

Rajnandini Pillai

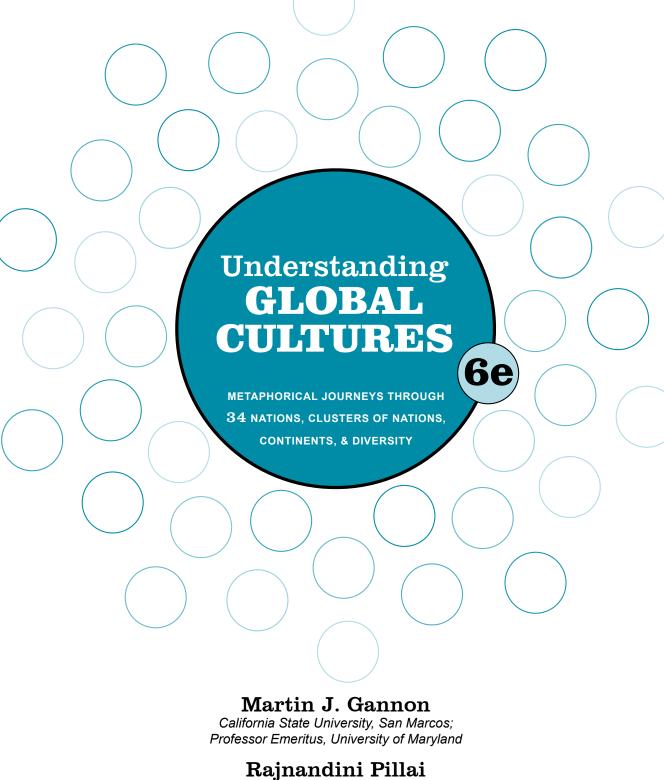






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Preface

Understanding Cultures in Depth

If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor.

—Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 1)

he major emphasis in this book is on an in-depth understanding of a culture through the use of the cultural metaphor, which is any activity, phenomenon, or institution that members of a given culture consider important and with which they identify emotionally and/or cognitively (e.g., the Turkish coffeehouse and the Chinese family altar). As such, the metaphor represents all or most of the underlying values expressive of the culture itself.

Very frequently outsiders have a difficult time relating to and/or understanding a specific cultural metaphor, such as American football, and the underlying values of a culture that it expresses. This book is designed to address this difficulty. Culture allows us to fill in the blanks, often either semiconsciously or unconsciously, when action is required, and cultural metaphors help us see the values leading to action. This is probably the most interesting feature of culture (see Brislin, 1993; Triandis, 2002). Cultural metaphors, the basis of this book, represent an effective way to profile and to learn about ethnic cultures, national cultures, the diffusion of a base culture such as the Chinese culture and the English culture across nations, continental cultures, and even diversity within a nation, as the description of kaleidoscopic diversity in India in Chapter 27 demonstrates.

It is critical to realize that the approach in this book is systematic. Frequently metaphors are used carelessly, e.g., football is as good an image of the United States that an outsider is able to obtain. But most metaphorical studies just say something like the following: If an outsider understands football, he or she has a good understanding of what the United States is all about. However, there is rarely, if ever, an attempt to describe the unique or distinctive features of football that will help facilitate this understanding. In contrast, this book describes eight unique or distinctive features of football that are easily visible in many, if not all, aspects of U.S. American life. For this reason we have created both a Brief Contents where the chapter titles

only are highlighted and a Detailed Contents outlining such features. We also note, in support of the opening quote and the work of many others, that the average person uses a metaphor every 10 to 25 words (Geary, 2011). It is our goal to show how they should be used properly and systematically. To our knowledge, no one in the cross-cultural area or even outside it has ever attempted to complete such an ambitious project.

In Chapter 1, we describe how cultural metaphors are developed and how we integrate other approaches to cultures. For example, many national cultures have prominent bipolar or dimensional profiles that allow a researcher to rank order them on various scales, such as power distance or the degree to which there is an unequal distribution of power and rewards (see, for example, Hofstede, 2001). In every chapter, we use these other approaches to gain additional knowledge and perspectives and integrate them within our discussion. Cultural anthropologists such as Florence Rockwood Kluckholn, Fred L. Strodtbeck, and Edward T. Hall developed some of the approaches described in Chapter 1. The bipolar or dimensional approach comes from cross-cultural psychology and cross-cultural management.

The first edition of this book in 1994 had 17 chapters describing 17 cultural metaphors, but the chapters were not logically fitted into parts. This sixth edition includes 14 major parts, 38 chapters, and 3 new parts: Part X, "An African Perspective"; Part XI, "The Struggle for Cultural Identity and the Splintering of Nations: The Case of the Russian Empire"; and Part XIV, "Overlapping Cultural Metaphors for Geographically Related Nations." There are also three new chapters, as described in "Acknowledgments and Coauthors" below, focusing on South Africa, Estonia, and several Caribbean nations considered as a totality. As such, the book has evolved and become richer over time regarding new perspectives and depth of material. The last chapter is the only one in Part XIV.

We have focused on Scandinavian egalitarian cultures separately from other egalitarian cultures such as Canada, because they are unique in several ways. For example, they tend to base fines for traffic violations not only on the severity of the action but also on violators' income levels, which results in wide variances. Hence two parts are devoted to egalitarian cultures rather than only one part. Similarly, as in the fourth edition, a new, separate part of the book focuses on India. As such, there are three chapters on Chinese culture, as in the third edition—covering China at home, Chinese around the world, and Singapore—and two chapters devoted to India as in the fifth edition. We have also updated all chapters and have significantly rewritten several of them.

When Martin Gannon began work on cultural metaphors in 1987, there was a concern that there would be an automatic negative reaction to the concept, because cultural metaphors are related to stereotypes. From the 1950s until about 1990, the typical reaction to any generalization about groups was "That is a stereotype," and the clear meaning was that such a generalization was biased to the point of being unuseful. As explained in Chapter 1, however, humans use such generalizations automatically, and some stereotypes are legitimate whereas others are not. Clearly, one illegitimate stereotype is a generalization that allows no exceptions. Cultural metaphors, on the other hand, are probabilistic statements that apply to a group but not to every individual within it. And, as the introductory quote from Lakoff and Johnson points out, humans tend to learn through the use of metaphors.

We would also like to add a short explanation about the many statistics presented in this book and their relationships to the cultural metaphors and the numerous examples used to illustrate them. Frequently, the statistics are presented in a comparative fashion, for example, the number of citizens per square kilometer in the United States (33.4) and Singapore (8,137.7). These and similar statistics are taken primarily from The Economist's *Pocket World in Figures* (2014). We

have also used many other sources and have duly noted them. In some instances, the statistics are presented without a citation simply to facilitate the ease of reading. When doing so, we have checked with at least two sources. In most if not all such instances, the statistics are generally well known. As suggested, we have used statistics not only to enrich understanding but also to facilitate ease of reading.

Certain work in cultural anthropology bears directly on the concept of cultural metaphors, particularly Clifford Geertz's (1973) well-known description of male Balinese society regarding the cockfight. Each of the metaphors in this book uses three to eight characteristics of each metaphor to describe the culture of the nation being assessed. Through the use of each metaphor and its characteristics, we can begin to see the society in a new and different way and, we hope, in the same manner as its members do. We can also compare societies through the use of these metaphors and their characteristics. There is empirical evidence that (1) cultural metaphors do exist; (2) individuals, both within their own national culture and from other national cultures, tend to think of national cultures in this fashion; and (3) they are important for understanding cross-cultural differences (Gannon, Locke, Gupta, Audia, & Kristof-Brown, 2005).

Although each metaphor is a guide or map, it is only a starting point against which we can compare our own experiences and through which we can start to understand the seeming contradictions pervasive in most, if not all, societies. Thus a cultural metaphor provides an in-depth understanding but one that should be enriched periodically, if not constantly, by new information and experiences.

Also, while we are describing a dominant, and perhaps the dominant, metaphor for each society, other metaphors may also be suitable. Each metaphor provides an in-depth perspective on a culture but only a partial perspective. In this book we do not address the issue of suitable alternatives or supplementary metaphors. Furthermore, our descriptions explicitly recognize and focus on the regional, racial, and ethnic differences within each nation.

Still, the unit of analysis for most of the chapters in this book is the nation, because a good amount of evidence suggests that commonalities exist across regional, racial, and ethnic groups within each nation that can be effectively captured by cultural metaphors. As pointed out in "The Malaysian *Balik Kampung*" (Chapter 17), if citizens in a nation cannot identify at least one activity, phenomenon, or institution expressive of their values, the probability is high that the nation will experience major conflict and may even be rent asunder. In fact, this possibility has become so frequent that we have created a new part of the book to address this issue: Part XI, "The Struggle for Cultural Identity and the Splintering of Nations: The Case of the Russian Empire."

Furthermore, as indicated above, we can employ cultural metaphors to profile a major base culture, such as that of China and its evolution across borders; culture across a continent; and even diversity within one nation.

This book contains 34 cultural metaphors for specific nations. There are 197 nations in the world. Realistically, then, the approach could be used for all or most nations, thus providing a starting point for understanding commonalities across nations and differences between them. We are currently working on several additional cultural metaphors, but they are not ready to see the light of day.

Chapter 1 contains a section describing how to read and use this book. Also, faculty who adopt the sixth edition will have access to an *Instructor's Manual* containing sample tests, discussion questions, new exercises, short case studies, and descriptions of innovative methods that current users of the previous editions of the book have employed. This manual is accessible through the Sage website: study.sagepub.com/gannon6e.

Acknowledgments and Coauthors

Work on this book began in 1988 when Martin Gannon conducted a seminar for MBA and doctoral students at the University of Maryland. The task proved to be very difficult, and only a small number of papers reached a stage where they could be included in the first edition in 1994. As indicated above, only 17 chapters describing cultural metaphors for specific nations were in that edition.

Clearly this book could not have been written without the help of individuals who are intimately familiar with the specific cultures for which we sought to construct metaphors. They served as coauthors of the various chapters. Our basic approach was for each coauthor to use the methods for constructing metaphors as outlined in Chapter 1 when writing his or her chapter, preceded and followed by intensive discussions both among the coauthors and with other knowledgeable individuals. Each chapter was rewritten in light of the suggestions offered by these individuals and in class.

For the first edition, Martin Gannon wrote the Preface, Chapter 1, and several other chapters and was responsible for restructuring and editing the remaining chapters. The coauthors of the remaining chapters in this and previous editions were Diana Liebscher and Eileen Fagen, Britain; Stefania Amodio and Lynne Levy, Italy; Douglas O'Bannon and Julie Kromkoski, Germany; Peter Brown and Sharon Ribas, France; Ana Hedin and Michelle Allison, Sweden; Paul Forward, Canada; Amy Levitt, Russia; Stacey Hostetler and Sydney Swainston, Belgium; Katherine Feffer Noonan and Manuel Bacerra, Spain; Daniel Cronin and Cormac MacFhionnlaoich, Ireland; Michele Lopez, Mexico; Amy Levitt, Turkey; Efrat Elron, Israel; Isaac Agboola, Nigeria; Diane Terry, Japan; Amit Gupta and Jeffrey Thomas, India; Hakam Kanafani, the United States; Pino Audia, China; Takako Sugiyama, Singapore; Jennifer Lynn Roney, Poland; Christin Cooper and Maria Masatroianni, Brazil; Rozhan Othman, Malaysia; Louise Warberg, Saudi Arabia; Carlos Cantarilho, Portugal; and Paul Dowling, Africa.

Several of the doctoral students who were both participants in this cross-cultural management seminar and eventual coauthors of individual chapters have now become faculty members at major universities. They include Pino Audia, Dartmouth, China; Amit Gupta, Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore, the Dance of Shiva; Douglas O'Bannon, Webster University, Germany; Cormac MacFhionnlaoich, University College–Dublin, Ireland; and Manuel Bacerra, Instituto de Empresa, Spain. Others with university affiliations are Professor Jennifer Lynn Roney, Southern Methodist University, Poland; Chris Nielsen, Professor Emerita, University of Baltimore, Argentina; and Roshan Othman, Professor Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Malaysian chapter.

Typically, after a chapter evolved over a semester's time, we added the names of the students who wrote the initial papers as coauthors. Martin Gannon and Rajnandini Pillai completed the task of revising the fourth, fifth, and sixth editions of this book and its chapters after students graduated.

In addition to the authors, many others contributed to the editions of the book. Most, if not all, coauthors interviewed several people, and each chapter was read and critiqued by several citizens or residents of the countries being described. Martin Gannon would like to thank his former colleagues at the Robert H. Smith School of Business, University of Maryland at College Park, for their advice and suggestions, including Michael Agar, Mercy Coogan, Stephen Carroll, Edwin Locke, Sabrina Salam, Allyson Downs, and Guenther Weinrach. He also wants to thank the following for providing a supportive environment: Rudolph Lamone and Howard Frank, former deans of the Robert H. Smith School of Business; Maryann Waikart, former director of the MBA Program; and Mark Wellman, former director of the MBA Program. Both Rajnandini Pillai and Martin Gannon want to thank Interim Dean Regina Eisenbach, former dean Dennis Guseman,

and Professors Kathleen Watson and Gary Oddou of the California State University, San Marcos, for helping facilitate the final stages of writing.

Furthermore, given both the scope and depth of this project, we were almost overwhelmed not only by its complexity but also by its details. We have painstakingly attempted to eliminate any errors, however small, that would serve to detract from the general focus of the book. We accept responsibility for any inadvertent errors that might have occurred. If you encounter even a minor error, we hope that you will bring it and any suggestions for improving the book to our attention. Our e-mail addresses are listed at the end of the Preface.

Rajnandini would like to thank Prashant Valanju, Shama Gamkhar, and Shakuntala Desai for their suggestions on Chapter 26, "India: The Dance of Shiva." She would also like to thank Arisa Isayama for her suggestions on Chapter 3, "The Japanese Garden," and Durgesh Rajsingh for his suggestions on Chapter 16, "The Traditional British House." Martin Gannon would like to thank his son, Reid, who provided invaluable input to Chapter 15 on American football; Reid is much more knowledgeable than his father about the intricacies of this game, and the extended discussions they had while watching televised football games over the years led to many new insights that have been incorporated into this chapter. Professor June Poon of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia provided suggestions for Chapter 17, "The Malaysian *Balik Kampung*," as did her graduate students: Kok Wai, Chow Sook Woon, Syamala Nairand, and Kalaimar Vadivel.

We are very pleased that Michael Berry, a U.S. American who went to Finland as a Fulbright scholar and remained as Senior Lecturer at the Turku School of Economics and Adjunct Professor of Intercultural Relations and History in three Finnish universities, wrote Chapter 8, "The Finnish Sauna," for both the fourth, fifth, and sixth editions. Michael, who is married to a Finnish Senior Lecturer of English and Communication, was a Visiting Scholar at the University of Maryland in 1990–1991 and a very involved member of the seminar in which the original ideas for this book evolved. His contributions to the area of cross-cultural understanding are well recognized, and they include a well-received approach for facilitating communication across cultures and several insightful articles on the differences between Finnish and U.S.-American communication styles. One of his courses, Culture and International Management, was designated the exceptional Finnish intercultural business course for 2007 (by the Finnish Association of Graduates in Economics and Business Administration).

We also were fortunate to have three longtime observers of Vietnam from Australia update a chapter on Vietnam for this edition that originally appeared in the fifth edition. Dr. Paul R. Cerotti is a Senior Lecturer in the College of Business at RMIT University, Melbourne. Paul is currently the Program Director for the Master of Commerce and the Global Business Study Tours. Paul has won Australian National Teaching Awards and various Vice Chancellor awards for excellence in teaching. His work has taken him to Italy (his birthplace and where he spent his youth), the United States, and many parts of Asia. Claire Davison is an Associate Lecturer in the College of Business at RMIT University. Her PhD research is in the area of social media and virtual identity with wider interests in the use of social media as a cross-cultural tool, social value creation, globalization, and social democracy. In 2010, Claire was awarded the Vice Chancellor's Award for teaching excellence. Melanie Gardiner is an Australian journalist with a master's degree in communication. Melanie is a Lecturer in the College of Business at RMIT University and has traveled extensively throughout Asia, including Vietnam. With a background in marketing and communication, her research interests include cross-cultural marketing, innovation, and small and family businesses.

Further, Paul Cerotti and Claire Davison updated the chapter on China for the sixth edition. They have devoted years to studying Chinese culture, and their major innovation in the sixth edition is to emphasize not only the "Great Wall" but also the many walls that impede Chinese and non-Chinese communication.

As indicated, there are three new chapters in the sixth edition. Mzamo Mangoliso, who was raised in a South African township and experienced the turmoil of moving from apartheid to non-apartheid, collaborated with Martin Gannon to provide both an insider's and outsider's view of the townships, which were emblematic of apartheid. Mzamo is a Professor of Management at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and is an accomplished researcher and observer who has appeared on the PBS Newshour and other outlets to comment on South Africa. Maria Kniazeva, an Associate Professor of International Marketing at the University of San Diego and a native of Estonia, which was once part of the Soviet Union, has written a very revealing chapter on her homeland that highlights clearly the issues involved when a nation goes from a Communistic philosophy to a capitalistic philosophy. She has also taught at Georgetown University. Finally, Betty-Jane Punnett, a Professor at the University of the West Indies and a wellknown cross-cultural author, has worked with her colleague Akhentoolove Corbin to summarize a major study of the Caribbean involving five cultural metaphors that are prevalent in five Caribbean nations; this study or Special Issue involved well-known authors who employed five cultural metaphors to describe five geographically close nations whose cultural metaphors tend to overlap in many instances, as we would expect. The reference for the Special Issue is Corbin, Punnett, and Onifa (2012).

We would also like to thank Moritz Botts, Department of International Management at the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) campus, and Zoran Cirjakovic, Faculty of Media and Communications, Serbia, for providing helpful feedback on the fourth edition, which we incorporated into the fifth edition. Moritz, in particular, provided a detailed analysis of the chapters in the fourth edition. For the current edition, Neus Raines, a doctoral student at the University of Missouri, Columbia provided additional insights into the Spanish chapter that improved it significantly.

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John McLean, Seattle University

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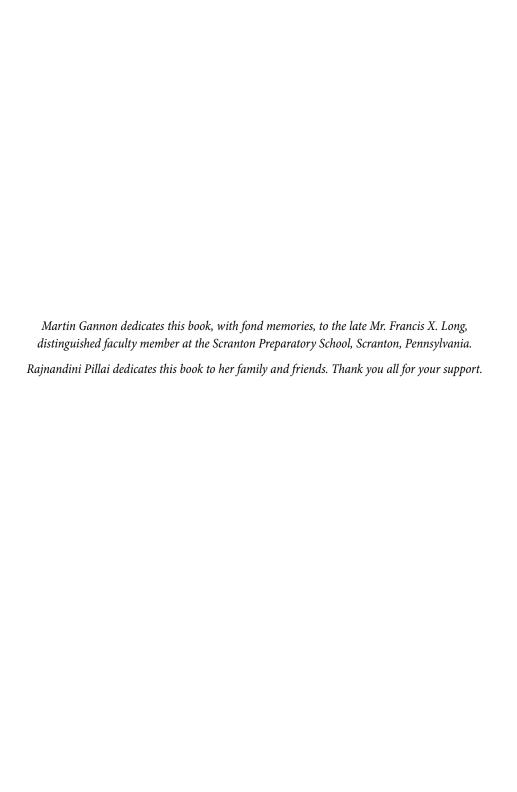
Donna Smith, Ferris State University

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PART I

Introduction

hapter 1 provides a description of a cultural metaphor, that is, any major phenomenon, activity, or institution with which all or most of its members closely identify cognitively and/or emotionally and that preferably originated in this culture, although at times this is not feasible, e.g., in the case of Russian ballet. More specifically, the chapter describes six ageold dimensions of ethnic and national cultures that allow researchers to rate and rank these cultures on each dimension, e.g., individualism-collectivism and power distance. We believe that these dimensions are a necessary first step to understanding a culture, but to obtain an in-depth understanding, cultural metaphors are appropriate and necessary. Consequently we have developed a methodology that we used in constructing and understanding each cultural metaphor. This methodology incorporates dimensions into each cultural metaphor. Next, we make suggestions about how to read and use this book, followed by an analysis of the determinants of culture. These determinants include each culture's history, geography, population density, educational practices, ethnic groups within each national culture, technology, religious diversity, age distribution of the population, and a few other key factors. Each chapter emphasizes all or most of these determinants as well as the relevant cultural metaphor, the major features of which become the major headings within the chapter (see the Detailed Contents). In the conclusion of the chapter, we discuss when culture does, and does not, matter.



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Understanding Cultural Metaphors

CHAPTER 1

The great pedagogic value of figurative uses of language is to be found in their potential to transfer learning and understanding from what is known to what is less well-known and to do so in a very vivid manner. . . . Metaphors are necessary because they allow the transfer of coherent chunks of characteristics—perceptual, cognitive, emotional, and experiential—from a vehicle which is known to a topic which is less so.

—Andrew Ortony (1975, p. 53)

here are many good and obvious reasons for studying cross-cultural differences, including a conservative estimate that somewhere between 25% and 50% of our basic values stem from culture (for such estimates, see Haire, Ghiselli, & Porter, 1966; Hofstede, 2001). Other aspects of workforce diversity, such as the age distribution in a culture and its degree of inequality, also account for significant variances in our values and attitudes. Clearly, however, culture is critical, and it can be briefly defined as the norms, values, beliefs, and practices to which the members of a culture subscribe and respond, even given individual differences. Many times the culture's members are only dimly aware of such deeply held but unconscious norms, values, and beliefs and the gaps that exist between values and practices, as described below. As a result, outsiders can find the responses generated by their interactions with the culture's members very perplexing.

Failures in cross-cultural communication and negotiation have very tangible bottom-line results. To cite one simple example, one U.S. American female CEO of a medium-size company was having great difficulty establishing business partnerships in China until she by chance wore a dignified red dress to a meeting. There, her first partnership was established. Red is a favorite color of the Chinese, because it signifies good luck. She continued to wear the red dress and continued to establish successful partnerships.

For a more complex example, we can look at the experience of Disney, which negotiated a contract with the French government to establish Euro-Disney outside of Paris in the 1980s. The contract was heavily loaded in Disney's favor, but the company suffered near disaster because of issues such as its ban on the sale of wine, which usually accompanies meals in France. The French stayed home or went elsewhere rather than endure such inconveniences. More recently, Daimler-Chrysler Corporation was dissolved in 2004 at least in part because of cultural conflicts between German and U.S. executives, including the latter's lack of understanding of the German system of corporate governance (see Chapter 10).

An even more fundamental reason for studying culture is that our globalized world demands cross-cultural expertise if we are to survive. Amy Chua (2003) clearly supports this point of view:

After the fall of the Berlin Wall a common political and economic consensus emerged, not only in the West but to a considerable extent around the world. Markets and democracy, working hand in hand, would transform the world into a community of modernized, peaceloving nations. In the process, ethnic hatred, extremist fundamentalism, and other "backward" aspects of underdevelopment would be swept away. The consensus could not have been more mistaken. Since 1989, the world has seen the proliferation of ethnic conflict, the rise of militant Islam, the intensification of group hatred and nationalism, expulsions, massacres, confiscations, calls for renationalization, and two genocides unprecedented since the Nazi Holocaust. (p. 123)

Chua's pertinent comment appeared in her 2003 book. Since that time, the incidence of such problems has only increased. Terrorist attacks in major cities across the world are now commonplace, and they reflect deep cross-cultural and religious conflicts that have been simmering for years. These and many other examples make Chua's comment even more relevant today than in 2003, and efforts to increase cross-cultural understanding are not only desirable but necessary. As argued elsewhere, many reasons support the view that global disintegration rather than global integration may be our fate (see Carroll & Gannon, 1997, and Part XI of this book, "The Struggle for Cultural Identity and the Splintering of Nations"). We are just as likely to become a global battlefield as to become a global village or a global community.

To highlight how difficult but critical it is to understand the importance of culture, it is useful to examine a short case study developed by Martin Gannon. By way of background, he attended a 10-day cross-cultural training program led by Professor Richard Brislin at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii at Manoa. The 35 attendees, all professionals involved in cultural studies in some way, included professors from a diverse range of disciplines and immigration officials from several nations. During the course of the program, a well-known cross-cultural training exercise, The Albatross (Gochenour, 1977), was conducted, which produced a number of insights. Gannon has since used this case study more than 500 times in a variety of settings involving students and managers. The reactions of students and managers to this case study tend to be very consistent. Readers are invited to read Case Study 1.1 and to answer the questions after it before we provide any additional details.

CASE STUDY 1.1

I recently participated in a cross-cultural training session at the East-West Center, Hawaii. There were six male volunteers (including me) and six female volunteers. We walked into a room where a man was dressed in Eastern or Asian garb but in a somewhat indistinguishable manner; he could have been a king or a Buddhist monk. A woman sat beside him, and she was dressed in a similarly indistinguishable fashion.

There was no talking whatsoever in this training session, which lasted for about 10 minutes. The "king" beckoned the males to sit on chairs, after which he indicated that the females should sit at the males' feet. He then greeted each male silently and in standing position; he clasped each male by the arms and then gently rubbed his hands on the male's sides. The males did as the king instructed, but there was some nervousness and laughter, although no talking. The king then bowed to each female. Next, the king presented a large vase of water to each male and invited him to drink from it. He then did the same thing with each female.

The king and queen then walked before the volunteers, peering intently at the females. After a minute or two, the king put on a satisfied look and made a noise as if contented. He then looked at the queen, who nodded in agreement. The queen took the hand of one female to lead her to a sitting position on the ground between the king and queen. Next, the king and queen tried to push the female's head toward the ground as she sat on the ground between them (they were on chairs), but she resisted. They tried once again, but she still resisted. The training session then ended.

Instructions. Each small group should appoint a recorder/secretary to report back to the larger group. Time limit is 10 minutes. Please answer the following questions:

- 1. What kind of a culture is this? Please describe.
- 2. How would you interpret the differential treatment of males and females in this culture?

In each of the approximately 500 sessions Gannon has held on this case study, there have been about 6 subgroups, each of which reported back to the entire class, so he has received about 3,000 interpretations of the story. In 9 of 10 instances, the subgroup describes the culture in the following manner: a male-dominated traditional culture, probably Asian or African or Mid-eastern, ritualistic, and conservative. Sometimes a subgroup tries to identify the religion involved, and frequently Buddhism or Islam is cited. And, although almost all subgroups feel that females are in a subordinate role, a few believe that females have high status, even if their status is clearly separate from that of the dominant males.

In fact, this is an Earth-worshipping culture in which males are clearly subordinate to females, and the only way to integrate all the information provided is to use this framework. For example, the male leader was not being friendly when he patted the males; rather, he was checking for weapons, because males tend to have too much testosterone and too strong a tendency to engage in immature fighting. Similarly the females were seated in the place of honor (nearest to the ground), and the males were relegated to the bleachers. The males drank first to test for poison, thus ensuring the safety of the females. Even the "king," whose ambiguous position is highlighted

by the quotation marks, must ask permission of the female leader before selecting a favored female to engage in a ritual; she was placed nearest the ground in an honored position between the two leaders. Frequently Gannon asks why a particular female was chosen, and rarely does anyone guess the reason: A visual inspection indicated that she had the largest feet, an obvious sign of importance in an Earth-worshipping culture. In many cultures the number 3 is used, and it was being used in this ritual until the favored female resisted.

This exercise is usually sufficient to make the point that having a framework is very useful in understanding any culture. If the trainees had been told that the culture was Earth worshipping, they could have successfully integrated the various stimuli that were confusing them. Furthermore, the feedback session after the original training provided insight, because the young woman selected for the ritual was asked why she resisted. This young woman was a very accomplished cultural anthropologist who has devoted her career to the study of village life around the world. She was in her mid-30s, well published, and tenured at a good university; she was also attractive, divorced, and without children. Her response focused on the maltreatment that she had experienced at the hands of various men in her life and on her resolve never to allow such maltreatment to occur again. For example, her father ran off with a younger woman when she was a baby, and she never saw him again. She worked to provide the funds necessary for her husband to attend college, but immediately after graduation he divorced her. Her male dissertation advisor proposed a sexual relationship with her and, after she rejected the idea, made her life so miserable that she changed advisors. Similarly, while the faculty in her university department unanimously recommended her for promotion and tenure, a male dean delayed the promotion for a year and wanted to reject her application but could not do so given her outstanding record. Having experienced such negative incidents, she had decided to live alone with her dog, was in therapy, and had decided with some finality that no man would have such control over her life and work in the future.

Thus, she had interpreted the ritual as a form of subservience to men, because the "king" was pushing her head toward the ground; so was the "queen," but she did not mention this fact. The pedagogical point is that this young woman, given her educational training and work experiences in different villages, was as knowledgeable as or more knowledgeable than any of the other 35 professionals in the room, but her perspective—warped by unpleasant experiences with men—had led her to react emotionally, even to the extent that she was not able to think about an alternative framework such as an Earth-worshipping culture. Gannon, one of the six male participants, points out that he, too, felt overwhelmed and had no idea what was going on.

The case study highlights other critical aspects of culture that operate subtly, often on the unconscious or semiconscious level. Culture has been aptly compared to a computer program, which once activated by a few commands or stimuli begins to operate automatically and seemingly in an independent manner (Fisher, 1988; Hall, 1966; Hofstede, 1991, 2001). Clearly such automaticity occurred, but unfortunately the stimuli were not properly matched to the cultural framework in play because of the negative relationships with males that this young woman had experienced.

Frequently, when foreigners violate a key cultural value, they are not even aware of the violation, and no one brings the matter to their attention. The foreigners are then isolated and begin to experience negative feelings. As one U.S. businessperson in Asia aptly pointed out, one of the central problems doing business cross-culturally is that once a visitor makes a major cultural mistake, it is frequently impossible to rectify it. In fact, several months may pass before one

realizes that polite rejections signify isolation and banishment. Sometimes foreigners make such a mistake and eventually leave the country without even realizing or identifying what they have done.

Even small cultural mistakes can have enormous consequences. Many older and even some younger Germans, for instance, do not like to converse too much during meals. They will ordinarily begin the meal by taking a sip of beer or soda, then pick up the knife and fork and hold them throughout the meal, putting them down only when they have finished eating. For many Germans, eating is a serious business, not to be disturbed by trivial comments and animated conversation. Many Italians, on the other hand, tend to talk constantly during meals and wave their hands repeatedly. As a result, a German and an Italian dining with one another may feel aggrieved, consciously or unconsciously, by each other's behavior, and much time is wasted negotiating acceptable rules of behavior that could otherwise be spent on substantive issues, including the development of trust.

Furthermore, while technological and societal changes have been rapid in recent decades, many key aspects of culture tend to change only slowly, frequently at a snail's pace, and the influence of culture persists for centuries even after mass immigrations take place. Irish Americans have the "gift of the gab," as noted at the top of Chapter 11, befitting a cultural heritage that has a strong oral tradition, and they are disproportionately represented in fields such as trial law and politics, where this gift is an asset. English and French residents of Canada think and feel differently in large part because of their respective cultural heritages, and these differences have threatened the very existence of that country.

Language Barriers

Individuals from English-speaking countries are at a particular **disadvantage** culturally because the people of many non-English-speaking countries use both English and their own native languages. It is common for English-speaking visitors to a non-English-speaking country to assume cultural similarity accompanies a common language, when dissimilarity is really the norm. English has become the language favored in international business, and mixtures of languages such as Chinglish and Spanglish have become prominent, thus creating both opportunities and pitfalls for natives of English-speaking countries.

It should be noted that knowing a country's language, while clearly helpful, is no guarantee of understanding its cultural mind-set. Some of the most difficult problems have been created by individuals who had a high level of fluency but a low level of cultural understanding. Glen Fisher (1988), a former foreign service officer, describes a situation in Latin America in which a U.S. team's efforts were seriously hampered because of the condescending attitude of one member, whose fluency in Spanish was, ironically, excellent. Fortunately another member of the team saved the day because she showed a genuine interest in the culture and its people, even though she was just beginning to learn how to speak Spanish. Moreover, members of a culture tend to assume that highly fluent visitors know the customs and rules of behavior, and they judge those visitors severely when violations occur.

Americans are at a particular disadvantage in trying to understand the mind-sets of other cultures. U.S. businesspeople and travelers tend to follow frantic schedules, sometimes visiting Hong Kong, Thailand, Japan, and Taiwan within the space of 2 weeks. To expect these U.S. travelers to

understand these cultures in such a short period of time is unrealistic. Few U.S. Americans reside in foreign countries for any period of time, and, even when doing so, they tend to isolate themselves from the natives in "golden ghettoes." By contrast, most Europeans speak two or more languages, including English, and they experience great cultural diversity simply by traveling a few hundred miles from one country to another. Many Asians, because of their knowledge of the English language and education in Europe and the United States, are similar to these Europeans regarding cultural sophistication.

Using Cultural Metaphors

This book describes an innovative method, the cultural metaphor, for understanding easily and quickly the cultural mind-set of a nation and comparing it to those of other nations. In essence, **the method** involves identifying some phenomenon, activity, or institution of a nation's culture that all or most of its members consider to be very important and with which they identify cognitively and/or emotionally. The characteristics of the metaphor then become the basis for describing and understanding the essential features of the society.

For example, the Italians invented the opera and love it passionately. Five key characteristics of the opera are the overture, spectacle and pageantry, voice, externalization, and the interaction between the lead singers and the chorus (see Chapter 19). We use these features to describe Italy and its cultural mind-set. Thus, the metaphor is a guide, map, or beacon that helps foreigners understand quickly what members of a society consider to be very important. This knowledge should help them be comfortable in the society and avoid making cultural mistakes. The cultural metaphor is, however, only a starting point and subject to change as the individual's firsthand knowledge increases.

Cultural metaphors can be used to profile ethnic groups, nations, clusters of nations, diversity within one nation, and even continents. We have taken this approach in this book for nations, the base culture and its evolution across national borders, a group of nations with closely related cultural metaphors such as the Scandinavian nations, and even for two continents, Australia (also a nation) and a large part of Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa. We have also extended the use of cultural metaphors to explore the role of diversity in a nation (see Chapter 27, "India: A Kalaidoscope of Diversity").

Constructing Cultural Metaphors

Countless social scientists, particularly cross-cultural psychologists and cultural anthropologists, have devoted their lives to the study of culture. Our cultural metaphors are based partially on the work of cross-cultural psychologists and cultural anthropologists, who emphasize a small number of factors or dimensions, such as time and space, when comparing one society to another.

Dimensional Approaches

Six Age-Old Dimensions

The first of these dimensional approaches was described by two anthropologists, Florence Kluckholn and Fred Strodtbeck (1961). They compare cultures across six dimensions, pointing

out that philosophers, social scientists, and commentators interested in understanding cultural differences have focused attention on these dimensions for hundreds of years. **These six dimensions** are as follows:

- 1. What do members of a society assume about the nature of people? Are people good, bad, or a mixture?
- 2. What do members of a society assume about the relationship between a person and nature? Should humans live in harmony with nature or subjugate it?
- 3. What do members of a society assume about the relationship between people? Should a person act in a self-serving manner or consider the group before taking action? What are the relative strengths of individualism versus groupism or collectivism in influencing decision making, conformity, and so forth?
- 4. What is the primary mode of activity in a given society? Is it being—accepting the status quo, enjoying the current situation, and going with the flow of things? Or is it doing—changing things to make them better, setting specific goals, and accomplishing them within specific schedules?
- 5. What is the conception of space in a given society? Is it considered *private* in that meetings are held in private, people do not get too close to one another physically, and so on? Or is it deemed *public*, such that everyone participates in meetings and decision making, emotions may be expressed publicly, and people stand in close proximity to one another?
- 6. What is the society's dominant temporal orientation: past, present, or future?

Kluckholn and Strodtbeck note that while each society has a dominant cultural orientation that can be described in terms of these six dimensions, other weaker orientations may exist simultaneously in different geographical regions and among different racial and ethnic groups.

Hall on Communication Patterns

Another well-known anthropologist, **Edward T. Hall**, has spent more than 40 years developing and writing about a similar dimensional classification system (for a good summary, see Hall & Hall, 1990). He focuses on the communication patterns found within cultures, and he emphasizes four dimensions along which societies can be compared:

- Context, or the amount of information that must be explicitly stated if a message or communication is to be successful.
- Space, or the ways of communicating through specific handling of personal space; for example, North Americans tend to keep more space between them while communicating than do South Americans.
- 3. Time, which is either *monochronic* (scheduling and completing one activity at a time) or *polychronic* (not distinguishing between activities and completing them simultaneously). However, this distinction encompasses far more than simply this basic dichotomy. Other distinguishing features along the continua of low-context and high-context behavior

include the following: meeting commitments and deadlines versus considering time commitments to be flexible and of low priority; being committed to the job versus committed to people and relationships; concentrating on the job versus being easily distracted; emphasizing promptness versus basing promptness on relationships; being accustomed to short-term relationships versus tending to form lifelong relationships; and adhering to plans versus changing plans often (Hall & Hall, 1990).

 Information flow, which is the structure and speed of messages between individuals and/ or organizations

Hall then arrays societies along an **overarching** high-context/low-context dimension. In a **high-context** society, time tends to be **polychronic**, and there is a heavy investment in socializing members so that information **does not need to be explicitly stated** for it to be understood. Members of such a culture have known one another for long periods of time, and there is strong agreement about what is expected and not expected. In the high-context Japanese society, there is even an aphorism that expressly addresses this issue: He who knows does not speak; he who speaks does not know (see Chapter 3). Hence, verbal communication is frequently not necessary and may well even impede transmission of the message. Also, members of high-context societies tend to have less physical space between them when communicating than those in low-context societies.

As Hall notes, high-context societies tend to require a strong leader to whom everyone else expresses submission or at least great respect. In the Arabic countries, such a leader will sit in his office surrounded by people seeking his help and advice. He will not address the issues and people sequentially, as would tend to happen in monochronic countries such as the United States and Germany. Rather, he will deal with several issues and people as conditions seem to warrant, going from one group to the other in a seemingly haphazard fashion that takes into consideration their sensitivities and need to save face or avoid embarrassment.

Hall tends to **array** the societies he has studied in the following way, going from high-context to low-context: Japan, the Arab countries, France (approximately in the middle of the continuum), the United States, and Germany. Hall has a bias against low-context societies, even though he recognizes that it is much easier to interface with a low-context society because information about rules and permissible behaviors is explicitly stated. To him, such societies tend to be too mechanical and lack sensitivity to the needs of individuals. He does not critically analyze some of the problems found in high-context societies, particularly the overwhelming power of the leader, which can be used indiscriminately, or the in-group bias that hinders relations with anyone outside the culture.

Hall's system begins to break down when he talks about the low-context way in which the Japanese interact with foreigners but the high-context way in which they interact among themselves. Here he seems to be describing the classic in-group/out-group phenomenon rather than an overarching dimension along which societies can be arrayed. Triandis, Brislin, and Hui (1988) have argued that the major dimension separating societies is individualism-collectivism, in which the in-group and out-group distinction is critical, and this seems to be the dimension that Hall is describing. Furthermore, as described in the various chapters of this book, there are many specific kinds of individualism and collectivism.

Still, Hall's work has been significant and insightful, particularly his treatment of time and space and his discussion of the belief that low-context communication is always superior to

high-context communication. Rather, the effectiveness of the message is related to the degree of context that exists in an interaction. If everyone shares the same values and has been socialized in depth to operate regarding them, high-context communication is preferred. If there is less sharing of the same values and disagreements about what is acceptable behavior, low-context communication is preferred. Throughout this book we use some of Hall's basic concepts, especially the monochronic-polychronic distinction and that between high-context and low-context communication.

Establishing Country Profiles

A third major dimensional approach, developed by **Geert Hofstede** (1991, 2001), has been independently confirmed and in some instances refined by other researchers such as the Chinese Culture Connection (1987). This group consists of Michael Bond, a long-time professor of crosscultural psychology at the University of Hong Kong, and 25 Chinese associates. (For examples of frameworks similar to Hofstede's, see Schwartz, 1994, and Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998.) Hofstede is a prominent organizational psychologist whose research is based primarily on a large questionnaire survey of IBM employees and managers working in 53 countries, completed from 1967 to 1973. Hofstede's work is especially significant because the type of organization is held constant; his is the only large-scale cross-cultural study in which the respondents all worked for a multinational corporation that had uniform personnel policies. He develops empirical profiles of these 53 countries across 5 dimensions of basic cultural values:

- Power distance, or the degree to which members of a society automatically accept a hierarchical or unequal distribution of power in organizations and society at large
- Uncertainty avoidance (acceptance of risk), or the degree to which members of a given society deal with the uncertainty and risk of everyday life and prefer to work with longterm acquaintances and friends rather than with strangers
- Individualism-collectivism, or the degree to which individuals perceive themselves to be separate from a group and to be free from group pressure to conform
- 4. Masculinity-femininity, or the degree to which a society looks favorably on aggressive and materialistic behavior and clearly separates male from female roles. It should be noted that many experts do not like the term masculinity-femininity and prefer the term assertiveness.
- 5. **Time horizon** (short-term to long-term), or the degree to which members of a culture are willing to defer present gratification to achieve long-term goals

In the 2010 edition of *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*, Hofstede has added two new dimensions based on Michael Minkov's recent work on the World Values Survey. One of the dimensions is similar to but not identical to the short-term versus long-term orientation dimension and it is called **Pragmatic vs. Normative** orientation; the other dimension is unique and is called **Indulgence vs. Restraint**. A **normative orientation** refers to the desire to explain everything and to understand the absolute truth with a view to achieving personal stability. It is also accompanied by respect for social conventions and a desire to achieve quick results. A **pragmatic orientation**, on the other hand, refers to the ability to live with complexity, accept

contradictions, adapt to the situation, and persevere in achieving results over time. **Indulgence** refers to a society that allows relatively free gratification of needs to enjoy life, whereas **restraint** refers to a society where such gratification is not encouraged and is prescribed by strict social norms. Hofstede's personal website (www.geert-hofstede.com/dimensions.html) provides more resources such as videos and articles for understanding these new dimensions.

The GLOBE Study

A fourth dimensional approach was developed by Robert House and a team of 162 researchers in 62 national societies in the landmark Global Leadership and Organizational Effectiveness (GLOBE) study published in 2004. We refer to this study throughout the book as the *GLOBE study*. GLOBE used the terms *societies* and *societal culture* instead of *country* or *nation* to indicate the complexity of the culture concept; in a few instances the researchers sampled two subcultures from a single nation, for example, Black and White citizens of South Africa. Based on previous work and their own findings, the GLOBE researchers (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004) identified **nine cultural dimensions**: uncertainty avoidance, power distance, institutional collectivism, in-group collectivism, gender egalitarianism, assertiveness, future orientation, humane orientation, and performance orientation. They also developed separate measures for the **value** or importance and **the actual practice** of each of these nine dimensions, for example, valuing equal treatment for all and actually instituting practices that reinforce this value. Thus they moved beyond the Hofstede framework by emphasizing not only values but also actual practices to see if there are discrepancies between them.

Uncertainty avoidance/acceptance of risk and power distance are similar to their counterparts in Hofstede's framework. With regard to collectivism, they distinguish between institutional and ingroup collectivism. In-group collectivism represents the extent to which people are loyal to their organizations and/or families. In many cultures organizations tend to hire only those with whom they are very familiar, that is, family members, members of the larger family or kinship group, and individuals trusted by family members. Employees are typically guaranteed employment, even during difficult economic times, and in return they are expected to work hard for the company, sometimes even putting the company's needs ahead of their own. In many instances non-family members will work loyally for a family business for several years, and in return the family provides the capital that allows them to establish their own businesses. Another classic example of in-group collectivism is Toyota, which retrains workers during economic recessions rather than terminating them.

Institutional collectivism describes the extent to which members of a culture identify with broader societal interests. Cultures scoring high on institutional collectivism such as the Asian Dragons (Hong Kong, Taiwan, Thailand, and Singapore) and some Scandinavian countries focus on collectivistic interests directed toward economic success for all or the largest possible number of citizens. This is different from in-group collectivism where the focus is on ties to family members, a characteristic of many Latin American and African countries according to the GLOBE study (House et al., 2004).

Gender egalitarianism refers to the degree to which male and female roles are distinct from one another, while assertiveness refers to the extent to which a culture encourages individuals to be tough, forceful, and aggressive as opposed to being timid and submissive in social relationships. Thus the GLOBE researchers have separated Hofstede's masculinity-femininity dimension into two dimensions: gender egalitarianism and assertiveness.

Future orientation refers to the extent to which people of a culture engage in planning and investing in the future. It is very similar to the short-term/long-term time horizon dimension in Hofstede's framework. **Humane orientation** describes the extent to which a culture rewards people for being fair, altruistic, generous, caring, and kind to others. Finally, **performance orientation** describes the extent to which an organization or society rewards people for setting and meeting challenging goals and improving performance.

The GLOBE researchers divided data from the 62 societies into regional clusters based on prior research, common language, geography, religion, and historical accounts. They arrived at 10 clusters, which are very similar to those derived by other researchers: Anglo, Latin Europe, Nordic Europe, Germanic Europe, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa, Southern Asia, and Confucian Asia. The GLOBE analysis indicated that scores of respondents correlated within a cluster but were unrelated to the scores of respondents in different clusters.

- Societies in the Anglo cluster (Canada, the United States, Australia, Ireland, England, South Africa [White sample], and New Zealand) were high in performance orientation and low in in-group collectivism.
- The Latin Europe cluster (France, Portugal, Spain, French-speaking Switzerland, Italy, and Israel) had fewer high scores on any of the cultural dimensions, and the scores were quite moderate, but the cluster scored low on humane orientation and institutional collectivism.
- The Nordic European cluster of countries, which include Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, scored high on future orientation, gender egalitarianism, institutional collectivism, and uncertainty avoidance/acceptance of risk and low on assertiveness, in-group collectivism, and power distance.
- The Germanic Europe cluster of countries (Austria, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany) scored high in performance orientation, assertiveness, and future orientation and low in humane orientation and both forms of collectivism.
- The Eastern Europe cluster included Greece, Hungary, Albania, Slovenia, Poland, Russia, Georgia, and Kazakhstan. These countries scored high on in-group collectivism, assertiveness, and gender egalitarianism. They scored low on performance orientation, future orientation, and uncertainty avoidance/acceptance of risk.
- The Latin America cluster of countries (Ecuador, El Salvador, Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala, Argentina, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Mexico) scored high on in-group collectivism and low on performance orientation, future orientation, and uncertainty avoidance/risk acceptance.
- The Middle East cluster, which included Qatar, Morocco, Egypt, Kuwait, and Turkey, had
 high scores for in-group collectivism and low scores on gender egalitarianism, future orientation, and uncertainty avoidance/acceptance of risk.
- Sub-Saharan Africa included Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, Nigeria, and South Africa (Black sample); these countries had high scores on humane orientation and had average scores on most other dimensions.
- The Southern Asia cluster (Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Thailand, and Iran)
 had high scores on in-group collectivism and humane orientation and average scores on
 most other dimensions.
- Finally, the Confucian Asian cluster, which includes Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, South Korea, and Japan, had high scores for performance orientation and high scores for both forms of collectivism (institutional and in-group). These countries, too, had average scores on most other dimensions.

In addition to these well-established and well-researched academic approaches to establishing the dimensions of culture, there are also popular approaches such as the 2013 book by Kai Hammerich and Richard Lewis, Fish Can't See Water: How National Cultures Can Make or Break Your Corporate Strategy. In it the authors argue that cultures can be classified into three global archetypes: linear-active, multi-active, and reactive. Linear-active focuses on direct communication and timekeeping and is characteristic of North America and northern Europe. Multi-active focuses on emotions and sociability and is predominant in southern Europe and Latin America. Finally, reactive emphasizes "Face" and harmony and not surprisingly is predominant in Asian countries. Of course there are many countries that span the continuum between these dimensions and don't fit the archetype.

The various dimensional approaches developed by Kluckholn and Strodtbeck, Hall, Hofstede, and the GLOBE researchers, along with similar works of others, have become enormously influential. Nonetheless, because they rely on a small number of dimensions so as to construct profiles of various societies, they by necessity leave out many features of the cultural mind-sets that are activated in daily cultural activities, and they neglect the institutions and determinants such as each culture's history and geography that mold these mind-sets. Dimensional approaches are helpful for understanding cultures and providing an **overall** perspective on cultural differences, but one will experience great difficulty in applying these approaches to daily interactions. In effect, these dimensions are instructive but somewhat lifeless and narrow in that they leave out many facets of behavior.

Using Metaphor

The metaphoric method highlighted in this book supplements and enriches the four major dimensional approaches described above so that a visitor can understand and, most important, begin to deal effectively with the flesh and blood of a culture. While the metaphor itself cannot encompass all the reality that is found within each society, it is a good **starting point** for understanding and interacting effectively with it. At the same time, the various chapters of the book are linked through the use of the four dimensional approaches, which retain significance.

Throughout this book, we have attempted to identify metaphors that members of given societies view as very important, if not critical. However, we needed to identify metaphors that would be relatively complex so that we could make several direct comparisons between the metaphor and the nation being represented by it. Also, we wanted to have a metaphor for each society that would have several features useful for describing that society. In addition, we sought to include numerous factors or variables such as religion and small-group behavior when using the metaphor to describe the society, recognizing that these factors are important in some societies but not others. For each society, we used the dimensions of the four dimensional approaches described above. In addition, we focused on all the following:

- Religion
- · Early socialization and family structure
- Small-group behavior
- Public behavior
- Leisure pursuits and interests
- Total lifestyle: Work/leisure/home and time allocations to each
- Aural space: The degree to which members of a society react negatively to high noise levels

- Roles and status of different members of a society
- Holidays and ceremonies
- Greeting behavior
- Humor
- Language: Oral and written communication
- Non-oral communication such as body language
- Sports as a reflection of cultural values
- Political structure
- Educational system
- Traditions and the degree to which the established order is emphasized
- History, but only as it reflects cultural mind-sets or the manner in which its members think, feel, and act (not as a detailed chronology of events)
- Food and eating behavior
- Class structure
- Rate of technological and cultural change
- Organization of and perspective on work, such as a society's commitment to the work ethic, superior-subordinate relationships, and so on
- Any other categories that are appropriate

Using all these categories initially, we studied each national culture in depth and interviewed several of its natives. After writing an initial draft of a chapter, we presented it at seminars where it was reviewed by natives and long-term residents of the society being described. The chapter was then rewritten in light of the suggestions offered, and additional comments were solicited. This iterative process typically led to rewriting a chapter 5 or 6 times and sometimes 9 or 10 times.

Reading and Using This Book

To understand the book thoroughly and use it most effectively, readers should understand the rationale behind each of its 14 major parts. These parts in combination provide an overarching framework into which chapters fit. However, many nations can easily fit into more than one part of the book. We have placed chapters in various parts because they fit comfortably there and are representative of the themes for the parts themselves, as our discussion suggests. The book itself can be used flexibly and selectively, because it is not necessary to read the chapters sequentially or to read them all.

Ideally the reader should understand thoroughly the material in Chapter 1; as indicated above, the four dimensional frameworks are used to integrate the material and to link the chapters to one another and are incorporated into each cultural metaphor. In turn, cultural metaphors can be employed to profile an ethnic group, a specific nation, a base nation from which a cluster of nations sharing similar values and attitudes emerges, the cluster of nations itself, a continent, and even diversity within a nation such as India. In this book, the unit of analysis for most chapters is the nation and its national culture. However, three chapters on the Chinese in Part VIII illustrate the importance of each **root culture**, not only of the spread of this culture but also its transformation as its members move permanently to other nations, and the implications for one specific

nation, Singapore. Furthermore, there are two chapters on India in Part IX of the book. One explains how the dance of Shiva helps illuminate why the dominant religion of India, Hinduism, must be understood before trying to interact with members of this culture. The second chapter then looks at the **amazing diversity** in India and describes various non-Hindu religious and ethnic groups and their importance in understanding not only India but almost all nations, if not every nation. Fewer than 10% of the 197 nations and 46 dependent territories (e.g., China and Hong Kong and the United States and the Territory of Puerto Rico) in the world are monocultural, and these two chapters on India are reflected in the numerous comparable multiethnic situations found elsewhere (Rosenberg, 2014).

Two parts of the book (Parts VI and VII) are based on the distinction that Samuel Huntington (1996) proposed: **torn national cultures**, that is, cultures such as Mexico and Turkey that have experienced dramatic changes in values at one or a few periods in history; and **cleft cultures**, or those in which it is difficult to integrate the national culture due to the existence of sharply different subcultures. We have expanded on Huntington's concept of cleft cultures to include those that experience difficulty integrating into a national culture because of geographic differences, such as the north and south of Italy.

Four parts of the book highlight a framework linking culture and economics more closely (Parts II through V). This framework was independently developed by Harry Triandis (2002) and Alan Fiske (1991b) and is explained later in this chapter (see "A Two-Dimensional Typology of Cultures"). There are minor differences between the two frameworks, and sometimes Fiske does not clearly demarcate the cultural level from the individual level. For our purposes, however, the two frameworks can be treated as identical. From this framework we can identify why we have chosen these four major parts or topics of the book. It should be noted that we explore two major types of egalitarianism in Parts III and IV, that found in the Scandinavian nations (Part III) and that found in other nations (Part IV).

Part XII focuses on bullfighting as a cultural metaphor but shows how the meanings associated with various types of bullfighting (the Portuguese and Spanish versions) differ significantly. Further, we explain how popular musical forms can be cultural metaphors in Part XIII, "Popular Music as Cultural Metaphors." We focus on the wildly popular music of the Brazilian samba and the Argentine tango, both of which originated in the slums of Brazil and Argentina. Today these musical genres have achieved international prominence and recognition, in large part because of the manner in which they express the cultural values of Brazil and Argentina.

In addition, there are three new parts in this edition. We extend the geographical focus in some parts by introducing an African perspective on two nations, South Africa and Nigeria, and also on the many nations of Sub-Saharan Africa (Part X). For a related focus on geography, see Part III, "Scandinavian Egalitarian Cultures". Further, although the common belief is that the globalization or the increasing interdependency in such areas as business, finance, and communication is rising, there is less of a focus on the struggle for cultural identity and the splintering of national cultures, the emphasis of Part XI. Just since 1990, of the 196 nations in existence, 34 new nations have emerged, and many other nations are faced with the threat of such splintering, including Thailand, Spain, Belgium, some African nations, and Iraq (see Rosenberg, 2014). In Part XI we focus on the Russian Empire or USSR, which was dissolved into 15 new nations in 1990. In the final part of the book, Part XIV, we return to the issue of cultural metaphors in neighboring nations, a topic highlighted in Part III, "Scandinavian Egalitarian Cultures." In this final part the emphasis is on the Caribbean nations in which at least five distinct cultural metaphors

can be found, each of which provides a different but overlapping insight into these closely linked nations. Finally, the reader may notice that throughout the text, key terms, names, and concepts have been set in **bold** to highlight important ideas for quick reference and help the reader better navigate the wealth of information presented.

A Two-Dimensional Typology of Cultures

Both Harry Triandis and Alan Fiske, who have explored the linkage between culture and economics, seek to identify four generic types of cultures. They begin their analyses with the cultural dimension of individualism-collectivism, which has been the dimension of most interest to researchers because of its obvious importance. Also, they emphasize the extent to which there is a large degree of inequality or power distance in the culture. Thus a four-cell typology of cultures emphasizes either individualism or collectivism and either low power distance or high power distance (see Figure 1.1). There are two generic types of collectivism (horizontal/low–power distance and vertical/high–power distance) and two generic types of individualism (horizontal/low–power distance and vertical/high–power distance).

Figure 1.1	Four Generic Types of Cultures			
		Individualism	Collectivism	
Power Distance	Low (horizontal)	Equality Matching	Community Sharing	
	High (vertical)	Market Pricing	Authority Ranking	

Low-Power Distance Collectivism

Horizontal/low–power distance collectivism reflects **community sharing**, in which members of the in-group share all their goods, as in a small village, even to the extent that there is no such phenomenon as theft. There is not much differentiation between individuals, and ethics are based on group membership: in-group or out-group. In essence, members of out-groups are viewed as nonpersons. As far as we can ascertain, no national culture can be so characterized, simply because each national culture includes numerous individuals, points of view, and diversity of all types.

High-Power Distance Collectivism

Vertical/high-power distance collectivism or **authority ranking**, found in large parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, involves a **psychological relationship** between the leader or leaders and all others in the culture. Frequently such a culture is symbolized not by the handshake, which reflects equality, but by different forms of **bowing**. Only a relatively few U.S. Americans and Europeans have experienced such a culture in depth because the relationship between superior and subordinate in most U.S. firms is **instrumental** and focuses only on **work-related goals**. In

contrast, a dynamic two-way relationship exists between subordinates and leaders in authority-ranking cultures: While the leaders receive more rewards, they are responsible for safeguarding the livelihoods of subordinates, even to the extent of finding them new positions when bank-ruptcy occurs. In turn, the subordinates are expected to be committed to the leader and the organization. Terminating employees to save money is anathema. Ethics is still determined in large part by group membership (in-group and out-group), and status as signified by family background, position at work, and so on is also critical.

It is important to realize, however, that there are **at least two major types** of authority-ranking cultures. One type is **paternalistic**, and the image of the leader is that of a kind father. The second is **authoritarian**, and the image of the leader is that of a harsh father. It is sometimes difficult to separate paternalistic and authoritarian authority-ranking cultures, but we attempt to do so in this book.

Low-Power Distance Individualism

Horizontal/low-power distance individualism or **egalitarianism/equality matching** is dominant in Scandinavian nations such as Sweden and Norway. All individuals are considered equal, even when some are taxed heavily, and it is expected that those who cannot make individual contributions to the common good will do so at a later time if possible. As indicated, such egalitarianism can also be found in other nations such as Canada, Australia, and historically in Ireland.

High-Power Distance Individualism

Finally, vertical/high-power distance individualism or **market pricing** is found in the United States and other market-dominated nations. Although individualism is emphasized, so too is the free market, and inequality resulting from its operation is deemed not only as acceptable but also expected. There is, in principle, equality of opportunity and a level playing field, but not equality of outcomes. Ethics revolves around the operation of such a market. The fact that the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has found that, among the 20 most developed economies in the world, inequality is greatest in the United States should come as no surprise, given our cultural perspective (OECD, 2008).

A Scaling Perspective

Fiske, in particular, relates these concepts to the **four types of statistical scales**: nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio. His argument is that individuals have difficulty making decisions and use these scales to approximate roughly how to interact with others.

- Community sharing represents nominal scaling, as names are given only to entities (e.g., in-group vs. out-group).
- 2. In an authority-ranking culture, individual A may be more important than individual B, and individual C may be more important than individual B, but there is no common unit of measurement. The scale is **ordinal** in nature. Hence we cannot say C is twice as important as A.

- 3. In equality matching, the culture has a common unit of measurement, but it does not make value judgments about individual worth, because there individuals can be measured along too many dimensions. In this sense the scaling is interval.
- 4. In market pricing, there is a common unit of measurement and a true zero point (zero money), which allows members of the culture to transform every other dimension and compare it monetarily. In this case the scaling is **ratio**.

Fiske provides an insightful example of these four types of culture in his discussion of a small town's decision about the purchase of an expensive fire truck. The issue becomes, who should receive the new fire protection? The reader may want to stop at this point to consider the matter. The answers are (a) community sharing—only members of the in-group; (b) authority ranking—all members of the in-group, but the leaders receive more attention and monitoring of their homes; (c) equality matching—everyone is protected; and (d) market pricing—only those who can pay the taxes are protected. This example is not far-fetched. In the United States there have been several recorded instances when fire trucks did not respond, sometimes because a home was just outside the fire department's district and sometimes because the owners of the homes did not contribute monetarily to the fire department's upkeep.

In Hofstede's (1980b) original analysis of 40 nations, he divided them at the median score both on individualism-collectivism and power distance. No nation is in the community-sharing quadrant, probably because this form of collectivism is not appropriate for such large entities as nations. Interested readers can view the dispersion of the 40 nations into the other three quadrants by consulting the original work. As the table of contents of this book indicates, we have devoted separate parts of the book to authority-ranking cultures, equality-matching cultures, and market-pricing cultures.

Defining Culture or Identifying Its Determinants?

We have provided a brief definition of culture that is consistent with many definitions of the term, including the GLOBE study. However, the reader should be aware of the fact that there are numerous and frequently conflicting definitions of culture. Martin Gannon (2008) examined a large number of definitions and then asked: Why are there so many definitions of culture? The short answer is that each author seems to employ a definition of culture that is suitable to the problem at hand. Hofstede, for example, defines cultures in terms of values, as we might expect a psychologist to do. However, the GLOBE team, which consisted of a diverse group of researchers, expanded the definition of culture to include its practices, thus allowing the team to focus on the gap between values and practices.

In this book we accept a brief but noncontroversial definition of culture, but our focus is really on the **determinants** that influence each culture. In other words, we believe that culture is **context-specific** and that it is very difficult if not impossible to adequately understand a specific culture in depth unless one has a thorough understanding of each culture's determinants. Such determinants include a national culture's history and its levels of diversity regarding ethnic composition, major and minor religions, and languages. Other important determinants include the population density per square kilometer, the age distribution within the population, the types of education and their relevance, technology and technological change such as the increasing importance of cell and

smart phones in many nations, and the degree of economic inequality in each national culture. In each chapter we emphasize such determinants, typically at the beginning of the chapter, to provide the reader with the context-specific background for understanding the cultural metaphor and the manner in which it is mirrored in business and nonbusiness activities.

When Culture Does, and Does Not, Matter

When does culture matter? There are times when culture is not important and other times when it is critically important. In this book we emphasize culture, but we do caution the reader to consider other factors.

Limitations on Culture

Frequently occupational similarities neutralize culture. For instance, when two medical doctors are working jointly on a problem, their medical backgrounds can help them work together smoothly regardless of cultural backgrounds. Also, similarity of social class can diminish the importance of culture. For example, throughout the world middle-class families tend to use positive reinforcement in raising their children and provide them with opportunities to develop skills and self-esteem. These families may provide their children with music lessons and ask them to perform in front of guests, who respond enthusiastically. Conversely, blue-collar families throughout the world tend to emphasize negative reinforcement and punishment, which negatively influence skill development, opportunities to function in a public or leadership role, and feelings of self-esteem (see Kâgitçibasi, 1990).

However, sometimes powerful groups will exclude others from opportunities and then stereotype them negatively, thus consigning them to permanent inferior status. This clearly happened in Ireland and India when the English ruled those nations for centuries. Apartheid, now outlawed in South Africa, began as a reaction to scarcity of jobs and led to the stigmatization of native Africans for nearly a century (see Olson, 1982, and Chapter 29). If the playing field is level, as is more probable when markets are genuinely competitive, this outcome is mitigated.

At times social class or occupational similarity and culture become **confused** in the minds of visitors. Some U.S. Americans, for example, complain about the rudeness of Parisian shopkeepers, whereas other U.S. Americans describe wonderful relationships with their occupational peers in France. Presumably the different experiences reflect social class or occupational similarities as much as if not more than culture. However, in 2013, the French capital launched a concerted effort to overcome its reputation for rudeness by publishing a six-page booklet for service providers helpfully titled, "Do you speak Touriste?" that offered greetings in eight languages and also advice about various nationalities (e.g., "the British like to be called by their first names," "the Americans like to be reassured about prices," and "a simple smile and hello in their language will satisfy the Chinese who are fervent shoppers").

Sometimes the nature of the problem minimizes the importance of cultural differences. For example, when companies from two or more nations are working together on a joint project that their top managements strongly support, organizational members are more likely to forget cultural differences, especially when ample rewards for goal attainment along with punishments for failure are at stake.

When **trust** is present, culture decreases in importance. Jarvenpaa, Knoll, and Leidner (1998) studied 75 virtual work teams throughout the world, which were integrated via the Internet. The major finding was that, if "quick trust" can be established, culture is not a major issue. However, developing trust is frequently neither easy nor quick. For example, a virtual Internet team with members from several nations must adjust to differences in time zones and the lack of commitment that may accompany not actually knowing the other team members on a firsthand basis. Similarly, interactions are facilitated much more easily if the teams have worked together for a few days face-to-face, which frequently does not occur because of cost or other considerations.

The Impact of Technology

One of the most controversial issues is the degree to which technological changes, such as the Internet, influence culture. As many experts have pointed out, **the Internet has not resulted** in a **global village**, as is so often stated. Rather, individuals with similar interests—including crime and terrorists—seek one another out on the Internet. As such, the Internet has led to **as much differentiation as integration** and possibly more differentiation. Still, the world is becoming more flat as globalization has spread and individuals from different cultures are learning more about one another due to increased travel, the Internet, more business contact with people of other cultures, and so on (Friedman, 2005).

However, whether this flat world is becoming more integrated or more differentiated is a matter of debate, as we discuss in Part XI, "The Search for Cultural Identity and the Splintering of Nations." We may well have a future in which war and uprisings are ongoing throughout the world rather than a global community in which there are shared interests, values, and practices. In fact, Alan Rugman (2005) has argued that globalization is a fiction and that nations prefer regional agreements among groups of nations that are similar in language, culture, and proximity. Pankaj Ghemawat (2011) argues similarly, describing the situation as one of semi-globalization because of the many differences in values and religious beliefs found today. These viewpoints echo the GLOBE study discussed above, which argues that there are 10 clusters of nations. Ghemawat (2011) shows that the degree of internationalization achieved in a variety of areas, such as university students studying outside their nations (approximately 2%), venture capital investment outside of one's nation (20%), and international Internet traffic (20%), is very low. He believes that, at best, genuine global integration of national economies is at least 200 to 300 years away.

Further, any indirect form of communication across cultures such as e-mail presents special difficulties. For example, a high-context and high-level manager in Indonesia became angry when he received a terse message from his U.S. counterpart, not because of the content but because of the manner in which the message was phrased. That is, instead of starting the e-mail with "Dear Mr. XXX," the writer just started putting forth his ideas concisely and succinctly, without following the protocol associated with authority-ranking cultures. There is some evidence that younger, more technologically accepting managers are much less bothered by low-context communication than older managers, although data are mixed on this point. As a general rule, technological and economic changes do matter, especially when they are disruptive of cultural patterns. Still, problems are minimized when changes are introduced gradually and are not directly injurious to deep-seated values. On the other hand, as the comparison of northern and southern Italy indicates, cultural patterns found in the 11th century have persisted into the present, leading to concrete economic differences between these two regions (Chapter 19).

When Culture Matters

As suggested in the preface, perhaps the most interesting feature of culture is that it triggers unconscious values, which in turn lead to action. Thus it is not surprising that culture is important when individuals must communicate directly. If individuals expect that outsiders will follow their cultural rules and are unwilling to facilitate the relationship by developing new rules acceptable to all, communication is likely to break down.

As shown in numerous research studies, culture is particularly important in cross-cultural negotiations. Understanding both the similarities and differences of the cultures represented by the negotiators is a good way to facilitate interaction and goal attainment. U.S. Americans, for example, have a reputation for being direct and low-context when communicating information, and this becomes a problem when the communication is phrased in terms of "take it or leave it" to a high-context negotiator. Billion-dollar deals have died on the table because of such behavior.

Culture is also important when individuals move to another nation or culture for an extended period of time. The well-known phenomenon of culture shock does occur and, if not handled properly, can lead to major problems. Many managers from a company's headquarters who are sent to work in a subsidiary for an extended period cling to the values and ways of behaving found in their base culture, even to the extent of isolating themselves in "golden ghettoes."

The Impact of Stereotypes

Culture is also relevant if **distorted stereotypes** are present. There is some confusion surrounding the definition of *stereotype*, but at a minimum it is a distorted view or mental picture of groups and their supposed characteristics on the basis of which one tends to evaluate individuals from each group. Stereotypes can be erroneous and lead to unwarranted conclusions, **particularly if no exceptions** are allowed; for example, we might assume that all Italians are emotional and talk constantly while moving their hands and arms. In such a situation allowing no exceptions to a stereotype is **a universal syllogism**. In the case of Italians, the stereotype is clearly erroneous in many instances, as anyone who has transacted business in northern Italy will confirm; there, the level of formality is frequently high in business relationships, especially regarding dressing properly, showing up for meetings on time, being prepared, and so on. **Ironically**, in-group members frequently use universal stereotyping as a form of humor but react negatively if out-group members employ it.

Note, however, that **all human beings use stereotypes**, because they are a **shorthand and easy way** to classify the multitude of stimuli to which we are exposed. The issue is not stereotyping itself but whether stereotypes are accurate.

Most of us take an extremely negative position on stereotyping. It can be very embarrassing to be accused of stereotyping, especially since refuting the charge is frequently difficult. In today's world the accusation is frequently raised, and as a result, it has become difficult to discuss genuine differences. However, many social psychologists now take the position that there are real differences between groups and societies and that the negative connotations associated with stereotyping have led us to deemphasize these legitimate differences. From this perspective a stereotype represents only a starting point, one that must be rigorously evaluated and changed as experience with groups warrants. Adler with Gunderson (2007) argues persuasively that using stereotypes is legitimate and helpful if they are descriptive rather than evaluative, the first best guess, based on data and observation, and subject to change when new information merits it.

Metaphors are *not* stereotypes. Rather, they rely on the features of one critical phenomenon in a society to describe the entire society. There is, however, a danger that metaphors will include some inaccurate stereotyping, and we have attempted to guard against this possibility by having the various chapters of this book reviewed by natives or long-term residents of the societies being described. In some instances we were unable to construct a metaphor that satisfied natives, residents, or ourselves. Hence this book includes only metaphors about which there is consensus.

Admittedly, it is very difficult to test the validity of these metaphors empirically, at least at this time. However, we have completed one six-nation study of cultural metaphors and confirmed that they are critical (Gannon, Locke, Gupta, Audia, & Kristof-Brown, 2005). In addition, we employ two tests in deciding whether a particular phenomenon can be considered a valid cultural metaphor: whether there is consensus and whether a metaphor other than the one we have selected increases our understanding of a particular society. Also, we have noted in many instances that not all members of a society adhere to the behavioral patterns suggested by the metaphor by using such phrases as "Some Germans," "Many Italians," and "The Irish tend to." In effect, we are highlighting patterns of thought, emotion, and behavior that a society manifests and that are clearly and concisely portrayed by means of a simple and easily remembered metaphor. In this way visitors can use the metaphor as an initial guide, map, or beacon to avoid cultural mistakes and to enrich cross-cultural communications and interactions. In addition, instructors using the previous editions of this book have received very positive reactions from students and experienced international managers to the descriptions of each national culture in the book. Also, numerous book reviews have been uniformly very positive. In sum, as experience accumulates, the visitor can modify and enlarge the frame of reference, but each metaphor provides an initial starting point and basis for discussion.

Culture: "Fuzzy" but Vital

Culture frequently does not matter, but at other times, it is very influential. We have described only some of the instances when culture does and does not matter. Culture probably counts the most when there are feelings of inequity (perceived or real) and a scarcity of resources and opportunities. It is comforting to cluster with others similar to ourselves, especially when we are rejected by dominant groups. As Huntington (1996) persuasively argues, a major threat to world security is the increase in ethnic wars that has accompanied globalization and privatization, and this tension has remained strong since the publication of his thesis (see Ferguson, 2006, and Part XI, "The Struggle for Cultural Identity and the Splintering of Nations"). Cultural differences are especially exacerbated when accompanied by extreme religious and ideological viewpoints. Many cultural problems are solved in the long run through intermarriages and increased social and business contacts, all of which are hindered by religious and ideological differences.

All the factors described above, and some others not described because of space limitations, are important for evaluating when culture does or does not matter. The position taken in this book is that culture is important and is of critical significance in many situations, though not in them all. Culture also interacts with political, social, and economic forces and is, in that sense, a fuzzy concept. But clearly it is possible to understand cultures and use this understanding to enhance relationships between individuals and groups. Throughout the remainder of the book, we employ the methodology described in this chapter to demonstrate how cultural metaphors can strengthen understanding and to show how those metaphors are related to the core norms, values, beliefs, practices, attitudes, and behaviors of various nations.

PART II

Authority-Ranking Cultures

In this part of the book, we focus on authority-ranking cultures, in which there not only is a high degree of collectivism but also a high degree of power distance. Unlike market-pricing cultures, in which the relationship between the superior and subordinate is primarily one-way, these cultures emphasize that superiors and subordinates have obligations toward one another that transcend job descriptions. This is particularly true of nations such as Japan and Thailand and, to a lesser extent, nations such as Poland and Brazil. Ordinal statistical scaling dominates relationships; that is, person A is more important than person B, and person C is more important than person B, but there is no common unit of measurement. Thus, it is impossible to say, for example, that C is twice as important as A.

There are at least two major types of authority-ranking cultures: paternalistic and autocratic. Some cultures are a more or less pure form of one type or the other, but in other cases, the two types may overlap or the culture may transition from paternalistic to autocratic. Such transitions occur when a leader is initially viewed as helpful but paternalistic but later demands not only allegiance but complete subjection of subordinates. In this book the focus is primarily, although not exclusively, on paternalistic authority-ranking cultures.

Since 1970, a large number of nations, possibly 80 out of the existing 197 sovereign nations, have moved away from an authority-ranking culture regarding governmental structure, but half or fewer of them could be considered democratic in any sense of the term. An outstanding example of an unrealized democracy is Russia, which has experienced a reversion of democratic reforms made during the 1990s, especially since 2000 (see Chapter 31). Still, the movement away from authority-ranking structures continues, as we witnessed in the Arab Spring of 2011 during which Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, and Libya had mass demonstrations. However, the Arab Spring did not result in significant movement toward democracy.

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Frequently such authority-ranking nations are ruled by large clans or families or have ethnic and religious groups around which such clans form. Movement away from an authority-ranking mentality threatens the rulers, who frequently attack with a vengeance, as we have recently seen in Syria and Libya. Still, as attested by the global movement toward democratic forms of governments since 1970, the trend is away from authority-ranking governments. However, it may take years for underlying cultures to change significantly even after some democratic reforms are instituted.