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a cura di
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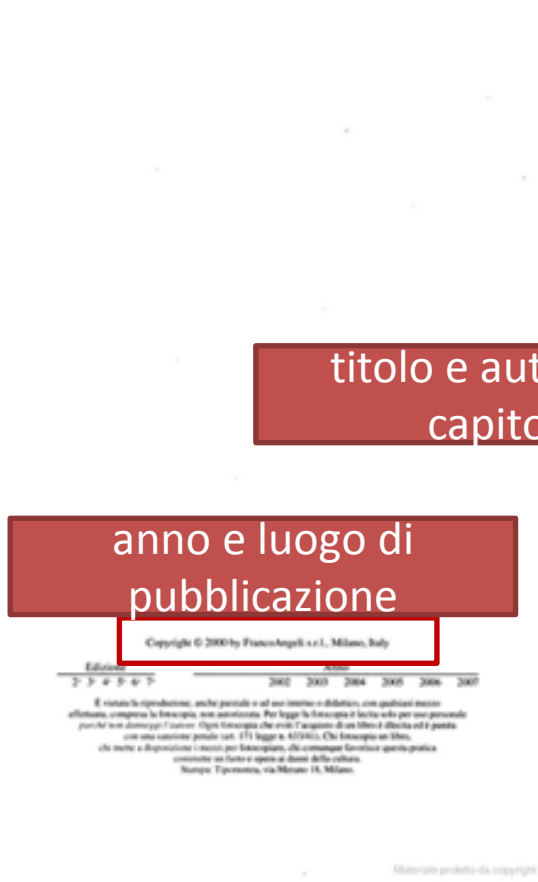
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Al-Qaeda's Innovative Improvisers: Learning in a Diffuse Transnational Network
Calvert Jones*
*The University of Cambridge
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Al-Qaeda's Innovative Improvisers: Learning in a Diffuse Transnational Network

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University of Cambridge

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Abstract Al-Qaeda is commonly described as a highly flexible and adaptable non-state network, making it difficult for states to combat. Although these features are associated with networks in theory, they are not inherent to networks in practice, and rely largely on organisational learning. A network that fails to learn is not likely to adapt successfully. This paper explores the learning implications of al-Qaeda's transnational network structure, focusing on decentralisation and reduced hierarchical control following the loss of its Afghanistan base. Drawing from organisational theory research, the paper uses an exploration-exploitation framework to offer hypotheses about how learning is evolving. It suggests a wider space for exploration, rendering a dispersed, decentralised al-Qaeda more innovative, balanced by a weakened ability to exploit resources and expertise. Networked al-Qaeda militants are described as 'innovative improvisers' with high creative potential but low professionalism. By delving into the mechanisms of learning, the paper builds knowledge of what specific circumstances affect al-Qaeda's purported agility as an actor. Further research is recommended on how states might respond to innovative improvisers. Such research should extend beyond popular proposals for 'networked' national security to innovation and learning in their own right.

Introduction
A growing priority in organisational theory research—though less so in international security research—has been to understand the role of 'networks'. In 1990, Walter Powell argued that the 'network form of organization' was a mode of exchange that a dichotomous view of markets and hierarchies could not explain. Networks are built on horizontal patterns of communication and informal, reciprocal relations among individuals, rather than bureaucratic routines and hierarchical command. Powell theorised that networks facilitate the flow of information and trust among participants, making them 'lighter on their feet' and quicker to adapt. Although subsequent empirical research focused mainly on networks in the private sector, networked collaboration flourished in a variety of areas. According to several international relations scholars, non-state networks, with their agile and creative use of cheap, widely available communications technologies, are challenging state-based conceptions of the field.¹

In the security community, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 drew widespread attention to networks, with particular interest in their strengths and

¹ See, for example, John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt (2001) and Kathryn Sikkink and Margaret Keck (1998).

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**THE PREDICTION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL AND
SOCIOCULTURAL ADJUSTMENT DURING
CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSITIONS**

titolo dell'articolo

autori

WENDY SEARLE

and

COLLEEN WARD

University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

ABSTRACT. *This study attempts empirically to distinguish psychological and sociocultural forms of adjustment during the process of cross-cultural transitions. One hundred and five sojourners (Malaysian and Singaporean students in New Zealand) completed a questionnaire which examined psychological well-being (depression) and sociocultural competence (social difficulty) in relationship to the following variables: expected difficulty, cultural distance, quantity and quality of social interactions with both host and fellow nationals, attitudes towards hosts, extraversion, life changes and personal variables such as age, sex, length of residence in New Zealand, cross-cultural training, and previous cross-cultural experiences. Multiple regression analysis was employed to construct predictive models of psychological and sociocultural adjustment. Satisfaction with relationships with host nationals, extraversion, life changes, and social difficulty combined to account for 34% of the variance in psychological adjustment. Cultural distance, expected difficulty, and depression combined to account for 36% of the variance in sociocultural adjustment. It was concluded that although psychological and sociocultural adjustment are interrelated, there is a need to regard these factors as conceptually distinct.*

In the last two decades research in the general area of culture contact and change, concentrating on such diverse groups as immigrants, refugees, sojourners, and native peoples, has flourished. The expanding field, however, has been plagued by a variety of problems, in particular the lack of consensus across studies as to the appropriate theoretical frameworks for investigation of the phenomena and the lack of agreement on definitions of key constructs. With specific reference to sojourner research, a major detriment to advances in the study of cross-cultural

A version of this paper was presented at the Third International Conference of Culture and Self, Nag's Head, North Carolina, May, 1989.

Requests for reprints should be addressed to Colleen Ward, Department of Psychology, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

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