



Arabic cluster: a bridge between East and West

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Abstract

The Arabic cluster, consisting of Egypt, Morocco, Turkey, Kuwait, and Qatar is located in the Middle Eastern part of the world. These societies reflect a medium level of Human Development and are rich in oil and mineral resources. They have many commonalities in their societal norms and practices, reflecting their historical, religious, and socio-cultural characteristics. They are all predominantly Muslim, have been under the influence of Europe and Ottoman Empire before gaining their independence, and they share common literature, architecture, and educational background. Societies in the Arabic cluster are found to be highly group-oriented, hierarchical, masculine, and low on future orientation. Outstanding leadership in this cluster includes team-oriented and charismatic attributes. The paper discusses the managerial implications of these findings. © 2002 Elsevier Science Inc. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

The concept of culture has been central to many studies in anthropology, psychology, organizational behavior, and international business. Researchers in these disciplines have produced a sizable body of literature that directly relate to values, norms, and behaviors in organizations and business relationships. While national cultures have their unique attributes, previous work has found that there are also clusters of nations, where geographic location serves as the basis of the cluster (Ronen & Shenkar, 1985). This article will focus on GLOBE's Arabic cluster, which includes the independent states of Qatar, Morocco, Turkey, Egypt, and Kuwait.

While there are other nations in the region that are probably members of this cluster, like Algeria, Tunisia, or Bahrain, they did not participate in GLOBE and were excluded. This article will highlight the important aspects of the GLOBE Arabic cluster based on the five participating nations. It will present a demographic and economic profile of the cluster, discuss its historical and cultural background, present GLOBE's findings on key societal cultures, portray the region's profile on GLOBE's key leadership dimensions,

and finally, discuss the theoretical and managerial implications of the findings.

1.1. Demographic and economic profile

The geographic region where the countries in the Arabic cluster are situated extends from Turkey's partial location in the Balkans (southeast Europe) in the west, to the Arab Peninsula (Qatar and Kuwait) in the east, and from the northeastern Africa (Egypt) to the Atlantic Ocean (Morocco). These countries are regionally located close to each other in the Middle Eastern part of the world, where a significant portion of their land is in southwestern Asia and northern Africa. The region has been a convenient bridge between Africa and Euroasia in all periods of history. Fig. 1 shows a map of the GLOBE countries that are in this cluster.

Table 1 provides important demographic and economic statistics for this cluster. About 164 million people inhabit in an area of approximately 864,000 mile². The range among the countries in the cluster in terms of area and population is large. Egypt (384,000 mile²) and Turkey (297,000 mile²) have the largest areas, followed by Morocco (172,000 mile²), whereas Kuwait (7,000 mile²) and Qatar (4,000 mile²) are the smaller countries in the cluster. Their population densities are medium and population sizes are in parallel with their areas. Egypt (66.7 million) and Turkey (65.7 million) are the most populous, followed by Morocco (29.3 million), Kuwait (1.8 million) and Qatar (0.6 million).

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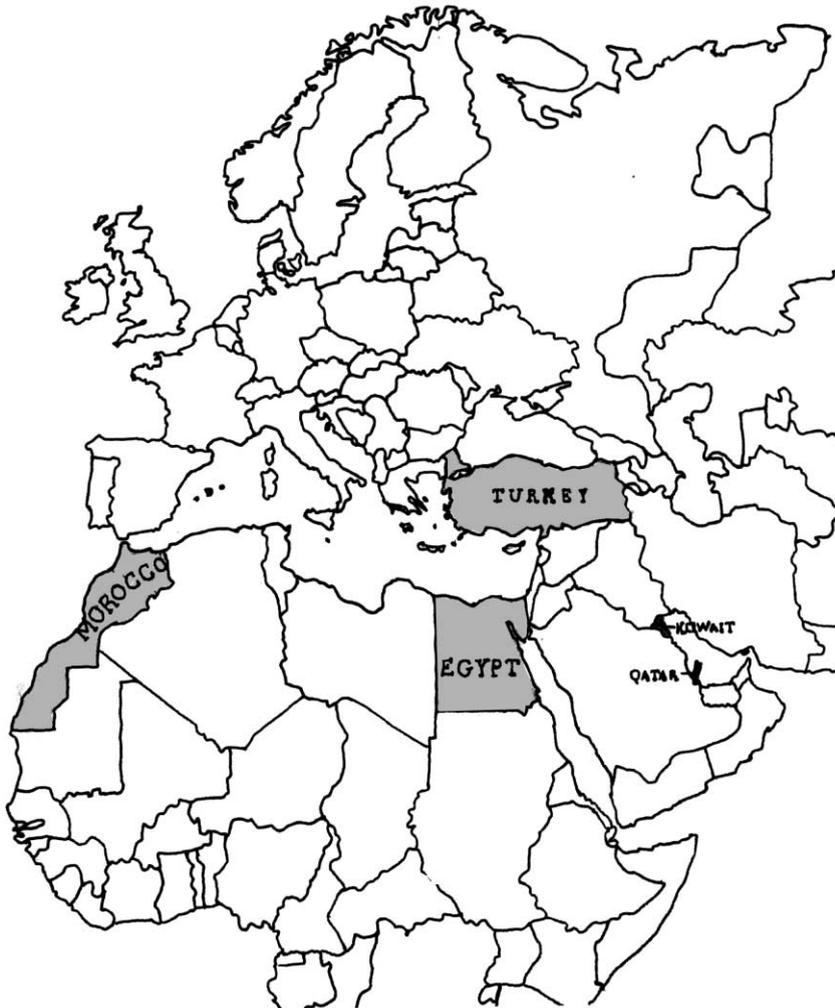


Fig. 1. The map of the region: Arabic cluster.

Typically, the societies in the Arabic cluster reflect a medium level of Human Development Index, which represents quality of life, education, and life expectancy in the countries. Kuwait (43rd) and Qatar (48th) are categorized among high development societies, whereas Turkey (82nd), Egypt (105th), and Morocco (112th) are considered to be among medium development societies. A lower ranking reflects a higher overall score for a country's HDI, indicating a higher quality of life, higher levels of education, and higher life expectancy.

The five nations in the Arabic cluster collectively generate a gross domestic product of approximately U.S.\$349 billion, which makes-up 11% of the world economy. This is very high given the fact that only 2.7% of the world population lives in the cluster. GDP per capita (Purchasing Power Parity or PPP) in the cluster is U.S.\$9,859, which is significantly above the world average (U.S.\$6,980). On the other hand, there are also variations among the countries in

terms of their GDP and GDP per capita. Turkey generates the largest GDP (U.S.\$186 billion), whereas Qatar has the lowest GDP (U.S.\$9 billion). On the other hand, the wealthiest nation is Qatar with a PPP GDP per capita of U.S.\$18,789, followed by Kuwait (U.S.\$17,289) and Turkey (U.S.\$6,380). Egypt (U.S.\$3,420) and Morocco (U.S.\$3,419) have the lowest GDP per capita.

Economic standing and wealth of the cluster can mainly be explained by the large oil and natural gas reserves explored in the region. Kuwait has the second largest oil reserves in the world, after Saudi Arabia. Qatar's proven gas reserves are the third largest in the world. Oil production started in 1940 in Kuwait and 1947 in Qatar. The economies of these two states have been dominated by the state and its oil industry. The private sectors in the two states consist of mostly small and medium size organizations. Agriculture is limited due to a lack of arable land and water.

Table 1
Economic and demographic profile, 1998–1999

	Surface area ($\times 10^3$ m ²)	Population (Millions)	Life expectancy (Years)	GDP (U.S.\$ Billion)	GDP per capita (PPP U.S.\$)	Human development index-world ranking	Agricultural value added (% GDP)	Manufacturing value added (% GDP)	Services value added (% GDP)
Egypt	384	66.7	67	89	3,420	105	18	32	50
Kuwait	7	1.8	76	30	17,289	43	0.4	54	46
Morocco	172	29.3	67	35	3,419	112	17	32	51
Turkey	297	65.7	70	186	6,380	82	18	25	57
Qatar	4	0.6	69	9 ^a	18,789	48			
Arabic Cluster	864	164.1	70	349	9,859	82	13.25	35.75	51
World	46,635	5,863	66	3,035	6,980	81	4	21	52
Arabic cluster/world	0.02	0.027	1.05	0.11	1.41	1.01	3.31	1.7	0.98

Source: Human Development Report (2000, 2001).

^a Data refer to 1997.

Industry in Kuwait consists of several large export-oriented petrochemical units, oil refineries, and a range of other industries including large water desalination, ammonia, desulfurization, fertilizer, brick, block, and cement plants. In Qatar, as a diversification policy, the government made significant investments in developing the country's natural gas infrastructure. Qatar has heavy industrial projects, including refinery, fertilizer, steel, and petrochemical industries.

Based on the development of Kuwait's oil industry in the 1950s, the country modernized its basic infrastructure by the early 1980s. A highly developed Kuwaiti state offers generous domestic policies and sponsors many social welfare, public works, and development plans. Furthermore, Kuwait has been a major source of foreign economic aid to other states for the purpose of Arab economic development. Over the years Kuwait has provided aid to Egypt, Syria, and Jordan.

The major natural resources of Egypt include petroleum and natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, and manganese. Oil and oil products make up approximately 50% of total exports. Major natural gas reserves have been found in Egypt and this sector is expanding rapidly. Morocco is the only North African country without oil, yet it has the largest phosphate reserves in the world. In addition, it has other mineral resources, like copper, fluorine, lead, barite, iron, and anthracite. Similarly, Turkey does not have oil and natural gas reserves. However, it is rich in minerals and resources such as copper, iron, chromium, borax, and bauxite.

The economies of Egypt, Turkey, and Morocco are quite similar in the sense that the highest contribution to GDP is realized by the services sector, followed by manufacturing and agriculture. In these three countries, agriculture employs a large percent of the labor force compared to the contribution it makes to GDP (17–18%). They are major exporters of agricultural products. While the states continue to control a significant share of the economy, in the 1980s–1990s, the governments in Egypt, Turkey, and Morocco engaged in major liberalization policies. Private sectors in these countries are quite developed and include mainly food and clothing sectors.

2. The worldviews of the Arabic cluster: history, religious ideology, and socio-cultural practice

Egypt, Kuwait, Morocco, Turkey, and Qatar have many commonalities in their societal norms and practices that derive from their religious, economic, social, political, and historical characteristics. These attributes create a common culture in the region that differentiates them from societies residing in other parts of the world. First, we will highlight the early history of the region and then focus on the religious ideology and societal values and practices it generated.

2.1. Historical foundations of the Arabic cluster

The earliest civilizations of the world existed in the lands of the Arabic cluster, including Egypt, Anatolia (the land of current Republic of Turkey), and Morocco. A developed Egyptian society, which exists for more than 5,000 years, is considered to be one of the earliest civilizations of the world. The ancient Egyptian ways of living passed from pharaonic times through the Persian, Greek, and Roman invasions to Egypt's Christian era. Egypt was later conquered by Arab forces in 642 after which a process of Arabization and Islamization followed. Although a Coptic Christian minority still remains today (10% of the population), the Arab language outmoded the native Coptic tongue. Ancient Egyptian ways gradually melded with Islamic traditions. Following the Arab invasions, for more than 1,000 years, a series of Turkish, Arabic, Mameluke, and Ottoman rule dominated the country (2000 Commercial and Economic Guide, 2000).

The strategic location of Kingdom of Morocco in North Africa, with a coast to the Mediterranean, created interest in this land. Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, and Byzantine Greeks ruled the area in succession. In the seventh century, Arabs started to invade the country and brought Arabization and Islam to the country. While 99% of the inhabitants are considered to be Arab-Berber, Morocco is the last refuge for descendants of the original Berber inhabitants of northwest Africa (World Desk Reference, 2000). About 35% of Moroccans are Berber-speaking and live mainly in mountain villages, while the Arab majority inhabits the lowlands.

Anatolia, the land of Turkey, hosted many ancient civilizations. Turks migrated to Anatolia in the 10th century when Oghuz confederation of Turkish tribes from central Asia moved to Asia Minor and gave rise to the house of the Ottoman Empire. These tribes were largely nomadic and raised crops and bartered in market towns as they moved to the southwest along the Muslim border. The economic contact with Muslims facilitated the conversion of the Oghuz Turks to the Muslim faith. Once converted to Islam, the Turks, under the leadership of Seljuk family began expanding further in Anatolia by gaining their strength from the military classes who were granted land in return for service to religious aristocracy. Ghazis, warriors of faith, had the sacred duty of extending the Islamic territory and kept penetrating deeper into the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia. The Ohazi ideal which was revealed by all Ottoman Sultans provided the motivation for conquering and expanding into new areas, covering North Africa, East and Central Europe, and the Middle East (Itzkowitz, 1972).

After the defeat of the 600-year-old Ottoman Empire in World War I, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turks won the independence war and established the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Although the Ottoman Empire controlled parts of northern Africa, southeastern Europe, and western Asia, it fell behind Europe in terms of technological

and scientific developments. The newly founded republic concentrated on westernizing the country in terms of social, political, linguistic, and economic reforms. These reforms carried the principles of secularism, nationalism, and modernization, while trying to incorporate westernization in all facets of life.

The modern history of Kuwait began in the 18th century when a group from the Anaiza tribe, who came from Qatar, founded the city of Kuwait. Kuwait had its first acquaintance with the west in the 1775–1779 period when the British passed a mail service through Kuwait. During the 19th century, Kuwait began to seek British support in order to obtain its independence from various Arabian Peninsula groups and the Turks. In 1899, the ruler from the Sabah family signed an agreement with the United Kingdom that provided protection to Kuwait. Later in 1961, Kuwait became fully independent following an exchange of notes with the United Kingdom.

Qatar has been inhabited for millennia and was occupied by the Ottoman Turks during the period 1872–1914. In 1916, a treaty was signed between the United Kingdom and the ruling family, establishing British protection over Qatar. In 1940, oil was discovered and in the 1950s and 1960s increasing oil reserves brought economic and social progress as well as immigration to Qatar. In 1968, the United Kingdom announced the end of the treaty relationship with the Gulf sheikhdoms and in 1971 Qatar declared independence as the State of Qatar.

2.2. *European influences and gaining independence*

The countries in this cluster all share a heritage of foreign control for many decades. With the demise of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of the British and French protectorates after World War I, these countries sought their independence from the Ottoman, British, and French powers. After a period of British protectorate, Egypt (1922), Kuwait (1966), and Qatar (1971) declared independence. Turkish Republic was established in Ankara in opposition to the Ottoman center in Istanbul. After fighting against the British, French, Italian, and Greek forces, Turkey declared its independence in 1923. Morocco declared its independence in 1956 against the French protectorate (Hourani, 1991).

2.3. *The current political systems*

Politically, each of the nations in the Arabic cluster has a different governmental system. Turkey and Egypt are republics, whereas in Qatar executive power is vested in the Amir, who holds the post of the prime minister. Kuwait and Morocco are run by constitutional monarchy. A common pattern in the political systems of these nations is the existence of an advisory council for the ruling parties. The rulers are expected to abide by tradition and consult the advisory board.

2.4. *Religion: the Islamic overview*

The populations in the five countries that are included in the Arabic cluster predominantly accept and practice the religion of Islam. In Egypt, a great majority of the population (90%) are Sunni Muslims, while the remaining 10% is Coptic Christians. A sizable group of the native Kuwaitis (70%) are Sunni Muslims and 30% are Shi'a Muslims, while there are very few Kuwaiti Christians. A great majority of the Moroccan population (98%) are Muslims, and most belong to the Sunni sect. The Qataris are mainly Sunni Muslims. In Turkey, a great majority of the population (99%) are Muslims, and most of them belong to the Sunni branch of Islam, although a significant number are Shi'a Muslims. In summary, more than 90% of the populations residing in these countries are Muslims, and practice mainly the Sunni sect while a diversity of other Islamic sects also prevail among the peoples of this cluster.

Social and ethical obligations of a Muslim are based on the belief that the Islamic community is a brotherhood where equality in personal worth, regardless of status and wealth prevail (Gibb, 1962). To become a Muslim is the affirmation of faith and repeating the "shahada": that there is one God and Mohammed is the messenger of the God (Bill & Leiden, 1979; Ilmihal I, 1999).

Although Islam pervades most of the area, the Muslims themselves differ in levels of orthodoxy. The main sect is Sunni's, however, each of these states follows different schools of Sunnite Islam. For example, Morocco and Egypt are Maliki, Turkey is Hanefi, Qatar and Kuwait are Hanbali. A much smaller group is Shi'ites, dispersed as minorities in the Arabic cluster. Theoretically, the Shi'ites are those who exalt Ali, the fourth caliph and argue that the immediate religious leadership of the Muslim community should descend through the family of Ali.

In the Sunni doctrine, the Islamic community, the "ummat Allah" is the divine plan, which cultivates unity. Orthodoxy stresses collectivity. In contrast, Shi'ism, allows more individual freedom and is much looser in the practice of religion. In Sunnism the body of law is complete and unchangeable. On the other hand, Shi'ism teaches that the law is always alive and changing. Thus, Shi'i Islam is continuously able to interpret and account for the new and different. In Shi'i communities scholastic group (mujtahids) have a significant role of controlling and channeling change (Gibb, 1962; Bill & Leiden, 1979).

In some occasions the divisions and sects in religion create tension within societies and serve as a basis of differentiation. On the other hand, all sects accept the Koran as the holy book and adhere to its requirements. The Koran has been a unifying force that strongly influences societal practices and acts as a driver towards creating a common culture in the Arabic cluster.

While these societies have been interpreting the Islamic religion according to the deeply rooted social norms and practices that prevailed in many facets of social life, Islam

promotes a set of moral values and behaviors in society through the scripts of the Koran and sayings of the prophet Mohammad. The acceptance of the Islam religion has influenced social values and practices as well as the legal system in the countries in the Arabic cluster. In these areas, Islamic Law, Shari'a, has served as the major religio-administrative force for centuries. Currently, except in Turkey, the legal systems in these countries include at least a partial practice of the Islamic Law, Shari'a. In Egypt, under the Islamic and western influences, the judicial system is based on a mix of English common law, Napoleonic codes, and Islamic Law. Kuwait has a civil law system, but Islamic Law plays a significant role in personal matters. In Qatar, the Amir who has pre-eminent power cannot violate the Islamic Law. In Morocco, a combined effect of the west and Islam can be observed, since the legal system is based on Islamic Law and French and Spanish Civil Law. The Turkish legal structure is organized along western legal structures, starting with the radical reforms which came after the declaration of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

2.4.1. *Secularism versus religiousness*

There have been two divergent trends of religious and more secular approaches in these nations. Representing the more secular current, early Arabists promoted Arab nationalism as a secular alternative to the Islamic Ottoman caliphate. Secular Arab nationalism was viewed as an extension of the Arab language rather than religiousness as the demand for Arab rights within the Ottoman caliphate grew (Khoury, 1983). The concept of secularism in Turkey was promoted as one of the basic principles of state ideology as the new Republic of Turkey was established in 1923 and 1 year later the caliphate system was abolished as a trend towards secularism. While the duality between secularism and religiousness exists in the Arabic cluster, secularism seems to serve the purpose of a new identity within the Arabic and Turkish contexts. On the other hand, Islamic fundamentalism continues to pose itself as an alternative to secular nationalism in these societies.

2.5. *Socio-cultural elements*

The GLOBE Arab cluster represents a complex set of diversity, pluralism and contradictions as well as similarities in socio-cultural characteristics.

- **Language.** In explaining the feeling of identity in the Arabic speaking societies, the Arabic language deserves a significant focus (Hourani, 1970). The Arabic language seems to be a factor that creates a sense of personality among the members of the Arab population. Arab identity is primarily based on language. Arabs are more conscious of their language than many people in the world. Arabic seems to be a factor that creates a feeling of identity among the members of the Arab population regardless of their race, religion, tribe or region. Only a small minority

of citizens of Arab nations does not speak Arabic as their mother tongue. Turkey is the only society in this cluster which has a different language, Turkish. In Turkey, the official language is Turkish and more than 80% of the population speaks Turkish as their mother tongue.

- **Ethnicity.** Ethnicity is defined in linguistic and cultural terms as well as in terms of descent from distant common ancestors. Barakat (1993) defines Arab ethnicity as being linked to the descent from the "Adnanites and Qahtanites". With this definition, the dilemma of reconciling it with other ethnic groups within the Arab world emerges, such as the Berbers, Circassians, Assyrians, and Chaldeans.

The Berbers constitute a significant portion (40%) of the population of Morocco. On the other hand, with the Islamic conquest of the region, Berbers experienced total Islamization and partial Arabization. The origin of the Turks goes back to the ethnic groups that resided in central Asia and that migrated to Anatolia. Ethnic make-up is such that while 80% are Turkish, a considerable percentage is Kurdish, and the remaining ethnic group is quite diverse. The Kurds living in this part of the world also define themselves in linguistic and cultural terms.

About 90% of the inhabitants in Egypt are Egyptians, which come from eastern Hamitic origin. Although Egyptians have a strong sense of national identity and consider themselves "Egyptians", Egyptianization also means Arabization (El-Hamamsy, 1977).

Kuwait's oil wealth has attracted a huge influx of guest workers from other countries in the region. Only 45% of the inhabitants are in-born Kuwaitis, 35% are from other Arab countries, 9% are south Asians, and 7% are Iranians. Due to massive immigration to Qatar from the neighboring states, there is a sizable group of foreigners working in the country. Only one in five inhabitants is native-born. While 40% of the inhabitants are Arabs, Indians (18%), Pakistanis (18%), and Iranians (10%) form a large community of guest workers. In addition, western expatriates also enjoy a high standard of living in the country.

2.5.1. *Clothing*

A characteristic element in the female clothing of Muslim world is the veil and head-scarf, which grew as a protection and mark of distinction of women, but was also a form of lack of freedom in public life for women. The Ottoman headgear in the form of fez was considered to be a characteristic article of male clothing and existed in various forms, reflecting differences in social classes. The current clothing in urban life, particularly among the professional group is highly influenced by western style of dressing, mainly in Egypt, Morocco and Turkey for both men and women.

2.5.2. *Food*

Dietary habits in societies of the Arabic cluster are manifested according to the Islam's propositions. Islam requires

fasting during the month of Ramadan for all Muslims and restaurants in many areas would be closed during the day in the holy month. Eating and drinking in public places during this month would be unacceptable. In addition, alcoholic drinks and pork are forbidden in Islam. On the other hand, many restaurants, mainly in urban areas, serve alcoholic beverages.

To summarize, the important unifying force of Islam in the region plays an important role in creating a common culture in the Arabic cluster. In addition, the presence of Ottoman influence over the region along with economic and political exchanges has been a driving force towards commonalities in socio-cultural values and practices in these societies.

3. Findings from GLOBE data

The GLOBE study generated data from middle managers residing in 61 societies. Middle managers provided data about practices and values that are dominant in their societies as well as their perceptions regarding outstanding leader attributes. Practices and values are measured in terms of nine cultural dimensions, which are explained in detail in House et al. (1999). Leader attributes are measured in terms of GLOBE’s key leadership attributes. In this section, we will present societal practices and values, and report outstanding

leader attributes based on GLOBE’s dimensions for Qatar, Morocco, Turkey, Egypt, and Kuwait.

3.1. Societal practices and values for the cluster

Fig. 2 and Table 2 portray the cluster average scores for the nine cultural dimensions. The scores that are reported here are based on the average of the individual scores aggregated at the societal level. The societal level scores are used to calculate the cluster scores by taking the average of the five societal means.

As shown in Fig. 2, the societal practices in the Arabic cluster are rated as high on group and family collectivism (5.58) and power distance (5.23) and low on future orientation (3.58) and gender egalitarianism (2.95). The other cultural dimensions, i.e., uncertainty avoidance (3.91), institutional collectivism (4.28), humane orientation (4.36), performance orientation (3.90), and assertiveness (4.14) are rated in the mid-range.

Family stands at the heart of the society and individuals have huge trust in their family members in Turkey as well as Arabic speaking countries in the cluster (Barakat, 1993; Bill & Leiden, 1979; Ergüder, Esmer, & Kalaycıoğlu, 1991). Importance of the family can be perceived in all types of living—Bedouin, rural, and urban. In these societies, self is defined in relation to family members (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1994) and self-interest is subordinate to the interests of the family.

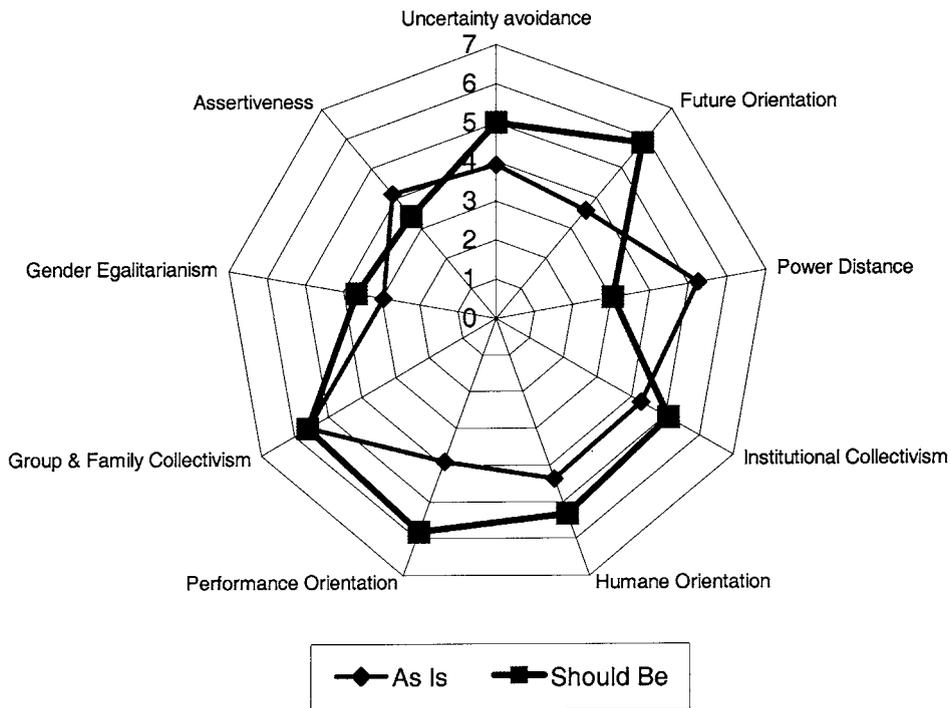


Fig. 2. Arabic cluster's societal culture scores.

Table 2
Country and Cluster Means for GLOBE Societal Culture Dimensions

	Egypt	Kuwait	Morocco	Qatar	Turkey	Cluster	Contrast with other nine clusters
As Is							
Uncertainty Avoidance	4.06	4.21	3.65	3.99	3.63	3.91	-0.412**
Future Orientation	3.86	3.26	3.26	3.78	3.74	3.58	-0.369**
Power Distance	4.92	5.12	5.80	4.73	5.57	5.23	0.118
Institutional Collectivism	4.50	4.49	3.87	4.50	4.03	4.28	-0.034
Humane Orientation	4.73	4.52	4.19	4.42	3.94	4.36	0.281
Performance Orientation	4.27	3.95	3.99	3.45	3.83	3.90	-0.245
Group and Family Collectivism	5.64	5.80	5.87	4.71	5.88	5.58	0.616**
Gender Egalitarianism	2.81	2.58	2.84	3.63	2.89	2.95	-0.447**
Assertiveness	3.91	3.63	4.52	4.11	4.53	4.14	0.026
Should Be							
Uncertainty Avoidance	5.36	4.77	5.32	4.82	4.67	4.99	0.492**
Future Orientation	5.8	5.74	5.85	5.92	5.83	5.83	0.426**
Power Distance	3.24	3.17	3.11	3.23	2.41	3.03	0.305**
Institutional Collectivism	4.85	5.15	5	5.13	5.26	5.08	0.447**
Humane Orientation	5.17	5.06	5.51	5.3	5.52	5.71	-0.135
Performance Orientation	5.9	6.03	5.76	5.96	5.39	5.81	-0.120
Group and Family Collectivism	5.56	5.43	5.68	5.6	5.77	5.61	-0.021
Gender Egalitarianism	3.18	3.45	3.74	3.38	4.5	3.65	-0.924**
Assertiveness	3.28	3.76	3.44	3.8	2.66	3.39	-0.470**

Note: ** $p < 0.01$.

Even when young adults get married, they continue to have high interdependence with their parents and the larger family.

In addition to the family, other in-group relationships also bear a great significance in the Arabic cluster. Among the network of interdependent relationships, belonging to the same region or same school plays an important role (Barakat, 1993; Kiray, 1997). For example, when people migrate to urban areas, they find their homes, work, and even capital for starting a small business with the help of their villagers who migrated to the city before themselves. Such patronage relationships based on kinship, region, and other sources can be perceived in a large range of activities in these societies (Kabasakal & Bodur, 1998). As a result, individuals feel strong attachment to members of their families and in-groups. Strong interdependence with other members of their in-group reduces the importance attributed to performance and future orientation. Individuals have a strong commitment to their relationships in a network of interdependent relationships.

Both the verses of Koran and interpretations of religion reinforced the importance of family and patriarchal relationships inside the family. The father is responsible for the physiological and psychological well-being of the family and the children, in turn, show total respect to the father. In addition, individuals are expected to develop good relations with their relatives, maintain frequent contact with them, and provide help when necessary. Helping the relatives is considered to be more important than being generous to others.

Thus, Islam promotes and maintains family and kinship relationships, creating a highly collectivist culture.

The high significance attached to family and other in-group members is associated with a hierarchy of relationships. Absolute loyalty to the father is a requirement for holding the family together. Ali and Wahabi (1995) indicate that Moroccan families teach their children to obey and show respect for elders and authority figures, socializing them to a hierarchy of relationships in the family. Members of the family are expected to comply with the decisions and directions of the father without question. Norms that are created in the family are extended to other institutions in society and promote acceptance of inequalities in power distribution. The relationship between family connections and power distance is even more evident in the shaykhdoms of the Arabian Peninsula, where the core of the political elite always consists of members of the ruling family (Bill & Leiden, 1979). Other members of the elite are always drawn from other wealthy, aristocratic families.

The verses in Koran also reflect inequalities in power distribution. Islam clearly advocates that people accept the authority of people in leadership positions. It is stressed that people should not be critical of decisions and application of their superiors and obey them without any questions. Islam also accepted the existing class differences, like slavery that continued in the Arabic societies for many years. On the other hand, it is argued that Islam brought improvements for the status of slaves compared to the pre-Islamic period (Ilmihal II, 1999). Thus, the deeply rooted inequalities in

power distribution that existed in the Arabic societies are reflected in the propositions of Islam.

Low levels of future orientation in social practices in the Arabic cluster can at least partly be explained by the Islam religion. The concept of “fate” in Islam can be considered as a factor influencing future orientation negatively. According to *amentu* in studies of Islam, believing in fate is among the basic principles of faith in God (Ilmihal I, 1999). The verses of Koran clearly indicate that all deeds that occurred in the past and that will occur in the future are prearranged and within God’s preordaining. The concept of fate in Islam is very complicated since there are also verses that explain the importance of human being’s responsibility and choice of their actions. Despite the complex concept of fate versus free will in Islam, interpretations tend to focus on acceptance of all conduct as coming from God and a passive attitude towards the future. Societies in the Arabic cluster portray practices that attribute a low significance to planning and influencing the future, which are associated with the low scores in future orientation.

The existing sex role stereotypes and inequalities in societies are also associated with the propositions of Islam. Islam defines the roles that men and women fulfill and create a masculine society, where men are more dominant in many facets of life. Men are considered to carry in-born characteristics that grant them the right to be in governing roles. For example, men are the head of the family and are responsible for the well-being of the family and they are granted a supreme position in issues like heritage and witness (Topaloğlu, 1983). On the other hand, Topaloğlu (1983) argues that Islam has promoted a more equal distribution of rights for women and improved the position of women in Arab society in a radical fashion compared to the pre-Islamic period. Thus, Islam only reflects the deeply rooted inequalities in gender roles that already existed in the Arab societies and many of the gender inequalities in Islam are interpreted based on the existing norms and practices in these societies. This is further evidenced by the fact that there are variations in the status of women in Muslim countries (Moghadam, 1993). For example, Turkish women seem to have a stronger position compared to women in other societies in the cluster. Turkish women obtained the right to vote in 1930, even before many western women; Egyptian and Moroccan women got the right to vote in 1956 and 1963, respectively (The World’s Women: Trends and Statistics 1970-1990, 1990). Turkish society had an egalitarian approach to gender roles and women enjoyed a significant amount of power in family as well as governing positions in the pre-Islamic period. Although Turkish society moved towards a more masculine direction after they accepted Islam, the Turkish state is secular and women have equal rights in many legal aspects.

As Fig. 2 shows, in terms of societal values, the Arabic cluster rates high on future orientation (5.83), performance orientation (5.81), humane orientation (5.71), group and family collectivism (5.61), institutional collectivism (5.08),

and uncertainty avoidance (4.99). It rates relatively low on power distance (3.03), assertiveness (3.39), and gender egalitarianism (3.65) reflecting a preference for higher levels of collectivism, egalitarianism, nurturance, non-aggression, certainty, performance orientation and future orientation in their societies.

3.1.1. Country differences in the cluster

Cluster means indicate the scores for a typical society in the Arabic cluster and ignore the variations among the different states. When societal practices in each nation are analyzed, it can be seen that Turkey and Morocco have almost identical scores in some cultural dimensions. They scored highest on group and family collectivism (Turkey = 5.88 and Morocco = 5.87) and assertiveness (Turkey = 4.53 and Morocco = 4.52) and lowest on uncertainty avoidance (Turkey = 3.63 and Morocco = 3.65). Furthermore, Morocco (5.80), scored highest on power distance, followed by Turkey (5.57). In fact, Morocco has the highest ranking among the GLOBE 61 societies on power distance. Furthermore, on humane-orientation, Turkey (3.94) scored the lowest, followed by Morocco (4.19). Morocco (3.87) scored the lowest on institutional collectivism, followed by Turkey (4.03). They are also both very masculine societies. Morocco (3.26) also shared the lowest score on future-orientation with Kuwait (3.26), followed by Turkey (3.74).

Egypt scored the highest on humane-orientation (4.73), performance-orientation (4.27), and future-orientation (3.86) practices. Egypt’s score together with Qatar and Kuwait on institutional collectivism was highest in the cluster (Egypt = 4.50, Qatar = 4.50, and Kuwait = 4.49). In addition to their high score on institutional collectivism, Qatar scored highest on gender egalitarianism (3.63), while Kuwait scored highest on uncertainty avoidance (4.21) and lowest on assertiveness (3.63), future-orientation (3.26), and gender egalitarianism (2.58).

In terms of societal values, as shown in Table 2, all societies in the Arabic cluster aspire for more performance orientation, future orientation, collectivism, and humane orientation. While all societies seek lower power distance and assertiveness, and higher gender egalitarianism, Turkey stands out for its strong preference for a more egalitarian society where there are lower levels of power distance (2.41) and higher levels of gender equality (4.5).

3.1.2. Contrasts with other clusters

In trying to understand how societal practices and values in the Arabic cluster compare to cultures of other nine clusters of GLOBE, multi-category ANOVA analyses were conducted. Multi-category ANOVA is preferred over simple ANOVA for the sake of efficiency (Howell, 1997). One-way ANOVA contrasts are used to partition the between groups sums of squares in each cultural dimension into a priori contrasts on cluster groupings, which are tested using the *t*-statistic. A coefficient of -0.11 ($1/9$) is used for the other nine clusters, and a coefficient of 0.99 (9×0.11) is entered

for the Arabic cluster. The contrast value shows the degree to which a typical society in the cluster scores higher on a cultural dimension compared to a typical society in other clusters. A positive contrast value indicates that societies in the Arabic cluster score significantly higher compared to societies in other clusters, whereas a negative contrast value reflects a significantly lower score.

The contrast values in Table 2 show that the Arabic cluster scores significantly higher in terms of group and family collectivism (0.62), whereas it scores lower in gender egalitarianism (−0.48), uncertainty avoidance (−0.41), and future-orientation (−0.37). Attachment to the family and other closely-knit groups seems to be a major characteristic of this cluster. Individuals find satisfaction in their relationships within their in-groups, that may be the family, neighborhood, village, school friends, or sect. Strong relations with the group serve many purposes for the interdependent self. This network of interdependent relations provides the means to cope with uncertainty and deeds to come in the future. Individuals in the Arabic cluster are more tolerant of uncertainties in the environment and do not need to make plans for the future as much as individuals living in more individualistic societies. The closeness and interdependence in a network of relationships provides the security that individuals need in the Arabic cluster. Rather than separateness and privacy, individuals experience the security of attachment and commitment to groups.

When contrasted to other societies in the other clusters, the Arabic cluster is also characterized by masculinity and sharp gender differences. Women are perceived as wives and mothers, and gender segregation is customary, if not legally required (Moghadam, 1993). Economic provision falls under the responsibility of men, and women derive their status from their marriage and motherhood. Families promote gender differences by encouraging the girls to spend more time at home and excel in skills related to home-making, whereas they encourage the boys to take-on roles outside home. The education level of men is significantly higher compared to women. On the other hand, the cluster is not homogenous in this respect and there are variations based on nation, class, or age. Higher levels of education are provided to girls among the families with high socio-economic status. For example, the percentage of Turkish women in highly prestigious professions, like doctors or university professors—is far above the percentages in many industrialized countries (Kabasakal, 1998; Koray, 1991; Özbay, 1995). The women in these professions, however, mainly come from families with high socio-economic status. Gender roles are more pronounced in managerial jobs and positions that involve decision-making, like the board of directors and parliamentarians. The societies in the Arabic cluster mainly grant more nurturing roles to women whereas men are provided roles that grant them power, decision-making and authority.

In terms of societal values, the Arabic cluster is distinct from other clusters in GLOBE by a stronger desire for

reduced uncertainty (0.49), increased future orientation (0.43), higher power distance (0.31), and stronger institutional collectivism (0.45). Furthermore, societies in the Arabic cluster seem to prefer lower levels of gender egalitarianism (−0.92) and assertiveness (−0.47). It can be noted that the Arabic cluster is characterized by a significant male domination in terms of both societal practices and values.

3.2. Outstanding leadership attributes in the cluster

Based on the perceptions of middle managers in 61 societies, the GLOBE project identified 23 leadership dimensions that are considered to be effective in different parts of the world in varying degrees. These 23 leadership dimensions were further subjected to a second order factor analysis, resulting in five factors. For the purpose of theoretical consistency, the first factor was further split into two, conveying the charismatic and team-oriented dimensions. Thus, the following leadership factors emerged to identify the leadership attributes that are perceived to be effective in different societies: autonomous, charismatic, humane, self-protective, participative, and team-oriented. The individual scores obtained from the middle managers were aggregated at the society level, and the societal scores were averaged to obtain the cluster scores. Fig. 3 and Table 3 portray the Arabic cluster means for the outstanding leader attributes.

As seen in Fig. 3, outstanding leadership attributes in the Arabic cluster are found to be more in the middle rather than in the extreme. None of leadership styles received a score above 5.5 and below 3.69 on a scale ranging from 1 to 7. Thus, it can be argued that an outstanding leadership style is not associated with an image of extremity.

Among the different leadership styles, team-oriented (5.47) and charismatic (5.35) are perceived to be most effective in the Arabic cluster. Team-oriented leaders are group-oriented and team builders. They exhibit characteristics that are collaborative, loyal, and consultative. They coordinate and integrate the activities of others, are diplomatic, intra-group conflict avoiders, and are win–win problem solvers. They are administratively skilled and organized; carry attributes that are considered to be honest, dependable, non-hostile, and non-irritable. In addition to team-oriented leaders, charismatic leaders are also perceived to be effective in the Arabic cluster. Charismatic leaders are visionary and are future oriented. They are inspirational, positive, enthusiastic, motivational, and confidence builders. They are risk takers and self-sacrificial. They carry qualities that reflect integrity and honesty; are decisive, and logical; and exhibit behaviors that are performance-oriented.

Team-oriented leadership is consistent with the family and in-group-oriented societal culture that is dominant in these societies. Parallel with the family and in-group collectivism that is prevalent in the Arabic cluster, leaders are expected to be team integrators and to engage in collaborative team-orientation. They use consultation and diplomacy to hold the group together and create a feeling of belonging

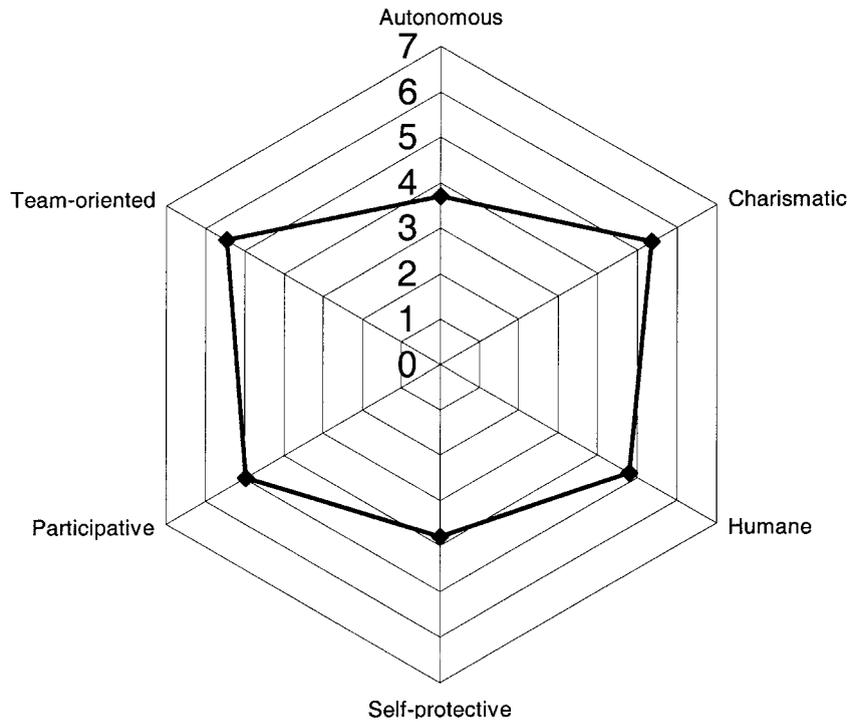


Fig. 3. Arabic cluster's leadership profile scores.

to the group in Turkey (Kabasakal & Bodur, 1998) and Arabic speaking societies (Abdalla & Al-Homoud, 2001). On the other hand, requirements of the tasks and goals necessitate the leaders to be transformational and charismatic and to be much more future and performance oriented compared to the relatively low future and performance orientations that exist in cultures of these societies (Kabasakal & Dastmalchian, 2001). In this sense, leadership involves fulfilling the role of creating a team spirit and increasing commitment to the team, while at the same time encouraging performance, improvement, and future-orientation. In other words, outstanding leaders in the Arabic cluster set a vision and promote performance-orientation in a collectivist manner.

Following team-orientation and charismatic leadership, participative (4.98) and humane (4.80) leadership is perceived to have a slight influence on effective leadership in the Arabic cluster. Participative leaders act in a non-autocratic and non-dictatorial manner, without being an elitist; they delegate tasks in an egalitarian way and are not micro-managers. Humane leadership involves being generous and compassionate in a modest, calm and patient manner. These qualities of participation and humane-orientation contribute only slightly to outstanding leadership in the Arabic cluster.

Self-protective (3.79) and autonomous (3.69) styles are perceived to have a slight negative influence on effective leadership. Self-protective leadership involves being self-centered, status conscious, face-saver, conflict inducer, and

Table 3
Country and cluster means for leadership attributes

	Egypt	Kuwait	Morocco	Qatar	Turkey	Cluster	Contrast with other nine clusters
Autonomous	4.490	3.390	3.340	3.380	3.830	3.686	-0.192
Charismatic	5.570	5.900	4.810	4.510	5.960	5.350	-0.520**
Humane	5.140	5.210	4.100	4.660	4.900	4.802	-0.070
Self-Protective	4.210	4.030	3.250	3.910	3.570	3.794	0.423**
Participative	4.690	5.030	5.320	4.750	5.090	4.976	-0.424**
Team-Oriented	5.550	5.890	5.150	4.740	6.010	5.468	-0.294**

Note: ** $p < 0.01$.

procedural. Autonomous leaders are individualistic, independent, autonomous, and unique. Thus, leaders are not expected to behave in ways that promote their self-interests and act in an independent manner.

Table 3 shows that among the societies in the Arabic cluster, Turkey scores the highest on the effectiveness of team-oriented (6.01) and charismatic (5.96) styles. Morocco scores highest on the importance of participative (5.32), and lowest on self-protective (3.25) and autonomous (3.34) styles. Egypt has the highest scores on autonomous (4.49) and self-protective (4.21) leadership, implying that these attributes slightly contribute to perceptions of outstanding leadership.

3.2.1. *Contrasts with other clusters*

Table 3 portrays the contrast of the effectiveness of leadership attributes in the Arabic cluster, with that in other nine clusters in the GLOBE project. When compared to the other clusters in GLOBE, managers in the Arabic cluster attach less value to charismatic (−0.52), participative (−0.42), and team-oriented (−0.29) styles of leadership. On the other hand, they perceive self-protective (0.42) leadership more positively, although it is still perceived to have a slightly impeding influence on effectiveness. Thus, compared to other societies in GLOBE, leaders are expected not to stick out too much from rest of the society and to have more of an average outlook compared to expectations from leaders in other clusters.

Leadership in the Arabic cluster is a paradoxical concept, that involves a set of dual and contradictory attributes. Based on the evaluations of managers in this cluster, the contribution of GLOBE's leadership styles to effectiveness is found to be modest compared to other clusters. While team-oriented and charismatic leadership are perceived to contribute most to effectiveness, their scores are below 5.5. Managers perceived outstanding leadership as carrying qualities more in the middle rather than in the extreme. None of the leadership styles received very high or very low scores compared to other clusters. Thus, leaders in the Arabic cluster are expected to carry more modest attributes. On the other hand, previous studies indicated that in this cluster leadership is perceived as an important concept, which is vital for the welfare of society and organizations. People anticipate much from their leaders and expect them to be competent. These anticipations can even be interpreted as expectations of miracle and a profile of "super-human" attributes (Kabasakal & Bodur, 1998; Abdalla & Al-Homoud, 2001). Thus, paradoxically, leaders are expected not to stick out and have modest styles on the one hand, and on the other hand be a man with a "miracle", who leads his followers to their ideals.

As part of the paradoxical concept of leadership, managing the tension between the dual sets of values emerges as an important issue. Societies in the Arabic cluster continuously experience the duality between east and west, tradition and modernity, religious and secular. They are simulta-

neously semifeudal, semicapitalist, semi-agricultural and semi-industrial (Barakat, 1993). These dualities create conflicting expectations from leaders in these societies regarding the importance of in-group relationships on the one hand and performance and improvement on the other hand. As part of the strong values towards group and family collectivism, leaders are expected to behave in a "paternalistic" style and provide employment opportunities and privileges to the in-groups, family members, and relatives of their own and employees. The basis for paternalism is the traditional value of familism with a strong emphasis on patriarchal relationships within the family unit (Kim, 1994). In a paternalistic relationship, the role of the leader is to provide care, nurturance, and protection to the follower, whereas the follower respects and obeys the superior. In a cross-cultural study involving 10 nations, Turkey scored very high on paternalistic values (Aycan et al., 2000). There is a simultaneous push in Turkey away from paternalistic and feudal relationships. As part of the dual set of values existing in the Arabic cluster, paternalistic relationships, which may lead to nepotism and inefficiency are also criticized. Many managers are criticized for providing privileges to their followers who are totally unproductive, which is regarded as unethical conduct. Leaders need to manage the tension between expectations of efficiency, improvement, and performance on the one hand, and the more traditional paternalistic values on the other.

With a historical outlook, some of the outstanding leaders in the Arabic cluster can be cited as Kemal Atatürk of Turkey and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt (Bill & Leiden, 1979). Bill and Leiden (1979) cite these leaders as non-traditional leaders who were able to induce positive and revolutionary change in their societies. Atatürk and Nasser are characterized by their visionary, charismatic and transformational leadership styles. On the other hand, these revolutionary and charismatic leaders retained their patrimonial styles (Bill & Leiden, 1979). In the patrimonial and paternalistic styles of leadership, the leader becomes the center of all important ideas and strategies; policies and programs emanate from him. Personal relations with followers become very important and the personal ties that dominate the household are the model for the ties in other institutions. Proximity to the leader is important and the close circle of the leader finds the ability to act as advisors to the leader. The desire for paternalistic leadership is very strong in the Arabic cluster, yet there is also the desire for visionary, charismatic and transformational leaders. The outstanding leader is the person who is able to bring in paternalism with the capacity to generate change.

In summary, compared to the other GLOBE societies, basic features of the Arabic cluster include societal practices that embody in-group orientation, masculinity, and tolerance of ambiguity and limited emphasis on planning. In contrast, managers in this cluster desire stronger rule orientation, planning, hierarchy of relationships, institutional collectivism, masculinity and low value on assertiveness.

4. Discussion and implications for managers

Typical individuals in the Arabic society define themselves in relation to an interdependent network of relationships. Family and other in-group relationships carry great importance in the lives of individuals. People find satisfaction through their relationships and feel great commitment to their in-groups. The group, which may be based on kinship, region, or attending the same school, plays an important role in the lives of people by helping the individuals in many facets of life. For example, Kiray (1997) notes that belonging to the same region, which she labels as “fellow country men”, serves as a basis for solidarity. The person who is in the more powerful position solves many personal problems of the dependents, like helping in finding job opportunities, a place in the hospital for family members or personal business in police station. The in-group plays an active role in arranging marriages or lending money when needed. Thus, the network of interdependent relationships reduces the importance attributed to future orientation and performance orientation in society.

Importance of relationships becomes paramount in conducting business. Most businesses in this cluster are family-owned organizations, even the large holding companies (Alpay, 1988). Important positions in family companies are occupied by family members, relatives, and friends from the same school. In their study of Danish investors in Turkey, Bodur and Madsen (1993) concluded that personal contacts with bureaucrats are important tools in finalizing decisions. In a study among Middle Eastern managers, including Arabic speaking countries, Badawy (1980) noted the importance of group solidarity and relationships as dominant values of managers. Badawy indicated that Middle Eastern managers put much stronger emphasis on personal contact and less on procedures. Thus, spending more time on developing personal relationships before going into business gains importance for earning the trust of the parties.

Developing trust becomes an important factor in business partnerships in local and international markets. High groupism and hierarchy of relationships that is dominant in these societies indicate that trust is shared only with a small group of people. Shane (1993) showed that national cultures have an effect on entry modes of multinational companies. Thus, for companies that are planning to enter into the Arabic markets, joint venture type of entry modes would be quite difficult due to lack of relationships and trust. Once trust is developed and maintained, a great degree of control can be transferred to the foreign partner. The negotiation process of international business may require more time and some issues unrelated to business, such as family acquaintances, dining and site seeing, may be injected into the process. Thus, foreigners should demonstrate their capabilities and competencies and at the same time be ready to allocate time for building trust in order to maintain business in the Arabic cluster. Furthermore, business owners in the Middle East would prefer to negotiate with the top ranking owners/

executives of the other party, rather than talking with the technical people.

Organizations in the Arabic cluster face an important dilemma. In order to remain competitive in the global environment, they need to promote practices and values that are necessary for competition and remaining profitable. At the same time, they also need to employ traditional approaches that are unique to the cluster. A dual set of values that is simultaneously western and eastern is characteristic of organizations in this cluster.

A few other studies have found similar findings. Badawy (1980) found that while managers in the Arabic cluster applied some western values and techniques, they preserved some of the traditional elements. In a study conducted with 69 Kuwaiti organizations, Abdalla and Al-Homoud (1995) found that most organizations performed some aspects of the management development process in a way consistent with modern management theory and practice. On the other hand, organizations did not apply two phases of this process: training needs assessment and program evaluation phases. Abdalla and Al-Homoud interpret the absence of need assessment and evaluation phases to the dominance of traditional values and lack of focus on planning in Arabic organizations. They further indicate that training programs “stand alone” and are not linked to other parts of the total development system, such as career development and reward systems.

In a study conducted with 307 Turkish organizations on human resource management applications, it was found that 84% of organizations conducted human resources planning, 84% applied an orientation program to employees, 81% conducted performance appraisal programs, and 82% had training and development programs (Arthur Andersen, 2000). On the other hand, the percentage of organizations that applied career planning dropped to 42% and the organizations applying performance appraisal programs were quite reluctant to link the appraisal results to pay and salary decisions and to career planning. This finding indicates that other cultural variables intervene in payment and promotion policies, and in decisions regarding careers of employees.

In her analysis of performance appraisal systems in Turkey, Sümer (2000) noted that in a paternalistic culture, the leader has the acceptance and authority to evaluate subordinates, and thus there is no difficulty in the evaluation process. On the other hand, a paternalistic leader who is like a father to the subordinates, is responsible for the well-being of subordinates in a holistic manner (Dilber, 1967; Kabasakal & Bodur, 1998). In return, the subordinates are expected to obey their leader and show respect and loyalty. Thus, it becomes difficult to make salary and career decisions based only on objective career plans and performance evaluation techniques. The paternalistic leader faces the pressure of keeping the organization competitive by applying the western human resources techniques and at the same time preserve a holistic approach to the well-being of employees in a personal way.

While some of the western techniques are widely used in organizations in the Arabic cluster, some western techniques would face a barrier in application. For example, 360° performance evaluation would not be applicable since it is unacceptable for subordinates to evaluate their superiors in this culture.

Conflict resolution is another unique issue in this cluster. Typical open confrontation techniques that are used in the west for resolving disagreements would not have a wide application in these organizations. In group-oriented cultures like the Arabic cluster, a “third party” would be used frequently in resolving most conflicts. Managers and colleagues would be involved in resolving conflicts unrelated to themselves in order to preserve group solidarity in organizations. In a study conducted with 435 Turkish respondents, Ergin (2000) reported that a third party was involved in more than 65% of conflicts in organizations. While individuals in other parts of the world would remain passive in situations unrelated to them, managers and colleagues are expected to get actively involved in resolving disagreements among others. This is considered to be a responsible act since it is perceived as a behavior that tries to preserve the well-being of individuals and the group. The behaviors and styles of colleagues and superiors in conflict resolution ranged from giving advice to making a final decision in an authoritarian way.

Acting as a third party in conflict resolution is part of the team-oriented leadership style that is perceived to be effective in the Arabic cluster. Effective leaders in this cluster are expected to be team integrators. They use many tools to involve people in the teams. For example, Abdalla and Al-Homoud (2001) indicate the importance of using “consultation” in the Arab states. Consultation is also perceived positively in Turkey and subordinates feel as part of the family (organization) when they are consulted (Kabasakal & Bodur, 1998). Outstanding leaders in the Arabic cluster frequently consult their subordinates in matters that interest them, yet the final decision belongs to the leader. Leaving the decision to the group would be perceived as a sign of weakness and strong leadership involves making the decision after consulting with the related parties.

A charismatic leader who is perceived as an effective leader, is visionary, inspirational and decisive. Leaders who are transformational and change-oriented are viewed positively in the Arabic cluster. The outstanding political leaders in the Arabic cluster, like Kemal Atatürk of Turkey and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt are characterized as charismatic and transformational. On the other hand, the way a leader initiates change in the Arabic cluster involves a paradox in itself. The outstanding charismatic leaders in this cluster preserve some of the characteristics of a traditional patrimonial style (Bill & Leiden, 1979). The deeply rooted societal norms and expectations create pressures on leaders in terms of the importance they attribute to relationships as opposed to performance and requirements of the task. An outstanding leader in the Arabic cluster is a

person who is able to initiate change and improvement by keeping group solidarity and yet at the same time avoiding nepotism.

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