



# *The Cultural Dimension*

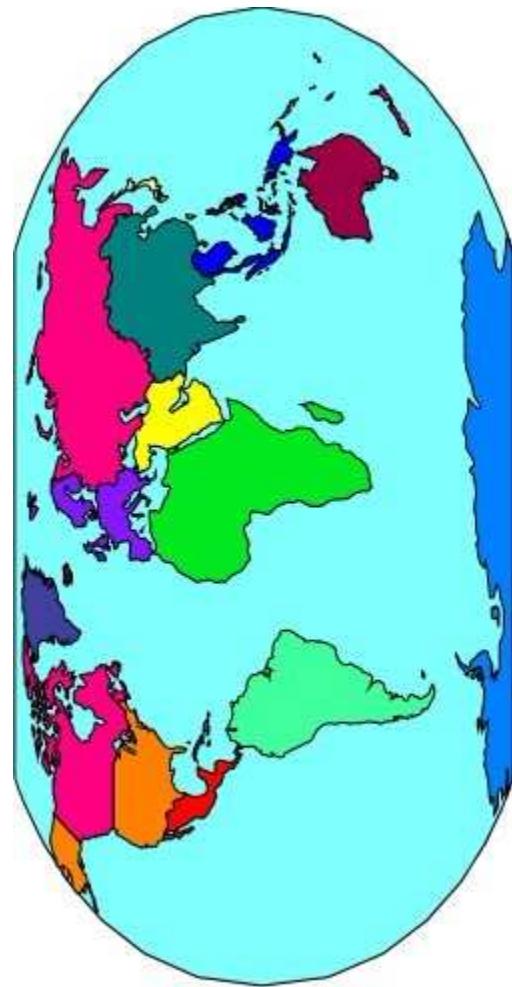


John Hooker  
Carnegie Mellon University  
October 2007

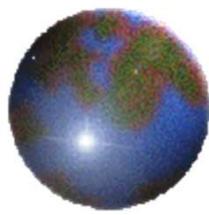


# *Outline*

- A cross-cultural perspective
- Relationships vs. rules
- Competition and risk
- Culture and political power



# *A Cross-Cultural Perspective*





# *What culture is **not***

- Culture is **not** primarily about food, language, dress, customs, holidays.





# *What culture is*

- ➊ Culture is about **how we think**.
- ➋ It determines our deepest assumptions, most of which we not even aware.



- ➌ Like an iceberg, culture lies mostly beneath the surface.





Language

Dress, hairstyle

Cuisine

Overt religion



Concepts  
of space  
and time

Guilt vs.  
shame

**Concept of  
authority**

**Rule-based  
vs.  
relationship  
-based**

Management  
of information

Apollonian  
vs.  
Dionysian

Universalizing  
rationality?

Covert religion

**Stress  
management**

Fundamental  
conception of  
reality



# *Culture vs. personality*

- Every culture contains the **full range** of human personalities.
  - Culture **is about the framework** into which these personalities fit, **not** about "national character."
  - However, different personalities succeed in different cultures.

Example: Zimbabwe.





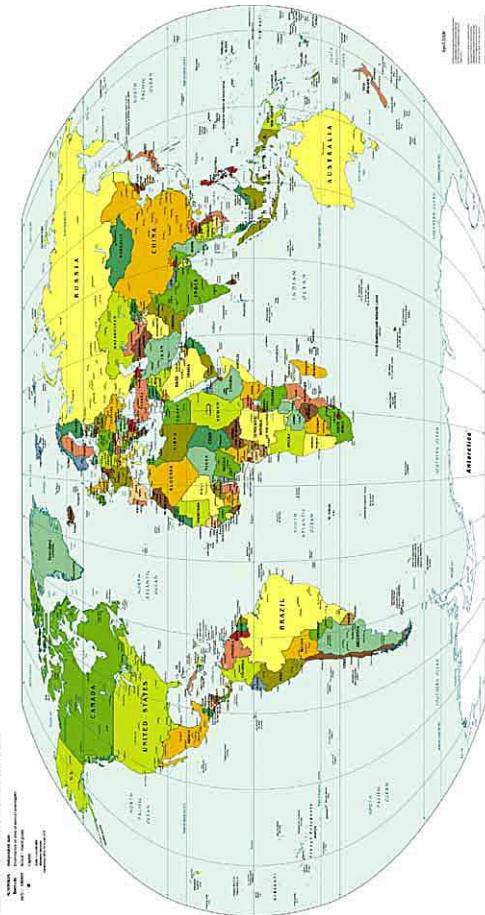
# *Relationships vs. Rules*





# *Two types of cultures*

- There are 5000+ cultures in the world, all very different.
- But they can be classified roughly as:
  - **relationship-based**
  - **rule-based.**

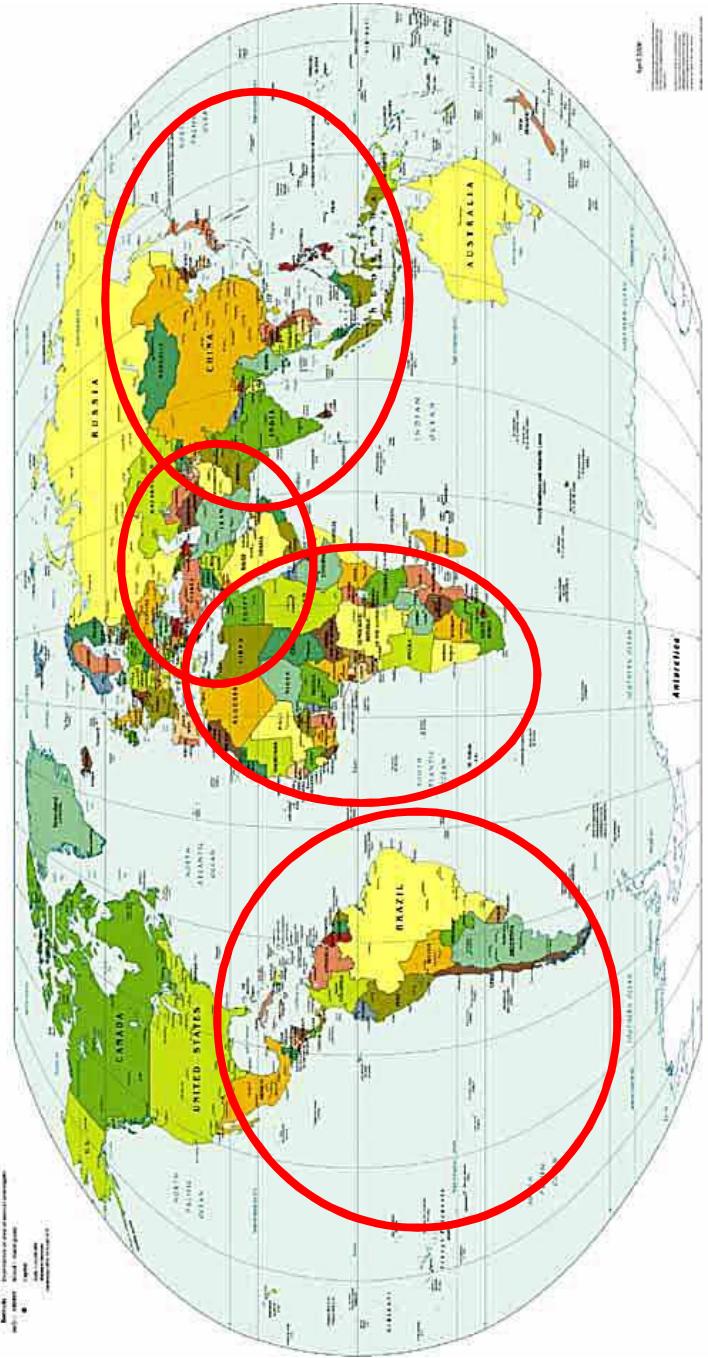




- *Relationship-based* = life is organized primarily around **personal relationships**.

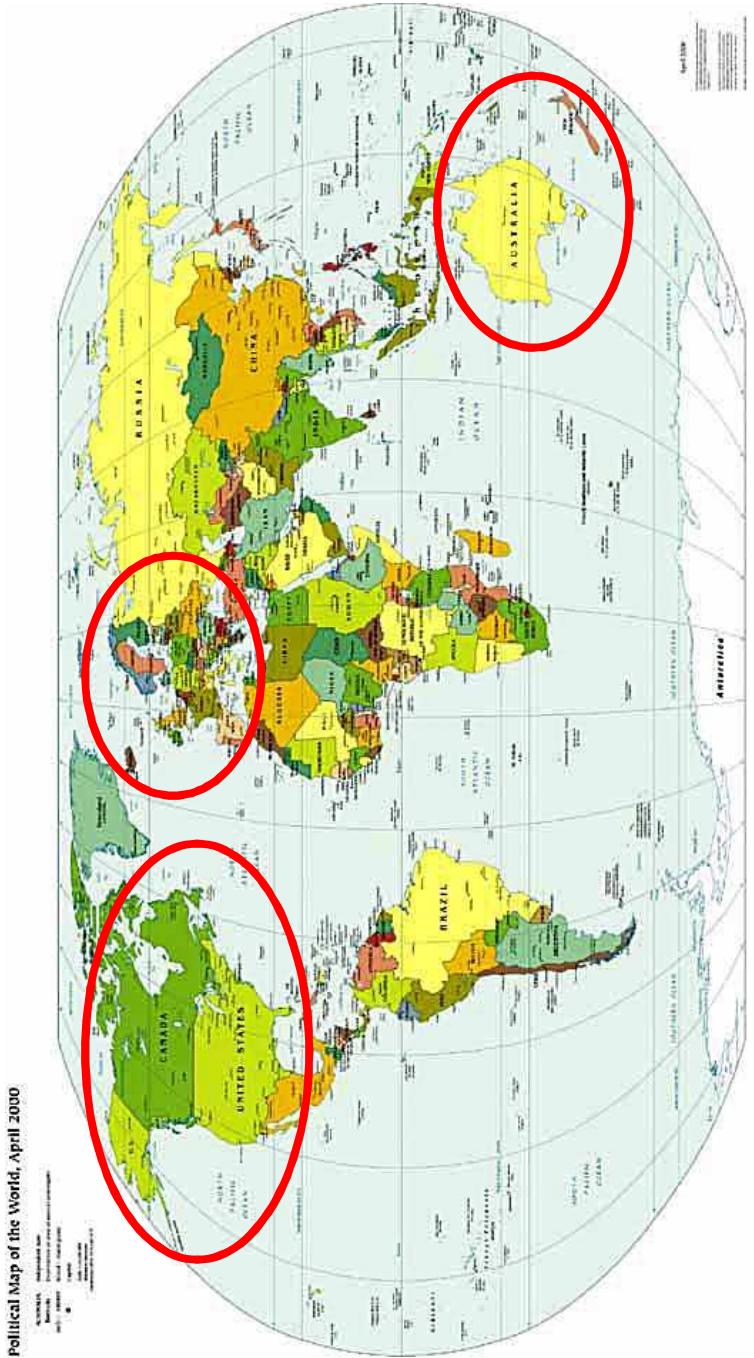
■ Africa, Asia, Middle East, South America

Political Map of the World, April 2000





- *Rule-based* = life is organized primarily by **rules**.
- **Australia, Europe, North America**



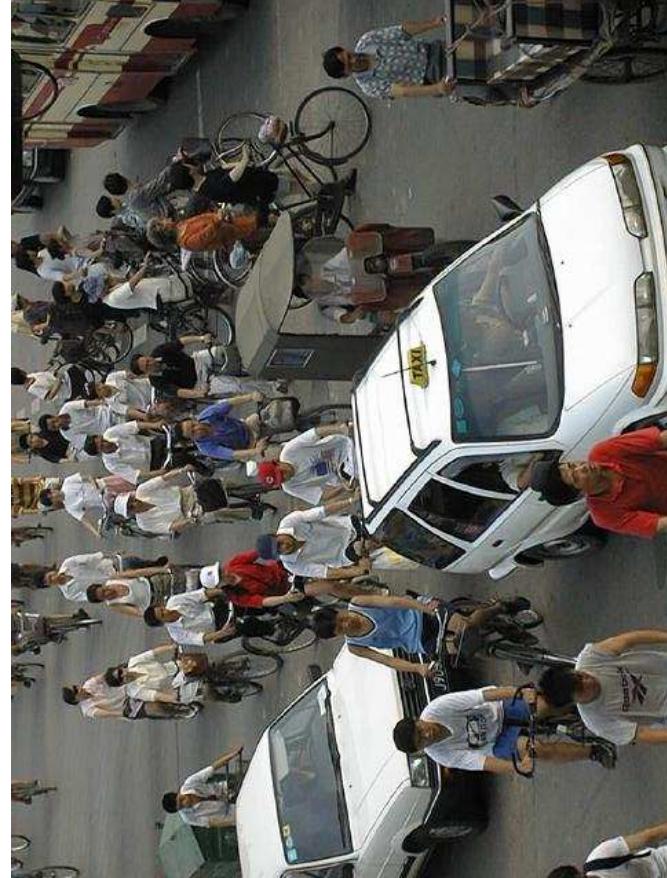


## ❖ Meetings

- ❖ Personal connections vs. strictly business

## ❖ Deals

- ❖ Personal trust vs. contracts & law
- ❖ Trust the person vs. trust the system.
- ❖ Traffic behavior
- ❖ Negotiation vs. regulation.



Traffic in China



- Dealing with **stress**
- Family & friends vs. technology & engineering.



Mexican family



## Concept of authority.

- Relationship-based – authority rests in the **person**.
  - Rule-based – authority derives from **rules**.



Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques  
King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Al-Saud



- Many cultural traits **correlate** with the rule-based, relationship-based distinction.

<b>Relationship-based</b>	<b>Rule-based</b>
High power distance	Low power distance
Shame-based	Guilt-based
High-context	Low-context
Corruption as bribery	Corruption as cheating

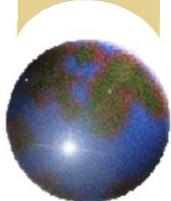
# *Power distance*

- **Power distance** is the degree to which less powerful people **accept** their subordinate position.





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- ❖ Relationship-based countries tend to be **high** power distance.



- ❖ Behavior is regulated by **people** with authority.
- ❖ Rules are legitimated and enforced by authority figures.
- ❖ Leaders are expected to be wise and caring.
- ❖ Example: Deng Xiaoping

Deng Xiaoping  
De facto leader of China  
1978-1992



- Rule-based countries tend to be **low** power distance.
  - People respect **the rules** more than superiors.
  - Example: Sweden.



Karl XVI Gustaf  
Swedish King since 1973



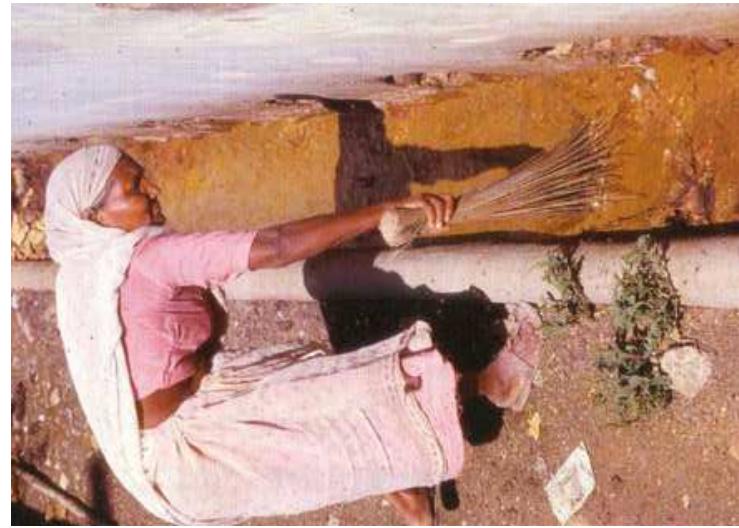
- ❖ High power distance:
  - ❖ Children obey and respect parents, teachers.
  - ❖ Employees are reluctant to challenge the boss or discuss problems.





## • High power distance:

- Ideal boss is benevolent or fatherly autocrat (rarely female).
- Large differences in salary/skills.
- Class differences, limited upward mobility.



Dalit (untouchable)  
India



### ❖ Low power distance:

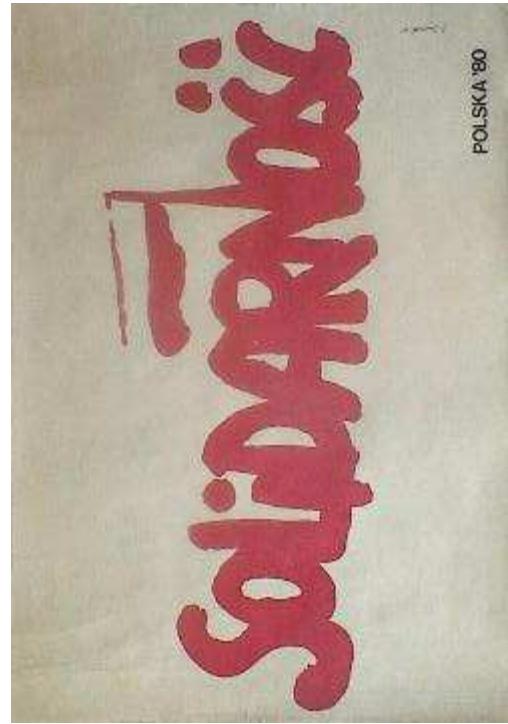
- ❖ Children are allowed to contradict their parents.
- ❖ Two-way discussion in classroom.
- ❖ Discipline may be a problem; parents side with child rather than teacher.
- ❖ No corporal punishment.





- **Low power distance:**

- Consultative management.
- Employees bring concerns and grievances to the boss.
- Ideal boss inspires workers.
- Labor unions.
- Smaller salary differences; workers may resent executive perks.
  - Scandinavian vs. U.S. offices.
  - Power distance higher in U.S. business



Solidarity logo, Poland



## *Shame and guilt*

- **Shame** and **guilt** are mechanisms for enforcing behavior norms.





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- ➊ **Relationship-based** cultures enforce behavior norms by **shame**.

- ▢ Loss of face.
- ▢ Humiliation.
- ▢ Punishment on the spot.
- ▢ Direct and constant supervision.
  - Department store cashier.
- ▢ No guilt.
- ▢ Shohei Nazawa and Yamaichi Securities





- ❖ Key point for shame-based cultures:
- ❖ Failure to supervise **gives permission** to break the "rules."
  - Public transit.
  - Exam cheating.
  - Government regulation.



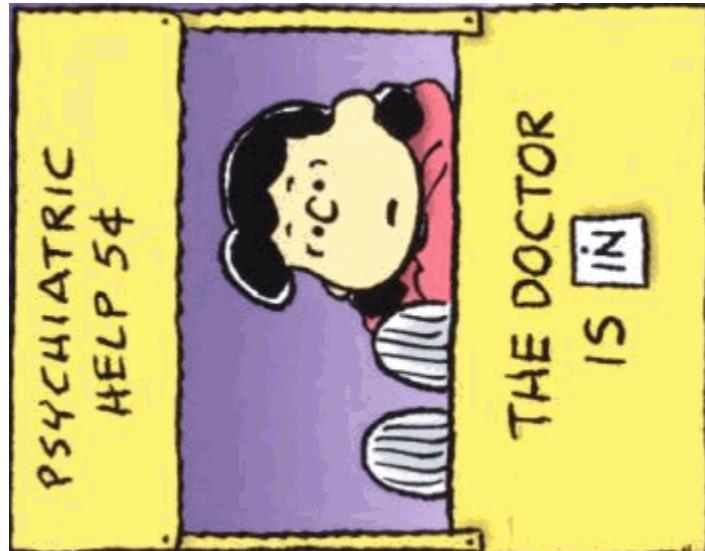


- **Guilt** is more important in **rule-based** cultures.

- Guilt encourages obedience to rules without supervision.
- But it may be a poor motivator and carry high psychological cost.

- *Ein gutes Gewissen ist ein sanftes Ruhkissen.*

- Guilt is reinforced by fear of punishment.





# *Context*

- In **low-context cultures**, information and behavior norms are spelled out.
  - Typical of rule-based cultures.
  - The rules are spelled out.
- In **high-context cultures**, these are implicit in the cultural context.
  - Norms are transmitted by the people around you.
  - Particularly authority figures.



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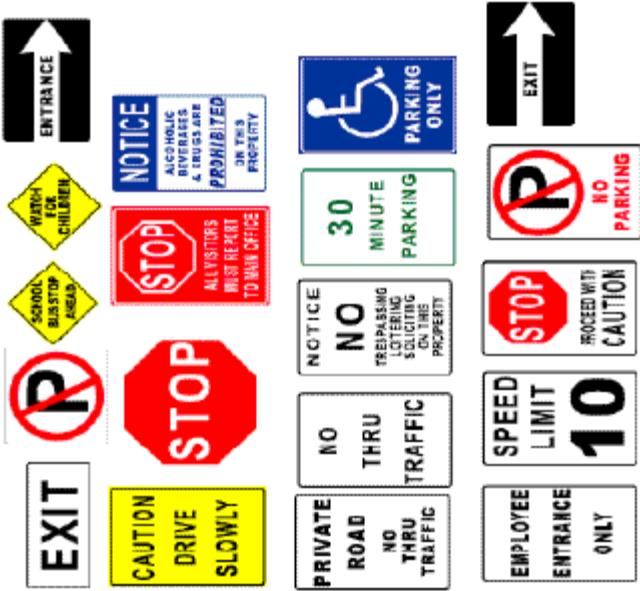




- ❖ In **low-context** cultures,

- ❖ There are many **signs**, timetables, maps.

- ❖ **Contracts** are written, long, and detailed.
  - Fixed once signed.
  - Disputes resolved by lawsuits.



- ❖ People expect the rules to be in writing.

- ❖ People **pay attention to written rules.**
  - Example: restroom sign.



- In **high-context** cultures,
  - People already know what to do.
  - **Contracts** are vague, verbal, or nonexistent.
    - Except in “low uncertainty tolerance” cultures, e.g. Latin America.
    - Agreements evolve with the situation.
      - Legal system weak.
      - Disputes resolved by negotiation.
  - People **don't pay attention to written rules.**
    - But good for high-tech information transfer.





# *Corruption*

- **Corruption** is behavior that undermines a cultural system.
- So corrupting behavior is **different** across cultures.





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- ➊ In relationship-based cultures, **bribery** is common.

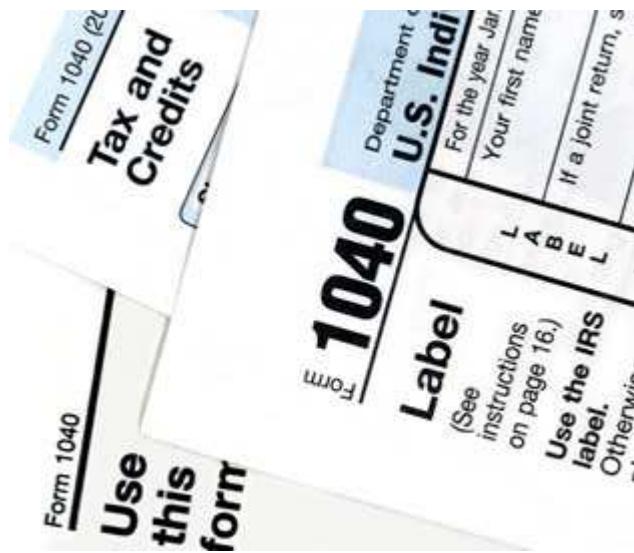
- ➋ Also kickbacks, facilitating payments.
- ➋ Short cut to relationship building.
- ➋ System is **slow** but **stable**.

- e.g., Chinese economy





- ➊ In rule-based cultures, **cheating** is common.
- ➋ Income tax evasion, business scandals, plagiarism.
- ➌ Relatively little supervision.
- ➍ System is **efficient** but **unstable**.





# *Competition and risk*





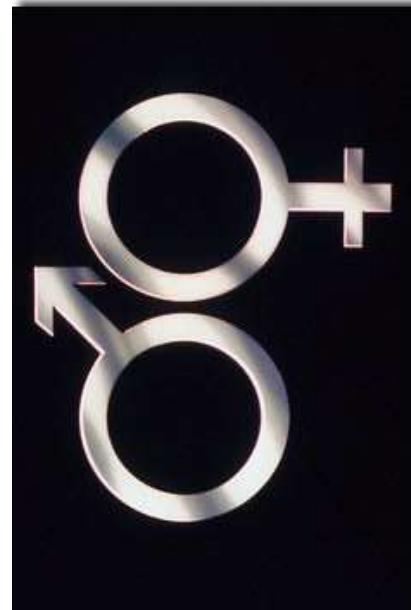
## *Two more classifications*

- These do not necessarily correlate with rule-based/relationship-based or with each other.

Masculine	Feminine
Uncertainty tolerant	Uncertainty avoiding



# *Masculine/feminine*



- The distinction can be understood  
in two ways...

**Masculine**

**Feminine**

Uncertainty tolerant

Uncertainty avoiding



# Masculine/feminine

- Attitude toward **mASCULINE values**.
  - ▣ *Masculine*: Men are expected to be **tough**.
  - ▣ *Feminine*: Men & women more **similar**.
  
- Attitude toward **competition**.
  - ▣ *Masculine*: competition valued.
  - ▣ *Feminine*: cooperation valued.





## *Masculine values*

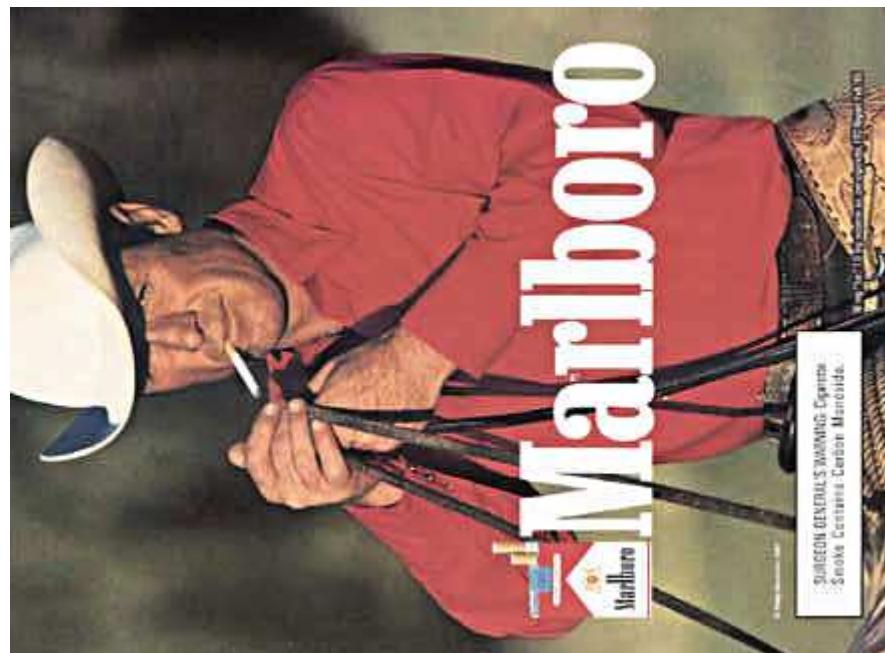
Masculine

Feminine

<p>Japan USA, UK, Ireland Philippines India</p>	<p>Bantu cultures in Africa Arab cultures Eastern Slavic cultures <i>Machismo cultures</i></p>	<p>Scandinavia Western Slavic cultures Thailand</p>
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Feminine      Masculine

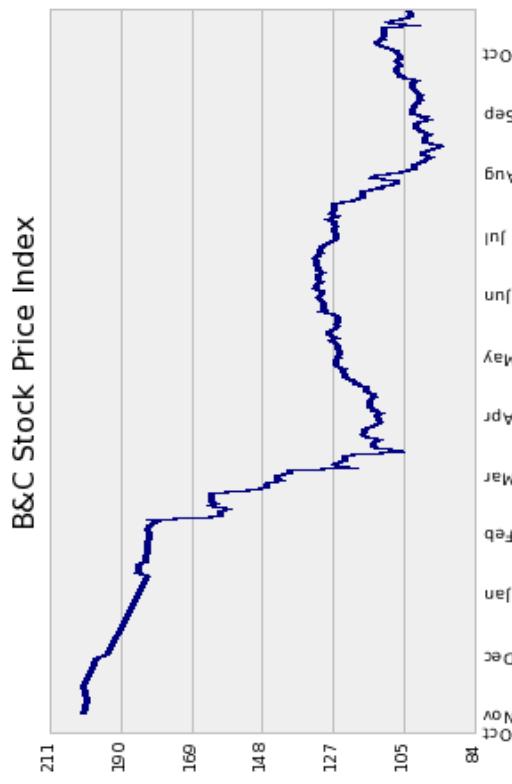
*Competitiveness*



This is not  
*machismo*



# *Uncertainty*



- Attitudes toward unpredictability in life...

Masculine

Feminine

**Uncertainty tolerant**

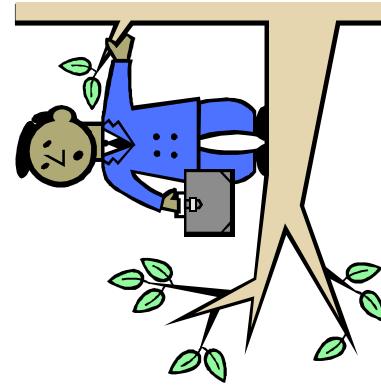
**Uncertainty avoiding**



# *Uncertainty*

- ➊ Uncertainty tolerant:

- Willing to take risks.
- Entrepreneurial in business.
- Comfortable with travel, relocation.





# *Uncertainty*

- Uncertainty avoiding:
  - Prefer familiar surroundings.
  - Risk-averse in business.
  - Dysfunctional bureaucracy serves as ritual.





# *Uncertainty*

- Some uncertainty avoiding cultures:

- Greece.

- Latin America.

- Slavic cultures.

- Belgium.

- France.





# *Uncertainty*

- ❖ Some uncertainty tolerant cultures:

- ❖ U.K.
- ❖ USA.
- ❖ Hong Kong & coastal Chinese.
- ❖ Singapore.



# *Uncertainty*

- Case study: Russia

- Feminine culture

- Mother Russia
- Aversion to competition
- Post-Soviet failure of market system

- Uncertainty avoiding culture

- Fear of foreigners, reluctance to emigrate.
- Created buffer states, first to the west, now to the south.





# *Culture and Political Power*





# *Culture and political power*

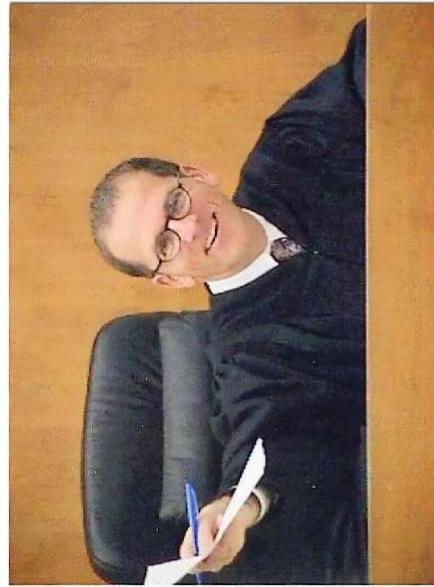
- ❖ Fundamental question of politics: How do **people get power?**

- ❖ Rulers seldom rule by **force** alone.
- ❖ Obedience is at root **voluntary**.
- ❖ **Culture** makes this possible.



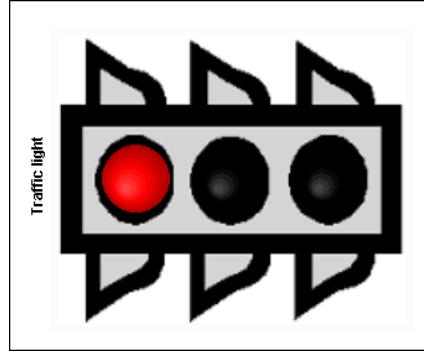


- ➊ Power in a **rule-based** culture has two main characteristics:
  - **Rulers derive legitimacy** from rules, rather than vice-versa.
    - Example: judge.
  - Rules are **enforced** by guilt, rather than personal supervision.





- Rules must therefore be **self-evident.**
  - Natural law: Stop light vs. speed limit.
  - Political decisions: democracy is self-evident.
  - Economic decisions: laws of marketplace are self-evident.
  - Consistent with low power distance.
- What is self-evident is **universal.**
  - Everyone **should have** democracy, capitalist market system.





14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama

- Power in a **relationship-based** culture is based on **who** one is.

- **It is endowed, not earned.**

- Important family
- Wealth or good fortune
- Divine selection (e.g., mandate of heaven)
- Legendary abilities

- **Authority must be protected**

- Deference, face saving.
- Boss is never wrong.
- Ambiguous role.



## ● **Elections** may not legitimize rulers.

- This is rule-based legitimization.
- This may seem obvious to us, but not to others.
  - Actually, no serious political theorist in the Western tradition ever endorsed majority rule.
- Winners of the election will accept the outcome, losers may reject it.



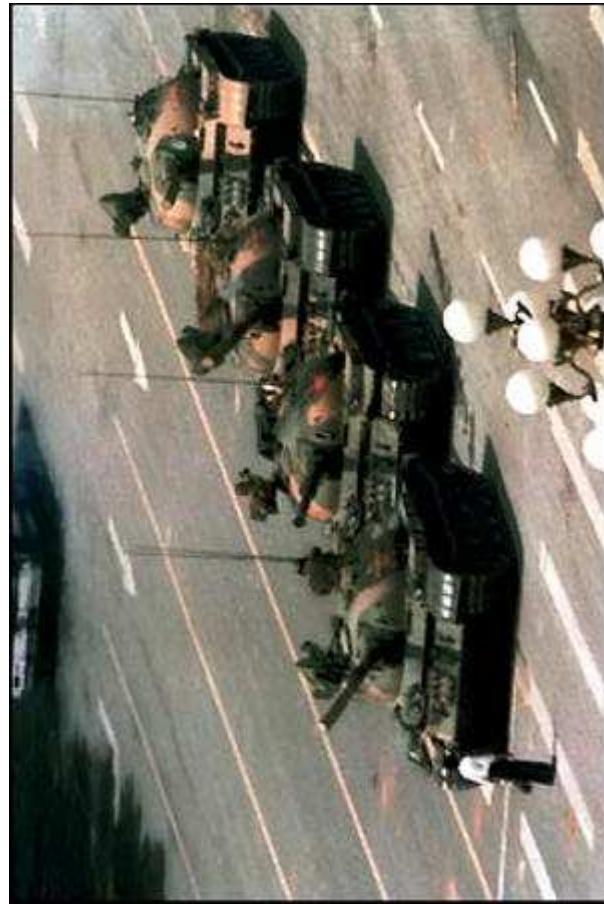


- **Democracy** may be interpreted differently.
  - Democracy is **responsive** government, not **self** government.

- The government takes care of you.

- It does not oppress.

- Government **for** the people, not necessarily **of** and **by** the people.





- Almost all cultures have mechanisms to make rulers responsive.

- Democracy is only one.
- Councils, right to a hearing.
  - e.g., Mongols, Arabs
- Justice tradition
  - Muslim countries
- Divine oversight
  - Failure is a sign of divine disapproval
- Obligation to be generous
  - “Big man” system.
- Collective redress
  - African cultures.



Genghis Khan



# *Western cultures*

- ❖ Western cultures are fundamentally **egalitarian**.
- ❖ **No person has inherent authority.**
- ❖ How do we justify giving power to a particular person?
  - ❖ **Chosen by the rules**
    - Popular or parliamentary elections
  - ❖ **Power is limited.**
    - Basically administers the law.
    - Limited term.



Bundeskanzlerin  
Angela Merkel



- But a leader must make some decisions.

- How can any individual have the right to do this?

- **European solution:**

aristocracy.

- The aristocrat is qualified to lead
- Superior training, ability,  
sophistication.

- **U.S. solution:** regular guy.

- Take turns at leadership.
- Authority evaporates after leaving office.



One of these persons is very popular in Europe (PhD, intellectual, musician)

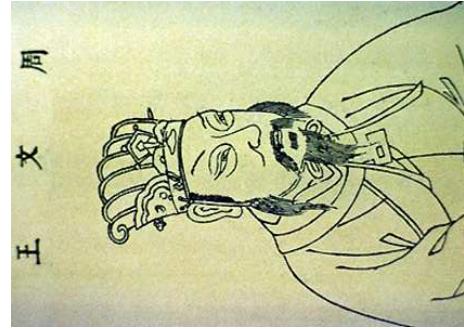
One is very unpopular (too much like a regular guy)

Yet she carries out his policies!



# China

- Ideal Confucian leader
  - Authoritarian
  - Good character
- Accountability
  - Must be effective (Heaven is on his side)



Duke of Zhou  
Role model for Confucius



Deng Xiaoping  
Ideal Confucian leader



- ❖ Working with a Confucian leader.
  - ❖ Strongly relationship-based culture.
  - ❖ Must build *guānxì* – a long-term personal trust relationship of mutual obligation.
  - ❖ The relationship is everything, the agreement/deal/treaty is nothing.



Hu Jintao  
President (zhǔxí, Chairman) of China



# Singapore

- Largely a Confucian model.



Lee Kuan Yew

Ideal Confucian leader:  
Authoritarian, unselfish, high moral character, effective



# Japan

- Leader ratifies policy that rises from the ranks.
  - But high power distance.
  - Group-oriented decision making.
- Accountability
  - Traditionally *nemawashi*.
  - Direct responsibility for decision is hard to pin down.
    - Protects leaders from loss of face.



His Imperial Majesty  
Emperor of Japan  
(*Tennō Heika*)

Known outside Japan as  
Akihito



- Working with a Japanese leader.

- High-context culture – most extreme case in the world.
- Communication is indirect, through body language, context, what is not said.
- Etiquette and respect are essential.



Shinzo Abe  
Prime Minister of Japan



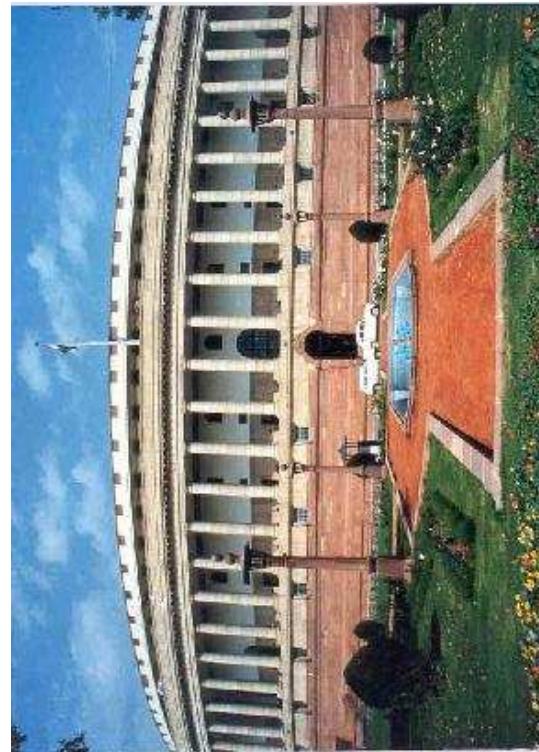
# India

- The ideal leader:

- Well educated, intellectual, wise.
  - Cultural emphasis on intellect, mental discipline.
  - Institution of the *guru*.
- From prominent family.
  - High power distance.
- Well-connected.
  - Relationship-based culture.
- Accountability
  - Can no longer work through connections if ineffective.



Dr. Manmohan Singh  
Prime Minister of India



Indian Parliament building

- Working with an Indian leader.
  - Approach him/her through connections.
  - Be courteous and hospitable.
  - Present a rational case.
  - Do your homework.
- World's largest democracy, but...
  - The real power structure is the network of important families.



# Arab culture

- Using "Arab" in the sense of Saudi Arabia and the Arab Gulf States.
- Typical leader belongs to an important family.
  - Nepotism is everything.
  - Very high power distance.
- Accountability
  - Sheikh hosts *majlis* (council, from Arabic word for tent).
  - Must rule with Koranic justice.



The late King Fahd of Saudi Arabia  
Before his stroke, he held a regular *majlis* with Bedouin tribal leaders.



- Working with an Arab leader.

- Total respect and courtesy.
  - Watch posture, body language.
- Low-key approach, soft spoken.
- Respect male ego.
  - Arab culture is origin of *machismo*.
- Allow time to establish comfort level.
  - Male bonding is important.
  - Not unlike good ol' boy Texas culture, important for Saudi Aramco, etc.
- The deal is central.
  - Idea of a contract originated in the Middle East.



Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani  
Emir of Qatar



# Turkey

- ❖ The ideal leader has legendary abilities.

- ❖ Takes charge, rules with confidence.
  - Masculine culture
- ❖ Listens to subordinates and makes just decisions.
- ❖ The only really respected authority in Turkey is the military.

- ❖ Due to its historical connection with Atatürk.



Mustafa Kemal Atatürk  
Founder of modern Turkish state



## ● Working with Turkish leaders.

- Establish a friendship based on trust.
  - Always be scrupulously honest.
  - Indicate that you enjoy working together.
- The agreement is central.
  - It should be fair to all parties (Islamic justice).
- Know how to **negotiate**.



President  
Abdullah Güll

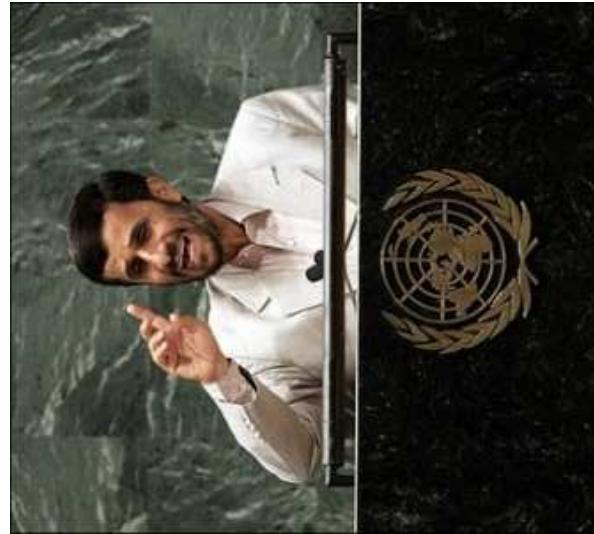


Prime Minister  
Recep Tayyip Erdogan



# *Negotiation in the Middle East*

- Negotiation is cultural glue.
  - It is how people relate to each other.
  - It is not haggling or confrontation.
- Based on **mutual respect**.
- It is information exchange.
  - Signals convey only enough information to find common ground.
- It is culturally specific.
- One negotiates the **truth** as well as the deal.
- No effect on credibility.



President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran



# *Slavic Cultures*

- Western Slavic cultures
  - Low power distance
  - Feminine culture.
- Eastern Slavic cultures,  
particularly Russia.
  - High power distance.
    - Mongol influence
    - OK to be harsh
  - Also feminine culture.
    - Competitiveness is bad form.
    - Now in transitional period.



Václav Havel

Playwright

President of Czechoslovakia 1989-92  
President of Czech Republic 1993-2003



## ● Working with Russian leaders.

### ■ Russians fear foreigners.

- Whence buffer states, once in Eastern Europe, now in the south.

### ■ Must establish comfort level.

- Work through mutual friends, Russians you know.
- Expect some double dealing at first.

### ■ Avoid hard negotiation.

- The main object is for the Russians to **feel good** about the situation.



Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin  
President of Russia

In the mold of a traditional  
Russian leader



# Central/Southern Africa

- Leadership in Bantu-language cultures.
- The **community**, not the individual, is central.
  - An ethic of sharing, redistribution.
- Wealth and success incur an obligation to play a leadership role.



President Robert Mugabe  
of Zimbabwe

- Family background can be important.
- The good leader is **generous**, particularly to those in need.
  - Related to the "big man" phenomenon of Melanesia.
  - A wealth redistribution mechanism.



## ❖ Accountability

- ❖ Individuals must defer to leaders (high power distance).
- ❖ But the community can challenge the leader.

- Ask for redress of grievances.

- ❖ One modern form: labor movement.

## ❖ Corruption

- ❖ Most of these cultures lie uncomfortably between traditional and Western ways.

- ❖ Separation of work from community has been highly corrupting.



ZCTU = Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions



- ❖ Working with African leaders.
- ❖ Western on the surface, African inside.
  - Due to colonial experience.
  - ❖ Maintain courtesy.
  - ❖ Respect those of higher station.
  - ❖ Accept responsibilities of leadership.
    - Show concern for those in your care.



Nelson Mandela  
President of S. Africa 1994-99  
From royal family of Thembu  
people



# *Latin America*

- High power distance cultures
  - Less so: Costa Rica, Argentina, Uruguay.
  - Inherited from indigenous culture and/or colonial past.
- Leaders *typically* from prominent, wealthy families.



Óscar José Rafael Berger Perdomo  
From family of wealthy sugar and  
coffee plantation owners



## ❖ Polarized cultures

### ❖ Plutocracy vs. grass roots justice movements.

- Roman Catholic influence.
- Christian base communities, liberation theology.

### ❖ Countervailing trends.

- Politics: toward left-wing elected leaders.
- Religion: toward conservative Protestant sects.



Demonstration in Oaxaca



## ● Accountability

- Oscillation between left and right.
- Political leaders feel pressure from both sides.
- The trick is to balance them.



Salvadore Allende Gossens  
Marxist President of Chile,  
1970-73



Augusto José Ramón Pinochet Ugarte  
Right-wing President of Chile, 1973-90



- Leaders often cater to one side or the other.



Álvaro Uribe Vélez  
President of Colombia  
Privileged background  
Hispanic ancestry



Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías  
President of Venezuela  
Humble background  
Mestizo/zambo/mulatto ancestry



Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva  
President of Brazil

Very humble origins  
But makes overtures to the right

- ❖ Sometimes a middle course seems to be possible.



## ● Working with Latin American Leaders.

### ❖ Establish a personal friendship first.

- Especially in more conservative countries, e.g. Mexico.
- No distinction of professional and personal life.



*abrazo*

### ❖ Remember *machismo*, which in Latin America has three aspects:

- Thin-skinned male ego, as in Arab culture.
- Mutual support and care.
- Family man; talk about it.

### ❖ Keep your emotional radar in operation.

- Relate to the whole person, not just the rational part.