and support staff in more than 300 offices worldwide. [The Company] employees are at work somewhere in the world 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

The ethnocentric 24/7 work value rhetoric intends to promote the sense that the company is a universal global and performance conscious company, offering clients worldwide human resources, a high standard professional service and the high status of the services of a prestigious global company.

In order to visually brand the company as being 'global', the cover picture of the document includes multi-racial and diverse ethnic employees of the company's California HQ. Similarly, with the intention of promoting the company as placing high values on international projects and human resources, the report includes case study examples of 10 US projects and 5 international projects. The international projects included are in London, France, China, Australia and New Zealand. This global branding presents images that promote the company as being global-minded, and offering networked and multi-skilled professional engineering corporate services across the world. This promotional material distorts the largely domestic-oriented corporate reality.

In the year 2000, the report states that 33% of the company's revenue was derived domestically (US) from local and state agencies, 16% from Federal agencies, 40% from private businesses and 11% international. Thus, between 1999 and the year 2000 the company's international revenue increased by 1%, its domestic private sector revenues dropped by 5%. In other words, this 'global' company continues to derive some 49% of its revenue from domestic publicly funded infrastructure projects, and 89% domestic-based revenue overall. This domestic-oriented corporate reality suggests that the company may not be global-minded at all, but rather is essentially ethnocentric US-oriented, predominantly serving US government engineering infrastructure-based client needs. This domestic client base implies that overall the HQ mind-set would have little understanding of the complex realities faced by the international division with its focus on multinational clients in manufacturing, oil and gas, power, mining and chemicals along with selected bilateral and multilateral aid projects, and major world class infrastructure projects in developing nations.

The cultural impact of changing professional functions

The functional shift from being an environmental engineering company to an engineering-based company has further cultural ramifications. The functional shift has further cultural ramification for the company's international offices, the majority of which were acquired through the merger, and therefore, historically offer environmental engineering services. Analysis of the underlying cultural differences between the two professional service functions points to the paradigmatic conflicts between a traditional reductivist and mechanistic engineering worldview and an evolving holistic, organic and living systems environmental engineering worldview. The cultural assumptions of the field of engineering are conventionally whereas the cultural assumptions of the field of environmental engineering are evolving to include increasingly diverse and particularizing perspectives.

There are significant implications for the diverse way these two western epistemological fields conceptualize our "relationship with nature" (Kluckhorn & Stodbeck, 1961) and conceive an ethical framework for that relationship (Merchant 1992). Essentially an engineering discourse promotes an underlying "mastery of nature" (Kluckhorn & Stodbeck, 1961) cultural approach and "egocentric ethic" (Merchant 1992) grounded in assumptions about the limitless bounty nature provides for humankind. This scientific cultural heritage to engineering is the same reductive and mechanistic logic

that frames Fordist cultural notions of work and management. The engineering field employs a range of design strategies that are assumed to be 'culture-free' based on reductive methodological approaches that enable cultural claims on 'truth' (Kuhn 1962; Capra 1975, 1982; Harvey,1989; Birch 1993; Jagtenberg & McKie, 1997).

The multidisciplinary nature of the evolving environmental engineering field by contrast includes cultural shift towards working with nature. Ethically, this indicates a shift towards a "homocentric" ethic (Merchant 1992) that is concerned with equity of social justice. An even more particularized and responsive cultural approach to environmentally management concerned with sustainability promote the cultural assumptions of "ecocentric" ethics or one that recognizes systemic holism, interconnections and inter-dependencies to frame the ethics of practice (Merchant 1992). This disciplinary cultural framing highlights the implications of environmental engineering being interpreted as an engineering add-on service. Therefore, it is predictable that, now umbrella'd under an engineering-oriented corporate culture, these holistic and particularized cutting-edge cultural assumptions may not be understood or valued by HQ's mindset.

For the Asia Pacific offices the reality is that profitability and corporate reputation are the consequence of competitively producing international quality and locally responsive environmental impact assessments and design solutions that maximize the win-win opportunities and minimize the problems created by development for diverse stakeholders and clients. The international management needs to understand the implications of this professional function shift in the field and the fundamental multicultural nature of environmental engineering work. A multicultural assumption recognizes the need for an adaptive management model (Schneider & Barsoux 1997) to be applied in response to the particularized nature of projects in the located diverse national contexts.

As a result of these diverse internal professional service worldviews, it is predictable that mismatches of interest will inevitably emerge from the various visions, goals, and strategies designed by the new executive domestic-oriented HQ senior management and the senior management of the domestic branch offices of the different service product-oriented international regional division. In light of this cultural analysis, it is predictable that the takeover company management will have minimum interest

in local Asian branch office management concerns for building local human resource capabilities, more locally responsive international staff and the constraints that derive from local political, economic and cultural realities.

Dr Fritz soon realized the implications of this takeover for his office. His anxieties were confirmed when he presented his 2000/2001 fiscal business plan to HQ senior management representatives. This plan included a healthy profitability figure, especially in the uncertain and challenging national context of Indonesia. His submission was received with a dispassionate instruction for him to up his profitability by 40%. He was given no acknowledgement of his achievement in a difficult context. He was told to apply more severe cost cutting strategies in order to increase profitability.

With HQ having little interest beyond the domestic US context and shareholder profitability as a cost cutting exercise the Asia Pacific Director for International Corporate Affairs (DICA) was forced to resign. The function of this international director role had been to sensitively network and facilitate corporate negotiations between senior representatives of national governments, international investment agencies and development companies. As a former Australian Federal Government Minister the director had the important hierarchical and ascriptive status required in negotiations in the more vertical power distance-oriented Asian countries, as well as in Turkey and South America.

Some months prior to leaving, I interviewed this international director, seeking perspectives on the corporate impact of the changing politics in Indonesian, and the company's response to human resource issues, corporate reputation and corporate risk in a global context. In this informal interview the subjects discussed included: the importance of: building skilled local human resources in the Asian offices; maintaining staff loyalty; conducting all business in an ethical and transparent manner; building alliances with local government and industry representatives who similarly shared high ethical and transparency values; acknowledging the delicate nature in which international relationships were built and maintained; and developing both local and international staff with the necessary cross-cultural communications skills to operate in national contexts like Indonesia, South America and Turkey, all places where the director had had extensive first hand experience, particularly with the mining sector (DICA, interview 4/4/00). This work had heightened the director's

awareness of the similar multicultural communications and multilingual report writing concerns in other countries, as well as Indonesia.

Her body language through out the interview was very elucidating. Initially, as she spoke authoritatively about the company viewpoint, her posture was confident and upright. As the issues we were discussing, such as the emerging new direction and approach of the takeover company, became more delicate she gradually began to express her opinions rather than that of the company. She moved closer, lowered her voice and looked towards the closed door. Finally, as the conversation was drawing to an end her hands covered her face and she put her head on the table. It was apparent that from her perspective, this takeover did not auger well for her interest in the future of the Asia Pacific staff and international offices. Indeed, she expressed great concern for the future of the international, especially the Austral-Asian division, operations and the staff concerned. She has since joined a competitor environmental planning and engineering company.

I suggest that the international director's chagrin was not just the result of the destabilizing consequences of a takeover. The HQ material just presented indicates the underlying ethnocentric nature of HQ's worldview. It is apparent that these ethnocentric cultural assumptions are interwoven into conceptualizations about corporate design, procedures and clients. Despite the public relations attempt to re-culture the post-takeover company as being global, it appears to be predominantly an ethnocentric multidomestic variety wrapped in 'global' corporate discourse promotional 'clothing'. It seems that this global corporate packaging of the company supports a domestic promotional identity agenda. This strategy is seen to add shareholder value. There is little or no real interest in the international division beyond this and the international division's provision of shareholder profits. There are, however, considerable ethical, corporate reputation and sustainability implications in this specific ethnocentric corporate strategy. The complex cultural issues that arose from the takeover have significant consequences for management, for staff and, in fact, articulate to the essential growing critical and ethical concerns for the wealth destroying consequences of powerful American shareholder capitalism (Thurow 1996, 2000; Handy 1997). This analysis and discussion of the corporate history indicates how changes in the global corporate framework have significant consequences for the day-to-day realities in the Jakarta office. They have significant implications for

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management and HR issues, and in particular, local management's desire to develop the local staff's professional, business and communications skills.

Analysis of Dr Fritz's worldview offers insights into why a person takes on these demanding global, national and local management challenges and, more specifically, how he has developed a polycentric personal approach that motivates him to empower local people and more reflectively frame his specific management strategies and practices. It is too simplistic for the aims of mapping the cultural and communications complexity found in this office setting to apply a stereotypical and culturally rigid national tick-list approach that characterizes German management approaches as some explanation for his behavior. An approach that also acknowledges the idiosyncratic and particularist sense making cultural assumptions of the members of a national community is more useful. Moving beyond a homogeneous tick-list approach to national culture recognizes that the essential nature of any culture is paradoxically organic, dynamic and adaptive, homogeneous and particularized (Featherstone 1990; Lull 1995).

The following section reveals the ways Dr Fritz' approach to his professional and management tasks can be categorized as Germanic:

> The German corporate obsession is products, their design, construction and quality. When Germans are asked what makes them proud of their company, they tend not to mention profits, turnover or market share. Rather they will emphasise product quality ... "German companies do not make money, only the Mint does that; they make goods and services and if people want to buy them, profit ensues" (Schneider & Barsoux 1997, p. 28 citing Lawrence 1980, p.187).
> Germans do not distinguish management from doing technical work. For German managers there is a perceived oneness, or inseparability, of technical duties and managerial responsibilities. Therefore, management is partly about getting things done, but also means doing it yourself (ibid. p. 29).
> In Germany it is difficult to become over qualified (ibid, p. 30).

The socio-cultural variables shaping the President Director's worldview

Table 7.1: The socio-cultural matrix of the President Director of the case study company

AGE :Mid-forties	**MARITAL STATUS**: Married (twice), both wives Indonesian, one child by first wife.
ETHNIC ORIGINS: German	**REGIONAL BACKGROUND**: Born - Black Forest West Germany, moved to East Germany, escaped (Berlin Wall) back to the West, refugee camp, moved ten times until late teenager, Stuttgart
RELIGION: Father - Protestant, mother - Catholic, but religion not a significant part of their lives.	**EDUCATION**: Primary &secondary: refugee camp, ten state schools- language stream schools; tertiary B. Eng (civil), 1980, PhD (hydraulics & ground water modeling) 1985 Stuttgart; NATO post-doc research scholarship 1986/8, Unit Waterloo Canada; MBA (Herriot Watt) 1999
FAMILY: Parents: father West German, blacksmith, construction worker; mother East German/ Polish, family responsibilities; siblings - 2 older brothers, all tertiary educated - business, and two younger sisters (education not mentioned) Daughter 8 years old.	**LANGUAGES**: German (mother tongue), Latin, 13 years school study English (fluent), French (fair) and Indonesian (basic)
CAREER: Worked part-time construction industry and cleaning toilets to fund undergrad education; post-graduate assistant (teaching) Uni. Stuttgart; 1988/9 Senior Engineer Canadian consulting Co; 1989/91 Senior engineer and section head, international consultant co, Frankfurt; 1990/91 part-time lecturer Biberach Technical Uni; 1991/4 Managing Director German consult. Co., 1994/present President Director case study co, Jakarta. 2001 appointed Regional director for Asia	**INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE**: Professional and management employment and study in Germany, professional and research employment in Canada; professional and management employment in Indonesia; company international management conferences Australia, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur
PROFESSIONAL FUNCTION: Current President Director; Expertise: business & management training; environmental impact assessment & auditing; hydraulics & numerical modeling	

This section examines the socio-cultural background of Dr Fritz, to reveal ways in which his interpretive framework and practices can be categorized as being Germanic and ways, in which they

are not. This material was sourced from an informal narrativized life-history interview, numerous informal conversations with him, the researcher's participant observations, the Indonesian staff's interviews, and documents (e.g., his resume).

1. AGE

Dr Fritz was born in 1956 in the Black Forest region of West Germany. His early years were influenced by macro political and economic issues linked to the post-second World War strategic carving up of Germany and the enormous task of regional reconstruction. After the war, Germany was partitioned. The partition, as conceived by the Allies, was not to be permanent. The plan gave Moscow the control of almost 40% of Germany's post war area, 36% of its population and 33% of its resources. Berlin, situated on the Russian controlled East German side, was divided into four sectors, and was to house the Allied Control Council for supervising the occupying powers. Moscow gave informal guarantees of access by air, road, canal and rail through the zones to the parts of Berlin occupied by the Western powers (Wright, 1989). These strategic political solutions meant that his father's family lived in the West and his mother's family in the East.

During his formative years, prior to the Berlin Wall, his parents moved to the East, because his father was a blacksmith and his mother's family had a business opportunity. However, his parents' aim to improve their economic position became caught up in Cold war events. With the development of the Berlin Wall in the early 1960s his family escaped and moved back to the West.

> "Basically, my family moved back and we have been one of the last families to escape and get out," he explained.
>
> "I don't recall the details because I was five, six years old, but I recall certainly that we basically lived in a refugee camp and lost everything. From West Germany my parents took quite a few things to East Germany. Then basically, we landed in a suitcase and, for sure, this is the memory of my two brothers and myself."
>
> "In the first year life was not easy for our family. We spent two years in the refugee camp, which is ok, but sure it teaches you to appreciate money."(Dr Fritz, interview, 13/6/00)

He regards this traumatic early experience as one of most crucial framing influences of his life. This experience underpins both his and his brothers' strong career ambitions and desire to achieve material security. It appears to have also been critical in his empathetic approach to encouraging and supporting others who wish to improve themselves or their circumstances.

2. MARITAL STATUS

Polycentric relationships or going native?

The PD has been married twice. Both wives are Javanese Indonesians. He has a daughter, now eight, who lives with his first wife in Bandung, West Java. His daughter attends an international school where he wants her to study German so that she can take up the opportunity to go to a German university if she wants. Since he has remarried he sees her infrequently. His second wife previously worked in the company as an engineering graduate. She spent two years in Germany prior to her marriage completing a Masters of Science degree at Stuttgart University on an international student scholarship. Both took pride in showing their wedding photos with their respective families attired in the full splendor of the traditional wedding costume of aristocratic Javanese.

The ethnocentric American-based international management literature tends to categorize Dr Fritz' marital links with Indonesia as "going native" (Adler, 1997). Generally, the rhetoric discussing the ramification of 'going native' tends to be framed in problematic terms, and as indicating an increasing inability to function in the home cultural context. More positively, the literature warns of the experience of culture shock for expatriates, and suggests strategies for reducing culture shock for employees and their families. However, there is also a strong emphasis on the importance of regularly moving people around in corporations, and of returning them to HQ to make sure that they are not straying too far from the core national and corporate cultural values of the company, and of the importance of dealing with the re-entry culture shock when they return. In general, this ethnocentric approach does not recognize that marrying a local may be an important indicator of attaining polycentric "third culture" (Featherstone, 1995) values and skills, and that it is possible for a self-aware manager or staff to have multiple loyalties, identities and cultural sensibilities. This response reflects a strong assimilationist, mono-cultural and monolingual national perspective. The development of cultural polycentrism through inter-marriage can have value-adding potential for corporations.

The ethnocentric perspective in the management literature is a legacy of nineteenth century mono-cultural nationalism and more specifically ethnocentric assimilationist national cultural policies (Castles 1997). Under this logic it is assumed that individuals should have a strong unitary national

identity in order to maintain focus on addressing the national cultural perspective of HQ. However, in a time in history when mobility between cities, regions and nations is great, and many countries such as America, Australia, Canada, and United Kingdom have significant populations sourced through migration, in reality many of these citizens will have multiple cultural identities, and partners with diverse ethnic backgrounds. As a result they may have diverse loyalties and be comfortable switching between them or creatively blending them. Nation boundaries are now very permeable (Ohmae, 1990). Underpinning these 'going native' anxieties in the literature is a strong 'them' and 'us' binary national cultural divide. Marital cultural difference is thus framed as being problematic. Both Dr Fritz and his wife consider their cultural diversity to be value adding and experientially enriching.

3. ETHNIC ORIGINS

As noted, Dr Fritz is German. In one conversation he indicated that on his mother's side of the family he had Polish connections. He revealed this because I had indicated that part of my ethnic background was Polish, but he has an Austrian sounding name. It was never mentioned again. The historical discourse of German nationalism derives from a strong military heritage, and a central Western Europe location surrounded by many different European nations. In 1871 the federation of 25 German states occurred, dominated by Prussia. Surrounded by many European nations, nineteenth century national discourse incorporated underlying military and homogeneous national cultural values to fortify and strengthen national identity. The nation-binding lingua franca was German.

After unification, Germany focused its strategic attention on rapid industrialization through an efficient and highly organized approach to education designed to replace its deteriorating agricultural economic base. Industrialization was framed around the development of science research and applied technology capabilities. Early in the twentieth century, significant numbers of Germans emigrated to America, Canada, Brazil, Argentina and Australia. However, rapid industrialization stemmed the flow. From 1935 until the outbreak of Word War 11, Germany had the strongest economic activity of Europe. However, the military expansionist strategy of the Second World War left Germany economically devastated and politically divided once again into separate West and Eastern nation states under the administrative power of the Allies in the West and Russia in the East. Dr Fritz's

German ethnic origins and strong national identity are tied into the macro historical, political and economic geo-regional events following German unification.

Within German national discourse there is a particularly strong cultural assumption of ethnic homogenization. Historically, immigrant workers brought in to do the jobs that Germans were not prepared to do and thus mobilize rapid economic recovery, were not granted citizenship, nor citizen's rights. To this day, this homogeneous ethnic national approach predominates and has, more recently, been critically linked to Germany's failure to attract talented international people and limited foreign investment (Pascal Zachary 2000). "The picture of the top German companies seems even bleaker: After decades of investing heavily at home, they now routinely make more than half of their investments abroad. Since people follow money, this further spurs the outflow of talent" (p. 128). This strong ethnically homogeneous national cultural assumption permeates institutional culture in Germany and this ethnocentric framework underlies the fundamental lack of creativity, innovation and risk taking necessary to successfully negotiate new global realities (ibid).

Dr Fritz is an example of that outflow of talent. He expressed a keen interest in working offshore and valued the challenges of a more pluralistic reality. However, despite this outward geocentric looking motivation, with all his formational family experiences and formal education received in Germany, there is much about his interpretive framework that is very ethnocentrically German. German cultural profiles are characterised as "well-oiled machines" (Schneider & Barsoux, 1997). This cultural approach links to the following organizational strategies: decentralized decision-making; narrow span of control; specialist technical competence; discretion limited by expertise; strong role of staff 'experts'; top management team; industry and company knowledge; organized by function; compartmentalized (chimneys); coordination through routines and rule; structural solutions; throughput controls; and efficiency. This list reflects the specific management strategies employed by Dr Fritz in the Jakarta office. The office organizational chart indicates the application of these characteristic organizational strategies. Many of the management strategies Dr Fritz applies conform to the characteristic German cultural approach of the well-oiled machine.

4. REGIONAL ORIGINS

Dr Fritz was born in the Black Forest region of Western Germany. This part of Germany shares borders with the French region of Alsace Lorraine and the German-speaking region of Northern Switzerland. His father was from this region and his mother from East Germany, near Berlin. The previous section on Age refers to his traumatic movement between living in East Germany and returning to West Germany as a small boy. After spending two years in a refugee camp Dr Fritz explained that his parents moved many times within West Germany and even to German speaking Switzerland, wherever work opportunities took them. As a blacksmith and construction worker his father was involved in large industrial construction work.

Dr Fritz expanded on the time his parents were in Switzerland and the reasons for this move:

> "[M]y father most of his business life, about twenty years in Switzerland and my brother also worked in Switzerland and one reason why was to avoid the military. But after they, when he came back to Germany after five to six years, then they got him. But this is rather an important influence because my parents they moved for one year the entire family to Switzerland except my other brother, who is one year older than myself, and myself. And we were roughly between twelve or thirteen. We could not join because in Switzerland the first foreign language is French and in our case it was English and it was not possible even though we already had some French. We had just started we needed some two or three years and for someone who was as good at languages as me there was no way [laughing] to catch up to two years. So this was quite a good experience, quite nice, we had a big apartment at the age of twelve." (Dr Fritz, interview, 13/6/2000)

He explained that the two of them had looked after themselves and the parents would make the four hundred kilometer return journey most weekends. His mother and two younger sisters stayed with the father. The fact that he and his brother were not allowed to join their parents on the basis of their limited French language skills indicates both the necessity to be multilingual in that part of Europe and the political use made of language in limiting migrant workers to Switzerland at the time.

Dr Fritz concluded that this experience had certainly made him "independent and self-reliant". This important framing experience along with the family's constant moving would have contributed to a strong sense of individualism and the importance of developing inner direction in order to be successful. The family settled down only when his father got long-term construction work at Stuttgart University, where his older brother also worked. His current Indonesian wife, having undertaken her

post-graduate studies there, has reinforced this ongoing link to the city of Stuttgart and the wider Black Forest region. His strong emotional and cultural links with the region of South-west Germany and the eastern German speaking area of Switzerland are reflected in his day-to-day private practices. His daily breakfast routine - Bavarian blue cheese, thinly sliced smoked beef, dark rye bread and black coffee, indicates one dimension of his regio-centric behavior and adherence to familiar cultural practices. Every weekend he makes a disciplined and timely pilgrimage to a specialist European delicatessen for his supplies of this imported food. He often meets German friends at one of Jakarta's several 'Viennese' coffee houses.

5. RELIGION

Dr Fritz identified his father's Protestant religious background and his mother's Catholicism. Protestantism is the largest religious group in Germany. Prior to German unification in 1990 the West German population was 49% Protestant and 45% Catholic. In the East the figures were 47% Protestant and 7% Catholic (Mountjoy 1987). Statistics included a non-specific Muslim minority. These figures emphasize the homogeneous Christian nature of Germany society. The strong Protestant heritage in Germany links with a specific cultural framework which includes characteristic individualism, an affective orientation to relationships, achievement orientation and an inner directional work ethic. These Protestantism cultural assumptions are interwoven into national discourse. However, with the family being constantly on the move they had not developed any religious institutional affiliations. This lack of religious community experience further indicates a lack of parochial socio-cultural rootedness in Dr Fritz' formation. However, the individualistic cultural values and associated work ethic values derived from a Protestant Germany heritage have had significant impact on national cultural discourse that was promoted through the national education program.

6. EDUCATION

Dr Fritz's discussion on his educational experiences was very revealing. As indicated previously, during his early school years his parents were constantly on the move and he thought that he had gone to at least ten different schools during that time. "For convenience" he said that he was placed in language streaming rather than mathematics streaming schools, despite being gifted in maths.

Reflecting on the value of this humanities educational streaming he said: "I am happy that I did not went to the mathematics-oriented school. I think that I would miss out certainly on the strong language component and history and biology and these things, whereas with mathematics I could pick up by myself." In other words, he explained being placed in an educational stream in which he did not have natural talent gave him the opportunity to develop the necessary discipline for learning. He also commented that it also gave him the opportunity to "have a more holistic and richer education".

His mother had a strong interest in the family achieving at school and she pushed him because "I am basically, I was quite lazy and she pushed myself quite hard to stay at school. She put a lot of effort into the education of all the children." Eventually, all three boys in the family made it through to university. Dr Fritz also stated that this experience of constantly moving around made dealing with new situations, and with new people, natural for him. This was one reason why he had placed his daughter in an international school, so that she would be exposed to children of diverse backgrounds.

Extending his argument as to how his education experiences developed his self-confidence and adaptability, and he said that he thought the regular changing of school was important.

> "You know, basically, you learn to face others who are after you and which was, by the way, quite tough initially for school, as kids who are so strong as you are fighting. And, ok, not to go into too much details, but it was close that I should go to a special school because I was far too aggressive. There was, I don't recall, but my mother told me once that the teacher had discussed whether I would have to be sent to a school for difficult children, because I was a little bit aggressive. But, ok, everything has changed and no problem here any more."

His comments indicate that there were significant social costs and emotional costs associated with the experiences of constantly moving schools, but he believed that the benefit was learning to be competitive. His childhood aggression related to bullying he experienced at school, but this also developed a sense that he had to take on the world on his own. Together these experiences and the resultant individualistic, competitive and inner directional culture values, assimilated as a result of these experiences, also made him a very independent and highly motivated learner.

It was quite easy for him to get into university, which was free. But with five children, and the restrictive economic circumstances of his parents, he said that even paying for schoolbooks and the living cost, education was a significant financial burden for his family. Thus, he did a civil

engineering degree and worked part-time to support his studies. I asked him why he chose this discipline?

I came to the logical conclusion, first my brother is bricklayer in the construction industry and the last couple of years at the school, I worked partly at the construction to supplement, and then my father also for the construction side. So then civil engineering."

In Germany, at the time, there was considerable construction work. Dr Fritz commented:

"But even so, pretty soon I figured out that it was not my main interest. And ah, the basic thing, I somehow thought that there was creativity, but I had a different image of civil engineering as I actually realized that civil engineering is calculating according to standard norms and there maybe some few civil engineers who actually were involved in some projects to design something, but all just calculating."

"So it turned out to be extremely boring for me and the one course that is considered the most difficult one which was actually the one where you use you imagination, a little bit more difficult, not that I had my best mark in it. But this was the one that I liked the most. And so I had to decide to change or basically bend in a different direction and this was with the hydraulics and with the hydraulics into environmental issues which was a little bit more wishy washy and ... just basically more sensible."

These comments indicate that Dr Fritz' formative and institutional educational have contributed to a mind that wants to be challenged, to be analytical and apply creativity to problem solving. He understands that his high school educational experiences were more holistic, and while he did not appreciate it at the time, the advantages of this are very clear now. Civil engineering did not challenge him, however during the twentieth century the profession of engineering has held a very powerful place in industrialization, technology and economic development discourse and so he followed this pathway.

After he had completed his civil engineering degree he began his PhD. "You normally have a [funded] five year contract to make you PhD." He added that the five years is paid with giving tutorial classes as well as being paid to do the research. Most people have trouble finishing within the five years, he said, but he finished within the time. This emphasis on his efficient use of time indicates a cultural value assumption that is very task oriented, or masculine (Hofstede, 1980) with a sequential cultural orientation. His PhD topic was in groundwater modeling. He further emphasized that he was not really interested in the subject area but somewhat 'fell' into the topic:

"[F]ell into it is what happened here and then one of my friends at this time, he had a special PhD topic which was partly involved with black water experiment and numerical analysis, and

it is quite theoretical and quite abstract and I was always talking with him. But then after one year he quit and there is research open there for another two years so my supervisor said so . . . here, perfect topic for you."

His approach to his PhD topic indicates both an adaptive intellect and a comfort with adaptable practice. In other words, his formational experiences have resulted in a very high tolerance for uncertainty (Hofstede 1980). He also completed the project with two months to spare unlike the majority of his contemporaries, who, he said, went significantly over time. His PhD was so successful that he was awarded a NATO Post Doctoral Fellowship (1986/88) to undertake further research at a Canadian university for two years. This strong achievement orientation in a specialist reductive and analytical scientific field gives further indication of a strong masculine cultural orientation (ibid).

Giving further evidence of his successful independent learning behavior and achievement orientation, in 1999, while working full-time managing the office through the economic crisis, takeover/merger and doing technical and professional project work in the case study office he completed an MBA qualification through distance education from Herriot Watt University Scotland. He 'fast-tracked' this qualification. His greatest interest is the challenges of management. Concurrently, he has also divested considerable private time and energy to developing a technical small business management software package.

Dr Fritz's discussion on his education points to the development of strong cultural orientation and a 'masculine' (Hofstede 1980) task-oriented approach to life. The outcome of being in a humanities and languages streaming group, when his natural tendency was in math and science, also resulted in the development of a more holistic outlook or 'feminine' approach (Hofstede 1980). In keeping with an ethnocentric German approach to education he has successfully become highly skilled in a specialist technical area - hydraulics and ground water modeling, even though he was not particularly interested in the field. It is relevant to note that this expertise culminated in his co-authoring a leading international text on the subject and he is considered a world-class expert in the area. Yet, he has subsequently been more interested to move on to new and different challenges. Despite his early potentially problematic aggressive 'masculine' behavior, his comments on his educational

experiences indicate that he considers that these have in the long term made him flexible, adaptable and open to new ways of thinking.

7. FAMILY

Early on in his life, Dr Fritz's family had active connections with their wider families. While they lived in East Germany his father was involved with his mother's family business. However, their escape and the building of the Berlin Wall meant that from then on there was no contact with this side of the family. Then, the family's constant moving meant that the nuclear family - two parents and five children - was the most important and consistent social framework in his life. As discussed, within this nuclear family model, the experience of being left on his own with his brother when he was twelve years old, while his parents were across the border, meant that he learnt to be self-reliant and value independence. The fact that his mother left them and went with the father also indicates a strong paternalistic family value in that it was understood that her place was with the father, not the boys. This paternalism links with her strong agenda for the boys to pursue educational opportunities, while the achievements of his two sisters were never mentioned.

Dr Fritz also mentioned that he had only recently found out this his father had a sister who lived in West Germany. He did not know where and his father had had no contact with her. Similarly, his siblings had had no contact with members of the wider extended family. When I asked whether as adults he was close to his parents and siblings he responded: "definitely, for our family is extremely close." He gave a recent example to support his claim: "one that is like when my mother got a stroke, basically everyone came together within a couple of days [his siblings live in Germany] and this was one thing that the doctor said to my father that he was surprised about." These comments concur with essentialized characteristic notions of German social relationships as being very present-oriented and individualistic-based and that it is considered to be quite common for nuclear family members not to have any contact.

Both of his parents had limited education. The Second World War and the reconstruction period would have significantly disrupted their young educational and work lives afterwards. Thus, his father worked in the reconstruction industry. Similarly, his eldest brother had to take on the

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responsibility of work at a young age to help economically support the rest of the family. However, with a strong educational value in the family this brother took up technical education opportunities at night school, and eventually was successful in obtaining a university degree. As previously discussed, Dr Fritz also explained that another reason why his parents moved to Switzerland was to avoid compulsory military service. However, as soon as he returned to Germany this caught up with him and he had to go. His other brother, who was one year older than him, did eventually do military service. He said that he managed to avoid this because of his PhD. He explained that there was a choice of the army or public service and eventually they let him go on the basis that his PhD was a significant national contribution. His strong individual achievements saved him from being exposed to collective institutionalized military experiences.

The somewhat detached nature of his immediate family background gives some explanation as to his acceptance of his remote relationship with his eight-year-old daughter. He gives her generous financial support, but sees her very little, as his first wife has minimized contact since he has remarried. She lives in Bandung some four hours travel by road or rail from Jakarta. The provision of educational opportunities at an international school and the hope that she will eventually attend a German university indicates a strongly ethnocentric and paternal motivation to pass on some aspects of his national background. His mother had recently died when this was discussed and I suspect that these strategies for his daughter derive from a sense of his ties with Germany weakening and that he somehow wants to maintain this national affiliation through his estranged daughter.

8. LANGUAGES

Dr Fritz notes that as well as speaking German as his mother tongue, he had thirteen years of Latin education at school, is fluent in English, fair at French and has basic Indonesian language skills. This multiple language skill is derived from the streaming of schools in the German education system. He explained that in Germany there are mathematics-oriented schools, humanities and language oriented-schools and something in between:

> "And out of circumstances it happened that my second older brother, who is one year older than I, we went to the same school, and actually the same class, and because he is weak in the mathematics. So it was a family decision to go to the school that the focus was more language.

> So I has thirteen years of Latin, eight or nine of English, and six of French. So and this was quite difficult for me because I cannot claim that I have a natural gift for languages."
>
> "I must say that as well in the end everybody has a natural gift you know, and like the mathematics it is quite easy for me. And in fact, it was partly too easy for me at school, so no effort by me, while my brother always struggles. And in the other case, was just the opposite that the languages was easy for my brother and I had to struggle a lot. And ah, looking back on it, it was the best thing that happened to me. So at university, I picked up the mathematics quite easily and it certainly helped me to have a good education in languages for later on. But even so it was not easy."

His comment indicating he believes everyone has a natural gift underpins his current human resource strategy to give all his staff development opportunities in order for them to find out what their 'natural gift' is. In other words, while he has a strong belief in the value of change through learning he also believes in a predetermined 'natural gift'. Arguably, now these two cultural perspectives underpin his human resource management strategies. However, they contrast with more fatalistic Islamic orientations.

I commented that by the time he got to university he had had a lot of English language education:

> "Yes, but then again, as we just said before - motivation. You know I basically had no motivation at all. Since we had no money we could not make traveling so actually the first time that we went out of Germany was when I was eighteen or nineteen, so basically there is nothing to give motivation. And actually because we always went to France and into Spain in the northern part where they speak French, there is a stronger motivation for French than English."

Indicating his belief in the importance of motivation he added that the best teacher he had throughout his education was an impressive French teacher. "But even though I was not much interested, but certainly he could motivate me more than others."

On another occasion Dr Fritz said that if he returned to Europe to live he would like to settle in the south of France more than in Germany. His experiences with travel and multiple language learning indicate that he is now influenced by a regional Euro-centric orientation. He only has basic Indonesian language skills after 6 years living in Jakarta. This skill level has been derived from immersion in the society, rather than a serious attempt to learn the language. He did, however say that despite his multilingual language education background he continued to find language learning difficult. His wife said she would often laugh at his attempts to speak Indonesian, after explaining to

me in a Viennese styled cafe that he had just asked for the waiter to bring 'the grandfather' when he meant to ask for 'the bill'. However, this section reveals that, for Dr Fritz, to be multilingual is natural.

9. CAREER

Dr Fritz's non-professional part-time work as a high school student and a university student made a big impact on him. He worked as a building laborer and cleaning the toilets at the university. This experience he said "was definitely humiliating" and made him determined to be successful. His response underpins a strong individualistic and achievement-oriented Protestant work ethic. Teaching undergraduates was a part of his responsibilities while doing his PhD. He enjoyed this experience, so much in fact that he volunteered to take on three extra courses:

> "At the end of the day it gives you the additional knowledge and if, you make it, lets say smarter, it is not much work.... So I ended up combining courses that had already been offered at the university to be in charge of three of them and the management and to coordinate, but normally the ratio was one course with one PhD student ... I think that it was this time that I start to like management, which in the mean time has been my main interest."

His successes at combining research and teaching support notions abut the value of multiskilling, of mixing technical and management functions. His additional comments on being responsible for a group of eight undergraduate students who assisted him with research and administration, and supervising numerous graduate students, identifies his cultural value assumption about human nature (Kluckhorn & Stodbeck, 1961):

> "So actually I had quite big work force at the university, and ah, it really helps not only for yourself. You start actually learning to utilize and to ... delegate and find something and then you get something back, and most of the students, even though they don't have degrees yet, they are basically educated and smart."

These comments indicate a fundamental belief in the good value of people, the important role of learning and the mutual benefits to be gained from actively involving others. He explained that because he delegated responsibilities to these students he was able to manage his time efficiently and as a result was always prepared for his teaching and research responsibilities. The successful way he interwove teaching, managing students, delegating responsibilities, undertaking scientific and technical PhD research at this time in his life laid down a similar integrating management pattern to apply in his subsequent professional career.

After successfully completing his PhD in 1985, he was awarded a post-doctoral fellowship to undertake further research on underground water pollution transportation at the University of Waterloo, Canada. After he completed this he took up a position as senior engineer with a Canadian consulting company. He said that initially he was very interested in settling in Canada. There was even a significant German migrant settlement community there. However, he said that he rejected this idea as he found these people to be "even more German, than the Germans back home and this was not what he wanted". However, during his time working for this Canadian consulting company he was given the opportunity to undertake consulting projects in Indonesia.

In 1989 he returned to Germany to work as a senior engineer and section head for the Frankfurt office of the case study environmental engineering company. Here he worked on several ground water projects, including one in Egypt, and carried out management functions. In 1991 he was appointed managing director of two German consulting companies, based in Frankfurt, specializing in site remediation. Technical projects undertaken involved work in Germany, Belgium, Indonesia, Malaysia and Portugal. He also gave specialist ground water modeling professional development lectures for international clients and a similar professional development project in Malaysia. As sole managing director, he was responsible for all aspects of strategic planning, client liaison, directing and co-coordinating consultant work, including nine consultant engineers and five supporting personnel (Dr Fritz, *Resume*, 2000). In 1994, he was appointed the President Director of the company in Jakarta. In recognition of his successes in managing this branch office, in 2001 he was made Regional Director of the Asian offices.

Analyzing Dr Fritz's resume reveals the consistent interweaving of technical, teaching and management competencies and professional functions through his career appointments. His work has taken him to many parts of Europe, Canada and Indonesia and Malaysia. This professional history tracks the steady internationalization of the work context. This fact, combined with his comments about rejecting the 'Germanness' of the Canadian community, and his final taking up of the opportunity in Indonesia indicate strong ambition and a motivation for framing polycentric cultural experiences through working in various national contexts. At the time of his appointment in Indonesia, German corporate influence was considerable because of the power of the then Vice

President Dr. Yosef Habibie, who had obtained his engineering doctorate at a German University and subsequent employment in the German aviation industry. Thus, German companies, foreign investment and technology were looked upon especially favorably.

10. INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

As the previous sections have revealed, Dr Fritz has had diverse international personal and professional experiences which have contributed to a more open polycentric worldview importantly framed by the cultural logic derived from strong formational experiences. These experiences began with his family, the move from West to East Germany and back again, his parents move to Switzerland seeking employment, holidays as a late teenager in France and Spain all contributing to a more regio-centric European perspective. His academic success took him to Canada, which he enjoyed but he found himself involved in a migrant community that was too German. However, the two years in Canada gave him important insights into the cultural assumptions underpinning North American corporate thinking, and practice. International consulting in Portugal and then Indonesia increased the number of different national environments he was exposed to. He explained that he enjoyed the mental challenges of these diverse environments. A chance stopover in Bali on a trip to Australia to give a paper on ground water modeling at an international conference, brought out a strong affective response to the country, and this initiated the personal decision to return to Indonesia again. Further consulting work in Indonesia and Malaysia reinforced this interest. This growing affective connectedness to Indonesia has since been extended and deepened through local marriage and a child.

It is obvious that Dr Fritz highly values the learning opportunities that the internationalization of his experiences presented. This valuable personal reframing opportunity underpins his strategy to similarly give the Indonesian staff reframing international professional and educational experiences. As someone whose cultural assumptions include individualism, competitiveness, adaptiveness, analytical, being affective and achievement-oriented, with strong sequential and efficiency time management orientation, and motivated by strong inner direction, Dr Fritz's interpretation of his international experiences is that they have been both value adding and meaningful. For Indonesians

with a very different cultural framework the interpretation and successes of international experiences can be very varied.

10. PROFESSIONAL FUNCTIONS

Dr Fritz's career demonstrates a consistent interweaving of professional, technical, educational and management responsibilities and skills. Arguably, according to Schneider and Barsoux (1997) this integrated functional approach is very characteristically German. In his resume Dr Fritz describes his responsibilities: "Responsible for client relations, quality assurance, consulting work, and strategic planning for the combined operations in Indonesia, and for staff development. Responsible for all commercial aspects of the practice." (Dr Fritz, *Resume*, 2000) This list of functions highlights a diverse list of responsibilities but integrated professional, educational and management strategy.

As stated, this characteristically ethnocentric German integrating functions approach has been applied to the overall corporate structure, corporate management and human resource management and professional service product production of the case study office.   Valuing and promoting learning at all levels is another key organizational characteristic. The experiential basis of this integrated learning model is one in which the feedback of information from all levels is important and he values the ongoing incorporation of change into practice.   However, despite the good will, in this pluralist cultural context with diverse and multicultural participants - Indonesians, a German president director, English regional director, American, Australian, New Zealand and British expatriates - misunderstandings are common.

As someone academically trained in science and engineering, his professional mindset would be dominated by the cultural specificity of reductive, atomistic, analytical and objective values. These values all have underlying "master of nature cultural assumptions" (a western rational approach). However, he stated that he finds this work too easy and thus, 'boring' and has increasingly throughout his life been more interested in the complexities and challenges of people issues - teaching, learning and management. His comment about his approach to managing his students at university "delegate and find something and then you get something back, ... and even though they don't have degrees they are basically smart" indicates a fundamental belief in the capacity of human beings wanting to be

developed and extended. As stated previously, he believes everyone has a natural gift and that it just a matter of finding it.

He says that he rejects hierarchical top-down models for managing people:

> [Re the tendency to want to control everything] "Yes, it is a natural way and I would also say it is a stupid way. I think in this case I am more self-educating. You know, I try and continue to try to pick up, let's say, some corrections from others. And then analyze. And certainly, if you are afraid to delegate and you keep things for yourself as it is in the university, you have made your own work, but you don't give it to others. It's a question of insecurity and it is completely unnecessary. And even so the trend is here with everybody, including myself, but if you know it, then you can try to avoid it. So actually, actually, we can observe it in the past. And even today I try to avoid it and be more open than I should, but just to counterbalance the natural tendency."

His rhetoric indicates a significant degree of self-reflection and the cultural assumption of inner directedness. The 'democratic and participatory' values expressed here align with Schneider and Barsoux's (1997) list of characteristic German management approaches: decentralized decision making, narrow span of control, specialist technical competence, discretion limited by expertise, strong role of staff 'experts'. However, this approach makes significant cultural assumptions about the interpretation of this management -style by individuals with very different worldviews.

He ethnocentrically applies a characteristic German approach to learning in the office. He has a 'top management team' made up of the most skilled specialist professional Indonesians leading the various chimney structured professional function teams. A librarian was engaged to systemize the industry and company information-base and thus make this material a resource more readily available for staff. He has also incorporated a range of strategies for managing the professional tasks of the Indonesian staff through the categorization and documentation of specific practices and routines involved in specialist project work in order to develop guidelines, and memos to act as directional frameworks for future projects. Thus, after previous completed projects become critically reviewed, both internally and by clients, they become future guideline references for ongoing work. Ongoing meetings between Dr Fritz and the Indonesian project team leaders attempt to apply throughput quality control strategies. All these strategies are applied with a view to improving 'efficiencies' from which Dr Fritz believes the goals of business success is achieved. These strategies contribute to the characteristic notion of the 'well-oiled' Germanic management machine (Schneider & Barsoux, 1997).

"It is not a question of having success, it is question of, at least in my case, of having small little successes. I cannot say, for example, that I am not that successful in business, I cannot claim that I have success in everything. But I did ok, and actually it goes step by step . . . and as well you learn that most things actually you can handle. . . I think because I had various experience, if there is something new for me and since I succeeded in the past in solving similar problems, it gives me quiet confidence that as well this problem will be solved."

This attitude, with its essentially Germanic cultural roots has mixed successes in a context like Indonesia. It is apparent that greater understanding of the cultural assumptions framing the various interpretations of his Indonesian staff would enable him to incorporate more culturally responsive strategies into his integrated and well-oiled management machine with more productive outcomes.

Summary and discussion

Three distinctive worldviews about the nature of work and corporate life derived from the national backgrounds of key corporate stakeholders have emerged: the particularized Indonesian, the communitarian German and the western individualist American, British and Australian. The diverse cultural assumptions of each of these three worldviews have significant implications for their specific interpretations of language, practice and behavior. In general, the cultural assumptions of the Indonesians can be positioned within the Asian "office as family" collective cultural model, the German office as the "well-oiled machine cultural model", and the Anglo/Nordic grouping of nations which share the office as "village market" cultural model (Schneider & Barsoux 1997, p. 84). This pluralism has significant cross-cultural implications for corporate business performance, and managing professional and communications functions.

The cultural assumptions of the village market model are designed to accommodate low uncertainty avoidance and build low power distance structures within an organization. Thus, corporate management strategies such as: decentralized decision-making; generalist approach to functions; people as free agents; entrepreneurial; flexibility; more deregulation; coordination through informal personal communications; and output control are employed. The cultural assumption in this organizational model is that individuals will have the required inner direction that is achieved through the internalization of universal rules, codes and generalizations; the capacity to act 'objectively' and to critically analyze issues; they will be achievement-oriented; comfortable with affective expression; and short-term oriented in their efficient management of time. This village market cultural model

links to the ethnocentric cultural worldview framing HQs' competitive corporate model and corporate vision. While the various branch office and regional managers are left to design their specific on-the-ground management strategies, the worldwide organizational culture is conceived to be bound together by management strategies and assumptions, such as accounting, communications systems, English (US standard) and product quality guidelines.

This model contrasts with the low power distance and high uncertainty avoidance-oriented cultural values of "the well oiled machine" model. This model places less emphasis on the 'people as free agents' individualist assumptions of the village market model, and instead places more emphasis on the specialist atomistic role of individuals in order to build integrated and team-oriented efficiencies into the organizational system (Schneider & Barsoux 1997). Mixing management and specialist functions is considered to facilitate integration. In both the village model and the well-oiled machine model communications functions are -oriented employing explicit and low-context dependent strategies assumed to be culturally neutral.

Finally, the low uncertainty avoidance and high power distance cultural values of the office as family model, as prescribed in Asian corporations, includes the following organizational characteristics: centralized control, paternalistic leadership, loyalty of membership; generalist orientation; strong social versus task roles; emphasis on personal relationships but disapproval of explicit emotional displays in public; and the achievement of social control through outer direction. To a more particularized Indonesian family model core communitarian values should be added: the collective discussion and decision-making ('musyawarah dan mukafat') processes; mutual assistance and interdependence (gotong royong) between members; and the synchronous concept of rubber time (jam karet). Thus, management and communication functions are implicit and high context dependent, with a very high emphasis on the importance of investing in interpersonal relationship building and strong community responsibilities and networks. In light of the Suharto New Order focus on science education as a key strategy for development, the specialist tertiary science education achievements of individual Indonesians bestow upon them high ascriptive status, which in this high power distance cultural context, makes their hierarchical position unquestionable.

Individuals holding these diverse ethnocentric worldviews conceive of these vastly different corporate strategies as being 'natural' and making logical cultural and therefore, corporate sense. When one ethnocentric group of strategies incorporating specific cultural assumptions is insensitively transferred to a different corporate cultural context, they are variously interpreted as being alien, incomprehensible or accommodated and appropriated through the modifying processes of local sense making. While Dr Fritz has ethnocentrically applied his 'naturalized' well-oiled machine model to the Jakarta office, he has also included locally responsive strategies to incorporate dimensions of the family model into the office, such as the 'bapak' paternalistic and high ascriptive status leadership role held by Pak Sebelas, and the 'mothering' 'ibu' role and high ascriptive status marketing manager role held by Satu. He recognizes the importance of building long-term relationships with appropriate local people and institutions.

Similarly, engaging high numbers of support staff makes cultural sense in both the family model and the well-oiled machined model, as do many of the paternalistic leadership strategies, and outer directional educational project guidelines and support strategies he is developing to promote local professional development. However, the effectiveness of the strategies he employs very much depends on the diverse specificities of the individual Indonesians within the office and the degree to which they have already developed cross-cultural code switching interpretive capacities.

It is apparent that HQ essentially incorporates its ethnocentric universally applied worldview in the cultural assumptions framing its global company strategic design, operational model. It leverages a global identity branding by drawing heavily on the work of the international division of the takeover environmental engineering company in order to build a world-class international corporate reputation. HQ relies heavily on the application of cohesive 'post-Fordist' corporate global branding strategy and vision, and draws on images of the diverse racial and ethnic background of staff in order to present the company image as being global-minded. HQ conceives that global integration is achieved through the ethnocentric application of universal business management functions and communications systems, which are assumed to be culturally neutral and easily transferred to different national contexts.

Summarizing the Jakarta office management worldview

- Cultural ethnicity: Predominantly German (ethnocentric), but with regional European allegiances resulting in a more particularized European Communitarian cultural orientation, and additionally an Indonesian wife and child (polycentric);

- Location: Jakarta, Indonesia (but "at home" in several European locations as well);

- Languages: First language German (strong German accent), English, French, and basic Indonesian (multilingual, polyglot);

- Corporate vision: world class branch office of global company; innovative and profitable professional 'cutting-edge' environmental engineering service company operating ethically and responsively in a local (national) context through developing polycentric international, regional and local human resource capabilities;

- National integrating strategies: Longer term business development time frame, HRM policy to build the local professional specialist and management capabilities, the integration of these two functions; polycentric approach to management culture systems (Western and Indonesian); polycentric national project teams, focus on learning; strong emphasis on global relationship building in both internal and external interactions, use of local sub-contractors sourced from universities with quality reputation; culturally sensitive and polycentric approach to marketing; personal contribution to Indonesian institutional strengthening (e.g. advises government Ministry for the Environment - BAPEDAL)

- Clients: transnational and multinational mining, international infrastructure and financial investment companies;

- Service product orientation: international quality assurance (ISO9001) (), innovative, multidisciplinary environmental engineering, planning and impact assessment; expanding service capabilities to innovative high-tech applications and socio-cultural and economic impact assessment (responsive and holistic approach to impact assessment) (particularized);

- HRM strategies: qualitative approach - long term locally responsive orientation - employ locals where possible, professional development of local staff, development of western management skills in local staff, acknowledgment of value of Indonesian management practices and relationship building with local power-brokers, emphasis on project teams led

by both expatriates and Indonesians; encourage knowledge and information sharing; action feedback oriented basis for project to project learning; support for high degree studies (international and local), the release of Indonesian staff for the provision of international work experience, and a more network oriented approach to international staff and sub-contractors;

- Orientation to HQ: supportive of HQ profitability demands and applies management strategies, but defensive of particularized local political economic and cultural specificities and conditions; and

- Goal setting: to successfully survive and grow in difficult economic and political circumstances; to maintain and expand the companies professional service capabilities and corporate reputation, to build local staff capabilities and loyalties, minimize corporate and human resource risk, and promote on going personal, employee and corporate learning.

This list makes it apparent that, while Dr Fritz's worldview is essentially ethnocentrically German, he has broader polycentric understanding of the synergistic gains to be made through incorporating local and globally responsive strategies. Many of his management strategies are ethnocentrically transferred from the cultural orientations of his national origins. The successes of the Jakarta office are highly dependent upon Dr Fritz's leadership. However, his strong emphasis on experiential 'hands on' learning, technology transfer and integrated management responsibilities, and the specific strategies he has set in place to build a corporate action style development model are aimed at transferring knowledge to the Indonesian staff. His successes with the Indonesian members of staff depend on the particular worldviews of individuals, the functional roles they are given and the ways that specificities in their cultural assumptions concur with, or at least enable them to variously make some meaningful sense of this. A shared German and Indonesian high uncertainty avoidance cultural value assumption gives some account for his local successes. The office is highly dependent upon both his leadership, the traditional bapak role and more cosmopolitan role leadership of Pak Sebelas, and the technical guidance role of Rob, the American technical director. Without these three and the vital functions and values provided by them, the future of the office and its performance is questionable.

The following table identifies Dr Fritz's knowledge and approaches to skills level considered necessary for expatriates to function in Indonesia.

Table 7.2: Expatriate skills and level assessment of the President Director (Adapted from Lasserre & Schutte, 1995)

DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE IN INODNESIA   **DR FRITZ'S SKILL LEVELS**

High, medium, low continuum	*High, medium low continuum*
Language Skills: Mastery of local language 'social level' (medium importance)	**Low** (basic) level of mastery at social level
Cultural skills: Understanding of and sensitivity to etiquette, social norms, religions, ethnic characteristics. Knowledge and reference to arts and literature (medium importance)	**Medium to high** understanding of, & responsiveness to culture, e.g., prayer room in office, Javanese etiquette - practice of Indonesian team members 'musywarah dan mukafat' in work context, appointment of senior Indonesian Director to act as office 'bapak', developing knowledge of Indonesian art, building significant displays of diverse forms of local art in office in order to communicate a valuing of local culture, providing special food to share to celebrate office successes.
Relationship skills: Ability to build and maintain a network of contacts. Ability to call on 'friends' when needed. Ability to negotiate (high importance)	**Medium** ability to build and maintain a network of diverse expatriate contact - industry & government, good use of relationship with Indonesian Director who has high level relationship ability with government, & industry representatives, friendship network - small but close group of German expatriates, networks through German Embassy, Indonesian wife good networks (father high rank military background)
Political skills: Ability to understand the local political context and subtleties. Ability to get close to leaders and high ranking official (medium importance)	**Low to Medium** local political knowledge - reads English language newspapers daily, business newspapers in Indonesian. Reads wider current affairs publications, office leased from former Indonesian Minister for the Environment, utilize important political role of Indonesian Director, consulting to government (BAPEDAL).
Technical skills: Knowledge and expertise in product technology. Ability to demonstrate logically the characteristics and performances of products and processes (medium importance).	**High level** professional, technical & management knowledge (experience & academic), high concern for technology & knowledge transfer, institutional strengthening (BAPEDAL) & the development of strategies to achieve this.

While Table 7.2 indicates that Dr Fritz has a majority of medium high levels of the required expatiate skills necessary for operating business in Indonesia, it is also apparent that a deeper understanding of the shared and particularized nature of the worldviews of his staff and the wider stakeholders critical to the office's performance would have a greater impact on the kinds of management strategies applied in the office. The various sections of this framework do, however, indicate that while Dr Fritz largely operates on an ethnocentric German basis, as someone who in a intermediary position negotiating between head office's American ethnocentrism and the particularism of Indonesian ethnocentric cultural assumptions, he has consciously tried to set in place both adaptive and locally responsive strategies to address some of the important specific cultural, political and development realities faced when doing business in Jakarta. He also addresses HQ profitability and the delivery of high quality professional service products that value-add to the company's global corporate reputation.

The focus on management highlights the complex ramifications of inter-mixed ethnocentric, polycentric, regio-centric and global cultural assumptions that derive from the three diverse tiers - global, national and local - of corporate life. It is apparent that articulated to these complex and diverse cultural assumptions are associated linguistic and communications patterns and styles - explicit and implicit, context dependent and context independent shared or particularized ways of making sense. The cross-cultural nature of all communications indicates the need to apply effective, sensitive and responsive management strategies. As the previous section on the Indonesian staff revealed on a day-to-day basis individuals feel and experience; confusion, frustration, lack of confidence, performance related pressure and stress, alienation, inability to argue or say what they are thinking, a fear of asking for help, low self esteem, high self esteem from high status international opportunities, the satisfaction of building of new skills, fear of management, admiration for management, excitement and motivation or fear and trepidation for learning new skills, poor interpersonal communications between expatriates and Indonesian team members, off-shore based expatriates behaving with a sense of superiority, ignoring them, sub-standard professional skills and sub-standard writing skills, etc.

Chapter 8: Mapping the impact of stakeholder diversity on an
international client-based project

Introduction

This section describes and analyses the circumstances surrounding the experiences of the team members working on a specific project for the company. The intention is to present an example that illustrates the ramifications of diverse cultural and communications perspectives in the practices of not only project team members, but also the wider project stakeholders. There are significant business performance implications. This project was chosen because it commenced during the second field trip to Jakarta and included significant global, national and local stakeholder diversity. It was apparent that this stakeholder diversity and the professional tasks set for the project team encapsulate many of the political, economic, cultural and ethical concerns associated with the impact of globalization and the challenges of promoting economic development in developing nations such as Indonesia. The story of the project reveals just how complex communications and cross-cultural issues frame the professional and business challenges set for all involved, and how these are linked to the various responses to these challenges.

This specific project for an international client includes an ethical, locally responsive and responsible framework. Tasks involve not only environmental impact assessment of a proposed development but also a socio-economic and cultural impact assessment of the impact on local indigenous peoples. From the first briefing on the nature of this project, the complex stakeholders involved, and the specific client environmental and socio-economic and cultural assessment requirements, it was apparent that this project would present an opportunity to demonstrate the importance and value of both mapping and reconciling stakeholder diversity in order to address client and business performance needs. Therefore, observing the progress of the project team and stakeholder responses would be invaluable.

It must be pointed out that essentially, this project was a significant learning experience for all stakeholders involved. The lessons learnt indicate the pivotal role of cross-cultural communications in addressing diverse stakeholder needs. Intermediary communications functions between

stakeholders and individuals were critically affected by both the cultural and the linguistic diversity of the stakeholders. It is important to emphasise that in presenting this example the purpose is not to judge the performance of the company, individual team members and the stakeholders. Moreover, this section is unable to tell the whole professional story. Rather, the story reveals the ongoing ways in which the cultural diversity contributed to diverse and often conflicting expectations and approaches, and shows how this impacted on the everyday work experiences of those involved. This story indicates the real world-based day-to-day work place professional and business difficulties faced by the multidisciplinary and multinational project team.

The aim is to demonstrate the need for greater recognition by multinational corporations of the impact of culture, language and communications on business performance and hence, the value-adding potential for companies in recruiting and investing in the development of professional and management staff with sophisticated cross-cultural communications competencies (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, 2000; Adler 1997; Hampen-Turner & Trompenaars 2000). Arguably, these issues are not only pivotal to human resource and performance concerns, business and profitability concerns, but are also critical concerns for building a more ethical and sustainable framework for globalization (Elkington 1997, 2001).

The story shows how concerns for developing a more locally responsible and ethical framework for more holistic professional assessment of the impact of development links to important understandings of the business role of corporate reputation. For the company project team, operating under the prevailing cultural business and fiscal constraints of competitive market shareholder values, there was a high price to pay for both team members and management in being involved in this intensive cross-cultural learning-based work. The project stakeholders include representatives of the international finance and industry sectors, national industry and government sectors, regional and local government, NGOs and local communities, including indigenous peoples communities. Hence, a complex diversity of stakeholders' significant cross-cultural and multilingual communications issues arose for the project team to manage. The story of the project synchronically unfolds from multiple participant points of view.

The methods of participant observation, along with data derived from ongoing-recorded dialogue with key informants on the project team, provided the descriptive material. Written material included: minutes of meetings, progress reports, and participant observation notes. The material and multidimensionality of the story presents qualitative "thick description" (Spradley 1978) of the issues involved. This story reveals the complex political, cultural and ethical dimensions of professional and science-based report writing (Fairclough 1995; Bagelia-Chiappini & Nickerson 1999) in this multinational organizational context. During the second field trip I observed the early scoping meetings of the project team members. I also observed the drama of organizing field trips for team members to a region with high political instability. I was privileged to observe in the first introductory and role clarification meeting between the management and project team members, and the Indonesian development proponent company project team. Several members of the project team agreed to inform me through further face-to-face discussion in Australia, and email correspondence. This ongoing support incorporates the points of view of a range of the key informant project team members. Several expatriates and one Indonesian agreed to be key informants.

In the end the Indonesian informant communicated little about the project. The cultural reasons for this will become apparent. However, the material that she did give me was very valuable. All stakeholder names and participant names have been changed to protect personal, project and corporate confidentialities. Figure 8.1 indicates the key participant's functions.

Enviromental impact assessement project team

- **Dr Fritz**   **Project director**
- **Philip**   **Team leaderSIA/Planning**
- **Verity**   **Contract editor/SIA coordinator**
- **Tom**   **Team leader EIA**
- **Dr allen**   **Contract anthropologist**
- **Pak Sebelar**   **Indonesian team leader**
- **Ibu Duabelas**   **Technical maanger**
- **Tiga**   **Project scientist SIA**
- **Delapan**   **Project scientist EIA**
- **Empatbelas**   **Projexct scientist EIA**

Figure 8.1: The case study environmental and socio impact assessment

(EIA/SIA) project team.

The project: Environmental impact assessment and socio-economic and cultural impact assessment for a global finance sector client

The management of the Jakarta office was pleased to have won the project. The client, Global Finance (GF), was a prestigious international finance company with HQ in America. Two other international Japanese investment companies were also involved in funding the project. With an already leveraged corporate reputation for the provision of international quality standards of environmental impact assessment (EIA) and associated geo-technical and planning service provision, the specific socio-economic and cultural impact assessment component of this project gave the company the opportunity to expand and promote its portfolio of professional services. The Jakarta office had done previous socio-economic and cultural company work, but principally as a supplementary part of the EIA process, and environmental audit projects. In light of the post-Suharto

reformist government pledge to promote regional decentralization, along with the growing vocality of NGOs (local and international) and, since the economic crisis of 1997, the growth critical concern in the public sphere for the local impact of globalization, the framing to this project indicated the emergence of corporate recognition of the need for a multifaceted approach in assessing the impacts of development projects.

The project involves the development of a new mine and processing project to be located on the Indonesian island of Kalimantan. Global Finance (GF) was to provide a proportion of the developmental finance. GF contracted the company to review an already existing Indonesian government environmental impact assessment (EIA) approval and undertake selective additional tasks as identified through the review process. The mine project would have significant impact on local communities. The socio-economic impact assessment (SIA) aspect of the contract involved the assessment the impact of the mine and associated infrastructure on the local region and community. The report produced was to make recommendations for best managing and monitoring identified impacts in locally responsive and culturally appropriate ways. A Japanese multinational, a multi-industry and investment sector company (JIC) was also providing capital, alongside a large specialist Japanese multinational mining company (JMC) that was acting as a third but 'silent partner'. As JMC was a silent partner their perspective is not further included in the story. The only reference to them during the course of the research was made with regard to some technical data analysis they had carried out for the mine proponent.

The Indonesian government's Department for Mines and Energy has an affiliated business corporation (to be called PT. Indo) involved in diverse mining projects in regional Indonesia. This PT company was amongst eight other government industry companies nominated to be privatized by the reform processes of the Wahid government (*The Jakarta Post* 2000). President Megawati's 'technocrat' cabinet has confirmed support for this economic reform (Shar, 2001). As the proponent developer, PT Indo would be undertaking the mine development and providing the necessary technical and management human resource. PT Indo had already gained approval for the mine development proposal EIA, or AMDAL in Indonesia, from the Indonesian Government Environmental Protection Agency (BAPEDAL). Indonesian consultants for PT Indo had carried out this AMDAL. The report

was presented in Indonesian.

However, in underwriting funding for the project, GF required this AMDAL to be reviewed by the project team to establish whether international environmental assessment standards were met. GF's corporate reputation rests on high international quality standards. Supplementary work was to be carried out by the project team as required by GF. Very limited previous socio-economic impact assessment had been included in the original AMDAL report. It was understood that a strong liaison role between the company project team and the project team of the PT Indo proponent developer company would be fundamental.

Along with their particular professional team functions, the project team had to produce English language documents for evaluation by GF. The reports produced were to act as guidelines to 'direct' the development process of PT Indo. Thus, in order to obtain the necessary financial investment, Pt Indo had to agree to develop and monitor the mine according to GF international environmental and sustainability standards and to act in a locally responsible way towards minimizing the negative socio-economic and cultural impact on the local peoples, as determined by the consultants. Only then would GF development approval be given and funds released for the project to go ahead. It seemed that the two Japanese corporate investors had agreed to these specific GF investment terms. GF is a high status (US-based) international funding agency for projects in developing nations. The two Japanese corporations may have wished to leverage their own corporate reputations by being associated with GF on this project.

It was apparent that the tasks set for the project team to produce project documentation in the form of bi-lingual reports addressing GF's client needs, Indonesian proponent developer needs, and the local Dayak and Melayu community needs, would be professionally challenging. In light of the original company concerns about the problems faced in bi-lingual report it was obvious that there would be considerable difficulties in both managing and participating in this project. Expanding further on the nature of the project and the worldviews of the diverse stakeholder participants gives further explanation as to why this prediction turned out to be the case.

The proposed regional mine and processing site in Kalimantan would result in the relocation of some local indigenous Dayak peoples communities. However, it would also mean increased employment opportunities for local peoples and contribute to the development of the local/regional economy. A negative outcome of the mining process was a toxic waste product that, from GF's perspective, required strict environmental management-based design and monitoring guidelines. Once established, the mine product was to be transported out of the region by means of trucks and barges to a sub-regional coastal harbor city for export. The relocation of roads to serve the mine was an important planning concern. Thus, it was recognized that the proposed development would have considerable local environmental, economic and social impacts.

This project, broadly framed, links directly to the increased social and political pressure by various disparate and aligned international, national and local NGOs who call for greater corporate transparency to be applied to the investment and development strategies of the multinational finance and industry sectors. In response to external political pressure, the current core investment concerns of GF are that the development project be essentially planned, designed and implemented through more transparent, and responsive environmental, sustainable and culturally sensitive strategies. Thus the project involved representatives of the three - global, national and local - societal spheres. In sum, the key stakeholders involved in this development project are:

- Global Financial (GF), (the client);

- The Japanese multinational, multi-industry and investment sector (JIC) company;

- The large specialist Japanese multinational mining company (JMC) (a silent partner);

- PT Indo, an industry sector division of the Indonesian Government Department for Mines and Energy;

- The Indonesian Department of Environmental Protection (BAPEDAL);

- The Case Study Company;

- The Kalimantan regional government instrumentalities and NGOs; and

- Local Dayak and Melayu communities.

Figure 8.2 following indicates the project stakeholders and their inter-relationships. Each of these societal socio-cultural political spheres has very diverse cultural expectations and business interests in
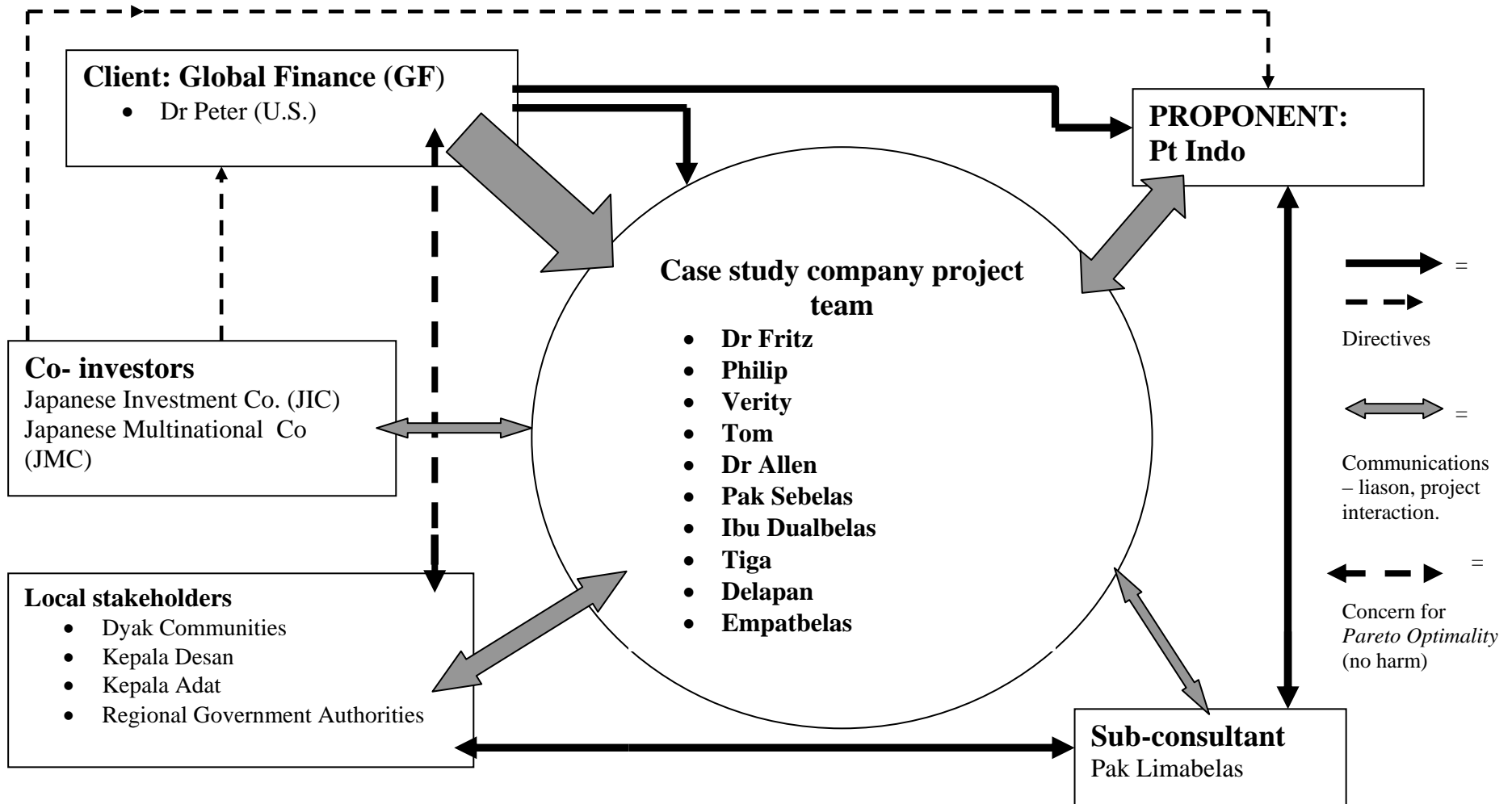
Figure 8.2: The project – participant and stakeholder relationships

this particular development proposal. Analysis of the cultural assumptions of each of the key stakeholder participants, as discussed in light of the multidimensional interpretive framework, will identify these.

Global Finance: The stakeholder client perspective

For the purposes of discussing the cultural assumptions of the stakeholder client (GF), this section examines the cultural assumptions of The World Bank Group (WBG). The WBG is the most highly profiled global financial institution. Recently, it has become an important global institutional symbol for the impassioned and critical attention of disparate groups concerned with the perceived negative and inequitable consequences of globalization and the competitive world market economy. Thus, the role, strategies and practices of The WBG have come under increasing public scrutiny and the subject of public debate. The following discussion engages with some of the changing cultural assumptions that frame the evolving investment strategies of The WBG.

In its mission statement, The International Finance Corporation (IFC), a member of The WBG, states that:

> Its particular focus is to promote economic development by encouraging the growth of productive enterprise and efficient capital markets in its member countries. IFC participates in an investment only when it can make a special contribution that complements the role of the market operators. It also plays a catalytic role, stimulating and mobilizing private investment in the developing world by demonstrating that investments there can be profitable (IFC 2001. p. 1).

This emphasises a role beyond traditional core bank investment values. It focuses on its catalytic role of promoting both economic growth and profitability in developing nations. Expressing a cultural belief in the deterministic 'trickle-down' benefits of economic capitalist market values, the IFC also incorporates an ethical dimension "to promote private sector investment in developing countries, which will reduce poverty and improve people's lives" (ibid) to its implementary investment strategy.

However, the narrowly framed economic deterministic approach to identify the benefits of development has come under increasing public scrutiny and this investment approach is increasingly understood to fall short of achieving The WBG goals. In response to criticism The WBG, explains its

changing strategic role and overarching vision over the last ten years:

> [T]he Bank has multiplied and diversified its initiatives, partnerships, projects and funding sources in an effort to better help client country, partners meet the objectives under global conventions... [T]here has been a growing realization within the Bank that global environmental concerns, such as long term climate change or loss of diversity, should not be seen as separate from mainstream Bank's assistance for sustainable development and poverty reduction. Rather, the global environment needs to be addressed as an extension of the local, national and regional environment gradient that underpins sustainable development (World Bank - *Environmental Strategy Consultation* 2000, p. 1).

Thus, over the last decade the investment and development strategies of The WBG have shifted from simply being a financial implementing agency to one which emphasises the importance of sustainable environmental management issues in order to leverage its international corporate reputation as being both highly environmentally and economically responsible.

The current WBG investment strategy includes the following four main challenges nominated to address integrating global environmental concerns associated with its mainstream development assistance work:

- First, we need to work more effectively with client country institutions to build local capacity to address global dimensions of national sustainable development;
- Second, we need, in the context of the Environment Strategy, to explore options for strengthening our technical capacity to recognize how sectoral reform and investments can help capture global environmental benefits, what the options are for securing additional global benefits with confessional funding from the global financial mechanisms, and how global environmental degradation affects the economies of client countries;
- Third, we need to use funds from global financing mechanisms more strategically to better blend with and catalyze WBG and other donor funding; and
- Finally, we need to consider how best to assist our clients to participate in and profit from trade in environmental goods and services, both global and local or regional trade that has global benefits (ibid, pp. 1-2).

This list of challenges represents a significant cultural shift from a simple economic implementary investment strategy. What new values are added to its corporate challenges?

While maintaining an essential investment-banking goal to pursue profitability, the value of strategic responsiveness to local, national and global sector needs is recognized to be critical to building environmental sustainability factors into the international development process. Within this more

responsive rhetoric there is recognition of the need to find ways to integrate global, national and local approaches to development and sustainability. Arguably this involves increased recognition of the importance of quality interactions and relationships. The first statement recognizes the critical role of building local capacity to achieve wider 'global'-oriented notions of national sustainable development. This strategy indicates the need for building local human resources and institutional strengthening. This presents a more socially responsible cultural approach to the developing communities where investment and development is to occur.

In response to the multidimensional nature of the first challenge, the second challenge focuses on learning and the need to develop their technical expertise. This recognizes the value in bringing multidisciplinary approaches to determine the complex ways in which institutional reform can be linked to increased investment opportunities and global environmental benefits. Global environmental benefits refer to the kinds of concerns that affect us all; for example air and water quality, global warming, climate change, etc. In responding to this value-adding challenge, the WBG sees itself in a powerful institutional position to leverage these environmental sustainability concerns through applying technical sustainability mechanisms and institutional strengthening criteria to development proposals as conditions for gaining investment funding.

This more holistic and multidisciplinary approach goes far beyond the human resources requirements for traditional international investment agencies. These challenges and responses indicate a shift away from 'specific' (atomistic and reductive) values towards recognition of the value of 'diffusion' (holistic, elaborative, and relational) cultural values. Further demonstrating this evolving cultural shift the third challenge emphasizes the synergistic value-adding potential to be achieved through strategically integrating global financing mechanisms. Again the emphasis is on the value of inter-relationships, and the value in strengthening corporate alliances.

These challenges relate directly to the kind of investment conditions set by GF in order for funds to be made available for the proposed mining project. Underlying these funding conditions is recognition that other elaborate, and particularized cultural, institutional and societal factors affect profitability, and the 'trickle down' economic and sustainable benefits of development investment funding in

developing nations. Implicit in this recognition is awareness that reductively framed development projects result in unsustainable global, national and local societal and environmental costs. The final WBG challenge returns to a core traditional banking goal - profitability. However, this profitability is framed on the synergistic cultural logic of 'win- win'. The WBG believes that encouraging this new particularized and locally responsive 'global' strategic approach will improve the economic and environmental performance of global, national and local institutions and communities.

Examining promotional material produced by The WBG gives a sense that this powerful global investment organization is undergoing a radical value shift in the cultural logic framing its development strategies, and that some of the strategies proposed leverage its political role. For example, the following rhetoric taken from the 'Executive Summary' of the *Environmental Corporate Strategy* states that. :

> The new strategy will recognize an evolution in thinking about the dimensions of poverty; the Comprehensive Development Framework's emphasis on a holistic approach, ownership, partnerships, and results on the ground; and the need for a fresh look at the Bank's policies on environmental safeguards, guidelines, regional environmental strategies, environmental sector work and specific sector strategies (World Bank Group 2001, p. 3).

Implicit in this new direction is a particularist value to emphasize the value the holism, the importance of building communitarian relationships, strengthening institutions and incorporating 'civil' society social responsibilities. These particularist perspectives are to be incorporated through a mix of standardized development guidelines incorporating locally responsive strategies. The following statement indicates a more discerning shift recognizing the different cultural implications from adopting short-term perspectives to more long-term perspectives.

> [A] key challenge is to identify the synergies and trade-offs that exist among local, national and global environmental issues and between short- and long-term environmental issues (ibid)

The rhetoric emphasises the synergistic value-adding potential to be derived from responsiveness to the particularities of local, national and global perspectives and the need for variable time frames. In order to recognize potential synergies and trade-offs, the goal of stakeholder learning is fundamental. This emphasis on synergy recognizes that an open approach to stakeholder learning has potential to add value to development projects. Implicit in the reference to the multidimensionality of time is recognition that by making the distinction between short- and long-term environmental impacts

different costs and benefits arises. But what strategies does the WBG envisage will enable the implementation of these paradoxical and particularist investment challenges?

The WBG 'Executive Summary' nominates eight principles to guide the implementation of the *Environmental Corporate Strategy*:

> (i) listen to and work with the people and their representatives in client countries; (ii) focus on environmental interventions benefiting the poor; (iii) identify and work towards measurable outcomes; (iv) take a cross-sectoral and long-term perspective on development; (v) facilitate regional and global policy dialogue; (vi) harness the role of markets and the private sector to promote sustainable environmental management and investment; (vii) promote cost-effective solutions to environmental problems; and (viii) be selective and work with partners for better results (ibid, p. 6).

This list of implementary principles reflects a shift towards adopting qualitative and communitarian cultural values over the quantitative approach to a one-off project with the reductive goal of investment profit. This list of principles indicates a significant cultural shift towards a qualitative understanding of the value of relationships: listen, focus, identify and work towards, facilitate dialogue, harness, promote and be selective. Further demonstrating the incorporation of communitarian and qualitative socio-cultural values, those charged with the professional role of ensuring that environmental considerations are integrated into the full-range of development activities carried out by the WBG are called "The Environmental Family". This communitarian rhetoric is a radical shift from the conventional objective scientific rhetoric of reductive and analytical cultural values. The key development and assessment roles of the "Family" include; "(i) analytical and policy support; (ii) operational support; and (iii) capacity building, knowledge transfer, and partnerships" (ibid, p. 6). This list attempts to set a universal regulatory framework for codes of practice.

This shifting and interwoven and particularist culture, as espoused by The WBG, relates directly to GF's conceptualization of its stakeholder perspective on this development project. The above material sourced from The WBG (2001) web site was not necessarily available to the project team when they commenced the project. This emergent and changing nature of policy and strategy emphasises the fundamental learning strategy that guides this evolving and more responsive global institutional direction.

A range of consultancy guidelines is widely available on the net or through a public information-clearing house in Washington, whose goal is to promote transparency. The specific industry sector guidelines relevant to this particular project include the following technical topics:

- Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA);

- Environmental Management Strategy (EMS)

- Resettlement Action Plan (RAP)

- Effective Public Consultation and Disclosure Plan (PCDP);

- Community and Indigenous Peoples Development Plan (CIPDP), and a

- Community Development Resource Guide for Companies.

This list indicates the more holistic environmental, social, political, and ethical conceptual dimensions on which to frame new development guidelines. These guidelines represent a strategy to develop 'universal' standards by which to assess the particularist specificities of a development project.

The new strategic global implementary guideline standards contribute to a global development criteria framework to fill the current global governance and regulatory void. The emergence of holistic international quality standards assessment criteria and guidelines by the international investment and development sector aligns with responses to a recent survey of sustainability practitioners. When questioned as to which institutional sector they looked to for both leadership and sustainability management frameworks for improving practice, the results clearly showed that they considered business should take that role, rather than NGOs and governments (Elkington 2001).

These guidelines identify methodological and data gathering standards as well as standardized generic reporting frameworks. Their purpose is also an educational technology transfer agenda. Their role is to provide a universal framework for professional service consultants, for the various categories of data gathering, and methods standards along with guidelines for generic report writing presentation. This universal role suggests that the global investment sector considers them to be applicable on a worldwide basis, and therefore, universally interpreted. Thus, these guidelines are framed on 'culture-free' assumptions and the notions that professional concepts and practices are easily transferred between contexts. Making a similar culture-free assumption for the role of English these guidelines are presented in English with the further assumption that reports produced by consultants will also be

prepared and presented in English for assessment by their staff. On the WBG web site, only very introductory information is presented in any language other than English. Three European and two Asian languages (Chinese and Japanese) are offered.

For international finance organizations, such as GF, the ideological challenge is to transfer their ambitious, more ethically responsible and more locally responsive mission statement values and principles into the practices of the relevant and diverse global, national and local development project stakeholders involved in developing nations. In reality, the cultural logic of these guidelines may or may not make common sense to diverse stakeholders. Particularist perspectives will almost certainly frame diverse interpretations. As a consequence of their first world production by a powerful global organization, whose head-office is based in the USA, the interpretation of the role of these guidelines will be imbued with alien political meanings as well as ethnocentric cultural meanings. This complex reality places consultants in a delicate intermediary position facing not only significant professional challenges but also having to negotiate and reconcile the various stakeholder perspectives through their research, consulting and reporting documents. Thus, it was apparent that whether they were aware of it or not, the effectiveness of this specific project team was just as dependent on their cross-cultural communications skills as their specialist professional skills.

The other international stakeholders: The Japanese company (JIC)

Emphasizing a strong cultural belief in communitarianism, the Japanese international company (JIC) states on its web site (2001) that, its creed is "fairness, innovation and harmony". Its corporate doctrine, as presented in English, is to "make [JIC] a more value-creating company so it can contribute more meaningfully to the worldwide economy as a globally networked company". With the underlying development principle being "to strive to enrich the society within which it operates" the company web site further lists its six basic principles of business:

1. Conduct fair and open business activities

2. Develop a globally connected company

3. Create new value through business vision

4. Respect and encourage individuality and originality

5. Promote good corporate governance

6. Safeguard ecological and cultural diversity

Here too the emphasis is on the qualitative nature of relationships. Each of these basic principles includes further point forms of explanation. Two further sub-points explain the sixth point, which relates directly to the sustainability concerns of both GF and the case study company:

- Recognize our responsibility as a good corporate citizen in world society and engage in activities that are beneficial to the society; and

- Recognize our responsibility as a global enterprise in our preservation of our earth and its resources for future generations.

The company claims to hold a fundamental principled belief in the environmental and social responsibilities that go hand in hand within business interests. The company displays the corporate code of conduct offered as a strategic framework for guiding the work practices of directors and employees to achieve the corporate goals "with the promise of maintaining the highest ethical standards".

Six pages of densely presented material proudly outline the company history tracing its establishment back to a small trading business set up by the founding family in 1858. The evolving story of the company is contextualized within wider national and world political events that had a dramatic impact on the company. This valorized historical narrative emphasises the high value that the company places on a familial-based corporate history, the length of that history, and a tenacious capacity to survive short-term crisis by an adaptive long-term strategic approach. This historical cultural emphasis contrasts sharply with the often short-term western capitalist economic corporate drama with companies being launched, having meteoric successes, and just as suddenly disappearing through merger, takeover, or bankruptsy. The web site notes that JICA had 646 consolidated subsidiaries and affiliates worldwide and the number of employees was 5,051 (1st April, 2000). The corporate creed, doctrine, guiding principles and code of conduct are presented to promote the company as being a locally responsive and ethical global corporate citizen. The company website can be viewed in either English or Japanese. This promotional material provides a basis to analyze how this contrasts to practice.

Little reference was made to the role played by the 'silent partner' Japanese Multinational Company

(JMC) investor. This investor is involved in other examples of this proposed mine development in different nations. Some reference was given the technical assistance given by JMC to the Pt Indo and company project team in analyzing waste material samples. Comment was also made that this company had extensive and diverse mining project experience.

Scoping the project: The first meeting of the project team (7/6/00): Developing a strategy to meet GF's client needs.

The first day of my second field trip presented the first scoping meeting of the project team. The team included both expatriates and Indonesian staff members. The President Director of the Jakarta office (Dr. Fritz) explained that there was an existing approved AMDAL (EIA) that had been previously prepared by an Indonesian consultancy and a 'rough' English translation of this was available. He placed a strong emphasis on the fact that the client had significant concerns for the lack of social and cultural consultation undertaken in the original Indonesian AMDAL. Therefore, the final document produced for the client should be particularly strong in this area, as it would be closely scrutinized by GF before funding approval given to the developer.

After scoping the project, Dr. Fritz introduced the members of the project team and outlined their various professional functions. The Indonesian team members included:

- Tiga, an environmental management consultant and administrative manager, was to undertake the fieldwork to gather the local socio-economic data;

- Delapan, an environmental engineer to work on the AMDAL Review;

- Empatbelas, a recently recruited young environmental engineer, to also work on the AMDAL Review; and

- Pak Sebelas, the office 'Bapak' and Director, who would act as an adviser to both the environmental and socio-economic/cultural sides "because he knows the EIA system [in Indonesia] better than anyone else" (Dr. Fritz); and

- Pak Limabelas, an economics academic from the university located at the regional city in Kalimantan.

Delapan was not present, but currently attending an ADB environmental conference in Singapore. The expatriate team members were:

- Philip, an English/Australian senior environmental planning consultant, who was in the office on a short term fly-in-fly out basis, and was to be the project coordinator of the socio-economic/cultural side;

- Tom, an Australian senior international consultant at director level, also based overseas, would be involved with the environmental review;

- Verity, a young Australian who had been recruited locally for an editorial and coordinating function of the socio-economic team in this project, because of her environmental planning background and limited but useful Bahasa Indonesia language skills. She was to keep Philip informed on project progress through email etc;

- Rob, an American and the office technical director; and

- Dr Allen, an Australian sub-consultant anthropologist/linguist, working for the first time with the company.

This was the first time the team members met Dr Allen. As a relevant aside, Dr Fritz and Rob and Dr Allen are all expatriates living in Indonesia, who have married Indonesians.

Dr. Fritz emphasized the importance of using GF documents as guidelines. He added that a GF document that commented on the weaknesses of previous projects was particularly useful in determining how to best meet client needs. He emphasized the importance of the team developing strong field research documents "because there is none available from the previous AMDAL". Casting further deprecating comments on the professional worth of the existing AMDAL he commented that "many of the maps in the AMDAL just don't make sense and are unreadable" and that essentially it was of an "unacceptable standard".

The discussion then shifted to fieldwork issues. Concerns were expressed for the impact of a team of expatriates going into sub-regional Kalimantan. Jokes were made about the challenge of cultural sensitivities, more specifically with references to German lack of sensitivity [Dr Fritz being a German national]. The sub-consultant role of Pak Limabelas was discussed. Dr Fritz indicated it was important to have a local (regional) academic on the team. Dr Allen outlined his approach to his anthropological fieldwork task. He emphasized that he took a strong advocacy role for the local Dayak peoples and then adamantly expressed animosity for local political figures and representative

of NGOs, etc., whom he described as being "on some kind of power kick and on some gravy train and money grab". Dr Allen added that he "categorically refused to work with them". His comments were directed to the sub-consultant role of Pak Limabelas, who was not present. Academic sub-consultants play an active professional role in this type of work in Indonesia. Previously, Dr Fritz discussed the problems experienced when working with sub-consultant Indonesian academics. The standard of work produced varied greatly, according to Dr Fritz and Pak Sebelas. In his interview Pak Sebelas stated that the quality of work produced by those universities with a good reputation, such as Institute Technologi Bandung (ITB) "was ok".

Despite his private discussion of these matters, Dr Fritz was obviously uneasy at Dr Allen's explicit outspokenness. In an attempt to counter this highly individualistic and affective display, Dr Fritz redirected the subject to focus on the importance of a collective and locally responsive approach. He emphasized the importance of addressing local protocols, formalities and social hierarchies when in the field. He added that it was important to give locals warnings that a team of 'bules' [expatriates] and specialist consultants would be coming into the area. This only stimulated Dr Allen to emotionally explain his fieldwork strategies. In particular, he would only work on his own so as to demonstrate his 'neutrality' to the Dayak chiefs. "Gaining their trust is my greatest concern", he said emphatically. A very individualistic functional approach to the project team membership was becoming apparent.

Turning the topic away from Dr Allen, Dr. Fritz explained that in the original AMDAL some survey work was done on "local feelings" about the mine and the immigration. He suggested they find out who did the work and who was surveyed. To this Dr Allen interrupted: 'I do not trust any work done by Indonesians unless they had been there themselves". "Indonesians will write what they are wanted to write", he added and "therefore, their data and findings lack professional credibility. Often, they are not even qualified to do the work". Expatriates working in Indonesia often made these ethnocentric comments, but usually to a very limited expatriate audience. In a room with mixed Indonesians and expatriates present this affective display and its explicit and locally offensive content seemed especially insensitive for an anthropologist.

Dr Allen then outlined his fieldwork methodology. Firstly, he would go to the South East Asian Institute in Singapore to undertake a substantive literature review "so he knows a lot before he goes into the field". Then, the most important thing was to get the Dayak chiefs' permission to go in the first place. "Got to get down on the ground and have a few beers with them", he added laughing. Those present in the room laughed also, but I sensed an air of uneasiness.

Dr. Fritz noted that the weakness in the original AMDAL document related to inconsistencies. He cited the example of the Dayaks wanting a school. Dr Allen, who was fluent in Indonesian and, therefore had the advantage of already being familiar with the original AMDAl report, interrupted again saying "they were described as a subsistence people with no interest in education". This was:

> "Evidence that they [the Indonesian consultants] hadn't visited the site and spoken to ordinary mums and dads, who want to maintain their Dayak 'adat' [culture] but also have educational opportunities for improving their lot. I have yet to meet a group of people who, given the opportunity, did not want to improve their economic circumstances" (Dr. Allen, 7/6/00).

He said he had serious concerns for "the increasingly understood failure of the conventional cash compensation for the loss of land", adding that "this does not give them a sustainable alternative".

After an open discussion on the issue of compensation and need for the development of alternative and more sustainable approaches, Dr. Fritz redirected dialogue back to the specific team member functions. He explained that Tiga would spend the most time in the field to get familiar, and therefore, she would go tomorrow on an opened-ended visit. Tiga had a reputation with the expatriate staff for being very valuable in the field, for being effective at mediating between them and local peoples and organizing appropriate accommodation, etc. I noted that Tiga had a well-used copy of the *Lonely planet guide to Indonesia* on the table in front of her and open at the pages concerning the relevant local region. I later found out that Rob had given her this. It seemed curious, that Indonesians should use a guidebook produced by expatriates to negotiate their way around local and regional communities.

In order to emphasise the value in obtaining data representing the local points of view, Dr. Fritz suggested that Pak Limabelas, the local sub-consultant, be flown to Jakarta. PT Indo had recommended this local sub-consultant. Tiga was to liaise with the sub-consultant. At this

suggestion, interrupting again, Dr Allen stated categorically that he would not have anything to do with local experts. I wondered at the reactions of the Indonesian staff members present to the strong ideological rhetorical perspectives of this Australian anthropologist. So far the three Indonesians present were entirely silent during the meeting. Dr. Fritz again attempted to take control and drew the dialogue back to the formal subject of the meeting - focusing on specific team member functions, time lines, and reporting procedures. Again, he emphasized the importance of in-depth fieldwork methodologies, notes and records of data gathered. As this project represented value adding to the office's portfolio of services, in line with his ongoing staff mentoring and training strategies, he explained that these documents could operate as guidelines for staff for future company projects. Everyone nodded in agreement. Then, both he, Pak Sebelas and Empatbelas left the room. Only those involved with the socio-economic and cultural survey remained.

Tiga was the only Indonesian left in the room with four expatriates. Throughout the meeting her body language indicated that she was uncomfortable. I noted Duabelas displayed similar behavior during interviews. Both gradually slide down the chair until only their heads were above the table. This movement suggested she was unhappy with and/or uncomfortable about the proceedings. The meeting was conducted in English.

The meeting with this smaller group, led by Philip, continued with Dr Allen further outlining his fieldwork approach. In a more relaxed and conversational tone he expressed opinions about the inappropriateness of Javanese for doing fieldwork. He said that "I have found the Javanese to be racist and their formal and hierarchical manners were an embarrassment in the field". Not knowing Tiga's ethnic background, he made no concession to her presence. He explained: "I really like Dayaks because they are honest and straightforward". He added that many Dayaks have adopted Islam and so are no longer Dayaks, but Melayu. "Many Buggis claim to be Dayaks when they smell an opportunity". He said that he previously had used his local ethnic group linguistic skills to 'trap' them into revealing their true ethnicity. If he suspects that groups of people are adopting a Dayak identity he will greet them in a friendly Buggis way and "they fall for it every time chatting away back in Buggis," he said laughing. He added many claim attachment to the land and history in order to get compensation. His comments were based on previous anthropological fieldwork involving Dayak

peoples in a different region of Kalimantan. He emotively stated that his whole motivation was "to go in battling for the Dayaks", and added: "If the Dayaks get f#!*'d, my reputation is on the line", and "I don't want to put in the hard yard for the Dayaks to get ripped off by local Indos, national Indos or GF".

This highly affective human rights advocacy display indicated a unilateral professional stakeholder assessment role. His primary intention was to be a strong advocate for the local indigenous Dayak peoples. However, the rest of the team had to face the multilateral challenge of incorporating a more holistic approach to address all stakeholder relationships and perspectives. It was apparent that this anthropologist's highly affective and individualist professional approach would have consequences for team. Dr Allen used ethnocentric rhetoric laced with Australian football game-play metaphors and references, and repeatedly made reference to the importance of getting down and having a beer with the locals. This ethnocentrism made no concession to the Moslems in the room. During the meeting he failed to catch people's names and so called everyone "mate". Discussing this with key expatriate informants afterwards, they all indicated that they were shocked by his stereotypical ethnocentric Australian behavior. Both Philip and Verity commented that they thought it was unusually inappropriate and insensitive for an anthropologist. However, there was consensus that his written professional work was very good and this suggested he would effectively complete his specific tasks. Dr Allen's strong advocacy role for the indigenous peoples links to a historical interest by the field of anthropology in recording the 'exotic' languages, cultural practice and worldview of indigenous away from heated confrontational and ideological concerns to peoples.

In contrast to the rhetorical style of Dr Allen, Philip spoke softly, managing to redirect the dialogue the more pragmatic issues of project management and team member responsibilities. He used the white board to build a schematic framework listing the various professional functions and research tasks for the team. He later explained that this strategy was useful to clarify with the Indonesian staff the tasks they were expected to perform and who they should liaise with. He tried to encourage Dr Allen to work with Tiga but there was no response to this.

He listed the type of data that Dr. Allen would be seeking with contributions from Tiga. The list

included the following headings under an overall title 'adat': history, migration patterns, origins background, religion, basic demography, culture, adat/law including marriage, inheritance, protocols, mores ('beradat') etc., social structure - original and imposed, and material life. Then, in an attempt to draw Tiga more actively into the dialogue, Philip asked her to come to the white board to explain what she would be doing. She tentatively got up and said she would build a relationship with the local expert in order to gather the necessary socio-economic data. Philip, with contributions from Verity, put forward an extended socio-economic list of the information Tiga would seek. Under this were two sub-headings - demographics and livelihood. Beneath 'livelihood' was the following list of words: income, cost of living, agricultural methods, diet, accommodation/shelter, cash crops, hunting, entertainment, education, medical /health, law and order/crime, and regional government policy. The meanings and methodologies for obtaining data on these were not discussed. Much later, I suggested to Philip that perhaps he had taken for granted Tiga's understanding of how to obtain specific data, as well as the local sub-consultant's professional interpretation of gathering socio-economic data. Tiga has a soil science qualification and had undertaken environmental management work with the company since 1996. In light of Dr Allen's earlier deprecating comments, Tiga must have felt very offended, uncomfortable and unsure of her value and role on this team.

As stated, the expatriates found Tiga a valuable companion for organizing local accommodation, making contact with appropriate people in the field and then, intermediating in Indonesian between them and local peoples during field trips. "She always seems to know who you have to see and why", explained Philip. "She gets on well with all the expats". He had undertaken fieldwork with her at Komodo Island, Flores. I spoke to Tiga about the Komodo job and how Philip had said that she was very "adventurous" and "a real asset in the field". She said that her attitude to diving and other aspects of fieldwork was related to her background on Sumba. "It is just natural for I did all these things since I was just a little girl". She explained that in one year she had traveled some 45,000 kilometers by plane doing fieldwork and that there were not many parts of Indonesian that she had not yet been to. "This is why I don't have a boyfriend", she added, "because I am always being sent off to do field work".

"Tiga saved my arse in 1998", explained Philip. "When we returned to Jakarta from Komodo and

arrived at the airport there was widespread rioting across the city". The Interfet troops had gone into East Timor just one week before. Philip was in Indonesia on an Australian passport.

> "When we left the airport and I headed off to get a taxi to get back to the office and she stopped me."

> "Not these ones", she said. "Follow me".

> "And we walked away from the international airport to where she found a taxi. We then wove out way through the streets of Jakarta avoiding places where there was rioting, the military and civil unrest to finally get back to the office. I could not have managed this on my own".

Thus, Philip explained later that in light of Dr Allen's insensitive approach, he wanted to make her feel valued.

During the ongoing discussion between Philip, Verity and Allen, all agreed that the work should serve professional issues of knowledge building. Philip noted that there were large numbers of relevant documents accumulating to be read by all team members. Aside from the original AMDAL report these were English language documents. Philip stated that reading this material, especially the GF reports, would help them to develop the appropriate methodological and reporting guidelines to respond to the client's needs. Philip also encouraged Verity and Tiga to look to previous work to address the professional framework issues and standards, as well as the generic guidelines for presenting documents based on past work and special critiques of past work. All expressed strong agreement on the importance of sharing information and a collaborative team approach.

In support of this Dr Allen offered Philip a confidential report that he had previously prepared on Dayak peoples. He disliked the way academic disciplines talked amongst themselves rather than encourage interdisciplinary and knowledge sharing. However, he commented that in reality his former client owned the work, so confidentiality was critical. Philip agreed, but also emphasized the value of sharing information between the socio-cultural impact team. Dr Allen stated that: "this is the only way to improve practice and move the guidelines forward". Everyone agreed. Philip advised everyone to "keep a personal documents file that will help to build up a generic project guidelines file. However this material doesn't go on any official file". This conversation indicates the intermixing of professional development concerns and business concerns and indicates how, competitive market culture business interests can conflict with professional development interests.

The meeting closed. Verity needed greater clarification on the project and her role from Philip. She seemed confused. With only one week in the office, and having been working in Indonesia for only a short-time based in Yogjakarta, it was not surprising. Everyone dispersed to find, copy and read the necessary report material. This first introductory meeting highlighted many dimensions to the professional, cultural and communications complexity facing the project team members. It highlighted the degree of English literacy required to interpret the role of the numerous documents to be read in order to comprehend the nature of the project and the specific client requirements. It gave an indication of the kinds of professional and management challenges to be faced in undertaking diverse stakeholder consultancy work for a client such as GF, in a complex national setting such as Indonesia. It gave insights into the complexity of managing a multinational project team. It was apparent that the ethnicity, personal style and professional functions and cultural worldviews of the team members would have an impact on the functioning of the team. Hence, this meeting confirmed that important professional, cultural and communications performance issues were to be revealed by sharing the experiences of this project team and its stakeholder relationships with a wider readership. The following day there was a meeting between the project team and the team from PT Indo, the national proponent developer.

Establishing a relationship with the national proponent - PT Indo: The first meeting (8/6/00)

There was anticipation in the office before the meeting with PT Indo at their office, a journey of some 45 minutes away. Ten people (including myself) were going and thus, three cars were needed to transport Dr. Fritz, Pak Sebelas, Rob, Philip, Verity, Dr Allen, Duabelas, Enam (to stand in for Delapan who was still in Singapore) and Empatbelas. Tiga did not attend this meeting, as she was already in the field based at a coastal regional city some six hours by car from the proposed mine. Thus, six expatriates and four Indonesians were present. I asked Duabelas what was Dr. Fritz's logic in bringing so many people and she said that he wanted to show PT Indo the company's seriousness in doing the project well. It was also intimidating, I thought.

In accordance with western valorization of minute measurements of time, we arrived exactly on time and were ushered into a large conference room. The team assembled themselves on two sides of the

large square conference table. In accordance with an Indonesian synchronic or 'rubber' approach to time the Indonesian company representatives slowly assembled. When they each entered the room they were obviously surprised by the numbers of people already sitting in the room. There were not enough chairs. Much movement in and out of the room proceeded before chairs were brought in. Finally, there seemed to be as many of them in the room as the project team, and then the hosts proceeded to move about the room shaking hands with each member of the project team. The spatial arrangement with each team occupying two sides of the large table suggested that the meeting was to be a binary battle.

A PT Indo spokesperson apologized that their director was busy with the Director General. He then introduced their team. Dr. Fritz introduced his team. In the introduction the Indonesians added 'Mr' to their names and the expatriates prefixed their names by the Indonesian titles 'Pak' or 'Ibu'. This seemed a kind of reciprocal honoring. Dr Fritz had everyone laughing when he said: "for sure the only name I could remember was Pak Amazon". His comment broke the formalities. Pak Amazon might have been a Batak. Batak often call their child after someone, or some desirable quality. Pak Amazon was a slight man.

Pak Sebelas, a former Director of the Indonesian Government Department for Mines and Energy and thus, well known to those Indonesians present, then raised the issue of which language to speak in. He reassured them in English that "Bahasa Indonesia was ok because most of the people in the room spoke some Indonesian". He then said something in Indonesian and everyone laughed. I asked Duabelas what he had said, and she replied that he then cracked a joke related to Philip being the only one that they would have to translate for. This seemed a reciprocal humor strategy as if it was important to laugh about one member of each team. Following this, throughout the meeting the dialogue switched between the two languages. Strangely, the Indonesians most often spoke in English and the expatriates spoke Indonesian. Again, this suggested that it was a reciprocal borrowing, honoring, or cosmopolitan status-based display of linguistic skills. The ongoing dialogue of questions and answers commenced with the case study team asking for clarification about the *Terms of Reference* (TOR) for the mine project.

Some twenty minutes into the meeting the PT Indo project team director came in and I sensed that this late arrival had hierarchical strategic power implications, as well as perhaps synchronous approaches to time management. The PT Indo project director then took over the leadership role from his colleagues, speaking in English. He seemed comfortable in speaking English. He emphasized the importance of confidentialities in undertaking field research. His company was worried that the review process and the associated activities insensitively being carried out in the field may result in other international investors being thrown off the project. He was worried the fieldwork activity would also instigate local speculation resulting in people positioning themselves for financial gain and compensation. He argued that this could blow out the project budget, and even threaten the whole project.

Thus, he emphasized the importance of a 'softly softly' approach suggesting that even the recruitment of a local sub-consultant from a university could create a speculative atmosphere. Later I realized that this discussion related to their appointment of Pak Limabelas as a 'trusted' sub-consultant. PT Indo's explanation of the need for confidentiality would be at odds with GF's public disclosure and stakeholder transparency objectives. The PT Indo perspective linked to particularist cultural perspectives that emphasize the importance of exceptions, special circumstances, and unique relations, while the GF perspective linked to a cultural perspective in which transparency of universally applied rules and codes is valued.

During the meeting a yellow cardboard box was placed in front of each person, and coffees poured. The Indonesians were showing gracious hospitality to guests. Inside each box were five aesthetically presented mixed Indonesian and European sweet and savory delicacies. Both cosmopolitan and Javanese good manners had been displayed and the raised eyebrows between the visitors (both Indonesian and expatriate), suggested that they were appreciative.

However, when Dr. Allen spoke the Indonesians on both teams obviously felt discomfort. He spoke fluent and, I suggest, colloquial Indonesian. I wondered whether his Indonesian included his forceful and direct Australian ethnocentric communicative style, rather than the indirect Indonesian cultural nuances. In my very basic Indonesian, I understand he referred to beer and he asked the Indonesians

if he could get Australian beer when he was in Kalimantan. His stereotypical pre-occupation with beer seemed inappropriate to a largely Moslem audience. Verity and Duabelas said later that his Indonesian rhetorical style was confrontational. He insensitively told the Indonesian company directly what they must do. Obviously unhappy with this, the PT Indo project director lit a cigarette and turned his body away from the visitors' side of the table. Mirroring this body language, Dr. Allen then lit a cigarette and continued to speak. Pak Sebelas was obviously uncomfortable with this explicit and confrontational style. He moved his legs from side to side as if trying to find a more comfortable position in the chair. In his important status and intermediary role he had placed himself in seat between to the PT Indonesia Director and Dr Fritz. He leaned to the far side of the chair, as if physically positioning himself with the other team.

Philip asked in English about the possibility of getting to the mine site one way by car, which he understood was a difficult six-hour journey, with the return journey being made by the river. He had explained to me later that his logic as an environmental planner was to assess the impact of the transportation aspect of the development, and the impact this might have on the river and river-based communities. It was proposed that river barges be used as the principle form of transportation. The boat journey would be three hours and he indicated that he was keen to assess this. However, there was resistance from the PT Indo team to support a powerboat journey. Yes, boats were available, they said, but the reason offered for not going on the river was that they were very expensive. Philip sensed that there were other reasons. The meeting continued with questions about the mine processing details directed to the PT Indo team. Empatbelas, the recently recruited environmental engineer, asked a number of probing technical question, switching between English and Indonesian. The appropriate member of the PT Indo team responded diagrammatically on a white board, while speaking Indonesian.

After an hour and a half Dr. Fritz indicated that he had to go to another meeting and left. He did have another meeting, but this strategy was often used by expatriates to put a time limit on meetings with Indonesians who, the expatriates said, would endlessly go on discussing things in a circular manner. With his imposing physical presence and German English, Dr Fritz must have conveyed imposing high status to the Indonesians present because the atmosphere dramatically changed after he left. It

became more informal. The dialogue was no longer directed through the two senior representatives and Pak Sebelas, with more of a conversational style resulting from people breaking into group discussion. At the end of the meeting everyone shook hands.

On the journey back to the office with Rob, Verity and Philip there was agreement that Dr. Allen's confrontational and assertive style was inappropriate. This was becoming a major problem. Philip suggested that he should be kept out of sensitive meetings with Indonesians in which his presence was not essential. There was consensus that Empatbelas was unusually outspoken for a young professional Indonesian in actively asking for technical clarification about the logistics of the mine site and mining process.

The next project stakeholder meetings were called by GF. This was to be held with Dr Fritz, The Director of the Asian Pacific International Division and Tom, a world-class expert in the mining projects. At this meeting GF discussed the professional, technical and methodological weakness of the Indonesian Government approved environmental impact assessment report, and what they were looking for in the review processes. Dr Fritz noted the concern for the limitations of GF time-lines, and had critical concerns for the need for a completely new EIA. These issues were discussed later at a meeting with the project team.

Further role clarification for the project team

At this meeting (13/6/00) Dr. Fritz suggested they discuss project concerns in an open style of discussion. He explained that the GF timelines maybe extended from three to five months. He made a strong emphasis once again on the need to follow GF international guidelines, not the Indonesian AMDAL guidelines. However, it was pointed out that there were no guidelines for doing an "Addendum" document that reviewed an existing AMDAL. There was agreement that the GF approach seemed "very piecemeal" and "patchy". Tom, the world-class expert on this type of mining project, indicated that he believed a new EIA was warranted.

Philip explained the difference between the guidelines: the AMDAL had a whole range of generic and procedural categories and requirements that may not be relevant to a particular project, but all

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categories had to be addressed in order for BAPEDAL to give approval. Therefore, often-standardized textbook responses were inserted into these categories and this appeared to be acceptable. There was little close scrutiny of the figures and details presented in the AMDAL report, except in terms of the detailed accuracy of cross referencing within the different sections of the reports and document, which is extreme. In other words, the guidelines for an AMDAL report are, in generic terms, rigidly prescriptive, and so fulfilling this prescriptive strategy determine the approval of a development. Thus, the interpretation of the role of guidelines was open to cultural interpretations and very different to that contained in GF procedures or the statutory EIA procedures in developed countries.

Pak Sebelas raised concerns for the conflict between GF's public disclosure requirements and PT Indo's request for confidentiality to prevent speculative activities in the region around the mine site. Dr Fritz emphasized the importance of good team member briefing and communications. He stated: "the relevant people must be well-briefed before meeting GF". He said Duabelas would discuss this issue with the Indonesian staff at a coordinating meeting, chaired by her next week when she returned from working in Irian Jaya. The meeting was conducted in Indonesian. Dr Fritz verbally identified reporting structures, functions and responsibilities of senior team members and responded to clarifying questions. He nominated who would be the specific Indonesian support staff. He would have a central leadership role.

It was suggested they use Landsat remote sensing technology and imaging to indicate the historical land use patterns. Philip had extensive experience in this technique. It was agreed that this technology would meet GF's desire to present a historical emphasis on land use patterns. Emphasizing the value of his long-term corporate memory of the Department for Mines and Energy, Pak Sebelas explained that PT Indo had been saying that: "they were going to do something with that land since 1972, in order to stop other developments". Thus, "not so much will have happened there since then", he added. This comment had bearings on PT Indo's concern for secrecy and speculation and the long-term orientation.

Dr Fritz asked Tiga to brief everyone on her field visit to regional Kalimantan. In English she said

she had made contact with the local sub-consultant from the local university nominated by PT Indo. She said that he seemed ok and that he had a Dayak background - one of his 'uncles' was an important elder. She explained that his academic background was in economics, but that he understands the local socio-cultural issues with added insights from his personal background. She then explained: "there is a very delicate local political situation here, that the District Governor is due to present his annual report to the local council the next day". She had been informed that there would be large scale political protests and calls for him to stand down because of his poor handling of inter-ethnic conflicts the previous year, in which fifty people had died. There were protest signs by the roads entering the regional capital. There was a "feeling of high emotion" and she felt that "there was a high chance that there would be riots". "Therefore, it would not be a good idea to draw attention to a whole team of 'bules' [white people] coming into town." Thus, it was decided that only a smaller team consisting of Tom, Philip and Empatbelas, the young environmental engineer, would go.

Tiga passed around photographs she had taken pointing to several photos of members of the Dayak communities. She had specifically taken these pictures to show people like Dr. Allen "not to make primitive assumptions about Dayak peoples". One photo was of a Dayak man sitting on a simple straw mat on the floor of his wooden long-house in front of a large screen television, with two large speakers on either side, a CD and karaoke player and microphone alongside a generator with a car battery. The smiling Dayak 'kepala dusan' (village leader) appeared to have acquired extra high ascriptive status through this consumption of modern entertainment technology. It appeared that Tiga had interpreted Dr Allen's strong Dayak advocacy role as that he wanted to keep them "primitive", hence she emphasized her awareness that they wanted to part-take in all the material advantages of modernization. She smiled when stating that while in the field Dr Allen had needed her logistic help and had come to her for support. This public display of her negative attitude towards Dr Allen was very overt. She obviously felt emotionally safe expressing herself with this group of expatriates and Indonesians, and knew that the others were also concerned by Dr Allen's cultural insensitivity.

The logistics of the field trip were then discussed. Tiga informed them that air tickets had already been booked with a domestic airline company. Tom, who had extensive Indonesian experience, 'reassured' everyone by saying: "they used to regularly fall out of the sky, but they haven't for a

while". It was decided to hire a car for the six-hour drive to the site. Philip was still keen to pursue the option of a return boat trip to assess the impact on the river and river communities. The meeting closed with Verity, the editor project/coordinator, stating that she was still unclear about the role of the guidelines. It was apparent after this meeting that individual team members were accumulating large numbers of bilingual documents in various stages of development which they needed to read closely in order to further clarify their roles, the client needs and the history and terms of reference of the project. The fact that there was only a rough English translation of the original AMDAL document had obviously contributed to some lack of clarity, as had the diversity of stakeholder perspectives.

Later that day I observed a telephone communications between Philip and Dr Allen who was still in the field and due to return to Jakarta the same day. Verity's partner worked for American Press (AP). He had faxed the office about AP reports of rioting in the regional city. Philip had managed to get hold of Allen on his mobile phone. Allen was trying to get through the riots to the airport. Later, according to Philip, the conversation had a filmic quality with reception breaking up, the connection being lost and then making contact again, with Dr Allen reporting passing burning car bodies etc, that the road was blocked, then silence, then word again that he and his driver had got through a section of rioters. Recognizing the dangerous situation was getting worse, Philip instructed Dr Allen to abandon trying to get to the airport through the riots. Dr Allen had been trying to get back to Jakarta to partake in the socio-economic/cultural team meeting with the GF representative the following day. Philip told him to make his way back to the hotel and they would join him the next afternoon. Philip confided that this outcome had the double advantage of keeping Allen out in the field where he was of most use and, at the same time, keeping him out of the GF meeting, just in case he became an embarrassment. Philip said they would continue with their field visit because both he and Tom had limited time in Indonesia and "even rioters have to go home and have something to eat and get some sleep". Moreover, the next day was an important day in the Islamic holy calendar, and this would take over from local politics, and thus, Philip believed it would be quieter in the regional capital city.

First thing the next morning there was a meeting between GF and the senior project representatives of the socio-economic/cultural impact assessment project team. However, unfortunately, I was returning

to Australia. The US-based project representative from GF had called for the meeting on the 15th of June. This day was Mohammed's birthday, and therefore, a public holiday in Indonesia. Thus, the Moslem staff would not want to be available for the meeting. It seemed ironic to the expatriate team members that a meeting for a project about cultural sensitivities should be underscored by such an obvious cultural 'faux pas'. One basic suggestion offered by the guidebooks to international business is to check the local calendar before calling meetings. The American national GF representative, a doctor of anthropology, was inflexible about this date and offered no recognition of the conflict, or apology.

The socio-economic (SIA) team meets with the GF project manager

Philip gave me the minutes of this meeting plus comments. Present at the meeting were Philip, Rob, Tiga, Verity and Pak Limabelas, the local sub-consultant. Clarification about GF's stakeholder client needs was the purpose. Tiga had discussed her concerns with me about attending the meeting on Mohammed's birthday and more importantly, an uncle had died and the family 'wake' was to be held on the 15th. I told her that Dr Fritz would be sensitive about this and that she should talk to him about it. However, in this instance she placed career values over religious and family values to attend the meeting. This was despite being advised that she did not have to because it was a religious public holiday and in view of the death in her family. For an Indonesian, attending a meeting with a GF representative would give high status. Her decision suggested individual ambition.

Dr Peter, an American from GF, introduced himself explaining his academic background (BA in anthropology, an MA in community development and a PhD in economic anthropology). These qualifications indicate the changing nature of human resources within GF from those with traditional economic and banking skills to broader humanities disciplines. Philip noted that Pak Limabelas did not appear to have very good English, but seemed very pleased to be there. To attend a GF meeting would give very high status for this academic from Kalimantan.

Dr. Peter expanded on GF's Operational Directive - its Resettlement Action Policy (RAP). This policy was based on a Pareto Optimality (do no harm) principle. This policy referred mainly to handling involuntary settlement, the requirements of which were that those involved are fully

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informed and provision made for them to have the right to say no. The RAP guidelines should be strictly followed. He outlined the steps to be taken which included a quantified 'one point in time' census, a socio-economic survey to ensure income restoration with the consultant proposing alternative options to secure income restoration. Dr Peter emphasized the importance of a systematic approach that avoids "individual or independent deals being done in an ad hoc way" (Philip's notes, 15/6/00), and that the proposed income restoration strategies must be sustainable. Grievance procedures would be required, together with monitoring of progress. An early requirement was for the existing project to be re-evaluated and if necessary for it to be re-designed to avoid impacting on local communities. The value of a sound socio-economic survey is to help avoid ongoing compensation over a long period of sequential mining operations and subsequent rehabilitation, affecting local communities. Thus, there were long-term considerations involved. Rather than selling the land, a temporary takeover was advocated with the resultant need to determine what legal end solution would be acceptable.

The objectives of the socio-economic survey as noted by Philip were:

- To provide a matrix of benefits options;
- To determine clear time frameworks and clear measurable targets;
- To determining what disbursements GF would make; and
- To provide information on basis upon which the performance of the company could be assessed; and hence
- To provide the leverage to make the proponent perform.

In this case, PT Indo was the proponent. Thus, within the policy was a political strategy to link global and local power in order to 'persuade' the national developer to be locally responsive and pursue a sustainable approach. Dr Peter explained that the documents produced would be freely available and openly discussed through the US-based information-clearing house. Therefore, documents had to be of a high standard, and be accountable. This coercive proponent compliance strategy was a direct example of a political leveraging and local institutional strengthening agenda to promote sustainable practice, discussed in the section on The WBG four challenges.

Special provisions for the Dayak people were a condition of the project. Dr. Peter outlined GF's Community and Indigenous People's Policy (CIPDP):

- Recognition that indigenous people (in minority) may be powerful in some situations;
- Definitions are very important;
- Considers both individuals and groups; i.e. the policy is changing in recognition that these are complex issues and that a contextual framework is under consideration; and that
- The stupid example is a real example (Philip's notes).

This list indicates that GF's Indigenous Peoples Policy recognizes the characteristic particularism (exceptions, special circumstances and unique relations) that frame indigenous peoples issues.

The discussion then concerned the format and structure of Resettlement Action Plan (RAP), Community and Indigenous People's Development Plan (CIPDP), and the Public Consultation and Disclosure Plan (PCDP) documents. Philip was surprised "at the purist theory that dictates the core of [GF's] requirements, e.g. the underpinning of Pareto Optimality - is quite a surprise - right out of text books!" This indicated a major cultural shift for an international investment agency. He also commented on "the reliance of public disclosure and open scrutiny of all documentation through the GF information-clearing house in the US - a very important aspect of the whole deal".

Phillip later said he dominated open discussion during the meeting and perhaps spoke too much. He sensed Dr Peter was annoyed by his interruptions. In his post-meeting notes he stated that Dr Peter presented his perspective to the expatriates rather than acknowledging mixed nationality of his audience. It seems that Dr Peter assumed that everyone in the room understood his terms and ideas, and agreed with values embedded in his professional American dialogue. He made no attempt to interact with the two Indonesians in the room. Tiga said very little, but Philip felt that she would have been keen to learn form a highly qualified GF expert. However, he noted the look on her face that gave him the feeling she was thinking: "all this idealistic theory on securing the rights of vulnerable communities is all very well, but how are we going to make it happen on the ground in Kalimantan!"

Philip felt that the project team objective of "meeting the squeaky clean requirements [of GF] given the difficult realities on the ground" in regional Indonesia was in some ways very unrealistic. Situated between meeting the reporting needs of the client GF, PT Indo the proponent developer, the consulting team had to prepare RAP, CPDIP and (PCDP) reports in order to make sure the PT Indo 'did the right thing' by the local community. This political strategy contributed to a more complicated reporting arrangement than was usually involved in environmental consulting.

Philip reflected Pak Limabelas' position. GF requested a local NGO be involved in the project. Pak Limabelas, while having local authority and status, in reality represented PT Indos interests. Philip noted that he felt Pak Limabelas would put PT Indo's needs ahead of the Dayak communities. Therefore, Pak Limabelas's role should be limited to attaining local contacts, providing knowledge about the study area and the recruitment of field workers. After the meeting, the three team members, Phillip, Tom and Empatbelas directly set off on the field trip to strife-torn regional Kalimantan to meet Dr Allen, and go to view the proposed mine study area. GF is in a very powerful position. The 'ideologically driven' investment conditions of the client mean that the socio-cultural and economic impact assessment team had also been given an intermediary advocate role for the local peoples. Yet the documents produced must also convince the Indonesian proponent to comply in order to gain approval for the implementary finance.

Organizing and undertaking fieldwork

The next stage of events is based around Philip's diary notes. When they arrived in the regional city, "there was plenty of traffic and people about with numerous signs of the previous day's rioting"- "Several people were killed according to locals". "The hotel that Tiga had stayed in was burnt to the ground". They caught up with Allen who informed them that two years ago in the mine site district a group of Dayak from outside came and butchered the entire population of nearly 2000 Madurese men, women and children. Previously, Tiga had quoted the figure of fifty casualties. These contrasting figures reflect the historical way significant ethnic-based incidents of violence and genocide are not dealt with in Indonesian national discourse (Schwarz 1999). In Dr Allen's opinion, the Dayak people and the local community, in general, were still traumatized by these events. He stated that travel up the river was too dangerous at the moment due to bandits and the high incidence of throat cutting. He warned about bandits on the highway in the late afternoon and evening. Philip realized this explained the previous reluctance of the PT Indo representatives to travel on the river, but in line with Javanese etiquette, they were unable to directly explain why.

The next day the four of them headed off for the mine site with a local driver. Philip noted there was clear evidence of "ethnic cleansing" along the way. The driver pointed out places where the

Madurese had been cleaned out. Villages and farmland at points along the way appeared to be deserted. The conversation was mainly in English with Empatbelas translating conversations with the driver. The journey took six hours. They arrived at the local town site that was a "one retail street mud town set in attractive undulating country". The driver stopped at a shop where "they were ceremoniously presented with a drink of coke on a tray". They "walked up and down the street and looked at the mats of rubber latex laid out on the 'pavement' drying in the sun". Philip observed there were no signs of primary rainforest remaining near the town. However, the secondary forest was considerably more attractive and healthier looking than that previously surveyed for a mining project in Kalimantan.

They proceeded to the river crossing. This was a very large water body, two kilometers wide and some 250 kilometers from the sea. Wooden houses and structures on stilts hung over the river edge, with a range of traditional craft tied up along the foreshore. They had to cross the river to get to the mine site camp. There the manager of the camp, who was a Balinese exploration geologist, met them. After sorting out accommodation they climbed into a pick up truck to look at the mine site and the nearest Dayak village.

> We turned off a recently bituminised road, and headed down forest tracks for some 3kms. Attractive secondary forest landscape. The village was located on a low ridge in the forest overlooking a lake. Village houses were mainly small with two or three room structures situated along the contour, unpainted and untreated natural wood. Beautifully integrated into the landscape - functionally and visually. A vehicle track and walking paths through the trees connected the houses. (Philip, field notes 16/6/00)

Philip noted that Allen was "very concerned that we do nothing to offend and that the first requirement was to meet the village headman and be accepted into the village". He described what they were wearing and the impact of this:

> Allen is dressed in an old torn t'shirt, clapped out thongs and baggy shorts. With his less than perfect teeth, emaciated build, open and friendly smile and ready packet of fags [cigarettes], the overall effect is completely non-threatening and easy going. He is reverential to the village hierarchy, and overtly respectful to all villagers.

He pointed out that he and Tom were dressed in 'first world' travel gear and thus, felt much less comfortable. They met the village headman and were shown into one of the village buildings. Allen spoke both Indonesian and appropriate Dayak dialects fluently. The room was bare except for a low

child's bench seat and a desk with a single seat opposite. They were then invited to sign the 'visitors book'. The ceremony concluded with a handshake after which Allen tells them all that they are now part of the community, and the village is entirely open to them.

They then walked through the village to where a group of young men and women were playing volleyball. Tom and Empatbelas went off to look at the proposed mine waste site, while Philip and Allen remained. They decided to join in the game of volleyball. Allen was a very good player and "I was hopeless", noted Philip, "much to the extreme amusement of the Dayaks". Afterwards Allen had told him his appalling performance at volleyball had given him (Allen) great credibility with the Dayaks. Later, the villagers offered to sell them some honey. They were taken to another bare building. "It turned out that we were being allowed to buy two of only four bottles of honey owned by the village". They paid a generous amount for the honey. Tom and Empatbelas returned conveying that they agreed that this village could stay where it was throughout the life of the mine, that the mine waste would not affect it. They then went on to the next village where similar ceremonies took place.

That evening they returned to the mining company camp where Tom and Allen requested that they be able to watch an Aussie rules football game on satellite television.

> I joined them for a weird evening experience in the jungle with Indonesians coming and going, stopping to look with some curiosity at the game. I wondered what they thought of the huge muscular Aussie rules players, distorted faces/jaws with mouth guards (which give faces an arguably very ugly appearance), and the high level of inherent aggression and physical violence? (Philip, field notes, 16/6/00).

One can only wonder about the impression these people have of Australian culture, in light of events in East Timor. The following morning more fieldwork was undertaken, and then it was time for the six-hour return journey to the regional capital. Empatbelas, who had Chinese ethnic origins, and Philip were anxious that they leave in time so that they would not be driving in the dark. On the way back the car was forced to swerve around a melee on an isolated stretch of the road. Four men appeared to be assaulting a young woman in the middle of the road. She was struggling violently with her body lifted off the ground. No one said anything. The driver did not attempt to stop or say anything. The image fixed itself inside Philip's head. They flew out to Jakarta the next day.

Before leaving Jakarta Philip left clear advice with Dr Fritz that Tiga should go to the mine site area at

the earliest opportunity and then Allen could give her support on how to proceed with the census and economic survey. Dr. Allen had agreed to this. Philip suggested that Allen's contract be extended by a week, if necessary, to ensure this professional support in the field for Tiga. He noted he had a "sixth sense" that if this did not happen and Tiga was left to work with Pak Limabelas there would be problems. He felt strongly that linking Tiga with Allen would avoid using Pak Limabelas for critical survey work, which he felt would be there to serve PT Indo's interests and not the Dayak community. He then returned to his base in Australia, keeping in touch with the project through regular communications with Dr. Fritz and Verity. Philip later learnt Tiga never went to the field as recommended. She was apparently side tracked into working on another project and that after this she tried to do the survey work with Pak Limabelas.

I later commented to Philip that he had few technical notes of any conversations. He replied that as a professional with qualifications in geography, environmental planning and landscape architecture, in undertaking field appraisal and surveillance 'silence' was very much a part of his qualitative mode of operation in the field. His observations involved "a concentrated visual assessment of the environment, observing, of being there, of reading the landscape, of building a strong sense of place". This comment implies that the interpretive practices of his field are framed on 'diffused' (holistic, elaborative and relational) cultural logic. By contrast, others engineering and scientist members of the team, may be busy recording observations, making estimates and taking notes, etc. In other words, they were carrying out tasks framed on 'specific' (reductive, objective analysis) cultural logic. He said he was often asked by the scientists what he was doing, why was he there, when in the field. These comments indicate the particularized perceptual experience of professionals undertaking fieldwork and the different multicultural assumptions underpinning their methods, professional functions and practice.

Philip next returned to Jakarta in late July. His notes explain the state of the project.

> I was assured the socio-economic survey information would be ready and available by the end of the week, even though the clear intention was that it would all be completed and available before my scheduled return. However, by the end of the week I was told: "it will be sometime next week. Tiga has got caught up in on other project priorities". This deadline then never eventuated. Tiga was very non-committal on how the survey was going, and I could not get clear information on what had been completed and what was still to be done. Verity was also

unsure. But reassurances still kept coming (Philip, notes late July, 2000).

Under these conditions project management becomes very difficult.

> Assurances are given that work is in progress, people are in the field and not able to be contacted. There is not enough time, or budget to go into the field to check on short horizon deadlines, deliverables are 'just around the corner' claims made on work cannot be verified (ibid).

"Under these circumstances, you just have to be patient and wait", he noted.

That week, while in Jakarta, he completed editing Allen's draft documents and had further meetings with PT Indo, which included making a presentation on their draft recommendations. He was impressed with the quality of Allen's draft report. After attending a morning meeting with Pt Indo at the beginning of August he returned to his office room to find the plate glass window had been blown out, as had the large glass wall in the conference room. The cause was an explosion, aimed at the Philippines Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Philippine Embassy in the next street. This explosion was one of several linked to conflict between the political factions in Jakarta, trying to undermine Wahid's Presidency. It was suspected that a Suharto faction was responsible. After this visit Philip was no longer directly involved with the project. There was no budget left for his involvement. He was then fully engaged in a large internationally funded world heritage rainforest and marine park conservation project in the Philippines.

Squeezed in the middle of diverse stakeholder expectations

Verity found herself taking more and more responsibility for the PT Indo project. Progress was slow and it was becoming increasingly apparent that there were significant mis-understandings, differing expectations and poor communications between the key project stakeholders. She sent the minutes of the meeting (29/8/00) at the Pt Indo offices recorded by her. Ten representatives of Pt Indo, herself, Pak Sebelas, and Tiga attended the meeting. The project director for PT Indo was appreciative that the three social reports would be presented to his company in Indonesian. This time Pak Sebelas outlined the key components of the reports, "identifying the key issues etc., as per presentation provided by [Philip]. In addition, Pak Sebelas addressed the implementation of key concepts, including the notion of a Community Board, compensation to landowners and Pt Indo's time schedule."(meeting notes) This presentation was made in Indonesian, whereas Philip's previous one had been in English.

PT Indo expressed the following reservations about the recommendation of the Public Consultation and Disclosure Plan (PCDP):

> "For payments to be made [to affected landowners] via a Community Board, because it does not comply with Presidential Decree No 55, 1993. This regulation is concerned with land acquisition for government projects, which states that direct negotiations and direct payments are required between the purchaser, in this case the sponsor, and the current land owner." (Minutes of meeting, 29/8/00)

This indicates the problem that the PT Indo staff has in resolving the conflicting national and international regulatory frameworks with their differing respective cultural understandings about the value and purposes of public disclosure and consultation. From their national point of view a Presidential decree is sacrosanct. The central government was historically all-powerful. It was recommended that PEMDA (the local government) could assist the Community Board as required to act as a witness, adviser and mediator as appropriate.

Pak Sebelas emphasized the importance of the membership of the Community Board. The logic of having the 'Kepala Dusan' (village leader) and the 'Kepala Adat' (traditional leader) on the Community Board, as recommended by the project team and GF's guidelines was that "if the community agree to members then problems should be limited. However this issue does require further investigation by PT Indo". The minutes noted that there was a need "to stipulate the criteria for the involvement of NGOs". There was agreement that there were options for compensation other than direct payments, such as community vehicles that could be rented by the company, or training programs.

PT Indo requested advice on their priorities for action. This suggests uncertainty and the need for an outer directional action plan to achieve a culturally alien, but necessary requirement, to get the funding. It was "recommended that they should proceed with the socialization of the project to the local people identifying and advising the different groups as appropriate, i.e., very high priority residents (who will be affected in the next five years) to medium priority", which meant that they should inform them that they would not be affected for twenty years. PT Indo were advised that they should commence determining staffing requirements and commence with investigations so as to facilitate the community nomination of members to represent their wishes on the Community Board.

The consultants' recommendations were presented in three reports that were to act as a guide for PT Indo local consultations concerning resettlement and development programs for the local community. "The details provided in the report maybe superseded by Pt Indo's comments, discussions with the Community Board which reflect the values of the community". This open strategy emphasized the high value placed on stakeholder consultation. GF offered advice on the factors considers important in setting up community development programs. This includes developing/ strengthening 'social capital', "which refers to those aspects of a population that are considered essential for successful economic activity (and economic development and growth) to take place. This includes many things - social cohesion, social/political stability, education, health, etc." (*Policy and guidelines re sustainable development*, n.d.)

Indonesia interpretation of social cohesion is complex. The previous thirty years of military rule has seen an imposed and coercively achieved cohesion and political stability. The repetitive teaching of the principles of Pancasila further instilled an overarching cohesive national culture. However, the reality on the ground, especially in the regions, indicates significant social tensions between diverse local sub-cultural groups along with local resentment of representatives of centralist authority. Thus, in this national context addressing local issues of social cohesion, and social/political stability as conceived from an ethnocentric American cultural perspective within the bounds of a development project presents numerous challenges and diverse interpretation by the various stakeholders.

GF provided a list of 'pointers' concerning the key principles for community development in sustainable development projects:

1. Engage in effective community consultation
2. Build trust
3. Manage expectations by clearly defining roles and responsibilities
4. Develop appropriate capacity
5. Mobilize core competencies
6. Set measurable goals
7. Forge strategic partnerships
8. Plan for sustainability.

This list, while trying to incorporate particularist "communitarian" social responsibility and harmonious relations values, is 'specific' in its 'prescriptive and reductive' interpretive cultural

assumptions. Each of the stakeholders would interpret the meanings of this list differently. Considering the historical, political and cultural context of Indonesia along with the coercive cultural legacy of a powerful centralized military regime, there would be diverse interpretations from a Jakarta-based Javanese civil servant point of view, a local Dayak 'kepala dusan' point of view or a professional expatriate consultant from western democratic nation point of view. Similarly, there are many interpretations of how to achieve these.

PT Indo wanted to further discuss GF's concepts. This suggested that they either needed further clarification about meanings and what they should do, or that they did not trust the consultants' recommendations, or that they wanted to go to a higher authority to renegotiate. It seemed that while the project terms call for the building of trust within the local community, there was little trust between the various stakeholders in the project. Verity suggested that there was a significant gap between both the transparency and participatory cultural values important to GF, and the way PT Indo usually resolves conflict and compensation concerns over development projects in local communities. It is understandable that PT Indo needed further clarification about what they needed to do to get the required finance from GF. Besides the complications created by the bi-lingual communications issues there were significant gaps in the expectations, interpretations, values and practices and the cultural assumptions underlying these diverse stakeholder approaches to development projects. It is apparent that this linguistic and cultural diversity contributed to the ongoing difficulties. An important high status national development company like PT Indo is not used to having a third party stand over them with coercive strong-arm tactics. The confusion about the meanings of terms, roles, expectations and action strategies continued.

Verity sent the minutes of a meeting (7/9/00) attended with Dr Fritz, Pak Sebelas and Tiga at the PT Indo offices with representatives of JIC:

> The initial response of the case study company was to prepare a proposal (dated June, 2000) to revise the existing AMDAL documents. The sponsors [Pt Indo] however had not agreed to this proposal and the company was requested to proceed [by GF], despite changes to the description of the project assessed in the existing AMDAL documents. This raised a number of difficulties in preparing a review of the environmental assessment and has consumed the majority of the budget (Minutes of meeting, 7/9/00)

Thus, the ongoing changes made by PT Indo since the original AMDAL approval meant that at this

late stage the project team still did not have a clear Terms of Reference (TOR) for the project. It was recommended that the company would submit a revised time and cost schedule once formal confirmation of changes to the project had been sent. From the consultant's point of view without fixed TOR they were unable to apply their specific and prescriptive environmental impact assessment review process.

The minutes of the meeting noted GF's comments on the Draft Social Reports. GF had raised concerns about the:

- Lack of clarity in the project description;
- The need to reflect Pt Indo's commitment in their final Resettlement Action Plan;
- That priority should be given to establishing a Community Board; and
- The need to complete the socio-economic survey (ibid, p. 2).

The project objectives had been somewhat derailed. Following this meeting, PT Indo requested advice from the team regarding "an appropriate strategy for a formal socialization and consultation program". This request was in response to Pt Indo raising concerns regarding the difficulties that it was having with local government authorities, who were requesting 30% of the profit from the proposed activities. President Wahid had promised to introduce legislation on the 1st of January 2001 to give decentralized regional administration authority and decentralized fiscal policy. In light of this legislative change and the shortage of administrative funds in the regions, this sort of 30% 'request' from local authorities of both national and international companies was on the rise.

Verity further up-dated on the project developments: PT Indo had submitted a request to revise the existing AMDAL document to the Department for Mines and Energy. They had been given permission and so were negotiating with a local consultant to prepare this revision. These new AMDAL documents would then need approval by the Indonesian Government. For PT Indo, this particularized behavior was acceptable. Normally they would make adjustments without needing further approval after an original AMDAL was accepted. For the project team, whose function was to apply universal and rigorous environmental standards to the development project, this behavior was not acceptable. This meant the project team still did not have clear-cut terms of reference for the project and therefore, both the EIA and SIA were further delayed. In an email (11/9/00) to the Japanese company, Verity listed the information they were still waiting for from Pt Indo:

- The realignment of the trans regional highway;
- The jetty relocation;
- The relocation of the mine waste facilities;
- The construction design of the mine waste facilities;
- The mine authorization boundary;
- Social impacts as identified in the social reports; and
- The review of terrestrial flora and fauna survey.

She informed JIC that a "revision of the costing for the proposed time schedule for the two streams of work [EIA and SIA] will be provided" (email, ibid). Thus, time-line schedules would need to be revised again and were dependent upon the above information. This problem with time-lines highlights the sequential and procedural nature of western professional work, as contrasted with the synchronous approach to time management in Indonesia.

Verity (email, 18/9/00) wished that I had witnessed a teleconference between the Japanese, American, Indonesian, German and Australian stakeholders. GF "had a good old chuckle when at the end of the meeting Dr Allen referred to the eight or so Japanese delegates as the lads." With all the misunderstandings and differing expectations between the various stakeholders one has to ask just what clarifications and effective communications between these diverse stakeholders could possibly be achieved through this medium other than the high status of partaking in expensive communications technology? There was no opportunity to find out what the Japanese were thinking other than the consultants noting that they were not willing to extend further budget to the consultants. In fact, they had indicated that they did not accept the value of consultants' work, or the paying of consultants. This implies a conflict between and particularist interpretations of the nature and practice of professional consultancy work.

It became increasingly apparent to the expatriate staff that PT Indo was "playing a different game" and not working according to GF's rules. The team had found itself in a very difficult situation acting as mediator between the diverse stakeholders, trying to address their stakeholder client needs, but completely constrained by what seemed to them as a non-cooperative stakeholder project sponsor operating on different rules and a different time frame, while the project team had no budget left to carry on. On top of that they still did not have the socio-economic report that Pak Limabelas was supposed to have done with Tiga. Verity told Philip on the phone that Tiga "had gone silent" and she

would not even talk about it.

Finally, at the beginning of September, the socio-economic report arrived. Verity explained her response:

> Tiga gave me the socio-economic survey the day before it was due and there was so much missing from it, it was unbelievable. I tried to get it from her earlier, but it was a communications thing. When you are not fully understanding what the other person is going to be giving you, particularly in the light of the fact that they [the Indonesians] will always say yes, yes, we can. It is different to when we say yes. And then they would say a few days latter, maybe a week latter, that we don't understand it and so you explain it to them again (Verity, discussion, 10/11/00).

Much to Verity's relief the office now had employed a highly qualified and experienced Indonesian sociologist. According to Verity, "he was fantastic!" His resume lists his expertise areas as being: rural sociology, demography agricultural extension, communication, community development and environmental impact assessment (management and monitoring). He managed to interpret and re-present Pak Limabelas' material supported by the relevant government information. This senior sociologist had very good English writing skills, but poor speaking skills, which was atypical of the other Indonesian staff.

I had kept in touch with Tiga through a few social emails. I had told her that I would particularly value her comments on the project because "she was sitting in a very difficult position". After a lengthy silence, she wrote comments on the first presentation on the social report to PT Indo:

> At the end of the meeting, I realized that PT Indo still don't understand what the concrete idea in three of our social reports are. That was expressed from their requirement to provide the social report in Bahasa. Since we don't have experience in implementing RAP, CIPDP and PCDP previously, and on the other side our report was presented in "selected native formal words" so they have difficulty to found the idea (Tiga, email, 22/9/00).

While she made no reference to the issues over the socio-economic survey, Tiga had identified some of the key issues: Firstly, the need for bi-lingual reporting and communications; secondly, the fact that the project team was working through a difficult ongoing technical learning process in undertaking the new and prescriptive work for a prestigious international client; and thirdly, the communications difficulties created for a divergent or cross cultural audience though the use of sophisticated multidisciplinary technical, professional and politically ideological terms and culturally

specific generic conventions.

> Frankly speaking, our draft report wasn't very good on describing practical action (we are still in draft right?). The problem rose because for some reason: (1) PT Indo expected that we will provide detail/concrete action, e.g. the first step they should do soon. (2) I reckon that they expected we will make presentation in Bahasa. (3) We are not quite ready on describing our idea in concrete action. Again when Pak Sebelas make the other presentation at the 2nd following week the third reason obviously appear (ibid).

These unusually direct and frank comments indicate that she clearly understands the impact of the different stakeholder expectations, as well as the bi-lingual communications expectations and the need to use not only the appropriate language, but for it to be presented in cultural logic that makes sense to Indonesians. Her comments on the lack of concrete and detailed action strategies provided by the project team suggest that the PT Indo team was expecting 'outer direction' oriented strategies to specifically direct their actions. A western team, however, makes the assumption that professionals have inner direction, have internalized the western cultural logic of their professional roles and their understanding of professional concepts, and have on hand a range of internalized strategies to apply these professional concepts appropriately to a real world context.

In this case the naturalized belief in the application of 'universal' professional standardized codes, rules and legislation guiding the processes of environmental and socio-economic impact assessment by both GF and the project team did not make cultural sense to the PT Indo team. According to the conventions of western science discourse these codes and rules proceed in a linear, systematic and deterministic fashion supported by reductive and analytical methodological evidence. Without clear Terms of Reference on which to base the linearly directed analysis, decisions and recommendations process, the 'erratic' approach and material produced by the PT Indo team was considered highly unsatisfactory in the eyes of the expatriate team members and GF. Having provided PT Indo with generic frameworks for action they expected the Indonesian sponsors would understand and have the appropriate internalized strategies to complete the necessary -oriented requirements. No wonder all stakeholders were highly frustrated and inter-stakeholder group mistrust continued.

It was a great honor for me to get these comments from Tiga. She had committed critical and reflective comment to writing and thus, broken with requisite 'no bad news' Javanese manners. She

indicated she understood the complexities. Six months before she stated she wanted to do post-graduate study overseas, specially because she wanted to "learn how to argue". Her silence in the office indicated that in the Javanese dominated context of the office she may not have felt able to speak her mind, because of local cultural conventions. This situation highlights the strong bearing that context has on who can say what, to whom and where, framing interpersonal communications in Indonesia. It also highlights the importance of building interpersonal trust.

Philip returned to Jakarta in late September to work on another mining project. He was no longer involved in the project, but while in Jakarta, Dr Fritz asked him to attend a meeting between GF, JIC, Pt Indo and the project team. Dr Fritz explained that his attendance "indicates continuity and team consistency to the client". He made notes of the meeting. Dr Fritz outlined that the agenda of the meeting was for GF to give general comments on the social documents (the 'Resettlement Action Plan'; the 'Community and Indigenous Peoples Development Plan', and the 'Public Consultation and Disclosure Plan'). Three questions were raised:

- "Where do we, the consultants, draw the line in these documents for common clarity and understanding?
- How do we accommodate specific situations and peculiarities that are out of keeping with GF guidelines;
- How do we improve the documents?" (Philip, meeting notes, 26/9/00)

These questions imply that the team was finding that the guidelines (RAD and CIPDP) presented essentialized and procedural frameworks that did not account for the more particularized (exceptions, special circumstances and unique relations) and more complex cultural reality on the ground. In response, Dr Peter from GF emphasized the need to make the documents 'action' documents for PT Indo, in which programs were clearly itemized and cost estimates were included. This suggested recognition of the need of documents designed for the Pt Indo to be framed in an appropriate 'outer directional' cultural logic. However, Dr Peter stated these were totally dependent on the information gathered in the socio-economic survey. But for the project team, the more particularized and localized circumstances had significantly affected their capacity to obtain the required data for the socio-economic survey.

Dr Peter praised the current reports for demonstrating an emphasis on the public consultation processes. These reports met the requirements set out in GF's public disclosure guidelines. He

accepted the wisdom of establishing a Community Board and emphasized that in no way was he criticizing these elements. "However, the emphasis on public consultation appeared to have led the study away from the data/information base underlying the study" (Dr Peter, cited in Philip's meeting notes, 26/9/00). The recommendation to set up a Community Board derived from Dr Allen's work completed many months before. The establishment of this board was to provide a participatory institutional vehicle for determining 'sensible' compensatory strategies for those whose livelihood, land ownership and access, would be affected by the development.

This responsive strategy recognized the important ascriptive status of the traditional village headmen, and thus placed decision making in the highly respected hands of the Community Board members. This met with GF's participatory and local communities empowerment agenda. However, to protect local Dayak interests, and keep vested interests and middlemen out of the process, in the eyes of GF the hard socio-economic data derived from the socio-economic survey was needed to support the actions of the Community Board. This specific socio-economic data provides 'empirical' justification for GF to attach cultural notions for local responsiveness, human rights, ethics and transparency codes to the development project operational conditions.

In reality, the expatriate project team faced the problem not only of vested interests impacting on the socio-economic data, but also the problem of getting any reliable socio-economic data at all. The meeting continued with an emotionally changed discussion between Dr Fritz, Philip, and Dr Peter about the on-the-ground realities of working in Indonesia, with Dr. Peter keen to emphasise that he was aware of this and had extensive practical experience. The JIC representative asked a few clarifying questions, but was largely silent. Verity asked several good clarifying questions. Then, a PT Indo representative asked for clarifications as to whether GF would be funding the Community Board and the Community Development Consultation programs. In view of the fact that the Community Board was fundamental to addressing GF's funding approval terms, Philip made lengthy comment in his notes:

> This is amazing. Four months after our first involvement in the project, PT Indo, at the highest level, appear not to understand the basic facts of the deal that they have entered into with GF. If they are resistant in agreeing to various programs and initiatives we are putting together for them and, there is truth in the constant rumors that they are not going to proceed with GF, but

could jump tracks to do a do a deal with other partners, it may be because they don't understand the basic requirements of GF and the degree to which they would be advantaged by a GF deal. One can only guess how they manage to do anything at all (Philip, notes 26/9/00).

This affective outburst focused at Pt Indo indicates how this fundamental stakeholder misunderstanding this late into the project underscored the project and the various performances. Philip's rhetoric also indicates that the project team failed to understand their critical and intermediary cross-cultural communication role in bridging the two different corporate cultures, and the agendas of GF and PT Indo, and in building understanding and reconciliation between them.

Pak Sebelas and Tiga were silent throughout the meeting. Philip reflected they would have found the heated discussion between the expatriates uncomfortable to witness. Pak Sebelas had been in constant communications with PT Indo acting as a key interpreter for the project team, but there were significant fundamental misunderstandings. This situation points to the diverse cultural assumptions the various stakeholders hold concerning their specific encultured and conventional ways of doing things and without addressing these, the outcome is confusion and growing mistrust.

In a post-meeting discussion with Rob, the American technical adviser, Philip noted it had become increasingly clear that GF's information requirements significantly serve an agenda of protecting GF's reputation in the international arena, especially from the public scrutiny of global NGOs. The implication of this realization is that, on the one hand, GF's specific guidelines, such as RAP, CIPDP and PDC etc, address an NGO driven ethical and sustainable practice agenda. However, on the other, they also build an important regulatory framework to protect the financial organization and its role in development projects. The pressure of transparency and public scrutiny has imposed a critical and rapidly changing learning culture on GF. Rob, who had met with representatives of GF in America pointed out that, in fact, it has taken the GF staff quite a long time to fully recognize that they must comply with their new guidelines. This situation indicates the complex way the challenges of responsive global learning frames these institutional changes and associated professional work. This corporate learning is framed by qualitative cultural assumptions, which may be alien to the quantitatively framed cultural assumptions of international banking and investment professionals.

Reflecting on this realization further, Philip noted:

At the end of the day, GF must have their requirements addressed to the letter for reasons/imperatives that are more important than any need to respond to 'Javanese games' and Indonesian sensitivities - that is if GF are to get their internal approval and PT Indo are to get access to GF funding. Nothing less will do. It is still not apparent that PT Indo or certain of our staff do not understand that - or that if they do, it has not had sufficient influence of directing priorities in either thinking or action (Philip, notes, 26/9/00).

It appears that while GF has developed important guidelines to make development projects more transparent and more locally responsive, commitment to on-the-ground strategies for strengthening national and local institutions have been left out. If GF had originally conceived that an important objective was for the consultant team to achieve the appropriate professional, cultural and technology transfer outcomes, then the small budget allocation given to the consultant company would have been recognized as being inappropriate.

Later, Philip and I discussed Dr. Allen's performance, and Philip said that he had concerns about his behavior in Jakarta, but his knowledge and skill in the field were excellent. Allen submitted a very high quality report. His knowledge of the local Dayaks, and local cultural sensitivity, and his linguistic skills were highly valuable to the project. Dr. Allen's specialist linguistic skills gave him the clear advantage of being able to read PT Indo's AMDAL report in Indonesian while the other expatriate staff only had a very rough English translation. This linguistic skill, coupled with extensive experience working in Indonesia, enabled him to see very early what his professional task was - to map the Dayak concerns and make recommendations based on his field work findings. He firmly positioned himself as being the first world global advocate for the parochial Dayak community. To achieve this goal he was not prepared to engage in any wider political or cultural issues. Such focused and pragmatic 'luxuries' were not an option for the rest of the project team.

Arguably, Allen's ethnocentric 'maverick' behavior had costly consequences for the rest of the team. His behavior and communications style in Jakarta had been damaging to the future workings of the project team. It contributed to significant mistrust obviously felt by Pt Indo. The valuable learning opportunities he could have created for Tiga were lost. He had been the one to emphasise the value of sharing information and the value of learning at the initial scoping of the project meeting. He had further managed to alienate himself from the PT Indo staff through his excessive drinking at the mine site camp. This insensitive behavior also alienated him from the Indonesian members of the project

team. Months later, Verity explained that Pt Indo had complained to her that Dr Allen's approach had contributed to their having a very antagonist relationship with the locals.

Dr Allen's extensive knowledge of Indonesian society meant that he chose an expedient approach to prevent him from getting 'side tracked' by wider cultural and political complexities. His individualized manner reinforced a binary 'them and us' culture for framing the project. It appears that Allen was unable to apply the professional understanding of his discipline to appropriate interpretation of behavior and communications in the field. However, his contract was clear. To the Javanese, he presented himself as an extremely rude and rough person. Tiga would not have wanted to spend time alone with such a person while undertaking fieldwork. For Tiga PT Indo, as an industry branch of the national government, would hold high status. Thus, as later noted by Philip, she probably wanted to invest in building good relationships with the staff of PT Indo and Pak Limabelas. – "'Expats' come and go".

What would the Javanese, as arbiters of Indonesian good taste and good manners, have made of this behavior? According to national sub-cultural social hierarchies, the Dayak would be positioned low down on a social scale and their culture and behavior would generally speaking be considered rude and rough. Thus, the rude and rough behavior of their expatriate global advocate could possibly have seemed appropriate. However, sadly this ethnocentric manners and etiquette behavioral framework would have done nothing to help the Javanese stakeholders understand why the development consequences of the project on Dayak communities and Dayak cultural sensibilities mattered in the eyes of GF. A potential learning situation was lost and instead ethnocentric stereotypes were reinforced. Allen's focused and pragmatic approach to his tasks and advocatorial ideology achieved quality outcomes for his project responsibilities. The rest of the team had to carry the emotional cost of working on a very frustrating project, and the other stakeholders had to carry the emotional and fiscal costs of uncertainty and delays. Failing to address the cultural complexity of stakeholders had critical consequences for the project.

Diverse national cultural assumptions frame diverse praxis

Late November 2000, Verity returned to Australia to take a holiday because of the stress she

experienced as a result of her coordinating management and editorial role. In a recorded interview she said that when Empatbelas was going through the details of the original Indonesian Government approved AMDAL report with representatives of PT Indo, as a part of the review team, he had said to PT Indo that "the only way that the AMDAL was accepted was because you know the right people, wasn't it? And they had said yes." Through western eyes this approach may be judged as corrupt. This comment indicates the different cultural approaches to government departmental functions. Comparing an Indonesian government Environmental Protection Agency (BAPEDAL) and an Australian EPA, for example, the latter has 'achieved status' won by its capacity to implement and apply universally conceived environmental rules, codes and laws to standardize and regulate industry practice. By contrast, the senior staff of BAPEDAL would have high ascribed social status. Their socio-cultural background and societal connections may have been just as important as their tertiary qualifications in obtaining their highly regarded positions. This approach to human resources has historical links back to the power of the 'priyayi' or Javanese aristocracy (Antlov and Cederroth, 1994). As such they have the socio-cultural power to make discretionary decisions.

Similarly, the senior staff of the Department for Mines and Energy would have ascribed high social status. In fact, as a cultural legacy of President Suharto's economic and natural resource development agenda, the functional development purposes of the Department for Mines and Energy would have higher status than the regulatory purposes of BAPEDAL. Thus, when it comes to the high status Government commercial branch (PT Indo) applying for an AMDAL approval, this is given with little scrutiny, so long as all sections of the AMDAL review process have been completed. The AMDAL process has ritualistic interpretations. The interpretation of the institutional cultural and regulatory framework of one nation is subject to the logic of local cultural assumptions when applied to another cultural context. If global institutions aim to build the human resource skills and strengthen the national institutions of developing nations, the role of promoting global and locally responsive learning in the national bureaucracy needs to be addressed.

Verity discussed the frustrations resulting from endless rounds of dialogue between and amongst the project team staff, and the PT Indo team, with little effective real understanding achieved. Both Empatbelas and Pak Sebelas had central explanatory roles. "Ultimately we had so many backwards

and forwards and toing and froing and them demanding this and them demanding that on work that was really unnecessary and explanations and reinterpretations" (Verity, 10/11.00). The main problem was that even at this late stage they still did not have a confirmed or agreed project description (TOR). Changes were still being made. JIC was marginally involved in the process.

> "We told Pt Indo that they would not approve the environmental component of the project until they [PT Indo] have confirmed these changes. "So we revised our terms of reference and sent that back to them with these changes and then JIC became very actively involved." "They [JIC] hadn't actually been aware, and as it turns out the communications between Pt Indo and JIC have been very superficial as well."

The representative of JIC spoke English, but not Indonesian, so they were obviously also having communications problems. Their main concerns were that changes meant extra cost and they "did not believe in paying consultants" (Verity).

This view contrasts with the environmentally conscious material presented on the JIC web site (2001) which promotes the company's guiding principles as being "to promote good corporate governance and safeguard ecological and cultural diversity" by:

- "Recognizing our responsibility as a good corporate citizen in world society and engage in activities which are beneficial to the society; and
- Recognizing our responsibility as a global enterprise in our preservation of our earth and its resources for future generations".

However, JIC's interpretation of the implications for transferring these 'globally-minded' public relations statements into practice varied from that of GF. This suggests a lack of trust.

Diverse interpretations of professional practice

Verity discussed Pak Limabelas, the regional sub consultant nominated by Pt Indo. When GF went to the development region and met him early on in the process they sent the consultants "an email saying who is this man, why is he involved? He had ulterior motives. He was representing an NGO in the area and his family owned land." (Verity, 10/11/00) According to GF's public disclose agenda aimed to protect indigenous peoples needs, any information provided by Pak Limabelas would be worthless. Philip (who attended part of the interview with Verity) commented: "He is your typical middle man with massive amounts to win or lose". Verity illustrated just what Philip's comment meant. She had gone to the development region with Pak Limabelas, Pak Sebelas and Tiga. Tiga thought it was probably appropriate for the Indonesians to drive together and Verity to go in another car. Pak

Sebelas reported back to Verity on the conversation with Pak Limabelas:

> "Pak Limabelas was saying, um, asking Pak Sebelas about his opinion as to whether or how the most appropriate method of transport [for the mine] would be and he had got a huge plan for providing the trucking requirements for PT Indo, but he also wants to be on the Community Board" (Verity, ibid).

When she discussed the issue of identifying who owned land, and its value, Pak Limabelas had said: "it is impossible, no one knows that information. It is not written down, no one had written it down, and no one is available to give that information". So Tiga and Pak Limabelas came back saying that nothing was available.

When they finally did get the socio-economic report from Pak Limabelas, she asked him how he had obtained the information:

> "Pak Limabelas asked them what the value of their house was and he wrote that value down. He then asked them how many trees they had and wrote that amount down. And then I asked him why did he take that approach and not go and try to find out himself, if he thought that perhaps this house is not really worth 1.3 million rupiah, it is only made out of tree bark and sticks, and is really only worth about 500,000. And I asked him why he did not make any judgment given that he is an economist and he said well you know if anything happens to me and I undervalue their property out there they could burn my brothers' property down and I could put my family in danger." (Verity, ibid)

Verity said that this response made her "feel both angry and ill-equipped to cope". She found the situation so culturally Indonesian that she said to herself to just "go with the flow - so I had to go with the flow". But then, restoring her faith in professional Indonesian capabilities, the new sociologist explained to her how it could be done, determine who owned what and what kinds of houses they were, and the assets of the local people, which were mainly trees and cows.

These comments indicate that the professional label 'economist' or 'sociologist' cannot be interpreted through universal assumptions. Pak Limabelas' thinking and behavior is significantly affected by his local identity and private circumstances. These private and professional interpretive dimensions are interwoven. He had high-ascribed local status. He was attached to a university. He was professionally associated with a PT Indo company and meeting with people from GF, which gave him great local business status and credibility. In his eyes, it was only natural that he be using his unique relationship with PT Indo to look to further business relationships and opportunities. But through the

interpretive eyes of the project team and GF, his achieved status or local track record made him look dubious and any information given by him unreliable.

Verity said Tiga would not communicate with her. Even though Tiga was not Javanese, she "had a sort of air about her when she went into a village that she wasn't really interested in what the locals had to say" (Verity). This seeming disinterest derives from the hierarchical nature of Indonesian society, the Javanese being the powerful arbiter of good taste and all political power being centralized in Java. Verity described what happened when she and Tiga went into the field to do a study on illegal mining in Seluesi. They needed to take water samples. Rob, the technical director, had given Tiga unnecessarily complicated instructions on how to label the samples. Verity initially had difficulties understanding his instructions. In the field Tiga changed the system and that evening when she went to sort the water samples out she could not actually describe how she had labeled it, and so it all had to be done again.

This highlights the different western and particularist Indonesian approaches to professional practice. Expatriate members of the company had many examples of work undertaken by the Indonesian staff that on the surface looked like the content was appropriate, but closer examination often revealed it to be meaningless in their eyes. For example, the heading of a document may be appropriate but the content inappropriate and/or taken straight from a text book; the statistics table which might look like a table, but contained figures that do not make sense because there is no legend; and the pie diagram where the figures do not add up. Verity explained how, early on in the project, she was given the environmental review work written in English by Indonesian members of the project EIA team for editing. After she looked at it, it was passed on to Rob, the technical director to check the accuracy of the details. For some reason Rob did not get to look at it, but Duabelas read it. Duabelas realized that there were significant amounts of material included that were a verbatim copy of a previous EIA report.

These comments point to diverse national cultural and epistemological approaches to knowledge and practice. Even though Indonesia has invested significantly in developing science knowledge, national sensibilities and cultural ways of thinking and behaving have significantly impacted on the way

science is taught, understood and the way it is practiced. Science is not a culturally neutral universal system of knowledge (Kuhn 1962). Just as the interpretations and pleasures derived from global media entertainment programming varies from audience to audience (Ang 1982, Lull 1995), from cultural context to context, so to the meanings and practices of science become particularized, appropriated and incorporated into existing dominant local sense making framed by wider history, politics, economic and cultural assumptions.

Verity was self-reflective on how her non-hierarchical interpersonal approach (derived from her Australian cultural background) was not appropriate for the cross-cultural coordination and management role she found herself in. These diverse cultural expectations about the nature of leadership and team membership contributed to her stress. As a survival strategy she shut herself off from everything peripheral. She tried to communicate in an Indonesian way, but then found herself getting angry. Balancing being productive with not getting involved with peripheral issues was a major challenge. Demonstrating the consequences of this she said that in the field:

> "I had a great time talking to the Dayaks when I was out there. We had four days to do a load of work that PT Indo hadn't done and um, in the [local] style it was nice and gentle, but in the last stage there was more than we had anticipated left to do. I took a very Western approach and just went and did my work and I just did not stop talking. A local was helping me. You could just see that he thought what is going on here because she is rushing around and didn't take time off to have a cup of tea with people and chat and sit and his attitude changed remarkably, really it did. And I thought that *is* rude, but I had to do the work" (Verity, 10/11/00)

Both Philip and Verity reflected on what the Indonesian staff must think of the individualistic and high achievement-oriented work values of the expatriate staff. From an expatriates perspective they have no choice. Time is money according to western managerial values. Work has to be completed within short-term time frame and regulated by fiscal budget constraints. Under these cultural assumptions, your professional reputation is only as good as the last work you do.

Verity thought the Indonesians interpreted an achievement approach to work as being very egocentric. "They think that it is greedy and they think that we are only doing it because all that we value is money." Since the takeover of the company, increasingly the consequences of more rigorous universal accounting systems were being imposed upon all the staff. Verity cited Puluh, the office

accountant, as consequently being placed in a difficult and locally alienated position. She concluded that the whole experience had often made her have doubts about her capabilities. "I think that the biggest stumbling block in this has been the communications issues". "I think that that is why Tiga has not appreciated me because I haven't told her what to do. I am not used to telling people what to do, I haven't had enough experience." I suggested that she was used to western collaborative team work and she replied "ah, ha and then suddenly there is a whole blank spot when no one is doing anything and all that I could do was to talk to Tiga at a personal level, but not get too personal with her." Tiga may have been looking for leadership and outer direction. Verity was operating on egalitarian and inner directional cultural assumptions.

Verity just wanted out. In an effort to appease and make amends with the Indonesian staff before she went on holiday she invited everyone to lunch:

> Because I was going on holiday and I know that I have been stressed, because I have been trying to get my work done in the four days that I had to get it done, and so I figured that its a good way for a bit of an apology, but I didn't get any dessert. I just provided the meal and the Ibu who sat opposite me said so where is the dessert, we need the sweets now, where are they? That really upset me. It just really hurt. "(Verity, 10/11/00).

I asked if she thought being female makes it more difficult? "Oh yes, yeh" she relied. "A male will say you need this, you need that". I remembered the earlier comment about gender that she had made that the women did not like her because she lived with her partner, but was not married. Verity's comments indicate just how emotionally difficult this kind of cross-cultural based professional work can be despite having the best intentions, and having made an attempt to learn the local language and culture. She did, however, return to the Jakarta office.

She had the opportunity to go to America and visit GF's information clearinghouse, which she said was enormous and located on one of the most prestigious address in Washington. There were endless glossy high production value documents on "poverty and poverty alleviation". The documents seemed to be primarily concerned with promoting GF public relations values. Many of the documents contained extensive rhetoric on policies. However, there were few technical documents available. Those available were very expensive, indicating their purpose was to address a first world audience.

Management's response

Early in 2001, Dr Fritz agreed to "summarize his thoughts" in the PT Indo project . At the most general level he did not consider the project to be a success story "in respect of our overall project management approach". However, he had several positive expectations to begin with. Most importantly, the project was the first mining sector project that GF was actively involved in, in Indonesia. Thus, the project created a good opportunity to develop a good report for GF, which is a prestigious organization. Having such a prestigious client on "your reference list" would leverage the company's corporate reputation and therefore, this project would give the company future marketing opportunities.

However, "it was clear from the very beginning that the project would be a difficult one". He cited the following reasons: the various parties involved; and the task to upgrade an existing EIA without clear understanding from everybody involved, including GF or PT Indo, on how to achieve it without rewriting the entire study. Hence, his first intention was to go for a change order to write a stand-alone document. "Unfortunately this approval was not accepted by the client", he added. While GF was the primary client, he noted that primarily JIC was not prepared to contribute to any extra consultant costs. The lack of funds had a significant impact on managing the project.

The reluctance to fiscally support a more thorough environmental impact assessment indicates that while both GF and JIC may have wrapped their corporate philosophy in 'green and sustainable' rhetoric, their fiscal commitment to the implementation of this value is limited. The global activities of Japanese multinational corporations are much less in the public arena and therefore, much less scrutinized by media and NGO's. By contrast, American headquartered organizations such as GF are having the challenge of constant public criticism by various disparate groups united by critical concern for the negative impact of economic globalization. In order to protect its corporate reputation, GF has had to respond to criticism. Having a historical business investment mandate in implementing development in developing nations and, more recently focusing on an agenda to alleviate poverty, means that public relations rhetoric is not enough to protect corporate reputation. Increasingly, GF is learning that these implementary economic values and environmental and socio-cultural sustainability values need to be transferred in to practice - theirs and their clients.

By contrast, the actions of a traditional family-based Japanese business organization are driven by expansive Japanese business goals. Such a large multinational company would have significant ascribed status in Japan, whereas in the United States status is achieved through a company's track record. In a rapidly changing global economy the criteria for the assessment of that track record are constantly evolving. In a public policy climate calling for increased corporate accountability and transparency, a company like GF cannot maintain its current corporate reputation based on its previous track record. Much of the current financial problems faced by the Japanese economy derive from the historical protection of large Japanese corporations and the lack of transparency in the system. Without significant building of trust between GF and JIC, it is apparent that JCI would not trust that the work carried out by a US-based firm of environmental consultants addressed their specific corporate investments needs.

However, Dr Fritz was aware of the trend to incorporate assessments of socio-cultural and socio-economic factors into the development process. Thus, "in this respect, I obviously was quite excited because the project did allow us to develop our expertise further". He had anticipated three main management challenges: dealing with the various parties - GF, JIC, and PT Indo; coordinating the internal project team; and more particularly, getting Rob (the technical director) focused on this project. He acknowledged the pivotal role of Rob in advising project team members and the critical role that he plays in putting the bi-lingual report documents together. Rob an American, with a multidisciplinary specialist science and communications academic background, is married to an Indonesian. He has prodigious knowledge of technical matters and corporate client history. From an American management textbook perspective he would probably be considered to have spent too long away from HQ and 'gone native' (Adler 1997).

Several expatriate staff said he tends to be preoccupied with gaining enormous amounts of knowledge on the particularized aspects of projects and their wider political and business dimensions. Intrigued by the complexities of Indonesian society he applies a military-like information intelligence seeking strategy to his professional work absorbed by mountains of elaborate information and preoccupied with political and power dimensions. To support his political worldview, according to several

members of staff, he carries two bags at all times in the field - one with basic survival materials and another with communications technology. He has a large storage of survival foods in a cupboard in the office that, ironically, was used when staff had to stay and sleep in the office during the 1997 riots. Rob's advice often overwhelms people with details. Dr Fritz was aware that project team members often become confused by the weight of peripheral concerns. This makes performing functions more difficult for some of the Indonesian staff. Inexperienced expatriates can feel that working in Indonesia is almost impossible. Dr Fritz, recognized that in the context of complex stakeholders in this project, it would be a challenge to get Rob expediently focused on the core concerns of this project.

In reflection, Dr Fritz felt that a good relationship with PT Indo had been developed. He thought that there was no problem with this stakeholder except that "they would like to have everything now for nothing". The relationship with JIC was more difficult. The reason for this was that this company had strong financial exposure on various past projects in Indonesia and as a result "have their fiscal pockets closed". The relationship with GF "was bit difficult in the sense there are unrealistic high expectations (high in terms of labor intensive)". These high and unrealistic expectations were not fiscally supported by the contract with GF. Therefore, the restrictive budgetary burden had to be carried by the consultants. Under these conditions, Dr Fritz said that the project would have been a financial 'disaster' if he had not allocated Verity to finalize the social reports and then charged it to company overheads. "This accounting was justified on the basis of the enormous learning experience that the project gave team members".

Reflecting on the performance of team members he acknowledged that there were major difficulties. However, they were all intensively involved in another project involving the environmental consequences of mercury leaching from illegal gold mining in Seluesi. The GF project was not the only project with global, national and local political economic, environmental and socio-cultural consequences challenging the company staff. Dr Allen was another management difficulty. He disparagingly described this sub-consultant as "a western drop-out with his own way of thinking (and rules)". Part way through the project in order "to get a grip on things", Dr Fritz said that he got Tom involved with directing the environmental side of the project. This proved to be a very successful strategy. As a consequence, Rob was "motivated strongly working under the leadership of Tom (a

welcome side effect - not planned)". With a senior expatriate over him Rob was forced to shift his cultural work practices from his now assimilated Indonesian cultural mode to a more western universalized and systemized mode of operation. As a result of Tom's extensive international experience the EIA addendum was written without further delay and was well received by the client. As an aside, Dr Fritz, stated he had in fact expected the EIA work to be the most complicated part of the project.

He explained that the social document went in as a first draft without careful review from inside. In the end he said that the document read "more like a consultant's report rather than report by the project proponent", which is what it was meant to be. He added that they were still working on the project. The main reason for this had been the ongoing riots in Kalimantan, which had meant that the social fieldwork could not be completed. This situation illustrates the problems of working in a highly unstable and changing political environment. In summary, Dr Fritz considered the project to have been a successful experience because they have learnt GF's procedure and developed good links with them. Secondly, Pt Indo is "happy with us and we have developed a good relationship". Thirdly, the project team has learnt a lot and, lastly, that he would be a bit smarter at running this type of project in the future.

Dr Fritz's comments, in combination with those made by the rest of the project team, not only give an idea of the complex work environment created by stakeholder diversity, but also the business and management burden this creates for this type of professional service company charged with the responsibility of intermediating between the stakeholders. Dr Fritz realizes that there will be increased demand for this socio-cultural type of diverse stakeholder needs management in the future. Thus, recognizing the value-adding and learning potential involved in taking on such a project he was excited by the opportunity. He was prepared to break away from HQ's insensitive and universal accounting systems to more 'creatively' approach the fiscal management of the project in order to achieve more long-term oriented learning, human resource capability and relationship-building with valuable clients. This strategy reflects a high degree of responsiveness at all three societal levels.

This approach is justifiable on a one-off basis. However, the experiences of this project suggest that

this type of professional service company is being asked to pay too high a price for the privilege of winning and undertaking such prestigious work. Global organizations, such as GF, have unrealistic budgetary and human resource expectations for the provision of these quality professional services and the reality of how much time, therefore work hours and costs are involved. It is now obvious that the very diverse ideological expectations and cultural assumptions of the stakeholders contributed to significant delays, costs, misunderstandings, substandard performance, mistrust and personal stress. To effectively promote global learning, an organization such as GF needs to invest more in building local and national expertise as well as being more reflective about its own cultural assumptions. Similarly, HQ need to invest more in recognizing the long-term value of investing in and building responsive expatriate, local and national competencies.

Potentially, much more inter- and intra-stakeholder learning could have been achieved in this project. Better understanding of the role that specific cultural diversity plays in blocking or limiting inter-cultural understanding through more effective cross-cultural communications are critical to improving efficiencies and other value-adding outcomes. The experiences of those involved in this project indicate that a reflective and analytical approach to cultural practice at the micro day-to-day level can have an enormous impact on performance. This project indicates just how the experience of researching and writing specialist scientific, engineering and environmental engineering reports in English is a very controversial political activity in the new world order (Pennycook, 1994).

Summary discussion

This story presents the experiences of a mixed international environmental professional services project team undertaking work for a global banking investment client that involves addressing diverse international, national and local stakeholder perspectives. It demonstrates the impact that cultural, and linguistic stakeholder diversity have on the individual and team member interpretations, expectations, behavior, professional functions, project management, and short- and long-term stakeholder relationships. The story illustrates how the taken-for-grantedness of western cultural assumptions affects outcomes when working with particularist national and local stakeholders. The result is high levels of frustration, confusion, lack of trust, misunderstanding, lack of agreement, inefficiency and alienation. Despite the best intentions this outcome has enormous impact on both professional and

business goals.

All stakeholders brought to the project diverse personal, academic, professional and business strategies that serve them well when working with culturally like-minded people. When working with complex and pluralist stakeholder groups those diverse, but 'naturalized', professional and ethnocentric cultural strategies clash. Mixed national team members do not react and respond to each other in predictable ways. Similarly, culturally mixed stakeholders do not react and respond to each other in predictable ways. Confusion is mediated through inter-personal, inter-organizational informal and formal, oral and written communications. All stakeholders seek clarification on expectations, roles, tasks and responsibilities with little elucidation.

This story indicates how individuals with specialist science and other professional tertiary education expect that the ways they have been trained and the ways they work are universally understood and practiced, that the methodologies and the application of their field is also universal. Assumptions are made about the universal understanding of terms, the use of multidisciplinary technologies and that reports, document writing styles and guidelines are universally argued and explicitly understood. The universal 'taken-for-grantedness' of science discourse, which derives from its valorization of the concepts of objectivity and truth, falsely represents science as being a value-free or culturally neutral universal knowledge building system. It is not culture-free. In reality, in diverse and particularized national and local contexts science's meanings become particularized and appropriated in the way it is taught and practiced to fit in with the prevailing local historical, political, cultural and economic experiences and conditions.

The case study indicates that the way science has been taught in Indonesian complexly interweaves with the cultural legacy of traditional particularized Javanese cultural values, the assumptions included in Sukarno's national discourse, President Suharto's political goals of achieving economic development through science and technology education, and the centralist political and institutional architecture and culture of 32 years of a powerful and often ruthless military regime. These values become embedded in thinking, practice and communications. This national cultural framing to science education and professional practice contrasts with the culture-free assumptions framing the science

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education and professional practice of the expatriates of American, English, Australian and German national origins. All these backgrounds have particularizing cultural consequences.

The case study indicates the ways in which the multiple dimensions of the interpretive framework developed in this thesis are valuable for understanding the complex repercussions of diverse stakeholder cultural assumptions and the impact these various multifaceted dimensions have on communications and performance. The analytical application of this multi-dimensional interpretive framework identifies its practical value in framing a cultural characteristic mapping strategy. In turn, the deeper knowledge gained from the application of a qualitative cultural diversity mapping strategy can inform the design of value-adding approaches to cultural difference. This case study highlights the need for business corporations to:

- Recognize cultural characteristics exist and act in a cultural analysis and intermediatory role;
- Respect cultural difference and equipped with this deeper knowledge to find creative and synergistic ways to;
- Reconcile cultural differences (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000).

This story indicates that both GF and the consulting team did not recognize the impact of their taken-for-granted strategic and practical approach to the development project. Both GF and the expatriate consultants did not account for the impact of the various particularist cultural perspectives of the Indonesian participants - on their own team and the Pt Indo project team, and the various local perspectives. Additional complexity derived from the diverse international, national and local political agendas associated with each stakeholder group. It is apparent that there were additional, but unrecognized, ramifications relating to the differential and countervailing nature of power between the participants.

Including a highly experienced senior Indonesian member of staff with both high professional 'achieved status' and high 'ascriptive national status', such as Pak Sebelas, to act as a cross-cultural interpreter and facilitator was not enough to reduce the confusion and misunderstandings experienced between the consultants and the national development proponents. This was in part because the true value of his intermediary role was not realized. Despite his significant cosmopolitan cultural background which includes: a privileged Dutch Catholic-based primary and secondary education, a privileged tertiary education at a reputable Indonesian institution where he was taught by American

academics in English, and extensive international experience as a senior Indonesian public servant, the challenges he faced to effectively mediate between the Indonesian proponents, the regional officials, the consultants and GF were significant. Similarly, Tiga, who was usually valued for her capacity in the field, found herself very confused, unable to meet expatriate team members expectations and uncomfortable in acting as an mediator between the local sub-contractor, the national proponent and the rest of the team. Overwhelmed, her solution was to withdraw.

In contracting the consultants to carry out a socio-economic/cultural impact assessment of the development project on the local and indigenous communities, along with the AMDAL (environmental impact assessment) review, GF demonstrated recognition of the need to research the particularized cultural assumptions of the local communities in order to minimize the development's negative impact on them. GF recognized that comprehensive socio-economic and cultural knowledge of the local communities was the best way to design locally meaningful value-adding and sustainable solutions for local peoples. GF recognized the anthropological work carried out by Dr Allen would present the necessary data to develop and incorporate locally meaningful strategies into the Resettlement Action Plan (RAP), and Community and Indigenous Peoples Development Plan (CIPDP). This locally responsive strategy indicates that GF prioritizes its political role as being a global advocate for local peoples. This more ethical approach serves an institutional agenda for leveraging its global corporate reputation in the eyes of disparate critics. Thus, from GF's perspective this locally responsive strategy was constructed to be a 'win-win' for the diverse global/local participants.

Unfortunately this political advocacy role resulted in the national proponent being left out of this win-win goal, and as a result it became positioned in a conventional binary 'win-lose' relationship. GF assumed that the high ideological values framing the project would have no impact. Similarly, the asymmetrical and differential nature of power relations was not considered. GF did not recognize the impact of the particularist cultural assumptions of the national development proponent on their interpretation of the assessment process. While there is general recognition of the need for significant institutional reform in Indonesian, no consideration was given to specific learning strategies to help the proponent interpret the role and value of GF's participatory, transparency and sustainability

conditions. This lack of thought was compounded by Dr Allen's insensitive response to the stakeholder complexities. The national proponent was uncertain and often offended.

The story illustrate the ways the PT Indo project team members approached the project through their particular, communitarian, diffused, neutral, hierarchical, outer directional cultural assumptions and synchronic approaches to time, and illustrates how this affected project progress. GF and the expatriate consultants brought to the project their individualistic, specific, and affective behavior, achieved status, and inner directional cultural assumptions, pursuing sequential approaches to project time management. In light of these contrasted and unacknowledged assumptions, the professional, technical, and project management difficulties were significant and costly.

It is this thesis' contention that a deeper understanding of the impact that cultural diversity would have on performance would significantly improve relations, performance and outcomes. Analysis of the diverse perspectives of the multicultural stakeholders could have limited the project management difficulties and resulted in development strategies that incorporated more broadly conceived stakeholder learning. In heightening all stakeholders' awareness of the role that culture plays in framing diverse expectations and behavior, and the inter-relationship of this to language and communications, there is greater opportunity to build meaningful understanding between stakeholders. A more reflective and responsive project management strategy would provide the opportunity to reconcile cultural difference and negotiate more sustainable win-win development outcomes and stronger relationships.

GF imposed a powerful compliance leveraging strategy on Pt Indo that served its political self-interests. The cultural assumptions framing the global banking institution's need to pursue transparency and sustainability goals are ethnocentrically built on cultural and business practice logic. Western transparency and sustainability goals are conceived to be achieved through the universal application of generalized rules, codes, laws and guidelines derived from specific reductive, atomistic and 'objective' analysis. The global investment agency conditionally imposes these on development proponents in developing nations through the enforced compliance to environmental impact assessment standards, management and monitoring rules, codes, laws and guidelines, along with

socio-economic/cultural impact assessment of the development project. The coercive strategy application contributed to resistance and resentment from the proponent. The Indonesians on the consultant team expressed critical imperialist concerns. How widespread this Indonesian stakeholder opinion was is unknown.

If a global investment institution such as GF wants to encourage institutional strengthening in developing nations a more sensitive, and responsive approach to reconcile difference is required. Paradoxically, in this project GF promoted participatory values to empower local communities, while not including strategies to facilitate learning and encourage institutional strengthening at both the national and local level. It was only well into the project when not much progress had been made, that GF indicated that it was a part of the consultant's task to mediate between the two different value systems, to make PT Indo understand what their obligations were. However, the budget allocation did not incorporate this consultant requirement. Similarly, under the restrictive short-term, prescriptive and sequential time allocation there was simply not enough time, staff or funds to take into account Pt Indo's national cultural learning position and set in place an intermediary cultural analysis and more effective communication strategy through which value-adding 'win-wins' for all those involved may have been achieved.

If international development agencies wish to pursue more ethical, responsive and sustainable approaches to development in developing nations the role of cultural diversity needs to be better addressed. The budget and time requirements necessary to achieve this need to be better recognized. The role and concept of cultural assumptions is excluded from the previously cited WBG Executive Summary of the developing *Environmental Corporate Strategy* (The World Bank Group 2001). In order to apply a 'holistic' and sustainable strategic approaches and build genuine partnerships, as rhetorically promoted above, a cultural diversity mapping strategy that recognizes, respects, responds and then reconciles cultural difference needs to be incorporated into investment and development strategies. Indeed, only through applying a cultural diversity value-adding approach can ethical and responsive claims be made about the implementation of effective and locally meaningful environmental safeguards, guidelines, regional environmental strategies, environmental sector work and specific sector strategies that pursue the higher ethical goals to alleviate poverty in developing

nations. Or are we to conclude that The World Bank Group has not internalized the deeper implications of this and that significant institutional learning is still implicated?

Thus, this lengthy story, illustrates how diverse cultural assumptions sourced from parochial, local, national and global societal spheres are embedded in, and impact on, individual and collective expectations, exchanges and experience. The pluralist cultural framing to the professional service work becomes embedded in business and management, professional performance, the report writing tasks in both English, Bahasa Indonesia, the use of sub-cultural languages, and diverse stakeholder and client relationships. The case study gives a deeper understanding of the complex nature of heterogeneous dialogue with no shared interpretive framework and its consequences.

Chapter 9: Case study micro-level conclusions

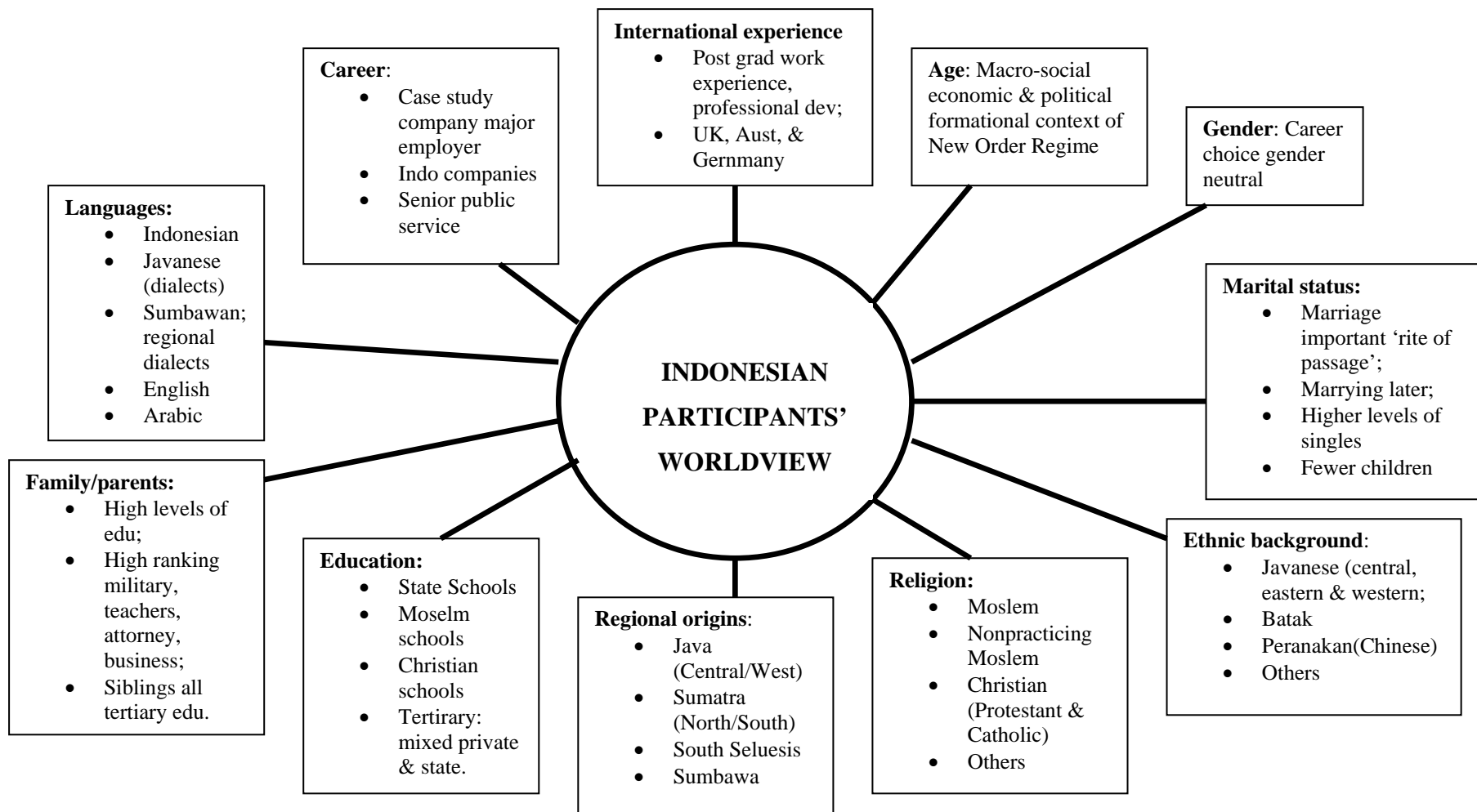**The value of cultural mapping**

The rich material presented in the case study confirms the value of the application of multidisciplinary interpretive approaches to investigate micro-level the cross-cultural communication and business performance issues associated with professional services provision in a developing nation context. The cultural mapping of the key informant worldview's and associated workplace behavior confirm the multiple dimensions to the originally narrowly conceived problem of bi-lingual professional report writing. The lengthy material presented offers valuable insights into the deeper nature of the original conceptualization of the communication problem faced by the management, expatriate and Indonesian staff members as they undertake their demanding workplace responsibilities in this professional service TNC. Furthermore, the project-based material highlights the pivotal impact of communication on professional and international project performance at the micro individual/organizational level. More specfically, the qualitative cultural mapping-oriented methodology highlights the multifaceted ways complex global, national and local cultural assumptions are embedded and compete in the practices and values of the diverse participants in this Jakarta office and its wider stakeholder relationships. The diverse cultures found in this context, as embedded in the micro-communications practices, functions and performances of individuals and groups of people, contribute to a plethora of heterogeneous dialogue with no shared interpretive framework for making sense and no consensus on how to manage this.

The findings confirm that within the organizational raising the awareness of both management and staff of the role that cultural and linguistic diversity plays in framing specific interpretations of performance and communications is an important first step to address the contextual communications issues. This step means raising awareness of the 'taken-for-granted' assumptions that frame the values and practices of particular individuals and groups and how the diverse nature of these affects communication performance and interpretation. In raising awareness about the role of cultural difference in communication, the issue of learning, i.e., learning that involves everyone - expatriate and local management, and expatriate and local professional staff - is implicated.

Essentialized notions of national culture, as promoted in the management literature, may be a useful strategy to raise awareness of the cultural impact of shared worldviews on interpretations and performance. However, the informant worldview mapping material presented emphasizes the limited value of homegneious national notions of cultural characteristics and, instead, promotes a more multifaceted and mutlilayered notion of nature of identity and worldview. The material reveals how ethnographic factors, such as age, gender, family, religion, education, ethnicity, regional origins and career and international experiences impact on the more particularized nature of micro-level participant worldviews; in other words, just how various influences from global, national and local, public, professional and private spheres variously frame the particularized nature of the worldviewsd of the specific individuals and groups. Figure 9.1 following presents the various socio-cultural factors that impact on the interpretative frameworks of the Indonesian research participants. The idiosyncratic nature of individual experience accounts for the variability and differential weight given to the particularizing influences. The findings indicate that beneath the apparently cohesive and collective national Indonesian worldview, there is significant sub-cultural pluralism. The interviews revealed that despite the coercive national institutional framework, many of the participants had critical and counter- formational sub-cultural influences that further particularized their identity and behaviour variously derived from specific ethnographic factors in their personal backgrounds.

The diversity represented amongst the participants' perspectives indicates the strength and particularizing nature of local socio-cultural systems as co-existing with the homogenizing and often coercively applied political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions to national Indoensian discourse. It is conceivable that similar socio-cultural complexity and polycentrism could be identified in the citizens of many nations, along with unifying and shared cultural characteristics, but it is particularly relevant for a pluralistic nation, such as Indonesia. Furthermore, the material reveals how both private and professional experiences derived from the international sphere are an additional particularizing influence on these Indonesian worldviews. These dynamic and interarticulated particularizing and universalizing characteristics will only increase as a result of the contemporary global flows of people and ideas. Thus, the 'universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism' (Robertson 1991) notion is a valuable concept to interpret the dynamic nature of change across global,

International experience
- Post grad work experience, professional dev;
- UK, Aust, & Gernmany

Career:
- Case study company major employer
- Indo companies
- Senior public service

Age: Macro-social economic & political formational context of New Order Regime

Gender: Career choice gender neutral

Languages:
- Indonesian
- Javanese (dialects)
- Sumbawan; regional dialects
- English
- Arabic

Marital status:
- Marriage important 'rite of passage';
- Marrying later;
- Higher levels of singles
- Fewer children

INDONESIAN PARTICIPANTS' WORLDVIEW

Family/parents:
- High levels of edu;
- High ranking military, teachers, attorney, business;
- Siblings all tertiary edu.

Education:
- State Schools
- Moslem schools
- Christian schools
- Tertirary: mixed private & state.

Regional origins:
- Java (Central/West)
- Sumatra (North/South)
- South Seluesis
- Sumbawa

Religion:
- Moslem
- Nonpracticing Moslem
- Christian (Protestant & Catholic)
- Others

Ethnic background:
- Javanese (central, eastern & western;
- Batak
- Peranakan(Chinese)
- Others

Figure 9.1: The various socio-cultural factors that impact upon the interpretive frameworks of the Indonesian informants included in the case study company

national and local spheres under the influences of globalization, with particular relevance for the area of communications management in the international corporate sector at the micro level.

The implications of culture and power for communications and professional performance

Both the interviews and project work highlight the impact and influence of various aspects of the dynamic flow and counter-flow of economic, political and cultural power across global, national and local spheres at the micro-level. The concept of power and the asymmetrical nature of transactions, interactions and relationships, as applied at the micro-level, play a significant role in shaping the understandings between diverse peoples, and hence, have internal and external micro-level management implications across and between global, national and local spheres. It is evident that dynamic and resistive cultural flows co-exist as counter-vailing interpretive process to those of top-down and sometimes coercively applied cultural forces, and these often competing processes further highlight of the complex nature of interpretations, and how the issue of power affects the quality of communications between diverse stakeholders. Thus, this research elevates the notion that power plays a significant role in the ethnocentric framing of communications and interpretations between the global, national and local spheres at the micro-level. Hence, the research material presented emphasizes why raising awareness of the role of power in shaping communication interpretation has important implications for achieving imporoved professional project performance and objectives.

As a consequence of their cultural pluralism, the Indonesian participants have diverse multicultural and multilingual knowledge and skills. From the company's perspective, the Indonesian staff's performance, as based around its workforce English language report writing need, are viewed as being deficit. This international corporate perspective is understandable, but it is also understandable why, despite significant efforts on behalf of the Indonesians, they have attained limited Engish language performance capcities. Building this high level of cross-cultural and linguistic capapcity is challenging. It requires significant personal, corporate and national investment. Nevertheless, at the same time, this Indonesian sub-cultural diversity is an obvious cultural resource for the Indonesian company operations, especially in a devolving political context. Implicit in the sub-cultural diversity are individuals with multicultural and multilingual communications skills, and the capacity to switch between diverse language and communication systems according to context. The project performance

material reveals how, in a complex operational context such as Indonesia, this sub-cultural diversity is undervalued by the company and it represents a value-adding potential in the form of a more local and culturally responsive approachs to professional work and its management.

The implications for English as *the* international business language

The case study identifies the limited and ethnocentric value of western-based universal conceptualizations of English as *the* world language in an international corporate setting. It highlights the additional burden that this global linguistic communications vehicle places on individuals and organizations in developing nations in engaging in the global economy. The case study emphasizes at the micro-level that English is not culture-free, but mediates particularized cultural assumptions. Furthermore, its local usage is additionally particularized through the deeply ingrained influence of local cultural logic. The ethnocentric assumptions framing the universal assumptions of a conceived homogenizing role for English, and the complex reality of more particularized English language usage, highlight the need to incorporate and sensitively respond to the complex ways diverse cultural worldviews underpin language usage at the micro-level. In order to address the costs associated with poor company and project performance and stakeholder management the particular case study company needs to not only elevate awareness of the impact of the communications issues, but also make considerable investment in raising the English language performance capacity of the Indonesian staff along with the improving the cross-cultural communications awareness and capacity of all the staff. Furthermore, the ethnocentric western cultural assumptions and the asymmetrical nature of western institutional power associated with the international environmental impact professional services offered by this U.S.-based company and its wider organizational stakeholder relationships emphasize the imperialist economic, political and cultural interpretations that become associated with professional functions and English language performance

The majority of the participants recognize that English communication skills represent crucial cultural capital to enable them to participate in the global economy. It is apparent that the Indonesian staff's lack of literacy in western individualist cultural values underpins their limited capacity to write English reports for the company and its international clients. In other words, these Indonesians to improve their performance through the acquisition of appropriate and professional-based English

language literacy they must also acquire the sophisticated western cultural and professional competencies beyond basic English language and grammar performance skills. The issue of acquiring western cultural literacy frames their inability to perform professionally according to universally conceived expatriate disciplinary and corporate performance expectations. For example, the meanings in headings on English report writing guidelines look similar to the Indonesian ones. However, the details included are to be argued on western linear, analytical and deterministic cultural logic. Similarly, expatriate professional fieldwork practice is ethnocentrically framed on specific western 'inner directional' cultural assumptions, while the Indonesian staff apply 'outer directional' cultural assumptions (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000).

To operate more effectively, the staff and management of this office need to be able to make sense of the two exceedingly different cultural systems that frame the diverse cultural interpretations of the role and functions of management, the multidisciplinary professional functions of staff, the business purposes of the company, and the wider stakeholder relationships. In general, to the Indonesians, and for that matter the Japanese stakeholder representatives in the project work, the western cultural logic and the communication practices associated with it are alien, often offend, and/or simply do not make sense. The material reveals how the ways in which the specificities of their collective and particularized worldviews frame their particular interpretations and behavior, and this reality results in significant misunderstandings and offence. These cross-cultural issues lie at the heart of all communications and performance concerns in the office, and thus, awareness of the impact of these cultural issues needs to be raised in this company. Only by building meaningful and responsive cross-cultural communications strategies and skills can diverse stakeholder perspectives and needs be addressed.

Communications management as a focus to improve performance

Without specific support for the development of multicultural skills, misunderstandings and misinterpretations at the microlevel are inevitable. This issue has significant implications for the staff's professional and business performance and it provides a management focus for improvement. Furthermore, the operations realities of this company in this context highlight that the development of a polycentric corporate culture would promote the value of individuals with the capcity to switch

between the required cultural literacy of all systems. The development of this cultural value in both management and staff would be an important strategy to improve the all-round business performance of the international case study company. This finding emphasizes that an international organization operating in Indonesia, must address and respond to just what the national value system means at the micro-level in culturally specific and local terms of leadership, managerial systems, HR recruitment, professionalism, operating mixed national project teams, professional development, and relationships with the wider business, government, community, and various stakeholders. It must also address the economic, political and cultural implications of its business operation in a developing nation context. Indeed, it is evident that a more responsive, ethical and sustainable business approach to business and HR management is required. Each of the Indonesian staff represents an important resource for the company to link into Indonesian institutions and society. Furthermore, it is evident in light of the professional work undertaken by them that they are also an exceedingly valuable resource for the future development of Indonesia.

However, the findings reveal how through corporate promotion and reporting material HQ superficially wraps ethnocentric values and self-interest in public relations-based globalization discourse to brand the company as 'global'. The HQ approach to international management is to narrowly apply marketing strategies, such as global branding, to mask ethnocentric and imperialist corporate self-interest. The ethics of this are questionable. Self-interested management strategies such as this display a superficial understanding of the value-adding potential of cultural diversity. Under the prevailing and powerful competitive assumptions of the market values of HQ a lack of real interest in, or responsiveness to, the particularized local political, social, cultural and economic reality of its international division offices is demonstrated. Streamlining management functions on a worldwide basis in pursuit of maximized efficiency and profitability gives HQ the illusion of cultural-neutrality. The application of English (U.S. standard), accounting systems, generic communications codes and systems, and controls that set quality standards and assessment are all assumed to be culturally neutral and efficient streamlining management strategies. In general, however, the material presented reveals evidence that in the off-shore international division some expatriates and local staff interpret this ethnocentric HQ corporate approach as having economic and cultural imperialist implications. This economic imperialist impression is no better summarized than by the awareness of staff in the

Australian offices that the profitability of the Australia/Asia regional operation largely serves to cover the sizeable remuneration package of the US-based company CEO. This perceived exploitation is essentially divisive and, therefore, will have counterproductive consequences for company performance.

There are few 'working' relationships between the staff of the domestic company and the international division beyond a few very senior positions. There is little across company knowledge sharing, or even understanding of the professional and technical human resources and expertise that the company has overall, although more latterly, efforts are being made to improve this situation. Commonly, expats come and go; projects begin and end. Information designed for the domestic company workforce is insensitively dispersed internationally with little consideration for the 'on-the-ground' realities facing the international division. HQ's 'spin-doctor' rhetoric simplifies and 'writes out' the existing cultural diversity by superficially umbrella-ing everyone under a shared corporate vision of a being 'world-class' global company. This strategy highlights the significant gap between rhetoric, image and reality in universally applying corporate management strategies ascross a range of diverse context and the central role of cross-cultural communications in mediating diverse interpretations of these. HQ needs to develop a more integrated, culturally aware and learning-oriented HRM approach; that is one that views and values *all* the company's international human resources as a valuable and global pool of professional services resources.

Nevertheless, the case study material revals that a more responsve approach *is* applied to the day-to-day management issues of the regional branch offices. A degree of autonomous decision-making is left to branch office managers. This managerial freedom does present opportunities for local management to be locally responsive and responsible. Unfortunately, the application of HQ's culturally competitive and -oriented fiscal management approach means that, in practical terms, limited funds are available for local managers to instigate locally responsive management and HRD strategies. The findings reveal that the specificities of the local expatriate PD's worldview combined with a de-centralized HQ regional management policy account for the more polycentric-oriented management approach and subsequent local office business successes. More specifically, the application of a characteristic German cultural approach frames the local management strategies.

Under the culturally framed "well-oiled-machine" (Schneider & Barsourx 1997) logic, the high technical expertise role of the expatriate staff is combined with additional integrated management and leadership functions. This integrated technical and management style of expatriate leadership 'guarantees' conceived quality outcomes of professional work safeguarding the company's international corporate reputation. However, it also places enormous performance responsibilities on the expatriate staff.

The PD's fundamental universal belief in the HR 'talents' of all peoples and the HRD value of education means that he has taken considerable corporate risks investing in employing and developing the professional skill levels of Indonesians. This particular approach derives from a European 'communitarian' cultural logic. This particular belief meant that he was the first manager to engage Indonesians to function as professionals since the company first began operating in Indonesia in 1951. Consequently, there have been significant business successes resulting from applying evolving polycentric management strategies.

The micro-level perspectives in the project-based story demonstrate the consequences and ramifications of multiculturalism and multilingualism on the diverse interpretations, expectations, behavior, professional performance and business functions of pluralistic global, national and local stakeholders engaged in a specific development project in regional Indonesia. This story comprehensively illustrates the impact of the 'taken-for-grantedness' associated with the ethnocentric local, national and international cultural assumptions applied by each stakeholder group to interpret their professional roles and responsibilities during the project.

Drawing on the project story material Table 9.1 enables comparisons to be made between the goals, political agendas, operational assumptions, reporting languages used, and communicative styles framing GF and Pt Indo stakeholder perspectives. It identifies that the specific Indonesian cultural interpretive framework of Pt Indo did not give them the appropriate cultural and linguistic resources necessary to meaningfully make sense of GF's political leveraging and compliance strategy, which was conditional for funding approval on this project. It is apparent that if a full cultural 'audit', or socio-cultural impact assessment of the assumptions of all key stakeholders had been carried out in the

first place, the significant impact of cultural diversity on project performance and outcomes could have been deterened and then strategically responded to through various communications management strategies designed to address the complexity at eh micro operational level.. Equipped with this multicultural knowledge, the case study management and project team would have been in a far better position to act in an intermediary role in reconciling the highly different cultural points of view. With elevated stakeholder awareness of the role of culture in performance, additional learning would be implicated in the stakeholder negotiation and the reconciliation processes. The comprehensive nature of learning required highlights the potential value of the inclusion of a cross-cultural communications management specialist.

While GF's responsive and ethical organizational concern for the protection of local indigenous community interests is commendable, GF failed to see that without convincing PT Indo of the value of their approach, or without reconciling the difference between the two approaches, the outcome would be fundamentally counterproductive, divisive and confrontational, and thereby contribute to individual and collective mistrust and resentment. Arguably, this -oriented political management strategy constructs Pt Indo as an institutional "deficit model" (Fairclough 1992). The implication is that the area of global management at the micro levelrequires everyone to be learning. If a polycentric culturally responsive managerial approach that heightened stakeholder awareness of the role of culture had been applied to the project, a far more positive outcome could have been achieved.

A global funding agency is in a very powerful position negotiating with a developing nation. The consequences of asymmetrical relationships were negative and not addressed. Not recognizing the cross-institutional role of power and the deeper implications of stakeholder diversity on this type of development project meant that the project team and management had to carry high levels of professional, personal and corporate burdens. GF allocated an inappropriately low consultancy fee for the comprehensive nature of the work required. The the branch office of the consulting case company took on the project because of the prestigious nature of the client, and to expand its portfolio of professional services. This situation emphasizes the real costs associated with the global role of learning in the new world order.

Table 9.1: The comparison of the project key stakeholder cultural values and practices.

Global Finance	Pt Indo
Goals: contracted the case study company to undertake the necessary environmental consulting professional service work for Pt Indo to gain compliance to environmental and socio-economic and socio-cultural impact assessment standards in order to gain funding for a regional mining development project. The leveraging strategy is designed to meet GFs 'pareto optimum' (no harm) approach to development projects to protect local communities from negative impact. This political compliance leveraging strategy is designed to protect GF's prestigious global funding and investment agency's corporate reputation.	**Goals**: to get investment funds from prestigious international funding agency (US-based) to develop mining project in regional Indonesia; to help rebuild stagnant Indonesian economy
Operational assumptions: - the value of rules and generalized codes; universal human rights; the value of reductive and 'objective' analysis; a sequential and deterministic approach to the development process and time management; and inner direction (mastery of nature)	**Operational assumptions**: particularist national Indonesian. A government development agency with high ascriptive status (unquestioned power and authority); particularist communitarian Javanese-based ethnic style of leadership and management style, paternalistic and hierarchical attitude towards local peoples; group-orientation to project work; Indonesian science values and practices; a synchronic approach to project development and time management; and particularized outer direction.
Language: international English (US standard)	**Language**: Bahasa Indonesia
Communication style: explicit, low context dependent assumptions, affective, critical, analytical, argumentative and personalized.	**Communication style**: indirect, elaborate, and circumlocutory, high context dependent, consensus-oriented, neutral - non-critical and acknowledging the hierarchical nature of authority
Project reports: conceptual, inner directional, specified analytical assessment and development reports linearly and deterministically arguing framed development guidelines.	**Project reports**: particularist, consensus-oriented, circulatory arguments, outer directional action strategies to guide project development

Ther material presented reveals that GF is beginning to acknowledge the importance of local responsiveness and the learning involved in the ethical and sustainable aspects of addressing its increasingly publicly accountable global funding and investment role. However, the holistic and deeper nature of that learning is not yet understood. Ethnocentric cultural assumptions underpin its

strategic operational framework. It is not understood that this kind of wider stakeholder learning requires significant financial investment to gain long-term global investment dividends, strengthen its global corporate reputation and make a valuable and ethical contribution to its organsiational role to encourage sustainable development and institutional strengthening in developing nations.

Thus, this research contributes a deeper understanding of the followinf generalisable ideas about the role of communications management for professional service TNCs operating in developing nation contexts:

- The impact of language and culture on professional performance and managerial function;

- The value of assessing the impact of diverse cultural assumptions of both internal and external stakeholder diversity and the role;

- The need to responsively incorporate knowledge about cultural diversity into professional services project-based organisational and HR management;and

- The relationship of project performance to the wider organizational feedback and learning processes required at the micro-organisational and project–based level to achieve the more sustainable business and development goals of a professional services company

The research material indicates how the complex repercussions of multilayered contextual cultural diversity which reverberates through the pluralistic micro-level organizational communications and practices found in a particular TNC office in Indonesia has additional important macro-level implications.

Chapter 10: The macro-level implications of the case study

Conclusions

Through the application of an integrated and multifaceted investigative approach, designed to respond to the four research question posed at the beginning of this thesis, the case study reveals:

- Why the task of professional report writing is not usefully separated from writing as a cultural production and interpretation process, and

- why neither can easily be divorced from the specific local circumstances in which writing takes place,

- nor sperated from the broader institutional and socio-historical contexts which inform those particular occasions of writing (Candlin 1999).

At the macro-level, the qualitative material indicates the limitations of managerial strategies designed on narrow understandings of the impact of multiculturalism on professional and organizational communication functions and performance. Furthermore the rich material included in the case study emphasizes the deeper and more complex insights that result from macro level contextualization of micro level organizational and operationals issues. Thus, the findings of this research have implications for international management, HRM, HRD and the higher education sector, and all those critically concerned with the development of a more civil and sustainable future for global society. Furthermore, the material presented indicates why international business, and in particular, international professional services organizations have a key role to play in the development of a sustainable global society.

The strategic purpose in designing the multifaceted interpretative framing to a micro-organisational case specific performance concern was to move away from 'blaming the victim', in over emphasizing the role of literacy at the expense of other systemic factors (Mawer, 1999). In this case, the systemic issues were conceived to be the interarticulated universalizing and particularizing cultural, political and economic processes associated with globalization, and competing ideas associated with the pluralistic cultural models for management and work operating in international businesses. The initial request for help was framed as a site specific 'communication problem'. The research indicates how this corporate institutional approach to the communication problem falls into the prevailing ideas

in popular discourse of workplace literacy which tend to underestimate and devalue human potential and mis-characterizes literacy as a curative for problems that literacy alone cannot solve (Mawer, 1999): "Labeling problems as communications difficulties, or skill deficiencies, when often they may really be about power, or inefficient management, shifts the blame onto the already marginalized and vulnerable" (p. 84).

The research supports Mawer's contention that this narrowly conceived institutional approach obscures social and economic problems, applies questionable rationale and smokescreens to key societal problems that are symptomatic of larger societal ills. Therefore, this arrogant and insensitive approach contributes to the costly corporate and institutional, individual and community, failures associated with global institutional development projects. Chapter 8 identifies the significant macro-level political and cultural dimensions to the professional services offered by the case study company. The multicultural, multidisciplinary and multilingual nature of professional environmental consulting services is indicated by the multifaceted technical, professional and management tasks required of the individual project team members. Furthermore, the material reveals how the team was charged with managing the complex intermediation responbilities between a powerful global investment-funding agency, a high status Indonesian national government specialist development agency, and locally powerful ethnic Dayak community leaders with limited cross-cultural communications HR and management awareness and capacity, and poor organizational and client-based support. Yet, the development project was a crucial regional/local development strategy in the near stagnant Indonesian economy.

Thus, this case study illustrates how, with the political nature of the report writing of a professional service TNC, the processes of writing and report production "can be seen as a site of struggle and change where diverse cultures meet" (Candlin & Hyland 1999). Interpreted this way, the research indicates international business's limited and self-interest understanding of the political, economic and cultural dimensions to its activities. Similarly, the impact of international business' powerful political institutional position in asymmetrical global, national and local corporate negotiations and relationships needs to be addressed, and the link made between this power and the ethnocentric nature of its organizational cultural assumptions and practices. This research indicates that if international

corporate activities and performance are to be improved and more effective and sustainable outcomes and relationships achieved, then these issues of power and cultural ethnocentrism must be addressed. This thesis contends that the international professional service sector and the higher education sector has an important role to play in educating international business about the value-adding potential of cultural diversity and the design of polycentric strategies for managing this.

Powerful international investment and development funding organizations have a vital catalytic role to play in improving practice. This research emphasizes that global institutions need to be more reflective of the cultural assumptions framing their practices and performance. Under the increasing scrutiny of diverse critics, and responding to increasing public pressure for performance transparency, international agencies need to make a greater investment in their own organizational learning needs and recognize the lost opportunities created by ethnocentrism. This research indicates that there is limited understanding of the resource requirements and economic costs involved in promoting and developing more holistically conceived responsive and sustainable business practices. In assessing the feasibility of projects in developing nations, international agendies look to risk factors such as political stability, institutional transparency and local human resource capabilities. Nevertheless, because these projects are essentially concerned with the economic return on investment the funding allocated towards the incorporation of culturally sensitive strategies for strengthening local and national institutions and HR capacities are underestimated, or omitted. At the same time, ethnocentric and 'deficit' cultural criticisms of national and local institutions, and their lack of 'appropriate' international standardd local and national HR capabilities, continue. For a developing nation like Indonesia the lack of reflective and strategic management support by developed nation agendies is a critical matter. This situation emphasizes the needs for international agencies to incorporate "triple-bottom line" accountancy cultural assumptions (Elkington 1997) associated with the interdependent and multifaceted objectives of sustainable development.

This research presents a vivid example of how the professional and business report writing function of a professional service TNC and a global bank takes on a critical political role of mobilizing social action (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson 1999). Under the converging influences of globalization, increasingly people with widely different socio-cultural backgrounds, worldviews and communicative

styles also converge (Mawer 1999). This research practically demonstrates how the resultant heterogeneous dialogue impacts on business, management, and human resource performance. The case study emphasizes how in the multicultural and multi-global work places the ability to adapt, and successfully negotiate through these differences has become crucial (Mawer 1999). In light of the multilayered and particularized nature of cultural identity it is not enough to memorize a list of do's and don'ts with regard to the national cultures in question, nor is it sufficient to rely on one's common sense or tick-list knowledge learned in some crash course in international business and management courses (Niemeier, Campbell, & Driven 1998). Both international business and international management schools need to recognize the significant multidimensional investment in human resource development that is required to enable companies and employees to be able to develop the kinds of strategic, collaborative and cross-cultural competence that is required to improve business and management performance in the multicultural circumstances that globalization is creating for us all.

In summary, drawing on the material presented in the case study at the macro-level this research indicates that:

- The complex role of culture and language in professional functions and communication practices across all human resource levels and areas, and in all interactive client/stakeholder relationships must be better understood and acted upon;

- The deeper meanings of the cultural dimensions of a "learning organization" (Senge 1990) must be realized; and that

- The responsive and responsible strategic approach of one senior management representative alone in a multicultural and multilingual corporate and national context is not enough to significantly improve professional and business performance; and thus

- In order to address the wider asymmetrical political and cultural nature of the practices and activities of international management, whole organizational learning is required;

- The professional human resources of a developing nation represent a valuable resource for their families, their country and their international employer and should be managed accordingly;

- In order to develop polycentric worldviews and cross-cultural communication skills the professional development of individuals needs to be both experiential and meaningful; and thus

- It is apparent that a whole organizational multifaceted and integrated investment approach to improving strategic, collaborative and cross-cultural communicative skills needs to be implemented in all organizations operating in the global sphere.

In light of the inter-relationships between the processes of globalization, the multicultural nature of communications and the diverse models for management and work, this thesis highlights the complex particularized nature of work and performance. In the workplace realities of the information age, knowledge workers are increasingly being expected to perform multifaceted and multiskilled tasks. The need for highly sophisticated cross-cultural and multilingual skills adds yet another challenging dimension to already multidimensional -oriented performance criteria notions:

> Multi-skilling creates problematic ideological and philosophical challenges in terms of how our practice is to be defined and how, we, ourselves are being positioned as agents of the workplace, of the particular institution that employs or funds us and by the demands of wider [international,] national training and employer polities (Mawer 1999, p. 273).

This reality indicates the need for comprehensive and strategic approaches to raising awareness levels of the fundamental cross-cultural nature of all communication and performance functions in international business and the role that cultural and linguistic diversity plays in determining corporate success.

Hence, this research argues the case for the value of "cultural diversity auditing" or cultural impact assessment in the work place, but more particularly in multicultural and multilingual workplaces where the corporate needs of diverse stakeholders are to be addressed. The rich material in the case study highlights derived from its qualitative desing methodology. The multidimensional interpretive framework supports Cope and Kalantsiz' (1997, 2000) critical perspectives on the managerial workplace implications of the inter-related economic, political, and cultural changes oderiving from globalization, and limitations of the powerful western ethnocentric cultural logic in framing the provailing theory on management and work. It joins with Cope and Kalantzis (2000; 1997), and the multidisciplinary New London Group (1996) writers to emphasize the value of critical and polycentric

cultural analysis to more effectively promote the development of multiple communicative literacy skills as required in the international workforce.

More specifically, this research supports the logic underpinning Mawer (1999) comments concering the value of having an external person who is 'in the workplace, but not of it'; of the value of someone who is able to relate to different hierarchical levels, constructively question the prevailing assumptions and bring fresh perspectives. Hence, this research joins with these critical perspectives to recommend the institutional value of a multidisciplinary and polycentric specialist for taking on this cultural auditing, or impact assessment, and intermediation role. Moreover, the personal insights derived from undertaking this research and the valuable material derived promotes the conceptualization of this role as a 'corporate mothering' function, or a 'polycentric cultural advocate'. The essentially pragmatic, but nurturing and faciliative nature of the communications management role implicit in the concept fit with Handy's (1997) call for organizations to be conceived of as communities with all the diverse constituency of a village. This function is conceived to require the capacity to hold multiple and often contradictory cultural, personal and professional perspectives in mind at the same time and be capable of responding sensitively to these by having the devolved authority to mentor and facilitate reconciliation and value-adding 'synergistic' (Adler 1997; Harris & Moran 1996) solutions.

Finally, this research highlights the pivotal importance, at the macro-level, of the incorporating the following factors to improve international business management and performance and, hence, the contribution international business can make to a more civil global society:

- Increasing awareness of the value and impact of cultural and linguistic diversity and the related issue of asymmetrical power relations across global, national and local organizations and communities;

- Addressing the real fiscal and personal costs of ethnocentric western institutionalised managerial approaches applied in the particularist and developing nation contexts of the world; and

- Recognizing the false 'culture-free' assumptions articulating to the use of English;

- Ack nowledging the dominance of ethnocentric western individualist cultural assumptions in international business and management discourse; and, therefore,

- The critical role of managing cross-cultural communication in the development of a polycentric new world order, and so

- Recommends the development of a strategic and operational communications management function based on multicultural analysis and polycentric and multi-literate communication skills in order to address the multifaceted political, economic and cultural dimensions implicit in managing the complex stakeholder relations associated with a more integrated and interdependent global community context.

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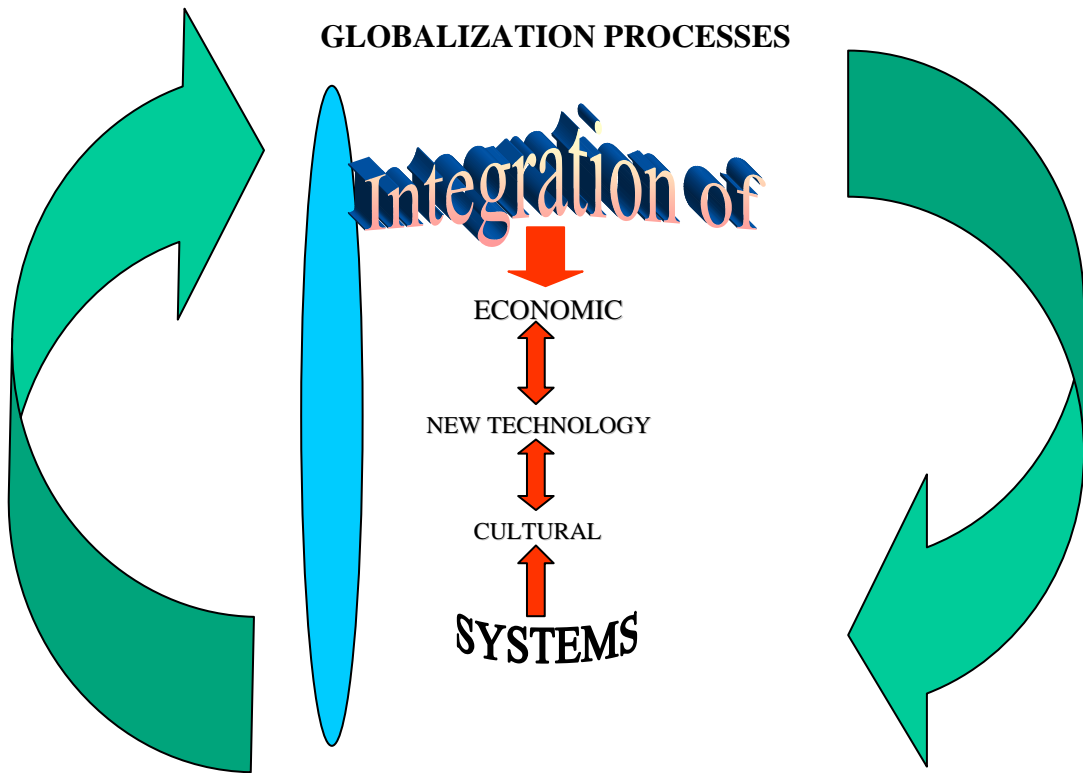
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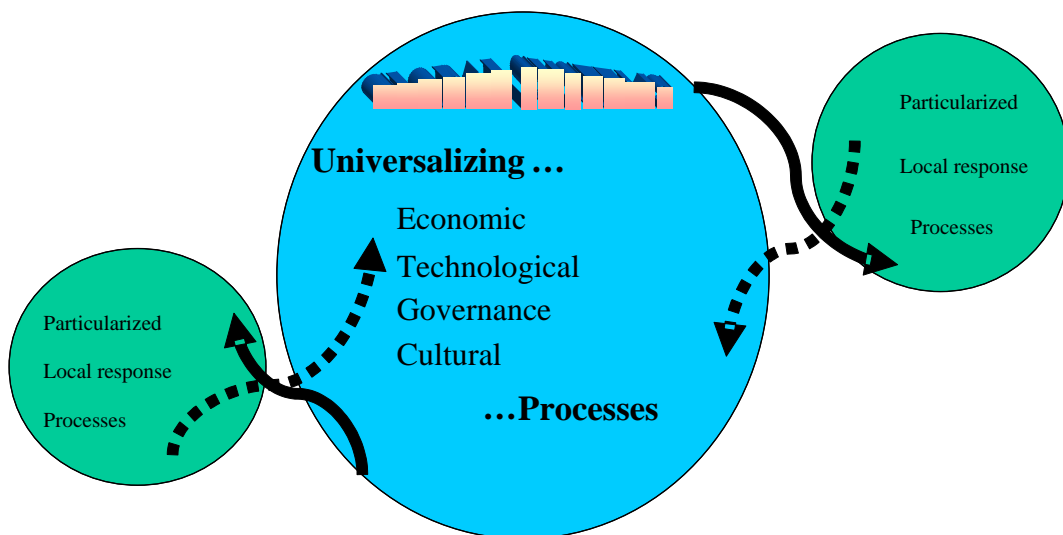
APPENDIX: Graphic represtations ofr the multidimensional framework for interpreting the management of cross cultural communication and business performance in a professional service TNC operating in Indonesia.
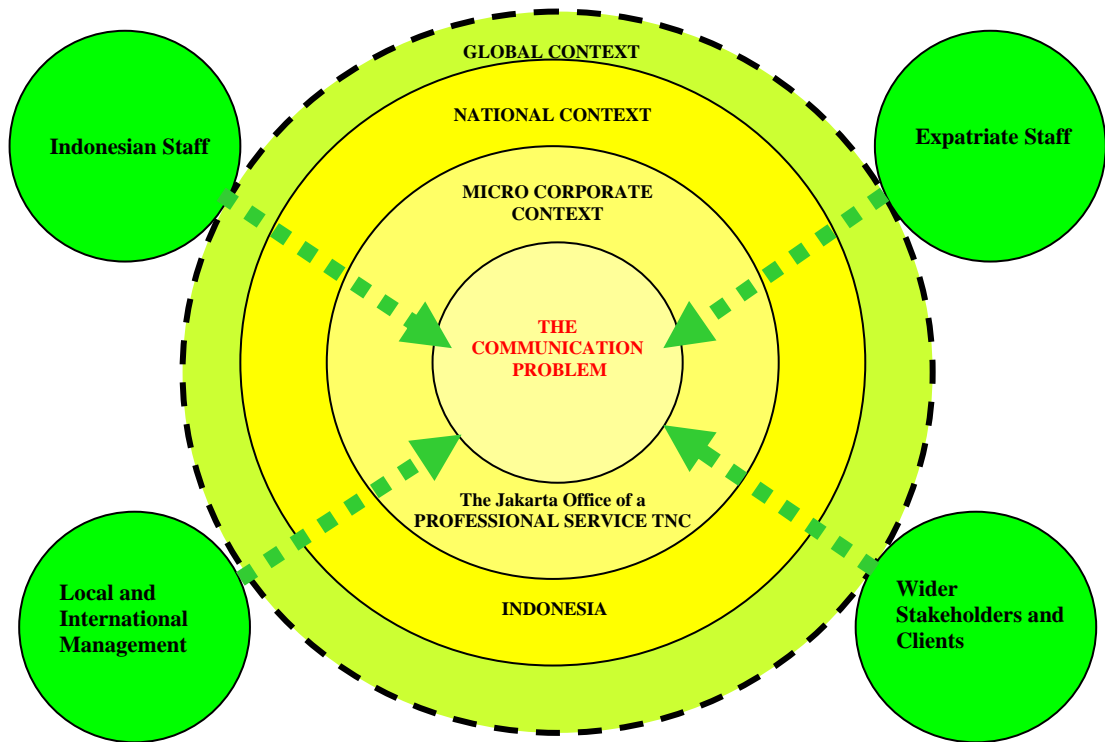
Figure 1: Micro/macro level contextual framing of the 'communication problem'.

GLOBALIZATION PROCESSES

Integration of

ECONOMIC

NEW TECHNOLOGY

CULTURAL

SYSTEMS

Figure 2: The integrating and universalizing new world order

Universalizing …

Economic
Technological
Governance
Cultural

…Processes

Particularized

Local response

Processes

Particularized

Local response

Processes

Figure 3: Global and local cultural flow processes

403

GLOBAL SYSTEMS
Economic
Political
Coercive
Symbolic

National bottom-up flows

NATIONAL SYSTEMS
Economic
Political
Coercive
Symbolic

Countervailing dynamic flows

Countervailing dynamic flows

Local bottom-up flows

LOCAL SYSTEMS
Economic
Political
Coercive
Symbolic
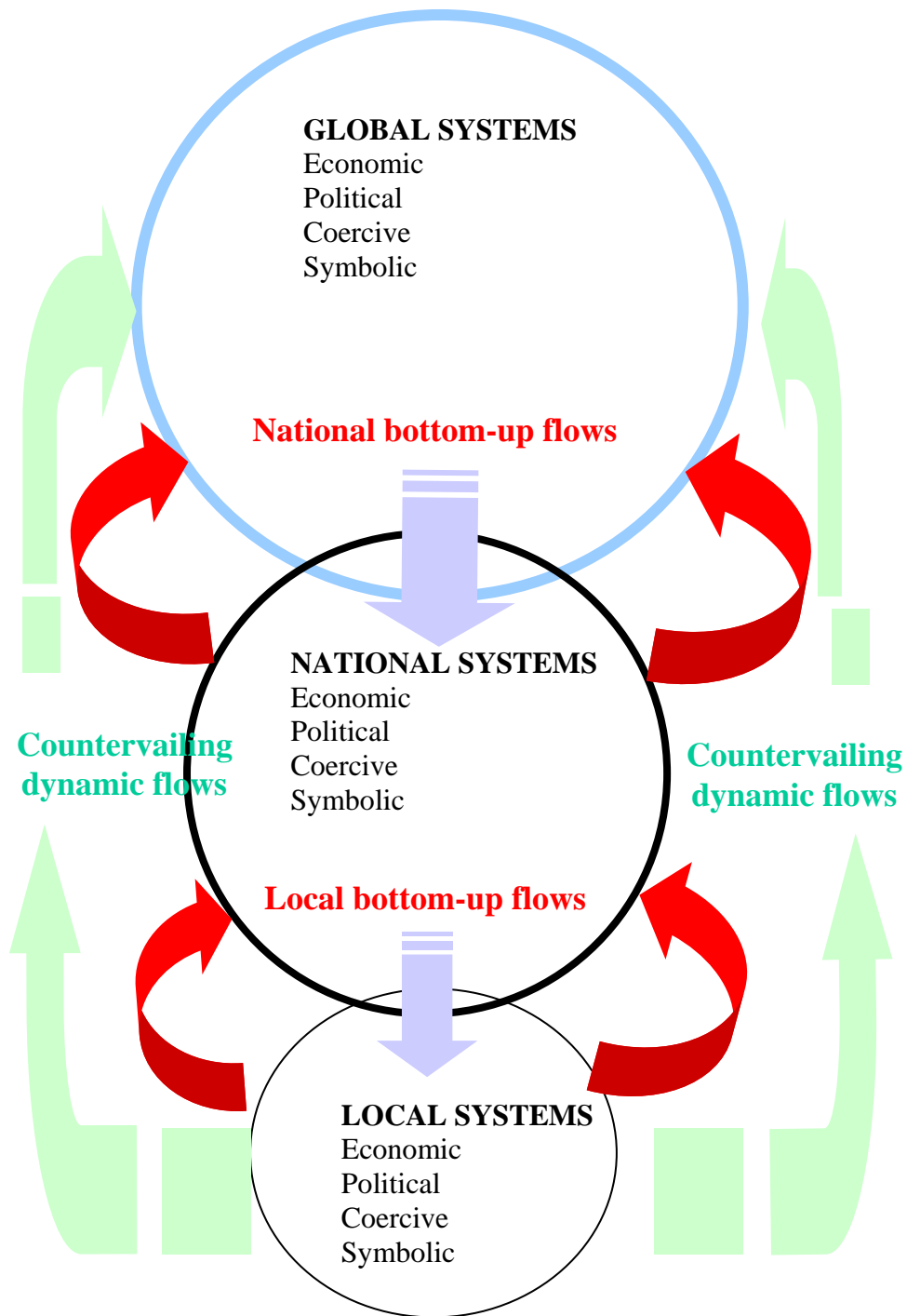
Figure 4: Overlapping, international dynamics of power (Singleton 2002)
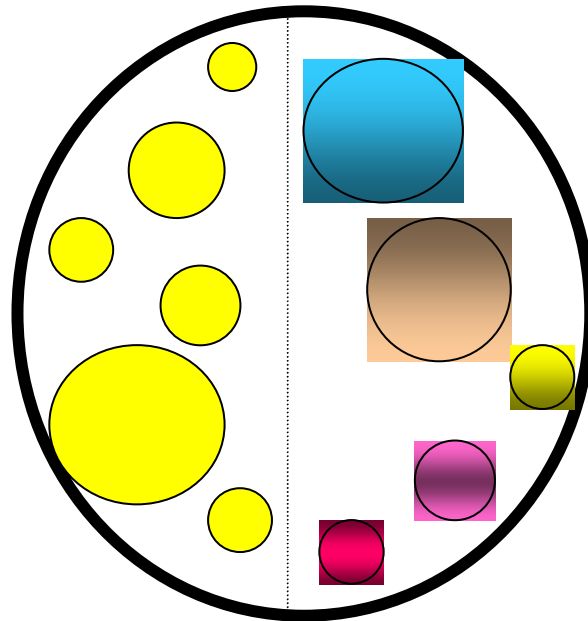
Figure 4: Imagining nations

IMAGINED WHOLE

UNIVERSAL NOTIONS:

• Cultural (Homogeneous
   &   ethnocentric)

•Language (institutional and
monolingual)

•Imagined world view
promoted by institutionalized
policy strategies

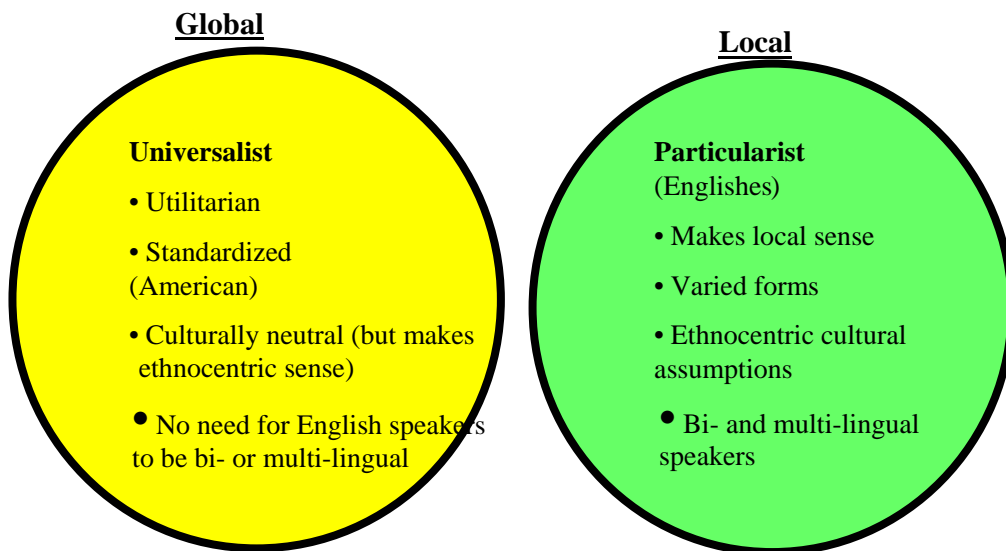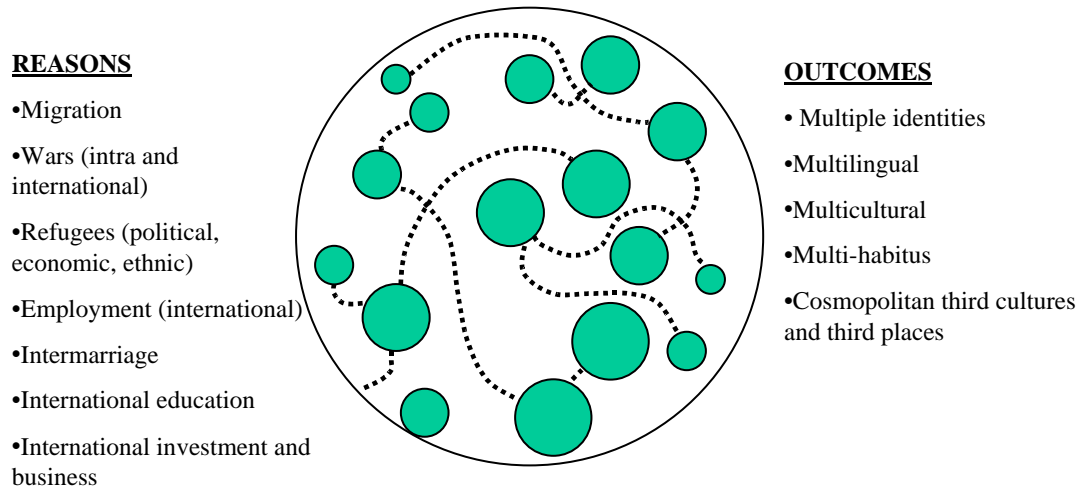**IDENTITY:** Shared or imposed

**PARTICULARIZED
REALITY**

PARTICULARIZED:

•Multicultural (sub-cultural)

•B -multi-lingual
 i
•Diverse world
 views

IDENTITY: Diverse and multi-
layered

Figure 5: Complex and increasing peoples flows

REASONS

•Migration

•Wars (intra and international)

•Refugees (political, economic, ethnic)

•Employment (international)

•Intermarriage

•International education

•International investment and business

OUTCOMES

• Multiple identities

•Multilingual

•Multicultural

•Multi-habitus

•Cosmopolitan third cultures and third places

Global

Universalist

• Utilitarian

• Standardized (American)

• Culturally neutral (but makes ethnocentric sense)

• No need for English speakers to be bi- or multi-lingual

Local

Particularist
(Englishes)

• Makes local sense

• Varied forms

• Ethnocentric cultural assumptions

• Bi- and multi-lingual speakers

Figure 6: global and local interpretations of the international role for English
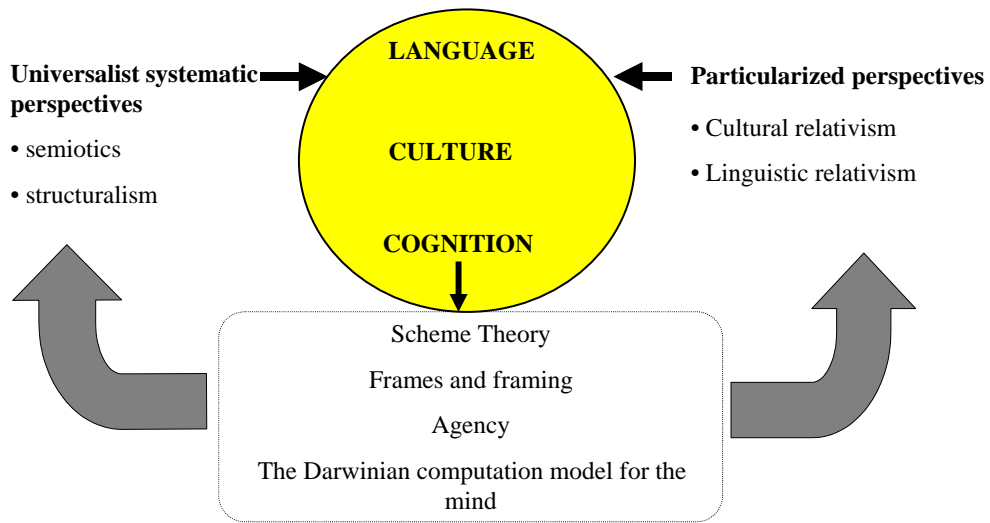
Figure 7: Evolving Universalist and Particularist ttheories of meaning
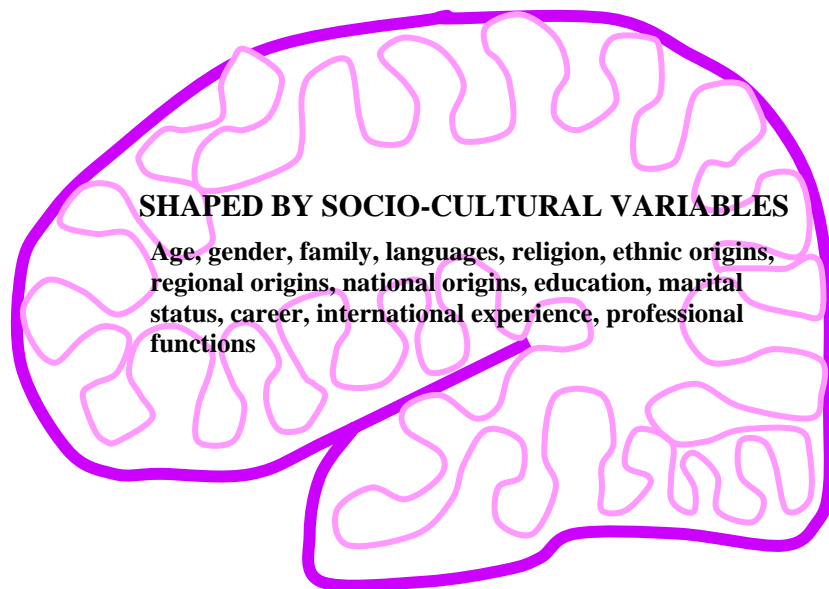
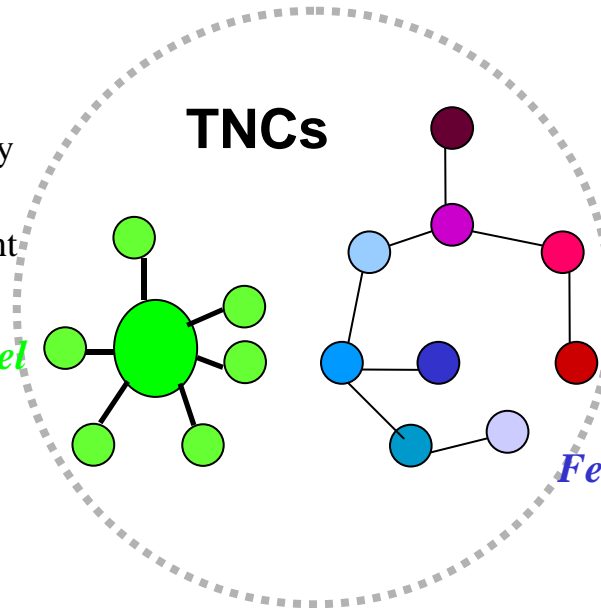**Figure 8: The key socio-cultural variables framing worldview**

Governance models

Universalist cultural logic

•Centralized power

•Ethnocentric
 values
•Low ethics and sustainability
  logic

•Apply universal management
strategies

Assimilationist model

OUTCOMES

• Cultural imperialism
• Resource exploitation and
  domination

Particularist cultural logic

•Decentralized notions of power

•Multicultural/Locally
responsive

•High ethics & sustainability
strategies based on cautionary
principle logic

•Apply locally responsive
management
strategies

Federated-Pluralist model

OUTCOMES

•Creative, value-adding ethical
and sustainable business

TNCs

Note: Governance models have positive and negative implications for corporate reputation

Figure 9: Diverse management interpretations of power

Particularized Business Models

Cultural Models for Management & Work

- Individualistic - US Western
- Communitarian - European
- Keiretsu - Japanese
- Chaebol - Korean
- Chinese family - Off-shore Chinese
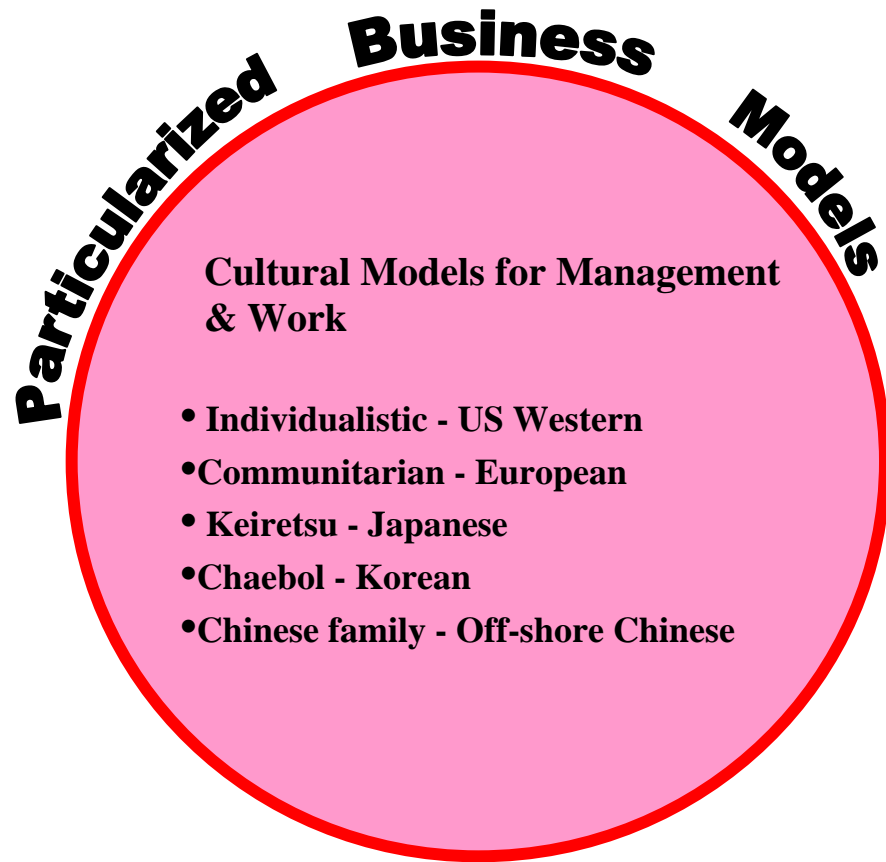
Figure 10: Particularized business models

Universalist Cultural Dimensions

Particularist Cultural Dimensions

Particularist Cultural Dimensions

Universalist Cultural Systems:
• globalization
• the international role for English
• models for management and work

Languages:
• national
• local
• sub-cultural
• individual

Nations:
• local communities
• sub-cultures
• individuals

Particularist Cultural Dimensions

Models for Work:
• Individualistic
• Communitarian
• Keiretsu
• Chaebol
• Chinese family

• **Fordism**
• **Post Fordism**
• **Productive Diversity**

linkages

linkages

linkages

linkages

Figure 11: The dynamic interrelationships between cultural, language and management systems (Singleton 2002)

Summary: The evolving cultural logic of three distinctive western models for management and work: Fordism; Post-Fordism; and Productive Diversity (Cope & Kalantzis 1997).

Fordism: the culture as machine model (assimilationist)

- Universal cultural characteristics: reductive, linear and mechanistic logic applied to measure, and deconstruct micro details of production in order to build a standardized, efficient and decontextualized engineered system of production. Technology facilitates the production system that is conceived of as a machine.

- Cultural logic: ethnocentric

- Cultural influence: traditional reductive and mechanistic paradigms of western science.

- Cultural assumptions**:** culture-free.

- Cultural characteristics of management: hierarchical, all knowing and authoritarian (top-down).

- Cultural characteristics of worker: cultural and subjective characteristics 'written out', a micro part of the production machinery, and therefore, the production system could be located anywhere.

- Cultural characteristics of product: uniform, and standardized

- Cultural characteristics of market: uniform mass-oriented market

- Cultural approach to managing communication: a top-down 'culture-free' unidirectional flow transmission model

Post-Fordism: The culture-as-sameness model.(Recognizing multiculturalism)

- Multicultural cultural characteristics: recognition of multiculturalism in response to increased levels of education, standards of living in the developed world and the rapid development of new communications technology.

- Cultural influence: anthropological-oriented work emphasizing diverse national culture-based approaches to management and communications.

- Cultural assumptions: assimilationist,

- Cultural logic: ethnocentric

- Cultural characteristics of management: all knowing (hierarchical), holding a domestic vision (ethnocentric), predicting the future from the past, caring for individuals (paternalistic), owning the corporate vision, dictating goals and methods, monolingual, and inspiring the trust of the board and shareholders (top-down).

- Cultural characteristics of worker: prescriptive notions, skilled (specialist), multicultural, and dependent.

- Cultural characteristics of product: prescriptive notions of diversified roles, standards (quality) and efficiency.

- Cultural characteristics of client/market: essentialized notions of multicultural clients and niche markets
- Cultural approach to managing communications: top-down culturally conceived and communicated unifying corporate model (predominantly imposed and unidirectional flow transmission model).

Productive Diversity: The culture-as-negotiated-difference model (valuing multiculturalism - emergent)

- Particularized cultural characteristics: seeks to identify, value and reconcile cultural difference (a holistic learning model),
- Cultural influence: post-positivist complex and organic systemic science which theorizes the more complex, pluralistic and particularized nature of reality as applied to interpret socio-cultural and linguistic systems, emphasizing the value of holism and the cost of reducing or 'writing out' complex characteristics.
- Cultural assumptions: recognition of multiculturalism is not enough, the importance of value-adding and creative potential of cultural diversity (ethical and sustainable)
- Cultural logic: polycentric
- Cultural assumptions of management: leader as learner (consultative and responsive), holding a global vision (ethical, polycentric and sustainable), analytically interpreting the future, caring for institutions and individuals, facilitating the vision of others, using power and facilitation (organization as community), processes-oriented, part of a team, multicultural and multilingual, accepting paradoxes and uncertainty, and inspiring the trust of owners, customers, employees and other stakeholders (devolved and inter-relationship-oriented).
- Cultural characteristics of the worker: multiskilled, adaptive, reflective and creative - mixed management, specialist and technical roles, conceptualized as a whole person (interconnected private and public dimensions), values lifelong learning.
- Cultural characteristics of client/market: complex with diverse needs, critical importance of meaningful and effective cross-cultural and multilingual communications, recognizes and incorporates the impact of diverse stakeholder needs.
  Cultural approach to managing communications: polycentric, devolved and responsive

(complex multidirectional flow model), in light of recognition of complex stakeholder

Table 1: Seven dimensions for cultural diversity

Cultural assumptions	Cultural assumptions	The nature of relationships
1. **UNIVERSALISM**: Rules, codes, laws and generalizations	**PARTICULARISM**: Exceptions, special circumstances, & unique relations	**Relationships with people**: what is more important: rules or relationships
2. **INDIVIDUALISM**: Personal freedom, human rights, and competitiveness	**COMMUNITARIANISM:** Social responsibility, harmonious relations	**Relationships with people**: Do we function in a group or as an individual?
3. **SPECIFICITY**: Atomistic, reductive, analytical, and objective	**DIFFUSION**: Holistic, elaborative, synthetic, & relational	**Relationships with people**: How do we get involved?
4. **AFFECTIVE**: Explicit emotional expression in both public and private spheres accepted	**NEUTRAL**: Explicit emotional expression in both public & private spheres disapproved	**Relationships with people**: Do we display our real feelings?
5. **ACHIEVED STATUS**: What you have done, your track record?	**ASCRIBED STATUS**: Who you are, your potential & connections?	**Relationships with people**: Do we have to prove ourselves through performance to receive status or is it given to us?
6. **SEQUENTIAL TIME**: Time is a race set along a linear course, a limited and fixed resource	**SYNCHRONIC TIME**: Time is a dance of fine co-ordinations - unlimited & flexible	**Relationships with time**: Do we do thing one at a time or several things at once? Are we past, present or future oriented?
7. **INNER DIRECTION:** Conscience and convictions are located inside, therefore mastery of destiny, mastery of nature possible	**OUTER DIRECTION**: Examples and influences are located outside, an organic view of nature, man positioned within nature, therefore unable to shape own destiny or fate	**Relationships with nature**: Do we control our environment or work with it?

Source: Adapted Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000, 2001.