



Culture is communicated through symbols. Some of these are as ordinary as a napkin. However, even ordinary symbols can have a powerful influence on relationships and the ultimate success or failure of an encounter.

Discussion: Truth

Spot the concept: The misunderstanding focuses on uncertainty avoidance. The young man from Spain is used to fixed symbols and rituals, as highlighted by the boldface type, whereas the Irish family seems more casual.

Analysis: The napkin came to symbolize the structure and order to which the young man from Spain was accustomed. In response to hearing Fernando's preference, the Irish mother generously provided him with a napkin. Although Fernando initially took the woman's response as an insult, he probably reinterpreted her response the next day when she also provided everyone else with a napkin, showing that he was not being singled out as a dirty boy. The response by the Irish family members was both insightful and generous. They may have talked about his dismay among themselves after the first meal and decided to all use napkins during the remainder of Fernando's stay. They did not condemn the young man for his request or his discomfort; instead, they adapted their own behavior to accommodate him.

Meaning: Culture is communicated through symbols. Some of these are as ordinary as a napkin. However, even ordinary symbols can have a powerful influence on relationships and the ultimate success or failure of an encounter. In this case the young man's expectations that meals include napkins were met, and by providing napkins for everyone else as well, the host mother validated the young man's preference. Uncertainty avoiding cultures have rigid rules about cleanliness. Once the host family understood the young man's need for structure, it was able to accommodate his preferences without compromising the integrity of its own preference for a more informal style. This is typical of contacts between people from uncertainty avoiding cultures and uncertainty tolerant ones: those from uncertainty tolerant ones are more likely to adapt.

62-88

This account is by a young woman from the Netherlands. Can you see what dimensions of national culture stand out?

In the Pub

I have observed German and Dutch boys in the pub at night. It strikes me every time that huge differences exist between the Dutch and Germans, who live so close to each other.

German boys just go out with boys. They go out with girls only when they happen to be their girlfriends. Also, going out in Germany is about discussing the problems of the world, like environment, war, politics, and economics. Choose any subject, and they will be happy to discuss it. Germans talk a lot about their ideals and opinions. In discussions between German and Dutch students, I have observed a lot of misunderstandings because the Germans were only talking about ideals, while the Dutch were talking about what could be done to overcome present difficulties. Germans have the habit of judging each other. They have heated discussions

about being right or wrong in conversations. The Dutch have discussions, too, but they are not very serious most of the time. They ask for others' opinions and try to reach a compromise, and they are reluctant to give their own opinions strongly.

The German turn-taking behavior in discussions is also very different. Dutch students listen to another person and give their comments afterward, in a more gentle form; they believe everybody is allowed to have his or her own opinion. German students interrupt each other, clearly disagree with what has been said, and try to convince other participants in the discussion of the mistakes in their arguments. I have also observed that Germans have the same personality everywhere; they will stick to one role, whereas the Dutch adapt their behavior to the situation.

Here is the same story, but with significant passages highlighted. Again, underline words and phrases indicating cultural misunderstandings, then read our version.

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Discussion: Truth and Gender

Spot the concept: In this account the key concepts for the German students are truth, clarity, right, and wrong. They want order in their opinions and in their private lives. The key notions for the Dutch students are compromise and adaptability, both in their opinions and in their lives. The underlying dimensions of culture are uncertainty avoidance and masculinity-femininity.

Analysis: Germans are somewhat higher on uncertainty avoidance than the Dutch. For the German students, finding the truth is a very important and desirable thing. In fact it is so important to them that they are willing to spend their night out trying to determine it. They do not think ill of interrupting each other in a discussion; in fact by interrupting they show that they are listening and involved. When they try to convince somebody of their own opinion, they are doing that person the honor of taking him or her seriously. They argue with some vehemence. In their lives they also try to get rid of ambiguity; they do not go into a pub with a girl if she is not clearly "the" girlfriend; they do not take on different roles in different situations. This moderate difference in uncertainty avoidance between the two countries is conspicuous for the Dutch storyteller because she is Dutch herself and perceives what is different.

The Dutch also have discussions, but in their case, the truth is less important than letting all the participants express their own opinions. Stressing one's point of view is not considered polite. The Dutch are more relaxed and pragmatic, with an eye on resolving conflicting interests. The considerable difference in masculinity accounts for the Germans' habit of "fighting a discussion out," compared with the Dutch tendency to compromise.

Meaning: The pub is not all that different from other situations in which the Dutch and Germans converse. In meet-

ings, too, differences between the two cultures can occur. The Dutch may take offense if they are interrupted by Germans; they may feel that the Germans are not letting them finish talking, while in fact the Germans may just be trying to show a genuine interest by starting to argue. On the other hand, the Germans might take offense if the Dutch fail to counter their arguments and try to settle for compromises instead of yielding to the force of normative arguments.

This is another pub story by a Dutch girl.

Who Pays for the Drink?

Last summer some people from all over Europe came to the Netherlands to attend a language course in English. Among them was a Romanian boy, Septi, who was studying medicine. One night there was a party, and I offered Septi something to drink. He refused; instead he immediately went to buy me and himself a drink. Some time later I tried again, but he seemed to be uncomfortable about my paying for the drinks. A Dutch boy tried to offer him a drink, and after two

refusals Septi finally accepted one drink from this boy but immediately bought another drink for the Dutch boy.

I found Septi's behavior very strange at the time. In the Netherlands, students and other young people normally offer a drink to someone they like. I had never had trouble, until that night, offering a boy a drink. It is normal among friends, as we earn about the same amount of money.

Follow the same procedure with this story as with the preceding ones.

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Discussion: Gender and Virtue

Spot the concept: For Septi, being offered a drink has a strong symbolic meaning that is linked with gender and with reciprocity. For the Dutch the meaning is different. You offer drinks to friends regardless of gender, taking into consideration whether you can afford it. The underlying dimensions of culture in this story are masculinity/femininity and short-term/long-term orientation.

Analysis: The storyteller's account also included an analysis that was so clear that we reproduce it here.

"Septi's masculine pride must have been at stake, not only because he was offered a drink by a girl, but also because he might have thought I only offered him these drinks because he was not as wealthy as I, a West-erner, am. Because he eventually accepted a drink from a boy, I guess the most important factor must have been refusing a drink offered by a girl. If I faced the same situation again, I would still offer a drink to a foreign boy. If he refused to accept it and if I thought he did not want to accept something from a girl, I would not offer again. If a friendship had deepened, he might have been able to accept me as I am and accept a drink from a friend who happens to be a girl."

Meaning: For Septi, men and women are very different types of creatures. Men buy drinks for women, not the other way around. For the Dutch girl, men and women are roughly equal. This difference can be attributed to the dimension of masculinity/femininity. The Romanian is more masculine, which makes his relationship with a girl asymmetrical. This accounts for most of the girl's amazement. On top of that, Septi's actions speak of short-term orientation; immediate reciprocation of gifts, regardless of the cost, is important. The Dutch, on the other hand, find it reasonable to always keep the future of their wallets in the back of their heads. They are long-term oriented.



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A Tale of Two Stairways

Mrs. Ngo, a woman from Cameroon, was studying at a Dutch university. A professor whom she was having an interview with showed her out of his office at the end of the interview. As she was heading toward the long way out of the building, he pointed out to her a staircase that provided a shortcut. "Oh," she exclaimed,

"I thought that stairway was for staff only." This greatly amazed the Dutch professor, because stairways for staff only do not exist at Dutch universities, so he asked her what had made her think that the stairway was limited to staff use only. She replied that she had seen a staff member use it.

This incident describes a mild case of cultural misunderstanding. Can you identify which words and phrases point to this, then underline them? When you have done this, read on and find out how we have interpreted the incident.

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Discussion: Identity and Hierarchy

Spot the concept: Identity and power distance are the core issues in this story.

Analysis: Mrs. Ngo comes from a collectivist country where rights and privileges vary by group, whereas the teacher comes from an individualist culture where everybody is supposed to have the same rights. Also, Mrs. Ngo comes from a culture of large power distance, and the university lies in a country of small power distance, the Netherlands. This combination of circumstances made her expect that she would have to use another staircase than the one reserved for people of higher status. It is clear that Mrs. Ngo was observing the situation around her very carefully, paying attention to symbols of role or status or group membership that would help her know what to expect of others and what others were expecting of her. She was anxious to behave appropriately in this new and unfamiliar setting.

Meaning: Mrs. Ngo was applying her own back-home rules for interpretation to the unfamiliar setting of the Dutch university. For the moment, her back-home rules are the only rules she has, until she learns the new rules. As she gathers information about the Dutch university context, she will no doubt begin to experience change in her perception, interpretation, and attribution. Mutual questioning and clarification of the kind that occurred between her and the professor will be beneficial to this process.

A Small Country?

At an international conference in Helsinki, the capital of Finland, Jorma Ollila, the president of Nokia Corporation, was addressing a large audience. After his speech one of the delegates stood up, announced himself loudly to

be X from country Y, and asked without further introduction, "How can it be that such a small country as Finland can produce such a large, successful company?" Ollila smiled and replied, "That is an interesting question. I am open for suggestions."

Please underline those words and phrases that point to cultural differences. When you have done this, read on and find out how we have interpreted the incident.

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In a feminine culture, fighting or aggressive behavior is not acceptable, and powerful people try to appear less powerful than they are.

Discussion: Gender

Spot the concept: Large and small are the key words here. The aspect of culture that is involved is the degree of masculinity versus femininity.

Analysis: Mr. X seemed to believe that the size of a country is one of the causal factors that influence the size and success of its companies. His direct way of putting this might easily have been taken by Ollila as an attack on Finland. After all, Finland is not so small. However, Ollila chose to respond not by counterattacking but by playing down the attack. He probably did not take the question at all seriously, but did not want to reveal his feelings. Nor did he want to say something that boiled down to "Nokia is so successful because of me," probably because he did not want to brag.

Meaning: Mr. X acted in an aggressive way, consistent with a masculine culture. The view he expressed was in line with "Big is beautiful." Actually, there is no empirical basis for the opinion that big countries produce more successful companies than do small ones. The response by Jorma Ollila reflects femininity. In a feminine culture, fighting or aggressive behavior is not acceptable, and powerful people try to appear less powerful than they are. Ollila did not counter the attack but smiled it away, and he did not say how good he was but left that to the audience to infer. Incidentally, this incident illustrates the fact that cultural femininity is by no means a liability for business achievement.

By now, you might have an idea as to the whereabouts of country Y....

How Would You Feel? (Revisited)

Having practiced your ability to spot cultural differences, you are in a position to revisit the anecdotes from chapter 1. You can now better determine what orientations on the five dimensions may have guided your preferences.

First, look back to chapter 1, pages 12–14, to see what options you chose, then read in this section the explanations of cultural values that may have informed your choice. If you hesitated between options in chapter 1, it may have been because of your combination of values. After all, you are not one dimensionally culturally, whereas the options were chosen to evidence one dimension of culture. Note that the responses that you did not choose, some of which may have made you feel quite indignant, could be wholly acceptable from a culturally different point of view. Also note that you may have had different reasons for choosing an answer than the one presented here. For instance, your personal history may have guided you to make a choice quite different from what your average fellow countryman or -woman might choose. And finally, your personality may have led you to give answers that are atypical for people from your country.

The Shabby Guitar Player

You are in a restaurant having dinner with an acquaintance. A shabby man with a guitar comes to your table and offers to play. How do you feel about this?

1. This man is a beggar and should find a job.

This is a masculine point of view; the man is a loser. It could also speak of long-term orientation.

2. This man is filthy and disgusting.

People from uncertainty avoiding cultures would feel this way. They might even be afraid of contracting a disease from the man.

3. This man is to be pitied.

People from feminine societies might feel this way.

4. You do not know this man, and you have nothing to do with him.

If you and your acquaintance are from a collectivist society and belong to a group to which the newcomer does not belong, then you might feel this way. But you might also feel this way if you are from an individualist, masculine culture. In that case you might not feel any moral obligation to care for a loser who caused his own misfortune and who is nothing to you.

5. Could be interesting. Maybe he plays well.

This is how people from uncertainty tolerant cultures might feel. A novel, ambiguous situation piques their curiosity.

6. The waiter should remove this man.

People from cultures high on power distance might feel this way. Or it might indicate strong uncertainty avoidance: the man is out of place in a restaurant and that is unsettling.

A Meeting in the Street

You are walking along the street in a town that is not your own. The street is quiet. Somebody crosses the street and walks toward you. What do you think?

1. This person means to rob you.

People from a masculine culture might feel this way. In a masculine culture, strangers don't trust each other. If this culture is also strongly uncertainty avoiding, this would add to the distrust.

2. This person means to ask for directions.

In feminine countries, people tend to trust strangers, and they might feel this way.

3. This person means to have a chat with you.

This is an uncertainty tolerant point of view. It might also speak of collectivism: taking time for socializing.

4. This person might invite you to dinner.

A person from a collectivist culture might have this expectation if the person has reason to expect that he or she will be considered part of the ingroup.

5. This person is going to tell you that you are not allowed to be here!

Somebody from an uncertainty avoiding country might think this, particularly if power distance is also large.

6. This person means to sell you something.

This might occur in many countries, but it is more likely to happen in collectivist nations, where personal contact and trade are more mixed than in individualist ones.

A Welcome at the Airport

You are headed to a formal business meeting with somebody you have never met before. When you get off the airplane, a warmly smiling woman wearing jeans and sandals is holding up a sign with your name on it. What do you think?

1. She must be a secretary.

In a masculine society, gender roles are unequally distributed, and people might have this expectation.

2. She is probably the person with whom you will have the meeting.

This expectation could indicate both femininity (you are not amazed that your important partner is a woman) and uncertainty tolerance (you are not taken aback because she is casually dressed).

3. It is wonderful to be welcomed so warmly.

This is how somebody from a collectivist society might feel—or indeed anybody who does not take offense.

4. How dare someone meet you in such an informal outfit.

This might be the reaction of an important person from a large power distance culture, who would have expected an impressive delegation.

5. There must be an error, because you were expecting a formal-looking gentleman.

This would be a typical uncertainty avoiding reaction. If uncertainty avoidance is strong, people are expected to display their position through their clothing, and this woman is not dressed at all formally.

The Intruder

You are standing at a reception, engaged in conversation with another person you vaguely know. Suddenly a third person arrives and starts to talk to your conversation partner without seeming to notice you. What do you think?

1. This must be a close friend of your conversation partner.

This would be the expectation of a person from a collectivist culture.

2. This must be an absolute brute to push you aside in this manner.

Somebody from a feminine culture might feel this way.

3. Your conversation partner should ask the intruder to wait a moment.

The reaction indicates individualism: you speak with one person at a time. This way of dealing with time is known as monochronic.

4. This must be a VIP (Very Important Person).

This thought indicates large power distance.

5. This must be somebody with a very urgent matter.

Somebody from an individualist culture might think this way; tasks prevail over relationships.

6. Your conversation partner should introduce you to the newcomer.

This would be a collectivist expectation. Your conversation partner can include you in his or her ingroup to which the intruder apparently belongs. In almost all societies, this option would be more acceptable than the next one.

7. Nothing.

This might be the reaction of somebody from an individualist, masculine culture; this is normal, acceptable behavior.

What Would You Do? (Revisited)

This section works in exactly the same way as the previous one does, except that you will refer back to pages 15–16 to see what options you chose.

The Returning Athlete

You are the mayor of a small town. An athlete from your town took part in the Olympic Games. The athlete is due to return tomorrow, having obtained fourth place in an event. What sort of official welcome will you prepare for her?

1. None, because a fourth place is not worth anything. If only it had been a gold medal....

This is a masculine reaction. Only winning counts.

2. None, because there is no protocol for officially receiving returning sports players or participants.

This reaction speaks of uncertainty avoidance: rules are rules.

3. A grand one, because even if she did not win, she did participate in the Olympic Games and that is a great achievement.

This reaction speaks of a feminine perspective along with short-term orientation. It is feminine because participating is more important than winning. It is short-term oriented because if you are happy, you want to show it!

4. A grand one, because she is one of us and she has honored our town.

This is a collectivist perspective, along with short-term orientation. When a member of the family comes home, you celebrate.

5. You will ask the city council for advice.

This reaction indicates small power distance—not deciding alone but consulting others is considered appropriate.

The Accident

You are chairing a very important business meeting, for which some attendees have made a transoceanic flight. Millions of dollars are involved. During the meeting one of your local colleagues, a financial expert, receives a message: his eight-year-old child has been hit by a car and is hospitalized with very severe injuries. How do you react?

1. You cancel the meeting and arrange for a sequel on the following day.

This is a feminine response. It symbolizes that you let personal matters prevail over business matters. The response may also indicate collectivism; you cancel the meeting because as "head of the family," you have to help your colleague first.

2. You let your colleague leave the meeting.

This is an individualist response. The news only concerns that particular colleague, and you let that person deal with it.

3. You leave the room for a moment with your colleague and tell him that although you would like him to stay, he can leave if he wants to.

This reaction speaks of small power distance. You do not decide on your own, but let the person have a say.

4. You go on with the meeting, asking your colleague to stay.

This is a masculine reaction; the task comes first. It could also indicate uncertainty avoidance; time is money and flexibility is not popular. And it could indicate individualism; the colleague is no more important to you than the foreign visitors are.

Train or Car?

You are a commuter. The car trip to work takes approximately one hour, the train ride, approximately an hour and a half. Do you prefer to go by car or by train?

1. By car, because if I travel by train, people will think I can't afford a car.

A masculine perspective. It also indicates short-term orientation: showing off.

2. By car, because it is faster.

This is a typical masculine perspective. Being fast is a virtue in itself.

3. By car, because it is private.

The car offers individual freedom, not loneliness. An individualist perspective.

4. By car, because people in my position do not travel by public transport.

This could be the preference of an important person from a culture where power distances are large and uncertainty avoidance is strong.

5. By train, because it is safer.

People from a feminine, individualist, long-term oriented society might reason thus; caring for their personal safety is considered important.

6. By train, because it allows me to get some work done while traveling.

In this reaction, there is masculinity (get work done) and long-term orientation (saving time) and possibly uncertainty tolerance (you never know where you will sit in the train, but you still expect to be able to work).

7. By train, because I might meet interesting people.

This is a typical uncertainty tolerant, short-term oriented attitude.

8. By train, because it is better for the environment.

People from a feminine society would reason thus. It also indicates long-term orientation; the traveler forgoes the immediate advantage of faster travel for the future benefit of cleaner air.

9. Either way is fine, whichever is cheaper in the long run.

This thrifty attitude is typical of long-term orientation.

A Virtual Contact

On the Web you have found the site of somebody you might want to start a business relationship with. How would you establish the first contact?

1. Write a formal, polite paper letter on your company's letterhead.

This speaks of uncertainty avoidance. It must be noted, though, that e-mails are gradually becoming more accepted, even in countries of strong uncertainty avoidance.

2. Send an e-mail starting "Dear Mr. so-and-so" and ending "Kind regards, X."

This is a feminine style, emphasizing a friendly relationship between the addressee and yourself.

3. Send an e-mail starting "My name is X and I have a proposal that might interest you" and ending with your first name.

This is an individualist, masculine style. You briefly introduce yourself as an individual and then get down to business.

4. Have your secretary arrange a phone call.

This approach indicates large power distance. It will convey your status to the person.

5. Call the person on the phone yourself.

This seems to indicate femininity, because it can lead to a personal contact. It certainly indicates uncertainty tolerance, since you establish a two-way contact with very little idea how the conversation will proceed.

Attribution Exercises

In the stories above you were asked to give cultural explanations only. This is not always appropriate, as you have probably noticed when you tried to account for your own preferences. Your own experiences as well as your personality have contributed to your choice of alternatives.

You will now extend the scope of explanations to include personal attributes such as character or personal history. Read the following dialogues. Try to account for B's response, giving either cultural or personal preferences. Then read the suggested reasons and see whether your account fits in.

Long Time No See

A and B meet on the street. They have not seen one another for months.

A: Hi, my friend!

B: Oh, hello.

A: How are you? Long time no see! Hey, let's go have a drink!

B: I'm fine. You okay? Listen, I'm sorry, I've got to run. I'll give you a call soon, promise (goes away)!

What is the matter with B? Why might he not want to go have a drink? What are B's intentions? Choose one or more options.

1. B is in a hurry because of other tasks.
2. B does not really like A very much but does not wish to tell him so.
3. B is a conscientious worker and has to get back to work.
4. B wants to avoid hurting A's feelings but does not really intend to call him up.
5. B really means to give A a call soon.
6. B knows that A is very talkative and B does not have much time. B would rather call another time for a real meeting than have a brief half-baked chat now.
7. B is just shy.

Here are the perspectives that make the various responses meaningful.

1. B is in a hurry because of other tasks.
This is a possible reason if B is from an individualistic and not very feminine culture. Time is carefully scheduled, and letting tasks prevail is acceptable.
2. B does not really like A very much but does not wish to tell him so.
This is a possible reason if B is from a collectivistic culture.

If A is from a collectivistic culture, he or she may well feel rebuffed by B after this exchange.

3. B is a very conscientious worker and has to get back to work.

This is a character attribute. If A is from a long-term oriented culture, he is likely to accept B's behavior as showing dedication to his work.

4. B wants to avoid hurting A's feelings but does not really intend to call him up.

This could be the case if B is from a collectivistic and/or short-term oriented culture. If A is from such a culture, he may not expect B to call.

5. B really means to give A a call soon.

This can be the case if B is from a long-term oriented culture, and A would expect it if he is from such a culture.

6. B knows that A is very talkative and B does not have much time. B would rather call another time for a real meeting than have a brief half-baked chat now.

This is a matter of personal history between A and B.

7. B is just shy.

This is a personal attribute, possibly having to do with B's relationship with A.

8. You may have had your own personal reasons for choosing another option. Incidentally, if you often choose your own option in this kind of exercise, that might indicate that you are from an individualist culture (you are supposed to have your own opinion) and possibly from a masculine one (you are not prepared to choose one of the available options for the sake of adapting yourself) or an uncertainty avoiding one (if you feel the options that the authors give are not specific enough).

None of Your Business

B is walking across a lawn in a park when A intervenes. They do not know one another.

A: Hey! You! Get off that lawn!

B: This is none of your business (does not budge).

Why does B not obey A?

1. B is a fearless person.
2. B has no respect for figures of authority.
3. B is a high-status person and believes A to be of inferior status.
4. B happens to be the owner of the lawn.
5. B happens to be a friend of the owner of the lawn.

Here are the perspectives that make the various responses meaningful.

1. B is a fearless person.
This is a character attribute.
2. B has no respect for figures of authority.
This can be the case if B is from a culture of small power distance.
3. B is a high-status person and believes A to be of inferior status.
This can be the case if B is from a culture of large power distance.
4. B happens to be the owner of the lawn.
This is a matter of personal history.
5. B happens to be a friend of the owner of the lawn.
This is a matter of personal history and points to a collectivist cultural background on B's part.

Debriefing

In these dialogues, did you explain B's behavior by making assumptions about his or her personal history, character, or cultural background? On the basis of these dialogues, there is no way to decide which type of explanation is most valid! If you were A, how could you get to know the reason for B's behavior? You would need to acknowledge the possible types of reasons for the response, and then you could ask B, however hard that might be! Conversely, B could have helped A by explicitly formulating the intention behind his or her behavior. In the first dialogue, for example, B might have given a reason for running off that was acceptable to A. In the second dialogue, B might have explained to A why he or she did not leave.

Conclusion

You have now seen that culture is a complex phenomenon. In our world with its myriad cross-national activities, national culture is obviously an important variable, even though we have not been able to say the last word about it. People working with culturally different colleagues or clients and struggling with practical problems in multicultural settings understand the urgency for more accurate and appropriate guidelines for cross-cultural training. Culture is complex, but it is not chaotic; there are clearly defined patterns to be discovered.

In the fairy tale the family could not agree on what was the best culture. Of course, this is a universal truth: there simply is no best culture. Most people within a culture feel that their culture is better than others and try to tell others, "Look how good our culture is! Why don't you do like us?" But this is naive, particularly for today's world. We must learn to accept that cultures are different and to cooperate all the same. This is inherently very hard to do, because we perceive the values of our culture in moral terms, and therefore we tend to view other people's values as morally inferior. Our difficult task is to realize, while remaining proud of the good things in our own culture, that ours is just one culture, with no claim to moral superiority.



Culture is complex, but it is not chaotic; there are clearly defined patterns to be discovered.

We perceive the values of our culture in moral terms, and therefore we tend to view other people's values as morally inferior.

You are now familiar with the five dimensions of national culture that correspond to the five big issues in social life: identity, hierarchy, gender, truth, and virtue. It is now time to isolate each dimension into two role profiles that literally take the dimensions to their extremes. These are the ten synthetic cultures. In Part II you will learn about the ten synthetic cultures and gain practice identifying and using them in exercises. These activities with synthetic cultures bring cultural communication patterns to life.

Part II

Synthetic Cultures

