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**Building trust in cross-cultural relationships: Active trust through
culture mobilisation in Finnish-Indian project teams**

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BUILDING TRUST IN CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS:
ACTIVE TRUST THROUGH CULTURE MOBILISATION IN
FINNISH-INDIAN PROJECT TEAMS

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Abstract

This thesis examines trust building in Finnish-Indian distributed teams engaged in knowledge-intensive project work. To understand how actors build trust in the context of cultural distance and virtual collaboration, dynamic approaches to trust building and culture were adopted. The data were collected through interviews and observations in both geographical locations.

In distributed project teams, static and slowly evolving trust creation models are not sufficient in explaining the ways trust is built to meet the needs of temporal project teams working distantly in a cross-cultural environment. Thus, this study suggests active trust as a solution in this challenging context of trust creation and places the main emphasis on the role of an active trustor. In doing so, this research challenges the static and passive trust models where trust development is focused on the trustee and their trustworthiness. Moreover, the study challenges the static culture approaches and adopts a dynamic mosaic perspective to culture as a collection of various cultural identities and elements that are used as resources. This allows for the examination of the agentic view of culture mobilisation.

The findings illustrate how trusting parties are capable of mobilising various cultural elements and engage in purposeful trust-building practices to lessen the vulnerability caused by the unfamiliarity due to cultural differences and virtual communication. The agency in constructing actions to build trust is a central feature of collaborators who are successful in active trust building. Furthermore, researching the mobilisation of cultural elements in trust building revealed that the collaborators were not only drawing on existing cultural similarities but also engaged in a process of adjusting and adopting new cultural elements. The co-created third culture acted as the strongest nominator for active trust development in Finnish-Indian project teams.

This thesis contributes to business practitioners working in the context of global teams where practices of active trust are needed to allow collaboration on complex and novel tasks that require efficient knowledge transfer. The findings guide team members to actively invest in the co-creation of shared culture elements and proactively shape the conditions for trusting.

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Declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

15.2.2021

Anna Hankimaa

1 Introduction

Every day, large numbers of professionals collaborate in cross-cultural and geographically distributed teams. Their work is defined by physical distance, time differences, foreign languages, cross-culture barriers, virtual communication and power asymmetries. In addition, the working teams and projects are temporal. Completing knowledge-intensive project work requires close collaboration and trust between team members, which can be difficult to achieve in an environment of many uncertainties. Trust is a central facilitator of successful teamwork (e.g., Costa, Fulmer & Anderson, 2018); however, trust creation in virtually working cross-cultural teams is found to be challenging (e.g., Jarvenpaa & Leidner, 1999; Powell, Piccoli, & Ives, 2004; Henttonen & Blomqvist 2005). In order to help both practitioners and academics better understand the mechanisms of trust creation in this unique context, this research aims to provide insight into how collaborators in global teams build trust between culturally and physically distant team members.

1.1 Context of the study

This study examines trust building in the context of Finnish-Indian distributed project teams. The nature of their project work has shifted from working with co-located colleagues into being members of a geographically dispersed team reliant on virtual communication (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006). Thus, the project team members whose trust-building practices this study examines are part of the growing phenomena of distributed teams, as companies organise work and teams globally due to the enhanced quality of technology-enabled communication (Gibson, Huang, Kirkman, & Shapiro, 2014).

Distance has become a nominator in work relationships and trust-building in global teams, not only by physical but also cultural measures. Culturally diverse teams exhibit unfamiliarity with team members' behaviour due to their variety of attitudes, preferences and values (e.g., Gibson & Gibbs, 2006; Hofstede, 2001). A sense of distance and unfamiliarity creates challenges in trust creation between team members. Sociological theorists such as Luhmann (1979; 1988) state that the criterion for judging the trustworthiness of others is based on finding inherent similarities. Thus, the tendency to

trust individuals with similarities to oneself and not trust those who lack similarities (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005) constrains trust creation in geographically distributed project teams whose work is enveloped in unfamiliar aspects.

This thesis addresses the challenges of professionals working in offshoring teams, in which collaborators share fewer similarities than in their prior working life and where they face situations of working with people whom they have not met in person. This research aims to provide answers on how the collaborators overcome the challenges of the new situation and build trust over the distance. The topic is important, as the phenomena of global teams affects thousands of professionals worldwide; hence, it is essential to understand how to handle the uncertainties in these teams. As Giddens (1990, 88) states, 'In many urban settings, we interact more or less continuously with others whom we either do not know well or have never met before'. The new realities of project teams are changing the social circumstances and daily work interactions of many people worldwide.

Trust has been found to be a beneficial ingredient in the success of business relationships (Zaheer, McEvily, & Perrone, 1998) and highly desired in projects moving beyond clearly structured or routine work. Both academics and practitioners need to gain greater insight into the practices of trust building. Although sociological and psychological theories and concepts such as 'principal for gradualness' of trust (see Blau, 1964) demonstrate that trust develops over time through interactions, in many business arrangements this slowly developing trust is insufficient (Bachmann, 2011). Thus, the ways collaborators engage in active trust development in cross-cultural and virtual settings need to be understood better.

1.2 Research gaps

This research aims to gain deeper insight into the mechanism and practices of active trust creation in offshoring project teams located in Finland and India. By doing so, it addresses the following research gaps in the recent trust research on cross-cultural work groups: the active nature of trusting, the dynamic nature of culture, and a lack of holistic approaches to contextual aspects of global teams in trust research.

Prior literature offers only limited understanding on dyadic active trust building and intentional trust building practices in a cross-cultural team context. In research thus far, trust is examined mainly as a static phenomenon from one party's perspective (Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012). When looking at trust creation from a one-sided or static perspective, the research does not capture the interactive engagement of actors in trust creation; instead, it regards trust as an outcome. However, the cyclical process view of trust (e.g., Nikolova, Möllering, & Reihlen, 2015; Six & Skinner, 2010), as well as the importance of studying the interactive nature of trust as a social process (Möllering, 2013) and moving away from passive evaluation of trust into active trust building (see Nikolova et al., 2015; Child & Möllering, 2003), has been noted. In order to gain more insight into trust building in global teams, this study examines trust building through the active trust approach (i.e., purposeful actions of trusting parties; Child & Möllering, 2003) and thus provides insight into intentional trust building in a cross-cultural context.

In order to be able to understand the cultural dynamics of global teams with individuals of various cultural backgrounds, this study moves away from the traditional and widely used static conceptualisations of culture and seeks to adapt a dynamic and a functionalist conceptualisation of culture as a means rather than an end. Prior trust literature has given limited attention to cultural differences in terms of 'providing the conditions for building trust relations' (Cook, Hardin, & Levi, 2005, 194). In addition, many cross-cultural studies have taken a static approach to culture and thus, there have been increasing calls for a dynamic culture approach recently in the literature of global teams who face the challenges of creating common ground for teamwork (Koppman, Mattarelli & Gupta, 2016; Eisenberg & Mattarelli, 2017; Cramton & Hinds, 2014). By looking at the cross-cultural context with the perspective of culture being actors' resource rather than an influencer of passive collaborators, this research views culture as a tool in purposive trust-building and adds to the limited body of cross-cultural active trust studies. This approach views cultural elements as resources and culture as a toolkit (Koppman et al., 2016; Swidler, 1986) as opposed to a static belief and value schema held by nations of people (Triandis, 1995; Hofstede, 2001).

Prior literature on project teams has often studied cultural differences, virtuality and temporality separately (see Gibson, Huang, Kirkman & Shapiro, 2014), yet these aspects

coincide in global project teams. The context of offshoring project teams located in Finland and India requires a holistic approach to its contextual aspects such as cultural differences, virtuality and temporality, all of which influence relationships and trust building. As cross-cultural and virtual elements exist simultaneously in the same team and may interact by amplifying or mitigating the effects of each other, it is critical to include both. Therefore, this study aims at a contextualised approach to trust building in Finnish-Indian teams and follows the concerns of Welch, Piekkari, Plakoyiannaki and Paavilainen-Mäntymäki (2011, 741) with regard to ‘the decontextualised nature of theorising in international business research’ since, ‘in the pursuit of robust explanations, contextualisation has suffered’. In this research, contextual aspects are regarded as relevant and valuable when analysing trust building in geographically distributed offshoring teams, and the aim is to provide contextualised explanations of the trust-building practices of team members in Finnish-Indian teams.

1.3 Research aim and research questions

This research approaches trust building through the concept of ‘active trust’ (Giddens, 1994), which addresses the way of purposive trust building in complex and fast-changing environments where collaborators lack the bases for trust that stems from institutions, familiarity or time needed for gradually evolving identification with the partner (Möllering, 2005) which is a typical case in cross-cultural offshoring project teams. Theoretical aspects of trust such as familiarity (Luhmann, 1979) and reflexive familiarisation (Möllering, 2005; 2006) are central and trust building is seen as an on-going signaling and interpretation of trustworthiness resulting in trust formation between people (Nikolova et al., 2015; Six & Skinner, 2010).

In order to understand the cultural dynamics of global teams with individuals from various national, cultural and professional backgrounds, this study moves beyond the traditional and widely used static conceptualisations of culture such as Hofstede’s culture dimensions (Hofstede, 2001) and the GLOBE study (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta, 2004). Therefore, this research seeks to adapt a dynamic and a functionalist conceptualisation of culture as a means rather than an end, viewing culture as a toolkit of

collaborators (Koppman, Mattarelli & Gupta, 2016; Swidler 1986) rather than a static belief and value schema of nations.

The aim of the study is to examine the collaborators as knowledgeable and active agents of trust building through the active trust approach (Giddens, 1994; Möllering, 2013), trusting as a dyadic cyclic process (Six & Skinner, 2010; Nikolova et al., 2015) and a process of adapting (Li, 2013; Johansen, Espedal, Grønhaug, & Selart, 2016). The dynamic culture mosaic theory (Chao & Moon, 2005) and culture as a toolkit (Swidler, 1986) provide the conceptual lenses to study trust in a cross-cultural setting. The cultural elements of a collaborator are seen as resources that they can draw upon when engaging in trust-building practices.

The purpose of this research is to analyse and explain the creation of trust between team members of Finnish-Indian project teams. The research questions are formulated into a main question with three sub-questions.

RQ: How do collaborators build active trust in cross-cultural offshoring teams located in Finland and India?

SRQ 1: How do collaborators engage in active trusting?

SRQ 2: What constitutes active trust creation in the cross-cultural context of offshoring teams?

SRQ 3: How do collaborators use cultural identities and elements in trust building?

The questions are built on the theoretical concept of active trust (Giddens 1994) and thus view the collaborators as active actors in trust building. By answering these research questions, the study aims to contribute to deeper understanding of the mechanisms of interpersonal trust in dispersed offshoring teams. Therefore, the focus is on the ‘social nature of trust’ and active engagement in ‘trust practices’ (see Nikolova, Möllering & Reihlen, 2015; Mahama & Chua, 2016), as well as the mobilisation of an individual’s unique and dynamic ‘culture mosaic’ (Chao & Moon, 2005). To provide insights into the daily trust building practices of team members, a sociological approach is taken

(Frederiksen, 2014) and trust is scrutinised as an intersubjective social reality (Lewis and Weigert, 1985).

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation has seven chapters. It starts with an introduction, has two literature review chapters, a methodology chapter, two findings chapters and a conclusion. The chapters are illustrated in Figure 1 and discussed in this section.

The literature review of this report is organised into two parts, where the first discusses the challenges of cross-cultural trust creation and the second examines trust-building solutions based on the prior literature. Chapter 2 addresses the contextual challenges of trust building that the collaborators in Finnish-Indian project teams face. The challenges are posited to originate from two sources: the static view of trust creation and the context of Finnish-Indian distributed project teams. The contextual understanding starts with discussion of macro-level aspects of institutions and culture and finishes with meso-level challenges that result from the Finnish-Indian offshoring arrangement context. Chapter 3 reviews the solutions for trust building in global teams and discusses the micro-level approaches to trust building based on the extant literature. The focus is on active trust and the agentic view of trust building. Thus, the second literature review chapter investigates the micro-level practices and processes of trust building which parties can employ in an unfavourable environment. This section examines how actors can exercise their agency to deal with challenges and tensions and hence actively build trust between team members and in global teams.

The methodological choices of this qualitative study are discussed in Chapter 4. This chapter describes the philosophical underpinnings and how they affected the researcher's methodological choices. Moreover, the research design and practical approaches such as data collection, analyses and reporting of the findings are described and justified in this chapter.

The findings are presented in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 analyses the culture mobilisation strategies in trust building. The analysis requires dynamic approaches to

culture and thus, the culture mosaic theory (Chao & Moon, 2005) and culture as a toolkit in constructing action (Swidler, 1986) are used as theoretical lenses. The findings reveal three different culture mobilisation strategies which diminish unfamiliarity and facilitate trust creation. Chapter 6 examines the active trust approach and the role of the active trustor by comparing those to less active trust forms. Johansen, Espedal, Grønhaug and Selart's (2016) typology of three trust forms is used as a theoretical frame. The comparative approach helps identify the unique features of active trust building in the context of Finnish-Indian distributed project teams.

Chapter 7 draws theoretical conclusions of the study and illustrates its main theoretical contributions. In doing this, the chapter underlines the central role of a trustor in active trust building and illustrates the significance of cognitive, emotional and intentional components in successful trust building in the context of global teams.

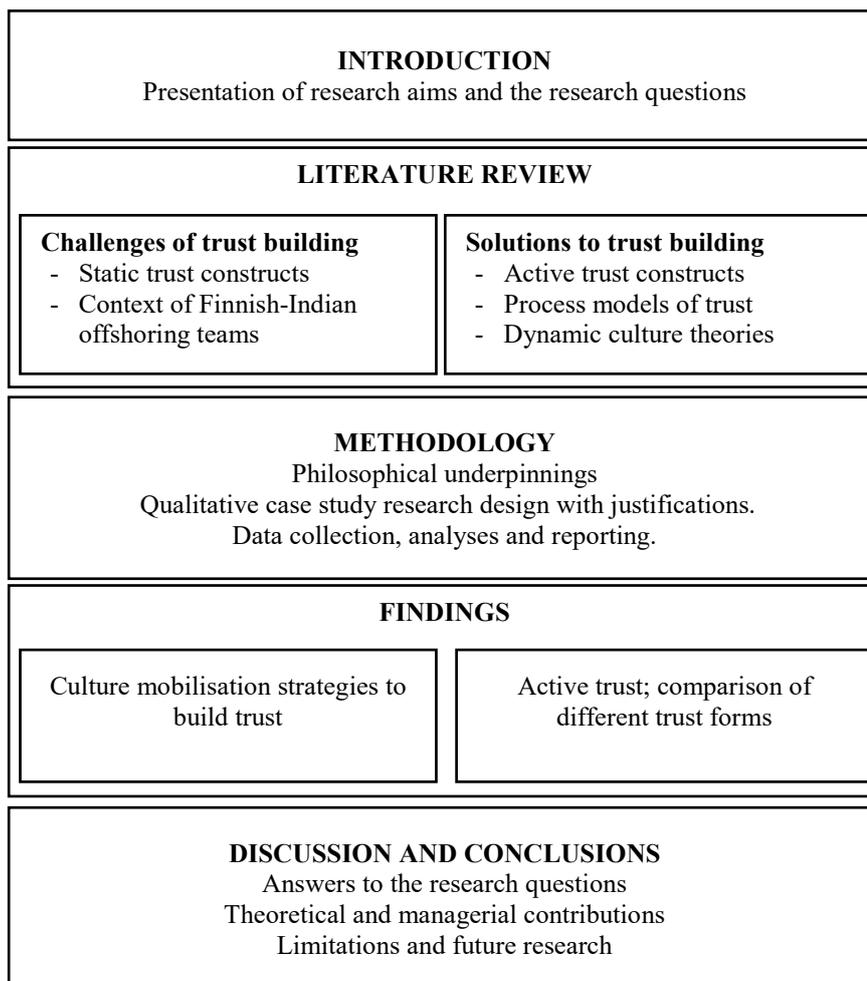


Figure 1 Structure of the thesis

2 Challenges of trusting in an unfavourable context

The purpose of this chapter is to address the context of trust creation of Finnish-Indian distributed teams. The chapter is organised into four parts. First, the concept and basic components of trust are discussed in order to gain an understanding of how trust is typically operationalised in trust literature. Subsequently, the two following sections explain the macro-level contextual specifics of Indo-Finnish teams: the institutional and cultural frames of trusting in collaboration teams. Finally, the context of an offshoring arrangement resulting into formation of geographically distributed teams is reviewed. Through the examination of aspects of institutions, national cultures and global offshoring teams, the contextual challenge of trusting of Finnish-Indian project team members is explored.

Examining the context of trust building in global teams is important since trust and trust creation as socially embedded constructs can only be understood in context. Contextual antecedents of trust (Li, Bai, Xi, 2012) influence trust on multiple levels (Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012; Costa, Fulmer & Anderson, 2018) and ‘trust is in practice never a purely dyadic phenomenon between isolated actors; there is always a context, a history, and the influence of other actors’ (Möllering, 2008, 9). Thus, although this study examines the trust building between the distributed project team members, trust is not only scrutinised on interpersonal level, but also within the institutional, cultural and organisational frames which influence trust behaviour. This research aims for contextualised understanding of trust building.

2.1 Main constructs of relational trust

This section introduces the basic concepts of trust and reviews how the seminal trust literature defines trust, outlines its main components and addresses the multiple levels that influence trust building among business collaborators. The purpose of this section is to introduce the traditional constructs of trust in order to be able to discuss the contextual aspects of trusting: the institutional, cultural and offshoring arrangement level antecedent and frames for trust building in Indo-Finnish project teams.

2.1.1 Definition and main components of trust

Trust research is largely based on the widely accepted definition of trust as a psychological state of ‘positive expectations’ of the behaviour and intention of the other (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998). Trust includes a notion of vulnerability because in a situation of uncertainty, parties do not have control over all the aspects and therefore the trustor relies on the positive expectations of the other party performing an action important to them, ‘irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party’ (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995, 712). Uncertainty is a precondition for trust, and as Gambetta (2000, 220) states, ‘for trust to be relevant, there must be the possibility of exit, betrayal, defection’. Therefore, in a situation where no uncertainties exist, no trust is needed. However, the level of uncertainty plays a significant role in trust creation. Näslund (2016, 104) encapsulates the trust-uncertainty paradigm by stating that ‘[i]f everything is uncertain, trust is impossible, and if everything is known, trust is unnecessary’. The magnitude and coping mechanisms of uncertainty, per se, set challenges for distributed teams.

Trust can hence be seen as a device for coping with the freedom of others (see Luhmann, 1979; Gambetta, 2000), since the inability to control the other party leads to vulnerability. The other party has a freedom outside of one’s control. However, in business arrangements such vulnerability is not accepted blindly; as Möllering (2008, 8) states, “willingness to be vulnerable” (Mayer et al., 1995) should not to be understood as the “willingness to be hurt” but as highly optimistic expectations that vulnerability is not a problem and no harm will be done’. Möllering (2008, 8) adds that ‘trust is not about avoiding or eliminating vulnerability, or resigning to it, but about positively accepting it’, which bears a notion of intentionality and the essence of the trust decision, the leap of faith.

Sociological and psychological theories such as ‘principal for gradualness’ of trust (see Blau, 1964; Luhmann, 1979) show that trust develops over time through interactions, mutual learning and identification. In addition, Luhmann states that familiarity is a needed element for trust and ‘trust has to be achieved within a familiar world’ (Luhmann, 1988,

95), and trust studies have shown that social similarity facilitates trust (Jarvenpaa, Knoll & Leidner, 1998; Korsgaard, Brower & Lester, 2015). In global teams, however, the aspects of familiarity, such as similarity in cultural values, norms and behavioural patterns of team members, are fewer. The traditional views on slowly evolving trust creation are problematic in the context of global teams, as the central aspects of trust development, such as time and familiarity, are often restricted. That is why academics have claimed that in business arrangements this slowly developing trust is not sufficient (e.g., Bachmann, 2011) and a more active approach to trust building is needed. (Active trust is discussed in Chapter 3.)

Trust is claimed to have three components: cognitive, affective, and intentional (Korsgaard et al., 2015), which are commonly found factors of any belief (Cummings & Bromiley, 1996) and also used in scrutinising trust in the organisational context (Lewicki, Tomlison & Gillespie, 2006; Korsgaard et al., 2015). Multifactorial models of trust have emerged as the understanding of trust has become more nuanced and trust research has moved beyond early research that mainly considered trust in the context of experimental games or as a result of rational cognitive processes (see Lewis & Weigert, 1985). This recognition compels considerations of all three aspects: cognitive processes that deviate from rationality, the role of emotional bonds and affective trust bases, and behavioural intentions to trust. It should also be noted that, although the respective roles of cognition, emotion, and behavioural intention are discussed separately, these trust components are posited to reciprocally affect each other, and the combination of these factors is expected to differ across different trusting relationships (van der Werf, & Buckley, 2017). The components interplay and intertwine; thus, clear borders between them do not exist. However, the understanding of the components is important, as the studies of cross-cultural relationships and trust indicate differing roles and importance of these components (e.g., Jukka, Blomqvist, Li & Gan, 2017; Wasti, Tan & Erdil, 2011; Kühlmann, 2005). For that reason, the trust components are discussed separately, with the notion that their borders are not rigid but rather blurred.

2.1.2 Cognitive component of trust

It is claimed that parties do not enter into a state of trust with their business partners blindly, but instead they continuously evaluate the trustworthiness of the other party.

Indicators and beliefs of trustworthiness are the key elements in the cognitive and calculative processes of evaluating the trustworthiness of the other party and constructing trust perceptions based on them. Trustworthiness implies being worthy of having trust placed in the trustee (Barney & Hansen, 1994). Indicators of trustworthiness or ‘trusting beliefs’ (McKnight, Cummings, & Chervany, 1998) are a largely accepted element of the concept of trust, built on the assumption that ‘people look for good reasons to trust’ (Möllering 2006, 46; see also Lewis & Weigert 1985).

Prior trust literature discusses various trustee attributes, themes of trustworthiness that function as trust antecedents and support the decision to trust. The widely used work of trustworthiness is the ABI model by Mayer, Davis and Schoorman (1995, 720) where they propose that ‘trust for a trustee will be a function of the trustee’s perceived ability, benevolence and integrity and of the trustor’s propensity to trust’. Their model builds on earlier research and integrates prior insights and conceptualisations of trust, such as the trust-commitment theory of Morgan and Hunt (1994), which proposes trust existing when one party has confidence in the exchange partner’s ‘reliability’ and ‘integrity’. The model of trustworthiness antecedents has been used and modified in later research, and the terminology around trustworthiness antecedents takes different forms. In their model of initial trust building, McKnight et al. (1998) call antecedents ‘trustworthiness beliefs’ and list predictability along with benevolence, competence and honesty. However, as the ABI model (Mayer et al., 1995) has been most widely used with three trustworthiness indicators of ability, benevolence and integrity, the discussion of trustworthiness antecedents continues with that model. The ABI model is discussed in two parts: ability and integrity are discussed as cognitive trust components, and benevolence is discussed as part of emotional trust component.

Ability as an antecedent of trustworthiness refers to the competence of performing the tasks agreed, which is central to business collaboration – parties need to have faith in the abilities of others. Evaluation of competence of the other person is a natural part of trusting. Perceived ability can rely on different aspects of competence. In a study of business relationships in Finnish telecommunication, ability was divided into three categories: technological capabilities, business capabilities, and cooperative competencies of a partner (Blomqvist, 2002; see also Blomqvist & Levy, 2006). This division covers

three aspects of competencies in a business relationship: professional and business competencies, as well as capabilities for collaboration. The study highlights cooperative competencies which, in a global team setting, include cross-cultural competency, defined by Johnson, Lenartowicz and Apud (2006, 530) as ‘an individual's effectiveness in drawing upon a set of knowledge, skills, and personal attributes in order to work successfully with people from different national cultural backgrounds at home or abroad’. Li (2013) also refers to the ability to adapt as a key competency in cross-cultural relationship and trust building.

Integrity as a trustworthiness antecedent refers to the adherence to commonly held principles, such as fairness, honesty (Saunders, Dietz, & Thornhill, 2014) and promise fulfilment (Colquitt, Scott & LePine, 2007), as well as to the belief and perception that the ‘trustee is committed to an acceptable set of principles’ (Schilke & Cook 2015, 277). Integrity is closely related to morals and values, and it is challenged by a lack of compliance between actions taken and values stated. As national culture by definition refers to shared beliefs, norms and values (see Triandis, 1995), in cross-cultural relationships, perceptions of integrity and how it is signalled, demonstrated and interpreted can vary largely. This creates challenges for cross-cultural offshoring teams, who do not have the opportunity to physically observe and gain cues for integrity in other team members’ behaviour in an organisational setting. Moreover, integrity perceptions can be challenged by different orientations of verbal communication, as Finns perceive spoken words as a measure of honesty, and Indians, on the other hand, are context-sensitive in their verbal expression, focusing more on relationship building than words (see Lewis, 2011; Hall, 1976; Sinha & Kumar, 2004).

Predictability differs from the aforementioned trustee attributes of trustworthiness (i.e., ABI model), but it is often discussed along with them (e.g., Korsgaard et al., 2015; Möllering, Bachman & Lee, 2004) and recognised in trust definitions and studies (McKnight et al., 1998; Perrone, Zaheer & McEvily, 2003; Branzei, Vertinsky & Camp II, 2007). Predictability can be seen as a part of the cognitive reasoning of trust since it is a learnt factor of the trustee’s behaviour and closely linked to knowledge-based trust (Shapiro, Sheppard, & Cheraskin, 1992), in which trust is based on cumulated knowledge over repeated interactions. Judgement of predictability develops through experiences

accumulating into knowing the partner well enough to predict their behaviour. Predictability is highly needed in an offshoring arrangement. When the value-chain tasks of firms are divided and distributed among global networks of players (Johanson & Vahlne, 2009), predictability of the value network partners becomes increasingly important. Predictability, however, does not fully comply with the central aspect of trust, namely accepting vulnerability, but acts as a mechanism to bear uncertainty; establishing predictability enables trust building (see Child & Möllering 2003). Predictability refers to the cognitive learning of the trustor and acts as a mechanism to diminish uncertainty to a bearable level for trusting (see Näslund, 2016). Predictability has been found to be important for Finns; especially the negative effects of unpredictability have been raised (e.g., Jukka et al., 2017) and are supported by Hofstede's (2001) claims that Finns are inclined to avoid uncertainty.

In addition to the ABI-indicators of trustworthiness and predictability, *situational indicators* can provide and act as reasons to trust. According to McKnight et al. (1998), cognitive trust and institutional trust cues are important in the initial formation of trust, when categorisation of the other and perceptions of safeguards inherent in organisational structures are a part of the cognitive process. Additionally, van der Werf and Buckley (2017) emphasise the role of 'presumptive trust cues' referring to social and environmental information such as roles, rules and identification in the initial phases of trust creation before 'parties gain verifiable information by first hand interactional or transactional experience' (McKnight & Chervany 2006, 29). 'Swift trust' is based on these cognitive trust indicators, and it has been proposed as a trust mechanism for temporal teams, where 'familiarity, shared experience, reciprocal disclosure, threats and deterrents, fulfilled promises, and demonstrations of non-exploitation of vulnerability' are not typically available (Meyerson, Weick & Kramer 1996, 167). Thus, swift trust provides a cognition-based mechanism for trust decisions in the initial phases of a relationship (see Schilke & Huang, 2018; Meyerson et al., 1996; Blomqvist & Cook, 2018) to base trust decision on aspects such as roles, social structures (Meyerson et al., 1996) or stereotypes (Jarvenpaa & Leidner, 1999; Meyerson et al., 1996). Johansen et al. (2016) also claim that situational factors, such as value of the collaboration, are significant for cognitive evaluation and act as drivers for trusting behaviour.

This section has focused on the cognitive trust element, the reasons to trust. However, it is important to note that the reasons to trust are not limited to cognition (see Schoorman, Mayer & Davis, 2007). Moreover, the close connection of the emotional aspects to the cognitive trust bases (McAllister 1995) has evoked discussion that, in practice, these are difficult to differentiate. Möllering (2006, 46) argues that ‘a trustor’s perception of a trustee’s trustworthiness always has both affective and cognitive elements, and therefore positive affect towards the trustee or from the trustee, or both, is an equally reasonable basis for trust as cognitive reasons’. Similarly, Lewis and Weigert (1985, 972) claim that trust combines reason and emotion – it is ‘a mix of feeling and rational thinking’ – although little is known about how this combination is realised in practice (see Möllering, 2006). Emotional component is discussed next.

2.1.3 Emotional component of trust

The emotional component of trust was raised by McAllister (1995), who drew the original distinction between cognitive and affective nature of trust. He argued that emotional ties can provide the basis for trust and affect-based trust is grounded in reciprocated care and concern. The importance of the emotional side of trust has been noted by multiple scholars before and after McAllister (1995). Nikolova, Möllering and Reihlen (2015) indicate in their study of consultancy relationships that a ‘leap of faith’ is not possible without an emotional connection between the parties. Thus, as the intention i.e., leap of faith is needed for trust, this proposes that affective connection and affect-based trust are always a part of trusting. This is supported by prior conceptual arguments by Jones (1996, 4), who defines trust ‘in terms of a distinctive, and affectively loaded, way of seeing the one trusted’, as well as Barbalet (2009), who theorises trust to have an emotional basis and even to be an emotional accomplishment. Nikolova et al. (2015) underline the role of affective trust component by claiming that the emotional basis makes the central aspect of trust – vulnerability – tolerable. Thus, the affection and emotional bonds to the other party carry over the discomfort of accepting vulnerability.

Academics have highlighted similarities between affective trust and the trustworthiness indicator of benevolence (Colquitt, LePine, Piccolo, Zapata & Rich, 2012), which is part of the ABI model (Mayer et al., 1995). The perceptions of benevolence and caring are important elements in development of affective trust. *Benevolence* as a trustworthiness

antecedent refers to supportiveness, care and thoughtfulness of the needs of the other party, and it reflects the belief that one party will act in the interests of the other (Anderson & Narus, 1990; Schilke & Cook, 2015). Benevolence is also referred to as ‘goodwill trust’ (Boersma, Buckley, & Ghauri, 2003; Sako, 1992) and defined as a perceived likelihood of the other not behaving in a self-interested manner. This refers to non-opportunistic behaviour of the parties (Perrone, Zaheer, & McEvily, 2003) and an expectation of acting and negotiating fairly even when there is a possibility for opportunism. Mayer et al. (1995) claim that judgments of benevolence take longer to develop than the judgments of ability and integrity, and therefore require a longer period of collaboration (see process-based trust by Zucker, 1986). Signalling and interpreting cues of benevolence between parties of different cultures is challenged by the differences of the norms and practices of demonstrating caring in organisational setting. Dietz, Gillespie and Chao (2010) state that the process of signalling and interpreting trust cues between parties from the same given culture is relatively straightforward, which is not always the case in cross-cultural relations.

Emotional aspects of trust building have been raised in the trust research agenda, since the asymmetries on cognitive-affective elements seem to characterise Western-Asian relationships (e.g., Jukka et al., 2017; Kelly and Noonan, 2008). Moreover, the studies of global virtual teams have pointed out the lack of emotional cues as a constraint for relationship and trust building (Jarvenpaa et al., 1998). Therefore, a review of the cross-cultural trust literature on the emotional side of trust is taken next.

Benevolence and caring have been noted in prior cross-cultural trust research to have more importance for Asian business partners than those from Western countries (Cullen, Johnson, & Sakano, 2000; Jukka et al., 2017; Kelly & Noonan, 2008). Based on the studies of Indian organisational culture, the central role of relationships and emotional bonds is also inhibited in workplace organisations (e.g., Laleman, Pereira & Malik, 2015, Hofstede 2001), which Trompenaars (1993) describes through a family metaphor and where caring paternal leadership is an appreciated model (Cramton & Hinds, 2014; Salminen-Karlsson, 2015; Raghuram, 2011). Collectivist cultures in Asia emphasise reciprocal relationships, which are largely based on long-term interdependency and strong emotional bonds with committed partners (Branzei et al., 2007).

Wasti, Tan and Erdil (2011) distinguished which trustworthiness-related factors are most important for collectivist societies and highlighted manifested benevolence and reciprocity as significant factors of trust development; these claims are also supported by Li (2008) and Branzei et al. (2007). In addition, Kelly and Noonan (2008) noted in their Irish-Indian offshoring trust study that benevolence and caring were important to the Indian business partner and helpful in overcoming times of breakage in trust. Furthermore, Tan and Chee (2005) state that emotional ties from personal relationships provide a foundation for trust development in East Asian collectivist societies. Thus, multiple studies indicate the importance of emotional elements and a more relational and personalised trust perspective in collectivist societies in Asia (Tan & Chee, 2005; Jukka et al., 2017), as well as specifically in India (e.g., Kelly & Noonan, 2008). Thus, the prior learnings underline the relevance of scrutinising the trustworthiness aspect of benevolence in the Finnish-Indian collaboration study.

2.1.4 Behavioural component of trust

For trust to exist in a business relationship, a behavioural element is required (i.e., intention to act and to accept vulnerability). Lewis and Weigert (1985, 971) refer to the behavioural base of trust by stating that ‘the practical significance of trust lies in the social action it underwrites’. According to Lewicki, Tomlison and Gillespie (2006), trusting behaviourally involves undertaking a course of risky action based on the confident expectation (cognitive basis) and feeling (emotional basis) that the other will honour trust. This is when one’s ‘willingness to be vulnerable to the actions of another party’ (Mayer et al., 1995, 712) is demonstrated. That is where the notion of action i.e. suspension of disbeliefs and the intention to enter a relationship where you set yourself vulnerable to the other party take place. The behavioural aspect is widely accepted, and it is referred to as a ‘leap of faith’ (Giddens, 1990; Möllering, 2006) which is based on beliefs but goes ‘beyond the expectations that reason and experience alone would warrant’ (Lewis & Weigert, 1985, 970). Along the lines of Näslund (2012, 23), the leap of faith concept urges a move from the reasoning into emotions and finally intention: ‘Interpretation and expectation are largely based on cognition, while the leap of faith relies more on the affective aspect’.

The intentional component of trust is traditionally limited to the willingness to make oneself vulnerable, referring to the trust decision to enter a trust relationship where the parties must consent to the uncertainty of not having full control over the other party (Mayer et al., 1995). Trusting intention refers to the committed willingness to depend upon the other party. The intention aspect of trust is elaborated by Mayer et al. (1995, 712) as

‘the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other party will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party’.

Furthermore, behavioural aspects of trust are important for the reinforcement of trust. Engaging in trusting behaviours helps contribute to the cognitive basis of trust (Luhmann 1979; 2017). Lewicki, Tomlison and Gillenspie (2006) point out that extending trust engenders reciprocity, so that by trusting others, they become more likely to behave in a trustworthy manner and to trust in return. Mayer et al. (1995) argue that the outcome of trusting behaviour provides information that will reinforce or change cognitions about the other party’s trustworthiness.

2.1.5 Levels of trust

Trust is claimed to be a multilevel construct (Costa et al., 2018), and thus, the different levels influencing trust building are examined. In order to understand the levels and how prior literature has approached them, this section outlines the levels of trusting – which are then scrutinised in various sections of this report. The levels are discussed in order to understand the influence and interplay of various frames of trusting on different levels. Defining levels and separating them in writing may be easy, but ‘in most practical situations, more than one level matters and there are also possible interaction effects between the levels’ (Möllering, 2006, 131). Since business relationships do not take place in laboratory-like environments where the influence of certain levels can be excluded, an understanding of the influences across levels is needed. In this study, trust is examined as a socially embedded construct, which means that it can only be grasped when understanding the context (Möllering, 2008).

The nature of trust being embedded in multilevel systems and being a multilevel concept has been noted by multiple scholars (Costa et al., 2018; De Jong & Dirks, 2012; Inkpen &

Currall, 2004; Lane & Bachmann, 1998; Schilke & Cook, 2013; Vanneste, 2016). The heuristics of different levels is well-established but not widely focused on empirical trust studies. The levels can be addressed by universally used terms in sociological research as macro, meso and micro levels, macro referring to institutional frameworks of societies; meso, the intermediate level, refers to groups of individuals like organisations, firms and teams; and micro refers to individual and interpersonal trust. These are discussed in the following sections.

2.1.6 Interpersonal and organisational frames of trusting

Interpersonal trust refers to trust between individuals, who take the roles of trustor and trustee (see Mayer et al., 1995). However, in a business context, the individuals are a part of organisations and thus representatives of their firm, division or team. In the literature on organisational trust, the importance, as well as the challenge, of identifying trust levels has been addressed, and a division of interpersonal (micro) and interorganisational (meso) trust levels (Zaheer, McEvily, & Perrone, 1998; Inkpen and Currall 2004) has been introduced (Figure 2). This division refers to the understanding that trust beliefs, the willingness to be vulnerable, and the positive expectations of other party's behaviour can be held by individuals or collectively by a larger group, such as the management team of a firm (Li, 2007). Thus, the scholars claim that not only individuals but also groups of individuals can be trusted.

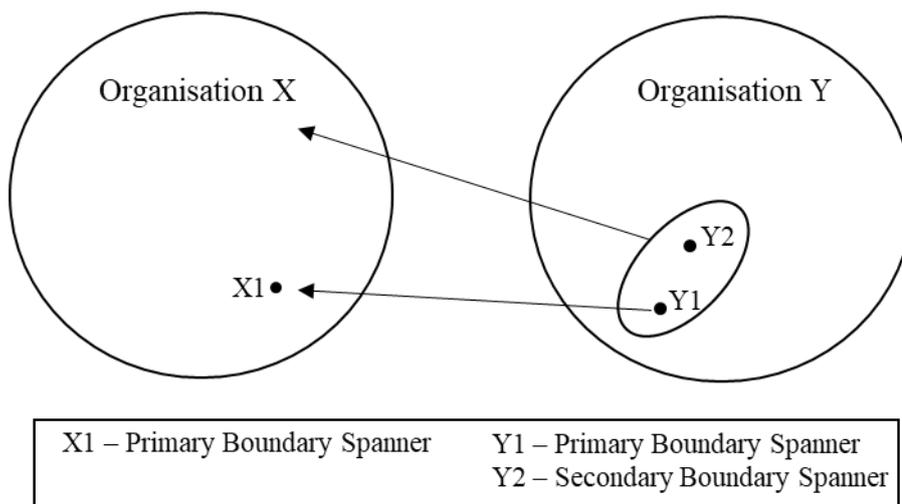


Figure 2 Interorganisational and Interpersonal Trust (Zaheer et al., 1998)

The interorganisational trust construct is based on the notion that trustworthiness does not only refer to persons, but also to collective actors or firms (Schilke & Cook, 2013; Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007). Thus, the conceptualisation is applicable in the context of interorganisational relationships where trustworthiness also pertains to a specific collaborator organisation, which, as Vanneste (2016) argues, is a group of individuals, not a single actor. Interorganisational trust is defined ‘as the extent of trust placed in the partner organisation by the members of a focal organisation’ (Zaheer, McEvily, & Perrone, 1998). In the distributed project team setting, this can be interpreted as the extent to which a single collaborator or a group of collaborators in Finland or in India places trust in a collective group such as a team in the other country.

However, in the context of business arrangements, it is problematic if trust is only held by a few boundary spanners, individuals who have learnt to trust each other – and disappears as soon as the boundary spanning individuals change. This challenge leads to the question of how the collective sharing of trust happens. Zaheer et al. (1998) argue that the connection between interpersonal and interorganisational trust is based on institutionalising processes. Schilke and Cook (2013, 282) address the same by illustrating that trust gradually becomes a ‘part of the fabric of organisational action’ by evolving from the boundary spanners to other individuals in the organisation and then becoming collectively held institutionalised trust. Thus, the mechanism of trust between sub-groups of distributed project teams is formed through a pattern of actions which become routinised and institutionalised into the project culture of the teams. However, understanding and empirical evidence on the mechanisms of trust transference between levels is still limited (see Schilke and Cook, 2013; Vanneste, 2016; Möllering & Sydow, 2019).

Interpersonal trust between boundary spanners is claimed to evolve into interorganisational trust over time (Zaheer et al., 1998). Even when individuals on the team change, stable role definitions can help trust endure (Ring and Van de Ven, 1994) and through institutionalisation, the informal commitments made by individual boundary spanners evolve into ‘taken-for-granted’ routines and structures of the organisation (Zucker, 1977). This supports the new individuals who join the relationship and become socialised into the norms on the relationship (Zaheer et al., 1998.) The findings of Zaheer

et al. (1998) indicate the importance of trust practices that carry over from situations and time periods when individual-level trust is low. Institutionalised practices and processes become structures for actors that make trusting stable and enduring (Van de Ven & Andrew H, 1992; A. Zaheer et al., 1998), underlining the importance of the behavioural components of actions and practices. The question of trust creation between individuals in project teams and also between different sub-groups based on the location (i.e., Finnish or Indian sub-teams) is central to this study. Therefore, not only understanding the interpersonal trust creation but also the mechanisms of individual-level trust developing into trustfulness towards a group, (e.g., the Indian sub-group) of the project teams is important.

2.1.7 Institutional and cultural frames of trusting

Although the main part of trusting in business relationships takes place on the micro level between the trustor and trustee (Möllering, 2006), interpersonal business relationships are embedded in wider frames which influence individuals' actions and behaviour – following the lines of Granovetter (1985) and Uzzi (1997), who write about embeddedness of economic transactions in social structures. For this reason, an examination of macro-level constructs (i.e., institutional and cultural frames of trust) is of importance – and is examined next. These frames are the ones where trusting parties have been socialised through different phases of their lives (childhood, studies, working life) and with various group affiliates (family, social class, organisations), and influence their perceptions and behaviour of trust, trustworthiness and trust building. The institutional and cultural frames of the Finnish-Indian project teams are discussed next.

2.2 Institutional frames in Finnish-Indian context

This section discusses the influence of institutional frames on trust building of project team members located in Finland and India. It starts with the definitions of institutions and an introduction to the role of trust bases and routinised trust building, which can be categorised into institutional and interactive (Bachmann, 2010; Bachmann & Inkpen, 2011). The discussion scrutinises the institutional frame of the two countries through the

perspective of strength since, based on prior studies, in an environment with weak institutions, trust building is largely based on interaction and interpersonal practices, whereas in an environment with strong institutions, the institutions act as trust bases and thus, lower the need for personal and interactive trust building (Bachmann, 2011).

2.2.1 Introduction to the construct of institutional frames

Institutions have different roles in trust; they can be the bases, carriers or objects of trust. Actors can base their trust on institutions, and trust based on institutions can be institutionalised. Understanding institutional trust requires first defining institutions. Institutions, according to North (1990, 3), are ‘rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction’. Institutions are created by human beings and they structure interactions – both in formal and informal ways; as Ahn and Ostrom (2008, 74) state: ‘Institutions need to be viewed as including formal and informal sets of rules’. Institutions provide shared structures of meaning and interpretations, which are helpful in establishing trust as an expectation (Möllering 2006). Institutions involve also roles, expectations and norms which are more or less explicitly codified (Frederiksen, 2014).

The institutional context is relevant to trust since business relationships are shaped profoundly by elements of it (Hartman, Gedro & Masterson, 2015; Bachmann, 2010). This underlines the importance of understanding not only the cultural but also the wider institutional context of trans-border trusting parties and how it influences their trust-building behaviour. This means going beyond the examinations of micro-level dyadic interactions between individuals into the broader contexts including the national, social (e.g., culture, identity) and organisational contexts within which these interactions occur. Doney, Cannon and Mullen (1998, 601) state that ‘[a]lthough trust may form in a variety of ways, whether and how trust is established depend upon the societal norms and values that guide people’s behaviour and beliefs’. Institutional, social and cultural contexts shape the meaning of trustworthiness as well as the process and practices by which trustworthiness and trustfulness is established, which varies in a cross-cultural context (see e.g., Bachmann, 2010; Möllering & Stache, 2010).

Trusting others takes place within an institutional context and is embedded within symbolic or material systems of context. Institutional structures facilitate trust building by reducing the risk of misplaced trust in both formal and informal ways, like legal regulations, code of conduct, reputation and standards of contracts (Bachmann & Inkpen, 2011). However, institutions vary in their strength and value. Part of the strength of institutions and system of institutions comes from the affirmative experiences of actors with a system and also rests on the assumption that everyone else trusts the system, which follows the lines of Luhmann's (1979; 2017) concept of 'system trust' (see also Möllering, 2006, 72). Bachman and Inkpen's (2011, 296) definition of institutional-based trust builds on Luhmann's system trust and states that institutional-based trust is a 'form of individual or collective action that is constitutively embedded in the institutional environment in which a relationship is placed, building on favourable assumptions about the trustee's future behaviour vis-à-vis such conditions'. When actors do not gain affirmative experiences with institutions and do not assume others trust the system, the institutional trust is weak.

2.2.2 Institutional versus interactive trust bases

The institutional theory provides understanding to trusting, especially from the 'routine' perspective, and thus sheds light on varying trust behaviours in different societies. The institutional theory scrutinises processes by which structures (e.g., norms, routines, roles and rules) become established as guidelines for social behaviour and thus into things 'taken for granted'. Möllering (2006) claims that the concept of institutionalisation captures the matter of routine at the societal level between individuals and organisations and leads to an understanding of 'taken-for-grantedness'. Giddens (1984, 60) writes about the significance of routines: 'Routine is integral both to the continuity of the personality of the agent, as he or she moves along the paths of daily activities, and to the institutions of society, which are such only through their continued reproduction'. Institutionalised routines signify predictability and act as the bases on which trust is built.

Institutional frames offer different levels of safeguarding and thus result in different routinised trust-building practices and trust bases. Bachman and Inkpen (2011) differentiate trust into 'interaction-based' and 'institutional-based' trust, following the lines of Zucker (1986), who defined process-based and institution-based trust. In weak

institutional frames, actors rely on personal relationships and build trust through a process of repeated interactions that develop mutual expectations. However, in societies with high institutional regulation, people turn to institutional structures, such as bureaucracy, regulations and professional accreditations, as bases for trust and thus base their trust on institutional systems (Bachmann & Inkpen, 2011). Where the institutional framework is weak, actors tend to rely on personal power in interorganisational relationships, while in a strong institutional environment they might choose to base their trust on institutions (Bachmann, 2010). Therefore, interaction- and institution-based trust can be regarded as opposite ends of the spectrum along which the actors engage in trust strategies and thus alternative ways of coping with uncertainty.

Even in the context of cross-cultural trust building within Europe, the asymmetries of trust bases can be found and thus asymmetries in routinised trust-building practices exist. Möllering and Stache (2010) found asymmetries in trust building between German and Ukrainian business partners, where Ukrainians, being accustomed to high external uncertainty conducted business in a ‘relationship-oriented’ way, which Germans were learning to adopt. Moreover, Bachmann’s (2010) work on UK-German business relationship trust suggested that even between two neighbouring countries, the routinised trust-building practices vary due to asymmetrical institutional frames: the UK’s business system encourages interaction-based trust, whereas in Germany parties are accustomed to relying on the predictability of institutional trust bases. These findings even within Europe indicate vast asymmetries in routinised trust-building practices between offshoring collaborators of an advanced and an emerging country, such as Finland and India. Thus, trust creation between parties from different institutional frames i.e., building trust in asymmetrical institutional environments comes with inherent challenges.

Based on these findings, it can be assumed that a strong institutional frame of a developed country such as in Finland (e.g., Kettunen, 2001) results in a high level of transparency and less uncertainty, which leads to system trust and places less value on interpersonal interaction-based trust. On the contrary, the opposite conditions of weak institutional frames in an emerging country such as India motivate interpersonal relationships and interaction-based trust. This follows Nooteboom (2007, 30), who states that ‘to the extent that there are no such institutions, trust must be built entirely from relationships, and

without institutional support that can be laborious and such trust can be fragile'. Similarly, Rao, Pearce and Xin (2005, 105) found that in an environment where the infrastructure and government are non-supportive and weak, managers create 'networks of mutually committed personal relationships' to manage the uncertainty. Where a government fails to support impersonalised exchange relationships, individuals rely on their personal relationships to provide similar infrastructure. It is for this reason that in societies where the government lacks infrastructure, communities develop higher levels of trust among individuals (Rao et al., 2005). The two different trust bases introduced (i.e., interaction- and institutional-based) shed light on the difficulties in trust creation between collaborators from different institutional environments with different sets of routinised, 'taken-for-granted' ways of acting (see e.g., Möllering & Stache, 2010).

A similar institutional asymmetry is inherent in the offshoring arrangement between Finland and India. Institutional frames and routinised behaviours in two locations are different, which indicate non-shared frames of understanding. Lack of shared institutional frames and routinised behaviours in the context of offshoring project team members working in Finland and India place constraints on the familiarity needed in trust creation (see Luhmann, 1979). Similarly, as in the study of foreign managers in China not knowing what they can take for granted in the Chinese business context (Child & Möllering, 2003; Möllering, 2006, 52), the project managers in Finland and the team members in India lack routinised (i.e., taken-for-granted) ways to build or maintain trust over the distance.

Routinised trust-building practices attain a risk when entering a new type of institutional frame. As partners coming from a strong institutional frame are not accustomed to building trust on interactions and relationships, they are not equipped for it. However, a weaker institutional framework in less-developed economies results in less institutional safeguarding and increases the uncertainty and vulnerability of the trustor and, therefore, requires interaction-based trust building (see e.g., Bachmann, 2010).

2.2.3 Generalised trust and propensity to trust

An important aspect of trust development between parties of different countries is the concept of generalised trust (Ahn & Ostrom, 2008; Ferrin & Gillespie, 2010), which is defined as a baseline expectation of others' trustworthiness. Thus, generalised trust

reflects the average level of trustworthiness in a society and is often equated with trust in strangers (Bauer & Freitag, 2018). Zaheer and Zaheer (2006) discuss the ‘asymmetries of trust’ in encounters between people from ‘high’ and ‘low’ (generalised) trust cultures in an international context. Generalised trust is a reflection of institutional bases of trust in a society, and it also is influenced by the ‘propensity to trust’ that reflects the initial willingness of individuals to trust (Mayer et al., 1995).

Prior research in cross-cultural contexts has shown that levels of individual propensity to trust vary greatly between countries (Delhey & Newton, 2005; Gunia, Brett, Nandkeolyar, & Kamdar, 2011), as people in collectivistic societies show lower levels of generalised trust than those from individualistic societies (Huff & Kelley, 2003). The propensity to trust means a predisposition towards trusting other people in general, and it is co-determined by institutions, industry and cultural issues (De Jong & Woolthuis, 2004) and even organisational culture in which actors are embedded (Nooteboom, Berger & Noorderhaven, 1997). It affects the extent to which the other needs to be perceived as trustworthy before a person will trust them (Colquitt, Scot & LePine, 2007; Mayer et al., 1995; Vanneste, Puranaman & Kretschmer, 2014). Some people trust when they perceive the other to be somewhat trustworthy, whereas others trust only if they perceive the other as highly trustworthy (Vanneste, 2016). The personal propensity to trust, and thereby generalised trust, is shaped by the culture as well as the wider institutional framework, including formal institutions that shape trust behaviour, sensitivity and the need to look for trustworthiness cues. The level of trust in society differs across nations and a trust asymmetry leads to differences in practices of trust building as well as willingness to invest in trust building (Zaheer & Zaheer, 2006).

In the context of this study (i.e., the Finland-India context), the indicators predicting differences in generalised trust and asymmetries in propensities to trust are plenty. Hartman et al. (2015, 169) claim that ‘the stage of a community’s economic development also is a highly relevant feature of impact in trust relationships’. However, the literature shows no direct evidence of low income in a society affecting trust, but contrary claims of higher levels of generalised trust bringing prosperity to the economy are presented (Fukuyama, 1995), showing the relevance of a strong institutional frame for generalised trust. Various practical level indicators such as the corruption index (Transparency

International, 2019); generalised trust indicator (World Value Survey); reach of basic institutions like banks (e.g., Assocham, 2017); rate and attitudes of income tax payers (e.g., Verohallinto, 2019; Economic Times India, 2018); and numbers of informal workers (ILO, 2016) support the view of asymmetries in institutional safeguards and generalised trust in society in Finland and India. In an emerging economy with low income levels, weak infrastructure and a large informal sector, the bases for institutional trust are low, which, as the literature indicates, underlines the importance of personal relationships and interaction-based trust building, whereas in an environment of high system trust, personal relationships are less important. For this reason, the understanding of the institutional frames of the geographic locations of collaborators and the institutional asymmetry between these two nations, Finland and India, forms an important frame for understanding the personal-level asymmetries in routinised trust-building practices.

2.2.4 Trust in communities

Strong communities are typical in countries with weak formal institutions, where trust largely lies in personalised trust which, when not combined with other bases for trust, locks people into closed, localised and cohesive communities (see Nooteboom, 2007). Economists such as Fukuyama (1995) argue that countries with high-generalised trust, such as Finland (Bäck & Kestilä, 2009), do not bind their trust within the confines of groups, whereas the uncertainty of societies with low generalised trust promotes closure of networks into trust networks in order to replace the lack of generalised trust (Cook, Rice, & Gerbasi, 2004). The social capital and institutionalised rules and norms inside of the closed groups offer sources of trust. Strong communities and in-groups are a feature of Indian society, where the identity of a person is connected to the groups they represent (e.g., family, caste, state and language; Laleman et al., 2015; Hofstede, 2001). Indian society is marked with strong in-group collectivism but between-group individualism (Arora, 2005). This means that collectivistic thinking occurs inside closed groups that individuals identify themselves as belonging to, and the individualistic streak is most evident in interaction with out-group members (Kumar 2004), which means low trust towards out-group members. The informal institutional bases of trust are shared inside of the closed groups but do not reach over to the other groups, as the routinised, taken-for-

granted ways of doing are missing outside of the group. Thus, trust is based on personal relationships inside groups.

Furthermore, the fact that India is collectivistic inside of her subcultures, such as castes and sub-castes called *jatis* (Hofstede, 2001), indicates a tendency to build trust based on shared characteristics (Zucker, 1986), which means familiarity and shared norms (Luhmann, 1979) inside of a group. Trust based on characteristics involves a sense of belonging to a social group with shared traits and is based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) which posits that trust develops more naturally and quickly between team members with commonalities than in teams of diverse members. This is supported by prior studies which indicate that the Indian business environment and organisations are based on relationships (Arora, 2005), and hence, the ability to build relationships is a key competence in India (Sivasubramanian, 2016). This shows how in a situation when strong institutions are missing and cannot support trusting, actors tend to base trust on weaker institutions (Mogensen, 2016), interactions (Bachmann, 2011) and similarities in characteristics based on belonging to the same social group (Zucker, 1986).

2.2.5 Concluding remarks on institutional frames of trust

Asymmetries among national institutional frameworks create differences in the routinised practices of trust building (Bachmann, 2011) and willingness to invest in trust building (Zaheer & Zaheer, 2006), which challenges collaborators from different institutional backgrounds to find common practices of trust creation. A party from a society with well-functioning institutional safeguards such as legal system, bases trust on institutions and does not have routinised practices to build interactive trust; whereas the partner from a weaker institutional framework is accustomed to basing trust on relationships built through interactions (Bachmann, 2011). Moreover, the willingness to invest in trust building through interactions and process-based learning might be lower, as this has not been proven worthwhile in an environment of shared institutional frame. In conclusion, when the institutional trust in society is high there is less willingness to invest in trust building, whereas the lack of the institutional trust bases motivates interactive and character-based (Zucker, 1986) trust building.

The review of institutional environments shows that societies in Finland and India are in radically different positions with regard to strong versus weak institutional safeguarding, which has significant implications on the trust bases and routinised trust building in the two countries. The literature reviewed in this chapter implies three challenges for collaborator dyads. Firstly, generalised trust levels in these two countries are different, which influences routinised trust behaviour and taken-for-granted schemas of trust. Secondly, their routinised practices of trust are different, as prior literature implies a tendency towards interaction and relationship-based trust behaviour in India and system-based trust behaviour in Finland. Thirdly, the parties from strong institutional environments such as Finland are less willing to invest in relational trust, as they have not experienced its benefits. The institutional frame forms the mechanisms of trust building and institutionalised, routinised trust behaviour.

2.3 Cultural frames in Finnish-Indian context

Next, the cultural frames of Finland and India are discussed. Cultural frames are part of the wider institutional frame of societies, and as a construct, culture is multileveled (Caprar, Devinney, Kirkman & Caligiuri, 2015) and multi-dimensional (Chao & Moon, 2005), which means that cultural elements influence trust parties and trust creation on multiple levels. This section examines cultural frames from national culture perspective, which is a group-level construct, and relies largely on a country-level set of shared characteristics, belief and values (see Caprar et al., 2015).

This section seeks to review emic constructs of Finnish and Indian cultures which ‘strive to describe a particular culture in its own terms’, as well as etic constructs which ‘attempt to describe differences across culture in terms of general, external standards’ (Morris, Leung, Ames, & Licke, 1999, 781). The focus is especially on cultural aspects that posit influence on attitudes towards work, tasks and professional relationships and are thus relevant for collaborators striving to do project work together. Understanding the differences is important since unfamiliar norms and behaviour create tension and constrain trust creation (Luhmann, 1979; Luhmann, 2017; Möllering, 2006). The dearth of familiarity (Luhmann, 1979) due to lack of interpersonal similarities or common

background (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995) of collaborators in cross-cultural relationships (Zaheer & Zaheer, 2006) makes trust creation challenging.

Culture has been widely studied in the context of international business, being one of the most enduring components of international business studies (Caprar et al., 2015), but studies in cross-cultural contexts still carry limited empirical evidence on trust development. In international business studies, culture has been mainly positioned as an influencing factor (antecedent, moderator or mediator), but in more recent studies, it has been considered as a variable that is influenced by business activities (see Brannen & Salk 2000; Caprar, 2011). There has been debate (Leung, Bhagat, Buchan, Erez & Gibson, 2011) on culture conceptualisation (i.e., national culture versus culture per se), as well as perspective of culture (i.e., emic versus etic perspectives; Morris, Leung, Ames, & Licke, 1999). Culture is often treated and studied as a source of distance, alienation and tension in international business (Stahl & Tung, 2015). However, there are also claims of culture being a resource, a toolkit (Swidler, 1986) or even a resolution of tension (Koppman et al., 2016).

2.3.1 Defining culture in the context of business relationships and trust research

Culture shapes the norms, beliefs and values of individuals in a certain environment and group of people. National culture is often seen as the basis of culture and defined by Triandis (1995, 6) as ‘shared beliefs, attitudes, norms, roles and values found among speakers of a particular language who live during the same historical period in a specified geographic region’. Academia offers plentiful culture definitions, and 65 years ago, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, in Taras, Roney & Steel, 2009) found 164 distinct definitions of culture. Most of the definitions share four common elements (Taras, Roney, & Steel, 2009): first, culture is a multi-layered construct (like an onion) where basic assumptions and values, practices, symbols and artefacts are layered; second, culture is shared among people belonging to the same groups; third, culture is formed over a long time period; and fourth, culture is relatively stable. In addition to a multi-layered onion, the metaphor of an iceberg (Hall, 1976) is often used to indicate how a large portion of cultural layers are invisible to others but still strongly influence thinking and acting.

Culture has been studied across various disciplines, commonly with an emphasis on its external layers such as artefacts, languages, traditions or descriptions of protocols, customs and ways of doing business in certain societies (Taras et al., 2009). Different scholars have focused on different aspects but commonly studied aspects are cultural values (see Hofstede, 2001) and communication (see Hall, 1976). Culture studies have looked at cultures from etic (culture general) and emic (culture specific) perspectives, providing both outsider and insider views on culture (Morris et al., 1999). A widely used approach to culture is an etic approach of culture dimensions and typologies (see Hofstede, 2001; House et al., 2004), which facilitates cross-cultural comparison but ignores the culture-specific aspects and nuances.

Culture has also been discussed in trust research, as in addition to the aforementioned wider institutional determinants, cultural determinants have been identified as reasons why trust building is more complicated in situations where parties come from different cultures (Lane & Bachmann, 1998; Zaheer & Zaheer, 2006; Ferrin & Gillespie, 2010). Different norms of behaviour and communication (Hofstede, 2001; Lewis, 2011) lead to difficulties and misunderstandings in signalling and interpreting trustworthiness and trustfulness because ways of expressing and perceiving trustworthiness cues vary. Furthermore, cultural elements such as language barriers challenge relationships and trust building (Klitmøller & Luring, 2013; Welch & Welch, 2008).

It has been asked whether the trust construct of Western academics complies with emic trust constructs in other parts of the world (see Ferrin & Gillespie, 2010). Based on cultural values, as well as the institution bases, cultural views on trust might vary. Although the cultural variances of trust have been studied only in a limited manner, there is some evidence of how different trust components vary across cultures. For example, the emotional aspects of trust have been found to carry more importance in Asian cultures than in the West (Cullen, Johnson, & Sakano, 2000; Jukka et al., 2017; Tan & Chee, 2005). Cross-cultural trust studies have been largely done by Western academics carrying a Western perspective in both constructing and analysing trust constructs. Contextual understanding in cross-cultural studies is emphasised (see Tsui, 2006; Welch, Piekkari, Plakoviannaki & Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, 2011), as trust strategies of collaborators are

influenced by context, which the findings of Möllering and Child (2003) and Tsui-Auch and Möllering (2010) in Sino-Western trust relationships indicate.

Cultural norms, values and practices influence both signalling and interpretations of trustworthiness (Branzei, Vertinsky, & Camp II, 2007), which take place in different communication situations – written, spoken and body language. Communication patterns are largely influenced by the cultural environment where a person has grown up and gone to school and university, as well as the organisation where they work. According to Hofstede (2001; Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010), a person is programmed to follow the culture, norms, values and habits of their surroundings. Ability to conduct ‘cross-cultural code-switching’ is needed in interactions between parties in an international business collaboration, and it is an alternative to the ‘auto-navigation mode’ of interacting with people of one’s own culture (Molinsky, 2007). Differences in the visible signs of culture (e.g., ways of dressing), as well as behaviours and assumptions, may seem ‘alien’ or ‘peculiar’, thus constraining relationship and trust creation (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010, Mahadevan, 2012).

2.3.2 National cultural frame of trust in Finland-India collaboration

This section reviews the asymmetries and variances in national culture beliefs, values and behaviour in Finland and India. The aim is to examine cultural aspects and differences in order to understand the cultural influences on trust building in the context of Finnish-Indian project teams. The focus is on cultural aspects that are manifested in workplace practices. Moreover, the preceding discussion on how institutional differences influence trust building guides the topics to be reviewed. Thus, the following three cultural orientations that posit differences are discussed: first, the orientations towards *uncertainty and predictability*; second, the *variance in task versus relationship-orientation*; and third, *authority and hierarchy*. Studies with both emic and etic views are included to offer more nuanced insight into the cultural elements of collaborators in project teams working in Finland and India.

Uncertainty is a central contextual factor in trusting, as trust is said to be needed only in the situation of uncertainty; and too much uncertainty is an obstacle for trust (Näslund, 2016; Möllering, 2006). Therefore, the attitudes of trusting parties towards uncertainty

have a central role in trust building. Doney et al. (1998) state that people in high uncertainty avoidance cultures, such as Finland, are more likely to build trust through the predictability of behaviour, and in such societies rules of acceptable behaviour are set to help the trustor predict the other person's behaviour. By establishing rules and processes, high uncertainty avoiding cultures, like Finland, create predictability (Sully de Luque & Javidan, 2004), whereas in India people place less value on rules or following them (Hofstede, 2001). Indians are more tolerant to ambiguity and feel less threatened by unpredictable situations than Finns (Hofstede, 2001, House et al., 2004), even to the degree that Nobel prize-winning economist Sen (2005) highlights '*swkriti*', an equity of toleration, as a central feature of India, a large nation full of diversity and contradictions. Inhibiting such asymmetry in a central aspect of trust – the attitude towards uncertainty – can be assumed to posit differences in the approach to trust creation, as Jukka et al. (2017) found in their study of Finnish-Chinese business relationships (with similar asymmetries). In the context of Sino-Finnish business relationships, Jukka et al.'s (2017) study showed that unpredictable behaviour hampered the trust of the Finnish party – which follows the lines of prior statements that predictability is central for collaborators from societies with high uncertainty avoidance, such as Finland (Hofstede, 2001; Doney et al., 1998).

Furthermore, the differences in *task versus relationship orientation* is an aspect of asymmetry influencing relational trust creation between Finnish and Indian collaborators. Studies show that business relationships in Finland focus more on business than personal relationships (e.g., Halinen, 1994; Sivasubramanian, 2016) and that Finnish corporate industrial buyers regard open information sharing, communication and, most importantly, keeping promises regarding delivery dates, prices and quality as prerequisites for trust (Seppänen & Blomqvist, 2006). Task orientation is dominant in the Finnish working culture, whereas in India, relationship orientation is claimed to overrule task orientation (see Kakar, 1978; Laleman et al., 2015; Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010), supporting the trust dilemma of routinised trust-building practices proposed earlier. In India, the relationship is prevailed over the task, and personalised relationships are valued and act as bases for trust in closed communities. As mentioned previously, Branzei et al. (2007) claim that collectivist cultures in Asia emphasise reciprocal relationships, which are largely based on long-term interdependency and strong emotional bonds with committed partners. Wasti et al. (2011) distinguished which trustworthiness-related factors

are most important for collectivist countries and highlighted reciprocity and especially manifested benevolence as significant factors of trust development. Kelly and Noonan's (2008) study supports this, as in their offshoring trust study between Ireland and India, benevolence and caring were of importance in initial trust building for the Indian business partner.

Task orientation and valuing work in Finland is influenced by Protestant work ethics (Koivisto, 1998), where work has value for its own sake and overcoming hardship is valued. The emic construct for the Finnish attitude towards work and hardship is '*sisu*', whose meaning is addressed by Sinkkonen (2013, 49): the word 'is untranslatable but it means approximately strength of will, determination, and perseverance' that describes the 'enigmatic power that enables individuals to push through unbearable challenges' (Lahti, 2019, 61). *Sisu* contributes to the action mind-set of Finns, providing a consistent and courageous approach toward challenges which initially seem to exceed their capacities. *Sisu* as a concept does not place value on relationships but is purely a task-oriented approach, which influences norms also in the workplaces.

On the contrary, in India the relationship prevails over the task, along the lines of Kakar (1978, 125) stating that Indians are not concerned with the goals of work but the unfolding of emotional affinity. The Indian concept of seeing work and life differs from the Western 'work-life balance' ethos (Lewis, Gambles, & Rapoport, 2007). Laleman et al. (2015, 442) refer to a 'near zero boundary between work and life' in India as an indication of the line between private and professional spheres. Keating and Jarvenpaa (2016) in their study on multicultural engineer teams found that Indians felt offended when their private life aspects such as marriage was not of interest to their Western colleagues. In a Finnish-Indian acquisition study (Nummela & Raukko, 2012; Raukko, 2009), it was noted that there was a difference in time spent at the office between Finns and Indians; Indians spend longer days at the office but used their time 'less efficiently' (from the Finnish perspective), as their days included more socialising with colleagues than in Finland where the focus is on work tasks.

Thirdly, aspects concerning *authority and hierarchical distance* between Finland and India cause unfamiliarity in organisational behaviour and differences in communication practices. In India, hierarchy is appreciated as an organising principle of groups in private

as well as professional life (Hofstede, et al., 2010), whereas contemporary Finnish society is founded on equalitarian values (Koivisto, 1998; Koivisto & Lampinen, 2002). Furthermore, the scores on masculinity versus femininity (Hofstede, 2001) indicate a higher importance of competitiveness, assertiveness, materialism, ambition and power in India, where traits like authority, assertiveness, performance and success (typical of masculine cultures) are demonstrated in workplace, whereas in feminine cultures such as Finland, workplaces tend to be more democratic. Cramton and Hinds' (2014) study of distributed teams with US, German and Indian counterparties encountered difficulties with the implementation of a flat organisation and the individual contributor model in India since the team members were used to more hierarchical and collectivist structures, as well as dependency on others. The different behaviour is claimed to hinder perceptions of trustworthiness (Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010), and a lack of perceived social similarities hampers trust creation (see e.g., Jarvenpaa et al., 1998). The individual contributor model and aspects of independent versus dependent working style (see Cramton & Hinds, 2014) are closely connected with the competence factors of engineering and might manifest as alienating and even mismatched project team practices.

The hierarchical structure of Indian society, as well as the importance of close relationships, also manifests itself in organisations. The organisational culture in India features emotional bonds and 'family-like organisations' (Raghuram, 2011), which is experienced as challenging by Western managers working in India (Salminen-Karlsson, 2015), as well as collaborators in Western-Indian software development teams (Cramton & Hinds, 2014). Trompenaars (1993, 139) used the metaphor of a family when describing the typical Indian organisational culture which 'is at the same time personal, with close face-to-face relationships, but also hierarchical'. Prior literature claims that Indian employees prefer an authoritative paternalistic manager-leader who is able to adapt and empathise with them and cater to their work-related needs in an organisation 'like in a big family' (Arora, 2005; Raghuram, 2011). Thus, paternalism is central to India's work culture (Aycaan, Kanungo, & Sinha, 1999) and sets expectations for affective and caring elements as part of trust in management. Paternalism as a management style refers to the interest that a manager has toward the personal welfare of subordinates, which is similar to the interest of a family elder (Fikret Pasa, Kabasakal, & Bodur, 2001). Subordinates expect caring and reciprocate with loyalty and deference. Moreover, Laleman et al. (2015,

441) state that Indians show a clear tendency towards the 'leadership through loyalty and benevolence' model, not the 'leadership through competence' model favoured by other environments like Finland. Valuing benevolence versus competence aspects of superiors connects the organisational culture to the trustworthiness antecedents (see ABI model) and features assumptions of differences in that aspect.

Moreover, Sinha and Kumar (2004, 98) state that: 'Encouraging participation on equal terms could be rewarding in an egalitarian culture, whereas nurturing in terms of taking personal care of subordinates and guiding, directing and even reprimanding them may be viewed as motivational in the Indian cultural context'. These findings in regard to trust building demonstrate that the importance of aspects of caring and emotional bondage and thus underline the significance of emotional component of trust. The importance of emotional aspects of trust has also been stressed in prior studies of trust constructs in Asian collectivist cultures. The intensity of family-like emotional and personal relationships in Indian organisational life draws a contextual understanding for the findings of the importance of benevolence as a significant area of trustworthiness in collectivist countries (see Jukka et al., 2017; Wasti & Tan, 2010), as well as the importance of caring and the emotional side of trust in the Irish-Indian offshoring case (Kelly & Noonan, 2008).

These three orientations which pose differences regarding workplace behaviour have connections to the trust constructs of cognitive reasons to trust and affective bonding. In addition, they are closely connected to the trustworthiness indicators of ability, benevolence and integrity and illuminate differences in the importance of trust elements. They also illustrate trust creation challenges from the perspective of social identity and attribution theories (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), stating that trust develops more naturally and quickly between team members with commonalities than in teams with diverse members, which implies trust in heterogeneous groups (see Zucker, 1986). Cultural differences illustrate large social dissimilarities regarding values, beliefs and behaviour and thus constrain trust building, as 'trust has to be achieved within a familiar world' (Luhmann, 1988, 95). On a practical level, the scale of differences depict challenges for trust building between Finns and Indians, as the trust components are valued differently by them, and moreover, team members from Finland and India view trustworthy behaviour differently.

2.3.3 Finnish and Indian communication cultures

Communication is a key factor in knowledge-intensive collaboration, even to the extent that some academics (Savolainen, Lopez-Fresno & Ikonen, 2014) have proposed communication to be a trust antecedent due to its central role in sharing formal, informal, timely and meaningful information (Zeffane, Tipu & Ryan, 2011; Anderson & Narus, 1990). The role of communication has been underlined in multiple trust studies (e.g., Zeffane et al., 2011; Webster & Wong, 2008; Anderson & Narus, 1990; Morgan & Hunt, 1994). Liu, Chua and Stahl (2010) found that the quality of interpersonal communication matters more to the success of intercultural negotiations than intracultural ones, and Costa, Fulmer and Anderson (2018) point out the slower creation of trust in virtual teams due to a restricted flow of social communication. Thus, the studies underline the importance of quality and frequency of communication in the context of distributed project teams. Therefore, the cultural norms of communication are a relevant aspect to review in a study of trust building in project team members in Finland and India who communicate mainly through virtual tools.

In knowledge-intensive collaboration of offshoring teams, the practices of information sharing and shared sense making are central, but they are challenged by cultural communication differences. Hall's (1976) classic division of cultures into a high- and low-context communication characterises high-context communication as implicit and relying heavily on context, whereas low-context communication relies on explicit verbal communication. It is believed that Asian cultures tend to be high-context oriented, while the opposite is true for Western societies; however, it is important to note that the assumption does not rely on large-scale empirical studies (Taras et al., 2009). Panda and Gupta (2004) claim that context-sensitive behaviour is a central feature of the Indian culture, and Sinha and Kumar (2004, 100) follow the same lines when stating that 'Indians place a premium on context sensitivity and the balancing disposition'. The contexts are specified in terms of place, time and person (Sinha, 2002). Indians are said to have a 'radar-like sensitivity' (Sinha & Kumar, 2004) to the specificities of a given situation and they are also quick to evaluate the long-range implications of their response to it (Roland, 1988; Sinha & Kanungo, 1997). This results in 'balancing their responses by avoiding extremes in action and thought or by incorporating even seemingly opposite ideas in a

complex way' (Sinha & Kumar 2004, 100). Indians feel comfortable aligning their views with changing persons and situations, whereas the Finnish concept of honesty is uncompromising and 'law-like' (Lewis 2011, 62), resulting in distrust towards a person with context-sensitive communication (see Nummela & Raukko 2012, 210). In India, there is a tendency to 'perceive a situation and the responses to it as one episode in an ongoing flow on interactive relationships between situations and responses' (Panda & Gupta 2004, 39), whereas Finnish communication is explicit and relies on verbal communication, not context. Lewis (2011) claims that Finns tend to be short of words; they only say what is necessary, and prefer brief and direct communication.

Cultural differences in interpersonal communication are largely found as sources of misinterpretation in cross-cultural collaborations (Cramton, 2001; Krishna, Sahay & Walsham, 2004). Communication was found to be the biggest issue in an Indian-Finnish acquisition study (Raukko, 2009; Nummela & Raukko, 2012), and one of the aspects raised was the absence of 'no' from the Indian party – which is quite commonly reported in other studies, as well. Finnish communication, being direct and not sidestepping controversial issues (Lewis, 2011), uses the word 'no' rigorously. Moreover, the means of communication in Raukko's study were different, as the more introverted and data-oriented Finns (Lewis, 2011) preferred sending emails, whereas the more talkative and dialogue-oriented Indians preferred using the telephone. According to Nummela and Raukko (2012, 210): 'Although many questions could have been quickly answered with one phone call, Finns felt more comfortable formulating the questions or the issue in writing, and emails were often perceived to be a more efficient way to communicate based on that view'. Cramton and Hinds (2014) also found interpersonal communication differences such as indirect versus direct communication norms to create tension in US-German-Indian distributed engineering teams.

Finnish-Indian distributed project teams are not only challenged by the differences in communication culture, but they are also constrained by the fact that they need to apply cross-cultural communication in a virtual environment. Prior findings show that especially the social aspect in relationships and trust creation, which is of more importance for Indians (Laleman et al., 2015), is hampered in virtual communication (see Jarvenpaa et al., 1998). The asynchronic tools of virtual communication such as emails seem to be

preferred by the task-oriented and less verbose Finns (see Lewis, 2011; Nummela & Raukko, 2012), which constrains trust creation, as they lack virtual co-presence, which Altschuller and Benbunan-Fich (2010) found to be a significant factor promoting trust in virtual teams. Virtual co-presence is claimed not only to create a sense of connection and ‘closer ties’ (Nardi, Whittaker & Bradner, 2000) among team members, but it is also claimed to be a prerequisite for interpersonal trust (Bente, Rüggenberg, Krämer & Eschenburg, 2008). Hence, communication practices are central to teams working virtually, as the evidence shows that trust develops more slowly in virtual teams due to the scarcity of social information in virtual communication (Costa et al., 2018; Wilson, Straus, & McEvily, 2006).

2.4 Context of global teams

This section examines the contextual factors influencing trust building in global team members. It investigates aspects of offshoring as a way of organising global work and the perceived distance between team members that stems from aspects such as power asymmetries and cultural and physical distance, as well as the virtual working environment. The discussion of the context of trust building focuses on the meso-level construct: the offshoring arrangement and working environment of the offshoring teams.

2.4.1 Global teams in offshoring

This research studies trust building in the daily collaboration of members of a Finland-India offshoring arrangement (i.e., a firm disaggregating business functions across national borders; Lewin, Massini and Peeters, 2009). Offshoring includes both the practice of companies setting up their own centres in foreign countries while maintaining full control (called ‘captive offshoring’ or ‘in-house offshoring’ in the literature), as well as handing over service functions to a third-party service provider in another country (i.e., offshore outsourcing; Ali-Yrkkö & Deschryvere, 2008; Kedia & Lahiri, 2007). When defining offshoring, it is also important to refer to outsourcing since the two terms are used frequently around same phenomena but carry different meanings. Offshoring refers to the transnational relocation of activities that had previously been performed in the home

country, whereas outsourcing refers to subcontracting or contracting out of activities (previously performed within the firm) to another organisation (Doh, Bunvaratavej & Hahn, 2009). Thus, the concept of ‘offshoring’, as well as the more recent concept of ‘nearshoring’ (Hartman, Ogden, Wirthlin, & Hazen, 2017), refers to the distance between destinations where value-chain activities of business process operations are disaggregated. The offshoring arrangement studied in this research is in-house offshoring (or captive offshoring), referring to a practice of firms setting up their own centres in foreign countries with full control over them, and thus, it is not an outsourcing arrangement.

Offshoring is part of the global division of work which seeks to capture global talent and complete projects cost efficiently (Kedia & Lahiri, 2007; Levina & Vaast, 2008; Roza, Van den Bosch & Volberda, 2011) and results in team members being located in different parts of the world. Hence, a key mechanism for organising global work is a formation of global virtual teams, which Jarvenpaa, Knoll and Leidner (1999, 30) define as ‘a temporary team assembled on an as-needed basis for the duration of a task, and staffed by members from the far corners of the world’. Offshoring has thus brought a profound change to the social circumstances and interactions of project team members by challenging their routinised trust behaviour. However, being able to build trust has become of even more significant, as prior research on different business alliances and teams highlights the importance of co-creative and trustworthy relationships (Zaheer, McEvily, and Perrone, 1998; Jarvenpaa et al., 1998). Moreover, the studies on Western-Indian offshoring illustrate the importance of trust building (Jensen, 2012) but also the fragile nature of trust in offshoring relationships (Oza, Hall, Rainer & Grey, 2006). Relational problems have a negative impact on offshore arrangements, and the challenges associated with the management of offshoring relationships are the reasons behind failed collaborations (Chou, Techatassanasoontorn & Hung, 2015; Goo & Huang, 2008).

Many of the challenges are due to the work being enveloped in perceptions of distance. Global teams face various distinctive contextual aspects which create separation due to geographical distance, heavy reliance on mediating technologies (Hinds & Bailey, 2003), structural dynamism and national diversity (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006). In international business studies, distance has been addressed with constructs such as ‘cultural distance’ (Kogut & Singh, 1988) and ‘psychic distance’; the latter refers to both cultural and

physical distance (Johanson & Vahlne, 1977; Johanson & Vahlne, 2009). International business literature has been critiqued for scrutinising distance mainly as a constraining and negative aspect (Stahl & Tung, 2015). On contrary, in innovation studies, distance (see Boschma, 2005; Nooteboom, 2013) has been approached from a different and more positive perspective. According to the French school of proximity dynamics (Boschma, 2005), the concept of proximity can be scrutinised through five dimensions: cognitive, organisational, social, institutional, and geographical. This illustrates a functional and multilevel approach to the construct of ‘distance’ between team members. However, even though cognitive distance acts as a source of team innovativeness, the lack of cognitive proximity (i.e., differences in knowledge and values) is claimed to create barriers for trust (Nooteboom, 2013).

Due to the geographical distance, team members lack cognitive proximity (i.e., ‘mutual knowledge’) of each other’s situations, which increases coordination problems in acquiring knowledge (Cramton, 2001). Their local offices and locally embedded work practices (Cramton & Hinds, 2014) are rooted in the local institutional system and culture. Electronic dependence creates both physical and technological constraints limiting informal spontaneous interaction and providing fewer opportunities to become familiar with each another (Johri, 2012; Hinds & Bailey, 2003). In addition, the nature of global project work denotes a temporal aspect, meaning that collaborators are encountered with a changing composition of co-workers and changing durations of collaboration; this results in inexperience with working together, as well as lack of a shared history and thus a lack of shared frames of understanding (Cohen & Gibson, 2003). Global offshoring also inhibits power asymmetries between parties. These aspects of distance are discussed next as follows: first, distance stemming from the status and power asymmetries; second, distance stemming from geography and the virtual working environment; and third, distance stemming from cultural differences.

2.4.2 Status and power distance in global teams

Status and power have been found as aspects creating perceptions of distance in offshoring arrangements between Western advanced economies and emerging economies such as India (Koppman et al., 2016; Leonardi & Rodriguez-Lluesma, 2013). Offshoring brings professionals from developing and developed countries to work together and often implies

a client-service provider relationship where collaborators from a Western advanced economy act in the more powerful role of an internal client and team members in India act as internal service providers (Metiu, 2006). The aspects of country and organisational context have been found to create distinct status differences and power asymmetries between offshoring parties (Leonardi & Rodriguez-Lluesma, 2013; Levina & Vast, 2008; Koppman et al., 2016), which result in the formation of sub-groups, constrain trust building and become barriers to effective collaboration and successful completion of work in global teams (Metiu, 2006; Levina & Vaast, 2008).

Levina and Vaast (2008) argue that there are two threats of collaboration in the global teams: relationship threats, meaning that Indians are not treated as peers; and work-allocation threats, meaning that Indians are not treated as experts. Occupational status differences were also found by Leonardi and Rodriguez-Lluesma (2013), who claim that offshoring team members create professional perceptions of each other based on national stereotypes. Moreover, Koppman et al. (2016), in their study on US-Indian information technology offshoring, address status asymmetry by asking: 'Given that offshore workers in the emerging world are not treated as peers by their Western collaborators, how do they work together harmoniously?' Status and power asymmetry result in an identity paradox of employees in an emerging country: locally they are valued and respected educated professionals of multinational companies, but in the offshoring collaboration, they are not treated as professional peers.

2.4.3 Geographical distance in global teams

Physical distance between collaborators is another key characteristic of distributed work settings (Hinds & Bailey, 2003). Distributed teams are often not completely dispersed, as many teams have both co-located and distributed members (Cohen & Gibson, 2003; O'Leary and Cummings, 2007). This partial dispersion might lead to sub-groups and unbalance in teams, as co-located members typically interact more frequently with each other than with distant colleagues (e.g., Hinds & Mortensen, 2005), which underlines the perception of distance between sub-groups. As mentioned, physical distance limits face-to-face interaction and especially the opportunity for informal interaction and spontaneous communication (see Hinds & Mortensen, 2005).

Physical distance also hinders the understanding and knowledge of the local conditions in the other locations of team members and thus results in unfamiliarity that hinders trust creation (see Luhmann, 1979). According to Cramton and Hinds (2014), the most salient boundaries are often the embeddedness of knowledge in local, situated practice, which constrain the establishment of a common ground (Cramton, 2001; Hinds & Mortensen, 2005; Metiu, 2006) needed for efficient collaboration and trust building. Collaboration faces complexity as parties with different practices, interests and competences engage in joint work (Levina & Vaast, 2008). Due to physical distance, they have less access and opportunities to learn about the conditions in other location and limited opportunities to observe others and thus have less information about them (Johri, 2012).

Due to geographical distribution, project teams work mainly virtually. Virtual teams are examined in multiple studies addressing various aspects: geographical dispersion, communication using electronic tools, structural dynamics and national diversity (see Baba, Gluesing, Ratner & Wagner, 2004; Gibson & Gibbs, 2006). The most common characteristics seem to be geographic dispersion and electronic dependence (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006), which is also the context of this study of offshoring project teams located in Finland and India and working through various information technology aided tools. However, in the modern information technology supported working environment, sending emails, sharing documents and working in the cloud are also taking place in the co-located teams; hence, working in a geographically distributed team means moving towards greater dependability on virtual tools in collaboration (see Kirkman & Mathieu, 2005; Gibson, Huang, Kirkman & Shapiro, 2014).

Understanding the virtual context of offshoring teams is important since there is evidence of constraints that virtual teams face in relationship and trust building. Virtual environments have found to restrict the cues of ‘trust, warmth, attentiveness and other interpersonal affections’ (Jarvenpaa et al., 1998, 793), as some basic cues present in the co-located environment are absent (Kimble, 2011). In addition, prior studies indicate that virtual teams engage less in relational communication (Powell, Piccoli & Ives, 2004), which means that they require more time to exchange social information (Costa et al., 2018; Wilson, Straus, & McEvily, 2006) and take longer to develop trust than co-located teams. Moreover, the lack of face-to-face contact seems to be a constraint for trust

development and prior findings speak for the importance of meeting in person even in the virtual team context. Henttonen and Blomqvist (2005) found that face-to-face meetings at an early stage of virtual team work created trust and team culture. However, physical meetings are not always possible for global teams. Thus, active relationship and trust building actions, such as team member responsiveness (Kirkman, Rosen, Gibson, Tesluk, and McPherson 2002), taking initiative (Jarvenpaa & Leidner 1999), responding in a timely and meaningful manner, giving feedback (Geister, Konradt, & Hertel, 2006), providing transparent information (Palanski, Kahai, & Yammarino, 2011) and virtual co-presence (Altschuller & Benbunan-Fich, 2010), have been found to lessen the negative effects of virtual communication and thus to support trust development.

2.4.4 Cultural distance in global teams

In addition to aforementioned power and geographical distance as well as virtual working environment, cultural differences are central to trust formation, which largely takes place in daily interaction and communication situations. In global teams, the collaborators as individuals carry various mixtures of cultural backgrounds and identities (Mattarelli & Tagliaventi, 2010) and collaboration often requires using a second language (Klitmøller & Lauring, 2013; Welch & Welch, 2008). Cultural distance is defined as ‘the sum of factors creating, on the one hand, a need for knowledge, and on the other hand, barriers to the knowledge flow and hence also for other flows between... countries’ (Luostarinen, 1979, 131-132 in Nummela & Raukko, 2012). The effect of cultural distance creates challenges for mutual understanding and tolerance of differing practices, norms and values. These challenges increase when moving towards more strategic level collaboration in offshoring arrangement (Kedia & Lahiri, 2007), which requires commitment to engage in close collaboration and a greater degree of involvement and trust over longer time periods from both dyads of the relationship (Chou et al., 2015; Kedia & Lahiri, 2007). Cultural and social similarity have been found to be important factors in trust building in both co-located and virtual teams; however, this is more challenging in a virtual setting (e.g., Jarvenpaa et al., 1998). The cultural and communication differences between Finland and India were discussed in detail in Section 2.3.

2.5 Conclusions of Chapter 2

This chapter aimed to examine the contextual setting of Finnish-Indian project teams and their trust building. In order to be able to discuss the context through trust, the chapter started with an introduction of the main constructs of trust before discussing the challenges of the contextual setting of trust building of Finnish-Indian project team members. Thus, the first part of the chapter outlined the main constructs of relational trust: the concepts of uncertainty and vulnerability as central aspects of trust; the three components of trust (cognitive, emotional and behavioural); the ABI model of trustworthiness; and the levels of trust. These constructs were discussed before moving into the contextual aspects of trust building.

Trust takes place in various frames, and this chapter examined the macro frames of institutions and national culture of distributed virtual project teams located in Finland and India. The examination of frames suggests a large array of differences in institutional and cultural aspects of the two countries which have been found to influence the interpersonal trust building between team members. The literature portrays how different institutional frames have shaped routinised trust-building practices and identifies differences in national cultural aspects that are manifested in workplace norms and behaviour. The differences in trust bases (institutional versus relationship) posit challenges, as different national cultures place different values on relationships and tasks. The strong relationship focus in India also manifests itself in the ways authority and hierarchy function in organisations. In contrast, strong task-orientation in Finland is manifested in both work and communication norms. The literature review leads to a prediction of challenges for interpersonal trust building between Indian and Finnish team members, since differences in routinised trust-building practices, and cultural asymmetries illustrate vast differences in behaviours that are central to trust building. Hence, the context of the offshoring arrangement with distributed project teams depicts a lack of proximity on multiple aspects, resulting in an unfavourable context for trust creation.

3 Solutions to trust building in an unfavourable context

The purpose of this chapter is to review active and purposive trust building and the mobilisation of cultural identities as solutions to the constraints of trust building in cross-cultural relationships in the context of Finnish-Indian offshoring teams. This chapter examines an active and purposive trust creation approach, which is suggested as a trust strategy for unfavourable environments (see Child & Möllering 2003; Möllering & Stache, 2010, Tsui-Auhc & Möllering, 2010). It investigates the ‘active trust’ concept (Giddens, 1994), scrutinising how active trust is enacted as a process, as well as trust practices in global teams whose work is enveloped in different locations and cultures posing lack of proximity and familiarity. Moreover, the mobilisation of cultures is discussed through concepts of ‘culture mosaic’ (Chao & Moon, 2005) and ‘culture as a toolkit for constructing action’ (Swidler, 1986; Koppman et al., 2016) since these two concepts approach culture not as static but rather as a dynamic model. Thus, they offer theoretical lenses to examine how trusting parties can mobilise and reflexively use their cultures in active trust building.

This chapter is structured in three parts. Firstly, the concept of active trust is discussed; second, the process nature of active trust is examined; and thirdly, the dynamic culture theories and mobilisation of cultural elements on the individual and team levels are addressed. By doing this, the chapter provides a meso- and micro-level review of the active approach to trust and trust-building mechanisms in order to learn how trust can be built in unfavourable environments.

3.1 Active trust

This section discusses active trust as a trust-building approach in a context that poses trusting parties with a great deal of unfamiliarity. Traditional, static trust approaches can be claimed to be inadequate for the needs of collaborators working in complex and rapidly changing environments where they lack bases of trust stemming from institutions, familiarity or time needed for gradually evolving identification with the partner (see Möllering, 2005; Giddens, 1994; Luhmann, 1979); this is the typical context of cross-

cultural offshoring teams working in a virtual environment. The preliminary notion of ‘active trust’ was introduced by Giddens (1994, 186-187) for the needs of modern societies where people are forced to work with strangers, and in the context of organisational trust research, it has been defined as purposive actions of the trustor to strengthen the bases for trust (Child & Möllering, 2003). The social aspect of active trust is underlined by Möllering (2005, 27) who writes about active trust as a ‘just-do-it’ trust, where collaborators ‘instead of allowing social complexity to paralyse them, experiment and continuously communicate about the changing game conditions’.

3.1.1 Defining active trust

Active trust (Giddens, 1994) focuses on scrutinising how both trustor and trustee actively engage in the process of trust development. The concept of active trust addresses the way in which close relationships are formed in complex and fast-changing environments (see Möllering, 2005; Giddens, 1994), a context for the distributed offshoring teams working in two different countries, Finland and India. As active trust refers to intentional trust building, it relates to the perspective of seeing trust as an action, rather than a passive mental state. This aligns with Nikolova et al. (2015), who conceptualised trust creation as a cycle of active trust actions.

The concept of active trust provides an approach to scrutinise the complexity of trust creation in cross-cultural relationships where the socially shared reality of collaborators is limited. Luhmann (1988) states that familiarity is a needed element for trust. In global teams, however, the aspects of familiarity, such as similarity in cultural values, norms and behavioural patterns of team members, are fewer. According to Möllering (2005, 27), ‘If trust generally builds on familiarity, then active trust in a relatively unfamiliar context builds on reflexive familiarisation’. This means that the collaborators in global teams are required to activate their abilities of drawing from familiar elements to make sense of the unfamiliar and thus, continuously develop their worldview when reflecting the unfamiliar and making it familiar. As mentioned, active trust is a pragmatic approach to trust building; it relies on actions, practices and an active stake in a leap-of-faith, as well as experimenting and innovating while reflectively creating the practices (Möllering, 2005). When addressing the active trust-building practices in a cross-cultural context, Mizrachi, Drori and Anspach (2007) introduce the concept of ‘trust repertoires’, which involves

actors actively drawing on their cultural elements and using them in trust building rather than being passively affected by culture.

3.1.2 Moving away from passive evaluation of trustworthiness

This research focuses on trust creation between team members of offshoring project teams and thus adopts a dyadic and dynamic approach to scrutinising trust creation. Relational trust implies trustor and trustee roles (see Mayer et al., 1995), which in dyadic trust relationships are reciprocal and shared, meaning that trust is bidirectional and the roles of trustor and trustee are interchangeable as both parties act in both roles (Korsgaard et al., 2015; Six 2007). However, prior trust research has largely focused on the trust one party has in the other (see Korsgaard et al., 2015; Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012); thus, the conceptualisations of trust have mainly taken a one-sided approach and tend ‘to examine trust as a static phenomenon and from one party’s (i.e., the trustor’s) perspective’ (Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012, 1211). Looking at trust from only one side of the relationship does not fully capture the relational-trust view. Trust is created and maintained together and thus involves an aspect of co-creation. Therefore, the examination of Finnish-Indian project teams is done as a dyadic study, looking at trust building from the perspective of both ends of the dyad in order to capture the active-trust-building actions in which collaborators engage.

The notion of trust as a social construct (Child & Möllering, 2003; Wright & Ehnert, 2010) and a socially embedded process means that trust is created in social interactions between trusting parties (i.e., trustor and trustee) whose behaviours are guided by social structures surrounding them (Saunders, Skinner, & Lewicki, 2010). In these interactions, both parties are actively engaged in trust creation – actively signalling and interpreting trustworthiness cues and engaging in sense making. Trust from this perspective is seen as an ongoing interactive process of trusting rather than a state of trust (Wright & Ehnert, 2010). Trust is not only a mental process but also a social process where the proactive actions of participants are central. The active practices of a trustee to express trustworthiness (Nikolova et al., 2015) and the active approach to seek and perceive cues of trustworthiness by a trustor (Six, Nooteboom & Hoogendoorn, 2010) are part of trust building. Moreover, trust building can be initiated by the trustor seeking to influence the

situation by initiating and supporting the trustworthiness rather than only observing the trustee (Johansen et al., 2016), along the notion of active trust (Giddens, 1994).

When examining the roles of the trustor and trustee in active, purposeful trust building, the locus of trusting moves to both parties. Active trust recognises the agency of both parties involved in trusting. They have an active and creative role in building trust and, importantly, also in shaping the conditions for trust-building processes (see Möllering, 2006; Johansen et al., 2016). Möllering (2006) points out the dilemma of locus of trusting: trust as expectation forms in the mind of the trustor, and trustworthiness indicators push scholars to explain trust predominantly through the trustee. However, through interactive and active relational trust perspective, the dilemma is non-existent. Both parties are actors in interpersonal active trust – and in this respect, both trustworthiness and trustfulness are dynamic accomplishments in trusting relationships where the roles of a trustor and trustee are interchangeable (Korsgaard et al., 2015). Möllering (2019, 134) states:

‘This should not be imagined as simple continuous role switching but as dynamic role elaboration where actions ‘as trustor’ shape actions ‘as trustee’ and vice versa. ...then our two spotlights, one for the trustor and one for the trustee, will have to switch between the actors so often that we might as well have two for each actor, illuminating them from both sides simultaneously’.

The applications of early conceptualisations of trust and trustworthiness (see Mayer et al., 1995; Morgan and Hunt, 1994) in fast-changing environments of global business can be criticised for setting the trustor in a passive role of a receiver of trustworthiness cues without control or power to influence the trustworthiness of the other party. An active trust approach does not only propose an active role for the actors to engage in signalling and demonstration of their trustworthiness, as well as in active interpretation of the trust actions of the other party, but it also invites the notion of actively influencing the trustworthiness of the trustee through one’s own behaviour and communication of norms and expectations (Luhmann, 1979; Salamon and Robinson, 2008; Johansen et al., 2016). Instead of seeing trust as a decision based on the fixed qualities of trustworthiness of a trustee, trust is a process where trustor can take active agency and even the roles of an initiator and supporter of trust (Johansen et al., 2016). This is what Johansen et al. (2016) call ‘trust as a performance’ where the locus lies with the trustor, and trust reflects the effort of the trustor in influencing the motivations and actions of the trustee. As the

process is self-directed, the emotions associated with trust are also self-directed, such as pride and shame, whereas with a passive evaluation of trustworthiness, the accompanying emotions are typically other-directed like gratitude and anger.

Li (2017, 2007) writes about moving beyond the passive or reactive process of trust evaluation into trustor's proactive trustfulness. He calls for the need to study the dynamic process of taking actions to proactively develop trust. Li (2017, 9) refers to a 'trustor's choice or decision to take necessary trusting behaviour above and beyond trustor's propensity to trust, and also above and beyond trustor's confident expectation for trustee's trustworthiness (due to trait-like characters or due to institutional assurance)'. This follows the lines of Möllering's (2005) definition of active trust as pragmatic, ambiguous and innovative acts of an individual.

When scrutinising trust and trustworthiness as socially embedded phenomena, trustworthiness is no longer viewed as an inherent quality of an individual, group or organisation but seen as socially constructed (see Johansen et al., 2016; Wright & Ehnert, 2010). Seeing trust as socially constructed reality, the focus is on the actor who is perceived as 'an active knowledgeable agent capable of applying forms of trust within changing social context' (Mizrachi, Drori & Anspach, 2007, 145). Johansen et al.'s (2016) concept of 'agentic and embodied view of trust' underlines the actively acting trustor.

3.1.3 Comparing active and passive trust approaches

A discussion of active trust building demands a notion, that active trust is not a trust form for all situations. Giddens (1994) states that active trust is an approach for situations in modern society where people are forced to work with strangers and aligns with Johansen et al.'s (2016) trust form of 'performative trust' as an alternative to more passive forms of trust creation. Furthermore, Child and Möllering (2003) and Tsui-Auch and Möllering (2010) underline that the active trust (i.e., purposive trust building) is needed in unfavourable environments.

Johansen et al.'s (2016) typology of different forms of trust enlighten the understanding of active trust as an alternative strategy to more passively developing trust. This typology describes the relationship between situations, agency and trust building strategies. By

doing this, it proposes that actors choose trust strategies according to situational aspects, their ways of dealing with uncertainty and vulnerability and according to how they experience their power and ability to influence the trust creation. Johansen et al.'s (2016) conceptualisation elicits different forms of trust through the situational dimensions of value and control and offers a theoretical frame for the comparison of different trust forms of: 1) 'trust as a performance', 2) 'trust as a decision' and 3) 'trust as an uncontrollable force' (see Table 1). The conceptualisation proposes that a differentiator between the forms of trust is the participants' assumptions on who influences the development of trust most: is it the trustee, the trustor or neither? The other central differentiator is the nature of the trustworthiness of the trustee assumed to be susceptible to influence, constant or ephemeral (transient).

Table 1 Characteristics of different forms of trust (based on Johansen et al., 2016, 32)

Situation: value & control	Trust form	Locus of control	View of the trustees' trustworthiness	Accompanying emotions
High & high	<i>'Trust as a performance'</i>	Trustor or joint trustor and trustee	Incremental	Pride/shame (self-directed)
Low to moderate & low to moderate	<i>'Trust as a decision'</i>	Trustee	Entity	Gratitude/anger (other-directed)
Low to moderate & low	<i>'Trust as an uncontrollable force'</i>	Neither	Ephemeral	Contentment/anxiety (non-specific)

Johansen et al.'s (2016) typology of different trust forms draws attention to the level of agency of trusting parties – and especially the trustor – and thus offers a frame to examine the spectrum of active versus passive approach of a trustor to trust formation.

Furthermore, they argue that different trust situations and strategies that actors engage in are linked to each other and moderated by personal and cultural traits and personality differences. The typology of trust forms according to the level of agency, and moving from passive to active contributes to active trust conceptualisation by offering a comparison between different approaches.

3.1.4 Agency of the trusting parties

Agency is a central aspect of active trust and refers to the intentional behaviour of active trust parties. The agentic view to trust follows the lines of Tsui-Auch and Möllering's

(2010, 1020) study where they examined ‘foreign managers’ activities that...shape[d] the perceived trustworthiness of locals and aid[ed] the development of trust’ in unfavourable environment. Mizrachi et al. (2007, 145) refer to trust-building parties as ‘knowledgeable agents’ who apply different forms of trust according to the changing situations, and Möllering (2005, 27) adds that trusting parties ‘[i]nstead of allowing social complexity to paralyse them, they experiment and continuously communicate about the changing game conditions’. These quotations show not only the central part of strong agency of trusting parties of active trust, but also the situational context which requires reflexivity and drives the need to enact their agency. This aligns with Möllering’s (2006, 101) statement: ‘Trust is not merely “given” to trustors but created by them as well’.

Johansen et al. (2016) describe an ‘agentic and embodied view of trust’, pointing out the central trust-building role of a trustor and how they actively acts (as opposed to passive observation). Thus, the locus of trust lies with the trustor who, along the lines of Johansen et al. (2016, 30), ‘constitutes the causal agent that drives the formation and development of trust’. Johansen et al. (2016, 36) state an ‘embodied perspective of trust highlights the role of the trustor as an active, purposeful agent’, following the lines of Child and Möllering (2003) who defined active trust as purposive trust building. Agency is motivated by the situational aspects, as noted in the studies by Child and Möllering (2003) and Tsui-Auch and Möllering (2010) where foreign investors and managers in China chose to ‘exercise their managerial agency to deal with the macro-institutional impact within the enterprise, even if they are not in a position to change their environment’. They engaged in an active trust-building strategy to cultivate trust with local staff – showing that the unfavourable environment triggered a strong agency and motivated purposeful trust building actions. The active trustor acts ‘in and on a social world, striving to manage relationships and attain valued outcomes’ (Johansen et al. 2016, 26). Additionally, the emotions involved in the process, in the case of active trust, are reflexive and self-directed.

These notions lead to a discussion of the aspects influencing an actor’s ability to enact agency. Johansen et al. (2016) propose that different trust strategies are moderated by personal and cultural traits, as well as personality differences, indicating that situational aspects are not the only ones influencing the choice of the active- or passive-trust strategy. The personal level ability to trust and take a ‘leap of faith’ has been referred to as a

‘propensity to trust’ that reflects the initial willingness to trust (Mayer et al., 1995). Moreover, active trust requires ability to act in an unfamiliar environment. Möllering (2005) points out the importance of reflexive familiarisation (i.e., an ability to draw from the familiar elements to make sense of the unfamiliar) and thus continuously adapt cultural elements when reflecting the unfamiliar and making it familiar. This underlines the abilities to cultural adaptation, experimentation and innovation. Swidler (1986, 277) refers to a cultural toolkit that collaborators draw on in new situations, and she claims that ‘people may have in readiness cultural capacities they rarely employ’. (Cultural abilities and resources are discussed further in Section 3.3.)

The intentional element of trust (as one of the components of trust along with cognitive and emotional components) was discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.1.4), focusing on the trust decision, the leap-of-faith. It is claimed that the intentional element of trust should be limited to the leap-of-faith since it captures ‘the essence of trust without conflating it with either the causes or consequences of trust’ (Korsgaard et al., 2015, 49). However, when looking at trust through the lens of active trust, the intentional and behavioural aspect needs to be examined through a wider spectrum than the leap-of-faith and willingness to be vulnerable. Child and Möllering (2003) defined active trust as purposive actions following the lines of Giddens, who claims that trust ‘has to be energetically treated and sustained’ (Giddens 1994, 186) and ‘worked upon’ (1990, 121); and which Möllering (2006, 102) refers to as a process of ‘trust-in-the-making’. All can be seen to refer to an intentional actions of trusting, a trust form, which Johansen et al. (2016) call ‘trust as performance’, underlining the intentional behaviour of the trustor as an active influencer of the trustee and the situational aspects. In a similar vein, Mizrachi et al. (2007) discuss ‘trust repertoires’ underlining the agency of trusting parties and engagement in trust practices.

3.1.5 Practices of active trust

Active trust relies on the behavioural elements of trust, the purposive actions and practices. Thus, the practices in light of active trust are discussed next. Influenced by the concept of strategy-as-practice by Jarzabkowski (2004), Mahama and Chua (2016, 32) define trust practices as ‘specific routines actors engage to enact trust or distrust’. The practice perspective creates a challenge for cross-cultural collaborators, since their trust

practices are largely rooted in their local institutional and cultural environments and have evolved into a 'taken-for-granted' type of routinised doing. Möllering (2005) states that active trust is a pragmatic approach to trust building that relies on actions and experimenting with new innovative ways of purposeful actions, which challenges the routine perspective of trust practices.

The discussion of the concept of practice is influenced by practice theories and draws from the structuration theory (Giddens, 1984; Reckwitz, 2002). Institutionalised trust practices and processes become structures for actors and make trusting stable and enduring (Van de Ven, 1992; Zaheer et al., 1998). The 'practice approach' in management literature has been prompted due to the perceived gap between a 'theory of what people do' and 'what people actually do' (Jarzabkowski, 2004). As the practice concept (Jarzabkowski, 2004) has roots in routinisation and learnt ways of acting and interpreting, situations with new partners from other cultures challenge the usability of practices. Additionally, the new environment can contain elements that provide different support to practices. In a cross-cultural collaboration, partners might signal, demonstrate and interpret trustworthiness and trusting through very different practices. Moreover, in a cross-cultural setting, the cultural norms and culturally shaped workplace practices might create unfamiliarity that prevents trust development, as the review of differences between Finland and India indicated (see Chapter 2).

Thus, trust practices from another arrangement might not work in a new one and adaptability to the new cultural situation is needed (Li, 2013). This leads to the discussion of two key themes of practices, recursiveness and adaptation (Jarzabkowski, 2004), and provides perspectives for looking at the dilemma that can arise from the habitual nature of trust-building practices in a new cross-cultural context. Practices are recursive, which makes them durable and prone to inertia; however, practices can also be adaptive and prone to learning and changing. Thus, entering a new relationship with a certain set of routinised and habitual trust practices can be both a strength and a weakness. A strong set of trust practices can help in a new arrangement but might also prove inadequate in a new cross-cultural situation such as distributed global teams, which is the context of this study. Trust building in an environment of limited familiarity requires experimenting and innovating while reflectively adapting trust practices (Möllering, 2005).

Adaptation connects practices to the process view since adaptation refers to changes in practices and, the process view ‘describes how things change over time’ (Van de Ven 1992, 169). Therefore, one can ask how to facilitate cross-cultural trust with adjustable and flexible practices while enjoying the strength of recursive trust practices. How much receptive capacity is there (to maintain the practices) and how much of adaptive capacity there is to learn new practices according to the situation? These questions will help understand the active engagement in trust building of Finnish-Indian project team members and their engagement in adapting trust practices. Cultural adaptation is needed in cross-cultural teams; however, it takes collaborators through a process where culture’s role in sustaining existing strategies of action changes into constructing new ones. This happens when actors are learning and practicing new ways of organising individual and collective actions (Swidler 1986). This requires the cultural abilities of collaborators who engage in constructing new practices. Cultural sensitivity (Shapiro, Ozanne, & Saatcioglu, 2008) influences the ability to adapt the routinised practices and institutionalised beliefs guiding them.

The active trust approach focuses especially on adaptation. Johansen et al. (2016) refer to trusting as adapting drawing the attention to the context-dependency and the influence of social situations on trust and behaviour. Johansen et al.’s (2016) view of adaptation manifests in three ways: adapting the ways of gaining information about trustworthiness, the ways of proactively seeking to influence the situation through giving and expecting trust and the ways of social adaptation to situations using the best of the actor’s resources. Adaptation is especially needed in cross-cultural trust; as Li (2013, 154) states, ‘We explicitly regard adaptive learning as primary mechanism for inter-cultural trust building because we conceptualise inter-cultural trust building as the result of adaptive learning about other cultures’. Li’s statements on the centrality of adaptive learning in cross-cultural collaboration are in line with Cramton and Hinds (2014), whose empirical findings of a Western-Indian offshoring team collaboration was modelled as a process of ‘talking and learning’, which refers to a processual and ongoing adaptation (the process is presented in Section 3.3.3).

The practice approach forces one to not look at trust as something an individual or a firm *has* but rather something that firms and individuals *do*, following the perspective of trust

as socially constructed (Wright & Ehnert, 2010). This follows the claims of the knowledge literature, which argues that knowledge is not something a firm has but rather something that a firm and its actors do (Cook & Brown, 1999) and connects to the process view of 'trusting as becoming' (Möllering 2013), which refers to trust as not being something people have but something that people live or are. The active trust approach leads to an exploration of adaptiveness of practices and the context sensitivity of the actors. The process perspective of active trust is discussed in the next section.

3.2 Trust as a process

This section discusses and reviews how the literature has conceptualised and empirically tested trust as a process. A process perspective is central to this study, since the aim is to understand trust building, not to measure trust at a certain time point. Thus, the focus shifts from trust beliefs and the state of expectation into the trust-building practices that inspire trust beliefs, positive expectations and trust decisions (leap-of-faith). This section is divided into four parts: first, the process construct of trust is discussed; second, stage-wise trust process models are examined; third, the cyclical trust models are introduced; and lastly, the active trust and process perspectives are combined.

3.2.1 Defining trust as an ongoing mental and social process

The aspect of understanding trust as a process has gained increasing interest in academic discussion in recent years (Rendtorff & Jagd, 2010; Frederiksen, 2014; Möllering, 2013) and the need to study trust as a process has been expressed by many (e.g., McKnight & Cervany 2006, Frederiksen 2014, Schilke & Cook 2015). The socially constructed interactive and active trust building process in dyadic cross-cultural relationships needs more nuanced understanding and empirical examination. Six et al. (2010, 285) state that 'there is a clear need to study further the interactive aspects of trust-building and maintenance in organisations'. Similarly, Langely (2007, 273) states, 'This is probably the most pressing issue – especially for those who seek guidance on how to improve their performance'. Understanding process will increase knowledge about the ongoing nature of trust and provide insight on how to influence trust development.

However, this does not mean that there is no reference to trust-building mechanisms or to the process of trust in prior literature. Referring to the act of trust, prior research has used terms including ‘trust process’ (see Nooteboom & Six, 2003); ‘production of trust’ (see Zucker 1986); ‘initial trust-building model’ (McKnight, Cummings & Chervany, 1998); building trust (Parkhe, 1999; Rousseau et al., 1998); process model of trust building (Boersma et al., 2003); and trust development (Nikolova et al., 2015), but the contribution to conceptualising as well as empirically testing the process is still limited. In addition, the literature has often regarded trusting parties as passive in their roles of trustor and trustee, discussing ‘trust development’ or ‘trust formation’, whereas in this study the focus is on ‘trust building’ and ‘trust creation’, in which the collaborators are scrutinised as actors.

The trust process differs from the notion of trust in the sense that it refers to an ongoing relation between parties rather than a state of mind (Frederikson, 2014). Wright and Enhart (2010, 5) elaborate further and state that trust is ‘a verb rather than a noun’, following the thoughts of Weick (1995). Furthermore, seeing trust as a process creates a need to study the act of trusting rather than the state of trust (Wright & Enhart, 2010; Möllering, 2013). This means shifting the focus from trust beliefs and the state of expectation into the active trust-building practices; as Möllering (2013, 293) states, ‘if “trust” implies a “willingness” of a party to be vulnerable, trusting encompasses how people generate, maintain, apply and possibly lose such willingness’. Thus, there is a need to scrutinise the underlying process of actions and practices of generating, maintaining, applying and possibly losing trust beliefs and the intention to trust.

Seeing trust as a process creates a need to focus on the act of trusting rather than the state of trust, acknowledging the fact that ‘trust needs to be continuously (re)produced’ (Möllering, 2013; Wright & Ehnert, 2010). In the act of trusting, trust antecedents will not automatically build trust, but they are always ‘interpreted, combined, reconciled, or suspended by trustors’ (Möllering 2013, 288). Trust is seen as a social process where actors are present and engaged in social practices and processes (Jagd & Fuglsang, 2016) and the continuous psychological process of interpretation of the present, suspension of disbeliefs and expectation of the future takes place. Thus, actors in social interactions signal trustworthiness, engage in social processes of interaction and engage in trusting

(manifestations of trust); and on the psychological level, actors engage in interpretations, suspension and expectation.

3.2.2 Stage-wise trust process models

The stage-wise process models, which have sought to understand the trust process by examining and conceptualising it through various phases (see e.g., Lewicki and Bunker, 1996; Shapiro, Cheppard and Cheraskin, 1992; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt & Camerer, 1998), are discussed next. The logic in these approaches is based on the perception that looking at trust as a process requires an understanding of the different phases the process undergoes. The applicability of the stage-wise model in the context of the offshoring project teams is also discussed.

The trust process has been divided into various phases depending on the perspective of the dividing factor. The simplest way is to look at the process from the existence perspective and divide it into a) trust building, b) stability/maintenance, and c) dissolution/violation (Rousseau et al., 1998). This division looks at the process from the initial stage of partners not knowing or trusting each other entering into negotiations where trust building starts and then later the parties maintain the state of trust until reaching a negative end of violating and/or losing the trust. This simplistic view does not take into account the trust events during a longer relationship, where trust is not only stabilised or maintained but, due to weakening and/or violation, requires fostering and rebuilding. It views trust more as a state of positive expectations which does not fluctuate with the temporal changes and daily interactions of project teams.

An early stage-wise trust process model by Lewicki and Bunker (1996) states that trust develops from calculation to knowing and finally identifying as the parties get to know each other better through interaction (see Figure 3). This model divides the trust process into three phases characterised by the bases of trust: calculus-based, knowledge-based and identification-based. Through repeated and varied interactions, partners first generate knowledge and ‘learn to trust each other because the other becomes more understandable and predictable’ (Lewicki, Tomlison & Gillespie 2006, 1011), and finally trust cumulates third basis for trust as affection develops between parties. The model shows how ‘[o]ver time, the parties in close relationships shift their orientation from a focus on maximizing

self-interest to a disposition toward maximizing joint outcomes' (Lewicki et al., 2006, 1011). This model builds on the social exchange theory (Blau 1964) and the notion of gradually developing trust, illustrating how trust is created and maintained on different bases which then develop the nature of the relationship bond.

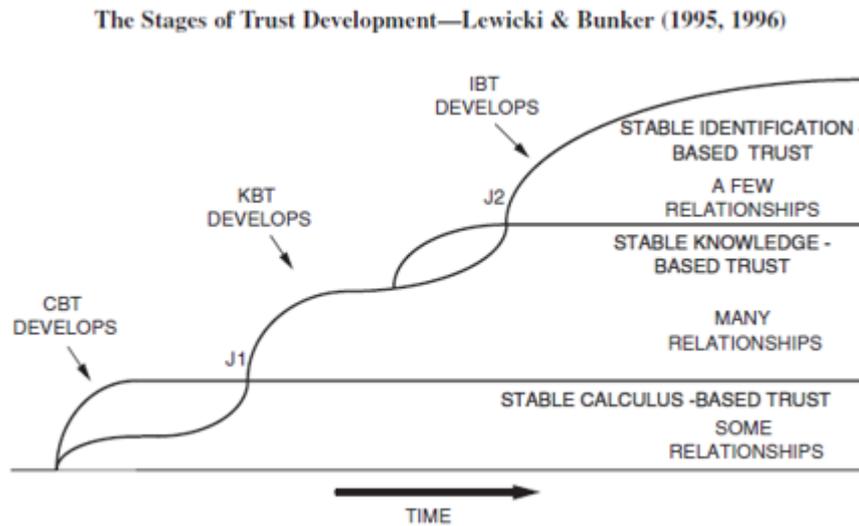


Figure 3 Stages of trust development according to Lewicki & Bunker (1996)

Another perspective on the development phases of trust has been taken by Schilke and Cook (2013), who conceptualised a multistage, cross-level process theory of trust development. According to their model, trust changes as it transforms from interpersonal to interorganisational trust and the relationship phases where the transference takes place are initiation, negotiation, formation and operation. A similar type of process was developed by Boersma, Buckely and Gauri (2003) in their international joint venture trust study which identified history, negotiations, commitment and execution stages that repeat in a loop – and thus recognises the cyclical nature of trusting, which is discussed in the next sub-section.

The conceptual models discussed in this sub-section share a certain view of trust building through different stages in the shared history of parties. The gradualness of trust (or distrust) formation is derived from the social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) and recognises the phenomena of trust being gradually created in all relationships where uncertainty exists. However, in situations of cross-cultural relationships among geographically distributed team members, the extent of unfamiliarity and uncertainty constrains trust

building since virtual interactions are claimed to be poor at the transferring of ‘trust, warmth, attentiveness and other interpersonal affections’ (Jarvenpaa et al., 1998, 793), at the clarity of communication (Nurmi, 2011) and at providing casual and relational-oriented interaction (Powell et al., 2004). Therefore, gradually evolving trust without conscious active engagement in trust facilitation might not be fast enough for business arrangements and situations in temporal project teams.

Looking at trust building through different stages and phases seems to be an accepted approach; however, in published research papers little empirical evidence of these phases and their development in cross-cultural relationships is found. The question of whether trust can be illustrated as a linear, temporal process at all exists. Relationships can be drawn in linear, temporal processes but trust as a continuous mental and social process of action-perception-conclusion (see Six & Skinner 2010) that takes place on different organisational levels needs a more dynamic way of illustration. Moreover, the emphasis on socially constructed active trust requires a process perspective that recognises the actors and their actions – mental and social – during the process. Therefore, this research examines the trust process as a continuous re-confirmation of expectations influenced by active engagement of actors and their practices and interpreted through the cultural and institutional frames of actors. This perspective looks at the trust process from the process ontological point of view and concentrates on trusting. Process ontology is discussed further in the methodology chapter (Chapter 4).

3.2.3 Cyclical process models

Another way of looking at trusting as a process is an ongoing cycle of interactions between parties (see Six & Skinner, 2010; Nikolova et al., 2015). Early literature has discussed the trust cycle as a ‘feedback pattern called a “trust cycle”’ (Zand, 1972 in Cullen, Johnson, & Sakano, 2000, p. 231). This complies with Granovetter’s (1992, p. 34) argument that ‘in ongoing relations, human beings do not start fresh every day but carry the baggage of previous interactions into each new one’. This approach acknowledges the central role of trusting parties and the continuous cycle of social interaction and trust building between them.

The trust-process model by Nikolova et al. (2015) identifies trust as constituted through social practices (Figure 4), bringing active trust creation into their model. As a part of these practices, there are events that influence trust building. Nikolova et al.'s (2015, 234) conceptualisation of 'trusting as a process rests on the idea that some practices actually reduce the need for trust while other practices enable trust, and both kinds of practice need to work together over time'. This is the situation of distributed project team members who face such a vast amount of unfamiliarity that it can be perceived as too much for the trust decision (leap-of-faith) and thus prevent trusting. In order to diminish the uncertainty, it is important to note the nature of trust practices as reducers of need for trust, not only builders of trust.

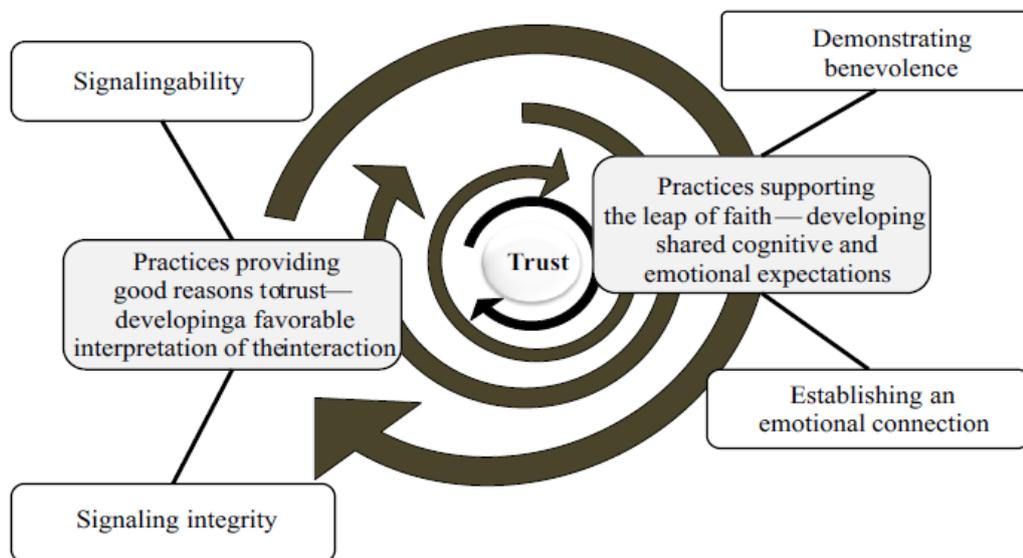


Figure 4 Process of trust development (Nikolova et al., 2015)

Nikolova et al.'s process model (2015) brings together the ABI model and rational evaluation of trustworthiness, as well as an emotional side of trust creation, through active signalling and demonstration. It conceptualises trust practices into a co-creational model of both social and cognitive bases for trust and seeks to combine the rational evaluations of trustworthiness indicators (i.e., 'good reasons to trust') with the emotional aspect of trust needed for the leap-of-faith to take place. The model identifies three social practices creating trust: 1) signalling ability and integrity, 2) demonstrating benevolence, and 3) establishing an emotional connection. These practices contribute to the trust creation process from both cognitive and affective trust bases (McAllister 1995). This model seeks

to incorporate both the emotional and cognitive trust practices into a cyclic process of trust. This is a needed approach when analysing trusting in the Western-Asian business relationship, as the literature indicates stronger preference of emotional trust elements for the Asian parties, whereas Westerners have been found to emphasise cognitive ‘reasons to trust’ (Cullen et al., 2000; Jukka et al., 2017; Wasti & Tan, 2010). Thus, the model serves as a significant contribution to earlier phase-wise processes and, with its strong focus on the emotional side of trust, addresses the needs of the Finnish-Indian trust study, as relational bonds and need for belonging have been stated as significant for Indians (e.g., Laleman et al., 2015).

Although Nikolova et al.’s (2015) model moves away from passive evaluation of trustworthiness and recognises purposive trust actions, it still follows the traditional trustor-trustee paradigm of limiting the trustee’s actions to signalling and demonstration of trustworthiness, the trustor’s actions to interpretation of trustworthiness and the shared actions to establishing expectations and emotional connection. The significance of the active role of the trustor in supporting, facilitating and influencing trustworthiness (see Johansen et al., 2016) is hence missing in this model.

The cyclical (see Zand, 1972) and ongoing nature of trusting is also captured in Six and Skinner’s (2010; see also Six, 2007) process of trust creation based on their study on Dutch consultancy firms (Figure 5). This cyclical model illustrates the continuous interplay of action, interpretation and reaction which creates and destroys trust within the relationship. This acknowledges ‘the fact that trust needs to be continuously (re)produced’ (Möllering, 2013; Wright & Ehnert, 2010). In the act of trusting, the trust antecedents will not automatically build trust but they are always ‘interpreted, combined, reconciled, or suspended by trustors’ (Möllering 2013, p. 288).

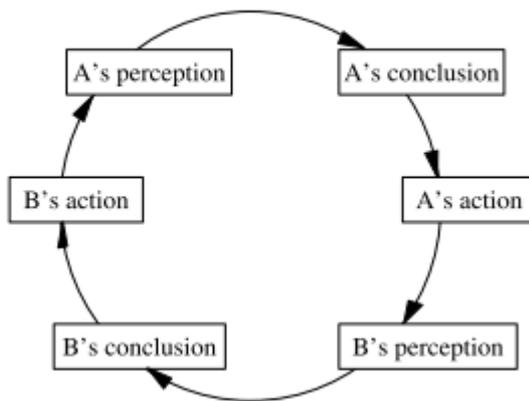


Figure 5 Process of trust creation (Six & Skinner, 2010, Six 2007)

Six and Skinner's (2010) cyclical process of trust creation provides a framework for understanding trust as a continuous act of trusting where trust or distrust is produced and re-produced in a continuous manner. It does not differentiate the various types of trustworthiness cues being signalled and interpreted and provides a more generic model than that of Nikolova et al. (2015), which builds on the ABI model and stresses the fact that there are two elements in signalling, demonstration and interpretation (emotional and cognitive, which is also noted in other studies; Six & Sorge 2008, McAllister 1995). The Six and Skinner (2010) cycle also illustrates Granovetter's (1992) argument that human relations do not start anew every day. The Six and Skinner (2010) action-perception-conclusion model implicitly recognises that the trust cycle is not made only of positive perceptions and conclusions but leaves room for the fact that continuous reproduction and evaluation might include perceptions of untrustworthiness, trust violations and trust-repair incidents.

3.2.4 Process approach in active trust research

The weakness of most processual trust models is that there is limited empirical evidence of them in published research papers, especially in a cross-cultural context. Based on the scarcity of evidence and the fast changes in project teams, it raises the question of whether trust can be empirically illustrated as a linear, temporal process. Therefore, this dissertation argues that, although relationships can be drawn in linear lines, interpersonal trust – which is a continuous mental and social process of action-perception-conclusion

and takes place on different levels of organisational arrangement – needs a more dynamic way of presentation. The process model of ongoing interactions in a cycle provides a more appropriate method of illustration than the stage-wise presentations for the trust process of daily collaborating project teams. As Johansen et al. (2015, 35) state, the ‘active form of trust..., by inviting a trustee to cooperate, may become a self-fulfilling prophecy initiating a virtuous cycle of trusting and trustworthy behaviour’.

3.3 Mobilising culture to build trust

This section moves the discussion of active trust process into an examination of dynamic culture models. The aim is to capture the dynamic nature of culture, cultural identities and their various influences on trust building. Hence, the approach is moving to ‘characterisation of culture...as an individual-level reflective construct in which the aggregation is endogenous and related to a shared characterisation (e.g., social or personal orientation)’ (Caprar et al., 2015, 1013). Shifting the examination into individual-level cultural identities moves away from using only national cultural identity as proxy for culture of collaborators who, in reality, have had numerous socialising factors (e.g., family, education, gender, work experiences) building their individual cultural mosaics (Chao & Moon 2005). This shifts the focus of cultural aspects in trust building from separation to aggregation, from the approach of seeing cultural differences only as creators of tension to looking at the culture as a tool for resolution (Koppman et al., 2016) and from the point of view that it can be mobilised as set of resources (Swidler 1986).

This section is divided into three sub-sections: first, the concepts of culture mosaic theory and culture toolkit are introduced; second, the organisational culture is discussed; and third, team-level negotiated cultures are examined. The latter draws mainly from the literature on global teams, as the trust literature offers little understanding of this.

3.3.1 Dynamic culture theories: culture mosaic and culture toolkit

This section discusses two dynamic models of culture: trust mosaic theory (Chao & Moon 2005) and culture as a ‘toolkit’ for constructing ‘strategies of action’ (Swidler 1986).

Finally, the suitability of these models in a study of a cross-cultural trusting is discussed.

The culture mosaic theory by Chao and Moon (2005) presents a multi-faceted culture construct. The culture mosaic approach recognises that culture does not only refer to national culture or sub-national culture but to any collectively created culture. Thus, it also includes the individual-level cultural identities that shape the behaviour of the members of the collective (Taras et al., 2009). By doing this, the culture mosaic theory answers the critique on using only country as proxy for culture and recognises other socialising agents and experiences that individuals share in their collectives (Caprar et al., 2015). The mosaic theory is a holistic cultural construct which looks at culture as a set of various tiles and a ‘mosaic’ of individuals’ multiple cultural identities that are present and constantly changing (Eisenberg & Mattarelli 2017). It abstains from analysing cultural elements only as separate entities but invites the analysis of combinations of elements. Additionally, it highlights ‘a need to consider both those elements that are common between parties and those that are specific to individual party’ (Altinay, Saunders & Wang 2014, 62) and thus identifies the elements that provide familiarity and cause unfamiliarity among collaborators. Prior research has noted that persons draw from multiple and simultaneous cultural identities according to the social setting, as well as the strength of the particular cultural identity (Zolfaghari, Möllering, Clark & Dietz, 2016). The construct of culture as a mosaic of multiple cultural tiles provides a lens to focus on the mix of individual and collective cultural identities and offers tools to scrutinise shared cultural spheres (Dietz, Gillespie and Chao, 2010) of collaborators. This allows the transcendence of narrow approaches that view culture only as group-oriented attributions of national culture – an approach widely used in studies of international business.

Chao and Moon’s (2005) mosaic theory divides cultural features into three categories: *demographic*, *geographic*, and *associative*. The two first categories represent cultural elements that actors have inherited or learnt from their ancestors and family; and thus, actors have had a limited role in actively cultivating or acquiring them. These include elements such as physical characteristics, national identity and mother tongue. The third

category, the associative tiles, are more dynamic elements, as these derive from groups with which an individual identifies, such as employer, profession, hobby or other affiliation. Although the demographic and geographic tiles are to a certain extent the 'given' elements of cultural identity, it does not mean that they are passive elements and could not be actively mobilised in trust building.

The culture mosaic offers a theoretical lens to examine how collaborators can draw on cultural elements to build trust by establishing similarities between themselves. In recent trust studies that have used the culture mosaic theory, both Altinay et al. (2014) and Zolfaghari (2014) found that similarities in cultural tiles support trust following the lines that that shared characteristics (see Zucker 1986, characteristic-based trust) and familiarity (Luhmann 1979) facilitate trust building. Similarly, Harush, Lisak and Glikson (2018, 139) found in their study of distributed project teams of MBA students that 'the more team members identify as belonging to the same social category, the greater their perceptions of proximity will be', supporting Jarvenpaa et al.'s (1998) finding of social similarity leading to a willingness to trust in virtual teams. These findings suggest that, in an active trust study, examining how the collaborators in cross-cultural teams actively mobilise their cultural elements to create a sense of similarity becomes central.

The culture mosaic theory (Chao & Moon 2005) introduces an active approach to culture and cultural differences in international business, as it allows for the examination of culture as a resource of actors (Swidler 1986) for trust building, which is the opposite of scrutinising collaborators being passively influenced by the culture (Mizrachi et al., 2007). Additionally, it moves beyond the separating factor of culture (i.e., the constraints on relationship and trust building) due to the constructs of 'cultural distance' (Kogut & Singh, 1988; Shenkar, 2001) or 'psychic distance' (Johanson & Vahlne, 1977). Thus, adopting the culture mosaic theory replies to recent calls for a more positive approach to culture in international business studies (Stahl & Tung, 2015), as it allows the examination of cultural elements not only as sources of tension but also of resolution (see Koppman et al., 2016). By doing this, the study contributes to the knowledge of active trust-building practices in a cross-cultural collaboration with a dynamic culture construct, while moving away from the static culture construct (see Triandis, 1995; Hostede, 2001).

Another dynamic culture model, the 'culture toolkit' by Swidler (1986), offers a dynamic and functional theoretical lens to understand how individuals can mobilise their cultures. Swidler (1986, 273) proposed the culture toolkit as an approach to culture constructing 'strategies of action', referring to mobilising culture. The idea of a toolkit regards culture as a resource with elements such as symbols, stories, rituals and worldviews, which actors may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems as strategies of action. Strategies of action means selecting certain cultural elements and investing them in concrete circumstances. Similar to the mosaic theory, the culture-toolkit model sees culture as a resource but offers a more insight of how culture can be used to construct strategies of action (i.e., how it can be mobilised). According to Swidler (1986, 277), culture is seen to have 'an independent causal role because it shapes the capacities from which such strategies of action are constructed', and thus, her model allows examination of causal effects of culture on action. Mizrahi et al.'s (2007) notion of 'trust repertoires' draws heavily on Swidler's conception of culture in action. They also state that 'actors' choice of strategy depends on the resources available to them and with resources they refer to, for example, symbolic and material resources, professional knowledge and skills and social position in organisations. The resources enable and constrain an actors' choice of trust repertoire.

Giddens's (1994) 'active trust' and Swidler's (1986) approach to culture constructing 'strategies of actions' concepts both address and provide tools to cope in new and unfamiliar situations. Swidler claims that in a new situation, culture's role in sustaining existing 'strategies of action' changes into constructing new ones, as actors are learning new ways of organising individual and collective actions and practicing unfamiliar habits until they become familiar. Thus, 'strategies of action' means selecting certain cultural elements and investing them in a new, concrete situation. However, people might be reluctant to adopt new ways of doing, which according to Swidler (1986, 281) shows that actors are reluctant to abandon ways for which they have the cultural equipment.

Together, these two dynamic models of culture, the culture mosaic and cultural toolkit, offer means to examine the active mobilisation of cultural elements of trusting parties in cross-cultural trust building. Both Luhmann's notion (1988, 95) that 'trust has to be achieved within a familiar world', as well as the argumentation of Möllering (2005, 27)

that ‘if trust generally builds on familiarity..., then active trust in a relatively unfamiliar context builds on reflexive familiarisation’ support the adaptation of the culture mosaic and the culture toolkit as theoretical lenses to examine active mobilisation of culture as an active-trust-building strategy. The culture mosaic theory (Chao & Moon 2005) offers a model to examine the extent of familiarity in the form of shared and unshared cultural elements and spheres of trusting parties (see Dietz, Gillespie & Chao, 2010; Altinay et al., 2014) and Swidler’s (1986) culture toolkit gives a model to see ‘culture in action’ and examine the mobilisation of cultural elements. Swidler (2001, 23) suggests that ‘[t]here are not simply different cultures: there are different ways of mobilising and using culture, different ways of linking culture to action’. Altinay, Saunders and Wang (2014) saw that cultural elements influence trustworthiness judgements and conceptualised the cultural elements’ link to trust building (in their study of ethnic shopkeepers and their clients) as illustrated in Figure 6.

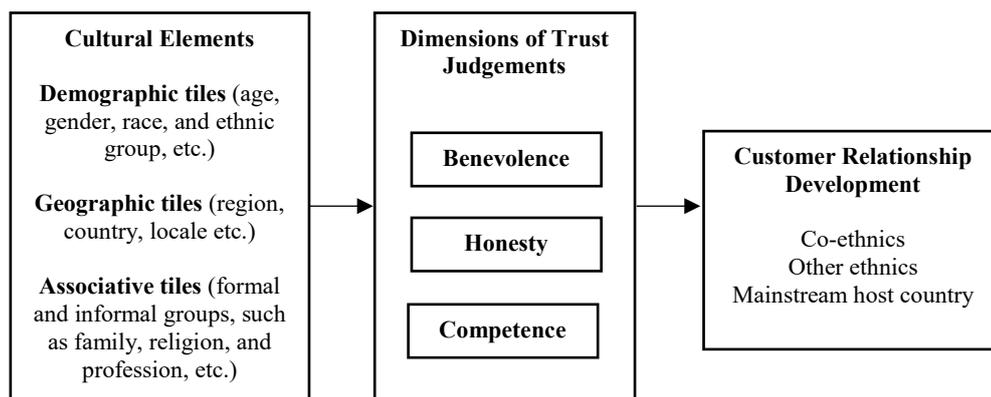


Figure 6 Model of culture elements in trust development (Altinay, Saunders and Wang 2014)

As the aim of this study is to investigate how collaborators build trust in global teams working in a cross-cultural context, the culture mosaic theory and cultural toolkit are applicable because they provide approaches to examine culture from a pragmatic perspective. The cultural elements of a collaborator are a set of resources that they can draw upon when engaging in trust-building practices. Therefore, the theoretical lenses offer tools to examine the agency of collaborators in actively and purposefully drawing on their cultural elements to create strategies of action (i.e., mobilising their cultural elements to build trust). Thus, collaborators are not seen as passively affected by culture but rather

actively drawing on their cultural identities when purposefully applying different forms of trust building (Mizrachi et al., 2007).

3.3.2 Organisational culture

In this section, the organisational culture and more specifically, the global team members' identification with the group-level cultures in their working environment is discussed. Organisational culture is defined as a collectively created 'pattern of assumptions' (Schein 1985) that not only shapes the behaviour of the member of an organisation but is also shaped by them (see Taras et al., 2009). Associative ties (see Chao & Moon 2005) of organisational culture on a company level, and especially on a team level, are central cultural elements in trust building in the project teams. Willingness to trust has been found to be linked to the identification with the team, and virtual team members tend to form weaker team identification (Henttonen & Blomqvist 2005). Moreover, prior literature indicates that the adaptations of organisational-level cultures can function as an antecedent for trust by creating the familiarity needed and serve as a uniting culture of parties representing different national cultures (Brannen and Salk 2000). Understanding how collaborators in global teams engage in cultural negotiation of shared working culture with their counterparties is important, as familiarity between parties is a central prerequisite in diminishing uncertainty to the level that makes the vulnerability of trusting bearable (see Luhmann 1979, Näslund 2016). In this study, the cultural negotiation of shared working culture is examined in the context of Indo-Finnish project team members who belong to the same company but are working in geographically dispersed entities.

As Taras et al. (2009) state, culture is shared among people who belong to the same group, which can be people working in the same organisation or an organisational group of people, such as a team. The notion of organisational culture is a widely accepted way of looking at the shared norms, beliefs and practices of people working in same organisational setting. Schein (1985, 9) defines organisational culture as

'a pattern of basic assumptions – invented, discovered, or developed by a group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration – that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those processes'.

This definition stresses the processual aspect of organisational culture, as it is formed through the process of coping with adaptation and integration. Adaptation has been recognised as a central feature and mechanism facilitating cross-cultural collaboration in global teams (see Cramton and Hinds 2014), referring to the process of actors creating and validating new shared ways of working together.

For distributed team members of this study, the organisational culture provides multiple frames. Their work is enveloped in their local cultural contexts and the locally embedded practices inherent in the local organisational entity (Cramton & Hinds 2014), as well as the wider organisational culture frame of a multinational corporation. The structures of national culture, such as the norms of authority, are also found on local organisational level. In other words, the collaborators in project teams are working in their local organisations influenced by local national culture and localised practices while also belonging to the same multinational company. Brannen and Salk (2000) argue that the anchor point of culture is the actor's national culture, and thus, the dispersed project team members' organisational cultures are influenced by their national cultures. Moreover, as part of one multinational corporation, they also have a shared cultural identity of belonging to the same company. However, despite sharing some aspects of company culture, the local practices and local culture as a working environment forms differences between the working cultures of parties (see Cramton & Hinds 2014). The ways of negotiating shared cultures in the context of cross-cultural project teams are discussed next.

3.3.3 Negotiated cultures

Although traditional culture definitions indicate the slowness of changes (see Taras, 2009), the characteristic of global project work being in continuous change underlines the ability to adapt and adopt cultural elements in order to close the gap of unfamiliarity hindering trust creation. The adaptation perspective on the changing environments of collaborators in offshoring project teams calls for a functionalist approach of the cultural toolkit (Koppman et al., 2016, Swidler, 1986). Collaborators adjust their behaviour contextually not only by drawing on existing culture identities (Chao & Moon 2005) but also by continuously having their cultural identities shaped according to the demands of the social environment (Cramton & Hinds 2014). Hence, actors engage in a process of

negotiation of new cultures by using their cultural identities in influencing and participating in new work settings (Brannen & Salk 2000). Cramton and Hinds (2014) refer to socially embedded adjustments, which collaborators engage when simultaneously adapting to cross-cultural differences and being constrained by their local contexts (see Figure 7). Their extensive study of Western-Indian distributed work teams showed the capability of collaborators to drive adaptation while coping with differences in interpersonal communication styles, organisational control and authority, knowledge sharing and problem solving in a process of negotiation they call ‘talking and learning’. Their approach takes a dynamic approach to cultural adaptation by not only examining the adaptations in actors’ way of thinking and behaving but also the process of challenging encounters and attempts to resolve contradictions (Figure 7).

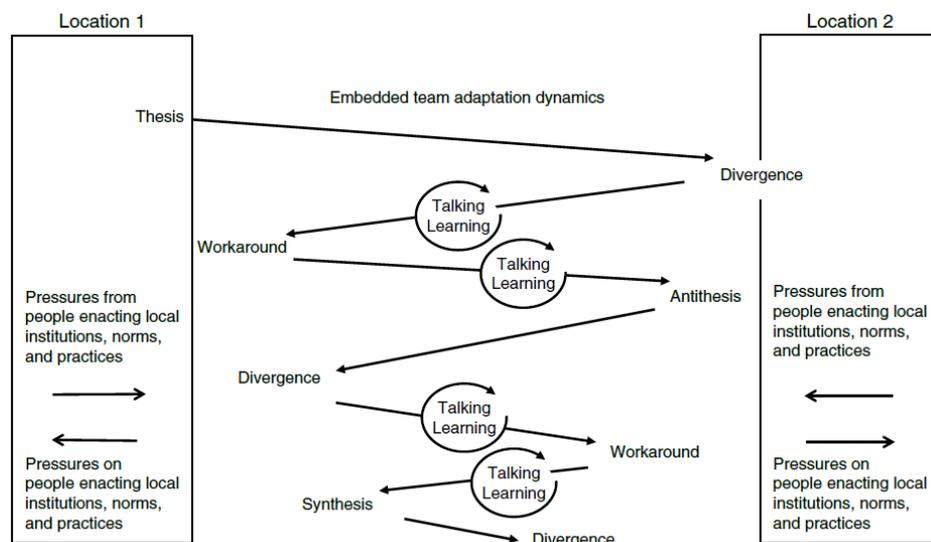


Figure 7 An Embedded Model of Cultural Adaptation in Global Teams (Cramton & Hinds 2014)

The adaptation view of organisational and team cultures as a resolution to critical incidents and tension due to the cultural differences of cross-cultural collaborators (see Brannen & Salk, 2000; Koppman et al., 2016; Cramton & Hinds, 2014) is central for the processual and dynamic approach to cultures and negotiation of new shared cultures in global teams. The socially embedded model of adaptation (Cramton & Hinds 2014) contributes to the discussion of the dynamic culture concept of globally distributed teams who struggle to adapt and create shared practices (Levina & Vaast, 2005). Without the

new shared schema, the collaborators rely heavily on their own home country's cultural categories (Shapiro et al., 2008), which do not lessen the negative effects of cognitive distance on trusting (see Nooteboom, 2013). However, as the socially embedded model of adaptation shows, in global teams, the collaborators enter negotiations about the cultural adaptations as an 'attempt to resolve rippling tensions' (Cramton & Hinds 2014, 1056), and by doing this, they increase familiarity and lessen vulnerability, which support trust creation. However, prior studies suggest difficulties in formation of team identity in distributed settings (Earley & Mosakowski, 2000).

Brannen and Salk (2000) use the term 'negotiated cultures' when referring to the emerging of working cultures in a multicultural organisation; they have also been called 'hybrid culture' (Earley and Mosakowski 2000) and 'third culture' (Adair, Tinsley and Taylor 2006). According to Shapiro et al. (2008, 14), 'As cultural sensitivity increases, dyadic exchange partners are better able to negotiate a common understanding (i.e., a 'third-way' culture), which is of significant strategic importance'. Adair, Tinsley and Taylor (2006, 208) state that '[t]hird culture is a special form of culture that arises when people from different national cultures interact for a specific common purpose'. The notion of third culture posits the importance of acquiring a non-judgemental viewpoint – meaning that persons are neither holding the perspective of their own nor the team members' own culture – but simply observe cultural cues and respond to them appropriately (Shapiro et al., 2008). However, third culture bears the context of team members' own national cultures, the cultures that they are socialised into (Adair et al., 2006). The concept of 'hybrid culture' (Earley & Mosakowski, 2000) underlines the emergent nature of rules, actions and shared performance expectations that a team develops in mutual interaction. Adair et al. (2006, 208) seek to explain the emergence and characteristics of a team 'third culture' based on the culture concept of 'a shared schema...that guides interpretation and behaviour'. When forming a third culture, teams 'update their schemas and develop a shared understanding'.

The processual and ongoing notion of negotiated cultures serves the needs of the offshoring project teams trying to diminish the perceived unfamiliarity in working practices and behaviour among themselves. Therefore, with regard to the question raised by Smircich (1983) as to whether culture is something the organisation 'has' or something

the organisation 'is', the answer would be 'something the organisation does', along the lines of the functionalist approach to culture and cultural identity. This is similar to what Koppman, Mattarelli and Gupta (2016) refer to with their functionalist approach to culture as a means rather than ends, a toolkit rather than set of values – the toolkit can be personal or organisational. This functionalist way of seeing culture follows Swidler (1986), who argues that cultures and the differences between them are best understood in terms of a toolkit of specific habits, skills and styles that people use in constructing their strategies of action. The unfamiliarity typical in cross-cultural encounters is largely due to the different routinised toolkits for action that the parties have at their disposal.

3.3.4 Cultural adaptation on the individual level

Having discussed cultural identities on a national level in Chapter 2 and on an organisational level in prior sections, the individual-level identity development of global team members is reviewed next. Adaptation of culture on the individual level of global team members has been discussed in recent literature of global teams (Harush, Lisak & Glikson, 2017; Mattarelli & Tagliaventi, 2010; Koppman et al., 2016; Shokef & Erez, 2006; D'Mello, 2005). One of the salient notions is the emergence of a global identity of professionals working in global context (see Koppman et al., 2016). Lisak and Erez (2015) conceptualise global identity as a sense of belonging to a global culture, which they define as a fixed set of values, such as competitive performance orientation and openness to cultural diversity, shared by workers across the globe. Building on this and their research on Indian offshore ITC developers, Koppman et al. (2016) move towards a more dynamic definition of cultural identities and see culture as a set of contextually dependent stories, frames and justifications used to construct a positive image of what it means to be an Indian developer who works offshore. Thus, their conceptualisation of 'being global' takes more contextualised interpretations recognising that being global carries different meanings for different persons, even within the same organisation. Based on that, Koppman et al. (2016) conceptualise the Indian offshore workers' identity as global professionals, which has emerged through their work experiences with Westerners and their organisational culture. However, similar to Lisak and Erez's (2015) view of global identity, according to Koppman et al. (2016), elements such as an openness to cultural diversity and cultural flexibility are shared constructs between individually constructed

meanings of ‘being global’. This individual-level cultural identity can also offer a source of social similarity between offshoring team members, diminishing unfamiliarity and thus supporting the trust-building endeavours of parties.

3.4 Conclusion to Chapter 3

This chapter examined the active approach to trust building and dynamic approaches to mobilising cultural elements as alternative approaches to passive trust and static culture concepts. The aim was to look at active trust and dynamic culture as a resolution to the trust-creation challenges described in Chapter 2 (i.e., trust development in the unfavourable context of Indo-Finnish distributed teams). The central aspects reviewed were the processual nature of trusting and the strong agency of trusting parties.

In reviewing the dynamic approaches to culture, the chapter examined two models: the culture mosaic and the culture toolkit. In both of these, the agentic and the dynamic nature of culture is central. The models stress the variety of cultural elements and underline cultural abilities and resources when building ‘strategies of action’, shaping ‘trust repertoires’ and reflexively drawing on familiar culture elements to cope with unfamiliarity. The abilities to adapt and negotiate shared cultures were discussed as central factors in cross-cultural trust building. The literature on global teams indicates that these approaches can offer tools for cross-cultural team members working in temporal and fast changing culturally diverse environments, where collaborators lack the time or physical co-presence needed for slowly evolving trust based on knowledge and identification.

3.5 Summary of literature review and discussion of research questions

The two literature review chapters (Chapters 2 and 3) investigated first the challenges that differences in institutional and cultural frames pose on Finnish-Indian project teams and examined then the construct of active trust approach needed in such situations of limited familiarity between collaborators. The chapters highlighted the multiple factors and levels affecting interpersonal trust building between collaborators who work together whilst

located in Finland and India, and discussed the approach and mechanisms of active trust building, which is an alternative approach to gradually and passively evolving static trust. Furthermore, active and purposive trust building was presented as an approach in a challenging trust context where parties with little familiarity come together for temporal project work. However, literature review also showed that active trust has been limitedly tested and applied in cross-cultural trust development studies, especially in regard to global teams.

The chapters portrayed the institutional and cultural differences between the two locations where the distributed team members of this study are located indicating asymmetries in the routinised trust behaviours and cultural norms. Chapter 2 showed how cultural differences are widely presented in the literature as static dimensions and commonly regarded as sources of tension, resulting in a one-sided and negative approach: seeing culture as a constraining aspect of cross-cultural collaboration and trust. However, Chapter 3 investigated the dynamic approaches of a culture mosaic and a toolkit of cultural resources which invite the widening of the construct of culture from only national culture to include organisational- and individual-level cultural identities. Seeing culture as a dynamic construct and a resource for ‘strategies of action’ of global team members shifts the approach to culture from only being a source of tension into a resource for resolution and thus connects culture to active trust building.

The discussion on the need to build trust with ‘strangers’ (i.e., people who one has not met in person), as in this study, provoked a need to scrutinise a concept of active trust and to formulate the first research sub-question: *How do collaborators engage in active trusting?* The literature review showed that although the concept of active trust (Giddens 1994) originates 25 years ago, it is far less studied than trust-development models based on more passive roles of trusting parties. Chapter 2 introduced the widely used ABI model of trustworthiness with the antecedents of ability, benevolence and integrity (Mayer et al., 1995). However, this commonly used way of operationalising trustworthiness has often led to approaches of viewing a trustor as a passive evaluator of the trustworthiness of others and has thus led to neglecting the role of a trustor in supporting the trustworthiness of others when actively building trust. The first sub-question guides the researcher to investigate the roles and practices of both parties actively building trust.

As Chapters 2 and 3 explained, active trust is not the only approach to trust formation between collaborators. The literature review indicates that active trust is a trust approach for environments where trust is needed but difficult to attain, which is true in the context of project teams working in Finland and India. However, the current body of active trust literature offers limited understanding of how active trust is built in practice – and what makes it different from other forms of trust. The current research on active trust relies largely on conceptual papers; empirical understanding of active trust practices in global distributed teams is missing. These notions lead to the second research sub-question: *What constitutes interpersonal active trust creation in cross-cultural context of offshoring teams?* By asking this, it is acknowledged that trust literature offers an array of research on more passive approaches to trust development, which ignores the strong agency of trusting parties. The second sub-question guides the researcher to distinguish between the different trust forms in order to be able to identify specifics of active trust building.

The discussion on cultural frames influencing the trust building of collaborators and the introduction of dynamic culture models (e.g., Chao & Moon 2005, Swidler 1986) leads to the third research sub-question: *How do collaborators use cultural identities and elements in trust building?* The discussion in prior literature on culture and cross-cultural collaboration indicated major differences in cultural elements of collaborators in Finnish-Indian project teams. Chapters 2 and 3 reviewed both emic and etic papers scrutinising culture to provide tools to understand the underlying cultural beliefs, values and norms that guide collaborators in their behaviour in the Indo-Finnish distributed teams. The review of the national cultures in India and Finland illustrated large asymmetries, which in international business studies has resulted in seeing culture one-sidedly as an obstacle to collaboration. However, moving from static culture typologies (such as Hofstede 2001 and GLOBE studies in House et al., 2004) to dynamic models provided an approach to different cultural elements not only as a source of tension but also a resource for resolution. The culture models of the culture mosaic (Chao & Moon 2005) and culture toolkit (Swidler 1986) view culture as a resource and allow examination of culture on an individual level as a mosaic of cultural identities and elements of team members, as well as investigate how collaborators mobilise these cultural elements to create the familiarity and social similarity needed for trusting.

The discussion on both cultural frames and active trust building in a challenging context of distributed project teams leads to the main research question of the thesis: *How do collaborators build active trust in cross-cultural offshoring teams located in Finland and India?* In the literature review chapters, the aspect of active trust building is developed especially from the perspective of cross-cultural, and more specifically Indo-Finnish, team members collaborating virtually. The sources of the trust dilemma for interpersonal trust in a context of large institutional and cultural asymmetries is based on the findings of prior literature stating that trust is especially needed when parties do not share similarities of a common background (Mayer et al., 1995) and, on the other hand, claiming that familiarity is needed for trust (Luhmann, 1979). Moreover, when examining the wider frames (i.e., institutional and cultural) of the collaborators, provided evidence that the trust-building practices of the collaborators within their respective environments in Finland and India are, if not opposite, radically different from each other. The weak institutional frame of India has motivated trust building through interaction and strong relationships inside closed communities, whereas in Finland, strong institutions have offered bases for high generalised trust and thus have not motivated a cultivation of interaction-based trust practices.

4 Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodological choices and research design of this study on trust building in Finnish-Indian offshoring arrangements. The sociological approach to trust as a socially embedded processual construct of trusting guides the methodological choices as the active role of the collaborators and their actions guided by institutional frames including culture are examined. As the research aims to understand how actors engage in active trust-building practices and use their cultural identities and elements (Chao & Moon, 2005; Swidler, 1986) in trust building, it is designed to allow interpretations of participants' experiences.

Trust is studied from the perspective of interpersonal trust building, where the actors' interactive sense making of trustworthiness and development of trust components is central. The operationalisation of trust is conducted through the ABI model of trustworthiness by Mayer et al. (1995), as well as three components of trusting: cognitive, emotional, and intentional (see e.g., McAllister, 1995; Korsgaard et al., 2015). However, as the aim of the study is to examine active trust building in a cross-cultural context, a dynamic approach is taken. Therefore, the research is designed to capture the dyadic actions and sense making of actors while building trust between team members in temporal and changing project teams. Trust building is studied on a personal level in teams where there are multiple persons working together, and thus, individual-level experiences are central to the research. The focus is on trust between collaborators in offshoring teams and their socially embedded trust-building practices.

This methodology chapter starts with a discussion of the philosophical underpinnings and their influence on the research design. Subsequently, the justifications for the chosen approach of a qualitative case study are presented. Third, the data sources, collection and analyses are discussed and finally, the principles guiding the reporting of this study are presented.

4.1 Philosophical underpinnings

As the philosophical assumptions lay foundation to the research design (Bizzi & Langley, 2012), they are addressed before entering into any further details of research design.

Philosophical underpinnings refer to both the ontological position of the researcher, referring to way she sees the reality, and the epistemological preferences of the researcher, referring to how reality can be studied (Grix, 2010). The fundamental ontological question is whether reality is objective by nature or a product of individual cognition (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2019). Epistemological considerations look at the possible ways of gaining knowledge of social reality and are closely related to the choice of data collection and analysis (Grix, 2010). The methodology is underpinned and reflected by both the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the researcher, which are discussed next.

4.1.1 Philosophical underpinnings of the researcher

In this research, the ontological view of the researcher seeing trust as socially constructed (Wright & Ehnert, 2010), multilevel (Schilke & Cook, 2013) and context-dependent (Saunders, Skinner, & Lewicki, 2010) guides the research design. Because trust is being studied in the cross-cultural context, the influence of culture on trust building is central. When defining culture, the researcher considered the widely used (and critiqued) conceptualisation of culture as a construct of dimensions (see Hofstede 2001, GLOBE in House et al., 2014) to be too narrow and positivistic, in the sense that they present an etic approach of an observer. Therefore, in this research, culture is seen and defined as a unique pattern of various cultural identities that a person inherits, adjusts and builds as a reflection of the social groups that they identify with (see Chao & Moon, 2005). The central theoretical concepts of the research – trust and culture – are seen by the researcher as socially constructed and subjective in nature, which leads to the ontological assumption of reality being understood as subjective, where the perceptions and experience of actors vary and may change over time and in different contexts (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2016).

Seeing trust and culture as ‘socially constructed’ refers to a perspective of reality not being objectivist but subjective in the sense that trustworthiness would not exist without the perceptions of the trusting parties and cultural identities would not be formed without an individual’s identification with social groups. On the contrary, trust and culture are seen as socially embedded phenomena, and therefore, the ontological assumption of reality being subjective led the researcher in her research design, data collection and analysis.

Subjective shared meanings such as socially constructed phenomena like culture and trust are often approached with interpretivism (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2016), to offer contextually diverse and context-sensitive understanding (Isaeva, Bachmann, Bristow, & Saunders, 2015). However, the researcher also acknowledges the existence of formal and informal institutional structures that influence the actors when constructing their realities (e.g., institutional context shaping routinised ways of doing) and cultural norms and values. These structures exist in individuals' minds but are agreed upon in societies, and some of them could be seen as existing objectively. In that sense, the researcher acknowledged the 'duality of reality', meaning reality is, to a large extent, subjective but also partly objective (Grix, 2010).

This duality of reality led to the ontological view, which on the continuum of subjectivist-objectivist is located in the middle (Grix, 2010), where the critical realists – one of the major philosophies – are located (Saunders et al., 2019). They acknowledge the difference between 'social facts' and 'physical facts' but stress the principle that researchers should attempt to be as objective and realistic as possible when seeking not only to understand but also to explain the social world (Collier, 1994; Fleetwood, 2005). Furthermore, critical realism focuses on providing an explanation for events by looking for causes and mechanisms (Saunders et al., 2019). One of the key academics of critical realism, Sayer (1992, 104 in Easton, 2010), states that '[t]o ask for the cause of something is to ask "what makes it happen", what "produces", "generates", "creates" or "determines" it, or, more weakly, what "enables" or "leads to" it'. In critical realism, entities have causal powers and through their agency 'they make things happen' (Easton 2010, 120). This research followed the lines of Sayer and Easton, as the aim is to interpret how collaborators build trust by using cultural identities and active trust practices. Identifying causes and mechanisms between cultural elements and practices in trust building requires a critical realist stratified ontology where the understanding of the world requires moving from 'the empirical' and 'the actual' level experiences to reasoning of 'the real' (i.e., tracking and analysing the underlying cause; Saunders et al., 2019; see also Bhaskar, 2008). Critical realists claim that what we see is only a small part of the real, and to provide an explanation for an observable organisational event, the researcher needs to look into social structures shaping life – often in the form of in-depth historical analyses of how organisational structures have changed over time (Saunders et al., 2019; Reed, 2009). As

this study aims at understanding how collaborators actively built trust with a focus on the agency of actors in making things happen, the philosophical approach is close to critical realism, although historical tracking of events and their causes is not the aim of the study. However, as Ryan, Tähtinen, Vanharanta and Mainela (2012) state, critical realism does not offer a standardised methodological approach to a researcher, and thus, the researcher must choose the approach.

Moreover, the research context of a Finnish-Indian offshoring arrangement urged deeper exploration of the philosophical underpinnings of the research. In the project teams, the other dyad of the collaboration studied was located in India – a country where the philosophical underpinning of the national culture is a widely accepted existence of ‘many realities’ (Sen, 2005). This context, with a worldview full of different meanings, suggests the subjectivist and interpretivist approach. Understanding both causality and subjective interpretations of the experiences leads to an intersection of different philosophies. This follows the lines of Grix (2010, 63), who states that it is relatively easy to comprehend researchers at the far ends of the continuum of subjectivism-objectivism, but in the middle, ‘“hard” proponents of one paradigm meet with “soft” proponents of the other’.

The approach of this research drew not only on critical realist philosophy but also on interpretivism. An interpretivist approach is needed when seeking diversity of experiences and interpretations, as the theories and concepts might prove to be too simplistic in their ability to represent the full richness of the data (see Isaeva et al., 2015). Therefore, the researcher positioned herself as a critical realist and a ‘soft’ interpretivist (see Grix, 2010) by adopting proponents of both philosophies. The researcher aimed at creating a new, rich understanding of how collaborators use cultural elements and active practices to influence trust building in offshoring project teams.

As this research belongs to the larger body of trust research, the prevalent epistemological claims in prior trust studies were examined in order to understand the position of the approach of this study and thus its potential contribution. Isaeva, Bachmann, Bristow and Saunders (2015) identified five distinctive research philosophies in trust research in their survey of the epistemological approaches of leading trust researchers: positivism, critical realism, pragmatism, interpretivism, and post-structuralism/postmodernism. Based on their findings, prior trust research is dominated by positivist research (Isaeva et al., 2015),

as many studies have concentrated on measuring the antecedents, elements or levels of trust. Only 15% of the leading trust researchers claimed to have adopted an interpretivist or a critical realist epistemology. Therefore, this study contributes to the lesser body of prior literature on trust and thus brings understanding of various trust-building practices and ways that actors use their cultural backgrounds and identities in active sense making of trust. Therefore, the dominant research paradigm of positivism was not followed, as the aim of the study was to gain rich understanding of trust creation between dyads and teams in a cross-cultural context. Trust and culture in this research are seen as subjective and socially constructed concepts. The methodology was designed to capture the richness of socially constructed perceptions and practices of trust creation. However, as stated earlier, the aim is to understand how collaborators build trust by using culture and trust practices, and thus, causal powers of their actions were part of the analysis.

4.1.2 The influence of philosophical underpinnings on the methodology

The ontological view affected the research design in many ways: trust building needed to be studied from the perspective of actors, cross-cultural context sensitivity was of importance, and the processual nature of trusting as ongoing sense making and not a stable outcome was to be acknowledged. The aforementioned aspects were recognised as bases for the consideration of methodology. The first aspect (i.e., socially constructed) is discussed in this section, and the two latter aspects (i.e., culture perspective and process perspective) are discussed in the next sections.

The aspect of trust being socially constructed requires methodological choices that are sensitive to the experiences and interpretations of actors. As reality is not as seen being objectivist, the pre-operationalised and structured methods of data collection could not be applied but more reflective and adjustable research methods were chosen. This is why a qualitative research design with conversational-style interviews (Yin, 2014) and some non-participant observations (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2016) was chosen as the method of data collection.

4.2 Cultural sensitivity perspective

A cross-cultural context requires cultural sensitivity from a researcher in all steps of research design, data collection and analysis. The pitfalls of cross-cultural research are issues such as stereotyping, ethnocentric arrogance, cultural naiveté and different perception biases (Holzmüller, 2017). The researcher was knowledgeable of these and planned her research accordingly. A helpful factor when navigating the pitfalls of cross-cultural research was prior experience and understanding of national cultures and local environments in both Finland and India. The researcher is a Finn by nationality and lived for five years in India.

Research approaches to culture can be addressed as etic and emic (Morris et al., 1999; Taras, Rowney, & Steel, 2009): etic looks at the issue from the observer's point of view, whereas emic describes the behaviour in meaningful terms to the actors. An etic approach requires cultural awareness, but to reach an emic approach, one needs to have cultural sensitivity, which is described as 'an ability to monitor the new environment and engage in sense making using emic and situated knowledge structures' (Shapiro, Ozanne, & Saatcioglu, 2008, 13-14). Culture classifications such as those of Hofstede (2001) or GLOBE (House et al., 2004) are examples of an etic approach. This is a common approach to cultures in business-relationship studies (Schaffer & Riordan, 2003), as it offers numeric measures for comparison. However, the etic approach has been criticised for carrying risks of building stereotypes, making wrong interpretations and losing richness in the data (see Stahl & Tung, 2015; Stahl, Miska, Lee & DeLuque, 2017).

A combination of emic and etic approaches was used in this research, as this was a recommended approach especially in an area where there is little prior research (Punnett, Ford, Galperin, & Lituchy, 2017), which is the case in Finnish-Indian collaboration studies. A combination is also claimed to be advisable even when making a cross-cultural comparison based on etic typologies since comparisons that do not fully take into account the relevant culture-specific emics can lead to erroneous conclusions (Schaffer & Riordan, 2003). The aim of this study was to think culturally rather than of cultures (Pereira & Malik 2013). A combination is a more challenging approach, but as the researcher has working experience in both Finnish and Indian organisations, she has gained cultural awareness and sensitivity that helps her analyse the data from both emic and etic

perspectives. Therefore, the researcher analysed the various cultural elements that informants expressed from the emic point of view. This was especially important when interviewing informants in India, since the theoretical approach of trust and trustworthiness is conceptualised by Western academics and studied more in the Western context.

To allow a combination of an etic-emic approach, a qualitative case study was chosen. A case study approach offers a possibility for situation-specific and contextual knowledge and data collection (Dubois & Gadde, 2002), which is needed for the insider's perspective (i.e., emic approach). According to Welch, Piekkari, Plakoyiannaki, and Paavilainen-Mäntymäki (2011, 750), '[C]ase studies can generate causal explanations that preserve rather than eradicate contextual richness'. The aim was to learn how trust building in a specific and unique context occurred and to illustrate that through the contextualised and 'thick description' where the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard (Denzin, 1989, p. 83 in Ponterotto, 2006). Thus, the aim was to accomplish a contextualised explanation (Welch et al., 2011) when theorising from the data. Hence, contextual sensitivity was maintained throughout the research process. Moreover, the importance of contextualisation in a cross-cultural business setting is raised by researchers of China (see Tsui, 2006; Tsui-Auch & Möllering, 2010; Child & Möllering, 2003), where the culture and institutional environments are different from the West and create a distinctive context for business relationships and trust. The same challenge was faced in this research, as the etic and emic cultural aspects indicate great institutional and cultural differences between India and Finland (see Chapter 2).

4.3 Process study perspective

The aim of this research is to understand trust building as a continuous cycle of sense making (i.e., signalling, interpreting and constructing trustworthiness and trustfulness), not as an event or a state of trust. Moreover, this study aims at analysing how collaborators in continuous interactions use and reflexively adjust and adopt cultural elements and trust practices, which creates the familiarity needed for shared sense making and enables trust creation and decisions. Therefore, the study focused on understanding the process of trust

building rather than states or levels of trust. Active trust building was examined through collaborators' activity, as well as its evolution (see Langley, 2007). Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas and Van de Ven (2013) state that the process research incorporates progression of activities as elements of explanation and understanding of a process.

The process perspective brings another philosophical underpinning for discussion, namely 'process ontology', which states that the world is constituted by movement and processes (Langley, 2007). To understand process ontology, a metaphor of a river guides the way: process ontology sees the movement of the water, whereas substance ontology sees a river as a river. Process ontology is mainly interested in observing the change, while substance ontology focuses on the object undergoing the change. In trust research, seeing the cultural elements and trust components via continuous sense making (signalling, interpreting, constructing) leads the researcher to scrutinise the ongoing adjustments of cultural elements and trust practices, as well as signalling, evaluating and constructing trustworthiness as a continuous flow of action. Therefore, the strategy of moving 'from nouns to verbs' (Weick, 1995; Langley, 2007) was applied since, instead of merely talking about trust and cultural adaptation, the report focuses on trusting and adapting. This approach shifts the focus from things to activities. This approach was also applied in the interview protocol where participants were encouraged to talk about their behaviours and practices instead of outcomes. This philosophical view supports the approach to look into sense making as an ongoing action of collaborators.

Process theories offer various approaches to examine change and 'explain how and why a process unfolds over time', including life cycle, teleological, dialectic and evolution-process approaches (Van de Ven 1992, 174). From these approaches, the dialectic process offers an approach to examine the process of trust building in a cross-cultural context, as 'the role of tension and contradictions in driving patterns of change emerges strongly' (Langley et al., 2013, 9), pointing out the role of the forces of change. As the study took place in a unique cross-cultural context of Finnish-Indian collaboration posing many contradicting institutional and cultural differences, the central role of tension and contradictions as driving patterns in change of the process of trusting were acknowledged. Hence, this process approach offered a theoretical lens for examining trust building in the

midst of cultural tensions and investigating how collaborators reflexively create familiarity in the unfamiliar context to facilitate trusting.

4.4 Justifications for the qualitative research approach

Based on the aspects discussed in this section, a qualitative research approach was chosen. Rich data was needed to understand the complex phenomena of trust building in cross-cultural dyadic relationships; contextual sensitivity was required to capture the cultural elements. The iterative nature of qualitative data collection supported the aim to gain deep understanding of the phenomena and the contextual factors.

Firstly, qualitative research was chosen for the richness of data. The aim of the research called for a method that helps to capture rich data from both ends of the dyad (i.e., the collaborators in Finland and in India) to provide full insight into the phenomena of trust building in the Finnish-Indian project team context. Rich data allows the researcher to obtain more meaningful results about 'soft' inter-relationships between factors (Marchan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004, 8). Capturing rich data required data collection and data analysis methods that allowed the phenomena to be examined from different perspectives to understand the variance in human behaviour (Marchan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004). The qualitative approach enabled the collection of rich data, as it allowed the use of various methods such as personal interviews, non-participatory observation and group interviews.

Secondly, the context of the research being cross-cultural called for rich data and a less-structured perspective to convey the emic perspective. Qualitative methods are justified as a suitable approach in cross-cultural studies, as they allow deeper cross-cultural understanding with less sacrifices to ethnocentric assumptions than quantitative survey instruments with operationalised and etic scales (Schaffer & Riordan, 2003). This was achieved by semi-structured interviews and group interviews, as well as observation. The informants were encouraged to speak freely about their daily work, practices, challenges and successes. The structure of each interview was adjusted according to the contextual aspects such as job role, language skills and style of talking to accommodate the open sharing of the informant's experiences with their own worldview and vocabulary.

Thirdly, a qualitative approach was chosen to facilitate an iterative research process. Since the aim was to gain deep understanding of the phenomena of ongoing and interactive trust building between geographically distributed team members, a parallel process of data collection and data analysis was needed. The researcher adjusted the data collection to enhance the understanding of the phenomena throughout the process. The main data collection methods used (semi-structured interviews and observation) allowed adjustments and iterative work between data collection, data analysis and theory. The data was collected over a period of 12 months. This timeframe did not allow longitudinal data but offered a window into temporal development and retrospective reflections (Langley, 2007).

4.5 Case study as a research strategy

In this section, the case study strategy is discussed. First, the choice of the strategy is justified. Second, the philosophical assumptions and their effects on research strategy are discussed. Third, the selection of the research site is addressed. Finally, the actions to increase validity and reliability of this case study are introduced.

4.5.1 Justifications for case study strategy

A case study strategy is chosen in this study for its capacity to generate insights from intensive and in-depth research on a phenomenon in its real-life context (Saunders et al. 2019). The in-depth analysis of trusting in cross-cultural teams aims at rich empirical descriptions (Dubois and Gadde, 2002). Contextualisation is the major strength of the intensive case approach, and therefore the researcher chose to focus on one case: trust building in a unique offshoring collaboration. This allowed capturing the contextual aspects such as physical and cultural distance, virtual working environment and changing compositions of the team members. Stoecker (1991, in Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2016) has suggested that there is a key difference between intensive and extensive case study research; intensive case research explores one case in-depth, whereas extensive compares several cases.

As Eisenhardt (1989) argues, case studies are suitable for investigating ‘messy’ relationships, complex constructs and mechanisms that are difficult to quantify or understand in any other way. Furthermore, the case study strategy uses a variety of data sources (Welch et al., 2011) and thus allows identification of emerging issues of the complex construct of trust in a ‘messy’ cross-cultural context. Yin (2014) adds that a case study allows the researcher to focus on a particular relationship in a holistic way with a real-world perspective, and moreover, a case study fits well when studying a contemporary phenomenon within its naturalistic context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are difficult to distinguish. The need to gain a deeper and more holistic understanding of trust building in the context of cross-cultural offshoring arrangements – including both ends of the dyad – supported the choice of an intensive case study strategy.

Stake (2005, 443) states that a ‘[c]ase study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied’ and Saunders et al. (2016) explain that the ‘case’ may refer to many types of case subjects. In this study, the case subject is the trust building between team members in cross-cultural offshoring teams. Data was collected in one large captive (i.e., in-house) offshoring arrangement, where data on trust building was gathered via multiple Finnish and Indian team members. Thus, the data allows for seeking commonalities and differences of trust-building practices between different team members and dyads for the purpose of pattern seeking (see Ghauri 2004).

A case study design that ‘examines, through the use of a variety of data sources, a phenomenon in its naturalistic context, with the purpose of “confronting” theory with the empirical world’ (Piekkari, Welch & Paavilainen 2009, 569) was chosen as the most fitting approach. Case studies have established their place in international business research (Welch et al., 2011), as they allow a temporal study and a strong connection between the phenomena and context and provide a ‘thick’ description which makes the meanings embedded in the case clear to the reader (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2016).

4.5.2 Underpinning philosophy and case study research

The philosophical assumptions and their relation to research design were discussed earlier in conjunction with choosing a qualitative approach, and in this sub-section, a brief

analysis of the relation between a case study and the research paradigm is made. The adoption of a case study strategy does not provide a researcher a certain philosophical stand but a case study can follow various epistemologies on the spectrum from positivist to interpretivist (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2016). Moreover, a case study can be conducted in a deductive, inductive or abductive way (Saunders et al., 2019).

As mentioned, a case study does not require a certain epistemology, and it can take different aims, such as being descriptive, exploratory or explanatory (Yin, 2014). This study could be called exploratory, as the aim is to gain insight into active-trust practices and the use of cultural elements in building trust over time. An additional aim is to explain how cultural elements in forms of practices, behaviours and interpretations influence trusting and what kinds of purposive action enable and support trust building. Therefore, the explanatory aspect of the study is also present. As Yin (2014, 147) states, ‘To “explain” a phenomenon is to stipulate causal links about it, or “how” and “why” something happened’. As in most case studies, explanation building occurs in narrative form (Yin, 2014), and that is what this study was aiming for: to explain through description how the use of active practices and cultural elements influence trustworthiness perceptions and trust creation.

4.5.3 Validity and reliability in a case study

This research follows various tactics to increase the validity and the reliability of the study. Validity of a case study can be evaluated from construct, internal and external perspectives (Yin, 2014). These approaches are also used in quantitative research; however, they carry different meanings in qualitative studies. Construct validity refers to the use of multiple data sources (triangulation), which in qualitative research serves the purpose of adding depth and richness to the research (Denzin, 2012; Fusch, Fusch & Ness, 2018; Saunders et al., 2019). Internal validity refers to credibility of a qualitative study, and external validity refers to transferability of a study (Saunders et al., 2019). How these tactics were undertaken in this study is discussed next.

For the *construct validity*, multiple sources of evidence were used. The data was collected from multiple informants representing multiple project teams and both dyads, Finnish and Indian. Data were collected in two different phases. During the first phase, the data were

collected to gain deep understanding by interviewing the highly involved informants and later expanded by group discussions to cover the actors in various levels of involvement and different roles of the offshoring arrangement. Although the individual and group interview data formed the main body of the data, field notes from observation of work in the office and meetings were also used in interpretation. In case studies, the use of multiple sources of evidence is more common than in many other research methods. Thus, triangulation was done from the two different angles in this research: triangulation of informants (interviewing multiple informants in same teams from both countries and from various roles and levels), as well as triangulation of interview data with researcher's field notes containing observation on both interviews and the workplace.

To ensure the *internal validity* (i.e., credibility), the researcher aimed for a deep understanding of the case environment and participants' work. Therefore, she spent a significant amount of time (five weeks) with the participants in their own premises to provide scope and depth to enhance the understanding of the context and data (Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Patton, 2015). The second phase of data collection was attained to gain data on the 'negative cases' of active trust (i.e., more passive trust approaches). During the second phase, the researcher was able to speak with participants to deepen the understanding of their work and to present early findings to the key informants. By doing this, the researcher was able to validate her interpretations (see Saunders et al., 2019) and to deepen her understanding of the case.

External validity (i.e., transferability) of a qualitative case study was ensured by documentation of the research design, context, findings and interpretations in detail, in order to give a reader an opportunity to judge the transferability of the findings to another setting (Saunders et al., 2019).

Reliability refers to ensuring that the process of study is logical, traceable and documented (Patton, 2015). For reliability, a study protocol and documentation bank were kept. The interviews and focus group discussions were recorded, transcribed and uploaded to a database (NVivo) to allow traceable coding and text searches. For the transparency of analysis, some coding protocols are presented in the research report (see Section 4.9). In the reporting, a rich body of interview quotations is provided, aiming for meaningful description and transparency of interpretations.

4.6 Data sources and collection

This section discusses the data collection procedure of the research. Firstly, the selection and the nature of the research site is discussed. Secondly, the data sources and tools to collect the data (i.e., semi-structured interviews) are reviewed and thirdly, the ethical aspects of data collection are addressed.

4.6.1 Selection of the research sites and participants

The selection of the research site is closely connected to the choice of the research topic. The interest in studying Western-Indian business relationships was encountered during the years when the researcher lived and worked in India. Even after returning to Finland, the researcher was engaged in the topic of Finnish-Indian relationships, as she teaches international business at a university of applied sciences and has trained business practitioners on Finnish-Indian offshoring collaboration. Based on these experiences, the researcher developed a genuine interest in the phenomena of trusting in offshoring teams, and thus, the choice of offshoring team context was clear.

The selection of the research site started with a pilot study, which was conducted in a business process outsourcing (BPO) arrangement of a large Finnish industrial corporation in India. The pilot included seven interviews (see Table 2 & Table 13) and allowed the researcher to empirically test the research design with semi-structured interviews. In addition, the pilot offered insight into choosing an ideal research site for this study. Based on the learnings from the pilot study, the researcher was able to seek another offshoring arrangement that would provide an offshoring context but with different power relations between parties. Thus, a captive offshoring arrangement of a large company with its own entity in India was chosen. This choice was supported by Ghauri's (2004) claims that problems tend to be richer in multinational companies, although the negotiation of access might be more difficult. The wide access to a large amount of data was seen as important, as in the pilot phase, the access to the informants in India posed challenges. Therefore, the researcher selected the research site with care. Access was negotiated through prior professional contacts of the researcher.

Table 2 Pilot case: key facts of the pilot phase of the study

Pilot Study:	Finnish-Indian offshore outsourcing arrangement
	March – April 2017
	5 interviews in Finland
	2 interviews in India via Skype

The actual data collection was carried out in two phases between March 2018 and March 2019 (see Table 3 & Table 14). During the first phase, 25 interviews were conducted (12 in Finland and 13 in India). During the second phase, the researcher conducted non-participatory observations, four individual interviews and seven group interviews, all in Finland.

Table 3 Actual data collection: key facts of two data collection phases

Main Study: Finnish-Indian in-house offshoring arrangement	
First phase	Second phase
March – September 2018	March 2019
25 interviews with highly involved team members: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 13 in India - 12 in Finland 	7 group interviews, 4 personal interviews and some observations in Finland

In sampling of the research participants, purposeful sampling (Patton, 2015) was applied. After obtaining the approval for the data collection, the researcher contacted the persons in charge of the project team collaboration in Finland and in India, who had a helpful overall picture of the teams and the team members involved. In the discussion with them, a list of key informants (i.e., highly involved team members) was created, and the researcher contacted these persons to arrange interviews. In India, all interviews were conducted during one week while the researcher was visiting the office.

4.6.2 Nature of the studied collaborative arrangement

This study was conducted in the context of engineering consultancy and project work, which is organised through temporal project teams that deliver engineering work to third party clients. The data were collected in a company that has its own engineering centre in India. The centre provides a pool of technical human resources for the project teams in

Finland. This type of offshoring collaboration is called ‘captive offshoring’ which refers to a ‘practice of firms setting up their own centres in foreign countries and maintaining full control’ (Kedia & Lahiri, 2007, 23). Thus, both the Finnish and Indian team members belong to the same company and work towards shared company level goals. However, the projects are delivered to the clients of the Finnish entity and the projects are led by collaborators in Finland who also do the task allocation to India. This results into asymmetric power relationships and poses the Indian team members dependent on their Finnish counterparts. The development of the power relationship between the parties is discussed more in detail in the findings chapters when examining culture mobilisation and active trust processes (Chapters 5 and 6).

The studied project teams work in engineering consultancy and design, and thus, all project team members both in India and Finland have technical education ranging from a technician to engineering degrees (see table 14). The project work communication language between the Finnish and Indian team members is English, which for most of the collaborators in both countries is a second language. Moreover, as the collaborators work geographically dispersed in their native countries, the daily collaboration takes place through virtual tools. The offshoring collaboration between Finland and India is fairly new for many informants of the study.

4.6.3 Interview as a data collection method

Interviews are regarded as a key source of case study evidence (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2016) and this was also their role in this study. The main data collection happened through two types of interviews: semi-structured personal interviews and group interviews. Following the lines of Yin (2014, 110), interviews did ‘resemble guided conversations rather than structured queries’. Interviews were open-ended and conversational, and the researcher followed an approach, which allows exploring a particular topic with a person with relevant experience (Charmaz 2006). The researcher utilised the skills of asking open-ended and non-judgemental questions that she had learnt during certified business coach training in 2010. Thus, the interviewees were allowed and encouraged to talk freely about project work collaboration through their own job role and experiences.

During the first phase of data collection, the researcher negotiated a wide access to the company in order to be able to visit multiple sites and spend a week in India conducting interviews. The data collected during the first phase covered mainly highly involved and experienced persons in the offshoring teams. They were, in many cases, the ‘pioneers’ of the offshoring collaboration, as many had been involved from the start of the collaboration. Many of the interviewees were enthusiastic about their role and felt that they were doing their work successfully. To gain a wider perspective to the phenomenon, a second phase of interviewing also included occasional or new collaborators.

During the second phase, the researcher visited offices in Finland to conduct observations and group interviews. During that time, the researcher was also able to speak with collaborators with smaller roles or less involvement than the ‘pioneers’ who were initially interviewed. In addition, she was able to conduct discussions with some of the informants of the first round and present her understanding based on the current analysis. This gave the researcher an opportunity to share her interpretations of the phenomena with participants, as well as confront and deepen it through those interactions. As Easton (2010) states, concentration on one case allows for returning to the research site, which is one of the strengths of the case study strategy.

4.6.4 Planning the interview protocol

When discussing interviews as a source of evidence on relational trust, the operationalisation of the concept of ‘trust’ needs to be discussed. How was trust addressed in interviews? Operationalisation of trust into components and measures has been done in various ways in prior studies (Blomqvist, 2002), and the most structured operationalisations take place in research designs such as surveys. Most early scholars of interorganisational trust used direct and quantitative measures when attempting to measure the level of trust with scales (Anderson & Narus, 1990; Morgan & Hunt, 1994). They used direct questions such as, ‘Do you trust your partner?’ and ‘How much do you trust your partner?’. This kind of direct question is typical in quantitative studies but not ideal for qualitative case studies where a pre-structured form is not needed, as the data collection occurs through interaction. Direct questions and measures can even be criticised for the potential impact on the respondents’ thinking and inclination to give the ‘right’ or ‘expected’ answer (Wilson, 2004), which is especially likely in the case of context-

sensitive and relationship-oriented culture such as India. Moreover, direct questions about trust can also be criticised, as the researcher and informant may have a different understanding of the term 'trust'.

In qualitative interview studies, broader questions such as 'how important is trust' or 'what kind of role does trust play in collaboration?' can be asked. Moreover, in interviews, trust can be approached indirectly, for example, through asking respondents' experiences of the partner attributes, antecedents of trust, different trust bases or experienced behaviour of the other party. Antecedents of trust can be captured through partner attributes (e.g., the counterparty is competent or caring). Following the more indirect way of operationalising trust, an interview protocol of direct questions was not seen as a valid approach in the study. A case study and semi-structured interviews better accommodate flexibility and thus allow rich data and emerging new issues (Dubois and Gadde, 2002 & 2014) when not following a strictly structured interview form. Trust was mainly addressed only after the informant had addressed it; when that did not happen, trust was addressed during the latter part of the interview.

4.6.5 Other data sources

Written documents and observation are often mentioned as other suitable data sources in case studies, and they are used for the triangulation purposes (Ghauri, 2004). The researcher conducted observations of daily office work and virtual meetings. Observations were documented in a diary of field note entries. In addition, she wrote field notes after each interview and daily memos related to transcribing, coding and analysing. These documents were also used as material when analysing the case of trusting in offshoring project teams.

4.6.6 Ethical considerations with data collection

Ethical considerations are important in all research and especially when interviewing people. The researcher followed the Code of Research Good Practice 2014/15 of Westminster University. All interviewees were given a copy of the Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 3) and Participant Consent Form (Appendix 4) approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Westminster. The information provided was fully

explained before the interviewees signed the consent form, which indicated that they participated in the research voluntarily and had a right to withdraw from the study. According to the consent form, all data was made anonymous and identities unidentifiable.

4.7 Analysing data

In this section, the procedure of the data analysis is discussed. First, the process of analysing the data is introduced; second, the operationalisation of trust concept in coding is discussed and third, the coding of the data is illustrated with examples.

4.7.1 Process of data analyses

The interviews were conducted using two languages, Finnish and English. Interview data from the interviews of the phase one (March-September 2018) were recorded and transcribed by the researcher. Transcribing the interviews by the researcher is recommended, as it helps them become familiar with the data before coding it (Saunders et al., 2019). Furthermore, producing transcripts allowed reflective memo writing while working on the transcripts. By doing this herself, the researcher gained a deep familiarity with the data. However, as transcribing proved time consuming and since the researcher was facing time constraints, some of the interviews from the second phase were transcribed by a professional transcription service provider. At this point of research, the familiarity with the case was on a good level, and hence the researcher felt that the transcription work was feasible to give to a third party. After receiving the transcription documents, the researcher listened to the interview recording while reading the transcript and making needed corrections and amendments.

The transcribed interviews were saved and coded in the NVivo programme for qualitative data analysis. The NVivo programme proved a useful tool in the iterative process of coding and analysis over a relatively large amount of data. It was used to organise and code the interview data, as well to write coding memos. However, the main analyses were conducted using Word, where the tables of coded themes and excerpts (from NVivo) were analysed and made sense of.

Data analysis started during the data collection since overlapping the two allowed the researcher to take advantage of insight gained through analyses. The researcher followed a process that Dubois and Gadde (2002, 555-556) call 'matching', which means 'going back and forth between framework, data sources and analysis'. Matching is an abductive approach, which means a combination of deduction and induction (see Saunders et al., 2019). The analyses started with deduction, as the researcher had done a review of the trust literature before entering the field. However, as new themes emerged, the iterative work between theory, data sources and analyses proved fruitful.

The parallel analysis and data collection enhanced the understanding of the phenomena and interpretation of the data, as the researcher could validate and deepen the early interpretations along the process of data collection in interaction with the informants. As the case study approach allowed adjustments during the process (see Saunders et al., 2019), some adjustments were made to aspects such as the number of interviews and the interview questions. Group interviews were added to gain deeper understanding of the various levels of involvement and early interpretations were presented to the participants. Flexibility in the research design allowed the researcher to observe the saturation of the data, as well as purposefully sample various types of informants in order to collect versatile data. Adjustments allow openness to the emergence of new themes and respect the uniqueness of a specific case.

Data was collected in one company but covered multiple offshoring teams and collaboration dyads. The arrangement offered access to a large amount of data and covered multiple units of company and thus different offshoring teams and organisational groups of collaborators. These clusters can be seen as 'cases within the case', or embedded cases (Stake 2005) where the phenomena of trust building in a cross-cultural setting can be studied or compared. To understand the phenomena of trust building in the offshoring teams, the trust building in various dyads and teams were compiled in short case histories (Miles & Huberman, 1994) with visualisations of interpersonal relationships to allow the interpretations of different trust-building strategies in various team settings with high sensitivity to contextual aspects. Eisenhardt (1989) advises comparing (embedded) cases with each other through theoretical lenses and recommends writing within-case analyses, since they help cope with the large amount of data and create familiarity in each case,

which helps to identify the unique patterns of each case before entering into a comparison between cases (Eisenhardt, 1989). The identification of unique patterns happened through iterating between looking into the whole data, zooming in to examine embedded cases and then going to the conceptual argument and back to the whole dataset. As the analysis deepened, the researcher noted that the approach to trust building in dyads served as a divider of different groups rather than a team since many teams had more- and less-committed team members. Thus, the patterns and embedded cases emerged.

4.7.2 Operationalisation of trust concept

Dimensions of trust concept discussed in the literature review (Chapters 2 and 3) guided the researcher when she operationalised trust concept while coding and analysing the data. For the operationalisation of trust in the data analyses, the researcher drew on the eminent concepts of trust such as the ‘willingness to accept vulnerability’ based on the ‘positive expectations’ of the other party performing an action important to them (Mayer et al., 1995, Rousseau et al., 1998). Also, the division into ‘cognitive and affective trust bases’ (McAllister, 1995; Jones, 1996) as well as the widely used antecedents of trustworthiness, ‘ability’, ‘benevolence’ and ‘integrity’, (Mayer et al. 1995) were used as indicators of trustworthy behaviour and as dimensions for trust evaluations and judgement done by a trustor. This follows the practice of a large body of trust research, which have examined trust as a model of trustworthiness antecedent also called ABI-model (see Mayer et al., 1995). The trustworthiness dimensions have also been addressed in recent literature not only as objects of observation but also as dimensions of purposive signalling and demonstration of trustworthiness while building an emotional connection (see Nikolova et al. 2015).

Moreover, as the data indicated that the collaborators not only observed and demonstrated trustworthiness but also engaged in purposive practices to support and facilitate it, the operationalisation of trust behaviour was drawing on the conceptualisation of active trust (Giddens, 1994) as ‘purposive actions to build bases for trust’ (Child & Möllering, 2003) and ‘investments in trust’ (Tsui-Auch & Möllering, 2010). However, as these trust conceptualisations offered limited dimensions to operationalised active trust behaviour, the researcher sought for new models to provide theoretical dimensions to examining active trust. While doing this, she encountered the ‘performative trust’ as part of a

typology of different trust forms by Johansen et al. (2016; see table 1), which offered more nuanced dimensions of situational aspects, trusting party attitudes and behaviour which allowed differentiation between different trust forms. This was chosen as a way of examining the differences between trust forms in order to understand the specifics of active trusting (see Chapter 6).

Table 4 Dimensions and operationalisations of trust

Dimensions of trust	Scholar
Manifestations of:	
- positive expectations	Rousseau et al., 1998
- willingness to accept vulnerability	Mayer et al., 1995
- trustor's proactive trustfulness	Li, 2007, 2017
Affective and cognitive bases of trust	McAllister, 1995
Trustworthiness elements (ABI model):	Mayer et al., 1995
- ability, benevolence and integrity	
Social practices of trusting:	Nikolova et al. 2015
- signalling ability and integrity	
- demonstrating benevolence	
- establishing emotional connection	
Active trust	
- purposive actions to build bases for trust	Child & Möllering, 2003
- investments in trust	Tsui-Auch & Möllering, 2010
- performative trust (for dimensions see table 1)	Johansen et al., 2014

In order to understand the trust building approaches in a cross-cultural context (see Chapter 5), the trust elements were analysed together with various culture elements based on Chao & Moon (2005) culture mosaic theory. The procedure of coding the various culture elements is illustrated in the section 4.7.4. The analyses took a matrix approach where the dimensions of trust and trustworthiness were analysed through the process of culture element mobilisation (see appendix 6, figure 15). Thus, the trust dimensions were scrutinised in the context of various culture elements and the mobilisation of these, and this is presented in the findings (see Chapter 5).

4.7.3 Coding of the data

The researcher did multiple rounds of coding and re-coding following the lines of thematic coding (Braun & Clarke, 2012) in both inductive and deductive protocols. This means that all text was coded, and the codes were clustered around the themes arising both from the content and the theoretical framework. Inductive coding was used for analysing cultural identities of informants and aspects of team culture, as well as adaptations that collaborators engaged in, where the researcher was aiming at deep interpretative understanding. However, as a large quantity of the literature review was written before the coding; purely inductive coding was impossible since a priori understanding was guiding the coding.

Based on the a priori understanding of the theoretical framework, the researcher conducted coding based on theory-deducted themes and trust dimensions from the existing literature, drawing on widely used trustworthiness antecedents of ability, benevolence and integrity (Mayer et al., 1995). The axial coding procedure (see Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013) of the trustworthiness antecedent according to the ABI model (Mayer et al., 1995) is presented in Figures 13 and 14 (see appendix 5). These figures illustrate the coding procedure from the first-order codes and second order themes into the aggregated trustworthiness dimensions of ability, benevolence and integrity (Mayer et al., 1995).

The coding of the trustworthiness dimensions (i.e. ABI model, Mayer et al., 1995) revealed asymmetries in trustworthiness antecedents between collaborators, as the Indian team members stressed more the benevolence related aspects and Finns focused more on the ability aspects of trustworthiness. It also indicated the importance of adaptation and thus, implied the processual nature of trusting, which was revealed more in detail when analysing cultural elements and trust dimensions simultaneously (see Figure 15).

Understanding what differentiates active trust building from other forms of trust creation required an iterative process of switching between data and theory (see Dubois & Gadde 2002). During the analysis, the collaborators were categorised into different groups based on their trust manifestations, expressions on the level of trust, and activeness and intentionality of trust building. The analysis started with a comparison of practices of signalling, demonstrating and building trustworthiness based on the framework of the ABI

model. The excerpts of informants signalling, demonstrating and supporting trustworthiness antecedents were analysed in various tables and compared with each other. However, the finding was that practices of signalling, demonstration and interpretation of trustworthiness were not the differentiators, but ownership, agency, willingness and confidence to influence were significant to active trust building. Based on these findings, the conceptual typology of trust forms by Johansen et al. (2016) and their proposed framework of trust forms based on agency was chosen as a theoretical lens to analyse differences in trust-building strategies and practices (see Chapter 6). Moreover, to gain more understanding and a wider spectrum of different trust forms, the researcher realised that data which differentiates active trust from less active required more data – including so-called ‘negative cases’ of active trust building. This was the reason for the second round of data collection.

4.7.4 An example of coding: identifying the cultural elements

As this research aimed at looking into the active trust building of actors through their cultural identities, the cultural elements and identities of participants were analysed and identified. Identification of the elements was needed to scrutinise the various ways of using these elements in trust building. This section presents the coding procedure and outcome regarding cultural elements of participants.

Cultural elements were identified through a three-step coding procedure. First, all data that referred to elements of cultural identities were placed under the main code of ‘cultural tiles’. Second, the data of cultural tile references were carefully re-read and coded into various ‘in vivo codes’, using respondents’ language as much as possible (Saldana, 2016). Third, the researcher used Corley and Gioia’s (see Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013) axial coding to introduce interpretations by categorising the first-order concepts into second-order themes. For example, data coded ‘getting to know others by chatting’, ‘using multiple channels’ and ‘prefer sharing screens’ were categorised as ‘digital identity’. Finally, the second-order themes were organised under Chao and Moon’s (2005) three cultural categories. Table 5 gives an example of coding the ‘global communicator’ and ‘digital identity’.

Table 5 Coding of associative tiles

First-order concepts	Second-order themes of culture	Culture element category
Small talk	Global citizen, communicator	Associative tiles
Being friendly, supportive		
Good manners		
Being easy to approach		
Traveller, international studies, lived abroad		
Cross-cultural background		
International work experience		
Calls, travels to meet F2F	Digital fluency, digi-native identity	
Does not rely only on emailing		
Uses multiple channels		
Likes online chatting		
Prefers sharing screens		
Shares photos, jokes		
Used to gadgets, digital tools		

A total of 13 cultural identities of collaborators were identified. The elements were placed into three categories according to the theoretical framework of culture mosaic by Chao and Moon (2005): demographic, geographic, and associative elements.

Demographic tiles identified from the data were age, professional age, gender and life stage of a person (combination of age and family status). Since the theory of cultural tiles refers to the identity of the participants rather than a factual feature such as age, the analysis was conducted from the perspective of respondents' expressions of their own experiences and perceptions.

Table 6 Identified demographic elements

Demographic tiles	Example	Description
Age	<i>'he is same age as I' 'we young generation'</i>	Seeing oneself as part of the 'young people' was largely shared among the collaborators.
Professional age	<i>'we freshers'</i>	Expressing being in early career phase with focus on building one's career and investing in learning was largely a shared tile.
Gender	<i>'being a girl' 'boys over there'</i>	The majority of the collaborators were male. Gender was mainly addressed more as a sign of minority (female), that is, a non-shared element.
Life stage	<i>'getting married'</i>	Collaborators found some similarities which created relational content in communication.

Geographic tiles identified from the data were national cultural identity, language and an identity as an English speaker (second language). National culture is a large 'tile' including the values, beliefs and behaviour that a person has lived with during childhood, education and prior working life.

Table 7 Identified geographic elements

Geographic tiles	Example	Description
National culture identity	<i>'we Finns...the Indians over there'</i>	Vast differences in communication and workplace cultures
Language, mother tongue	<i>'Finnish speaker' 'English...it is not a mother tongue for either of us'</i>	Collaborators did not share a mother tongue
Identity as an English speaker	<i>'they (in Finland) have also an adopted English accent' '(we) are not really, like, very fluent in English, on the both sides'</i>	Collaborators shared an identity of second-language speaker

Associative culture tiles identified from the data were identities associated with the company culture, professional identity, identities referring to the hierarchical level (i.e., manager and subordinate roles and norms in project teams), digital identity and global identity. The associative elements were the ones that collaborators were able to use and

adjust more flexibly in trust building. As with all elements, associative elements were often used in combination with culture elements to create familiarity between collaborators.

Table 8 Identified associative culture elements

Associative tiles	Examples	Description
Company/team culture identity	<i>'our team'</i> <i>'it is the same way'</i>	Shared values and practices in working life due to belonging to a same organisations, team.
Professional identity	<i>'the engineer thinking we share'</i>	Similar elements in professional experience and identity.
Hierarchical level identity	<i>'we are both designers'</i>	Hierarchical status, level in organisation forming part of the identity.
Project culture	<i>'stronger project mgmt'</i> <i>'importance of documenting'</i>	Part of the hierarchical identity. Project managers and coordinators were all working in Finland and their project culture was often rooted on experiences of Finnish local teams with face-to-face communication and less virtual managerial experience. Subordinate identity was mainly rooted in local working culture norms in India.
Digital identity	<i>'for us chatting is common way of getting to know'</i> <i>'WhatsApp group where we send holiday photos, send funny message Friday night'</i>	Digital identity varied from being fluent to less experienced in digital communication and relationship building. Collaborators with high fluency and comfort with digital tools engaged in formal and informal communication with parallel use of multiple digital tools, according to the unique characters of each tool.
Global communicator identity	<i>'I've travelled a lot around'</i> <i>'I've always liked international circles...gone to international school, many international things during school and studies'</i> <i>'I used to work with Dutch and British before'</i> <i>'I was born abroad and used many languages'</i> <i>'interested to work with other countries'</i>	Seeing oneself as a global person with experience communicating and collaborating with persons from different backgrounds and nationalities. Often acquired through student exchange, international environment in studies/earlier career, chatting/gaming online, social media and travel. Global identity refers to a positive attitude towards others of different origin, interest in learning about others and valuing manners and tolerance. Identifying themselves as part of international/global professionals

4.8 Reporting findings

Case study research as an approach does not provide a set of methods. Therefore, transparency in reporting methods, data collection, data analysis and theorising from data is important. High transparency in reporting ‘helps remove the stigma of qualitative research as second-class research’ (Bluhm, Harman, Lee, & Mitchell, 2011, 1880-1881) and, most importantly, provides the reader sufficient information in both data collection and analysis.

Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) advise using extensive tables and other visual devices to summarise the case evidence and thus signal the depth and detail of the study. In this report, tables and illustrations are used to provide information on data collection, informants and data analyses. In addition, the findings chapters have summary tables collated from the data summarising (e.g., cultural differences) that were first illustrated through text and quotations of data. Ponterotto (2006) advises using ‘thick description’ by providing interview excerpts in order to give the reader an opportunity hear the voices of the participants and evaluate the interpretive conclusions of the report’s author. Both findings chapters (Chapters 5 and 6) are built in a manner of using many quotations from interviews with an aim of letting the voices of the project team collaborators in India and Finland be heard. This allows the reader to do their own evaluation of the interpretations and determine the accuracy of conclusions (Bluhm et al., 2011).

Dubois and Gadde (2014, 1282) highlight the importance of conceptual arguments as a guiding principal of what data is selected for presentation, ‘as they provide guidance concerning what details to exclude’. Siggelkow (2007, 23) argues that ‘a common weakness of case-based research is lack of selectivity’, and Dubois and Gadde (2014) advise that theory is the main tool for keeping control of the massive data and suggest a parsimonious approach in writing up the case. Thus, the chosen theoretical lenses guided the selection of data and helped avoid the pitfall of presenting ‘all interesting aspects of the case’. However, sufficient contextual information is central to case studies (Ruddin, 2006), as the rich context is the essence of a case study, and case studies are strong in contextualised theorising (Welch et al., 2011). Thus, data selection was done mindfully.

Following the advice of the conceptual arguments as a selection criterion on what to report, the findings are presented in two chapters, each with a clear theoretical lens guiding the analysis and presentation of the data. The first findings chapter (Chapter 5) aims at answering the research question asking how collaborators *use their cultures* in trust building. The conceptual models (i.e., theoretical lenses to culture) used were the culture mosaic theory (Chao & Moon, 2005) and the concept of trust as a toolkit constructing action (Swidler, 1986). The second chapter of findings (Chapter 6) aims to answer the research question asking what constitutes *active trust*, and the conceptual model of Johansen et al. (2016) was chosen to allow comparison of active trust to two other less-active trust forms. In order to do this, the embedded cases of project team collaborators were categorised into the three trust forms and their trust-building approaches and practices were compared. The findings are presented next in two chapters.

5 Findings on culture mobilisation in trust building

This chapter analyses how actors utilise their cultural elements (Chao & Moon, 2005; Swidler 1986) to actively produce trust in geographically distant virtual work teams in the context of Finland-India offshoring. By doing this, the chapter aims to answer the research question on active trust building and, more specifically, *how collaborators use cultural elements in trust building in project teams located in India and Finland*.

The chapter is structured according to the three mobilisation strategies that emerged from the data, which are discussed through the theoretical lenses of the culture mosaic (Chao & Moon, 2006) and culture as a toolkit (Swidler, 1986). First, the strategy of *drawing on existing cultural elements* is examined; second, *negotiation and adjustment* of cultural elements is scrutinised; and third, *co-creation and bilateral adaptation* of new elements is analysed. Lastly, the chapter proposes a model of active mobilisation of cultural elements in trust building.

5.1 Introduction of various mobilisation strategies

The findings introduced in this section are drawn on analysis using two theoretical models, the *culture mosaic theory* (Chao & Moon, 2005) and *culture as a toolkit for actions* (Swidler, 1986; Koppman et al., 2015). Additionally, the analysis draws on the theoretical assumption that familiarity is needed for trust (Luhmann, 1979). Moreover, by adapting an approach of active trust (i.e., purposeful trust building; see e.g., Child & Möllering, 2003), the analysis focuses on the active mobilisation of cultural elements and aims to move beyond collaborators being passively influenced by culture in trust building. Thus, in the analysis, culture is approached both as a source of cultural tension but also as a solution following the words of Koppman et al., (2016): ‘to effectively manage global work, there should be greater recognition of how culture serves as both a cause for tension and a strategy for its resolution’. Thus, cultural elements as factors for both *tensions* and *resolutions* are examined in this chapter. The role of cross-cultural tension as a driving force for a change (see Langley et al., 2013) is identified and examined. Based on the

understanding of cultural differences and the tensions they create, the ways of working towards solutions that allow trusting are examined.

The findings suggest that collaborators in distributed project teams engage in three different strategies when mobilising their cultural elements to enable trusting. First, they draw on similar elements to strive to create familiarity needed for trust; second, they adjust their culturally embedded practices as resolutions to tensions rising from cross-cultural differences; and third, they engage in bilateral adaptation and co-create new shared cultural elements and identities. Next, each strategy is examined.

5.2 Drawing on existing elements

This section discusses strategies of mobilising existing cultural elements to create familiarity and build trust between collaborators. The analysis examines how collaborators drew upon their existing cultural identities to create social similarity with their trans-border project team members. Moreover, the findings discuss how collaborators construct action using their cultural identities to build trust over the cultural and physical distance. The cultural elements are examined within the categories of demographic, geographic and associative tiles according to the culture mosaic theory of Chao and Moon (2005).

5.2.1 Demographic and geographic elements

Although the elements of shared national culture or language were missing between team members of the Finnish-Indian project teams, the collaborators' demographic cultural identities offered social similarities in aspects such as *gender*, *age* and *English as a second language*. These aspects are discussed next, drawing on the theoretical claims that familiarity is needed for trust (Luhmann, 1979) and that social similarity facilitates trust creation (e.g., Jarvenpaa et al., 1998).

Gender issues were addressed in a limited manner in interviews. The informants were mainly male, and thus, this was often a shared demographic cultural tile between collaborators. Being male was not directly addressed by informants, although the team members referred to each other '*the guys*', '*boys*' and '*a brother*', which might convey the

concept of social similarity regarding gender among the team members and be a creator of in-group feelings. However, the female interviewees in India addressed themselves '*being a girl*' and therefore were aware of their position of not sharing this cultural tile with the majority of others in collaboration, but they did not express any negative perceptions or experiences related to that.

Identities related to *age* such as 'being young' and 'early in the career' were addressed by many collaborators of the distributed project teams. This was not a coincidence since mainly young professionals were recruited or volunteered for the Finland-India project team collaboration. Thus, the collaborators shared similarities in aspects such as age, belonging to the same generation and being in a similar life phase. They drew on these similarities, which created shared aspects of life and facilitated social bonding. As one of the project managers in Finland stated:

Talking about getting married in India is interesting...my counterparty in India, he is at same age as me. (Project manager in Finland, F3)

The *cultural identity of a 'second-language speaker'* was a shared cultural element that created a mutual acceptance and understanding between collaborators. Prior literature (Piekkari, 2006; Tenzer et al., 2014) claims that lack of language proficiency has negative influence on trust building. However, in the Finland-India teams, the fact that both parties were non-native English speakers created a sense of similarity, as the collaborators felt that they were sharing the same challenges when expressing themselves in a language that is not their mother tongue.

The good part is that for Finns also the English is not their first language and nobody is judging people by their language. Sometimes I notice that people appear very dumb when they are explaining things but fail in expressing in English. Fortunately, when working with Finns, people do not get that badly judged by the language. (Team Leader in India, I3)

The quote refers to the aspect of missing language skills being interpreted as stupidity (Piekkari, 2006). However, in this case, the lack of language skills was perceived as a factor for social similarity. The collaborators experienced *that perceptions of their competence* were not hampered due to the lack of language fluency and thus, did not influence the trustworthiness perception's related *ability*.

5.2.2 Associative cultural elements

Associative culture tiles, such as *professional and hierarchical identities*, *global identity* and *digital fluency*, were cultural elements actively used by the team members in trust building. These cultural elements were mobilised to activate the recognition of social similarities but also more broadly as resources to overcome constraints of virtual and dispersed collaboration.

Being an engineer or a technician by profession created similarities in *professional identities*. Sharing similar technical language and approaches offered bases for assumptions on competence and helped collaborators in initial trust creation. Hence, shared professional identities contributed to the *cognitive trust component* and the perceptions of *trustworthiness in abilities* to perform the project tasks competently. As one Finnish engineer stated:

He asked right questions immediately when we started to discuss about the task... seeing that there is this engineer type of thinking creates trust. (Engineer in Finland F13)

The trustworthiness indicator of technical competence was perceived as important for the collaborators in Finland, who felt vulnerability when assigning project tasks to their Indian counterparties. Collaborators in Finland were responsible for the project and stressed competence as a central aspect of trustworthiness.

Hierarchical similarity was found to be important for collaborators in India from a more hierarchical cultural background (see e.g., Hofstede 2001). Based on this observation, some teams were experimenting with a system of trans-border working pairs where collaborators on the same level were sharing tasks. In these cases, the coordinator role was given to a designer, not a project manager in Finland. One of the young engineers in the early phases of his career in Finland explained why he felt this system was working well:

It is the familiarity, being able to communicate easy, we share the same language – and it is not like that you are a project manager higher up... it is also that you are working together towards the common goal. (Engineer in Finland, F15)

The quotation points out the ease of communication as a positive outcome of hierarchical similarity, which was of importance for the teams working on knowledge-intensive

projects. Moreover, sharing similarities not only regarding hierarchical identities but also common goals paved the way for trust creation, following earlier findings in the technical industry where a shared goal facilitated trust (see Henttonen-Blomqvist, 2005).

Global communicator was one of the identified associative identities of collaborators, to which they referred to when describing their motivations, values and practices when working together with their overseas team members. *Global communicators* were skilful in finding familiarity beyond the national culture norms and behaviour, as they had been exposed to other cultures through various factors such as cross-cultural family background, studies, work, backpacking or other global travelling. These experiences had enhanced their cultural awareness and openness to other worldviews, which were needed aspects of collaboration with distant team members. As one of the project coordinators stated:

I've always liked international circles, studied in an international school...it helps... [Y]ou just cannot be intolerant towards other cultures when working [with our Indian team members]. (Coordinator in Finland, G3)

Persons in the Finnish organisation with prior international experiences had positive attitudes towards working with team members from other countries. Thus, they were often chosen or they volunteered to the boundary-spanning roles in project teams. These 'global communicators' reported that they maintained positivity and polite manners as their principles in human interaction at work. Positivity was a shared trait between Finnish 'global communicators' and Indian teammates, as Finns expressed that the Indians team members were well-mannered and polite co-workers.

The global communicator identity was also a part of the culture elements of team members in India, helping them to adjust to working with collaborators in Finland. Many of the Indians recruited had prior multinational company background and thus had experience working with foreigners. As one of the Indian project team members explained:

Before joining here, I was in a Dutch company. And worked there many years. So it is not difficult for me to adjust here, because I know about European culture. (Engineer in India, I13)

The cultural competence of '*global communicators*' allowed them to find elements of social similarity in a spectrum of cultural elements and reflexively find familiarity in

unfamiliar elements (see Möllering, 2005; 2006), which helped them cope with cultural differences and build trust with new trans-border team members. Their prior experiences had built a cultural identity with an acceptance of heterogeneity in norms and behaviour, and thus enhanced their inherent ability and willingness to find familiarity beyond cultural differences. These findings support the assertion of Koppman et al. (2016) that ‘being global’ created a connection between collaborators through positivity and open-mindedness.

Being *digitally fluent* helped the collaborators engage in intensive interaction with their distant team members. This helped them overcome the many hindrances that geographical distance and virtual collaboration placed on trust building. For them, communication via digital tools was natural and thus allowed them to engage in frequent communication which facilitated relationship building. As one project manager stated:

When you have grown up with laptops and gadgets...you are used to chatting with people anywhere in the world... (Project manager in Finland, F8)

A strong identity in the digital environment proved a significant resource that enabled communication. However, the collaborators were equipped with this identity differently, as illustrated by the following quotes of a less digitally fluent colleague versus one who is more fluent. Some experienced that communication was strongly hampered by the distance, and for some the distance was not so significant.

It just takes longer to get things to same level working overseas remotely like this than working face-to-face. (Coordinator in Finland, F6)

We in thirties, we are used to getting to know each other by chatting...it was already at the stage of ‘high-fives’ when I first time visited India. (Project manager in Finland, F3)

Digital fluency was often combined with the notion of the younger generation who had grown up in digitalised environment and whose communication culture includes digital tools and applications, even with co-located colleagues.

It’s been like that also here in Finland between us young. We’ve had our WhatsApp groups and have been chatting a lot...also work-related things are discussed there. And the Indians, they are grown up with smart phones and WhatsApp groups...yes, it is like this. (Project manager in Finland, F9)

Thus, the findings show that those whose communication culture before working in the distributed teams involved a strong digital component were able to mobilise that as a resource in relationship and trust building in the context of distributed teams. Digital fluency enabled a virtual co-presence and co-working on digital tools, which are aspects that prior studies have also found critical for the formation of close ties (Nardi et al., 2000; Malhotra & Majchrzak, 2012) and trust (Bente et al., 2008) between collaborators. Digitally native collaborators navigated with ease between tools and channels, which supported also the ability to complete the tasks:

The share screen option is very powerful thing, and good option. It is possible to take control, for example, if they share their screen, they have problems, something does not work, I just take control and show myself. (Coordinator in Finland, F10)

Many collaborators used emailing as a main communication, but as an asynchronous communication tool, email was not perceived as an ideal channel for all communication needs, and thus, the digitally fluent collaborators were using also other channels. As one project manager noted: ‘email is so stiff and that’s why we use also WhatsApp for daily things’ (F4).

Teams used digital channels for sharing work-related information but also social content such as jokes, photos and personal messages, which supported the creation of emotional connection between team members.

And right now there is lots of guys, our Finnish colleagues, with whom we are daily chatting, not only in office even outside of office, like where we are, what we do. (Team member in India, I12)

Persons with digital identities experimented with new virtual project tools such as Slack, Trello and Teams; engaged in forming WhatsApp groups; and became Facebook friends with each other. They were actively seeking to transform the practices of co-located teams into the virtual world; one project manager was pondering how to create a virtual ‘coffee and lunch break’ environment online, with an aim to include the geographically distant members in the Finnish coffee break culture where colleagues gather daily for afternoon coffee. This type of innovative mind-set and informal communication increased knowledge sharing and helped creation of proximity between team members. Informal communication seemed to contribute directly to the affective elements of trust, which then

allowed the cognitive and competence factors to grow since close collaboration was a key factor in information sharing – a significant aspect in knowledge-intensive engineering work. Similarly to the earlier research findings (e.g., Kelly and Noonan, 2008), the Indian collaborators appreciated the efforts of building proximity and showing signs of caring and benevolence.

5.2.3 Conclusions on drawing on cultural similarities

This sub-section discussed existing cultural elements which the collaborators drew upon to find similarities and shared spheres with their overseas team members. The aspects of age, English as a second language, professional identity, hierarchical identity, global identity and digital fluency offered social similarity and commonality between team members in Finland and India. Moreover, the findings revealed that these shared cultural tiles were mobilised as resources to facilitate communication and social connection over the cultural and physical distance. Cultural identities such as ‘digital fluency’ and ‘global identity’ were not only used as sources of similarity, but collaborators also drew on them as reflexive and constructive tools to enable social connection and trust creation. This follows the lines of Swidler’s (1986) theory of culture as a resource to construct strategies of action. These findings support the earlier work of Altinay et al. (2014) and Zolfaghari (2014), whose studies found that drawing on similarities in cultural tiles support trust.

5.3 Adjusting cultural elements to create familiarity

This section discusses the second strategy of mobilising cultures (i.e., adjustment and adaptation to cultural differences). This section therefore first discusses cultural differences as sources of tension, after which it scrutinises the cultural adjustments and adaptation as means of resolution. The findings show how the collaborators entered a negotiation and adjustment process to enable trust creation in the context of perceived unfamiliarity and social dissimilarity.

5.3.1 Creators of tension: project and communication culture differences

As discussed in Chapter 2, the national cultures of Finland and India contain large differences (see e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Laleman et al., 2015; Lewis, 2011) which were also seen in the data of Finnish-Indian project work. The data reveal many cultural aspects that created tension and conflict between collaborators, which are largely related to the aspects of *organisational hierarchy* or *communication culture*.

The approaches to *organisational hierarchy* were different in Finland and India. Finnish collaborators appreciated low hierarchy and an independent working style, whereas Indian collaborators appreciated hierarchy, dependence on others and monitoring by supervisors. These aspects of daily project work norms caused conflicts, as they resulted in not meeting the expected level of quality and project work efficiency that the Finns expected from the collaboration. In Finland, team members were used to taking responsibility over the quality of their outputs, whereas in India, team members were accustomed to working closely with supervisors checking the quality in an iterative process of corrections.

It is so that it doesn't get fixed with one round of checking...there are mistakes which you should not have if you had done checking by yourself...it is quite frustrating to note on such a simple things, and note again. (Engineer in Finland, G2)

The division of work between hierarchical layers seemed strange to Finns and created suspicion. One of the project managers illustrated the command chain between a team leader, an engineer and a technician:

... there is a leader who needs to check the work, and there is an engineer who designs and a drafter that draws. It is like a game of Chinese Whispers [broken telephone]. (Project manager in Finland, F14)

The way of dividing a task between multiple people hierarchically was perceived as unfamiliar and thus alien by Finns. It was perceived as an inefficient way of working that hampered the perceptions of competency and transparency of working, and thus, reduced the trustworthiness perceptions of *ability* and *integrity*.

The problem was that an engineer made calculations and after that he had to sit next to a drafter and push his finger and explain what to do. And after that we got double working hours. It is not efficient work. (Coordinator in Finland, F10)

In India, the demands for a more independent working style and ‘no mistakes’ in tasks were unfamiliar. The Indians’ focus was on speedy completion of the given task rather than seeing themselves responsible for quality, whereas the working culture in Finland regarded all team members as responsible for their work quality without managerial monitoring (checking and corrections). While Indian workers had learnt that speed is a virtue, for the Finns, quality was the top priority. The aspect of speed versus care was seen as critical.

They think that they have to do everything very quickly. You know, quickly – but then they lose out in the care. (Project manager in Finland, G6)

Persons from the Finnish organisation delegated tasks, expected questions when a task was unclear and honoured the independent working process of no interruption by managers, which from a Finnish perspective was seen negatively as micromanagement. In contrast, the Indian counterparty perceived the situation differently and felt neglected with unclear task clarity and no managerial follow-up before deadlines.

Moreover, the asymmetries in appreciations of hierarchy in Finland and India influenced *the practices of project communication*. Finns were used to a flat organisation and direct communication culture, whereas their Indian team members’ communication was highly contextually sensitive (see also Kakar 1978), meaning that the content changed according to situations as well as hierarchical levels. As one of the project managers explained:

They only say yes, yes, yes if a manager calls, but if my designer calls, they discuss the matter... it seems to be so deep in their culture. (Project manager in Finland, F8)

Workplace communication in India was polite and less direct and avoided confrontations. This cultural difference was seen in aspects such as less inclination to use the word ‘no’ and not asking for more information when the instructions were inadequate or not understood. As one of the engineers in Finland stated:

A biggest challenge is that they [Indian team members] don’t say out loud when they have not understood my instructions or what I’ve explained. A Finn says when he doesn’t understand but an Indian does not. (Engineer in Finland, G5)

Therefore, the Finnish way of openly sharing even negative information created tension and conflicts. The Finnish collaborators’ way of not side-stepping critical feedback and

sharing it via email across hierarchical levels was perceived as unfamiliar and stressful in India. One of the newly joined collaborators in India explained after such an incident:

There is no room even for, no margin for human errors. That becomes stressful at times. ... when situations like this happens, trust level goes down. That becomes a problem at times. Both parties will get a little bit hammered. (Team leader in India, I4)

Finns tended to be less communicative and more concise. Indian collaborators reported how they found that the Finns' English accent and the Finnish style of writing short messages sounded unfriendly:

The person, they don't have very fluent English, they may sound cold. Like, they are not very friendly, the tone in which they speak. (Engineer in India, I6)

The perception of unfriendliness along with the aspects of asymmetric power relation created hesitation for Indian collaborators in contacting their Finnish team members with questions or requests for more information, which resulted in mistakes and hampered the trustworthiness judgements on ability of Indians. In some cases, the hesitation to contact was also prevalent on the Finnish side, as they felt uncomfortable communicating in English and preferred written and asynchronic means of communication. This was found stressful by the Indian collaborators since they were used to frequent and spontaneous communication:

Obviously, getting the reply, we really appreciate that, like 'Thank god!' Here in India we are very communicative persons. It really makes us conscious inside when we do not get a reply. 'What to do, what to do, what to do now'. We cannot really sit quiet until we get a reply. (Team member in India, I8)

Indians preferred an instant way of asking questions and receiving quick replies, whereas Finns often wished for a more structured way. Finns placed a high value on quiet, uninterrupted work time and perceived the sudden interruptions as negative. Therefore, some collaborators in Finland demanded fewer contacts per day or requested that the contact be mainly via email, in order to allow themselves uninterrupted working time.

The cultural differences discussed in this section are summarised in Table 9, which illustrates the multiple cultural behaviours creating perceptions of distance and unfamiliarity between collaborators. The magnitude of the unfamiliarity prevented engagement in project collaboration, as the perceived vulnerability on both sides did not

allow for a trust decision ('leap of faith'). Collaborators had to either give up or find solutions. Thus, by constraining the project team collaboration between Finland and India, these tensions acted as triggers for a cultural adaptation, following the process perspective where tension and contradictions act as driving patterns of change (Langley et al., 2013). Cultural adaptation as the second culture mobilisation strategy is discussed next.

Table 9 Differences creating tensions and the need for adjustments

Team in India	Tension	Team in Finland
Managers expected to practice close monitoring, mentorship and control		Managers practice empowerment and expect responsibility of the team members to take full responsibility of their tasks
Dependent working style: used to monitoring by manager, interruptions of work and depending on others		Independent working style: managers give a task, expect independent work and do limited monitoring
Behaviours valued at workplace include adaptability, dependence on others and deference to authority		Behaviours valued at workplace include personal initiative, independent decision making and personal responsibility
Speed and quantity valued over accuracy and quality		Accuracy and quality of work highly valued
Managers expected to check the outcomes and give instructions for corrections		Team members are expected to take responsibility over their outcomes, including the checking
Formal over efficient: workplaces are typically organised in a more hierarchical way		Efficient and lean over formal: Finns value lean processes, simplified way of getting things done
Workplace communication norms include non-direct and polite wording: pleasing the co-communicator, phrasing one's thoughts indirectly		Workplace communication norms include direct wording and outspokenness of facts; critical wording is used
Communication culture norms do not include openly sharing of negative information or using the word 'no'		Workplace norms include being open about negative issues and using the word 'no'
Passively waiting for information, used to a dependent role and a close supervisor providing answers		Actively searching for information, independent approach for information search
Verbose and talkative style of communicating		Short and terse style of communicating
Workplace communication norms include acceptance of frequent interruption by others		Workplace communication norms include periods of work without interruptions
Norms include extensive social interaction including both public and private aspects of life		Norms include limited workplace conversations concerning private aspects of life

5.3.2 Triggers for adaptation: self-reflection and demands from others

The tension and conflicts caused by cultural differences acted as triggers to enter a process of adjustments and adaptation between collaborators in order to enable trust creation and success of project work. Many of the collaborators reflexively perceived aspects which did not go well and where they did not get the outputs or support that they expected. In addition, they received demands from their counterparties to act or communicate differently. Thus, the data shows two ways that collaborators entered the adjustment and adaptation process of their cultural elements and practices: negotiation and self-reflection. These two ways are illustrated in Figure 8.

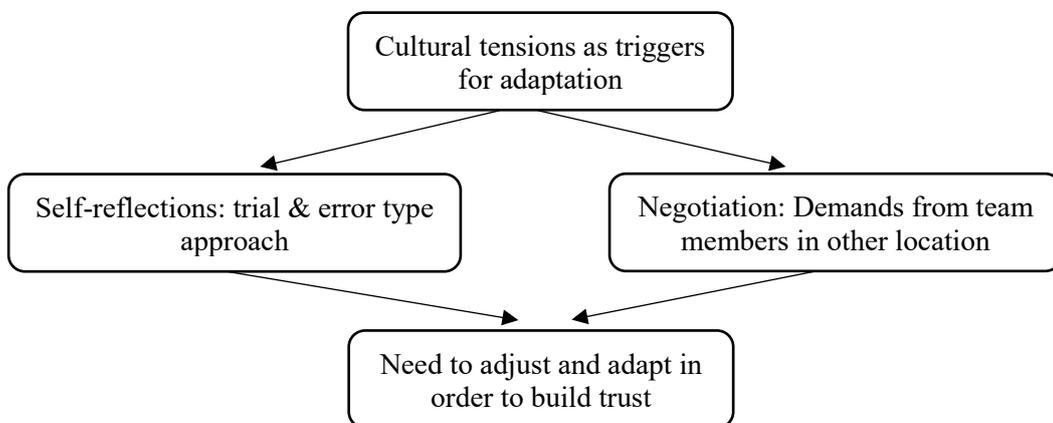


Figure 8 Cultural tensions leading to cultural adaptation (based on the data)

Often, the experiences of failure or failed expectations during the collaboration triggered adjustments in project work or communication practices. As many of the collaborators had limited prior experience in cross-cultural distributed teams and little to no training for the situation, the adaptations took place through trial-and-error as well as experimenting with new practices. Reflexivity and capability to adjust the cultural elements in an unfamiliar context was needed, as one of the project managers explained:

Work is continuous figuring out what the Indians have been thinking when solving some issues totally differently that a Finn would've. Only after having understood this, you can really successfully explain how it should be done. (Project manager, F8)

On the other hand, while adjusting their own practices, collaborators also demanded adjustments and adaptation from their team members. Hence, the collaborators entered a

negotiation process, in which they made sense and negotiated the new ways of project work and communication culture. The collaborators in Finland and India had different needs and thus demands, which were manifested in negotiation and adaptations on different aspects – Finns demanded adjustments mainly on task related aspects (ability) and Indians on communication (benevolence).

5.3.3 Adjustments in project work and communication

The project managers in Finland were engaging in adjustments in the area of project management and communication practices. To diminish the vulnerability of inadequate quality and delays in delivery, they were reflectively scrutinising their project management practices, which were embedded in the local way of working in Finland. While working with Indian team members, many project coordinators and managers experienced that their practices, rooted in the independent working style in Finland, did not meet the needs of team members in India. Hence, they adjusted their project management by establishing more milestones and coordination to support the ability of Indian team members to complete the tasks.

There's been many things to learn...tasks need to be broken into smaller tasks. It's happened that I've given too big tasks and only afterwards have realised that it should've been done differently. (Engineer in Finland, G2)

When coordinating work with India, I've learnt to make certain daily routines and schedule how it works best...when working with India, it is not only that we train them, but we need to learn to coordinate the task...if they do not know every day what to do, it can happen easily that they just wait a day or two to get instructions. (Manager in Finland, F9)

More milestones also meant more frequent communication between Finnish and Indian team members, which served the needs of Indians who were used to an interactive and relationship-based working culture. As a result, many Finns adopted a more interactive working style, which also meant giving up their preference of written communication.

I feel that it would be smoother to communicate in writing because then you have time to think about what to say...but calling really seems to be more natural for them. (Engineer in Finland, G2)

Although some collaborators in Finland were inclined to keep their local working style, which included less interruptions and contacts, they also learnt that the frequent flow of

communication had a positive impact on the commitment and competence of Indian project team members. Thus, through a negotiation process, many accepted the interruptions and adjusted their daily routines accordingly. Furthermore, encouraging Indians to raise questions and ask for more information rather than working with incomplete understanding was found as a positive resolution for meeting the expected level of quality and thus, it was implemented as a new project work practice.

I always tell in the beginning, in the kick-off meeting, that they have to, when they have questions, call me immediately. I'm always available, like helpdesk almost. ... it is important to make the first step in a relationship, you have to call first, and if you will build some kind of relationship with that person, he will not be afraid to call you back. (Project manager in Finland, G7)

Collaborators in Finland found the time difference between countries as a solution for this cultural difference, as it gave them an 'interruption-free time' in the late afternoon when Indian team members were not working anymore. Moreover, some Indian collaborators reported that they learnt to understand the local practices of Finns by visiting Finland and observing them working. Thus, adjustment and learning also occurred through observations when having an opportunity to meet personally and do co-located work. The style of working in the office was seen differently and this difference was addressed by Indians who had visited Finland and saw the way Finns work quietly for long times. Continuous interruptions are not a part of the work culture, whereas in India, the working environment norm is to speak more.

I have personally learnt many things, when I went to Finland, because I saw their way of working and their lifestyle. I learnt discipline, it's important to be quiet and just work for some time... they just work quietly and they don't talk much. (Engineer in India, I9)

Moreover, project coordinators and managers in Finland were negotiating the Indian team members into a more independent working style. They were coaching and demanding a more proactive working style from their project team members in India, whose local practices supported stronger dependence on managers and obtaining answers from them. One of the coordinators illustrated the endeavours of supporting the adjustment:

I always tell them, try to find out yourself. I don't explain it to you, because I know you are able to do that, so please do. ... So I try not to give them straight answers. (Project coordinator in Finland, F10)

In addition, Finns were demanding that the Indian team members move towards more direct communication of task-related issues, taking responsibility for being occupied and ensuring that submissions would not be delayed. The following quotation shows how an Indian engineer responded to demands to make the project work communication more proactive, independent and direct, which is not typical in the hierarchical local Indian communication culture.

The project managers, they are busy whole day. So, it is on us, that we keep on; keep on telling them and asking them please we have this issue or we don't have work for this week, so provide us work. It is our part, our job to keep asking them for work. If they skip something, we should remind them every time, because they are busy working...So we have to take that challenge up. And so that some submission date does not pass. (Engineer in India, I5)

Additionally, expressing criticism was one of the aspects which created tension in collaboration as the Finnish way of 'not sidestepping critical views' (Lewis, 2011) created tensions with Indians who were not used to the open sharing of negative information (see Cramton & Hinds, 2014). Through learning from conflicts, the project managers in Finland learnt to adjust their communication to avoid unnecessary criticism and be thoughtful about giving corrective feedback.

I think that we have to be very careful if we feel that we have some criticism to make... We [think] very carefully if we have criticism, what criticism is worth sharing in order to promote development in a positive direction. (Project manager in Finland, G6)

5.3.4 Conclusions on adjusting cultural elements

This section discussed the *negotiation and adjustment process* that the collaborators engaged in to overcome the tensions and conflicts caused by differences in project, workplace and communication cultures. Through the negotiation process, which was similar to the process of 'talking and learning' by Cramton and Hinds (2014), the team members adjusted their project work and communication behaviours to better fit their collaboration.

The cultural differences discussed illustrate the underlying bases for trust in the institutional frame of India and Finland. Whereas Finns were accustomed to building trust

largely on institutional aspects and systems, Indians built trust on relationships (see Chapter 2). The orientations of valuing tasks over relationships prevalent in Finland and the contrary aspect of Indians valuing relationships over tasks (Kakar 1978) was seen as a major source of tension in collaboration. Whereas Indians felt comfortable working in a relationship structure of teams where they depend on others, Finns valued independency in working and taking full responsibility over the task. Moreover, in communication, the main focus of Finns was the task, whereas the Indian context sensitivity focused on the relationship, following the claims of prior research on cultural differences (e.g., Lewis, 2011; Kakar, 1978; Laleman et al., 2015). Hierarchy in the workplace is a manifestation of structures in relationships and interdependence of people, whereas in Finland the task is predominant and organisational structures are seen as hindrance in task completion. Due to this, trust building in Finland focused mainly on cognitive aspects of task completion, whereas in India, it mainly centred on affective aspects of relationship building – placing preference on different trust components (see McAllister, 1995).

The findings illustrate how cultural differences first created tension, yet through the cultural adaptation process, the collaborators were able to resolve some of the tensions. Thus, the tension triggered the process of negotiation and adjustment. The findings show that the triggers for adjustment came from both team members' reflections, as well as from the demands of the counterparties. Collaborators were reflexively experimenting (Möllering 2006) to find solutions to the mismatch of their locally embedded project and communication cultures. Through the process, they were able to create familiarity in workplace practices, which diminished the perceived vulnerability to the level that allowed trusting.

The adjustments and adaptations in the project working culture as well as the communication culture supported trust creation by allowing shared understanding of the expectations on trustworthy behaviour. Thus, it tamed the tensions created by cultural differences to the level that many teams were able to complete project tasks together. This follows the lines of Li (2013) that bilateral adaptive learning acts as a bridge over cultural distance and allows trusting, and it underlines the prior findings on the importance of communication (see e.g., Savolainen et al., 2014) as a tool in adaptation and antecedent of trust.

5.4 Co-creating new shared cultural elements to enable trusting

This section discusses the third way of mobilising culture in trust building, the *co-creation of new shared cultural elements*. This development took place in project teams, whose project managers were intentionally aiming at going beyond repetitive routine tasks in their collaboration with Indian team members and thus needed to diminish their vulnerability to allow bigger trust decisions (i.e., leap of faith). This resulted in not only adjusting but also co-creating shared cultural identities and elements. The aim was to create a team. As one of the project managers stated, ‘The key is to have a team not a set of doers’ (F2), which also meant that trusting was not only taking place between individual dyads, but that it was also shared in a team. Therefore, the discussion of trust building in this section takes place on both interpersonal and intra-team levels.

5.4.1 Process of third culture co-creation

The process of co-creating a shared culture was built on the culture mobilisation strategies discussed in the prior two sections. However, co-creation demanded deeper engagement in shared sense making between team members and higher sensitivity to the needs of the other party. Thus, in this mobilisation strategy, intensive communication and interaction played significant roles.

The co-creation of a shared team culture was driven by dedicated collaborators in Finland and India. The motivation and commitment to build a team culture were the driving forces of this strategy. Thus, the process did not evolve at its own pace but was purposefully led by motivated persons on both ends. One of the project managers in Finland reflected on the agentic process of co-creating project culture:

We needed them to be part of the team and to commit to the team on an individual level. That involves constant communication and encouragement and discussion and information and all these things. So, we have to do more than we would with our colleagues next to us. We need to do more to them in order them to be part of the team, to remain the feeling that they are part of the team. (Project manager in Finland, G6)

Creation of team culture meant that a shared culture was not only shared between collaborator dyads, boundary spanners from Finland and India, but that the new way of working was socialised among a larger group of individuals who contributed to the project work but were less directly in contact with their trans-border project team members. This was described by one of the early project managers:

From the situation that we started, we had a collection of individuals. That time we had to manage them all individually. Three years ago it was very much a collection of individual designers and engineers who did not work together. So, it really had to be someone overseas who had control over the thing and who was managing each person on a personal level, very micro-managerial level. Whereas now we have moved to a level, when we have a team over there, to a level that we can have a single point of contact in India. It is much easier for new project managers. (Project manager, F3)

These quotations show how the process of creating shared team culture and identities was not coincidental but purposefully and intentionally created. It not only took place between boundary spanners and work dyads but the aim was also to be socialised on a team level. This led to the situation that trust in the *abilities*, *benevolence* and *integrity* of team members was not only on a personal level but also had bases in shared team culture, norms and practices; trust was ‘woven into the fabric of the team culture’ (see Schilke & Cook, 2013, 282).

The Indian team members expressed pride to be part of the team and adopted the practices and behavioural norms of the shared team culture. They manifested the validity of the newly created team culture in the sense that they stated the importance of socialising newcomers into the cultural norms.

If some new guys are joining our team, we are trying to train him or her by ourselves. Instead of asking Finland or any other country. We are trying to teach him how we are working. Then he is not facing those problems, which we faced. (Team member in India, I12)

The quotation shows the active role the Indian team members had adopted as part of the team culture. With the more active role, the Indians had also been able to demonstrate their competence and earn trust, and this was seen as clear trust manifestations; Finns were giving Indian collaborators more demanding roles in project teams. Working side-by-side on complex tasks and allowing the Indian team members to send their outcomes directly to a client was a major manifestation of both trust and diminished power asymmetry. In

the beginning, the situation had posited Finns as having the power due to their direct contact with the final client. Now, there were signs of less asymmetry and more integration.

Earlier, after you had done the [task] you were shifted to a new project. But now they are not shifting [us]... We are very integrated with the project. (Team member in India, I12)

When describing the team culture, elements of support and feelings of being valued, cared for and looked after were the key aspects that team members in India expressed. They saw the behaviour of their team members in Finland to signal and demonstrate benevolence in many ways. Actions that were perceived as signs of valuing them were incidents like:

Immediately my project manager came to India to meet and train me – it was great. (I13)

I've been very lucky to work with project managers that are friendly and supportive. (I11)

They are very polite, they always reply when I ask. (I12)

We don't feel alone here in India. (I11)

These quotations show that the aspects of *benevolence and caring* were central antecedents of trust for the Indian collaborators and part of the team culture. This follows the lines of prior studies identifying subordinate expectations of paternal and caring management (see Hofstede, 2001; Trompenaars, 1993; Raghuram, 2011) and placing more value on relationships than tasks in workplace culture (Kakar, 1978). It also is a reflection of the routinised practice of trust building in an economy of weak institutional frames where trust is based not on systems but on strong relationships (see Bachmann, 2010; Bachmann & Inkpen, 2011). The importance of establishing personal knowing between distant collaborators helped to diminish the sense of distance and unfamiliarity and thus to mould the vulnerability to an acceptable level for the leap of faith. Indian team members took active roles in facilitating personal level bonding.

We really work hard to make things work, to make, how to build trust and all those things. Our team is the only team which likes parties the most – that is also the key thing. So whenever anyone from Finland comes here, we make sure to take him out to some party place, or like that. So that is where we connect and we get to know each other more. And even they enjoy, for them also that is the best part. (Team member in India, I9)

This quotation from an engineer in India illustrates the importance of the emotional component of the project culture in India, as bonding and getting to know each other are central to trust building between team members. However, the endeavour to build trust through personal bonding was also seen on the Finnish side. Finnish project managers invested time in travelling in order to create personal-level bonding to their Indian team members. The importance of creating emotional level bonds was underlined, as one of the project managers reported:

I noticed already after my first visit in India, that when the boys learnt to know me, the amount of interaction and contacting exploded. It was totally different after the trip. They were more brave to call and speak up...I always say, that it is important that I visit them and they get to talk face-to-face. (Project manager in Finland, F4)

The frequent communication served the high demands of knowledge sharing and open discussion and thus supported the high quality expectations that Finns placed on the Indian team members. It also signalled benevolence and caring from the side of the project manager, which was important for Indians.

In addition, one key aspect of the new shared culture was lowering the asymmetry in status, to support the adjustments on both ends of collaboration. The Finnish party having the project management gave them more power in the relationship, which created a power asymmetry. The Finnish managers underlined the fact that they were intentionally trying to lower their status by verbally and behaviourally demonstrating equality and thus allowing Indians to express their views more freely.

I'm always saying that I'm not your boss. Do not treat me like a boss, I'm your teammate in Finland. (Project manager in Finland, F4)

I think you need to go and show what kind of person you are...if you stay distant, like a boss high in hierarchy, you will not get them to ask you questions. (Project manager in Finland, F3)

Moreover, the co-creation of a less hierarchical project work culture was important for Finns, as they were used to a flat organisation and the free flow of communication between team members with different roles.

[Hierarchical structure] is not so suitable to work with Finnish engineers, who have grown up in this kind of flat hierarchy environment, more equal society. I think [we have] been quite successful to build a – not as flat hierarchy mind-set as

here in Nordics, but as close as it can get at the moment in India. And that is something we should develop further. (Project manager in Finland, G7)

The Indian team members had adjusted to the less hierarchical team culture.

I feel here in Finland team, there is no hierarchy... people are very happy and transparent. If you have some doubt or if you have some questions, you can call directly. In my prior in US company you cannot chat directly with managers or your bosses. There are some loops, first you go here and after that you go here. There you go around with your query. But here there is nothing that which is very, very good thing for us. It is a very nice feeling for my side. (Indian team member, I11)

Lessening the power asymmetry and giving a voice to the Indian collaborators was one of the features of the new team culture. A feedback system was established that empowered Indians to give feedback to their Finnish team members and thus offered perspectives from both ends of the project. In addition, to gear the negative reputation of collaboration – and the sometimes ‘too easy option of blaming Indian team for failures in projects’ – more transparency was implemented. Mutual respect was seen as one of the key factors for success in relationship building, supporting Koppman et al.’s (2016) assertions of identity crises for Indian offshore professionals who are not treated as peers and experts. The efforts of both parties were perceived positively. Personal relationships and benevolence as part of trustworthiness evaluations were important for Indian team members.

I can say that the guys with whom I work, they are such a very nice guys and very cooperative. That’s why we trust each other. (Team member in India, I13)

Efforts to get to know team members personally had been made from both sides. The endeavour to build a new working culture had been deliberate, not incidental, and a mix of multiple pioneer ‘global communicators’ worked independently on innovating the ways to work together with some organisational support in forms of allowing travel and establishing feedback systems. This experimental approach follows the lines of Möllering (2005); active trust-building practices in a complex and unknown environment require an innovative and experimental attitude. Additionally, Cramton and Hinds (2014, 1066) stress the decentralised and improvisational quality of the dialectical adaptation process. However, although the process of creating a new culture was improvisational, it was done purposefully, following the lines of active trust (see Child & Möllering 2003).

5.4.2 Conclusions on co-created third culture

The findings show that the co-created shared team culture had features of both local cultures and thus echoes the concepts of hybrid culture (Earley & Mosakowski, 2000) and third culture (Adair, Tinsley & Taylor, 2006) found in prior studies. The formation of the new culture required adjustments from both parties, as it was a blend of characteristics of local workplace cultures in both Finland and India.

One of the features of the new culture was the approach to power and hierarchy. In their new culture, the team members had found a resolution to the conflicts of different norms regarding authority and hierarchy which were deeply rooted in local contexts of Finland and India and thus not easily worked out (see Cramton & Hinds, 2014). The team in Finland described the resolution as a blend of the Nordic way of treating people as equals but still having some hierarchy aligned with Indian culture. This kind of hybrid culture was found successful: the Indian team members were happy that they could approach project managers without hesitation, and project managers in Finland found the hierarchy in India helpful, as it provided fewer contact points for them. Maintaining some hierarchical structures in India provided familiarity in working conditions for the Indian team members and especially helped the newcomers on both ends. For the Indian organisation, it provided some level of the paternalistic care (Salminen-Karlsson, 2015) which they had learnt to appreciate, and for the for new Finnish project managers joining, this provided fewer contact points and thus simplified their adaptation and learning process.

Another remarkable feature of the third culture was the work that was done to accommodate the needs of both parties to lessen the unfamiliarity and vulnerability of collaboration. For Finns, quality and task completion were the most important aspects of the work, and for Indians, the relationship aspects such as commitment, bonding and caring for their needs were central. As a resolution to the tension of this asymmetry in trust antecedents, the collaborators realised that these were not conflicting but supporting features when building a workplace culture that enabled both parties to trust each other. Thus, these two central aspects of trusting –cognitive competence-based antecedents as well as affective character-based antecedents – were complementary elements, which in this Finland-India distributed team context could not exist without one another. In order to

meet the quality expectation, the team members in India needed to have a sense of belonging and emotional trust in their counterparties in Finland. This enabled the open and frank information and knowledge sharing that was crucial for successful and timely task completion, which was important for the Finnish counterpart.

The findings of the newly co-created team culture follow the lines of third culture which, according to Adair et al. (2006), bears the context of team members' national cultures, the cultures into which they are socialised. In this way, the third culture enables trust building by lessening the unfamiliarity that collaborators face if forced to adopt a new culture. As the literature shows, trusting in the context of vast unfamiliarity sets high vulnerability to trusting parties and constrains the willingness to make a trust decision (leap of faith). Therefore, the development seen in the data of teams building their own shared project working culture was a process full of purposeful and innovative actions supported on both ends of the collaboration. This follows the lines of Adair et al. (2006), who state that cross-cultural teams are prone to form a third culture.

5.5 Model of active trust building through cultural elements

The findings discussed in this chapter have demonstrated that distributed team members in offshoring between Finland and India face major cultural differences, the largest being communication and working culture, which are influenced by the local cultural and institutional frames of Finland and India. In order to bridge the cultural distance and create the needed familiarity for trusting, the collaborators were actively drawing from their unique cultural mosaics. However, the vast cultural differences in this context of Finland-India distributed teams created a great deal of tension, which led to the process of cultural adjustments, adaptation and co-creation of new shared cultural elements. The ways of mobilising cultures show how collaborators used cultural elements as a 'toolkit' to construct action (see Swidler, 1986; Koppman et al., 2016)

Based on the iterative work between theory and empirical evidence of this engineering offshoring case, a model of trust building is proposed and presented in Figure 9. This model illustrates how team members of Finnish-Indian offshoring teams actively used

their cultural identities and elements in three ways: drawing from existing elements, adjusting the existing elements, and co-creating new shared elements. The collaborators were creating the needed familiarity, the ‘pattern of assumptions’ (Schein 1985) that helps the continuous cycle of trusting where parties make sense of the trustworthiness to support the cognitive and emotional elements of trusting. This model builds on cyclical trust models (Six & Skinner, 2010; Nikolova et al. 2015; see Figure 4 & 5), illustrating that trust judgements take place continuously in daily interactions. Moreover, the model builds on conceptual model of Altinay et al. (2104), which indicated that cultural elements influence perceptions of trustworthiness antecedents (see Figure 6). These claims were supported in this study; however, the findings revealed that the collaborators did not only use existing cultural elements but also adjusted and co-created new ones. Thus, these two culture mobilisation elements (i.e. adjusting and co-creating) were also added to the model. The model is presented in Figure 9 and discussed subsequently.

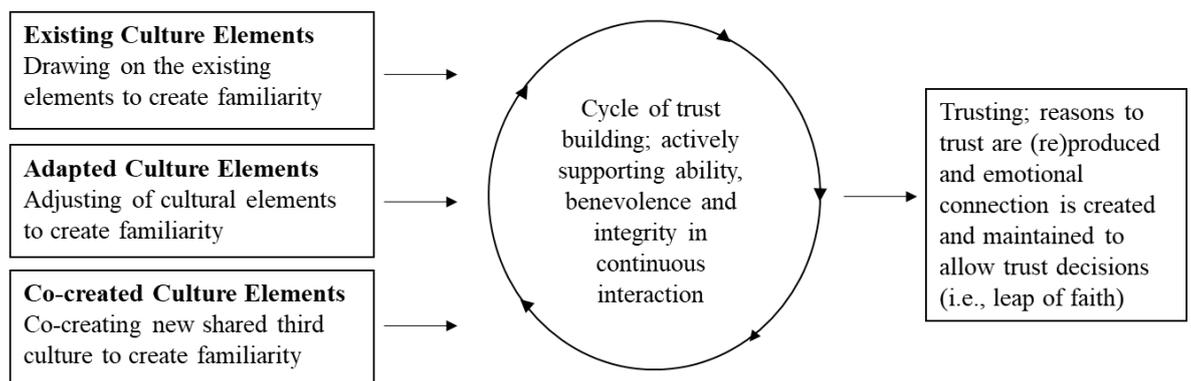


Figure 9 Model of trust building through culture mobilisation (based on the findings)

Based on the findings, in knowledge-intensive cross-cultural collaboration, unfamiliarity hinders the perceptions of trustworthiness and constrains trust decisions. To bridge the gap, the collaborators seek to actively draw on existing shared cultural elements that create familiarity. However, the existing elements in the context of major cultural differences offer only limited bases for trust, and thus, the collaborators seek to adjust their cultural elements in order to complete project work tasks. Therefore, the collaborators engage in negotiation and adjustment processes also known as ‘talking and learning’ (Cramton & Hinds 2014). When they engage in purposive actions to co-create new shared cultural

elements based on the needs of both parties, they enter a shared sense making of working culture elements and team identity. This, however, requires a basic level of trust gained through the use of shared and adjusted cultural elements. These findings support Möllering and Stache's (2010) assertion that, for partners of different cultural and institutional backgrounds, the success of cross-cultural relationships depends on active trust building and willingness to reflexively deal with cultural differences.

These findings contribute to the prior research on trust-building practices in cross-cultural relationships, and more specifically in virtual geographically distributed teams, by illustrating the various culture mobilisation strategies to build trust. The approach of purposive trust building (i.e., active trust; Giddens, 1994) and the use of Chao and Moon's (2005) cultural mosaic theory and Swidler's culture as a toolkit for constructing action (1986) enables a focus on actors and how they actively utilise the diversity of their cultural identities when building relational trust in the complexity of cross-cultural virtual collaborations. Along the lines of Altinay et al.'s (2014) study, these findings show that cultural elements influence trustworthiness perceptions and relationship building; however, the findings enhance the understanding of collaborators not only actively drawing but also co-creating shared cultural elements. The findings also support the processual nature of trust building as an ongoing cycle of action and interpretations (Six & Skinner, 2010) where reflexivity and capability to adjust cultural elements in an unfamiliar context (Möllering, 2005) enables trusting and successful collaboration.

5.6 Mobilisation strategies and vulnerability

This section discusses the three mobilisation strategies of cultures and illustrates how each facilitated trust development in Finnish-Indian project teams by increasing familiarity and thus diminishing the perceived vulnerability of the collaborators. Thus, it seeks to explain the power of the mobilisation strategies in enabling trust creation between project team collaborators. The process of trust building through the three culture mobilisation strategies is elaborated, based on the findings that these three strategies were used in conjunction.

As the findings show, the three culture mobilisation strategies drew upon existing cultural elements to find social similarities, adjust existing elements and co-create a new shared team culture. Each of the cultural mobilisation strategies tamed the tension created by cultural differences by increasing social similarity and thus offering more familiarity and shared schemas. Each diminished the perceived vulnerability of the trustor and thus allowed them to make bigger trust decisions (i.e., leaps of faith). Figure 10 illustrates how the perceived cultural distance causing perceptions of uncertainty and vulnerability between collaborators diminishes with each mobilisation strategy – and how this allows bigger trust decisions (i.e., riskier tasks) to be completed in the collaboration between Finland and India. This follows the theoretical notions of trust as an acceptance of vulnerability (see e.g., Möllering 2008). Näslund (2016, 104) states that ‘[i]f everything is uncertain, trust is impossible, and if everything is known, trust is unnecessary’, referring to the magnitude of uncertainty and vulnerability as preventers of a ‘leap of faith’. Therefore, the mechanisms to lessen the uncertainty and vulnerability to an acceptable level for trusting parties are central to trust building. In the case of distributed teams, it meant that more complicated and thus, riskier tasks were included in the project team collaboration between Finland and India.

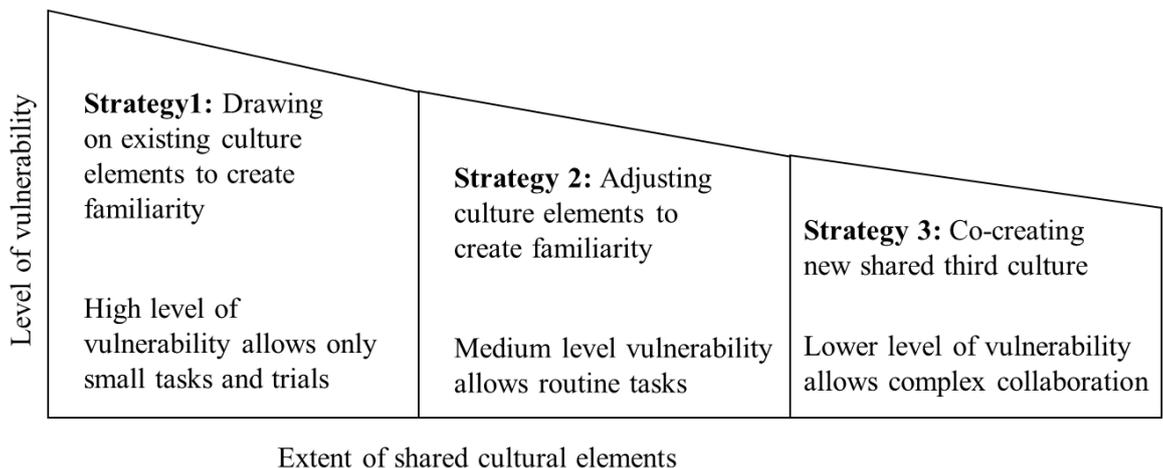


Figure 10 Culture mobilisation strategies from the point of vulnerability(based on the findings)

The first mobilisation strategy draws on existing culture elements. As illustrated, this lessens the unfamiliarity and the perceived vulnerability but, in the context of this Finland-

India collaboration, still leaves a high level of non-shared cultural elements and thus much unfamiliarity. This mobilisation strategy hence allows only small steps in trusting. However, these initial steps are important in order to create connection and start building more familiarity and shared understanding.

The second mobilisation strategy of adjusting cultural elements creates more familiarity as the collaborators are negotiating adjustments and adaptation in the project and communication culture. The process of ‘talking and learning’ (Cramton & Hinds, 2014) is taking place, and the cultural tensions and conflicts are reduced. As the parties negotiate and adjust their working and communication cultures closer to each other, uncertainty diminishes and predictability grows. The team members are able to make bigger trust decisions than when they previously relied only on existing cultural similarities.

The third mobilisation strategy of co-creating a new shared team culture, a third culture, offers the team members shared workplace norms and practices. This creates familiarity and paves way for collaboration of more complex tasks, which require open information flow and knowledge sharing. Moreover, the third culture offers a shared team identity and sense of belonging thus supporting the affective bases for trust. Furthermore, the mutually adopted team culture is socialised to the newcomers, which supports the process of trust becoming a ‘fabric of the organisation’ (see Schilke & Cook, 2013, 282) and thus lessens vulnerability as it offers stability.

Hence, the three mobilisation strategies show how the collaborators actively build trust through using culture as a toolkit to reduce their vulnerability. The findings follow the lines of Johansen et al. (2014), who define trust as an adaptation to vulnerability and uncertainty. Moreover, the mobilisation strategies show how culture mobilisation acts as a process of creating shared identities following the lines of a trust process called ‘trust as becoming’ (Möllering, 2013). As illustrated in the figure above, the findings reveal that trust-building challenges in ‘unfavorable environments’ (see Tsui-Auch & Möllering, 2010; Child & Möllering, 2003) with large cultural differences can be overcome through deliberate culture mobilisation. Thus, the perceptions of distance, unfamiliarity and missing social similarity between collaborators can be bridged by creation of shared cultures. Each of the strategies leads to less uncertainty and thus less vulnerability, which allows for more trusting with bigger trust decisions (i.e., leaps-of-faith) between parties.

5.7 Concluding discussion on the culture mobilisation strategies

This chapter introduced and discussed trust building of Finnish-Indian project teams through the theoretical lens of culture mobilisation using theories of Chao and Moon (2005) and Swidler (1986). The key findings depict three culture mobilisation strategies, which underline the importance of not only drawing on existing cultural elements but, more importantly, adjusting, co-creating and adopting new shared elements.

The findings show that familiarity gained through the active use as well as adjustment of existing cultural elements was sufficient to facilitate repetitive tasks and tasks with detailed instructions. However, in a case of more complex projects where Indian team members were participating in novel design work, co-created shared working culture elements and identity were needed to provide enough trust bases. Co-creating shared cultural elements required time, but more importantly, it required close collaboration and a genuine will to succeed together. Creating a needed level of trust to work on non-routine tasks required building not only cognitive but also emotional bases for trust. Collaborators needed to feel safe, valued and cared for in order to engage in knowledge sharing and novel project work. This was true for both parties but especially on the less powerful end of the collaboration, the Indian team. For the Finns, ability and proactiveness were the top aspects in trust judgments. With strong communication and support, this expectation was clear to the Indian team members, and thus, they were able to adjust. In order to gain proactivity, the emotional connection needed to be established, as relational aspects of collaboration, frequent and close communication and signals of benevolence were important to the Indian team members. The shared sense making of expectations was an important aspect in building trust; this was enabled by communication, confirming the claims of centrality of communication in trust building (e.g., Savolainen et al. 2014; Giddens, 1994).

Moreover, the findings underline the centrality of cultural adaptation in trust-building in the context of distributed project work between Finland and India, which follows Johansen et al.'s (2014) view of 'trusting as adapting'. In a similar vein, the findings support the claims of Li (2013, 154), who states that adaptive learning is a primary mechanism for

inter-cultural trust building, which itself is the result of adaptive learning about other cultures. Central aspects in trust creation are perceptions of cultural distance and purposeful trust practices, the former being an attitudinal aspect and the latter a behavioural aspect. Thus, trust building as adaptive learning includes both the mental adaptation of learning to perceive the trustworthiness of others and the behavioural adaptation of a self-initiated decision to trust others (Li, 2013; Li, 2008). In addition, it includes self-initiated purposeful agency to influence the conditions of trusting (see Johansen et al., 2014).

The findings show that the aspect of learning in intercultural collaboration (see Cramton & Hinds, 2014) forms the key mechanism that enables trusting. As Li (2013) and Johansen et al. (2014) both point out, motivational factors are of importance, as well as perceptions of one's own agency. Li (2013, 163) claims that in situations where the contextual factors (i.e., cultural distance) are perceived as challenging, actors tend to be over-sensitive and lack the motivation to accommodate and learn. This was the case for many collaborators in this study; the cultural distance was perceived as so vast that the uncertainty was too much to bear, and thus, they did little to influence the perceived distance or engage in adjustments (these collaborators are discussed more in the next chapter). However, some collaborators made a self-initiated decision and inhibited strong agency and behavioural adaptation to make trust a reality by actively engaging in mobilising their cultural elements.

In addition, the findings illustrate that culture is a dynamic construct and can be scrutinised as a means rather than an end, a toolkit rather than a set of values, following the lines of Koppman, Mattarelli and Gupta (2016) and Swidler (1986). The various ways of mobilising cultural elements and identities in the process of trust building showed that cross-cultural trust studies need to go beyond the commonly used static definitions of culture being a relatively persistent belief and value schema held by nations of people (Triandis, 1995; Hofstede 2001). Static conceptualisations of culture have been argued to be insufficient for understanding the dynamics of globally distributed teams (Hinds, Liu & Lyon, 2011). This study supports these claims, as it shows that through static dimension-based culture typologies, the understanding of the complexity of the entire cultural context in which collaborators are embedded, and from which they draw their practices and

behaviour (Mizrachi et al., 2007), would not have been possible. By adopting a way and a tool to study the multiple cultural identities of individuals (Swidler, 1986; Chao & Moon 2005), it was possible to examine how professionals in global teams built trust through reflexive familiarisation (Möllering, 2005) by mobilising their cultural identities.

6 Findings on active and agentic view of trust building

This chapter analyses active trust building based on the data of this study. Thus, it examines the agentic and embodied view of trust by asking ‘*What constitutes active trusting?*’ and ‘*How do collaborators engage in active trusting?*’ The analysis addresses the differences between active and passive trust creation and based on this, identifies the specific features of active trust. This approach was chosen since comparison between different types (i.e., active versus passive trust) illuminates the differences and thus helps to identify the unique aspects of active trust.

The theoretical lens used in this findings chapter is the conceptual typology of three trust forms proposed by Johansen et al. (2016; see Section 3.1.3, Table 1.). It was chosen as a theoretical frame since it offers a tool to categorise and analyse trust building according to the agency of the trusting parties. Therefore, the examination of active trust is done through a comparison with more passive forms of trust creation.

The chapter starts with a short discussion of the theoretical frame and subsequently examines the three forms separately. Based on this, the different trust forms are presented in tables comparing situational factors, trust-building practices and trust components. The chapter concludes with key findings on active trust building and a discussion on the role of an active trustor.

6.1 Three approaches to trust building

By comparing different approaches to trust, the aim of this analysis is to gain a deeper understanding of *active trust* (Giddens, 1994; Möllering & Child, 2003; Möllering, 2005; Nikoleva et al., 2015) in the context of project teams. Drawing on the active trust approach (Giddens, 1994) defined as purposive actions of the trustor to strengthen the basis for trust (Möllering & Child, 2003) and the three trust forms presented by Johansen et al., (2016), the analysis focuses on the agency of actors, examining the role and strategies that collaborators undertake in the social situation of trust creation. According to Johansen et al.’s (2016) conceptual typology, agency is manifested in the following aspects: how

actors experience the situation and their power to influence trust creation and how they deal with uncertainty and vulnerability. These aspects are examined in this section.

Johansen et al.'s (2016) preliminary conceptual model is chosen as a theoretical lens, as it allows an analysis of active trust (i.e., 'agentic and embodied view of trust') by comparison to more passive trust forms. It looks at trust creation from the perspective of a trustor and how they act (as opposed to passively observe). Johansen et al. (2016) used metaphors to name the different trust forms: 'trust as a performance', 'trust as a decision', and 'trust as an uncontrollable force' (see Table 1 in Section 3.1.3). However, in this chapter, for the purpose of comparison, the different trust forms are named simply after the main differentiator (i.e., level of agency): 'active trust', 'moderate agency', and 'passive trust'.

The aim is to examine the active trust approach by comparing it to the other trust forms. By doing this, the analysis examines how collaborators of different trust forms perceive situational factors, and how they act when dealing with uncertainty and vulnerability. The analysis contributes to the understanding of practices of active trust building in the context of dispersed offshoring teams. It also contributes to the understanding of the implications of trusting and thus increases the understanding of the significance of active trust in knowledge-intensive project work in an offshoring context.

The examination of different trust forms starts from the passive (i.e., low agency of actors in trust creation) and moves towards stronger agency trust forms. The participants in the study have been categorised into these three different forms according to their level of agency, and their approaches to trust building are presented and compared in the following sub-sections.

6.1.1 Passive approach

The passive trust form (which Johansen et al. [2016] call 'trust as an uncontrollable force') was prevalent among collaborators in Finland who were new or only occasionally participating in the Finland-India collaboration. These collaborators did not typically have prior international experience and had limited experience working in virtual teams. They had not initiated or volunteered for this new cross-border collaboration but were often

pushed into the collaboration due to management order or a lack of other project resources. As the decision to engage into collaboration was not actively coming from them, they did not perceive themselves as active relationship and trust creators. They experienced vast uncertainty as one of the managers in Finland stated:

Giving project work to some group of people we don't know – we don't know their capabilities or what we'll get from them – just feels scary and uncontrollable.
(Project manager in Finland, F12)

Collaborators in Finland felt that they did not know enough about the team members in India. Moreover, their sense of control and agency was impeded by the fact that they were not proactively engaging in the collaboration. They experienced low levels of motivation and confidence in working with trans-border teammates, which resulted in high levels of uncertainty among their Indian collaborators.

If a person is just told and inside there is a doubt, 'no, why should I do that, that won't work'. Because the person will not do much to develop the collaboration.
(Team lead in India, I2)

The way of dealing with the vast uncertainty on the Finnish side, was to try to keep the vulnerability at the low levels. This was done by minimising risks in the types of tasks that were done in collaboration. The work given to the Indian collaborators was restricted to minor tasks as a team member in India described:

We are getting some small tasks... We are not getting any complex type of projects from Finland. (Team member in India, I10)

Due to the high sense of vulnerability and low sense of value, the Finnish collaborators preferred to work with local team members. Thus, their motivation to invest time and effort in collaboration with Indian team members was low. When working with reluctant and non-supportive Finnish team members, the Indians faced high uncertainty and found the situation stressful.

We send a query and we do not receive an answer... we want to talk to them and they do not have time...that makes a lot of frustration... (Indian team member, I2)

As a coping strategy for overcoming uncertainty and vulnerability, the Finnish collaborators created elaborate instructions. This, however, led to the feelings of frustration, as they felt that giving instructions and checking outcomes took as much of

their time as completing the tasks themselves would have. Furthermore, they reported feelings of stress due to the uncertainty of the outcomes.

Giving instructions is like coding. You need to code everything very exactly, and if something is wrong with the code, the delivery will be wrong. (Project manager in Finland, G8)

The perception of distance between collaborators in Finland and India was a significant factor and perceived as an innate quality of the collaboration. Finnish collaborators used metaphors such as ‘a huge wall’ to illustrate the perceived distance between them and their Indian counterparties:

It is as there was a huge wall between me and them. I try to make the instruction package as detailed as possible and then I throw it over the wall and start waiting what they will throw back to me. It is always a stress how the outcome will be. (Project coordinator in Finland, G8)

Project coordinators and managers felt that due to the distance they had no means to evaluate or influence the trustworthiness of their Indian team members. The interaction and dialectic communication in collaboration was at a minimum. The parties did not discuss or chat to gain shared understanding but instead struggled while trying to either make the written task instructions clear or to understand the given instructions. The counterparties in India reported that they faced difficulties when trying to understand written instructions with limited opportunities for discussion and found the distant written communication time-consuming and stressful.

So I got so many emails, reading them, printing them out, understanding each line. Doing as per expectations of the person – so there was a lot of time spend on that... (Engineer in India, I8)

The Indian team members were afraid of making mistakes, and both parties were trying to play it safe by collecting evidence to defend in case of a confrontation. Project managers and coordinators were focusing on getting individual tasks completed, and therefore, the investment in long-term development of the collaboration was low or non-existent. The perceived uncertainty was high; collaborators felt uncontrollable vulnerability which aroused feelings of anxiety:

I get anxious even when I see the mailbox clicking and mail coming from there [India]. (Engineer in Finland, G2)

It is very straining ... (Project manager in Finland, F14)

The lack of 'shared basic assumptions', which a shared organisational culture (see Schein, 1985) or any shared frames of understanding would offer, was a great source of uncertainty for the collaborators. They reported low predictability, stress and continuous negative surprises as one of the engineers in Finland stated:

Disappointments come always. (Engineer in Finland, G5)

A typical feature for these collaboration dyads was the lack of personal knowing. The collaborators had not met in person and their collaboration did not include relational or social interaction. Working with a person 'whose photo is not in Skype and whose name you cannot even pronounce' (G5) felt distant. Communication was limited to task-oriented content and was mainly conducted in writing.

Collaborators in Finland felt that they failed in giving instructions, as they were basing their instructions on a certain set of assumptions of the local organisational working culture. They were aware of differences but did not know how to act since their prior experiences were with the local organisational culture. In addition, the motivation to work with distant team members was low, and they felt both unmotivated and incapable of influencing the situation and the distant trustees. This confirms the lines of Johansen et al. (2016, 31) that the passive trustor has little to no control over why they should trust someone and views 'themselves as incapable of influencing the situation or the trustee'.

6.1.2 Moderate agency

The trust form with a moderate or 'mid' level of agency was often prevalent in the collaboration, where the team members in Finland had built a system for the continuous flow of tasks between Finland and India. The collaboration with India was often organised through a few select persons in Finland, who through working in this role became experienced boundary spanners and task coordinators. In this kind of situation, the Indian team members were not integrated into the project teams but mainly completed tasks under distant contact persons. The collaboration was largely run on the principles of separate tasks with elements of repetition, which lessened the need to interact and communicate.

We realised that the most efficient work that they can do, is this kind of typical repeating work ...[that] is clear and we don't need to make a lot of coordination with them. (Coordinator in Finland, F10)

In this type of collaboration, the goal was to have separate tasks done in India, and the types of tasks were often standardised. Through a flow of similar, routine tasks, predictability was achieved, which decreased the sense of uncertainty, provided cognitive bases of trust and allowed trust decisions for structured type of work.

In these dyads, the collaborators were not actively seeking opportunities to meet in person or investing their time and effort in getting to know and bonding with their counterparties. The communication was mainly task-oriented with limited small talk, as the aim was not to build a personal relationship but rather to accomplish tasks. Some Finnish team members reported that the time needed for communication and questions prompted by Indians was perceived as interruptions to their own work. The Finnish collaborators saw an ideal situation as having less interactive communication.

It would be just great if the drawings would just go to them and come back as finished. Now it requires a lot of instructing and we'll need to figure out how to get that to lower levels. (Engineer in Finland, F13)

We know well where the problem is, it is the project communication and the lack of time. We just do not have enough time for instructing and guiding...we should come up with means to manage with less communication. (Project manager in Finland, F5)

The collaborators perceived the distance between team members as a given, innate fact of the collaboration and were not actively trying to diminish it but were coming up with practices on how to work in distant relationship. Although the collaborators in Finland were demanding and evaluating the trustworthiness of their collaborators in the sense of technical competence and adherence to a timeline, they did not take an active role in creating trust or a basis for trust intentionally. This follows the lines of passive role of the trustor and seeing the locus of trust in a trustee's manifested trustworthiness (Johansen et al., 2016). The thought of building trust was unfamiliar to the collaborators in Finland, and they saw trust as a judgement of the technical and timely performance of the Indian team members – which was either there or not. This view of trust was rooted in their view of collaboration as a technical task completion, which resulted in trust judgements concentrating only on the technical abilities of Indian team members. The reciprocal

nature of trust building or the value of being trustworthy in the role of a project manager or coordinator was unfamiliar, as a comment on the question of Indians trusting Finns shows.

I didn't think about it [them trusting me]. I don't know how they can trust me, well, is it – can it be applied for me on this side? (Coordinator in Finland, F10)

The way of building trust was based on the gradual model of trusting based on the evidence of performance, which follows the principals of gradually growing process-based trust (Zucker, 1986). Trust creation was based on the evidence of trustworthiness performed by the trustee, placing the locus of trust on trustee (see Johansen et al., 2016). The following quotation shows that the growing level of predictability was at the core of trusting in Finland.

After some time when I work with [a person]...of [Indian] team, I see how they work, I see the way they work. Of course in the beginning I try to check very carefully all the information they send. But little by little I see, if the person is trying his best...I just trust him and just check some, not all details. (Coordinator in Finland, F10)

In these dyads and teams, a long-term commitment to working together was often missing. In India, this was seen as a high attrition of the Indian team members, which was experienced as a deep disappointment from the Finnish site and a demonstration of a lack of commitment from their Indian team members:

The biggest problem is that our team members in India have not stayed...any training goes wasted as people leave and new ones come. (Coordinator in Finland, F6)

As the Finns were basing trust on predictability, which came through the gradually increasing knowledge of an individual collaborator's competence level, it was lost when that person left. Developing the competences of Indian team members was often based on individual-level corrections, which led to gradual enhancement of that individual but was not shared by others in the team. Attrition negatively impacted the predictability bases of trust as well as the trustworthiness perceptions of commitment of Indian team members, which lessened the willingness to invest in training. Attrition was perceived as inevitable due to the highly competitive employment field and the reason was seen to be the 'over-heated' Indian employment market, which supports the claims of Johansen et al. (2016)

that the feelings in this trust category are often other-directed: the problem was seen in the competitive employment field, not in the actions of the actors.

In the moderate agency trust form, trust decisions were kept on a moderate level and made on cognitive bases such as the trustee's performed levels of competency. Vulnerability was kept low by assigning structured and repetitive tasks. The emotional components of trust were neglected in this trust form, which resulted in less commitment from team members, especially in India where the cues of caring and social relationships are important (e.g., Raghuram 2011, Laleman et al., 2015). This trust form can be seen to have some similarities with the 'swift trust' that is based on structures and roles, and builds on cognitive component of trust (see Meyerson et al., 1996; Blomqvist & Cook, 2018).

6.1.3 Active approach

The active trust form, which Johansen et al. (2016) name 'trust as a performance', was prevalent among collaborators who had started the collaboration with a positive attitude and intended to make it work from the beginning. Positivity came from situational facts, such as the lack of local resources in Finland making the value of the collaboration high. The true need for Indian engineering resources resulted in a strong commitment from the Finnish side and an aim to succeed together.

For me, it was mainly that we didn't have enough people here in Finland...so it was kind of a positive saviour to realise that we do have people over there – and that's how it started... and now in all my projects I have Indian team members.
(Project manager in Finland, F3)

The situational motivation factors to collaborate with Indian team members were often combined with personal and cultural elements of prior international experience or motivation to develop skills as an international professional. This supported not only the motivation to make the collaboration work but also collaborators' confidence in their ability to work in cross-cultural teams. The project managers who acted as active trustors felt that they had the capacity to influence the situation and actions of their trustees, and thus, the locus of trust building lied with the trustor who, along the lines of Johansen et al., (2016, 30), 'constituted the causal agent that drove the formation and development of trust'.

In the beginning, especially during the first year, the training investment was quite big. It is same with new Finnish team members as well, but had stronger impact with the Indian team. I had to spend time and energy to teach them to work the way I expected them to do. Now it is quite well established, the way how we work. There are things that I can take for granted, as they know that this is how we work... I have a team of players that I trust. In the beginning, a few years back, it was not so. (Project manager, F3)

The quotation shows how project managers had engaged in purposeful practices to influence the shared understanding of project work and to support the abilities of Indian team members to meet expectations. Supporting the team members was seen as central to success, as one of the project managers explained:

It is important that the project manager openly discusses [with Indian team members] and finds out how they are doing, what kind of challenges there are and what kind of support they need. So, this kind of the coaching and leadership style is needed. That builds the team spirit and has a strong influence on team success. (Project manager in Finland, F9)

The active support and training organised by Finnish project managers was perceived as a sign of caring and commitment by the Indian team members. They expressed gratitude and positivity, which provoked reciprocity to work according to expectations.

There [in Finland] all people are very helpful.... I'm not requesting any training but they already promoted that you take this training because it is helpful for your future and also project... They want that our team is improving and in their mind there are some ideas on what kind of improvement we need and what type of self-development is needed... this makes me very happy to work with them. (Indian team member, I11)

The growth of the project work volume from Finland to India was perceived as a significant signal of commitment to the Indian team. The flow of work coming from Finland was expressed as a key manifestation of Finns trusting the Indian team, as one of the Indian team members explained:

They trust me and that's why I'm the principal modeller. When I joined, I was only modeller. Now I handle the team because they trust on me. They trust my team also. That's why they provide us more projects to do. (Team member in India, I2)

The increasing amount of work coming from Finland was of importance for the Indian team members as seeing that growing supported their trust on commitment of Finns and acted as a motivational factor for reciprocated trustworthiness. The increase in project

work was not only based on cognitive competence evaluations, but especially in the initial steps, it was supported by personal relationships and bonding. As one of the Indian engineers explained:

When I visited Finland, we went for a sauna with office colleagues. And they ordered Indian dinner, Indian food for me. And we also tried skiing. So we had such evenings like that. It was nice. And that thing actually helped my work. I started getting even more work after [the visit]. Earlier, like last year, I was not getting that many projects because I had never been to Finland. (Indian team member, I9)

The concept of 'team' and 'team spirit' were often addressed among the active trustors. They expressed a shared team spirit and identified themselves a part of a working group that not only included their local but also trans-border work mates. Both Indian and Finnish collaborators used expressions such as 'our team', 'my colleagues in India/in Finland', exhibiting team identity and sense of belonging. They were proud of their success, which was manifested in a significant and steady increase of collaboration volume.

We have, maybe it's okay to brag a little, but I would say that we have the best team. (Project manager in Finland, F9)

We have grown to be the largest team, just because we have been performing well and the collaboration has been really good in our team. (Team member in India, I9)

The validity of the team culture was manifested in the way the Indian team members were taking care of socialising newcomers into the cultural norms of the team, following the lines of Schein (1985). Socialising newcomers into the team culture helped and supported Finns' trust in the new team members and built mechanisms of trust to become 'a part of fabric of organisational action' along the lines of Schilke and Cook (2013, 282).

If some new guys are joining our team, we are trying to train him or her by ourselves. Instead of asking Finland or any other country. We are trying to teach him how we are working. Then he is not facing those problems which we faced. (Team member in India, I12)

The new team culture empowered the team members in India. Due to frequent interaction, the Indian team members gained confidence on knowing what kind of behaviour their counterparties in Finland regard as trustworthy. As they felt trusted,

they also acted according to expectations and took stronger agency in socialising newcomers into the new team culture.

It [working culture] is new for new people. They do not know who the contact person is. So first, we tell them to talk to us. If we don't have any solution so then we contact our contact person. First we try to solve things in our team. (Team member in India, I11)

Both of the above quotations show the active role the Indian team members had adopted as part of the team culture. They were not just given tasks and training; they were participants in the team with their own responsibilities. With this new, more active role, the Indians were also able to demonstrate competence and earn trust. This led to trust manifestations such as giving Indian collaborators more demanding roles in project teams. The tasks allocated to Indian team members were not only simple repetitive tasks but also demanding tasks in large projects. As one of the project members in India stated:

I'm working on big projects like x. It is very prestigious, very focused project...before what happened was, that they gave us a very small part of ... and told that this is what you need to do. But now they are giving us ... drawing and saying that you have to create all the things and build a model from zero. Before they shared with us the models, but now we can start this. (Indian team member, I12)

This quotation clearly shows that, based on trust in the competences as well as commitment and bonding, the Finnish project management was willing to accept vulnerability by allowing a bigger role for the Indian team member. There were other examples of trust manifestations and acceptance of vulnerability by Finnish project managers, such as one stating that he is 'not reserving a safety buffer in scheduling' (F2) or another stating that he knows how committed his team members in India are and that allows him to make promises to clients without checking with the team (F4).

The power relation in teams and between collaborators who expressed active trusting were different than between collaborators in other trust positions. In active trust, the interdependency between collaborators was high as the model of working had been developed in a way that Indian team members and their work were integral parts of the project's success. They were not just given separate tasks but were

involved early on, which increased the commitment and feeling of belonging to the project team.

We make sure that they [Indian team members] have some insight of the starting point, so they are not just thrown in to do only a certain part of the project...just doing what you are requesting them to do. This is a key thing in having success... We involve them early on. (Project manager in Finland, G7)

As the Indian team members were an integral part of project work, the power relation and dependency between Finland and India were different than in other trust forms. The Finnish side was also dependent on the Indian side, which made them interdependent and thus lessened the power asymmetry. One project manager in Finland illustrated the interdependency by stating that:

Without them [Indian team members], we would not have this business...they make the business growth possible. (Project manager in Finland, F4)

The project managers of the active trust approach had taken an active trustor role, and they were supporting the abilities of team members to be trustworthy. They were demonstrating their trust and expected reciprocated trustworthiness, which they conveyed in purposefully chosen terminology to influence the trustworthiness of the team members in India. As one of the project managers stated:

I've started to talk that the checking [of outputs] has been done in India and the thing we do here [in Finland] is verification...we expect that it [output] is top quality, and we just verify that it is according to expectations. (Project manager in Finland, F2)

Active trustors in Finland expressed agency in multiple ways. The following quote shows how an experienced project manager purposefully influences the commitment and confidence of his team members in India in a situation of an unsuccessful project.

[I]t is important and especially for the Indians to lift up – yes, we have 1,000 problems but think about this and this, we have done good job. We should lift the spirit. It does not help anything if we all start to feel bad about the project. You can quite easily ruin the confidence that you have been building with the Indians. (Project manager in Finland, G7)

The feelings of the active trustors were self-directed, following the lines of Johansen et al. (2016). Project managers stated that the failure of the Indian team members was often due to themselves being too busy or providing insufficient or unclear instructions. Neither

party blamed the other but rather reflected on their own performance when things did not go well. The following quotations show how both parties, Finnish and Indian, were expressing self-directed reasoning when reflecting negative incidents of collaboration:

If things do not go well, it's often me... (Project manager in Finland, F4)

There were mistakes in my work...I was threatened to be kicked out...then I realised, that I'll develop myself, like, how they work. (Team member in India, I12)

Building strong relationships, aiming at personal-level knowing and frequent interaction were noteworthy aspects in this active trust category. As a contrary to the more passive trust forms where collaborators wished that they could simply send a task and have it completed, in this active trust form, both the project managers in Finland and the experienced team members in India underlined daily interaction as an integral and natural part of working together.

There are people who expect the team in India to be an automat where you send instructions and then print out the final outcome. It is not like that; we follow, see how it goes, are in contact often. Later it can become less – after I see that all is going to the right direction. (Project manager, F4)

What I learnt, ...we need to interact more with them [Finns]. Then only the thing will work. If you just sit here when we get the project, do it as we know and then just send it back, that won't work. Because we need to interact. If we have any issues, we need to contact them. (Team lead in India, I3)

These quotes communicate the process of learning and underline the active roles in interaction on both sides; the active interaction is part of practices of collaborators in both locations of project team members. Although the parties in Finland were not accustomed to continuous interaction, they had, through reflexive learning, learnt to appreciate the frequent communication, which Giddens (1994) described as a central feature of active trust.

Moreover, the interaction was not only limited to task-related communications, but the collaborators were active in creating social bonds and talking about non-project-related aspects. They actively looked for opportunities to meet personally; highly involved project managers visited India regularly and invited their Indian team members to Finland.

I try to visit them twice a year and find it important. That is how you get to know people and built trust. I feel that it happens face-to-face. And when you have built the trust I don't see any reason to travel for project matters, since you know the team. Travelling for a project is not necessary when you know the people – but always if I'm starting a new project with new people whom I haven't met, I feel that I need to go. (Project manager in Finland, F3)

The Indian team members found the personal meeting important; and similarly, they stressed the aspect of personal bonding more than the collaboration on project work as a reason for face-to-face meeting. As one of the Indian team members explained:

If we want to have collaboration, the person should be sitting side-by-side in the starting. If we start... the planning project and we don't know each other, the bonding will not be there. Then there are some restrictions that shall I ask this question, will this question be relevant to him? But if you meet the person personally and then we start project, then it will be efficient...After that when you are talking on Link or Skype, it builds more. But one time is necessary. (Team member in India, I2)

Moreover, the use of small generous gestures and humour were remarkable features of the active trust form. Sending photos of events at the office and sharing jokes were gestures bridging the gap of physical distance between two locations and allowing for the growth of affective trust component. These acts were central to demonstrating benevolence, as the following quotations of an Indian team member show.

There is this lady in Finland who sends me every day some Finnish words. (Team member in India, I12)

My project manager send me updates of the project even after I have finished my part. (Team member in India, I12)

The team members were using humour to bond emotionally and to bridge the cultural distance between themselves. Humour was manifested in many forms, such as sending comical messages and making funny videos of greeting team members in the others' mother tongue. The use of humour in the active trust category demonstrated the significance of moving from cognitive- and task-oriented communication into the level of emotions when building trust.

There is a big group of people who have become so close to us that you would find it funny, and I could show you funny videos on my phone. They are recording messages in Hindi and sending it on WhatsApp and asking me in Hindi 'how are you, brother?'. ... With some of the people we have got so friendly now that you cannot imagine. Unless they tell that they are Finns, I would forget for a moment.

... It's like, some of them are actually so close that they have come and visited the families over here. So, we are very close at that level. Some are saying that there is a wedding in India and we going to come at our own cost. (Team lead in India, I3)

One of the ways of using humour in bonding were books about the adventures of a stereotypically shy Finn called Matti, which the Finns gifted to their Indian team mates. These books offered a way of discussing and laughing at cultural differences through a humorous cartoon character. Thus, the collaborators were utilising cultural stereotypes and humour to facilitate the understanding of the differences and adjustments.

But, then, of course, there are some things that are noticeable about a country and those are the funny thing. We have been openly talking and making fun of those things. The Finns have been making fun of themselves. You must know about the very popular cartoon series called Matti. ...They brought as a gift those Matti books for us. And they said this should help you understand us (laughing). (Team lead in India, I3)

The findings on the power of humour in creating emotional bonds and trust confirm the earlier findings of Cooper (2008) and Henttonen and Blomqvist (2005) of humour as an antecedent of trust and an influencer of workplace relationships by 'functioning as a type of disclosing behaviour which helps the parties become more familiar' Cooper (2008, 1107).

The data of the active trust form illustrates a lot of evidence on how the team members were actively building emotional bonds which supported the development of the emotional component of trust (McAllister, 1995). This supported trust building especially with the Indian team members, as the importance of personal relationships and emotional ties in India (Laleman et al., 2015; Sivasubramanian, 2016) are central and trust is based on in-groups (see Hofstede, 2001), which underlines the importance of shared team culture and identity.

6.2 Comparison between different trust forms

This section combines the main findings of the three trust forms discussed in this chapter by comparing from three perspectives: 1) situational aspects influencing agency, 2) trust-building practices, and 3) trust components and constructs. Thus, the tables of data exhibit

the situational aspects, trust-building practices and trust constructs based on the data of project teams between Finland and India.

6.2.1 Situational aspects

The comparison of situational aspects discusses how the situational aspects influenced the willingness to engage in trust building and thus, trust-building approaches. Johansen et al. (2016) argue that different situations motivate different strategies for managing uncertainty, and thus, the comparison according to situational aspects is examined next. The situational aspects examined are value and motivation, sense of control of the situation, situational power relation and temporal focus of the collaboration model. Value refers to the perceived value of collaboration, and control refers to a trustor's expectations that they can influence the trustee and the situation positively (Johansen et al., 2016). These are presented in Table 10.

Table 10 Situational aspects influencing the approach to trust building

	Passive trust	Moderate agency	Active trust
Perceived value	Value of collaboration seen as low or negative	Moderate value, restricted to routine tasks	High value
Motivation	Obligation to collaborate	Efficiency	Successful collaboration
Sense of control and ability to influence the situation	No sense of control over others or situation	Moderate sense of control over situation	Sense of confidence to influence the situation and trustees
Power relation	Strongly asymmetric; fully dependent on Finnish party	Asymmetric; Indians more dependent on Finns	Interdependence between parties
Temporal focus	Discontinuity; on-off collaboration	Flow of tasks: task-to-task focus	Flow of projects: long-term focus

The collaborators in Finland entered the project collaboration with different motivations, which was linked to the perceived value of the outcomes of the collaboration. The passive trustors had not initiated the collaboration but were following management orders and saw the value of the collaboration with the Indian team members as low or negative. Whereas the collaborators with moderate agency saw some value in the collaboration, the active trustors perceived the value of collaboration as high.

The commitment and motivation to invest in collaboration went hand-in-hand with the perceived value, as well as the sense of control that the collaborators exhibited. As the passive trustors felt that their ability to control the situation or their overseas counterparties was non-existent, they entered the collaboration with a short-term focus, giving ad hoc tasks to India to be completed. The trustors with moderate agency saw value in the collaboration, as they were aiming at efficiency by having repetitive, routine tasks completed in India. Their sense of control was based largely on the structured way of working together with a task-to-task focus. Active trustors had a strong sense of control and confidence in their ability to influence the situation and collaborators due to facts such as prior experience in international collaboration or endeavours to develop themselves into global professionals. Therefore, they entered the collaboration with a long-term perspective, which created a working model of interdependency with their Indian team members.

6.2.2 Trust-building practices

Next, the trust-building practices of collaborators of different trust forms are presented in a table of comparison (Table 11). The table illustrates clear differences between trust practices of different trust forms. The collaborators of passive trust inhabit no agency to engage in purposeful trust-building practices, whereas the collaborators of active trust took strong agency over the arrangement and thus inhibited the agentic view of trust (Johansen et al., 2016) and purposive practices (e.g., Child & Möllering, 2003).

Table 11 Practices of collaborators of three trust forms

	Passive trust	Moderate agency	Active trust
Practices of learning and development	No or limited investment in learning	On-the-spot training: individual coaching, largely based on checking & correcting.	Pro-active training and reflexive learning. Seeing training as an investment. Agency and ownership of developing of own & others' skills.
Work allocation practices	Simple tasks; small ad-hoc type tasks.	Repetitive tasks, slowly adding complexity after gaining proof of competency.	Working together on demanding projects, requiring novel solutions.
Practices to support task completion / project success	Elaborated instructions, playing safe	Giving examples and instruction; coaching while working on repetitive tasks.	Frequent interaction, proactive training results in shared understanding of expectations and work practices.
Practices of getting to know others	No practices for personal knowing	Task-related knowing of others through virtual tools.	Active practices to learn to know on personal level: meeting F2F, chatting, sharing photos & videos, spending time together outside of office.
Practices of communication	Task-oriented written communication dominates.	Task-oriented written communication with some chatting, calling and working on shared screens.	Frequent relationship- and task-orientated communication, both oral and written; oral dominating. Multiple virtual channels in use.
Practices of creating shared patterns of understanding	No such practices	Structured way of working together. Work-related practices are institutionalised over time and create some shared frames of understanding.	Many practices to build a shared working culture. Includes both cognitive aspects as well as personal-level relationships. Team culture identity manifests in vocabulary like 'we', 'our colleagues'.

The collaborators with passive trust approach showed no agency in building trust, whereas the moderate and active trustors were engaged in practices of supporting learning, task completion, communication, personal knowledge and shared understanding. The comparison shows the proactive and reflexive nature of active trust practices. As the collaborators were aiming for long-term commitment, they were willing to invest in relationship and trust building. Frequent communication, use of multiple and synchronic communication channels, actively seeking to meet in person, and investing time and

energy in the process of learning and talking with the team resulted in a shared understanding of the working culture. As the comparison shows, the formation of shared culture was only achieved in teams with purposive trust-building practices, which is supported by the earlier findings that distributed teams face difficulties in formation of team identity and common ground (Earley & Mosakowski, 2000; Hinds & Mortensen, 2005).

There is a strong link between situational aspects (Table 10) and practices (Table 11); the situational aspects such as perceived value and actors' control influenced their investment in trust-building practices. The different approaches in temporal aspects, motivation and power asymmetry, and the underlying aspect of vulnerability resulting from differing perceptions of control, were influencing the practices. The findings confirm the claim of Johansen et al. (2016) that situational factors influence the trust-building approach of the collaborators and follow the lines of Lewicki and Bunker (1996), who state that people invest more resources in developing trust in situations when relationships are seen as important and valuable. These results enhance the understanding of the motivation to invest also by bringing in the sense of capacity to influence the situation and other collaborators, which some collaborators perceived as stronger than others.

6.2.3 Trust components

The third comparison table compiles aspects of trust. The table 12 illustrates the differences between assumptions on *the nature of the trust*, *the locus of trust* and *the trust components*. Furthermore, the central aspect of uncertainty, which manifests in the sense of risk and vulnerability appears on this table, as it is a central factor in trust. Trust building can be defined as a coping mechanism for vulnerability (Johansen et al., 2016).

Table 12 Comparison of trust constructs in three trust forms

	Passive trust	Moderate agency	Active trust
Nature of trust	Cannot trust	Trust grows slowly based on observed performance	Trust needs to be built
Locus of trust (who influences the development of trust)	None	Trustee, whose trustworthiness is being evaluated by a trustor	Trustor, who acts in a trustful manner and influences trustee's trustworthiness and trust situation
Trust components	No bases for trust decision	Cognitive components as bases for trust decisions	Cognitive, emotional and intentional components
Sense of uncertainty & vulnerability	Feelings of high uncertainty, uncontrollable vulnerability	Feelings of uncertainty, controlled by learnt predictability	Uncertainty and vulnerability on bearable level to allow trusting needed in complex tasks.
Mechanisms to deal with uncertainty	None	Establishing predictability structures of collaboration: mainly repetitive tasks	Creating shared frames of understanding, shared working culture, team identity

This comparison illustrates the difference between the assumptions on trust. Where collaborators of passive trust faced uncontrollable vulnerability and experienced no bases for a trust decision, the collaborators of moderate agency relied on cognitive components based on routines and roles, as well as evaluations of the trustworthiness of the trustee. The active trustors, on the other hand, engaged in supporting and utilising all three trust components: cognitive and emotional supported by intentional trust. Through purposive trust-building practices, the active trustors created a shared frame of understanding – the team culture – which lessened uncertainty, as it established a base for assumptions and taken-for-grantedness (Möllering, 2006) in project team behaviour, including the shared understanding of trustworthiness antecedents.

6.2.4 Conclusions on comparison

The trust forms discussed in this chapter have drawn a picture of the three different trust forms that collaborators of the Finland-India offshoring teams engaged in while striving to deal with the vulnerability they faced in this new type of project team collaboration. The

comparison used the Johansen et al. (2016) typology of different trust forms as a theoretical lens in the comparison. This tentative typology was chosen, as it allowed the comparison of different levels of agency in trust building. The analysis also shows how situational factors and the chosen trust strategy of collaborators are linked to each other. The collaborators who perceived high value in working with offshore team members and sense of power to influence the trust building engaged in active trust.

Collaborators of the *active trust* form took strong agency in trust building. They engaged in close interaction and entered into active trust practices, which invited a trustee to cooperate in trusting and trustworthy behaviour along the lines of Johansen et al. (2016). As the agency of parties increased along the development of the collaboration, emotions also became self-directed; instead of blaming others or the situation, the collaborators were reflecting on their own actions and performance supporting the claims of Johansen et al. (2016). This illustrated an agentic view of trust building (Mizrachi et al., 2007) with purposive acts to build trust (Möllering & Child, 2003).

The collaborators with *moderate agency* based their trust on cognitive reasons, such as a structured way of working together and knowledge gained whilst working together (see knowledge-based trust: Shapiro, Sheppard, & Cheraskin, 1992; Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). The emotions and reflections were mainly other-directed, as the trustors did not see themselves as having power over the situation or the trustworthiness of others. The collaboration value was limited to routine tasks and thus, the trust-building practices were also limited to observing trustworthiness of trustees to support cognitive trust bases. Limited communication resulting to limited shared frames of understanding were featured. The cognitive component was the strongest in this trust form. Especially in its initial phases, it shared similarities with the cognitive trust concept of 'swift trust' (Meyerson et al., 1996; Crisp & Jarvenpaa, 2013), which is based on clear rules, roles and structures. The levels of uncertainty and vulnerability were controlled by the collaboration mode, which was restricted to the repetitive workflow through a project coordinator who acted as an experienced boundary spanner.

The third trust form, *passive trust*, was engaged by collaborators who experienced the offshoring collaboration as uncontrollable and risky. The uncertainties the collaboration posed such a high-level sense of risk that the decision to trust (a 'leap of faith') exhibited

potential damage, not only to the project but also to the trustor's self-esteem (see Möllering 2013), and thus proved not sensible. Moreover, the sense of control over the collaboration was non-existent, and trustors were not able to base trust on cognitive or emotional reasons. As most of the actors in this position perceived little value in this project team collaboration, they were reluctant to enter the collaboration and thus tried to avoid it. However, some had been pushed into the collaboration due to lack of domestic project team resources or due to management order and they reported uncontrollable vulnerability with feelings of stress and anxiety.

6.3 Concluding discussion on active trust and active trustor

This chapter discussed the findings on different trust forms with a focus on a unique trust form, active trust. The aim has been to gain insight into the specifics of active trust through comparing active trust to other trust forms prevalent in the distributed project teams working in Finland and India. This final section of the chapter discusses the features of active trust with an aim to draw an understanding of the concept of active trust based on the findings in this study.

The comparison between different trust forms and adaptation strategies of collaborators of Finnish-Indian project teams underlined the centrality of *agency* of parties in trust building. The level of trustor's agency is a result of the situational factors, which influence their motivation to invest in purposive trust-building practices. Prior literature has underlined 'purposive actions' as a central feature of active trust (see Möllering & Child, 2003), which the findings of this study also confirm. Hence, the findings confirm that active trust is a conscious behavioural choice (see Li, 2013) and a performative process of situational adaptation and influencing others (see Johansen et al., 2016). Moreover, the findings illustrate that the construct of active trust cannot be pinpointed into a certain set of practices or mechanical behaviours but rather to the agency of the trustor to adapt their behaviour to the situation. What the practices are, depends largely on the unique cultural tensions that hinder the sense of familiarity. Thus, the collaborators' reflexivity, and capability to adjust their practices, along the lines of Möllering (2005), enables trust

building in unfamiliar and new contexts. It is a process based on strong agency and active engagement.

Prior literature has pointed out the central aspect of signalling and demonstrating trustworthiness (see Nikoleva et al., 2015) in trusting. However, as this analysis shows, active trusting was not merely a matter of signalling or interpreting one's trustworthiness, but an act of crafting the trustworthiness and trustfulness of all involved. However, this does not mean that trustworthiness is not an aspect of trusting. The trustworthiness of trustees was supported, strengthened and shaped by the actions of the trustor. The aspects concerning ability were central for Finns, and thus, as trustors they were purposefully supporting the ability of their team members to meet their expectations. In addition, the active trust builders saw that there were aspects that they had to adjust in their own behaviour in order to meet the needs and expectations of the other. For Finns, these were the aspects of benevolence such as commitment and building the personal relationship, whereas for Indians, this concerned their ability. Indians were supporting the Finns to strengthen benevolence by organising social events when Finns visited and by being active in social chatting. Active signalling and demonstrations of trustworthiness played a role, as even active trust was earned and supported by demonstrations of trustworthiness, following Giddens' (1991, 96) statement that 'the trust of the other has to be won'. However, the findings show that, in active trust, the locus of trust building projects to the trustor. Thus, it illustrates how the trustor purposefully forms the trust bases and conditions for the trustees to be trustworthy. Moreover, the findings underline the role of the active trustor purposefully supporting the trustworthiness of the trustee and influencing their conditions.

Moreover, the role of trustfulness had a central role in the findings on active trust and active trustor, which follow the statements of Li (2017, 2007) on trustors' *proactive trustfulness*, which goes beyond the reactive process of trust evaluation. The findings reveal that the active trustors were trusting (i.e., trustful) from the beginning of the trust building. Active trust was a matter of engagement in the interaction and trusting, along the lines of Luhmann (1979, 62): 'Whoever wants to win trust must take part in social life and be in a position to build the expectations of other into his own self-presentation'. This refers to trustfulness, which was clearly seen in active trust building. The findings show

that by being trustful and entering frequent interaction, the active trustor was able to learn more about the others. This follows the lines of Hardin (2002, 131), who states that a trusting person learns more about their counterparties than a distrustful one. Active trustors were not searching for solid trust bases that would provide and enable their trustful expectations but instead entered a process of actively influencing both the situation and the trustees' trustworthiness. This confirms Möllering's (2013) claim that process views of trust do no search for bases for trust but continuously make paths for trusting.

Active trust building did not only stay on the level of interpersonal trust but also included aspects that supported the trustworthy behaviour being socialised to other members of the team. Thus, based on the findings, one can argue that active trust builders were building trust on the team, not just between individuals. The aim of the active trust builders was not only to trust their individual counterparties but to build a project culture that is socialised into the team and thus will also become a 'part of the fabric of organisational action', in the words of Schilke and Cook (2013, 282). Moreover, through the social perspective of trust, trust was taking place as a social construction of shared identities (see Wright & Ehnert, 2010). This study shows that the determination and conscious construction of trust through shared team culture and thus shared frames of understanding might have a fictional quality to start with – referring to what Möllering (2005, 21) calls a 'just-do-it' trust where collaborators, instead of allowing social complexity to paralyse them, experiment and continuously communicate, making trust a reality.

The findings also illustrate multiple active trust-building practices that the trusting parties engaged in continuously. These illustrate the ongoing process of trusting which needs engagement as stated by Giddens (1990, 121), trust 'has to be energetically treated and sustained' and 'worked upon' and which Möllering (2006, 102) refers to as 'trust-in-the-making', where parties reflexively work on themselves and where agency is needed. This supports earlier findings of the significance of purposive actions in trust building in cross-cultural and unfavourable conditions (see Child & Möllering, 2003; Möllering & Stache, 2010; Tsui-Auch & Möllering, 2010). The findings demonstrate that purposive trust practices led to decreased vulnerability, increased trusting and increased success in project work. Collaborators who were active in trusting were also the ones who reported success in their project teams.

7 Conclusions and discussion

The aim of this study was to examine how members in the challenging context of Finnish-Indian distributed project teams build trust over the physical and cultural distance. The interpersonal trust between the project team members studied takes place in virtual project work where team members are located in different countries. In order to provide insight into the phenomena of trust creation in this context, the study examined the dynamic and active trusting process of collaborators. This was enabled by the application of dynamic trust (i.e. active trust process) and culture concepts (i.e. culture mosaic and culture toolkit) as theoretical lenses in data analyses.

As a conclusion to this thesis, this final chapter will discuss the findings from the theoretical point of view and outline the contributions of the research. Sections 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 discuss the key theoretical contributions of this study and by doing this, review the research questions. The contributions to prior literature take place in three different areas: firstly, contributions deriving from the active trust approach; secondly, contribution deriving from the dynamic culture approach in cross-cultural trust examination and thirdly, contribution deriving from the methodological choices of this study. In the final section (7.4) the limitations of the research and the opportunities for future studies on active trust in cross-cultural context are addressed.

7.1 Contribution to active trust concept

This study contributes to the limited body of active trust research and by doing that, enhances the understanding of the concept of active trust as a unique trust form for situations where trust is important but difficult to attain. By drawing on prior empirical studies on active trust (e.g., Möllering & Child, 2003; Tsui-Auch & Möllering, 2010, Nikolova et al., 2015) and by applying the recently proposed conceptual typology of trust forms by Johansen et al. (2016), this study provides insight into the active trust by illustrating active trust as an agentic process of trusting driven by active trusting parties. By doing that, it contributes to the conceptual development of the active trust by identifying the key aspects of active trust: the sense of agency enacted in intentional trust

building actions by an active trustor. This study indicates that these aspects are the differentiators of the active trust from the more passive trust forms, and thus, they are discussed next.

7.1.1 Agency as a central aspect of active trust

This thesis provides empirical evidence on agency of trusting parties when building trust, and thus, proposes intentional trust-building actions as a central element of active trust. The findings of this study confirm the conceptual claims of performative trust as an embodied and agentic trust form (Johansen et al. 2016) and show how collaborators manage their vulnerability by actively influencing their partners to cooperate, entailing active adaptation of their practices to facilitate the conditions to trust. Thus, the study shows how parties undertook agency and acted as engines of trust building following the lines of Mizrachi et al. (2007).

On the level of actions, the findings show how agency was demonstrated in the form of intentional trust practices, which shaped the conditions of trusting parties and supported the trustee to fulfil the expected aspects of trustworthiness. The active engagement of collaborators in trust building underline the central role of intentionality and intentional investments in trust-building practices following the lines of earlier research (e.g., Möllering & Child, 2003, Tsui-Auhc & Möllering, 2010). Thus, the perception of agency (i.e., the power to influence the trust conditions and trusting parties) becomes a central aspect of active trust. In more passive approaches, aspects such as the other person's trustworthiness are seen as an innate quality of the trustee which cannot be influenced or changed by the trustor; in active trust, the collaborators saw themselves as capable of influencing the trustworthiness of the other as well as the conditions of trusting, highlighting 'the role of the trustor as an active purposeful agent' (Johansen et al., 2016, 36).

7.1.2 Active trust as a sum of intentional, cognitive and affective components

The findings on the agentic trust building approach stress the significance of intentionality. Intentionality as a trust component has been addressed in prior studies (e.g., Korsgaard et al., 2015), but greater emphasis has been put on cognitive and emotional

components (McAllister, 1995, Nikolova et al., 2015). Intentionality has mainly been seen as a 'leap of faith' (i.e., trust decision) bearing willingness to accept vulnerability (see Mayer et al., 1995). However, this research indicates that the intentional component of active trusting includes a wider spectrum of intentional trust actions than only a decision to trust (aka leap of faith). The findings show that the active trustors did not only make the decision to trust but took strong agency over the trusting by making it happen (Möllering, 2005) through engagement in intentional trust behaviour and practices.

Therefore, drawing on the widely recognised notion of trust with both cognitive and affective components (see McAllister, 1995; Jones, 1996) or mental and emotional elements (see Nikolova et al., 2015), the findings draw attention to the significance of a third component, intentionality. The view of the intentional component only as a trust decision, the willingness to make oneself vulnerable (i.e., leap of faith) proves too narrow for the active trust form. As earlier studies (e.g., Child & Möllering, 2003) have also indicated, the purposive actions, the strong agency with intentional trusting behaviour is a key element of active trust. Thus, this thesis proposes intentionality and the intentional trust-building practices as a central and significant nominator of active trust.

This study illustrates that in the context of cross-cultural distributed project teams when moving beyond routinised and repetitive tasks into novel tasks, all three trust components: the cognitive, emotional and intentional component are required. As the findings showed, the cognitive component carries importance for Finns, the affective for Indians and the intentional is undertaken by those striving to actively build trust. The intentional component of active trust facilitates (and is facilitated by) the emotional and cognitive sides of trust. Based on this, the three active trust components of Finnish-Indian collaboration are illustrated in Figure 11.

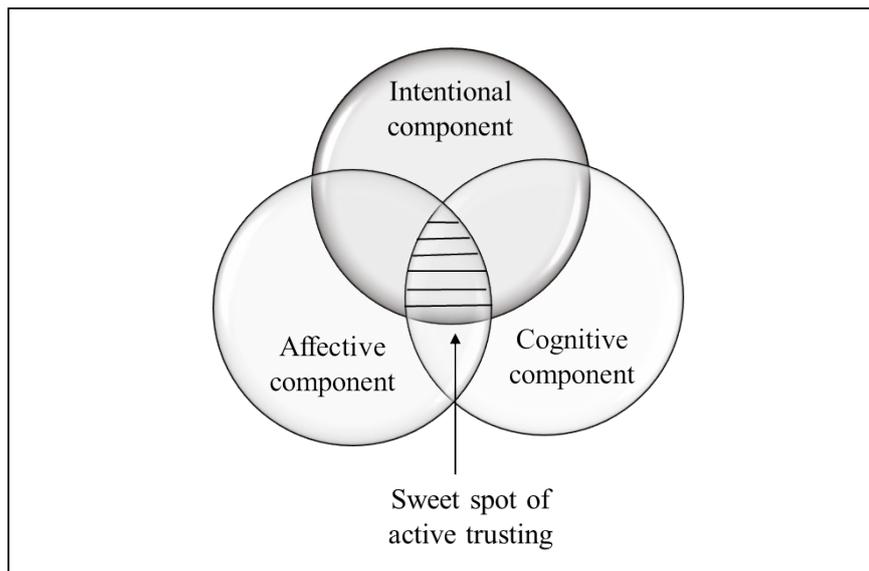


Figure 11 The sweet spot of active trust

In this cross-cultural context, the insights of prior literature pointing out the underlying mechanisms influencing the role of an affective and a cognitive component, a discussion on institutional frames needs to be referred to. Along the lines of prior research, also the collaborators of this study coming from different institutional environments had asymmetries in their routinised trust practices and trust bases (see institutional-based and interaction-based trust by Bachmann, 2010; Bachmann & Inkpen, 2011). This study confirmed the need and importance of affective trust bases in India, which echoes the prior literature stating that the norms of belonging to groups (Laleman et al., 2015), valuing relationships over task (Kakar, 1978) and interacting frequently are central elements of social interaction and trust in India. Whereas in Finland, the trust bases are found in high generalised trust and more in a manner of systems trust (i.e., institutions), resulting in task orientation, valuing cognitive components in relationships (see Bäck & Kestilä, 2009; Kettunen, 2001, Seppänen & Blomqvist 2006, Hofstede, 2001). Thus, based on the findings in this challenging trust building context where parties come from different institutional and cultural backgrounds and work geographically distributed, an active trust model with three trust components is proposed.

7.1.3 Central role of a trustor in active trusting

This thesis contributes to the understanding of the active trusting parties by shedding light on the characteristics and the actions of the trustor, posing them as an initiator, influencer and builder of the trustworthiness of the trustee according to their expectations and a constructor of conditions to trust (see Johansen et al. 2016). In the context of cross-cultural and geographically distant teams, this means active constructions of a shared understanding of trustworthiness elements and active construction of the conditions of distant team members for performing those. Chen, Saporito and Belkin (2011; see also Zand, 1972) underline the importance of domain-specific demands on trustworthiness antecedents, and the findings of this research show how active trustors made explicit clarity of expected elements of trustworthiness, which was the key in fulfilment of the expectations on trustworthy behaviour and performance.

By underlining the central role of the trustor in active trusting, this research moves beyond the more passive conceptualisation of trust formation through a trustor's observations of trustees and their demonstrated trustworthiness (e.g., Mayer et al., 1995) placing the locus of trusting on the trustee (see Möllering 2006, Johansen et al., 2016). In contrast, this research shows that active trust was performed by trustors who were actively influencing their partners to cooperate by proactive adapting of their practices and by facilitating the conditions to trust. Thus, the role of a trustor as an influencer or facilitator marks the centrality of an agentic trustor in active trust building. The findings show how active trustors shifted the locus from their distant team members to themselves and engaged in purposeful actions to strengthen the abilities and conditions of trustees to meet their expectations of trustworthiness. In addition, they acted trustfully from the beginning and purposefully and reflexively adjusted their own practices to meet the needs and expectations of others.

The findings show how active trust relies on the actions of an active trustor in interaction with trustee. As Möllering (2019, 131) states, '[t]rustworthiness and trustfulness go together'; the former refers to being trusted and the latter to trusting others. This dynamic accomplishment is underlined by the notion that trust is built through a process of reciprocal exchange and the mutual influence that collaborators have on one another (Korsgaard et al., 2015; Ferrin, Bligh & Kohles, 2008). Although trustworthiness might

seem to be an inherent quality of a trustee, the notion of ‘perceived trustworthiness’ (Mayer et al., 1995) implies that ‘trustworthiness is an attribution made by the trustor’ (Möllering, 2019, 133), and as the findings show how, in active trust, the trustor acted to make the attribution a reality through purposive actions.

As an answer to the research question asking how actors engage on active trusting, a conceptual model of the trustor’s engagement in active trusting is proposed (see Figure 12). This model elaborates the role of an active trustor in active trusting in cross-cultural relationships. Prior literature has given two roles of trusting parties: the trustor and trustee. However, based on the findings on active trust, the question arises as to whether the division into two roles is current in a cycle of active trust. Echoing the words of Johansen et al. (2016, 35), the active trustor invites a trustee to cooperate, and as the trustee accepts the invitation, they engage in ‘a self-fulfilling prophecy...[of] a virtuous cycle of trusting and trustworthy behaviour’.

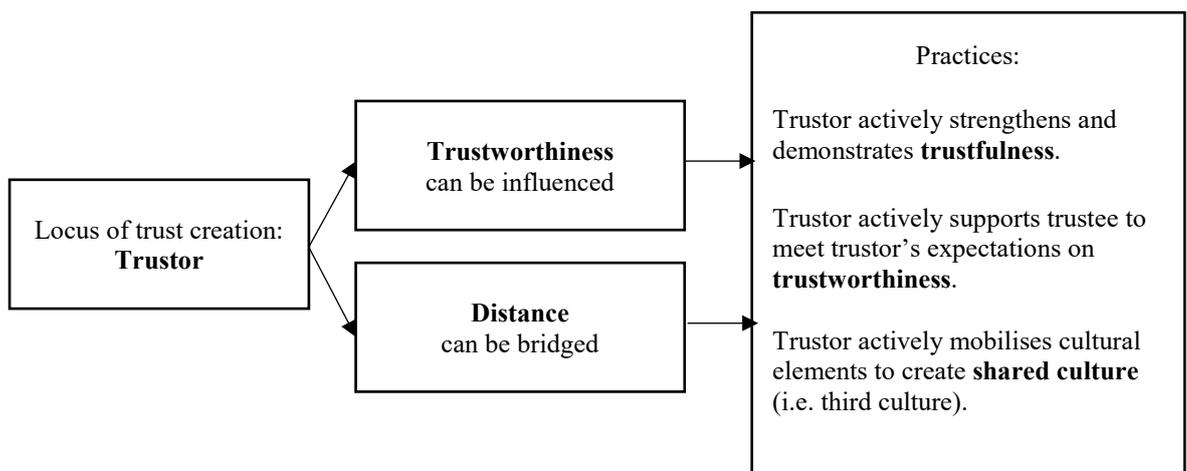


Figure 12 A trustor’s engagement in active trusting in global teams

The proposed model (Figure 12) combines two attitudinal aspects of an active trustor: the trustor’s view on trustworthiness (presented in Chapter 6), and the trustor’s view on the distance inherent in global teams (presented in Chapter 5). This model portrays the agentic trust, where trustor views themselves as having power to influence both the trustworthiness of the trustees and the distance stemming from physical, cultural and power aspects. A trustor’s agentic trust building is demonstrated through active trust

practices: a) actively strengthening their trustfulness, b) actively supporting trustworthiness of others, and c) actively mobilising cultural elements to build a shared working culture (i.e. third culture). Thus, on the level of intentional trust practices, the trustor acts trustfully, supports trustees to meet trustor's expectations, and co-creates a shared working culture.

Therefore, based on the findings, the researcher argues that there is only one central player in active trust, and that is the trustor who simultaneously takes both roles: the trustee by acting in a trustworthy and trustful manner and the trustor supporting the trustworthiness of others by influencing their condition and ability to be trustworthy. This follows the lines of Möllering's (2005) 'just-do-it' trust and is supported by 'reciprocity in trusting' (see Korsgaard et al., 2015). Active trust is based on the strong agency of the trusting party, who perceive themselves in the locus of purposive trust building.

7.2 Contribution to trust building in cross-cultural context

This research contributes to the cross-cultural trust research through an examination of culture mobilisation as part of the building trust process. The findings enhance the understanding of culture as a dynamic part of the trust building process in a context where parties from very different cultural backgrounds work together and must attain trust. In order to approach culture from a dynamic perspective, this study adopted the culture mosaic theory (Chao & Moon, 2005) and culture as a toolkit (Swidler, 1986; Koppman et al., 2016) as theoretical lenses. By doing that the researcher answered the recent calls (Hinds et al., 2011; Koppman et al., 2016; Saunders et al., 2010) claiming that cross-cultural research needs to go beyond the static culture concept and dominant etic typologies into more culture dynamic approaches. The dynamic culture concept (i.e. culture mosaic and toolkit) as a theoretic lens allowed an examination of culture as a resource of trusting parties, which they were able to draw on when identifying and creating familiarity needed for trusting. Moreover, the dynamic culture construct enabled an examination of culture on both the individual and team level. By doing this, the examination captured the process of culture mobilisation as part of the trust building process of collaborators.

The research reveals three main insights on how collaborators mobilised their cultures to build bases for trusting. Firstly, the findings show that the collaborators did not only actively draw on their shared culture elements to create familiarity (see Altinay et al., 2014, Zolfaghari 2014) but also adjusted and co-created new cultural elements to build bases for trust. Secondly, the findings suggest that drawing on existing shared elements or adjusting elements offered trust bases for routine tasks, but only the co-created third culture as a shared schema (Adair et al., 2006) offered common ground paving a way for the high level of trust needed in knowledge-intensive complex project work. Thirdly, the findings illustrate how culture can actively be used as a resource in trust building, confirming the claims of culture as part of trust repertoires (Mizrachi et al., 2007) and following the lines of Swidler (2003, 23), who suggests that '(t)here are not simply different cultures: there are different ways of mobilising and using culture, different ways of linking culture to action'.

Based on these findings, this research contributes to the conceptual development of the culture concept as part of trust research and thus, provides more insights into the dynamic nature of culture in cross-cultural trust building. These contributions pave the road for future trust research on how teams co-create trust bases through building shared cultures such as 'hybrid culture' and 'third culture', which have been discussed in the context of international joint ventures (Brannen & Salk, 2000) and transnational teams (Earley & Mosakowski, 2000) but limitedly in cross-cultural trust research. Thus, this study enhances the understanding of trusting through building shared identities (see 'trust as becoming' by Möllering, 2013) and trusting as adapting (Li, 2013; Johansen et al., 2016) by providing empirical evidence on the conceptual claims. The findings of this study show how, in the context of distributed cross-cultural teams, the collaborators engaged in trusting by cultural adaptation and trusting through co-creating cultural identities.

Moreover, the findings underline the significance of the co-created culture in successful trust building. The third culture (Salk & Brennen, 2000, Adair et al., 2006), which is both shared and grounded in the national cultures of its members, acted as a strong supporter of trust creation. Prior literature suggests that cross-cultural teams are prone to form a third culture (see Adair et al., 2006), which was also supported by this study. The third culture helped collaborators to diminish uncertainty and perceptions of vulnerability by offering

familiarity through a shared schema (Adair et al., 2006). This paved the way for deeper collaboration, and based on the familiarity stemming from the shared team culture, collaborators created trust that allowed them to engage in novel and demanding engineering work. The shared sense making and mutual understanding of bilaterally adopted norms and values of the team were a central part of the co-creation process, and the power of co-created culture as an enabler for trusting was demonstrated in this study.

These findings are valuable, as the difficulties of establishing a common ground in distributed team work has been widely acknowledged (see Cramton, 2001; Hinds & Mortensen, 2005; Metiu, 2006). The findings on third culture and co-created aspects of culture enhance the understanding of trust process in global teams and widens the understanding of the suggested trust forms for the global teams, such as swift trust (see Schilke & Huang, 2018; Meyerson et al., 1996; Blomqvist & Cook, 2018) by adding the endeavour to co-create a shared culture.

Based on above discussion, the researcher argues that the dynamic culture concept should be applied more in cross-cultural trust studies, as it allows examination of culture mobilisation as part of trust process of actors seeking to build trust over cultural distance. As the findings of this study illustrate, the actors engage in various ways to mobilise their cultural elements as part the process of trusting. This is illustrated in the model of trust building through culture mobilisation strategies in section 5.5 (see Figure 9).

7.3 Contribution derived from methodological choices

By adopting a dyadic research design (i.e., collecting data from both sides), and dialectic process approach (Langley et al., 2013) in data analyses, this study offers a methodological contribution to prior trust literature by offering empirical evidence on the dynamics of dyadic trusting in global teams. The dyadic research design allowed an empirical examination of the interplay between trusting parties. Hence, the study captured the interactive process of negotiations and adjustments that led to the co-creation of third culture and adaptation of a shared team identity. Furthermore, the dyadic approach allowed empirical confirmation of Li's (2013) conceptual claims of bilateral adaptation being a key factor in cross-cultural trust creation and offered support to Johansen et al.'s (2014) claim of 'trusting being adapting'.

Building on the process approaches to trust (see section 3.2), the dyadic data showed that the life cycle process approaches (see Van de Ven 1992) commonly used in trust research (e.g., Lewicki & Bunker, 1996) do not explain the cultural adaptation process that the collaborators engaged in when creating familiarity to enable trusting. On the contrary to stage-wise process models, the dialectic process approach enabled an examination of tension and contradictions as driving patterns (Langley et al., 2013) of the culture mobilisation process as part of trust building. The process followed the pattern of tensions-resolution indicated in prior Western-Indian offshoring studies (Koppman et al., 2016, Cramton & Hinds, 2014) and illustrated the cultural adjustments as a central feature of trusting process of collaborators co-creating their shared team culture. This process followed the lines of trust process conceptualisation of ‘trusting as becoming’ (Möllering 2013) and ‘trusting as adapting’ (Johansen et al., 2014; Li, 2013).

Moreover, the dyadic research approach contributed to the understanding of the roles of trusting parties – trustor and trustee – being in continuous reciprocal interaction in a manner that they could be claimed to be intertwined. Findings show that the both dyads were simultaneously perceiving the interactions as a trustor and a trustee to the degree that their clear distinction in reciprocal and closely-knit dyads and teams was difficult. This echoes to the lines of Möllering (2019, 134), arguing that ‘this should not be imagined as simple continuous role switching but as dynamic role elaboration where actions “as trustor” shape actions “as trustee” and vice versa’.

The examination of the both ends of the dyad with qualitative interview-dominated data allowed an identification of collaborator dyads and teams, and thus, the dynamic and bilateral nature of dyadic trust became evident. It also revealed that the parties were looking for different trust antecedents and had asymmetric needs for the emotional and cognitive sides of trust. Due to their cultural backgrounds, Indians were relying more on the emotional aspects and Finns looking for cognitive ones, confirming the findings of a prior study (Jukka et al. 2017) and reflecting the trust-building practices shaped by the institutional frames of nations (see Chapter 2; e.g., Bachmann 2010). Moreover, the study revealed that the acts of active trust building in cross-cultural relations were sometimes culturally counterintuitive and thus required cultural learning and bilateral adaptation. Collaborators working in Finland needed to engage in trust-building practices that allowed

affective components and displays of benevolence, whereas those in India were to learn that displays of competence are central when collaborating with their Finnish colleagues.

Moreover, the dyadic approach contributed to the rich contextualisation of the study. The findings illustrate wide differences in behaviour and interpretations of trustworthiness between the collaborators in Finland and India and many locally situated practices with locally embedded knowledge (Cramton & Hinds, 2014). The study revealed the importance of shared sense making and co-created norms and thus strengthens the prior claims of the centrality of communication in cross-cultural virtual teams (e.g., Powell et al., 2004; Hinds & Mortensen, 2005). Thus, communication as a means of shared sense making was an integral part of creating familiarity and common ground to facilitate trusting. This follows the lines of Savolainen et al. (2014), who claimed communication to be a trust antecedent due to its central role as a tool for sharing formal and informal meaningful information. Furthermore, the dyadic approach allowed contextualised analysis, as interviewing and observing collaborators in both geographical entities shed light on locally embedded practices and how the collaborators' interpretations were framed by the local culture and institutional frame. This contributed to a holistic picture and nuanced insight into trust creation of dyads through emic understanding of the Finnish and Indian national culture influences.

7.4 Implications, limitations and directions for future research

This last section of the report covers three topics. It discusses the managerial implications by illustrating how practitioners can benefit from this research when striving to build trust in their offshoring teams. In addition, it addresses the limitations of this research study, and makes two suggestions for the future active trust research in the context of cross-cultural business collaboration.

7.4.1 Managerial implications

The choice of the research topic of Finland-India offshoring stems from practice, as the researcher encountered the issue of trusting in discussions with business practitioners during her years in India and later in Finland. In these discussions, the issue of difficulties

in cross-cultural trust building was often raised. Hence, the motivation to study the Finnish-Indian trust building was strongly influenced by the needs of the practitioners; with an aim to deliver the findings to practitioners to help them succeed in the challenging task of creating trust between geographically dispersed team members with asymmetric cultural and wider institutional backgrounds.

The findings of this study suggest the significance of trust building through cultural adaptation and co-creation of a shared third culture – a team culture, which builds on the elements of both national cultures. Based on this research, it can be argued that the perceptions of distrust or not being able to trust stem largely from the missing shared schema of what trust and trustworthy behaviour is to collaborators coming from different backgrounds. Local business practices embedded in local environments, cultural norms guiding behaviour and interpretations, and learnt ways of trusting are based on domestic or other cross-cultural contexts and thus, do not provide bases for trust for the newly formed cross-cultural team. Moreover, the sense of distance (stemming from cultural, physical and power factors) works against trusting, and thus, collaborators need to work actively to shrink the perceived distance and unfamiliarity between them. Therefore, the findings of this study encourage the practitioners working in global teams, and especially the managers of these teams, to pay attention to practices that purposefully aim at co-creation of shared team culture and identity, and thus, help collaborators to bridge the distance.

The abilities and strategies of collaborators to diminish perceived distance are key factors in creating familiarity, shared understanding and ways of working together. The findings show that collaborators who were distantly evaluating the trustworthiness of the other party did not report being successful in collaboration. In contrast, intentional engagement and taking an active role in signalling and demonstrating trustfulness and trustworthiness, as well as purposively supporting the trustworthiness of the others, contributed to successful collaboration. Trust was built in interaction and a process of interactive and close ‘talking and learning’, as well as bilateral adaptation of new shared ways of working together. The collaborators who did not engage in the co-creation of a shared schema (i.e., shared team culture) stayed distant from each other and did not enjoy the benefits of trusting but instead relied more on control, repetition and low-risk tasks. On the contrary, the teams who invested in building shared understanding of expectations and team

practices were able to engage in strategic level collaboration including complex project work.

Moreover, successful collaboration in global teams requires understanding of local differences. It is important not to treat trust building as a routine or a mechanical practice. Reflecting the underlying structures that the local practices are built on, helps in constructing and adapting to the new ways of trust creation. For example, the vast differences in institutional safeguarding in India and Finland have influenced the trust-building practices in those countries, leading to trust being built on personal relationships in India and based on institutional systems and generalised trust in Finland. Looking beyond the behavioural practices into the deeper underlying mechanisms helps to understand the needs of others and the kinds of adaptations needed to build trust. The collaborative process of ‘talking and learning’ is central to gaining shared understanding and trust. This study underlined the importance of dialectic communication as means of creating familiarity needed for trust.

Furthermore, this research illustrated the asymmetries between cognitive and emotional trust elements inherent in different cultures and institutional environments. The Western tendency of placing major importance on cognitive elements such as competence, following of set timelines and word-deed coherence differs from the relationship-oriented trust concept of Indians. Thus, the active trust building practices need to be directed to fulfil the needs of both parties and thus, the intentional trust building practices to facilitate both the affective and cognitive trust bases are needed.

Although the findings from a qualitative case study cannot be generalised, they can be transferred and applied in similar cases. Practitioners can reflect and learn from the findings such as the ‘sweet-spot’ of active trust being a combination of the affective and cognitive trust bases with intentional trust-building practices. These insights can be applicable in the context of Finnish-Indian collaboration in wider spectrum than just offshoring teams, for example in joint ventures and other partnerships.

7.4.2 Limitations and future research

This research is completed as a single case study, which can be criticised for its limitation regarding generalisability (Miles & Huberman, 1994). However, Dubois and Gadde (2002, 554) suggest that learning from a particular case is to be considered as a strength rather than a weakness. Therefore, although it is not generalisable, this in-depth case study seeks to offer transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1986) and naturalistic generalisation (Stake, 2005) to similar cases, which the researcher has sought to support by providing details and drawing contextualised conclusions. As Ruddin (2006) claims, the researcher is responsible for providing a sufficiently ‘thick’ description of the context to allow others to assess the degree of similarity to their situations.

The second limitation pertains to the sample and method of sampling. There is an asymmetry in the amount of data between Finland and India due to the number of participants being fewer in India. A larger number of Indian participants would have provided more nuanced data of trust perceptions of the Indian team members. The asymmetry was due to the limited financial resources of the researcher, as the budget of a doctoral student only allowed one trip to India. In addition, the method of sampling can be seen as a limitation. The informants were chosen based on purposive sampling but the sampling is partly influenced by the gatekeepers’ selection of informants, both in Finland and India. However, due to the relatively large number of participants, the bias had less influence on the data in Finland, as the information was triangulated by multiple persons discussing same issues or events.

The third limitation stems from the nature of qualitative research resulting in unavoidable ‘researcher’s bias’ (e.g., Fusch et al., 2018; Patton 2015), as the researcher and her perspectives influenced the research process from philosophical underpinnings to more practical-level decisions such as choosing the topic, interviewing, analysing and drawing conclusions. However, qualitative research was chosen for its strengths such as rich data and ability to examine trust building between dyads. The researcher sought to provide detailed information on the methodology so that the reader has knowledge of decisions made by the researcher and the justifications for those decisions. Moreover, the researcher aimed at providing a thorough description, which allows the reader to assess the researcher’s interpretations.

7.4.3 Directions for future research

This study has contributed to understanding of active trust in the context of Finnish-Indian project teams working virtually. The findings indicate the centrality of the agentic trustor, intentional trust building actions and the co-created team culture in the challenging context of distributed cross-cultural project work. However, as the research was conducted as a single case study, replication in various cross-cultural settings is needed to strengthen the conceptual development of active trust. It is claimed that active trust is a trust form for situations where trust is important but difficult to attain. Thus, the future development of the concept of active trust needs more empirical evidence in various contextual settings. The examination of cognitive, affective and intentional trust components dynamics in various cultural contexts will provide further insight into active trust process.

As this study was motivated with an interest to study the trust in the Finnish-Indian business context in order to support business practitioners, future studies in Indo-Finnish contexts other than distributed teams are recommended. In order to confirm the explanatory value of the findings on asymmetries in trust bases (institutional vs. interactive) and trust components (cognitive vs. affective) as well as the applicability of culture mobilisation process as a trust building strategy, more studies in Indo-Finnish context are needed. Thus, future studies in different Indo-Finnish collaboration arrangements should be undertaken to test and explore the trusting through culture mobilisation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 List of participants of the study: pilot

Table 13 List of participants of the pilot study

	Arrangement	Location	Interview type	Role	Gender	Time of interview
1	Outsourcing	Finland	Individual	Manager	Male	March 2017
2	Outsourcing	India	Individual	Manager	Male	March 2017
3	Outsourcing	Finland	Individual	Operative	Female	March 2017
4	Outsourcing	India	Individual	Operative	Male	April 2017
5	Outsourcing	Finland	Individual	Operative	Male	April 2017
6	Outsourcing	Finland	Individual	Operative	Female	April 2017
7	Outsourcing	Finland	Individual	Manager	Female	April 2017

Appendix 2 List of participants of the study: phase 1 and phase 2

Table 14 List of participants of the study

	Co de	Location	Interview type	Role in collaboration	Gender	Time of the interview
Phase 1						
1	F1	Finland	Individual	Management	Male	April 2018
2	F2	Finland	Individual	Project manager	Male	May 2018
3	F3	Finland	Individual	Project manager	Male	May 2018
4	F4	Finland	Individual	Project manager	Male	Aug 2018
5	F5	Finland	Individual	Project manager	Male	Aug 2018
6	F6	Finland	Individual	Project manager	Male	Aug 2018
7	F7	Finland	Individual	Coordinator	Male	Aug 2018
8	F8	Finland	Individual	Project manager	Male	Aug 2018
9	F9	Finland	Individual	Project manager	Male	Aug 2018
10	F10	Finland	Individual	Coordinator	Male	Aug 2018
11	F11	Finland	Individual	Coordinator	Male	Aug 2018
12	F12	Finland	Individual	Manager	Male	Aug 2018
13	I1	India	Individual	Director	Female	April, June2018
14	I2	India	Individual	Team lead	Male	June 2018
15	I3	India	Individual	Team lead	Male	June 2018
16	I4	India	Individual	Team lead	Male	June 2018
17	I5	India	Individual	Engineer	Female	June 2018
18	I6	India	Individual	Engineer	Male	June 2018
19	I7	India	Individual	Engineer	Male	June 2018
20	I8	India	Individual	Engineer	Female	June 2018
21	I9	India	Individual	Engineer	Female	June 2018
22	I10	India	Individual	Technician	Male	June 2018
23	I11	India	Individual	Technician	Male	June 2018
24	I12	India	Individual	Technician	Male	June 2018
25	I13	India	Individual	Technician	Male	June 2018
Phase 2						
1	G1	Finland	Group	3 engineers	Male, Female	March 2019
2	G2	Finland	Group	3 engineers	Male, Female	March 2019
3	G3	Finland	Group	3 persons in different roles	Male, Female	March 2019
4	G4	Finland	Group	4 persons in different roles	Male	March 2019
5	G5	Finland	Group	4 engineers	Male, Female	March 2019
6	G6	Finland	Group	4 engineers	Male	March 2019
7	G7	Finland	Group	3 project managers	Male	March 2019
8	F13	Finland	Individual	Engineer	Male	March 2019
9	F14	Finland	Individual	Project manager	Male	March 2019
10	F15	Finland	Individual	Engineer	Male	March 2019
11	F16	Finland	Individual	Project manager	Male	March 2019

Appendix 3 Participant Information Sheet

PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

Research Project - *Finnish-Indian collaboration relationships*

Researcher(s): Anna Hankimaa

Supervisor: Director, PhD Spinder Dhaliwal, University of Westminster, London,
xxxxx(at)Westminster.ac.uk

Senior Lecturer, PhD Martin Mathews, University of Westminster,
London, xxxxxx(at)Westminster.ac.uk

You are being invited to be part of a research, which studies Finnish-Indian collaboration in offshoring arrangements. The research is being undertaken as a part of Anna Hankimaa's PhD studies in University of Westminster London. The research data are utilised in dissertation, journal articles and presentations. The data are gathered through interviews, discussions, observation and documents.

Please note:

- Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary.
- You have the right to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
- You have the right to ask for data to which you have an association to be withdrawn as long as this is practical, and for personal information to be destroyed.
- You do not have to answer particular questions either on questionnaires or in interviews if you do not wish to do so.
- Your interview and responses will be made anonymous. However the use of identification of role or title and gender will be mentioned. Individual identities will be kept confidential unless you provide explicit consent to do otherwise. Company names will not be published.
- No individuals should be identifiable from any collated data, written report of the research, or any publications/presentations arising from it.
- The interview will be recorded and transcribed into a written document. Recording will be destroyed after the transcribing. Interviewee may request the document of his/her interview.
- All computer data files will be encrypted and password protected. The researcher will keep files in a secure place and will comply with the requirements of the Data Protection Act.
- All hard copy documents, e.g. consent forms, completed questionnaires, etc. will be kept securely and in a locked cupboard, wherever possible on Haaga-Helia University of applied science Pasila premises. Documents may be scanned and stored electronically. This may be done to enable secure transmission of data to the university's secure computer systems.
- If you wish, you can receive information on the results of the research. Please indicate on the consent form if you would like to receive this information.
- The researcher can be contacted during and after participation by email [anna.hankimaa\(at\)haaga-helia.fi](mailto:anna.hankimaa(at)haaga-helia.fi) or by telephone +358 (0)xx xxxxxxx
- If you have a complaint about this research project you can contact the research supervisor Spinder Dhaliwal [xxxxx\(at\)westminster.ac.uk](mailto:xxxxx(at)westminster.ac.uk)

Appendix 4 Participant consent form

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: *Finnish-Indian collaboration relationships*

Researcher: Anna Hankimaa

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| I have been given the Participation Information Sheet and/or had its contents explained to me. | Yes
<input type="checkbox"/> | No
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| I have had an opportunity to ask any questions about the intentions of the study and I am satisfied with the answers given. | Yes
<input type="checkbox"/> | No
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand I have a right to withdraw from the research at any time and I do not have to provide a reason. | Yes
<input type="checkbox"/> | No
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that if I withdraw from the research any data included in the results will be removed if that is practicable (I understand that once anonymised data has been collated into other datasets it may not be possible to remove that data). | Yes
<input type="checkbox"/> | No
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| I would like to receive information relating to the results from this study. | Yes
<input type="checkbox"/> | No
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| I wish to receive a copy of this Consent form. | Yes
<input type="checkbox"/> | No
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| I confirm I am willing to be a participant in the above research study. | Yes
<input type="checkbox"/> | No
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| I note the data collected, (which will be fully anonymised) may be retained in an archive and I am happy for my data to be reused as part of future research activities. | Yes
<input type="checkbox"/> | No
<input type="checkbox"/> |

Participant's Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

This consent form will be stored separately from any data you provide so that your responses remain anonymous.

I confirm I have provided a copy of the Participant Information Sheet to the participant and fully explained its contents. I have given the participant an opportunity to ask questions, which have been answered.

Researcher's Name: Anna Hankimaa

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix 5 Axial coding of trustworthiness

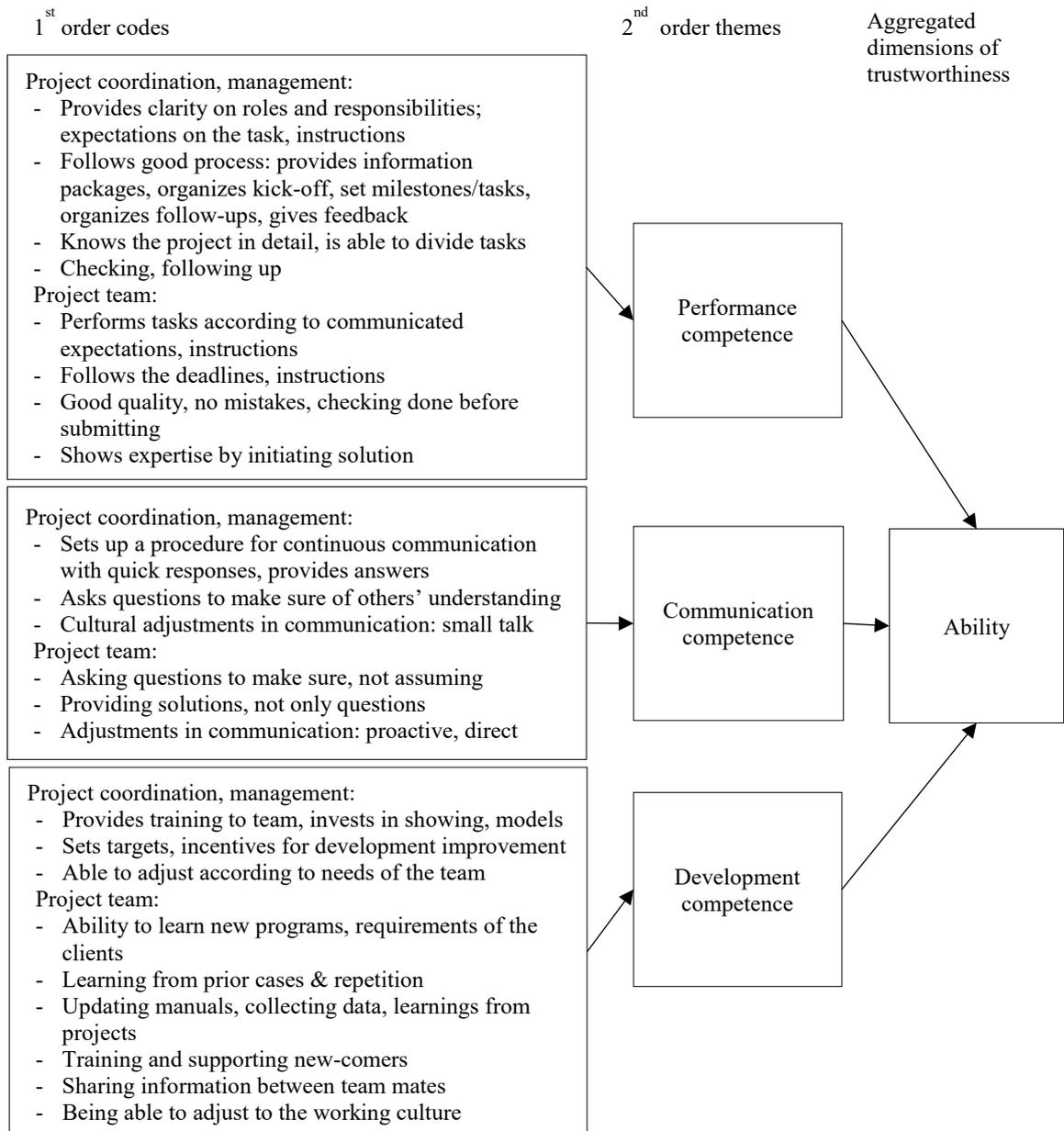


Figure 13 Axial coding of the ability dimension of trustworthiness

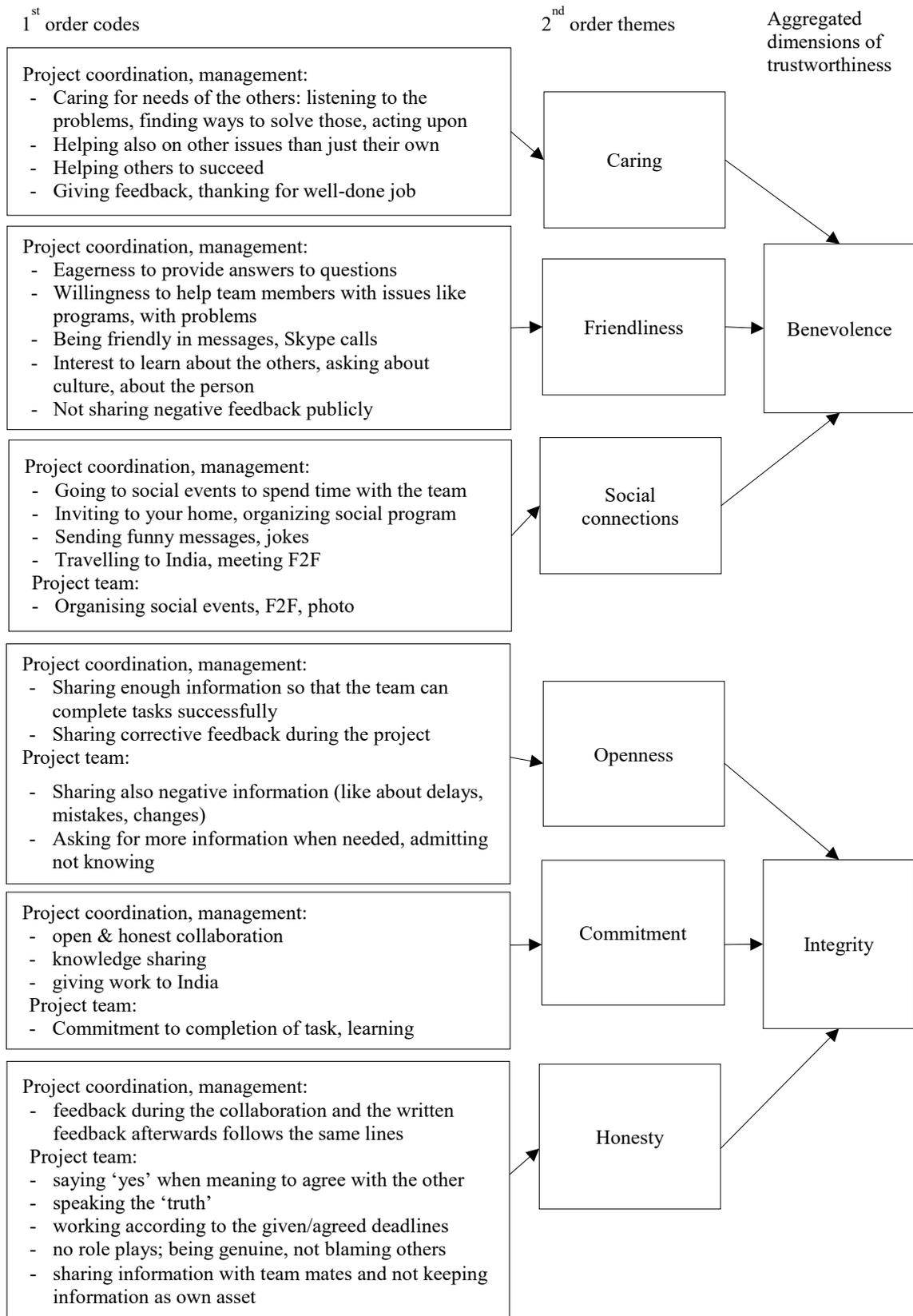


Figure 14 Axial coding of the benevolence and integrity dimensions of trustworthiness

Appendix 6 Matrix approach to analyse trust through culture elements

Digital identity			
Global identity			
Project culture			
Hierarchical level			
Professional identity			
Company culture			
Identity as English speaker			
National Culture identity			
Life stage			
Professional age			
Gender			
Age			
Ability			
Benevolence			
Integrity			

Figure 15 Matrix type of approach to analyse the trust building through culture mobilisation