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Phyllis Bo-Yuen Ngai
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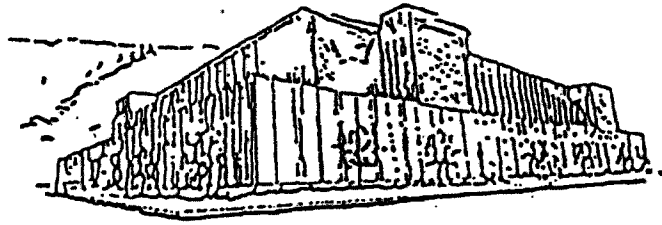
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**Nonverbal Communication Behavior of Professional Administrators
from Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China
in Negotiations with U.S. Negotiators: Cross-Cultural Perspectives**

by

Phyllis Bo-Yuen Ngai

B.A., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1994

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement

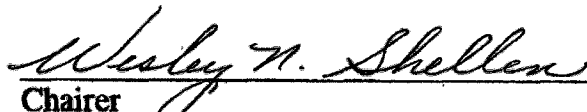
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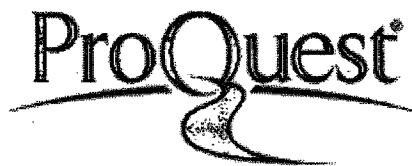


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Nonverbal Communication Behavior of Professional Administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China in Negotiations with U.S. Negotiators: Cross-Cultural Perspectives (167 pp.)

Director: Dr. Wesley N. Shellen 

Using qualitative case studies, the researcher investigated (1) nonverbal-negotiation behavior of the administrators from Hong Kong, China, Ethiopia, and Tanzania during negotiations with a U.S. professional administrator; (2) different and similar nonverbal-negotiation patterns among the negotiators of the four cultures. The study is based on a total of 52.5 hours of participant observation, covering a total of 49 meetings, along with a questionnaire of two parts.

The thematic implications derived from the data capture the uniqueness of the nonverbal-negotiation behavior of the observed administrators from each of the four cultures. Continuity and fluidity characterized the nonverbal negotiation style of the Ethiopian administrators. The Tanzanian administrators asserted themselves unpretentiously under the constraints of collectivism and a hierarchical power structure. Efficiency framed the balanced nonverbal-negotiation moves of the Hong Kong administrators. The nonverbal-negotiation behavior of the administrators from China was embedded beneath surface meanings.

The nonverbal-negotiation behavior of the observed administrators also showed some similarities. Through the lens of Andersen's cultural nonverbal cues framework (1995), the Hong Kong and Tanzanian administrators exhibited low-context culture nonverbal cues. The administrators from China and Ethiopia exhibited high-context cultural cues. The observed nonverbal-negotiation patterns of all four cultures leaned toward the high-uncertainty-avoidant end of the continuum. While the observed nonverbal communication patterns of the negotiators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, and China proved more collectivistic and masculine, the researcher found the nonverbal-negotiation pattern of the Hong Kong administrators somewhat in the middle of the masculine/feminine and the collectivistic/individualistic spectrums.

The findings provided new information about cultural nonverbal cues and assisted in refining Andersen's framework. In an effort to promote understanding of intercultural negotiation, the author proposes extensions of Andersen's framework based on the observed nonverbal-negotiation patterns of the administrators from the four cultures studied that are intended to modify the framework to fit intercultural nonverbal negotiations among professional administrators.

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I express special thanks to Dr. Peter Koehn, who granted my request to have access to the negotiations. My appreciation reaches out to the administrators in Ethiopia, Tanzania, China, and Hong Kong, who allowed me to observe their meetings. Without the valuable contributions by the respondents and the interviewees, this research project could not have been completed.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

For the past several decades, globalization has been the trend--especially in the business arena. Cooperating at the international level is imperative as the world economy becomes increasingly interdependent. Negotiating agreements is a vital component of such cooperation. The study of the communication behavior of negotiators from different cultures is important because negotiators are the bridges between negotiating parties and they are the keys for unlocking the barriers that hinder agreements. Understanding of negotiators' communication behavior is likely to facilitate negotiations, and, hence, cooperation across national borders.

Negotiation is a communication process. Nonverbal communication is an integral part of the negotiation process. Nonverbal communication scholars suggest that an average person spends much more time communicating nonverbally than verbally. Birdwhistell (1952) estimates that the average person actually speaks words for a total of only 10 to 11 minutes daily. Hall, in *The Silent Language* (1959), outlines ten separate kinds of human activity that he calls "primary message systems." He suggests that only one involves language. The rest are nonverbal. By the same token, nonverbal behavior may be considered the most essential communication channel in negotiation (Depont & Faure, 1991).

Scholars generally agree that communication patterns and styles differ across cultures (Andersen, 1988). Research shows that differences in cultural norms are an

important factor accounting for variations in nonverbal behavior across cultures (Little, 1968; LaFrance & Mayo 1976; Holtgraves & Yang, 1992; and Sussnan & Rosenfeld, 1982). Hence, intercultural interactions are one context in which nonverbal misunderstandings frequently emerge (Dew and Ward, 1993).

Nonverbal messages are especially important in high-context cultures, such as Chinese cultures and African cultures. In high-context cultures, high value is put on the unspoken parts of communication. Nonverbal cues provide implicit meaning that does not need to be articulated. Messages are coded in such a way that they do not have to be verbally transmitted. In low context cultures like the United States, messages must be elaborated verbally. Therefore, lack of understanding of the nonverbal cues communicated by people from high-context cultures causes incomplete and misleading communication with them.

In international negotiations, gaining an accurate understanding of the other party's nonverbal behavior may facilitate reaching agreement in three ways: (1) avoiding misunderstandings; (2) adjusting one's communication behavior so as to be in harmony with the other party; (3) adopting more appropriate, effective moves. Descriptive knowledge about the other's culture is not enough. We need an approach that allows observation of specific nonverbal behavior in different countries (Hofstede & Bond, 1988). Therefore, this researcher aspired to compare and contrast negotiators' nonverbal behavior in intercultural negotiations. Cross-cultural comparison is helpful in highlighting the unique features of each culture and in pinpointing potential sources of misunderstandings in intercultural contexts.

Since most international business, government, and voluntary-organization negotiations are carried out at the management level, administrators comprise a most important group of negotiators to study. Specifically, this researcher focuses on professional administrators who are responsible for external negotiations.

In light of my Chinese background and my connections with Hong Kong and China, I started out particularly interested in understanding Chinese nonverbal behavior in international negotiations with Americans. Prior to the initial data-collecting process, I gained the opportunity to conduct observations in Ethiopia and Tanzania. Thus, I extended the cross-cultural comparison observation study to include four cultures: Hong Kong, China, Ethiopia, and Tanzania.

The Tanzanian culture, the Ethiopian culture, the Hong Kong culture, and the culture of China are clearly distinct from one another. Given that nonverbal communication behavior differs across cultures, the nonverbal communication behavior of negotiators from each of the four distinct cultures must be different from those of the others. What is the unique nonverbal administrative negotiation pattern of each culture? How are the nonverbal negotiation cues used with U.S. administrators by Tanzanian administrators, Ethiopian administrators, Hong Kong administrators, and the administrators from China similar to and different from each other? Do Chinese administrators share similar nonverbal-negotiation behavior which is different from that of African administrative negotiators and vice versa?

By participant observation and analytical induction, the author aims to identify important aspects of the nonverbal communication utilized in each culture studied.

Some of these aspects will be particular or even peculiar to the specific culture; others will be manifest in more than one cultural context. The goal of the current study is three-fold. Firstly, the author examines the observed unique trends of nonverbal administrative negotiation of each culture in terms of implications and episodes. Secondly, the findings allow for refinement and further development of Andersen's (1995) cultural nonverbal cues framework. Thirdly, the author aims at highlighting the similarities and differences of the negotiators among the four cultures by comparing and contrasting negotiation stages, cultural nonverbal cues during negotiation, and nonverbal administrative negotiation patterns.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

By reviewing relevant literature, the researcher is able to become familiar with important concepts related to the study of intercultural nonverbal negotiation. The review set forth in this chapter includes four principal topics: (1) negotiation; (2) nonverbal communication; (3) culture; and (4) the relationship among negotiation, nonverbal communication, and culture.

In Chapter 5, the author will highlight selected concepts that are pertinent to the present study. The author also will integrate useful concepts and models reviewed in this chapter into the data analysis presented in Chapter 6 and 7.

Negotiation--Definition

According to Fisher and Ury (1991) and Wall (1985), negotiation is a process of communicating back and forth for the purpose of reaching a joint decision on an agreement between parties. Some scholars more narrowly link negotiation closely with conflict resolution. For instance, Rubin and Brown (1975), Gulliver (1979), Pruitt (1981), and Lewiciki and Litterer (1985), maintain that the negotiating parties necessarily begin with opposing interests, conflicting preferences, or contradictory demands between them. When interests are partly in conflict, some degree of commonality of interest must exist for negotiation to occur (Rubin & Brown, 1975). In their view, the process of decision making in negotiation involves moving from

divergence to convergence, from disagreement to agreement. In contrast, Fisher and Ury's and Wall's definition includes a conflict-free situation where negotiators move from no agreement (rather than disagreement) to agreement.

According to Dupont and Faure (1991), modern researchers are shifting from a partial to a more global view of the process of negotiation. The widest definition of negotiation includes the whole range of interaction between the two parties. The process embraces everything that occurs, from initiation to the final outcome.

Negotiation is a relatively general category. According to Wall (1985), negotiation is composed of bargaining and debate. Bargaining is a narrower process that occurs within the comprehensive frame of negotiation. The bargaining process consists of the presentation and exchange of more or less specific proposals for the terms of agreement on particular issues (Gulliver, 1979). Although the terms--negotiation and bargaining--connote differences in common usage, a handful of authors, such as Rubin and Brown (1975), prefer treating the two terms synonymously.

Types of Negotiation

Negotiations within an organization (intraorganizational negotiation) are mainly applied to conflict resolution, group management, turnover reduction, group integration, and decision making (Wall, 1985). On the other hand, external negotiations (interorganizational negotiations) include sustenance negotiations, protection negotiations, coordination negotiations, and conflict-resolution negotiations

(Wall, 1985). Coordination negotiation and sustenance negotiation, which are the focal concerns of this specific research project, are closely connected with cooperation or cooperative strategies.

According to Pruitt (1981), two conditions are necessary for negotiators to realize coordinative behavior. First, negotiators must aim at achieving coordination. Second, each negotiator must trust the other party and believe that the other party also is ready for coordination (Pruitt 1981).

Negotiation Stages

Negotiation typically entails several stages. Pruitt (1981, p. 14) proposes six stages from a synthesis of two of Druckman's articles:

1. Agreement about the need to negotiate;
2. Agreement on a set of objectives and principles;
3. Agreement on certain rules of conduct;
4. Defining the issues and setting up an agenda;
5. Agreement on a formula;
6. Agreement on implementing details.

Pruitt (1981) argues that negotiation typically moves from a competitive to a coordinative stage.

Wall (1985, p. 8-10) suggests a three-stage model of negotiation: (1) establishing the negotiation range and identifying the relevant issues; (2) reconnoitering the negotiation range; (3) participating in the crisis/agreement. Wall

vividly describes the negotiation sequence as metamorphosis. He explains that negotiations begin with an emphasis on disagreement or differences. Then, negotiators flow into a region of coordination, decision making, or perhaps cooperation. They finally close with an agreement or deadlock. Fisher and Ury (1991, p.12) also present a three-stage model: 1. analysis; 2. planning; 3. discussion.

Both Zartman and Ikle present negotiation as a two-stage sequence. According to Zartman (1977), the two stages are: (1) development of an abstract formula of the agreement; (2) development of details to implement this formula. Ikle's (1964) description of the two-stage sequence mirrors that of Zartman: 1. reaching agreement on a framework of broad objectives; 2. deducing detailed points of agreement from the framework.

All of these models imply that reaching a mutually acceptable agreement is the ultimate goal of any negotiation. Sometimes, negotiators start off with disagreement; sometimes, they begin with lack of agreement. Conflict of interest is a possible, but not required, prerequisite for negotiation.

Conditions for Reaching Agreement

Pruitt (1981, p. 131) posits that agreement is found under one of the following conditions:

1. At the point where one party perceives that the other has made all the concessions one can be expected to make;
2. At the point where one party reaches its deadline;

3. At the emergence of a mutually prominent alternative;
4. After a period of deadlock that leads to an episode of coordination.

An integrative agreement is the most desirable agreement. This type of agreement integrates the interests of both negotiating parties (Pruitt 1981). According to Fisher & Ury (1991), the two levels of agreement are composed of the stronger agreement and the weaker agreement. The stronger agreement is substantive, permanent, comprehensive, final, unconditional, and binding; whereas the weaker agreement is procedural, provisional, partial, in principle, contingent, and non-binding.

Approaches to Reaching Agreement

Wall (1985) distinguishes explicit negotiation from tacit negotiation. In explicit negotiation, negotiators communicate openly. Explicit negotiators make demands, state preference, ask for information, make concession, and offer proposals. In tacit negotiation, communication is not complete and messages pass indirectly. Tacit negotiators use words to spell out a message between the lines. They rely more on signs, gestures, and signals (Wall, 1985). Both explicit and tacit negotiations can lead either to cooperation or confrontation (Wall, 1985).

In negotiation, the two main approaches are (1) competition and (2) coordination (Pruitt, 1981). Coordination favors the reaching of an agreement, whereas competition aims at maximizing the negotiator's gains (Dupont & Faure, 1991). Gulliver frames the two distinctive approaches as a cooperativeness-toughness

dichotomy (1979). Cooperative negotiators offer frankness for frankness, reciprocate friendliness, and they concentrate on facilitating matters. Tough negotiators offer antagonism for antagonism and they reciprocate ad hominem attacks (Gulliver, 1979).

Fisher and Ury (1991) denote cooperative negotiations as soft negotiating games. Soft negotiators are mostly friendly. They make offers and concession. They trust the other side. They yield as necessary to avoid confrontation. Positional negotiators are the toughest negotiators. They tend to lock themselves in their positions at the expense of the underlying concerns of the parties (Fisher & Ury, 1991). Principled negotiation is neither soft nor hard. The primary goal for this type of negotiator is to invent options for mutual gains. They negotiate on the merits and insist that the result should be based on some objective standards (Fisher & Ury, 1991).

Negotiators tend to initiate a pattern either of mutual cooperation or of mutual competition early in their relationship. Then, they persist in one or the other of these patterns for the remainder of their interaction. Pillsul & Rapoport (1964) describes this approach as lock-in effects. The early initiation of cooperative behavior aims at promoting the development of trust and a mutually beneficial, cooperative relationship. On the other hand, early competitive behavior aims at inducing mutual suspicion and competition. (Rubin & Brown, 1974)

Strategies and Tactics

According to Wall (1985), a negotiation strategy is a broad plan or technique

used to obtain the outcomes desired from the negotiation and the resultant agreement. Tactics are the components of a strategy. They are activities in pursuit of the objectives necessary to the success of a strategy. Maneuvers are behavior undertaken to improve one's position for the defense or offense. Other scholars do not distinguish tactics from maneuvers.

Synthesizing various points of view, there are two dominant coordination strategies: (1) accommodation; (2) collaboration. Accommodation involves yielding to pressure such as time pressure (Zartman, 1991), making concessions (Pruitt, 1981; Komorita & Barnes, 1969; Gulliver, 1979; Dupont & Faure, 1991; Wall, 1985), and applying reciprocity strategy (Wall, 1985). Several negotiation scholars discuss the following accommodation tactics:

1. Follow one-text procedure--third party intervenes and comes up with one plan to integrate both negotiation parties' interests (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
2. Settle for the alternative (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
3. Make an offer in the beginning of a negotiation so as to create setting for compromise (Dupont & Faure, 1991);
4. Reciprocate concession or reinforce concession by reciprocal concession (Dupont & Faure, 1991; Wall 1985);
5. Sweeten the other's pot (Pruitt, 1981; Fisher & Ury, 1991);
6. Cut cost (Pruitt, 1981);
7. Compensate (Pruitt, 1981);

8. Open with high demand and then concede (Wall, 1985);
9. Shift to another strategy in order to reduce tension (Wall, 1985).

Collaboration strategies pertain to accommodation strategies, except that collaboration involves one further step--problem solving (Zartman, 1991). Tactics that lead to collaboration are:

1. Bridging--creating a new option that satisfies both's needs (Pruitt, 1981);
2. Logrolling--sweeten the other's pot without retreating from a preferred action (Pruitt, 1981);
3. Negotiation Jujitsu--sidestep the opponent's attack and deflect it against the problem (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
4. Looking for mutual gain (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
5. Identifying shared interests and incorporating the other's interests (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
6. Inviting criticism and advice (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
7. Praising and supporting (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
8. Asking questions so as to make the other party feel understood; (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
9. Improving relationship with the other party (Pruitt, 1981);
10. Improving the other's mood (Pruitt, 1981).

Some scholars integrate accommodation and collaboration into one category--coordination/cooperation. For instance, Dupont and Faure (1991) consider

accommodation strategies as cooperative or coordinative and potentially integrative.

Wall groups all the non-confrontation tactics (accommodation tactics and collaboration tactics) together under one category called nonaggressive tactics (Table 1). The two types of nonaggressive tactics are: (a) conciliatory tactics; (b) reward tactics (Wall, 1985).

Table 1
Nonaggressive Tactics

Reward tactics

- Make concessions
- Use systematic, reliable concession making
- Make concession that later cannot be delivered
- Complain about opponent's toughness
- Raise straw issues in order to lose them
- Make concessions early in negotiation
- Provide opponent with line of retreat
- Arrange for third party to suggest concession
- Imply, after opponent's concession, that concession was minor one
- Use opened communications
- Make early commitments
- Display trust in opponent
- Enable opponent to revise commitments
- Confer status on opponent
- Compliment opponent on ideas, presentation, and so on
- Express appreciation for opponent's behavior

Conciliatory tactics

- Invite opponent's inspection
- Reveal one's goals or objectives
- Impose a deadline on self
- Stop the clock
- Render self vulnerable to opponent
- Express guilt
- Use language similar to opponent's
- Define common problems
- Express common dislikes
- Criticize self
- Apologize
- Banter with opponent
- Emphasize similarities with opponent
- Build friendship with opponent
- Flatter opponent
- Exhibit patience with opponent
- Put forth position devised by opponent
- Use empty posturing

Make an offer opponent can refuse
 "Fire an empty cannon"
 "Handle the hot potato"
 Make first concession
 Volunteer concession
 Concede at deadlock
 Give concession that requires no reciprocity
 Give concession that cannot be reciprocated
 Retract a demand
 Do not call for an expected concession
 Fail to retaliate
 Attack common enemy
 Debase an original demand

Source: Wall, 1985, p.56-7

Pruitt (1981) describes all the accommodating or collaborative maneuvers as coordinative behavior. He states that "coordinative behavior is defined as any action that seeks to establish or constitutes a part of coordination." Pruitt points out three types of coordinative behavior: (1) high-risk; (2) moderate-risk; (3) low-risk. High-risk coordinative behavior is a large concession that seeks a reciprocal concession, a proposal for a particular compromise, a unilateral tension-reducing action, or a statement about the nature of one's motives that are designed to help the opponent locate a jointly acceptable agreement. The more trust the negotiator has in the other party, the more likely (s)he would take a high-risk move (Pruitt, 1981).

According to Pruitt (1981), negotiators tend to adopt moderate-risk coordinative behavior--where coordination is sought, but trust is weak. Moderate-risk coordinative behavior involves indirect communication, informal problem-solving discussions, and fractionating concessions (Pruitt, 1981). When the danger of image loss seems severe, negotiators would take low-risk coordinative moves in an effort to achieve an agreement. Low-risk coordinative behavior involves initial or private talks

concerning minor issues as the signal of interest in substantive negotiations and the intervention of a mediator (Pruitt, 1981).

Competition strategies--aggressive bargaining tactics--include confrontation (Depont & Faure, 1991), contending (Zartman, 1991), and positional commitment (Pruitt, 1981; Fisher & Ury, 1991). Summarizing from the literature, competitive tactics include the following:

1. Persuasion (Pruitt, 1981; Gulliver, 1979);
2. Imposing pressure, especially time pressure (Fisher & Ury, 1991; Pruitt, 1981);
3. Threats and warnings (Fisher & Ury, 1991; Pruitt, 1981);
4. Focus on defending one's own ideas (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
5. Deception (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
6. Making the environment uncomfortable so the opponent would like to end the negotiation (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
7. Psychological manipulation such as good-guy/bad-guy routine (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
8. Principles of prominence--build a case so as to make one alternative stand out in contrast to others (Pruitt, 1981).

Wall distinguishes offensive maneuvers from defensive maneuvers. He identifies three types of offensive maneuvers (Table 2):

1. Increase negotiator's strength;
2. Reduce opponent's strength;

3. Alter relationships of strength or leverage (Wall, 1985).

Table 2
Offensive Negotiation Maneuvers

Increase Negotiator's Strength	Reduce Opponent's Strength	Alter Relationships of Strength (Leverage)
Acquire status	Close opponent's outside options	Move to address opponent's weak point
Develop abilities and skills	Prevent opponent's coalitions, alliances, and support	Protect negotiator's weak point
Voice disclaimers	Weaken opponent's stand with his or her constituency	Wait until opponent is vulnerable
Strengthen logic	Disorganize opponent's constituency	Make end run
Increase size of bargaining team	Reduce opponent's status or expertise	Flank the opponent
Go on record	Prevent opponent from establishing commitments	
Stockpile	Recruit opponent's associates	
Strengthen stand with constituency	Utilize informant	
Make cooperative arrangements with third parties		
Develop outside options		

Source: Wall, 1985, p. 40

Gulliver (1979) also points out one offensive maneuver. That is, one tries to change the subject matter when current issue seems threatening.

Wall's (1985) discussion on defensive maneuvers was brief. The few examples he offers are: (1) stepping aside; (2) retreat; (3) regroup; (4) concede along the chosen route that incurs least costs; (5) drafting a "yesable" proposition.

Variables in Negotiation

Negotiating styles are different across individuals, organizations, and countries.

Many of the differences in negotiating style are attributable to culture (Hall, 1959; Raiffa, 1982; Wall, 1985; Zartman, 1991). Gulliver (1979), arguing along the same vein, contends that all negotiations involve norms. Norms are drawn from local culture; and some norms are so intrinsic to the culture that they are scarcely articulated. According to Gulliver (1979), norms are often taken for granted in negotiations especially in tacit agreement, yet they considerably affect both the process and the content of joint decision-making. Negotiators frequently take a stand on certain norms for ideological and symbolic reasons.

While cultural norms provide the chief explanation for differences in negotiating style, much of what scholars explain are in terms of situation, personality, and interaction (Zartman, 1991). Rubin and Brown (1975) note that differences in negotiation skills are as a function of age, race, nationality, intelligence, religion, social status, and gender.

Apart from the individual differences in background they point out, Rubin and Brown (1975) sort variables that affect negotiating style into three categories: (a) *Physical components*, which consist of location of the negotiation, physical arrangements at the site, the availability and use of communication channels, and the presence of time limits; (b) *Social components*, which include the presence of audiences, the availability of third parties, and the number of parties involved in the negotiation exchange; (c) *Issue components*, which involve the number of issues at stake, their format, presentation, prominence, and intangible issues such as face, status, pressure, power/appearance of strength and interdependency.

Summarizing from the literature, the *physical determinants* of negotiation include the following:

1. Presence of object or sculpture (Mehrabian & Diamond, 1971; Sommer, 1969);
2. Shape of tables (Sommer, 1965);
3. Seating (Sommer, 1965);
4. Nonverbal behavior (Hall, 1963; Birdwhistell, 1952; Goffmen, 1963; Cook, 1970; Exline, Thibant, Brannon, & Gumpert, 1961; Arggle & Dean, 1965; Jourard, 1961; Mehrabian, 1969).

The *social determinants* of negotiation mentioned in various literature include:

1. Demand level (Pruitt, 1981);
2. Concession rate (Pruitt, 1981; Tutzauer, 1993);
3. Working relationship (Zartman, 1991);
4. Opponents' preferences, requirements, expectations (Gulliver, 1979);
5. Friendship (Halpern, 1994);
6. Opponent's negotiation strategy (Druckman, 1994);
7. Accountability (Druckman, 1994; Robin and Brown, 1975).

The *issue determinants* of negotiation discussed by several scholars/researchers are:

1. Certainty of the situation (Wall, 1985);
2. Visibility of the results (Wall, 1985);
3. Level of trust (Wall, 1985);

4. Importance of the issue(s) (Wall, 1985);
5. Value of agreement (Komorita & Barnes, 1969);
6. Emotion (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
7. Perception (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
8. Nature of the negotiation (Wall, 1985);
9. Range of alternative outcomes (Wall, 1985);
10. Flexibility (Fisher & Ury, 1991);
11. Time pressure (Latour, Honliden, Walker, & Thibant, 1976; Pruitt, 1981).

Druckman (1994) conducted a meta-analysis of the negotiation factors discussed by various scholars from 1968 to 1993. He organizes the variables by type, effects, and stages.

Table 3
Meta-analysis of Negotiation Factors

<i>Type of Factor</i>	<i>Variable</i>	<i>Effects on Negotiation</i>	<i>Stage</i>
Issues	Extent to which positions derive from broader ideologies	The more explicit the link between positions and ideologies, the less negotiators are willing to compromise	Early in talks when positions are staked out
	Seeking either comprehensive or partial agreements	Fractionating the size of issues or disaggregating packages of issues facilitates achieving agreements	Early to middle phases where agendas are developed and issues are organized for discussion
	Salient solutions	Salient outcomes are coordination points that facilitate compromising within a bargaining space	Middle to late phases where the search for solutions occur
Background factors	Prenegotiation preparation	Unilateral strategy formation reduces flexibility; bilateral study of issues increases flexibility	Prior to the formal talks
	Familiarity with opponents and their positions	Greater willingness to debate, to role reverse, and to appreciate the complexity of issues and positions	Prenegotiation and early in talks
	Best alternative to negotiated agreement (BATNA)	Attractive BATNAs reduce willingness to concede, to rush to agreement or to be flexible; unattractive BATNAs have the opposite effect	Middle to late

Context	Relationships between parties as amiable or antagonistic	Amiable relationships enhance cooperation, facilitate bargaining over "large" issues	Throughout
	Location of conference as central (capital cities) or peripheral (country-side)	Peripheral locations enhance cooperation, reduce "public" commitment to positions	Early stages
	Visibility, media coverage as heavy or light	Public or well-covered negotiations serve to harden positions and highlight the importance of saving face	Middle phases
Structure of conference and teams	Representational role obligations	More responsibility results in latitude for decision making, reduced willingness to compromise	Throughout
	Power differences	Coalitions among weaker parties to increase their influence; asymmetrical bargaining toughness, use of vetoes to block unfavorable agreements	Early to middle phases
Immediate situation	Format of meetings as formal or informal, many or few	Many informal meetings enhance cooperation in summitry	Early agenda setting and middle give and take
	Other's concession-making rate	Changes in other's concession making leads either to tough or soft bargaining depending on the direction of the change	Middle, during the give and take bargaining
	Conference leadership as innovative or not	Formula discovery as a basis for coordinating the bargaining over details of issues	Middle before bargaining occurs
	Deadlines	Existence of a deadline results in large concessions as an "end effect"	During the later endgame phase
	Mediator-presence	May produce a chilling effect as negotiators depend on the mediator for "solutions"; can also be used to convey concessions in a manner that saves face	Effects occur primarily during the later stages

Source: Druckman, 1994, p.515

Table 3 provides supplementary information to the above analysis.

Culture and Communication

Among all the variables/factors discussed above, communication and culture represent two elements of the negotiation process that are particularly important in international negotiation (Depont & Faure, 1991). Communication and culture in international negotiations are two influencing dimensions that constantly interact. According to Depont and Faure (1991), communication is a medium through which

negotiators verbally and nonverbally send and receive messages relating to the process. These include information exchange, influence and argumentation tactics, and the use of signals, messages, and attitudes to shape the relationship. Dupont and Faure (1991) note that linked to communication in negotiation is the question of language patterns including the degree of congruence of verbal and non-verbal cues. They also point out that efficient communication is made more complex and risky by cultural and language difficulties.

The effects of cross-cultural differences, although not always detrimental, have been pervasive and consequential (Cohen, 1991). Different values, mannerisms, forms of verbal and nonverbal behavior, and notions of status may block confidence and impede communication even before the substance of negotiation is addressed (Cohen, 1991). Glen Fisher believes that culture impinges on negotiation in four crucial ways by: conditioning one's perception of reality, blocking out information inconsistent or unfamiliar with culturally grounded assumptions, projecting meaning on to the other party's words and actions, and possibly impelling the ethnocentric observer to an incorrect attribution of motive.

In Dupont & Faure's (1991) view, cultural differences, of which communication is part, may be considered a central issue in international negotiation. However, the ambiguity of the concept has been embedded in negotiation literature (Hofstede, 1984; Schein, 1985). Practitioners and theoreticians differ on how they visualize the connections between culture and negotiation behavior and styles. Janosik notes four competing approaches. A first approach focuses on "what negotiators do

rather than what they think." A second one is based on the proposition that culture centers on a small number of core values, norms, and ideologies. A third assumes that heterogeneity is the rule and that tension, not consistency, typifies the component part of any culture. A fourth approach takes the view that a negotiator's behavior cannot be defined culturally by a few distinct factors, but that many variables and constraints must be taken into account (Janosik, 1987). Janosik (1987, p.391) concludes that "nationality or culture does have an important role to play but any generalization about the negotiation/culture nexus might require modification to account for age, gender, and the negotiating environment."

Dupont and Faure (1991) report that modern researchers (e.g., Weiss and Stripp, 1985; G. Fisher, 1980) have attempted to classify in some detail the predominant national negotiating styles. However, Dupont and Faure (1991) maintain, we need more knowledge on this dimension, given the fact that there are important methodological difficulties such as the problem of stereotypes.

Culture

Each of the above approaches covers one dimension of culture and one vantage point from which researchers can perceive and diagnose culture and its connection to negotiating style. Communication, including negotiation, is culturally shaped and defined (Philipsen, 1992). According to Philipsen (1992), culture is a socially constructed and historically transmitted pattern of symbols, meanings, premises, and rules.

Culture, according to Kluckhohn (1951, p.86), who quotes a consensus of anthropological definitions, "consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values."

Hofstede maintains that the word "culture" is reserved for describing entire societies. For groups within societies, Hofstede (1984, p. 13) uses "subculture." He argues that people carry mental programs which are developed in the family in early childhood and reinforced in schools/organizations, and that these mental programs contain a component of national culture (Hofstede, 1984). Thus, Hofstede defines culture as "collective programming of the mind" (p. 13), which "distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (p. 22). In his view, the mental program manifests itself in expressed intentions and actual behavior.

Culture, according to Cohen (1991), is a quality not of individuals, but of the society of which individuals are a part. It is acquired through acculturation or socialization by individuals from their respective societies. Each culture is a unique complex of attributes subsuming every area of social life. Culture, along with traits, situations, and states, is one of the four primary sources of interpersonal behavior (Anderson 1995). Culture has been confused with personal traits because both are enduring phenomena. Traits have multiple causes, including genetics, environmental influences, and individual consciousness in addition to the influence of culture. Culture also sometimes is confused with the situation since both are part of one's

social environment. However, culture is an enduring phenomena, while situation is a transient one with an observable beginning and an end.

"Culture controls our lives;" as Hall (1959, p. 81) puts it, "Culture is a mold in which we all are cast, and it controls our daily lives in many unsuspected ways." Hall (1959) points out that formal and informal norms provide a broad pattern guiding the individual actor to behave in a commonly acceptable way within the culture. If an individual stays within the boundaries, life goes relatively smoothly.

Hall labels cultures as high/low-context cultures (1976) and as contact/non-contact cultures (1966). Hall (1976, p. 91) describes high-context communication as "one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted parts of the message." Lustig and Koester (1993, 133) explained, "In a high-context culture, much more is taken for granted and assumed to be shared, and consequently the overwhelming preponderance of message are coded in such a way that they don't have to be explicitly and verbally transmitted. Low-context messages are just the opposite of high-context messages; most of the information is in the explicit code (Hall, 1976 in Andersen, 1995). Low-context messages must be elaborated, clearly communicated, and highly specific (Andersen, 1995).

Hall describes (1966) cultures which display considerable interpersonal closeness or immediacy as "contact cultures." On the other hand, people in low-contact cultures tend to stand farther away, touch less, and manifest less nonverbal expressiveness (Andersen, 1995). According to Andersen (1995, p. 14), contact

cultures also differ in the degree of sensory stimulation they prefer. High-contact cultures create immediacy by increasing sensory input, while low-contact cultures prefer less sensory involvement."

Hofstede (1982) labels cultures as individualist/collectivistic, high/low-power-distance, masculine/feminine, and/or high/low-uncertainty-avoidant cultures.

Andersen (1995, p.143) contends that "perhaps the most fundamental dimensions along which cultures differ is their degree of individualism versus collectivism."

According to Lustig and Koester (1993 in Andersen, 1995), individualism is characterized by the key words "independence, privacy, self, and the all important I" (p. 144). In contrast, "collectivist cultures emphasize we and a sense of connection and belongingness" (Andersen, 1995, p. 20).

Power distance refers to the degree to which power, prestige, and wealth are unequally distributed in a culture (Andersen, 1995). High-power-distance cultures have power, wealth, and influence concentrated in the hands of a few rather than more equally distributed throughout the population as in low-power-distance cultures (Andersen, 1995).

Masculine cultures regard power, competition, assertiveness, and materialism as important values (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992; Hofstede, 1982 in Andersen, 1995). People in masculine cultures believe in ostentatious manliness (Lustig & Koester, 1993 in Andersen, 1995). Feminine cultures, in contrast, place more importance on nurturance, compassion, and quality of life (Hofstede, 1982 in Andersen, 1995). In feminine cultures, both men and women can express more diverse, less stereotyped

sex-role behaviors and the cultures tend to be more androgynous (Andersen, 1995).

Uncertainty orientation involves a cultural pre-disposition to value risk and ambiguity (Hecht, Andersen, & Ribeau, 1989 in Andersen, 1995). Hofstede (1982 in Andersen, 1995) contends that cultures high in uncertainty avoidance tend to display emotions more than low- uncertainty-avoidant cultures. Disagreement and non-conformity are not appreciated in high-uncertainty-avoidant countries (Andersen, 1995). Moreover, Hofstede (1992) (in Andersen, 1995) found that high-uncertainty-avoidant nations report more stylized and ritual behavior.

Hall (1959) sees culture as communication. In considering human's total life as communication, he sees a spectrum covering a wide range of communication events. He argues that culture basically is a nonverbal phenomenon because most aspects of one's culture are learned through observation and imitation rather than explicit verbal instruction or expression. The primary level of culture is communicated implicitly, without awareness, and primarily by nonverbal means (Hall, 1984).

In the chapter entitled "Culture is Communication" in *The Silent Language* (1959), Hall states that, "sentences can be meaningless by themselves...other signs may be much more eloquent" (p. 99). In the book, he outlines ten separate kinds of human activity that he calls "primary message systems." He suggests that only one out of the ten kinds of activity involves language. The rest are nonverbal (Hall, 1959).

Nonverbal Communication

What words fail to convey is told through nonverbal cues. Nonverbal cues indirectly communicate a variety of messages and serve a number of functions, such as regulating conversational flow, expressing emotions, and defining the nature of interpersonal relationships (Dew & Ward, 1993). Nonverbal cues also are important in certain situations where verbal communication is constrained—for example, nonverbal symbolism in art, ceremony, and rituals (Knapp & Hall, 1992). Dew and Ward (1993) point out that the effectiveness of nonverbal elements in the communication process is predicated on the shared understanding of subtle cues. Nonverbal behavior may assist in efficient communication; it also can be a source of misunderstanding. Intercultural interactions present one context in which nonverbal misunderstandings frequently emerge.

The nonverbal aspect of communication is purported to account reliably for more than half of the meaning in interpersonal communication (Birwhistell, 1952). This estimate, however, has been generated predominantly through observations in the United States, which, according to Hall (1966), is a low-context culture. In high-context cultures, a substantial part of communication is implicit and is often conveyed through nonverbal or vocal cues. In such cultures, understanding nonverbal communication is essential to effective communication, and hence to intercultural competence. This also implies that an understanding of nonverbal differences across cultures is critical to successful cross-cultural interactions (Matuschke, 1994).

In *Unspoken Dialogue*, Burgoon and Saine (1978) describe several approaches

to nonverbal-communication study: (1) the body language approach; (2) the ethological approach; (3) the linguistic approach; (4) the psychoanalytic approach; (5) the physiological approach; and (6) the functional approach. Scholars who adopt the body-language approach "rely on scenes of body movements or incidents that illustrate how to decipher nonverbal behaviors and discover the inner thoughts and feelings of others" (Burgoon & Saine, 1978, p. 29). The ethological approach focuses on the origins, development, and functions of nonverbal behavior among the various classes of animal life. The linguistic approach divides into two separate systems: the structure-centered approach and the meaning-centered approach. The structure-centered approach primarily is concerned with clarifying the hierarchy of behaviors in the body-movement system and discovering the rules for coordinating movements. The meaning-centered approach studies how people assign meaning to nonverbal messages. Scholars who adopt the psychoanalytic approach are interested in the relationship between psychological disorders and nonverbal behavior. The physiological approaches view nonverbal behavior in terms of anatomical constraints and causes and investigate how physiological structure influences our ability to formulate, transmit, and receive information (Burgoon & Saine, 1978).

The most appropriate approach for studying nonverbal behavior in negotiation is the functional approach, which focuses on the role of nonverbal messages in fulfilling communication functions. The basic assumption of this approach is that as a person communicates with others, his/her behavior is directed toward some end--some function or series of functions that justify the behavior. Other central assumptions

are: (1) that every function has situational characteristics which must be studied in context; (2) that communication is an ongoing, dynamic process which implies that we have to look at behaviors in terms of patterns or regularities or trends in the messages sent; (3) that a single nonverbal code may serve several functions; and (4) that a single function may involve several nonverbal codes (Burgoon & Saine, 1978). The limitation to this approach is that it is not easy to isolate a function and to determine the prevailing function. Researchers need to rely on communicators to reveal the underlying motives for behavior.

Culture and Nonverbal Communication

Research shows that differences in cultural norms are an important factor accounting for variations in nonverbal behavior across cultures. For example, LaFrance and Mayo (1976) report racial differences in gaze behavior during conversation. Westen LaBarre found that greeting nonverbal behavior differs noticeably from one culture to another and that gestures showing derision or contempt vary widely (Burgoon & Saine, 1978). Holtgraves and Yang (1992) report the influence of culture on conversational distance. Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1988) report that members of different cultures react differently when their personal space is violated. Shepherd (1983) reports that people are better at recognizing facial expressions of their race than of other races. Burgoon and Saine (1978) maintain that even though facial expressions are similar in many cultures, each modifies the displays and the ways in which they are used. Burgoon and Saine (1978) also report the

differences in the use of and regard for time in different cultures.

According to Andersen (1988), two of the most fundamental nonverbal differences in intercultural communication involve space and time. Chronemics--the study of meanings, usage, and communication of time--is probably the most discussed and well-researched nonverbal code in the intercultural literature (Andersen, 1988). Hall (1984, p. 265) similarly notes that "time is so thoroughly woven into fabric of existence that we are hardly aware of the degree to which it determines and coordinates everything we do, including the molding of relations with others in many subtle ways." Andersen (1988) suggests that the time frames of various cultures differ so dramatically that even if only chronemic differences existed, intercultural misunderstandings still would be abundant. Hall and Hall (1990) discusses monochronic and polychronic, past and future orientation, tempo, rhythm, synchrony, scheduling, lead time, and timing in *Understanding Cultural Differences* and other books.

A second nonverbal code that has attracted considerable attention is proxemics--the communication of interpersonal space and distance (Andersen, 1988). In *The Silent Language* and *The Hidden Dimension*, Hall (1966) dedicates many pages to the examination of how communication through the use of space is a function of culture. Hall explains that one's sense of space is a combination of "visual, auditory, kinesthetic, olfactory, and thermal" inputs (p. 181). Research has documented that cultures differ substantially in their use of personal space, the distances they maintain, and their regard for territory, as well as in the meanings they assign to proxemic

behavior (Andersen, 1988).

A most popular nonverbal code in the intercultural literature is that of kinesics (Maduschke, 1994). Kinesic behaviors include facial expressions, body movements, gestures, and conversational regulators (Andersen, 1988). Closely related to proxemics and kinesics is the study of touch--which is referred to as haptic communication. Haptics, according to Andersen (1988), also reveal substantial intercultural differences. Other important codes of nonverbal communication, namely, physical appearance and oculusics, have attracted less attention in intercultural research (Andersen 1988; Maduschke, 1994). Andersen (1988) contends that physical appearance is the most important nonverbal code during initial encounters. Oculusics--the study of messages sent by the eyes, including eye contact, blinks, eye movements, and pupil dilation--varies cross-culturally but has received only marginal attention by intercultural scholars.

Another important area of intercultural nonverbal research that has received little attention in the literature is that of vocalics or paralanguage. Paralanguage includes volume, tempo, pitch, rhythm, tone, vocal characteristics such as laughing and crying, and vocal segregates such as hesitations or repetition (Maduschke, 1994). Paralinguistic cues can be a source of judgement not only about a person's emotional state, but also about personality, socioeconomic status, height weight sex, age, intelligence, race, regional background, and educational level. Nevertheless, how vocal cues are interpreted may vary across cultures. Finally, olfactics--the study of interpersonal communication via smell--has been virtually ignored in intercultural

research (Andersen, 1988).

Each culture has thousands of nonverbal behavior differences that distinguish it from every other culture. Andersen (1988, 1995) comes up with some way to organize these differences into meaningful dimensions. Andersen adapts four of Hofstede's (1984) models and of two of Hall's models of cultures in describing the major differences of nonverbal behavior across cultures. Hofstede (1982) proposes that cultures generally can be classified as either individualistic or collectivistic, masculine or feminine, high-power-distance or low-power-distance, uncertainty-avoidant or uncertainty-tolerant. Hall proposes the famous high-context vs. low context and the high contact vs. low-contact dichotomies. Although these models appear in the form of dichotomy, many scholars perceive them as continuum.

Andersen (1988, 1995) identifies nonverbal cues unique to either side of each dichotomy. For instance, in high-contact cultures (e.g., North Africa, Middle East, and Central America), people display considerable interpersonal closeness. In low-contact cultures (e.g., China, Hong Kong, and North European-American), people rarely touch in public. In individualistic cultures (e.g., United States, Australia, and Great Britain), people smile more and are distant proximically; whereas in collectivistic cultures (e.g., Hong Kong and China), kinesic behavior tends to be synchronized and emotional displays may be suppressed. Also, in collectivistic cultures people tend to be interdependent and collectively oriented. They usually regard compliance with norms as a primary value. Masculine cultures (e.g., Japan, Austria, and United States) regard competition and assertiveness as important and

people seem loud in these cultures. Feminine cultures (e.g., Sweden, Norway, and Netherlands) place more importance on nurturance and compassion and people show more relaxed vocal patterns in these cultures.

In high-power-distance cultures (e.g., Asia and Africa), people smile more to appease superiors and show more positive emotions to higher-status others and negative emotions only to low-status others. Also, in high-power distance cultures, singing voices are tighter and the voice box is more closed, whereas low power distance societies (e.g., Austria, Israel, and United States) produce more relaxed, open, and clear sounds. In uncertainty-avoidant cultures (e.g., Greece, Portugal, and Japan), people tend to display emotions more and nonverbal behavior is more likely to be codified and rule governed. In uncertainty-tolerant cultures (e.g., Hong Kong, United States, and South Africa), people are more tolerant of disagreement and nonconformity. Finally, in high context cultures (e.g., China, Japan, and African-American), people are more likely to tune into and utilize nonverbal communication. The message is one in which most of the information is either embedded in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted parts of the message (Hall, 1976). According to Cohen (1991), in high context cultures, surrounding nonverbal cues are as important as what is actually said. People prefer inaccuracy and evasion to painful precision. They find it difficult to deliver a blunt "no." They sometimes appear insincere, suspicious, and devious, but, in fact, they are exhibiting traits of courtesy and indirection. Interdependent people are always on the alert for hints potentially present in the tone

of a conversation and the accompanying facial expressions and gestures of their interlocutors. People from high context cultures may be perceived as non-disclosive, time-wasters, sneaky, and mysterious. People from low-context cultures are often perceived as excessively talkative, belaboring of the obvious, and redundant. Low-context messages are just the opposite of high-context messages; most of the information is in the explicit code (Hall, 1976). Low-context cultures (e.g., Swiss, German, and North American) are preoccupied with specifics, details, literalness, and precise time schedules at the expense of context.

Culture, Nonverbal Communication, and Negotiation

Nonverbal communication is an essential part of negotiation. Nonverbal communication in negotiation includes (1) orientations--such as face-to-face or side-by-side orientation (Fisher and Ury, 1991); (2) posturing--such as tough, soft, or neutral posturing (Wall, 1985); (3) physical arrangements at the site (Rubin and Brown, 1975); (4) time--such as tempo, lead time, timing, appointment, past-/future-oriented, monochronic/polychronic (Hall, 1990); (5) space, (6) gaze (Zartman 1991); (7) head nods; (8) gestures; (9) facial expressions; and (10) eye contacts (Rubin & Brown, 1975).

Different nonverbal cues indicate different tactics in negotiation. For instance, Arggle and Dean (1965) posit that the relative positioning of persons engaged in social interaction may be taken as an indicator of the relationship. Sommer (1965) suggests that side-by-side seating is preferred in cooperative relationships, and that the most

preferred configuration in competitive relationships is opposite (face-to-face) seating with a moderate to distant space separating the parties.

Hall (1959), Birdwhistell (1952), and Goffman (1963) contend that in a competitive relationship, proximity and direct visual contact are stressful and hence avoided. Kleinke and Poblén (1971) propose that, in competitive relationships, gaze might be construed as a challenge or threat. Fisher and Ury (1991, p. 35) mention a number of nonverbal-negotiation tactics that make the negotiator uncomfortable and create a desire in the negotiator to end the negotiation (e.g., making you wait, interrupting the negotiation to deal with another, refusing to make eye-contact, refusing to listen).

Zartman (1991) points out that the important nonverbal elements of contending in negotiation are staring at the other and moving into the other's territory. Hall (1990) talks at length about how time can be used as negotiation tactic. For example, keeping the other waiting can assume high status and can put down or disorganize the other party (Hall, 1990). The amount of lead time can be read as an index of the relative importance of the business (Hall, 1990).

Negotiation is a group activity and therefore subject to cultural norms (Cohen, 1991). Nonverbal behavior is a vital part of negotiation. Owing to the fact that nonverbal behavior varies cross-culturally, nonverbal behavior in negotiation is likely to be different across cultures. However, few researchers have focused specifically on this topic. More scholars compare the negotiation style of different cultures from a general perspective without pinpointing the nonverbal elements.

Hall is one of the first scholars to link negotiation style and culture. In *The Silent Language* (1959), he compares negotiation style between Arabs and Americans, and between Greeks and Americans. He points out that U.S. negotiators limit the length of the meetings, segment and schedule time, and allow sufficient lead time. U.S. negotiators often look ahead and are oriented to the future; they reach agreements on general principles first and delegate the drafting of details to subcommittee. While U.S. negotiators pride themselves at being outspoken and forthright, the Greeks interpret such behavior as a lack of finesse.

Hall (1959) points out that the American pattern of negotiation is predicated on the assumption that each party has a high and a low point that is hidden (i.e., what one would like to get and what one will settle for). The function of negotiation is to discover, if possible, the opponent's points without revealing one's own.

In *Chinese Negotiation Style*, Pry (1992) has investigated the deeper cultural and institutional factors that are important for understanding Chinese negotiation practices used with U.S. and Japanese businessmen. For instance, the Chinese reject the typical American notion that agreement is best sought by focusing on specific details and avoiding discussions of generalities. Chinese negotiators prefer agreeing on the general principles of the relationship before dealing with troublesome details. Chinese negotiators can be both obstinate and flexible. They may be tenacious in holding to their principles, while surprisingly flexible about details. Moreover, the Chinese are skilled at using their role as hosts to control the timing of meetings, the arrangement of agendas, and the general pace of negotiations. Chinese negotiators

believe that patience is a value in negotiations. They freely use stalling tactics and delays. In addition, Chinese negotiators generally reject the principle of compromise and prefer stressing mutual interests instead. They also prefer informal exchanges between formal sessions.

In two case studies, Gulliver (1979) briefly compares American negotiation style with the Tanzanian negotiation style. For example, Tanzanian negotiators put a high premium on the importance, practically and ethically, of good relations, cooperation, and sharing between neighbors, and between co-members of the same age-group. These common values and norms are scarcely relevant in the American case (Gulliver, 1979). Gulliver (1979) observes that Americans work in bilateral monopoly within a socioeconomic structure that inevitably places them in permanent opposition. Therefore, the level of antagonism in U.S. negotiations is high. Gulliver attributes the cause of this distinction between the United States and Tanzania to the differences between the two societies per se (Gulliver, 1979).

The above comparison studies focus on negotiation style within various cultures. To date, however, direct cross-cultural comparisons of nonverbal-negotiation behavior do not appear to exist. Studies have not (1) focused on cross-cultural comparisons nor (2) employed extensive analysis of nonverbal elements. Nonverbal-intercultural negotiation constitutes the focal interest of this study. Building upon the broad research findings and the general insights reviewed in this section, the researcher focuses on the nonverbal elements of cross-cultural negotiation with U. S. administrators among professional administrators from Hong Kong, China, Tanzania,

and Ethiopia. In the next section, the author elaborates on the research focus.

Chapter 3

Research Focus

In the current study, the researcher adopts the broad definition of negotiation, as opposed to the one closely related to conflict resolution. This is because, from the author's perspective, conflict of interest is a possible, but not required, reason for negotiation. According to Fisher and Ury (1991) and Wall (1985), negotiation is a process of communicating back and forth for the purpose of reaching a joint decision on an agreement between parties. This definition implies that the ultimate goal of all negotiation is to reach an agreement. The process of reaching an agreement is the focal concern of this research project.

In this specific study, moreover, the researcher adopts the widest perspective on the negotiation process; i.e., the process is held to embrace the whole range of interaction between the two parties from initiation to the final outcome (Gulliver, 1979). In contrast, the term bargaining is used to refer to a narrower process that is part of negotiation.

According to Wall (1985), there are external and internal negotiations. This researcher focuses on external negotiation, where the negotiating parties represent different organizations. There are four types of external negotiations (Wall, 1985). All of the negotiations studied in this research project belong to the category "coordination negotiation." Coordination negotiations are aimed at coordinating an organization's activities with other organization(s).

Many scholars, such as Hall (1959), Raiffa (1982), Wall (1985), Zartman (1991), and Gulliver (1979), maintain that differences in negotiation style are attributed to culture. Cultural norms are the chief explanation for differences in negotiation style in multicultural settings (Gulliver, 1979). Culture forms the focal variable in this study, which investigated nonverbal behavior in negotiating agreements among professional administrators from Hong Kong, China, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and the United States.

The line between verbal and nonverbal communication can be fuzzy. Since the "other than words" definition still receives widespread usage (Knapp and Hall, 1992, p. 5) and possesses the advantage of being easily operationalized, the researcher adopted it in this research project. The list of nonverbal codes used by Patterson (1990) to describe areas of nonverbal study presents a comprehensive and self-explanatory classification schema. Therefore, this researcher adopted Patterson's classification schema as the descriptive framework for data collection in field research. The categories are: (1) facial expression; (2) gaze and eye movement; (3) gestures; (4) body movement; (5) posture; (6) space and territory; (7) touch; (8) vocalics; (9) physical appearance; (10) artifacts; (11) smell; (12) time.

In addition, the researcher adopted the "functional approach" (Burgoon, 1978) in the study of nonverbal administrative negotiation behavior. The focus was on the role of nonverbal messages in fulfilling communication functions. The researcher isolated particular communication functions or goals and then examined the kinds of nonverbal behaviors that individuals employed in fulfilling the specific functions.

This research project focused on such functions in the negotiation process as expressing agreement, expressing disagreement, collaborating, competing, or accommodating. According to Burgoon (1978), a function must be studied in a context that allows a variety of verbal and nonverbal messages. This is important because features of the context interfere with the behaviors being observed. In this study, negotiation between professional administrators provided the context for investigation.

According to Rubin and Brown (1975), a negotiation process consists of three components: (1) physical component; (2) social component; (3) issue component. For the purpose of this study, the researcher focused on the nonverbal code as a communication channel in each component. For instance, the focal areas of investigation involved *physical components* such as location, physical arrangements at the site, and presence of time limits; *social components* such as presence of audience and working relationship; and *issue components* such as presentation, pressure, face, status, and time pressure.

In the current study, the researcher intended to find out: (1) the unique nonverbal administrative negotiation patterns among administrators from Hong Kong, China, Ethiopia, and Tanzania when they negotiate with U.S. professional administrators; (2) how the nonverbal-negotiation cues used with U.S. administrators by the administrators from each of the four cultures studied differ from and are similar to those of the others; (3) whether the Chinese administrators from China and from Hong Kong share similar nonverbal-negotiation behavior which is different from

that of the African administrators from Ethiopia and Tanzania.

In this exploratory study, the researcher adopted qualitative research methods to investigate the nonverbal negotiation behavior of the administrators from each of the four cultures studied and to identify important thematic implications in the nonverbal-negotiation behavior utilized in each culture. In addition, the author adopted Andersen's (1995) cultural nonverbal cues framework as an analytical tool to compare and contrast the findings of the four cultures. The findings in turn modified the framework. In the next chapter, the author will describe the research methodology in detail.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

The researcher selected the qualitative case study as the research methodology for this cross-cultural study of nonverbal behavior in negotiation. In this chapter, the author will describe in detail the processes of data collection and data analysis so as to allow the reader to evaluate the validity and reliability of the study. The research methodology applied in the present study consisted of two stages of data collection and three stages of data analysis. The first stage of data collection involved participant observation. It was followed by the first stage of data analysis, which involved analytical induction. The second stage of data collection involved mailing a two-part questionnaire to the observed. This was followed by the second stage of data analysis, which involved thematic analysis of the nonverbal-negotiation pattern of each culture. This methodology allowed for cross-cultural comparison as well as constant comparison with Andersen's (1995) cultural nonverbal cues framework, which composed the third stage of data analysis.

The Qualitative Case Study

Qualitative inquiry refers to exploratory, openly-coded (or non-manipulative), participatory, *in situ* research (Philipsen, 1982). In the qualitative case study, manipulation of antecedent conditions (as in a laboratory experiment) is replaced by observation *in situ*, in the settings and at the times which are the usual contexts for the

subject's actions. The researcher observes what the subject does when left to his or her own devices. This type of naturalistic study allows findings to be generalized (Philipsen, 1982). The qualitative research method is free of the constraints of hypothesis testing and related operations which are required in quantitative research methods. Hypothesis testing and experimental operations "limit a researcher's freedom to provide exploratory answers, grounded in observations, to many important questions about significant patterns and regularities in communication life" (Philipsen, 1982, p. 4). Observing without a hypothesis allows the researcher to discover *in situ* "new" data that is not already known (Kirk and Miller, 1986). Also, in qualitative case study, "the investigator deliberately becomes personally involved with, or at least exposed to, the phenomena of interest. And, the investigator deliberately uses his or her own responses to the phenomena under investigation as one source of data...the subjective voice...as one of many sources of insight" (Philipsen, 1982, p. 4).

Systematic studies of the nonverbal-negotiation behavior utilized in Hong Kong, China, Tanzania, and Ethiopia have not been conducted previously. For this type of *exploratory, descriptive, empirical* study, the qualitative case study offers an especially appropriate methodology because open exploratory coding of observed phenomena allows the investigator to collect raw data for which ready-made theoretical categories do not exist (Bulmer, 1979). In addition, observation *in situ* allows the researcher to describe the nonverbal behavior of negotiators in the natural context. The observed nonverbal behavior of the administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China is likely to be naturally expressed. Therefore, the

findings are likely to be generalizable to real-life negotiations. The applicability of the insights obtained from such study for facilitating reaching agreement between U.S. administrators and administrators from Hong Kong, China, Tanzania, and Ethiopia is also strong. The author participated in the observed negotiations as the female researcher accompanying the male U.S. administrator. Thus, the researcher's experience provides an additional source of data.

The researcher selected "matched samples" for the specific cross-cultural comparison study. "Matching samples" means that "the respondents should be people who are as similar as possible in all aspects of their lives except for their nationality" (Hofstede & Bond, 1988, p.9). According to Hofstede and Bond, it is not necessary to have representative samples from whole national populations as in opinion polling. In comparing matched samples, the researcher attempts to discern patterns of nonverbal behavior in negotiation that distinguish one culture from the others. In this research project, the matched samples--the observed subjects, the questionnaire respondents--are professional administrators selected as a convenience sample.

Many people are skeptical about the generalizability of qualitative case-study findings. According to Marshall and Russman (1989), generalization in qualitative research means that the research findings are used as new research questions and the study of the same topic is transferred to other settings. Also, qualitative research can help generalize a theory in the sense that the research findings refine, modify, or further develop a theory (Marshall and Russman, 1989). Although the findings of the specific qualitative study have the potential to be generalized to the larger cultural

context, this researcher has no intention of making such generalization. Instead, the findings of this study are used in the refinement and development of Andersen's (1995) cultural nonverbal cues framework. The findings also are intended to provide research questions or hypotheses for further research.

Data Collection-Stage 1

In the process of data gathering, the researcher adopted the *derived etic* approach. The derived etic approach is defined as studying behavior from within the system. The observer discovered the structure of the system by participant observation (Ting-Toomey & Gao, 1996). In order to ensure valid interpretation of the nonverbal behavior of the observed, the researcher gathered information regarding the native perspective by questionnaire.

The researcher gathered up-to-date data for this inquiry from the following research sites: (1) Hong Kong; (2) Shenzhen, Guangzhou, Hangzhou, Shanghai, and Suzhou in China; (3) Addis Ababa in Ethiopia; and (4) Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The study is based on a total of 52.5 hours of participant observation. The observations covered a total of 49 meetings: 14 meetings in Hong Kong, 18 meetings in China, 7 meetings in Ethiopia, and 10 meetings in Tanzania. The negotiating parties reached a total of 26 agreements: nine in Hong Kong, five in China, four in Ethiopia, and eight in Tanzania.

The researcher gained access to these meetings through the Director of the Office of International Programs at The University of Montana (referred to as the

U.S. Director hereafter in this paper). The U.S. Director participated in all the meetings as the sole U.S. negotiator. This served as the "constant" in the observed negotiations. The researcher observed that the U.S. Director used basically the same communication style in all the meetings conducted across the four cultures. Fourteen out of fifteen of the respondents reported that they perceived the U.S. Director's communication style as typical of American professionals. For example, the respondents described the U.S. Director as easy going, open, direct, self-confident, friendly, and to the point. As a result, any cross-cultural differences of in local administrators' nonverbal behavior caused by variation in the U.S. negotiator's communication style should be minimal. The researcher focused the observation on the nonverbal behavior of non-U.S. administrators rather than on the U.S. Director due to her research interests in other cultures. All of the subjects observed are non-U.S. professional administrators who deal with external affairs and foreign counterparts. The organizations to which most of the subjects belonged are universities and government departments, except that two belong to non-profit organizations and one is a hotel manager.

Negotiating meetings aimed at reaching agreements, including business luncheons and dinner banquets, provided the context for all observations. The observation sites include offices, restaurants, and cafes. Most of the negotiations (40 out of 49) took place at structured meetings where participants addressed an agenda. Nine informal meetings occurred during afternoon tea, luncheons, and dinners.

In Hong Kong, the researcher observed 14 formal meetings involving 15

administrators. Four of the Hong Kong administrators are female and seven are male. The five university administrators consist of four department or program heads and one director of a university service center. The eight government administrators include one top-level official of the central government, two government department heads, and five high-ranked officials. The other two administrators are the CEOs of two non-profit organizations. All of the meetings conducted and agreements reached in Hong Kong relate to plans for a study seminar for a group of U.S. educators from Montana.

In China, the researcher observed 18 meetings involving 14 university administrators: three presidents, two department heads, five heads of Office of International Relations, and four administrative assistants. Only three out of the 14 are women. Half of the meetings were informal. The meetings conducted and agreements reached in China relate to plans for a study seminar for a group of U.S. educators from Montana and to the university exchange relationships.

In Ethiopia, the researcher observed seven meetings involving seven administrators. All but two were formal meetings. All of the administrators observed are men. The three local government officials are department heads. The two university administrators include one department head and one top-level administrator. One other is the owner/manager of a private manufacturing firm and one is a hotel manager. Four of the meetings are related to planning a local government reform project. One meeting involves accommodation arrangement at a local hotel. The two meetings at the university concern faculty- and student-exchange programs.

In Tanzania, the researcher observed ten meetings involving 14 administrators. All but one were formal meetings. Three of these administrators are women. All of the Tanzanian meetings are with university administrators. Apart from the provost, the dean, and two center directors, the other ten of them are department heads. All of the meetings are related to student-exchange program.

English was the principal language used in all of the observed negotiations. All of the respondents responded to the self-report questionnaire in English. The Ethiopian and Tanzanian administrators are multilingual. English is one of the national languages and often functions as a *lingua franca* among professionals. The Hong Kong administrators are bilingual. English is their second language. The administrators from China learn English as a foreign language. The administrators who responded to the questionnaire report that they have occupied a position where they have the opportunity to work with Americans for from 6 to 30 years. They also report that they meet with Americans for business purposes at least once a year.

The number of participants in a meeting ranged from two to five (including the U.S. Director). Twenty four meetings involved two participants. Seventeen meetings involved three participants. Four meetings involved five participants. The length of the meetings varied. The meetings in Hong Kong and Tanzania mostly ended in one hour. The meetings in China and Ethiopia tended to be longer.

The researcher accompanied the U.S. Director to all of the meetings. The U.S. Director introduced the researcher to the local administrators at the beginning of each meeting as a researcher from The University of Montana. At the beginning of

each meeting, the researcher requested oral permission from the subjects to observe and report on the meetings. The researcher explained to the observed that the observation data would be used for a master's degree thesis in Communication Studies without mentioning the words "nonverbal" and "negotiation" so that the two words would not influence their natural nonverbal negotiation behavior. All of the observed administrators consented to allow the researcher to observe and to take notes during the meeting.

In the meetings, the researcher sat with the negotiating parties as a listener/observer and restricted her participation in discussion to the minimum so as to concentrate on observing. Almost all the time, the researcher sat next to the U.S. administrator as if part of the U.S. negotiating team. My vision naturally was directed toward the other side. This seating arrangement focused the researcher's observations on the local administrators' nonverbal behavior in the process of reaching agreement and allowed the researcher to see, from the angle of the U.S. administrator, what a U.S. administrator normally would see.

The researcher adopted Patterson's nonverbal classification schema for observation. Before observing, the researcher memorized the 12 categories of nonverbal behavior included in the schema. The categories are: (1) facial expression; (2) gaze and eye movement; (3) gestures; (4) body movement; (5) posture; (6) space and territory; (7) touch; (8) vocalics; (9) physical appearance; (10) artifacts; (11) smell; (12) time. During observations, the researcher recorded all the nonverbal cues and the verbal context of each cue under one of the 12 categories by jotting notes.

The researcher made an effort to appear to be an attentive, natural listener by returning eye-contact and by nodding occasionally. That way, the researcher gave the impression of listening to the conversation rather than watching nonverbal behavior. The researcher adopted this strategy of appearing to be a listener rather than an observer in order to minimize the observer's effect on the subjects' nonverbal behavior. In all cases, the observed seemed to behave naturally. Some of them involved me in the conversation verbally (e.g., by asking questions) and nonverbally (e.g., by making eye-contact). Some of them paid little attention to me.

The researcher observed two to four meetings a day. During observations, the researcher typically described each nonverbal cue with a few words. In the evening of each observational day, the researcher revised the observational notes and added more details. After the researcher returned to the United States (a few days to two weeks after the observations), the researcher developed the field notes comprised of phrases into full-sentence descriptions. Data analysis is based on the full-sentence version of the field notes.

Data Analysis--Stage 1

The researcher analyzed the observational data for each culture by "analytic induction" (Bulmer, 1979, p. 661). First, the researcher coded the data under the 12 categories of Peterson's nonverbal classification schema. Within the 12 sets of data, the following themes evolved: (a) greeting; (b) leave-taking; (c) prior to the negotiation; (d) beginning of the negotiation; (e) during the negotiation; (f) the

conclusion of the negotiation; (g) after the negotiation; (h) agreement; (i) disagreement; (j) silence; (k) pace; (l) immediacy; (m) interruption; (n) status; (o) politeness strategy; and (p) turn-taking. After integrating the fragmented information on various themes, the researcher came up with an abstraction of the administrators' nonverbal negotiation behavior for each culture. On the basis of the abstracted patterns of the administrators' nonverbal behavior, the researcher formulated Part II of the questionnaire (Appendix I) for each culture.

Data Collection--Stage 2

This stage involved gathering data through a questionnaire (Appendix 1 & 2). The questionnaire collected two types of data. First, it provided additional information which the researcher might have missed during observation. Second, the self-report data provided the native perspective. This served as a check on the researcher's interpretation of the nonverbal cues of the administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China.

The questionnaire consists of two parts. Part I (Appendix 1) is composed of open-ended questions. This part aims at collecting demographic information, the subjects' self-perceived negotiation style and pace, and the functions of various significant nonverbal cues used in the negotiation with the U.S. Director. Part II (Appendix 2) of the questionnaire is composed of closed-ended questions. On the basis of the abstraction derived from the observation data, the researcher formulated 21 "hypotheses" about the nonverbal behavior of the negotiators from Ethiopia, 33

about those from Tanzania, 24 about those from Hong Kong, and 43 about those from China. Each "hypothesis," represented by one question in the questionnaire, explicated my interpretation of a nonverbal cue observed in the negotiation of a specific culture. The researcher asked the respondents to circle yes or no for each "hypothesis" to indicate whether they agree or disagree to the researcher's interpretation of their nonverbal behavior in the negotiation with the U.S. Director. The responses to Part II serve to validate and refine my interpretation of the observational data.

The researcher asked respondents to answer Part I before they read and answered Part II so that Part II (the researcher's interpretations) would not affect their thinking. The researcher enclosed Part II in a sealed envelope to ensure that respondents answered Part I first. The researcher also enclosed a pre-addressed stamped envelope for the Ethiopian and Tanzanian respondent and without stamps for respondents from Hong Kong and China. To the best of my knowledge, stamped envelopes encourage responses in Ethiopia, Tanzania, and China. Unfortunately, the researcher could not obtain stamps from China. The effect of a stamped envelope in Hong Kong would be minimal because of the comparatively prosperous financial situation of the organizations to which the observed administrators belong.

The researcher mailed a total of 35 sets of questionnaires to the administrators observed for whom an address was available. The response rate from Ethiopia was 1 out of 6; Tanzania 4 out 10; Hong Kong 7 out of 15; and China 3 out of 9. The author speculates that Ethiopian administrators dislike written communication,

including written questionnaires and that Chinese administrators unfavorably consider responding to a questionnaire as unprofitable work. In the presentation of findings, each respondent will be identified by a code that corresponds to their country and order in which they submitted their response. For example, RT2 represents the second respondent from Tanzania; and RC4 represents the fourth respondent from China.

All of the respondents completed part II of the questionnaire--the close-ended questions. Part I of the questionnaire required the respondents to recall the negotiation meeting with the U.S. Director that occurred six to seven months previously. Some respondents indicated they could not recall the meeting because of the lapse of time. Others responded with detailed information. The recalled information provides valid and useful data because it is likely to be the "gist" (Metts, Sprecher, & Cupach, 1991) of the negotiation. According to Metts, Sprecher, & Cupach (1991), retrospective self-report data gathering allows researchers to measure and to analyze the private experience of the observed/respondents. In the specific study, by collecting self-reported data, the researcher is able to analyze the negotiators' private experience and intentions--such as when using specific nonverbal cues for certain purposes or effects. Although the recalled information might be at a general and impressionistic level (Metts, Sprecher, & Cupach, 1991), it is useful in sense that it allows the researcher to make sense of the observational data and to confirm one's speculative interpretation.

Data Analysis--Stage 2

After comparing the self-report data carefully with the observational data for each culture, the researcher synthesized the two kinds of information. The self-report data served to refine the preliminary analysis based on my observational data. The written responses provided support as well as challenges to my interpretations. In the chapter on analysis, the author sets forth the study findings in the form of episodes and analyzes the implications of the findings with reference to illustrative incidents and quotations extracted from the written responses.

The author, then, compared the findings for each culture with Andersen's (1995) cultural nonverbal cues framework (Table 4) by "constant comparison" (Bulmer, 1979, p. 674). On the basis of literature review, observational data, and informal-interview data, the author classified each culture either as low-context or high-context, high-contact or low-contact, high-power-distance or low-power-distance, high-uncertainty-avoidant or low-uncertainty-avoidant, masculine or feminine, collectivistic or individualistic. From the data for each of the four cultures studied, the researcher searched for comparable (parallel or contrary) nonverbal cues to the nonverbal cues mentioned in Andersen's framework. Finally, the findings of the research project allowed for refinement and further development of Andersen's framework.

Data Analysis--Stage 3

This stage involved cross-cultural comparison. Comparing the communication

patterns of one culture with that of another culture assists in explaining communication conduct as culturally situated (Philipsen, 1990). The comparative approach not only provides perspective on the pattern of interest, but also helps generate insights about cross-cultural generalities (Schneider, 1976 in Carbaugh, 1988). In Chapter 7, the researcher compares and contrasts the principle nonverbal negotiation characteristics discovered for the four cultures studied in an effort to identify *unique* nonverbal negotiation patterns of professional administrators from each culture as well as the *similarities* across Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China.

The author utilized the various negotiation-stage models reviewed in Chapter 2 to highlight the uniqueness of the negotiation process in each culture. On the surface, the negotiation process in each culture differs from that of the others. Nevertheless, by grouping particular nonverbal cues observed in negotiation under specific categories, the author was able to identify the patterns of nonverbal negotiation within each cultural category, namely, high/low-context, high/low-contact, high/low-power-distance, high/low-uncertainty-avoidant, collectivistic/individualistic, and masculine/feminine.

Table 4

Cultural Nonverbal Cues

(Adopted from Andersen's (1995) chapter entitled
"Cultural Cues: Nonverbal Communication in a Diverse World")

High-Context

- Tune into nonverbal communication
- Prefer inaccuracy and evasion to painful decision
- Non-disclosive
- Facial expressions, tensions, movements, speed of interaction, location of interaction have implicit meanings

High-Uncertainty-Avoidant

- Not tolerate change
- Upset when uniformity breaks down
- Behavior is codified and rule governed

High-Power-Distance

- Prohibit interclass contact
- Show only positive emotions to high status others; negative to low status others
- Subordinates smile more to appease superiors

Masculine

- Value competitiveness and assertiveness
- Speak with louder voice
- Emphasize machismo

Individualistic

- Smile more
- Express emotions freely
- More remote and distant proximically
- More affiliative nonverbally
- Small talk and initial acquaintance are more important
- More open communication

Low-Context

- Verbal codes are prevalent
- Preoccupied with specifics and details
- Prefer precise time schedule
- Communicate in explicit code
- Used to literalness

Low-Uncertainty-Avoidant

- Value risk and ambiguity
- Tolerate nonconformity
- Uncomfortable with ritual or stylized behavior

Low-Power-Distance

- Free interclass contact
- Produce more relaxed voice

Feminine

- Value compassion and nurturance
- Exhibit relaxed vocal pattern
- Express less stereotyped sex-role behavior

Collectivistic

- Suppress emotion displays that are contrary to the mood of the group
- Work in close proximity
- Behavior tends to be synchronized
- Value compliance with norms
- Prefer avoidance

High-Contact

- Stand close
- Touch more
- More expressive nonverbally

Low-Contact

- Rarely touch in public
- Prefer less sensory involvement
- Less expressive

Chapter 5

A Brief Description of The Four Cultures: Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China

The purpose of this chapter is to provide readers with a brief overview of the four "cultures." On the basis of information gathered from literature review and several informal expert-interviews, the author initially classified each culture in terms of Hall's high/low-context and high/low-contact categories and Hofstede's high/low-power-distance, high/low-uncertainty avoidant, collectivistic/individualistic, and masculine/feminine cultural categories. These classifications are based on assumptions that require confirmation from further research studies. Indeed, the findings of the current study supported and, at the same time, challenged some of the general assumptions. The specific discoveries are presented in Chapter 6.

Ethiopia

Ethiopia is composed of more than 100 ethnic groups. Each group speaks as its mother tongue a dialect of one of the more than seventy languages. Among educated Ethiopians, English is acceptable to all ethnic groups as a neutral *lingua franca* (Nelson & Kaplan, 1980).

Culture and norms vary across ethnic groups. However, "no social entity in Ethiopia has been untouched by others. Whether in war, trade, or intermarriage, in

60 dominance or submission, groups acted up one another and provide an environment to which each had to adapt" (Nelson & Kaplan, 1980, p. 85).

In an attempt to understand Ethiopian culture in terms of Hall's and Hofstede's cultural categories, the author interviewed Ms. Renuka Pillai, a graduate student from Ethiopia, and Dr. Peter Koehn, Director of Office of International Programs and Professor in Political Science, who has been working with Ethiopians for nearly 20 years. According to Pillai and Koehn, the dominant Ethiopian culture is likely high-contact, masculine, high-power-distance, collectivistic, certainty-avoidant, and high-context. Ethiopians express a high level of immediacy. For example, they touch each other frequently. Multiple kisses and multiple hugs are common greeting behavior regardless of gender difference.

Gender roles in Ethiopia are rigid. Traditionally (although changing slowly due to Western influence), men are the leaders of families and the country; women are responsible for house-keeping. In many households, even today, the wives prepare dinner and wait until their husband finishes eating before they eat. Most of the political leaders and high-ranking administrators are men, who are competitive and assertive. Fighting for power was the spirit manifested in the goal of the 1974 Revolution and in the interethnic-group conflicts between Amhara and Tigray. Ethiopian culture embodies the main features of a masculine culture.

Power distance not only exists between men and women; it also exists in the hierarchical structure of the society. In the shadow of the imperial regime and "socialism," political power and wealth became concentrated in a few hands. In the

government and the national university, the bureaucratic system magnifies the power distance across ranks. People of lower status (e.g., typists and messengers) are supposed to bow, literally and metaphorically, to people of higher status. Ethiopia, in many ways, is a high-power-distance culture.

Owing to the multilayers within the society and even within the same ethnic group, the culture appears to lack cohesiveness. Clear-cut strata divide the population in terms of rank, social status, power, and wealth (Nelson & Kaplan, 1980). People within a stratum exhibit a strong sense of collectivism.

Religious affiliation can be an intrinsic element in ethnic identity. There are various religions in Ethiopia. Many Ethiopians are deeply religious. Belief in the existence of active spirits is widespread among Ethiopia's people (Harold and Irving, 1980). Despite sufferings at war time and economic hardship, devout believers remain optimistic about the future. According to Pillai, many Ethiopians believe that God has prepared a bright future for them. Owing to their faith, uncertainty becomes certainty. In this regard, Ethiopian culture is a high-uncertainty-avoidant one. Also, the rigid cultural norms reinforce predictability, and hence, certainty of every day life. According to Koehn and Pillai, Ethiopian culture fits into the uncertainty-avoidance category. Nevertheless, Ethiopians are highly tolerant of the ambiguity embedded in their language.

Ethiopia is likely a high-context culture. Rigid social norms allow a strong common understanding of how to interact with others. Often, one can make oneself understood without saying it. Amharic, the language used by 50 percent of the

population, is highly ambiguous (Levine, 1985). One word or one expression can have several meanings. For instance, the same Amharic word can mean gold or wax. Everything has to be understood in context. Ethiopians enjoy the ambiguity of the Amharic language at home, but at work they prefer speaking English in order to avoid ambiguity (Levine, 1985).

Although all of the ethnic groups are tied together by common features of social organization and values (Nelson & Kaplan, 1980), they are highly conscious about their ethnic identity. Conflict between the two dominant ethnic groups, Amhara and Tigray, marked the critical period of recent Ethiopian history.

The Amharas compose approximately 30 percent of the population in Ethiopia and Tigreans about 14 percent of the population (Nelson & Kaplan, 1980). Amhara dominance lasted for a long time and finally came to the end in 1989 when the Tigray guerrillas captured political power.

Currently, Tigreans occupy most of the positions in the central government located in Addis Ababa. The researcher's local contact is a Tigrean man, who set up most of the meetings observed in Addis for this study. Owing to the Tigrean local contact's connection with the Tigrean community, all of the observed are Tigreans--except for the hotel manager, whose ethnic background is unknown.

Tanzania

Tanzania became independent in 1961 after British colonization, German

colonization, and U.N. treat territory-status. The country is ethnically heterogeneous. As many as 120 ethnic groups have been identified. The largest ethnic group constitutes no more than 13 percent of the population. Ethnic identification is not deeply rooted. Conflict in ethnic terms is not nationally salient. No single group has dominated the ruling party. Because ethnic group and locality tend to coincide, the National Assembly is a fair cross-section of the country's composition. As a result, Tanzanians have developed only a limited sense of ethnic identity (Kaplan, 1978).

Although divisiveness on ethnic grounds is not a critical issue in Tanzania, economic division between urban and rural populations, status division, age division, and gender division are prominent (Kaplan, 1978). For example, economic and political power are concentrated in the urban area. Elders in Tanzania assume higher status and receive more respect. In the hierarchical organized societies, elders act as advisers, decision-makers, and dispute settlers. The leader(s) of a clan or a local community are usually male senior members who are both comparatively well-off and influential and, thereby, able to collect support. The notion that seniority conferred certain rights and capacities persists, although with modifications, in groups in which fairly large numbers of young people have achieved a substantial degree of education (Kaplan, 1978). Thus, the culture of Tanzania is likely to be high-power-distance and masculine.

In an interview, Professor George Malekela (1996), Professor from the Department of Educational Foundations, University of Dar es Salaam, confirmed that Tanzania belongs to the high-power-distance category. According to Malekela,

Tanzanians have special respect for elders and people in authority. Subordinates or younger people refrain from talking openly with superiors or elders. Disagreement with superiors and elders is prohibited in Tanzanian culture.

Malekela also confirmed that Tanzanian culture is masculine. He maintained that Tanzanians emphasize machismo. Also, most Tanzanians prefer having sons to having daughters because sons are able to continue the family line and daughters belong to their husband's family. Although women are given more opportunities for education in recent years than in the past, few women occupy high positions in organizations and few women are in science fields (Malekela, 1996). Sex-roles remain relatively rigid in many ways, although men and women now can be seen eating together--which traditionally they never did (Kaplan, 1978).

Furthermore, a woman is identified within the family. When a man chooses a wife, he bases his decision mostly on the woman's family background and the history of her family (Malekela, 1996). The marriage tie will be sealed only if the man's family like the woman's family. One's identity is the family identity. Marriage decision is a family decision. In this regard, Tanzanian culture is highly collectivistic. Owing to the collectivistic nature of the society, Tanzanians avoid standing out from the crowd (Malekela, 1996). According to Malekela, conformity and avoiding risks belong to the main-stream mentality. Hence, Tanzanian culture is assumed to lean toward high-uncertainty-avoidant along the cultural continuum.

However, Tanzanians enjoy ambiguities in certain occasions. Swahili, the *lingua franca* in Tanzania (Kaplan, 1978), is a language that creates ambiguities and

vagueness. Tanzanians function in a high-context culture most of the time. Like Ethiopians, Tanzanians use English in the workplace when they attempt to facilitate clear, precise decisions (Levine, 1985). Despite the high-context broader culture, the workplace culture in Tanzania points to the lower end.

According to Malekela, Tanzanians, unlike Ethiopians, seldom hug or kiss each other in public as forms of greeting ritual. However, they like long hand-shakes. Also, good friends, regardless of gender difference, like to hold hands and touch each other occasionally when chatting. Tanzania is likely to be a high-contact culture.

Hong Kong

Under the colonial rule of Great Britain for over 100 years, Hong Kong has been heavily influenced by British culture and customs. Since 98 percent of Hong Kong's population are ethnic Chinese (Storey, 1992), the Hong Kong culture also maintains a strong Chinese favor. In other words, the culture in Hong Kong is a mixture of the East and the West. This unique characteristic is manifested in the language system in the territory. Hong Kong's two official languages are English and Cantonese. While Hong Kong Cantonese is used in everyday life, English is the prime language of commerce, banking, and international trade, and is also used in the law courts. Upon reversion to China in June 1997, Mandarin will become a third official language in business as well as in the government.

Over the past 100 years under the British rule, Hong Kong has become one of

the world's leading service economies. In "Hong Kong Trader," a newsletter published by the Hong Kong Trade Development Council, it is reported that Hong Kong is the fifth most important trader, and the eighth largest trading economy on the strength of its information technology and services capabilities. International business has not only turned Hong Kong into a truly cosmopolitan city state, it brings about affluence that allows Hong Kong people to be increasingly individualistic. However, according to Triandis' (1996) recent research on individualism vs collectivism, certain critical social aspects of Hong Kong culture remains collectivistic.

Hofstede (1982) classifies Hong Kong as a collectivistic, high-power-distance, and low-uncertainty-avoidant culture. Hong Kong obviously has changed since 1982, as Triandis (1996) points out. However, certain dominant cultural characteristics remain intact. As a Hong Kong native, the author agrees with Triandis that Hong Kong is becoming increasingly individualistic even though aspects of the culture remain strongly collectivistic. For example, conformity, avoiding standing out, group-oriented life style, and extended-family connections still are highly valued across strata in the society.

In addition, the author sees evidence supporting the high-power-distance classification. For instance, Hong Kong people exhibit considerable respect for authorities. Until recently, political power and wealth have been concentrated in the hands of a few elites. Being subservient to leaders, elders, teachers, and superiors is considered a virtue. In this regard, Hong Kong people retain a strong sense of Chineseness.

Despite differentiation across ranks, differentiation across genders is disappearing gradually. Sex discrimination among the educated is minimal. Women are given equal educational and professional opportunities. Women occupying high position in organizations is not uncommon. Under the influence of the Western culture, it is not unusual for husbands to share housework with their working wives. Unlike China, Hong Kong is assumed to be a non-masculine culture.

Hong Kong business people's willingness to take risks provides support for classifying this culture as low-uncertainty-avoidant. However, the Hong Kong people's strong inclination to conform contradicts Hofstede's (1982) conclusion about Hong Kong being a low-uncertainty-avoidant culture. For example, most Hong Kong people like to be fashionable in all aspects of life such as appearance, entertainment, and the use of colloquial language. Moreover, as typical Chinese, Hong Kong people avoid disagreements and conflicts in public. Although Hong Kong business people are tolerant of risks, the dominant culture leans toward high-uncertainty-avoidant.

Andersen (1995) contends that Hong Kong culture is low-contact. The author agrees with this classification completely. Hong Kong people avoid touching, not only in public but also within a family. In such a stressful, crowded city, people appear cold and unfriendly toward strangers.

Furthermore, Andersen maintains that China is extremely high-context. Hong Kong is also assumed to be a high-context culture because Hong Kong Chinese and the Chinese from China basically share the same written Chinese language. Apart from the language indicator, another high-context cultural indicator can be found in

the norms and customs in which implicit messages are embedded. For example, the Hong Kong greeting, gift giving, acceptance and rejection of invitations, and hosting rituals always imply deeper messages which are not verbalized. In general, Hong Kong culture is a high-context culture.

China

China is the world's most populous country. According to the official view, China has 56 "nationality" groups. Approximately 94 percent of the population is Han Chinese (Bunge & Shinn, 1981). According to Bunge and Shinn (1981),

Han refers to the ancient dynasty which ruled China from 206 B.C. to A.D. 220. Sharp regional and cultural differences including major variations in the spoken forms of Chinese exist among the Han, who are a mingling of many peoples. All the Han nonetheless use a common written form of Chinese, and they share the social organization, values, and cultural characteristics that are universally recognized as Chinese civilization (p. 88).

Members of non-Han groups--referred to as the minority nationalities--constitute only a very small proportion of the total population. However, the ethnic minorities are distributed over more than 50 percent of China's territory, much of which is located in politically sensitive frontier areas. In general, the minorities are concentrated in the provinces and autonomous regions of the Northwest and the Southwest (Bunge & Shinn, 1981). Along the coast, Han is the dominant group. The researcher collected the observational data in the cities along the coast; namely, Shenzhen, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Suzhou, and Hangzhou. All of the observed administrators belong to the

Han ethnic group.

Andersen (1995) lists China as one of the low-contact cultures. Apart from hand-shaking, little intentional touching is observed in public domains or in private domains in China. In the crowded cities, people bump into each other frequently. In the crowded buses, people unavoidable rub against each other. However, the unavoidable proximity is not an expression of immediacy. Traditionally, the proper and respectful behavior is non-immediacy.

The distance across status and between genders is even further. Hierarchy and relations of superiority and subordination are considered natural and proper (Bunge & Shinn, 1980). "Kow-tow"--being obedient--to elders and superiors is one piece of the imperial legacy that remains as the prominent norm in China. Given the unequal distribution of power, wealth, and prestige, China is likely to be high-power-distance culture.

In China, the powerful few--the political leaders and the top officials in an organization--are always considered to possess authority to proclaim what values people should use to guide their lives and take action against competing ideas. Maintaining social order through enforcing a unitary set of moral rules is seen as a primary obligation of the ruling elite (Bunge & Shinn, 1980). The ideal society is traditionally seen as a harmonious hierarchical system in which all individuals learned and played their designated roles (Bunge & Shinn, 1980). The conception of such ideal society forms one main component of a collectivistic culture.

Furthermore, "to fit into such a system requires self-discipline and moderation

in dealing with those one had role relations with, and there is a strong cultural emphasis against displays of uncontrolled emotions and lack of self-control" (Bunge & Shinn, 1980, p. 84). Such discipline and control maintain a high-uncertainty-avoidant culture. Ting-Toomey (1996) contends that the culture in China is high-uncertainty-avoidant because Chinese tend to avoid conflicts which are highly uncertain events.

Andersen (1995) classifies China as one of the extremely high-context cultures. He maintains that "the Chinese language is an implicit high-context system. To use a Chinese dictionary one must understand thousands of characters which change meaning in combination with other characters" (Andersen, 1995, p. 38).

In addition, China is assumed to be a masculine culture. Despite gradual softening of sex roles in urban areas, the majority of the population hold tight to the tradition. According to Bunge and Shinn (1981), "women are traditionally expected to be subservient to men. They move at marriage into the homes of their husbands, they are as much under the authority of their in-laws as of their spouse. Many work outside the home after marriage, and they gain status by bearing sons and being obedient wives and daughters-in-law." (p. 120). The Chinese urban labor force continues to be quite segregated by sex. Women continue to be greatly under-represented in politics and positions of leadership.

Chapter 6

Analysis

In this section, the author will present findings regarding the nonverbal communication behavior of administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China in negotiation with the U.S. Director. For each culture, the author identifies the thematic implications of the negotiation's nonverbal behavior. The implications were based on abstractions inductively derived from observational data and questionnaire responses. For instance, continuity and fluidity characterize the nonverbal-negotiation style of the Ethiopian administrators. The Tanzanian administrators assert themselves unpretentiously under the constraints of collectivism and a hierarchical power structure. Efficiency frames the balanced nonverbal negotiation moves of the Hong Kong administrators. The nonverbal-negotiation behavior of the administrators from China is embedded beneath the surface meanings. The author will explicate and illustrate the thematic implications for each culture by reference to episodes. Finally, the author will further analyze the findings by juxtaposing the thematic implications of each culture with Andersen's cultural nonverbal-cues framework. The comparison between the findings and the framework will be employed to refine and to develop further Andersen's framework.

Ethiopia

The analysis presented in this section is based 7 observations and one

questionnaire response. In my assessment, continuity and fluidity characterize the communication behavior among the Ethiopian administrators. Time, to them, seems to flow continuously. Time is one of the few (if not the only one) unlimited resources available. Their lives and work flow along with time rather than being in the harness of time. The concepts of appointment, schedule, and agenda take on a fluid nature in the culture. Meetings and negotiation occur spontaneously. Within the same meeting, several things occur simultaneously. Continuity assumes no definite end. The end of a meeting or negotiation is likely to be only one part of the whole process. Decisions made and agreements reached are tainted with ambiguity. Successful cooperation relies on continuous interpersonal ties slowly developed in person. Paradoxically, communication flows within a rigid hierarchical social structure. There is little fluidity across ranks.

Episodes

In the capital city Addis Ababa (Addis for short), meetings were spontaneous encounters. Pre-meeting written correspondence, making appointments, and scheduling were relatively unimportant. Before leaving the United States for Ethiopia, the U.S. Director wrote to a local contact and former student. The U.S. Director requested that he arrange meetings with several local government officials and university administrators. The U.S. Director received no response in writing from this contact. According to the U.S. Director, who has worked with Ethiopians for nearly 20 years, Ethiopians usually do not reply to letters.

By the time the U.S. Director and I arrived in Addis, the local contact had not arranged any set appointments for the U.S. Director. After repeated requests, the local contact finally telephoned and made appointments with one government official and one university administrator. He then accompanied us to all the meetings. When we arrived at the Associate Academic Vice President's office at nine o'clock in the morning (the scheduled time), the university administrator "was in a meeting which would last until one or two o'clock in the afternoon," the female secretary said. She offered tea and an apology, and asked us to come back in the afternoon to see whether the administrator could meet. We still had no firm appointment.

We were luckier with the local government official. Although he was not waiting for us in his office at the appointed time, our local contact managed to find him working with a colleague in an office down the hall. Keeping to scheduled appointments obviously might not be the common practice in Ethiopia. However, if one shows up in an Ethiopian's office and finds him/her there, he/she would be happy to meet with you. When the official saw us at the office door, he smiled and shook hands with the U.S. Director immediately. His smiles commenced this "spontaneous" face-to-face encounter, and the hand-shake sealed his commitment to a meeting with us.

Meetings with the Ethiopian administrators were spontaneous in the sense that time length was not fixed and no agenda was set. "No definite steps or procedures are set for a negotiation," RE1 said. At the beginning of the negotiation, the local administrators liked to spend at least half an hour chatting about subjects other than

the one at issue. This was the time when negotiators established a cooperative relationship with the U.S. Director. RE1 reported that he usually tries to find out background information about the other side prior to commencing the negotiation. Exchanging business cards with all the information they hold parallels this information-gathering ritual. In Addis, the U.S. Director handed out his business card in a typical American fashion. When he did this, both the government and the university administrators were at a loss at first. Then, they managed to dig out an old card from the bottom of a drawer. Obviously, exchanging business cards is not common practice among the administrators observed. Instead, the Ethiopian administrators would take the time to chat with visitors so as to exchange background information orally. Early in their meetings, the Ethiopian administrators would order tea and coffee served as an expression of hospitality. The relationship-establishment stage of a negotiation lasted at least half an hour.

The Ethiopian administrators treated time as if it was unlimited resource, a continuously flowing stream. Time, to them, may not be something that one has to conserve, divide up, or be locked into by. When they sat down to meet with us, they did not set a time limit to the meeting. RE1 said, "I don't take it [time] seriously.... I don't feel that serious negotiation needs to be constrained by time." Several of the meetings we held in Addis lasted for longer than two hours. The longest meeting lasted for four hours. If these administrators cannot predict how long each meeting will be, this might be one reason why the Ethiopian administrators hesitate to make appointments.

Schedules appeared fluid in Ethiopia. Although the first local government official did not schedule a meeting with us and did not set aside a meeting time in advance for that purpose, he dropped everything else immediately when we showed up in person. His work schedule may be flexible enough to adjust to non-scheduled meetings. That also might be why making an appointment ahead of time is meaningless; what is written on the calendar easily can be shoved away by spontaneous encounters.

Face-to-face encounters are important to the Ethiopian administrators in Addis. They would interrupt a meeting to entertain visitors. In the middle of a negotiation with the U.S. Director, the first government official stepped outside to talk to a visitor for nearly half an hour before he returned to continue the negotiation.

The unique seating arrangement in a negotiation symbolized the value attached to face-to-face meetings. In every office I visited in Addis, there always stood a table perpendicular to the administrator's work desk, with seats on both sides of the table. The administrators sat across from the U.S. Director. That seating arrangement allowed the negotiators to gaze directly at their U.S. counterpart during negotiations. The Ethiopian administrators always gazed steadily and directly at the speaker when they listened. RE1 reported that Ethiopians show respect and courtesy by listening and paying attention to what the speaker says.

Listening was the most important strategy adopted by the Ethiopian administrators in negotiations. They listened patiently until the U.S. Director or other speakers finished what they had to say. A speaker was entitled to all the time he/she

needs to express him/herself. It was common that one person talked for ten to fifteen minutes continuously in a negotiation. Paradoxically, one gained a turn by listening patiently to what the other side had to say. RE1 said, "I take the initiative to talk by showing my readiness to listen." In other words, negotiators would not seize a turn; they would wait for their turn. That seemingly passive turn-waiting custom, in fact, incorporated assertiveness. Once an administrator gained a turn, he would never let anyone cut him off. One time the U.S. Director tried to interrupt, to seize a turn, from the university administrator's 10-minute "speech" in the negotiation. The administrator kept talking without giving up his turn. That "let me finish first" kind of turn-keeping behavior was common among the Ethiopian administrators. They expressed assertiveness in a gentle and smooth way without changing the volume nor the tone of their voice.

The Ethiopian administrators showed their gentle assertiveness even when they expressed disagreement. They never hesitated to express disagreement verbally. However, they showed no negative nonverbal behavior. It was not possible to detect their disagreement by merely watching their nonverbal cues. The administrators expressed disagreement verbally either by offering a vague answer to the U.S. Director's question, simply by stating one's own position, or by both. For instance, the Hilton Hotel manager expressed his disagreement by using both of these tactics during a conflict with us. The manager wanted us to vacate the reserved room by the next morning because the hotel needed it for African heads of state and ministers arriving for the start of the Organization of African Unity summit meeting. Since we

had reserved the room for another two days and we would be leaving town early the following morning, we refused to move out and search for another hotel. Without showing any negative nonverbal cues (e.g., angry facial expression, raise of volume, or change of tone), the manager simply said: "It's a problem." The U.S. Director repeated that we could not leave until Monday. The manager disappeared for a while to talk to his boss. He came back and stated his new position, "You will need to vacate the room at seven o'clock on Monday morning." The U.S. Director said, "We can't leave that early. We have no place to go until our afternoon flight." The manager simply restated his position and walked away.

Although the Ethiopian administrators refrained from showing negative nonverbal behavior when they disagreed, lack of positive facial expression, coupled with silence, provided hints for detecting disagreement. These hints were subtle and difficult to detect. The Ethiopian administrators presented serious faces during negotiation. Their serious facial expressions conveyed active thinking rather than disagreement, whereas lack of facial expression indicated disagreement. Besides, short segments of silence provided natural pauses in the meeting. RE1 reported that he is comfortable with silence. He said silent pauses are necessary for non-English native speakers to translate the language and cultural differences. Therefore, short and mentally active silence signalled no disagreement. Only longer dead silence indicated disagreement.

Similarly, the Ethiopian administrators expressed agreement verbally with few distinctive nonverbal cues. In a group meeting, they reached a decision on the basis

of consensus. The U.S. Director concluded no firm agreement with any of the administrators in one single meeting. The progress made in one meeting would be part of a broader collective decision. The end of one negotiation composed only one part of a process. The Ethiopian administrators expressed no urgency to round up an issue or to make any definite plans. Working relationships seem to have just started after one meeting. The "let's see what will happen" kind of attitude of the Ethiopian administrators left the U.S. Director with uncertainty about the agreements. The negotiation came to an end by itself, like it had fallen asleep, when the negotiators ran out of relevant subjects for discussion. With the negotiation disappearing, the Ethiopian administrators entered another friendship-building stage. The Ethiopian administrators were deliberate not only in reaching agreement but also in building human relationships. After ending the negotiation stage, the Ethiopian administrators started to chat casually about other subjects. They asked more personal questions at this stage. This final phase of the meetings lasted at least half an hour. One negotiation session in Addis could last for hours; the whole negotiation process took even longer.

Apart from the stream-of-time cultural perception, the slow pace could be attributed to consensus-based decision making and the hierarchical communication channel. It takes time to reach consensus-based agreement. In the meeting with three government officials, the U.S. Director attempted to work out a preliminary proposal with them. Each negotiator expressed his opinion regarding every issue and the U.S. Director incorporated each negotiator's opinion and ideas into the proposal. Then, the

lead administrator gave the hand-written draft to his assistant. The assistant passed it to the typist to be typed. The Ethiopian government officials only would interact with colleagues of similar ranks, superiors who are one rank above, and subordinates who are one rank below. When the typist had difficulty reading the U.S. Director's hand writing, she would ask the assistant and the assistant would ask the lead administrator and the administrator would ask the U.S. Director. When the U.S. Director requested a correction in the draft, the message passed through the administrator and the assistant before reaching the typist. Without doubt, communication occurs slowly in such a hierarchical structure.

Status differentiation existed not only among officials of various rankings, but also across genders. Among the Ethiopian administrators, men are superior to women. Few women occupy high-ranking positions. All the government and university administrators we met with were men. They always shook hands with the U.S. Director first, and rarely interacted with me. When the administrators ordered tea and coffee, they would ask all the men in the room for their order before they asked me. The U.S. Director, as the male representative negotiator, received more respect than the author, as the female researcher, from the Ethiopian administrators as well as the messengers who served tea and coffee. The messengers served me last most of the time.

Comparison with the Cultural Framework

Ethiopia is assumed to be a high-power-distance, collectivistic, high-contact,

masculine, high-context, and high- or low-uncertainty-tolerant culture. According to Andersen (1995), little interclass contact occurs in a high-power-distance culture. This is obviously applied to the Ethiopian administrators observed. The communication flow between the typist and the U.S. Director is an excellent example. The typist could not interact directly with the U.S. Director or the with administrator. The typist communicated through the administrator's assistant. The Ethiopians observed only interacted with one's immediate superior(s) or one's immediate subordinate(s). Although Andersen (1995) contends that subordinates in high-power-distance cultures tend to express positive emotions to people of high-status and negative emotions to low-status people, the Ethiopian administrators I observed had little chance to express emotion across ranks. However, the lower-ranked officials always acted especially polite and respectful to higher-ranked administrators. The order of attention signaled the degree of respectfulness. They served the higher-status administrators first and they shook hands with the higher-status first. They also bowed to the higher-ranked. Within the same rank, among the administrators and the U.S. Director, these behavior-codified rules disappeared.

Within the same rank, I observed little emotion displayed. This supports Andersen's description of collectivistic cultures. Another feature of a collectivistic culture is synchronized kinesic behavior. During the negotiation, the Ethiopian administrators occupied themselves with several task at the same time. While engaging in discussion with the U.S. Director, they answered the phone, made telephone calls, entertained visitors, and they ordered and paid for cigarettes. This

feature of synchronized behavior implies a slow pace in negotiation. Furthermore, consensus-based decision making--collective decision making--requires more time. Often the negotiators could reach a firm agreement because they needed to finalize a decision with their superiors and colleagues collectively.

The communication process takes an especially long time in a high-contact culture like one that characterizes the Ethiopian administration observed. The Ethiopian administrators preferred face-to-face meetings over more efficient written communication. According to Andersen, people in high-contact culture display more touching in public. Although the Ethiopian administrators did not exhibit touching, they valued the face-to-face seating arrangement and firm handshaking as the greeting and leave-taking rituals in the business setting. Normally, direct eye-contact conveys immediacy. Although the Ethiopian administrators function within a high-contact culture, they rarely made direct eye-contact. However, they always faced and gazed in the direction of the U.S. Director. This position symbolizes their gentle assertiveness.

According to Andersen (1995), people in a masculine culture are assertive, competitive, and loud. Judging from the rigid sex-role and status differentiations that exist between men and women, the culture of the Ethiopian administrators is definitely a masculine culture. However, the Ethiopian administrators exhibited assertiveness in a noncompetitive way. For example, when they tried to gain a turn, they waited patiently for their turn. Once they obtained the turn, they maintained their turn assertively. If the U.S. Director tried to cut in, they would continue to speak so as to

maintain the turn as long as they desired. Their indirect way of showing disagreement is to restate their position or to offer a vague answer. When the hotel administrator's position clashed with that of the U.S. Director, he walked away rather than engage in verbal argument.

In a high-context culture, people tend to tune in to nonverbal communication (Andersen, 1995). However, the Ethiopian administrators turned to nonverbal communication most often when they disagreed. Despite the subtlety, they expressed disagreement through a lack of active facial expression. In addition to verbal hints, they also used long, dead silence to show that they disagreed. Andersen (1995) maintains that people of high-context cultures prefer inaccuracy and evasion to painful decision. RE1 indicated that he would express disagreement through ambiguity. Moreover, the Ethiopian administrators showed reluctance to commit to written communication. Their language is highly contextual (Levine, 1985). They prefer face-to-face communication to written communication probably because face-to-face meetings embody more communication cues, especially nonverbal cues.

Although more evidence is needed to determine whether Ethiopia is high- or low-uncertainty-avoidant culture, the use of ambiguity shows that the Ethiopian administrators are tolerant of uncertainty. Besides, they are spontaneous in their time tables and their meeting agendas. In this sense, their culture is a low-uncertainty avoidant culture. According to Andersen (1995), people of low-uncertainty-avoidant culture are more tolerant of disagreement and nonconformity. RE1 reported that he would express disagreement with a vague answer. The Ethiopian administrators

seemed to tolerate implicit disagreement, but not explicit disagreement. As long as the ultimate goal is to reach consensus, some disagreement appears to be acceptable among Ethiopian administrators. Besides, conformity is more rigid in cross-ranking contexts than within the same rank. The subordinates exhibited codified behavior toward their superiors. In contrast, the administrators were more relaxed and casual among themselves. In Ethiopia, the low-uncertainty-avoidant culture within the same rank of administrators exists within the boarder high-uncertainty-avoidant administrative culture.

Tanzania

The analysis presented in this section is based on 10 observations and three questionnaire responses. In my assessment, under the constraints of collectivism and a hierarchical power structure, the Tanzanian administrative negotiators observed struggle to express themselves freely. The Tanzanian administrators are expressive verbally and nonverbally, but only at the "appropriate" moments. During negotiation, they are assertive, but their lack of independence hinders their assertiveness. Working within the bureaucracy, the individual negotiators are powerless to reach an agreement without consulting their superior and colleagues. The higher the status an administrative negotiator assumes, the more freely that person can express oneself and act accordingly. Most of the Tanzanian administrators are dynamic talkers, but they have to hold back any negative nonverbal behavior--especially with people of higher status. Traditionally, men act superior to women. Professional women struggle to

have their voice(s) heard and to gain equal status with their male counterparts. Consequently, the female negotiators tend to rely more on nonverbal behavior to express themselves. In the face of various constraints, the Tanzanian negotiators manage to assert themselves in an unpretentious way.

Episodes

The Tanzanian administrators were expressive nonverbally and even more so verbally. Upon greeting a visitor, they shook hands with a big smile on their face. Probably influenced by the Western notion of "ladies first," they usually shook hands with me (the female researcher) before shaking hands with the U.S. Director (the male negotiator). However, what captivated most of my attention was not the hand-shake nor the big smile, but the loud and cheerful "Welcome! Welcome!" that they verbalized. The verbal culture of Tanzanian university administrators pushed the nonverbal aspect of communication to the shadow.

In this highly verbal culture, meeting in person assumes special importance. The seating arrangement in a negotiation symbolized the significance of face-to-face meetings. Negotiators normally sat face-to-face on both sides of a tea table. This arrangement allowed the negotiators to be an attentive audience, according to a middle-age respondent (RT2). The younger respondent (RT1) reported Tanzanians borrowed this seating arrangement from Western culture. In any event, it is natural for talkers, the talkative negotiators, from the "talking" culture to choose to sit face-to-face with the audience.

In the negotiations with the U.S. Director, the Tanzanian administrators talked more than they listened. At the beginning and the end of a meeting, they usually talked for 10 to 15 minutes about their departments, their centers, or their university. During discussions, each turn of speaking lasted for at least 10 minutes. Tanzanian administrators spent most of the time telling stories about themselves (e.g., their academic field of study), their institution, or their students. When the U.S. Director talked, they listened patiently and attentively. Nevertheless, they rarely asked the U.S. Director questions about his institution or his background. Instead, they seized every opportunity to talk about their own situation.

At the meetings, all of the Tanzanian administrators had a notebook/pad ready at hand. Interestingly, few of them actually wrote down anything, or recorded anything crucial. Some jotted down a couple lines of information, but they did not record the critical specifics and details (e.g., deadlines, fees, number of candidates) of the negotiation. RT1 indicated that jotting notes helps to keep a record of formal issues. From my perspective, the gesture of taking notes was an expression of formality and sincerity. RT3 agreed.

Although the Tanzanian administrators liked to talk, they were comfortable with silence. Silence to them signified natural pauses in the meetings. All of the three respondents maintained that silence did not necessarily mean disagreement. The negotiators' nonverbal behavior offered few hints about their agreeing or disagreeing attitudes. Silence also marked the transition from one subject of discussion to the next. The Tanzanian administrators were assertive in moving the meeting along. RT2

reported that he intended to reach an agreement rapidly during the meeting with the U.S. Director. RT1 and RT3 said they took a moderate pace. From the researcher's perspective, the Tanzanian administrators intended to finish up the business discussion as quickly as possible. However, the silent pauses slowed down the pace. Also, the Tanzania administrators took the time (the last 15 to 30 minutes) to socialize with the U.S. Director and the researcher at the end of a meeting. Although the negotiation rolled along, the Tanzanian negotiators never appeared pushy or in a hurry.

Most of the Tanzanian administrators were animated and dynamic speakers, especially at the beginning and at the end of the meetings. RT3 described the differences between his communication style and that of the U.S. Director: "Mine was a heavy African accent [which the researcher describes as loudness] accompanied with frequent hand gestures and facial expressions. [The U.S. Director] was soft-spoken" The beginning and the end of the meetings also were full of humor and laughter. According to RT1 and RT2, Tanzanian administrators like to use humor and laughter to lighten up a meeting during the socializing phases. However, laughter sometimes was used to hide embarrassment and to avoid sensitive issues. That kind of laughter occurred during the business discussion of the negotiations.

During business discussions, the Tanzanian negotiators wore serious faces with few smiles. When listening, most of the university administrators gazed steadily at the U.S. Director. The steady gaze at the speaker, according to RT2 and RT3, merely indicates willingness to listen, but not necessarily interest in the subject of discussion. In several cases, the administrators listened to the U.S. Director with

steady gaze, but they did not show enthusiasm about his proposal. At one tough negotiation session, the Provost's gaze wandered around when listening. She looked away from the U.S. Director frequently and she looked down at the tea table occasionally. Later, her refusal to consider the U.S. Director's proposal suggested that her unsteady gaze indicated closed-mindedness and an unbending position toward the subject of the negotiation.

The Tanzanian administrators were assertive as well as expressive. As the host, they took the initiative to move the meeting along, to follow the agenda, and to close a meeting. During the meetings with the U.S. Director, they were in control of time. For instance, the Kiswahili Director spent the first 5 minutes introducing the language center. Then, he immediately started the negotiation by asking the U.S. Director briefly to describe his proposal. By asking questions, the Kiswahili Director kept the discussion focused on his interests. He signaled the end of the meeting by not bringing up a new conversational topic. He put a definite close to the negotiation by extending an invitation to a luncheon afterward. This assertiveness also characterized the ways in which he expressed disagreement.

Most of the Tanzanian administrators did not hesitate to express disagreement. When they disagreed, they verbalized their opinions and positions. On a couple of occasions, the Tanzanian negotiators cut the U.S. Director off in order to express their opinions and to articulate the disagreement. However, RT2 and RT3 confirmed that they do not use negative nonverbal cues (e.g., negative facial expression) to indicate disagreement. Although I detected few nonverbal clues for disagreement in this verbal

culture, I observed that the body postures of the female negotiators conveyed their positioning in the negotiations. For instance, the female Provost adopted an uncompromising bargaining position and an upright posture in the first phase of the negotiation. She sat with a straight back and a slightly lifted chin. She glanced around the room when the U.S. Director presented his proposal as if she was not interested in the ideas being presented. After the U.S. Director finished presenting his proposal, she reacted immediately by verbally stating a list of reasons why his proposal was unacceptable. Nevertheless, her attitude changed toward the end of the negotiation. After hearing the U.S. Director's persistent arguments, she softened her negotiation position as well as her posture. She relaxed her back and leaned forward with her head slightly tucked down. When the U.S. Director presented his strongest argument, she gazed down at the tea table. Her shoulders curled inward as if hiding any weakness. At the end, although she did not change her negotiation position, her mind obviously had opened up. She said in the end, "We need to sit down and discuss about it further [among ourselves]."

This kind of vague conclusion was common among the Tanzanian administrators. RT2 indicated that he always discusses issues with his superiors or colleagues before he makes any definite decision or agreement. Often, the Tanzanian administrators expressed enthusiasm verbally and nonverbally (e.g., smiles) without firm commitments or agreements. Higher-rank administrators appeared more assertive in meetings. This probably indicated that decisions usually come from the top-down in their culture.

Also, men proved more assertive than women. While men had a "louder" voice, Tanzanian female negotiators were more expressive nonverbally than the male negotiators. Among the male administrators, I observed virtually no distinctive nonverbal cues indicating agreeing or disagreeing attitudes. The men expressed their opinions verbally. However, the women tended to rely more on nonverbal cues to express themselves. For example, in a meeting between the U.S. Director and a Tanzanian team composed of two men and one woman, the woman hardly said anything, but she asserted her presence nonverbally. She nodded when she agreed. She murmured when she disagreed. She stood up when she tried to end the meeting. Then, she sat back down because the men had not closed the meeting verbally. Even the female Provost relied on nonverbal cues to signal the end of the meeting. She packed up her files on the tea table and whispered to her male subordinate, the Dean of Graduate Students. It was the Dean who closed the meeting verbally.

It is likely that Tanzanian women relied more on nonverbal communication because they are still struggling to have their voice heard. According to two middle-age male respondents (RT2 and RT3), men should take the initiative in a meeting. The younger male respondent (RT1) disagreed. From an outsider's perspective, the traditional perspective is clashing with Western influence. Traditionally, women are subordinate to men in Tanzania. Nevertheless, educated administrators have become more respectful to women. On the surface, women are given equal status and respect. In the university, a few women occupied top administrative positions. However, in my assessment, underneath the feminist movement among administrators, tradition

abounds.

Comparison with the Theoretical Framework

Tanzania is assumed to be a masculine, high-power-distance, high-contact, high-uncertainty-avoidant, collectivistic, and low-context culture. Although it remains to be confirmed that Tanzanian culture belongs to the masculine category, the nonverbal behavior of the Tanzanian negotiators provided evidence for this assertion. According to Andersen (1995), people in masculine cultures tend to be more competitive, assertive, and loud. The Tanzania administrators certainly were loud and assertive. They took the initiative to open, move along, and close a meeting. When they disagreed, or when they tried to gain a turn, they did not hesitate to cut the U.S. Director off. They were dynamic talkers, speaking loudly with lots of gestures. Also, judging from their willingness to express disagreements, their confidence in their bargaining position is strong. Furthermore, sex-roles were rigid. The male negotiators led the discussion and took the initiative in talking. The female negotiators relied more on nonverbal communication. Although men act superior to women traditionally, women are receiving more and more respect and opportunities to succeed. Under Western influence, the Tanzanian administrators shook hands with women first in order to show respect. Nevertheless, this conscious effort reinforces the sex-role distinction, which is one of the characteristics of a masculine culture (Andersen, 1995).

Among the male negotiators, the higher-rank administrator assumed the leader

role. During negotiations, the man of the higher status led the discussion and appeared more assertive. The men took the initiative to open, move along, and close a meeting. In a high-power-distance culture, people tend to show more respect to the superiors nonverbally. The Tanzanian negotiators showed more respect to the U.S. Director (the male representative negotiator) than to me (the female researcher). They made more eye-contact with the U.S. Director than with me. The secretaries usually served tea to the U.S. Director before me. According to Andersen (1995), there are few interclass interactions in high-power-distance cultures. This applied in Tanzania. In the meeting with the Provost, the Dean, and their female assistant, the assistant sat and listened from a distance. The administrators did not include her in the discussion. The helper brought in only four cups of tea and did not serve the assistant.

Not serving tea to lower-rank staff members may be one of the customary practices among Tanzanians. The long hand-shake is another common practice. Although the Tanzanian administrators did not exhibit any touching in public, they offered long and firm hand-shakes. Thus, the culture seems to lean toward the high-contact end of the cultural spectrum. Other behavior-codified rules include jotting notes in formal meetings, sitting face-to-face in a meeting, and avoiding expressing disagreement nonverbally. One of the characteristics of high-uncertainty-avoidant culture is that norms govern behavior (Andersen, 1995). Also, people in high-uncertainty-avoidant culture tend to display emotions when consensus or uniformity breaks down and they are less tolerant of disagreement (Andersen, 1995). The Tanzanian administrators expressed their disapproval without hesitation when the

researcher violated the cultural norm of eating ugali (a kind of thick cereal) at a business luncheon. The Tanzanian administrators were upset when the researcher ate ugali with a fork rather than with her right hand. They frowned and corrected me verbally.

Reaching agreement or making decisions on the basis of consensus provides another piece of evidence for the high-uncertainty-avoidant nature of the culture as well as collectivistic side of it. None of the negotiators reached a firm agreement with the U.S. Director. RT2 and RT3 indicated they could not finalize a decision without consulting their superior(s). While avoiding disagreement among colleagues, they were not hesitant in expressing disagreement with outsiders. In the negotiation with the U.S. Director, the Tanzanian negotiators disagreed openly.

Although Tanzania is a collectivistic culture, the Tanzania negotiators did not exhibit the kinds of nonverbal behavior described in Andersen's framework. According to Andersen (1995), people in collectivistic cultures tend to suppress both positive and negative emotional display and exhibit synchronized kinesic behavior. At the meetings with the U.S. Director, the Tanzanian negotiators were expressive with their positive emotions although they admitted that they tried to avoid using negative nonverbal cues. Also, they paid full attention to the U.S. Director at the meeting. When the phone rang, they ignored it. In contrast to synchronized behavior, they concentrated on one task at a time.

The Tanzanian negotiators were expressive nonverbally as well as verbally. In many ways, the nonverbal communication behavior of the Tanzanian negotiators

approaches a low-context culture, especially among the male administrators. The men preferred expressing disagreement verbally. To them, the verbal code was prevalent. The women tended to rely more on nonverbal communication. However, when they (both men and women) obtained the turn to talk, they maintained the turn for 5 to 10 minutes. In general, all the Tanzanian administrators we met with were talkative. Apart from being talkative, people in low-context culture also tend to be preoccupied with specific details and precise time schedules (Andersen, 1995). However, Tanzanian negotiators asked few questions. They did not show much interest in specifics. Although they were holding a notebook, they did not write down the crucial details of agreements.

Hong Kong

The analysis in this section is based on 14 observations and seven questionnaire responses. In my assessment, efficiency is the primary work ethic as well as the prime negotiation principle among the Hong Kong administrators observed. Under time pressure, the negotiators move in a fast pace. In the guise of tight schedules and advance appointments, the real issue (the shortage of time) frames the process of negotiation and the behavior of the negotiators. The relationship-building/socializing phases are short or just long enough to leave a positive impression. Discussions are short or right straight to the point so as to reach agreements on the spot. The observed negotiators calculate every move to fit into the harness of the time constraint. However, efficiency means more than mere fast pace. Successful

negotiators are those who balance the yang and yin, the work and the feelings. To offset the fast pace created by time pressure, the observed Hong Kong negotiators convey a small dose (no more, no less) of friendliness through immediacy.

Episodes

The Hong Kong administrators were conscious about the use of time in a meeting or negotiation. They tried to reach agreements "rapidly," the word RH1, RH3, RH5, RH6, and RH7 used in response to the question regarding the pace of a negotiation. Efficiency was manifested in the administrators' nonverbal behavior in the meetings I observed.

Written communication by fax played an important role in setting up negotiations with the Hong Kong administrators. A written advance briefing of any proposal and background facilitated the analysis stage of a negotiation. The Hong Kong administrators made a decision whether to respond to an appointment request on the basis of the information provided in the faxes. Prior to his departure for Asia, the U.S. Director sent faxes to about 20 professionals requesting for a meeting. Not all of them replied. About 10 faxed back with a scheduled time for meeting. Upon arrival, the U.S. Director tried to set up appointments with those who did not reply. Given such a short notice, not many of them were willing to fit the U.S. Director's request for a meeting into their tight schedule. An appointment is like a ticket for entering the offices of the busy Hong Kong administrators. However, a ticket may not guarantee an agreement. In my assessment, failure in getting a ticket does not

necessarily lead to lack of agreement either.

The Hong Kong administrators liked to keep the meeting as short as possible. Written communication prior to the face-to-face meeting helped shorten the negotiation process. Face-to-face meetings were not always necessary. Four out of the seven respondents indicated that they are comfortable reaching agreements over the phone or by fax. Efficiency is one of the primary concerns among the Hong Kong administrators.

During meetings with the U.S. Director, the Hong Kong administrators were in control of the pace of the negotiation. Most of them had meetings scheduled back-to-back. When the U.S. Director and I arrived at the scheduled time, we often had to wait for the administrators to finish up the previous meeting. RH4 indicated that the common practice is to start a meeting within ten minutes after the scheduled time. One administrator, the chairman of a non-profit organization, arrived 20 minutes late for our meeting. When he arrived, he appeared calm and relaxed. Without apologizing, he shook hands with us and immediately handed out his business card. Swiftly, he led us to a conference room where the negotiation took place. After a couple of minutes of casual chatting, he started right in on the agenda.

Most of the Hong Kong administrators spent two to three minutes, but no more than five minutes, chatting casually at the beginning of a meeting about a subject that linked the two parties together. RH1, RH3, RH6, and RH7 reported that it is important to establish friendship and common ground with the other negotiator(s). All seven of the respondents agreed that praising the other party, the other party's

institution or home country is a polite way to begin a meeting. For instance, several university administrators chatted with the U.S. Director about their wonderful experiences in the United States and/or Montana at the beginning of the negotiation meeting. That friendship-building phase was short. After a few good words about the United States or Montana, the Hong Kong administrators moved immediately back to the agenda. In the meetings with the U.S. Director, the Hong Kong negotiators always were the ones who first brought up the subject of discussion/negotiation. This suggested that they could not wait to start.

The Hong Kong administrators preferred reaching agreement as rapidly as possible. RH2, RH4, RH5, and RH6 said they would not want to rush an agreement within the first part of a meeting. However, I observed that they all tried to reach the agreement "here and now." When the negotiation involved an appointment, they dug out their calendar immediately, marked it down, and confirmed the agreed-upon date right away. When the negotiation involved arrangement by the secretary, they dashed out the office to confirm with the secretary immediately. At one meeting, the secretary was not nearby. The administrator took out his cellular phone and called the secretary on the spot. The U.S. Director and the Hong Kong administrators reached the agreement within the first 20 minutes of the meetings.

The Hong Kong administrators managed time skillfully. Without a pause, the negotiations rolled swiftly. The administrators ensured that the discussions were on track of the agenda. On several occasions when the U.S. Director started to talk about his research interests or his academic background, which were irrelevant to the

negotiation, the Hong Kong administrators cut him off in order to gain a turn to focus the conversation back to the subject of his/her concern. While not allowing the U.S. Director interrupt the negotiation, they did not let others interrupt the negotiation either. No incoming phone calls and no visitor during a meeting were common courtesy rules among the observed Hong Kong administrators.

For the time-conscious administrators, every minute, every second, counts. Their fast working rhythm did not allow pauses nor silence in a meeting. RH1 indicated that he tries to avoid pauses and silence. All seven of the respondents reported that they feel uncomfortable with silence in a meeting. Silence signaled the end of discussion on a subject, or the end of a meeting.

Once the administrator reached agreement(s) with the U.S. Director, (s)he slipped into the second friendship-building phase. Most of the Hong Kong administrators spent the last 15 to 20 minutes (no more and no less) of the meetings chatting causally with the U.S. Director. This is their efficient way of establishing a friendly working relationship. The friendliness expressed at this phase compensates in part for the coldness during business discussions. However, there still is a time limit to this phase. When the time was up, the administrators took the initiative to end the meetings. To signal the end of the meeting, several administrators stood up, one glanced at the clock, one glanced at his watch, and several stopped talking. Silence was the most common strategy indicating the end of a meeting. It proved especially effective in putting a brake on the rolling rhythm of the negotiation.

One main reason why the Hong Kong administrators were able to reach

agreements speedily was that they were not hesitant in expressing disagreement and alternative view points verbally and instantly. When they disagreed, they offered suggestions without changing the friendly tone. However straightforward and frank they liked to be, RH1, RH2, RH4, RH5, RH6, and RH7 reported that they avoid expressing disagreement nonverbally, such as by negative facial expression.

Although the Hong Kong negotiators were under constant time pressure, their faces showed few traces of stress. The Hong Kong administrators' wore a smile most of the time. They greeted us with smiles, plus a firm hand shake with the U.S. Director (a man) and a soft hand shake for me (a woman). They made an effort to express friendliness with smiles at the beginning and at the end, the two friendship-building phases of a negotiation. To smile appeared to be a politeness strategy. When the U.S. Director expressed appreciation for their cooperation, the administrators smiled without saying a word. All seven of the respondents indicated that a smile does not necessarily mean agreement. RH4 even reported that he would smile and shake his head when he disagreed.

Contrary to their fast-paced, impersonal negotiation style, the Hong Kong administrators appeared relaxed and friendly. Nonverbal immediacy put a warm appearance on the dashing Hong Kong administrators, which diluted the time pressure. When the U.S. Director and I walked into the administrators' office, they sat us down on a sofa around a tea table. A janitor or a receptionist brought in Chinese tea. Every administrator arranged to sit at an angle to the U.S. Director around a tea table with no furniture in between the two negotiation parties. That seating arrangement

communicated an informal, relaxed atmosphere. Most of the Hong Kong negotiators preferred a close (one to two feet) conversational distance. Proximity in the meeting not only conveyed friendliness but also allowed direct eye-contact between negotiators.

RH1, RH2, RH4, RH6, and RH7 indicated that eye-contact served an important function in a negotiation. RH2 said that he likes to observe the other party by reading his/her eyes. RH1 reported he can tell what the other party is thinking by looking into his/her eyes. RH6 maintained that eye-contact links up two parties. RH4 contended that the other party's eyes can tell you how much that person comprehends. When talking and listening in the negotiations, the Hong Kong administrators gazed steadily (30 to 45 seconds each time) at the U.S. Director. Despite the pragmatic purpose intended, eye-contact conveyed immediacy.

Contrary to the stereotype of the shy Chinese women, the Hong Kong female administrators expressed more non-verbal immediacy than their male counterparts. The female administrators I observed exhibited relaxed postures. For instance, the female government administrator rested her elbows on the table most of time at the meeting. The female university administrator leaned back on the sofa when listening. The non-profit organization female administrator rested and stretched her lower arms across the table in front of the U.S. Director during the meeting. When the U.S. Director was reading from the print-out he was holding, the university and the non-profit organization female administrators leaned forward toward the U.S. Director and reached out to hold one corner of the print-out. The immediacy expressed might be the female way of breaking the status boundary between men and women.

As the male representative negotiator, the U.S. Director received more respect from the Hong Kong administrators than the female researcher did. Although the Hong Kong administrators appeared to be more polite (e.g., smiled more and gazed more) to the U.S. Director than to me, they always returned my friendliness. To reciprocate was the one principle which the Hong Kong administrators repeatedly articulated. When I smiled at them, they always smiled back. When I gazed at them, they always returned my gaze. This "return" principle was also manifested in the verbal leave-taking ritual. One government administrator said before we parted, "I wish someday I could return your visit." Returning one's visit, in fact, is a vital step in building a cooperative working relationship. The Hong Kong administrators considered paying a visit to their high-ranking counterpart to be an expression of respect and sincerity in cooperating. If one would not be able to pay this respect, one should at least ask about the boss. A couple of Hong Kong negotiators said at the end of the meeting, "How's Max Baucus (one of the Montana's U.S. Senators) doing?" and "Please send my greetings to Max Baucus."

Despite their fast pace in negotiation, the Hong Kong administrators were relatively slow in warming up with new acquaintances. RH1, RH2, RH4, and RH5 indicated that they usually are more friendly toward the end of a meeting because they come to know the other party better with time. In the meetings with the U.S. Director, most of the Hong Kong administrators appeared cold in the beginning of the meetings. They became warm and friendly at the end. For instance, the highest-ranked government official exhibited a dramatic change in behavior over the course of

the meeting. After a quick hand-shake, without much of a greeting between us, he threw his business card on the table and jumped right in on the agenda. The exchange of business cards represents a quick, efficient greeting ritual among the Hong Kong administrators. This government official took full advantage of the quickness of this ritual. On our way out of his office, however, he rushed to open the door, ordered his driver to take us to our next meeting, and raced to press the elevator button for us. He certainly left us with a positive impression with only a couple minutes of friendliness.

The friendliness of the Hong Kong administrators intensified at the end of the meetings after reaching the agreements. Given the time constraints, they did not invest a lot of time on establishing friendly relationship. They concentrated their efforts toward the end so as to part on a friendly note.

Comparison with the Cultural Framework

Hofstede (1982) classified Hong Kong as a high-power-distance, low-uncertainty-avoidant, collectivistic culture. Andersen (1995) listed Hong Kong as a low-contact culture. As an Asian culture heavily influenced by Chinese culture, Hong Kong is likely to be a high-context and masculine culture.

According to Andersen (1995), people in low-contact culture rarely touch in public. Except for a brief hand-shaking, the Hong Kong negotiators exhibited no touching at all in the meetings. However, they expressed immediacy by sitting close (2-3 feet) to the U.S. Director at an angle with no barrier in between. Their direct

eye-contact with the U.S. Director and smiles also conveyed a certain degree of immediacy. Unexpectedly, the "untouchable" Hong Kong negotiators communicated relatively high immediacy for a low-contact culture. The small dose of friendliness conveyed through immediacy efficiently offsets the coldness expressed through the fast-pace negotiation.

Apart from being one form of immediacy, proximity in meetings is also one of the characteristics of a collectivistic culture (Andersen, 1995). Andersen also points out that people in a collectivistic culture tend to suppress both positive and negative emotional displays which are contrary to the mood of the group. The Hong Kong negotiators expressed little emotion throughout the meetings, although they smiled politely. Particularly during the business discussion (the core of a meeting), the Hong Kong administrators adopted a matter-of-fact tone and facial expression. This is not necessarily suppression of emotion, but is more likely a compliance with the norm of professionals. Looking serious is the norm of being professional and business-like among administrators in Hong Kong.

In a high-context culture, according to Andersen (1995), nonverbal cues tend to have more meanings and people tend to tune in to nonverbal behavior. Although Hong Kong culture is assumed to be near the high-context end of the spectrum, the culture among administrators leans toward the low-context end for the following reason. People in low-context culture are talkative, preoccupied with details and specifics, precise with time schedules and they rely more on verbal codes (Andersen, 1995). The Hong Kong administrators were direct and frank verbally with their

disagreement(s). During the negotiation, they asked questions to clarify the specifics and details. They were precise with time as well as discussion. Nevertheless, being talkative would be a luxury since it is time consuming.

The Hong Kong negotiators were stingy not only with words, but also with nonverbal cues. They communicated nonverbally (and verbally as well) more frequently with people they respected more. In the high-power-distance cultures of Hong Kong, the administrators, as expected, expressed more respect to the U.S. Director, the male representative U.S. negotiator, than to me, the female researcher. They smiled more to the U.S. Director and they interacted almost solely with the U.S. Director in my presence. This supports Andersen's assertion that there is little inter-class contact or interaction in high-power-distance culture.

Hofstede (1982) classifies Hong Kong as an uncertainty-tolerant culture. According to Andersen (1995), people in such cultures are more tolerant of disagreement and nonconformity. The Hong Kong administrators did not hesitate to express disagreement because they aimed to smooth out the disagreement and to reach an agreement as rapidly as possible. On the other hand, the Hong Kong administrators exhibited normative nonverbal behavior. For instance, they shared similar tempo and pace in conducting a negotiation. Also, they dressed alike, in the fashionable way. From this angle, their culture is leaning toward the uncertainty-avoidant end where codified rule and stylized ritual behavior are valued (Andersen, 1995).

Another example of the normative nonverbal behavior of the Hong Kong

administrators is their initiative to open, move along, and close a meeting. They were in control of the time in the negotiation. By adopting a fast pace, they were not only racing with time, but also competing with others as well as themselves. Their assertiveness and competitiveness showed the masculine side of the culture. On the other hand, their immediacy expressed through relaxed postures and close conversational distance showed the feminine side of the culture. The femininity balanced the masculinity; the yin balanced the yang.

China

The analysis presented in this section is based on 18 observations and three questionnaire responses. In negotiations with the Chinese administrators observed, what occurs on the surface often paradoxically covers up the process underneath. For instance, the complete negotiation appeared to be a long and slow process, while the actual negotiation, in fact, took place in a single meeting. In addition, although the negotiators made an effort to entertain the U.S. negotiator with discussion over some details of an agreement, they were more interested in a general agreement with flexible terms. In my assessment, flexibility is framed within rigidity. Rigidity operated through formality serves two purposes. One is to reinforce the social hierarchical structure. The second is to legitimize an individual decision through normative behavior. Symbolic meanings are embedded in subtle, yet assertive, behavior of the administrators observed. As the host, the Chinese negotiators allocate a substantial amount of time to building a positive relationship. However, what

appears to be hospitality functions as the calculated "investment" for an agreement.

Episodes

Good "guan xi"--relationship--is one of the keys to successful negotiation for Chinese administrators. The Chinese administrators spent considerable time and effort establishing friendship between institutions and a positive working relationship with the U.S. Director. The negotiation process was long and slow. "Slow" was the word RC1 and RC2 used to describe their preferred pace of negotiation. Apart from the actual negotiation of details, the negotiation process involved faxes, hospitality, meals, sightseeing, and meeting with the President of the institution.

The negotiation process started with a written communication by fax months prior to the face-to-face meeting. That part of the communication provided background information and facilitated mutual understanding of interests. One of the negotiation principles repeatedly articulated by all three of the respondents is "mutually beneficial." In order to come up with the middle ground, where both parties would benefit from the cooperation, the Chinese administrators realized the important function of written communication in exploring the other party's interests and expectations. RC1 reported that "keeping in touch" helped establishing a friendly working relationship.

The Chinese administrators reached the preliminary decision regarding the negotiation on the basis of the written information sent by mail or fax. When they

responded by extending an invitation for a visit, they indicated a high level of optimism concerning the agreement. On the basis of the background information the U.S. Director faxed to the individual administrators, the individual administrators determined how profitable the cooperation would be and adjusted the level of hospitality and generosity accordingly.

The Chinese administrators were pragmatic negotiators. They set the level of hospitality according to their prediction of gains from the negotiation. Their level of hospitality also reflected the intensity of their desire to reach an agreement. On the basis of the information the U.S. Director faxed to them in advance, the Chinese negotiators were able to estimate how profitable the cooperation. When we arrived at Shenzhen, Shanghai, and Hangzhou, where the Chinese negotiators predicted profitable cooperation, a car with a driver and a guide met us at the train station. In contrast, the Suzhou negotiator, who expected small gain from the negotiation, did not keep his promise to meet us at the train station. We had to call him from the train station in order to obtain directions to the university. When we arrived at the entrance of the university, we needed to call him again for directions to his office. He said he would come out to meet us at the entrance. After 15 minutes, he appeared, walking slowly, leisurely toward us.

The Chinese administrators preferred a slow pace, not only when walking, but also when at work in a negotiation. The Chinese administrators who predicted a profitable negotiation were more enthusiastic in hosting the visitors. However, their enthusiasm did not shorten the negotiation process. A negotiation consisted of a series

of meetings. Only one of the meetings constituted the actual negotiation over the details of an agreement. Prior to that actual negotiation, the eager Chinese administrators arranged sightseeing tours and treated us with so-called "house-warming" lunches. A banquet and a meeting with the President of the institution also formed integral parts of the negotiation process, usually prior to (but always announced in advance of) actual negotiation.

All three of the respondents indicated that the fancy dinner helped establish a productive working relationship. From my perspective, a ten-course banquet definitely helps to sooth the negotiator into a compromising, accommodating mood. The university (vice) presidents in Shenzhen and Shanghai hosted such dinners. In Hangzhou, the president only appeared in a formal meeting. The meeting with the presidents was a form of greeting. It was the first meeting we had at most institutions. The meeting was scheduled on our arrival. We arrived at the negotiator's office at the scheduled time. He led us to a conference room specially reserved for formal meetings. Fancy sofa-chairs stood against three of the walls. The negotiator assigned the U.S. Director a specific seat, which was next to the President seat, with a tea table in between one arm of each chair. The side-by-side seating arrangement allowed little eye-contact between the President and the U.S. Director. In fact, the three presidents/vice presidents we met with made infrequent eye-contact with the U.S. Director at the meetings. RC1 and RC2 indicated that one should not gaze steadily at someone whom you respect. The administrators and the presidents made more eye-contact with me than with the U.S. Director. In their view, the U.S.

Director as the male representative negotiator, deserved more respect.

Level of status was a significant guideline utilized by the Chinese administrators to differentiate types of treatment for people. The higher the status of a person, the more respect that person received from the administrators. This principle was manifested in various aspects of the administrators' nonverbal behavior. For instance, one should always wait for the higher-status person to arrive for meetings. Regarding the meeting time, the Chinese administrators juxtaposed appointment with approximation. For instance, one administrator said to us, "I will see you at 5:30 pm. Maybe earlier. Maybe later. I don't know." Although punctuality is not important to the administrators, as RC2 and RC3 indicated, subordinates should always arrive first for an appointment and wait for the superior.

In Hangzhou, we waited with the administrator in the conference room for 15 minutes before the President appeared. The President shook hands with the U.S. Director first and then with me. He greeted us with smiles mixed with bursts of laughter. The Chinese administrators rarely addressed the U.S. Director or me by name. That is not a way to show politeness. Business-card exchange became unimportant, especially when the negotiators should have known each other through written communication.

A little after the President appeared, a junior staff member brought in Chinese green tea. Ironically, the highest-status person arrived last and was always served first. He served the President first, then the U.S. Director, next me, and the administrator last. Later, the administrator refilled the U.S. Director's tea cup, but

not mine. At lunch or dinner, the Chinese administrators always served the U.S. Director first. If the President was as present, no one would pick up the chopsticks before the President invited the U.S. Director to do so. When we said "thank you" to the junior staff or the waitress who served us, we received no response. It was the "duty" of the subordinates to serve the superior. Respect or politeness usually shined from only one direction, from bottom up.

The president appears to be the symbol of the highest authority in the university. This symbolic figure of authority may be used by subordinates in strategizing a negotiation. All three of the respondents admitted that having the U.S. Director meet with the president would facilitate the negotiation. However, meetings with the presidents were a formality in which no negotiation took place. From the Chinese administrators' point of view, the appearance of the president was important for three reasons. One was to establish a stronger, a higher-level kind of relationship with the institution represented by the U.S. Director. Besides, it was a way to flatter the U.S. Director. Also, the appearance of the President legitimized and reinforced the negotiating authority of the individual administrator. RC1 indicated that "support from the authority is very important."

Although the Chinese administrators had the power to make the final decision on the negotiating terms, they liked to dress up the individual decision into a collective-decision. Apart from arranging the formal meeting with the president, they adopted several nonverbal maneuvers to depersonalize the individual decision. RC1 and RC2 reported that they liked to be accompanied by an assistant or a colleague in

negotiation. Among the five university administrators the U.S. Director negotiated with, one was accompanied by his assistant, one came with a colleague, and one brought along his wife. During the actual negotiation, the negotiators would turn to their partner occasionally to invite verbal acknowledgement. The partner would nod and smile in addition to expressing verbal agreement to show support for the negotiator. Those single negotiators would turn to me occasionally, hoping that I would nod and agree with what they were saying. In response to their arguments, I struggled to control my nonverbal behavior in order to remain as invisible as possible in the negotiation process.

Among the identified nonverbal cues, the Chinese administrators focused mainly on the eyes of the U.S. Director. They believe that they can read true thoughts through the eyes of their counterparts. Unlike the seating at the meeting with the presidents, the face-to-face seating at the actual negotiation allowed the Chinese administrators to make direct eye contact with the U.S. Director. Given the social norm that one should avoid steady eye-contact with a person you respect, the seating in the actual negotiation signified equality between the negotiators. RC3 contended that achieving equal treatment is one of the main negotiation principles. During the negotiation, the Chinese administrators did not hesitate to read the eyes of the U.S. Director. They gazed much more steadily into the U.S. Director's eyes when listening than when talking. Sometimes, they even avoided eye-contact when they talked. They might be afraid that the U.S. Director could read their minds through their eyes too. Also, RC1 and RC3 indicated they dislike close conversational

distance. The conversational distance at the negotiations I observed was about five to seven feet. This distance might be just close enough to read the U.S. Director's eyes without fear that their eyes will be read.

In contrast to their cautiousness of not leaking any thought through their eyes, the Chinese administrators were a little complacent about their faces. When they agreed, they always smiled. The happier they were with the terms agreed upon, the brighter their smiles became. In Guangzhou, the U.S. Director could afford to be generous with the financial agreement. When the Chinese negotiator asked for one price (e.g., for the lecture fees), the U.S. Director said "reasonable." The Chinese negotiator had a smile on his face. The Chinese negotiator thought for a while and said, "Probably we have to double it because...." When the U.S. Director again agreed, he had a bright smile on his face. I knew that this must be a too generous an offer on the part of the U.S. Director.

The Chinese administrators were not only expressive with agreements; they also were assertive with disagreement. When they disagreed, they would not hesitate to express their opinions verbally. When they disagreed with the U.S. Director's proposal, they made suggestions and asked questions. On the basis of their mutually beneficial and equal treatment principles, the Chinese administrators took a compromising approach. They said they liked to find the middle ground. They never said they "disagreed," or expressed any negative expressions. However, they would express their disagreement in subtle, silent ways--avoidance or silence. They would cut the U.S. Director off and change the subject of conversation immediately, or they

would avoid the issue by avoiding interaction (e.g., find an excuse to walk away) or by postponing the decision, (e.g., "let's talk about it later"). All three of the respondents indicated that they are not comfortable with silence in a meeting. Silence must be a signal indicating disagreement over an issue that should not be brought up again, although they say "talk about it later." Underneath the subtlety, assertiveness revealed itself.

As the host, the Chinese administrators managed the time of the negotiation assertively. They planned the procedures of the negotiation and set the approximate "schedules" for the U.S. Director. The timing of the negotiation was so critical that the negotiators were not willing to be open to alternative suggestion by the U.S. Director. In Guangzhou, the U.S. Director suggested a business meeting on arrival (in the afternoon) because of our tight travel schedule. The negotiator would not compromise his plan. He offered an ambiguous compromise. "We want to show you the campus first. Then, we can talk over dinner," he told us. Over dinner, however, he did not allow a moment for business discussion. He was assertive in bringing up subjects for conversation and in moving the conversation along. Toward the end of the dinner, the U.S. Director was eager to discuss the proposed agreement. After the last course of the dinner, the U.S. Director took out a file to prepare for the negotiation. Before the U.S. Director had the chance to speak, to initiate the negotiation, the Chinese administrators seized the turn to close the dinner officially. Then, he and his assistant led us to a conference room specially reserved for formal meetings. During the negotiation, the Chinese administrators also showed similar

kinds of assertiveness.

Although the Chinese negotiators appeared to have planned the negotiation carefully (especially in terms of timing), their agenda for the actual negotiation meeting was devoid of details. They pushed the negotiation toward agreement on general terms instead of individual items. For example, they pushed for an agreement on the total fee of a study seminar for the entire group, rather than set a price based on individual items such as room and board for each person, a specific lecture fee, etc. When the U.S. Director asked for the price of individual items, the Chinese negotiators would come up with something spontaneously. They would offer an approximation, or they would have to interrupt the meeting so as to discuss or calculate with their assistant on the spot. During negotiations, the negotiators took infrequent notes on pieces of scrap paper. The rough record of the details of an agreement symbolized their mind set for general agreements. Some of the time, according to the U.S. Director, the Chinese administrators did not follow through later on the agreed-upon details.

The agreement reached at the negotiation was sealed by a written contract. Beneath this formality and the seemingly collective decision, the power of individual administrators radiated through their assertiveness in the negotiation.

Comparison with the Cultural Framework

China is assumed to be a low-contact, collectivistic, high-power-distance, high-context, masculine, and uncertainty-avoidant culture. According to Andersen (1995),

people in low-contact cultures rarely touch in public. The Chinese negotiators rarely touched the U.S. Director. Also, they disliked close conversational distance in the negotiation. Most of the observed Chinese negotiators sat at least five feet away from the U.S. Director.

This preference for distance contradicts the prediction regarding collectivistic culture based on Andersen's (1995) report. Andersen contends that collectivistic cultures are interdependent and, as a result, people work in close proximity to one another. During negotiation, this principle did not apply between the Chinese administrators and the U.S. Director. Although they disliked physical closeness, the Chinese administrators liked a close working relationship. They devoted time to establishing friendship between institutions.

Furthermore, kinesic behavior tends to be more synchronized in collectivistic cultures (Argyle, 1975 in Andersen, 1995). The nonverbal behavior of the Chinese administrative negotiators again contradicts this prediction. The Chinese negotiators managed to schedule one thing at a time throughout the day-long negotiation process. Rather than coordinating with the U.S. Director's suggestions and preferences, the Chinese negotiators assertively set the schedule for the U.S. Director.

The Chinese administrators exhibited compliance with norms, which is one of the characteristics of collectivistic culture (Andersen, 1995). They attempted to reach agreements based on "collective" decision. Consulting with the superior and colleagues was an integral step on the part of the Chinese negotiators, although such consultations might be mere formality.

People from collectivistic cultures are likely to use avoidance (Andersen, 1995). This applied to the Chinese administrators. When they disagreed, they would use silence or postponement. They expressed their emotion, both positive and negative, in a subtle way. They expressed positive emotion more openly. When they agreed and felt happy with the agreement, they would smile. However, they expressed little negative emotion even when they disagreed. They verbalized their disagreements in a polite and constructive way.

The Chinese negotiators' assertiveness provided evidence for the fact that Chinese culture is a masculine culture. On the surface, the Chinese administrators were compromisers who emphasized mutual benefits. In fact, however, they took a strong position in the negotiation. They negotiated above a bottom-line position which they tried to convince the U.S. Director to accept. However, in the face of the U.S. Director's equally hard position, they compromised in order to save the agreement.

Judging from their intolerance of disagreement, the Chinese negotiators fit into the high-uncertainty-avoidant culture. According to Gudykunst and Kim (1992 in Andersen, 1995), when consensus or uniformity breaks down in high-uncertainty-avoidant countries, people may become upset and show their emotion more. Among the Chinese administrators, formality and collective decision provided certainty. Owing to the norm governing emotional display, the Chinese negotiators seemed more reserved than would be described within the high-uncertainty-avoidant culture.

In the high-context culture, the Chinese administrators left a lot unsaid or beneath the surface. When they disagreed or were unhappy, they would keep silent.

Sometimes, they would postpone as a way to indicate disagreement. The culture shared by the Chinese administrators in many ways paralleled to Andersen's description of high-context culture. There were implicit meanings underneath certain behavior. The meeting with the president, the meals, the hospitality, the frequency of eye-contact, the order of serving, and the order of arrival conveyed deeper messages. However, the Chinese negotiators managed explicitly to state their disagreement in a subtle way.

The status of the interactants offered a strong hint for interpreting the implicit messages embedded in certain nonverbal behavior. The Chinese negotiators obviously treated the president with the highest respect. Owing to the higher status of the U.S. Director as the male negotiation representative, they served him first, shook his hand first, and made less eye-contact with him in order to show higher respect. These hierarchical role relationships are parallel to Andersen's (1995) description of high-power-distance culture. Andersen (1995) also has mentioned the prohibition of interclass contact in HPD culture. This did not apply to the culture of the Chinese administrators. The high-status administrators invited subordinates of various ranks, including the driver, to join us at dinner. Nevertheless, at the dinner, the different treatment each person received (e.g. the order of serving) and the different role each person assumed (e.g., frequency of turn-gaining) remained on the basis of status, thus reinforcing the differentiation of power distance.

Summary

By serving as the reference point, Andersen's framework assisted in analyzing the cultural nonverbal-negotiation cues of the administrators from the four cultures. After comparing the study findings with Andersen's framework, the author placed the nonverbal-negotiation patterns of the administrative negotiators observed on the six cultural continuums. Table 5 summarizes these findings in terms of the six cultural categories adapted from Andersen's framework.

Table 5
 Cultural Nonverbal-Negotiation Patterns of the Administrative Negotiators Observed

CONTEXT	High-----Low Ethiopia Tanzania China Hong Kong
CONTACT	High-----Low Ethiopia China Tanzania Hong Kong
POWER DISTANCE	High-----Low Ethiopia Hong Kong Tanzania China
UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANT	High-----Low Ethiopia Hong Kong Tanzania China Hong Kong
MASCULINE/ FEMININE	Masculine-----Feminine Ethiopia Hong Kong Tanzania China
COLLECTIVISTIC/ INDIVIDUALISTIC	Collectivistic-----Individualistic Ethiopia Hong Kong Tanzania China

Chapter 7

Discussion

Modification of Andersen's Cultural Nonverbal Cues Framework

In applying Andersen's cultural nonverbal cues framework, the author discovered that it did not encompass all of the nonverbal behavior observed among administrators in Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China. The findings regarding intercultural nonverbal negotiation between the U.S. Director and the administrators from the four cultures provide both support for the existing framework and additional information about nonverbal cues in high-context, low-context, high-uncertainty-avoidant, high-power-distance, masculine, collectivistic, high-contact, and low-contact cultures. Although the findings do not refute the framework, they are useful in refining it (sometimes substantially).

In an effort to promote understanding of intercultural negotiation, the author proposes several modifications in Andersen's framework based on the four cultures studied that are intended to adapt the framework to intercultural nonverbal negotiation among professional administrators. Owing to small size of the sample, these modifications require further testing. In the final section of this chapter, the author discusses how the findings of each culture support or challenge Andersen's framework. The section focuses on "the news," which is highlighted in italics. Each of the following sub-sections describes the ways the findings of the study is consistent

but differs from expected nonverbal behavior in each cultural category.

High-Context/Low-Context

According to Andersen (1995), people in high-context cultures prefer evasion to painful decision and tend to be non-disclosive. However, the administrators from Ethiopia and China (both high-context cultures) demonstrated that people in high-context cultures are open in expressing both agreement and disagreement, though in a subtle way. The refinement is that *administrators in high-context cultures express opinions indirectly*. Andersen (1995) maintains that people in these cultures tune in to nonverbal communication. This especially applies to negative opinions or attitudes, such as disagreement. The Ethiopian and Chinese administrators *relied more on nonverbal communication to express disagreement*, which would be another refinement. Since people of high-context cultures communicate not just with words but also with nonverbal cues, face-to-face meetings should provide more information than written communication does. The Ethiopian and Chinese administrators indicated that they *preferred face-to-face meetings*. This understanding provides a piece of additional information for the framework.

In low-context cultures, people prefer precise time schedule (Andersen, 1995). The study findings concerning the nonverbal communication of the Hong Kong and Tanzanian negotiators indicate that people from low-context cultures *work in negotiation at a relatively fast pace* in order to keep up with their time schedules. Under time pressure, people in these cultures also are *precise with both verbal and*

nonverbal communication.

High-Uncertainty-Avoidant

In high-uncertainty-avoidant cultures, behavior is codified and rule-governed (Andersen, 1995). In the negotiations that took place in Ethiopia, Tanzania, and China, the researcher observed *more codified behavior across rankings than among people of similar status*. Andersen (1995) maintains that people become upset when uniformity or conformity breaks down. This applied in Tanzania. However, administrators from Ethiopia and China rarely showed negative emotion. The researcher concluded that people in these cultures *display emotion, especially negative emotion, only if the norms permit*. Conformity is important in these cultures. Nevertheless, administrators from Tanzania, Ethiopia, and China tolerated disagreement with the U.S. Director. Also, the disagreement that occurred during these negotiations proved to be constructive disagreement that promotes conflict resolution and eventually led to consensus. The researcher concludes that *disagreement with outsiders is acceptable* in these cultures and that people *tolerate disagreement that ultimately leads to conflict resolution and consensus*.

High-Power-Distance

In high-power-distance cultures, interclass contact sometimes is prohibited (Andersen, 1995). This occurred among the government officials in Ethiopia. However, in Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China, all administrators interacted freely and

frequently. The best example is that the Chinese administrators invited the driver to the banquet. Nevertheless, in these cultures, *people of different status are treated differently. Subordinates show respect to superiors*, but not vice versa. Andersen (1995) also mentions that people in HPD cultures show only positive emotion to high-status others and negative emotion to low-status others. This did not apply in Ethiopia where subordinates rarely interacted at all with superiors. Therefore, this assertion applies *only in HPD cultures where people of different status interact*.

Masculine

In masculine cultures, people value competitiveness (Andersen, 1995). At the same time, they also value cooperation. For example, in Ethiopia, Tanzania, and China, the administrators were assertive in maintaining their positions, but they were *willing to understand the other side and to compromise. In these cultures, men usually are the dominant group in the workplace*. The observed administrators were all male in China and Ethiopia. In masculine cultures, women struggle to have their voice heard. As a result, *women rely more on nonverbal communication to express themselves*. Andersen (1995) did not discuss this dimension, which we encountered in Hong Kong and Tanzania.

Collectivistic

In collectivistic cultures, people tend to suppress emotional displays that are contrary to the mood of the group (Andersen, 1995). The researcher observed that

administrators in Ethiopia, Tanzania, and China *mostly suppressed their negative emotions*. Andersen (1995) also contends that people in such cultures prefer working in close proximity. In contrast, findings from these three cultures show that administrators *preferred staying physically relatively far from their negotiation opposites*. Nevertheless, they did *devote effort to developing some kind of psychological bonding, some kind of relationship, with their counterparts*.

In addition, Andersen (1995) points out that people in collectivistic cultures tend to synchronize behavior with their relatives and colleagues. *With outsiders*, such as negotiation counterparts, the administrators from Tanzania and China *scheduled one event at a time*. Consequently, the negotiation process in those cultures usually occurs *at a slow to moderate pace*. The process becomes longer when the negotiators have to *consult their superiors and colleagues before they finalize the decision*. This is the main reason why the Tanzanian and Ethiopian administrators *deferred firm commitment to an agreement*.

High-Contact/Low-Contact

In high-contact cultures, people not only touch each other more often and stand closer as Andersen (1995) describes, but also prefer facing their counterparts. In Ethiopia and Tanzania, the administrators always *sat face-to-face* with the U.S. Director. They also *prefer face-to-face meetings to written communication*. People in high-contact cultures are more expressive nonverbally (Andersen, 1995). However, people in different cultures express themselves differently. The common high-contact

cue in Tanzania and Ethiopia is *the long hand shake*.

Although people in low-contact cultures rarely touch in public (Andersen, 1995), they can compensate immediacy through ways other than by touching. For instance, the Hong Kong administrators, especially the female administrators, *conveyed immediacy through relaxed postures and through seating arrangements* which allow the negotiators to sit at an angle to each other.

Summary

Table 6 incorporates the findings from this study as adaptations to Andersen's cultural nonverbal cues framework in an effort to focus attention on the context of nonverbal-negotiation behavior among professional administrators. The new information contributed on the basis of this study is highlighted in italics under each cultural category.

Table 6

Cultural Nonverbal Cues

(Adapted from Andersen's (1995) chapter entitled "Cultural Cues: Nonverbal Communication in a Diverse World")

High-Context

- Tune into nonverbal communication
- Prefer inaccuracy and evasion to painful decision
- Express opinions indirectly*
- Non-disclosive
- Rely more on nonverbal cues to express disagreement*
- Facial expressions, tensions, movements, speed of interaction, location of interaction have implicit meanings
- Prefer face-to-face to written communication*

High-Uncertainty-Avoidant

- Not tolerate change
- Upset when uniformity breaks down
- Display normative emotion*
- Tolerate disagreement with outsiders*
- Tolerate disagreement if consensus is the ultimate goal*
- Behavior is codified and rule governed
- More codified behavior across rankings*

High-Power-Distance

- Prohibit interclass contact
- Speak with a tense voice especially with superiors
- Treat people of different status differently*
- Show more respect nonverbally to high-status people*
- Show only positive emotions to high-status others; negative to low-status others *only if they can interact*
- Subordinates smile more to appease superiors

Low-Context

- Verbal codes are prevalent
- Preoccupied with specifics and details
- Prefer precise time schedule
- Precise with verbal and nonverbal expressions*
- Communicate in explicit code
- Used to literalness
- Fast pace and short meetings
- Talkative

Low-Uncertainty-Avoidant

- Value risk and ambiguity
- Tolerate nonconformity
- Uncomfortable with ritual or stylized behavior

Low-Power-Distance

- Free interclass contact
- Produce more relaxed voice

Masculine

- Men occupy higher position in the workplace
- Speak with louder voice
- Value competitiveness and assertiveness
- Hold firm bargaining position*
- Willing to compromise*
- Women rely more on nonverbal communication*

Individualistic

- Smile more
- More remote and distant proximically
- More affiliative nonverbally
- Value small talk and initial acquaintance
- More open communication

High-Contact

- Stand close
- Touch more
- More expressive nonverbally
- Long hand shakes*
- Sit face-to-face with counterparts*
- Prefer face-to-face meetings to written communication*

Feminine

- Express less stereotyped sex-role behavior
- Exhibit relaxed vocal pattern
- Value compassion and nurturance

Collectivistic

- Suppress emotion displays that are contrary to the mood of the group, *mostly negative emotions*
- Express emotions freely
- Work in close proximity
- Stay further from opponents*
- Develop friendly working relationship*
- Behavior tends to be synchronized *within the system*
- Schedule one event at a time with outsiders*
- Value compliance with norms
- Prefer avoidance
- Slow/moderate pace and long negotiation process*
- Defer commitment to firm agreement*
- Consult superiors and/or colleagues before finalizing a decision*

Low-Contact

- Rarely touch in public
- Prefer less sensory involvement
- Less expressive
- Stand farther away
- Compensate immediacy through relaxed postures and seating arrangement*

Cross-cultural Comparison

From a holistic vantage point, the negotiation process encountered in each culture is distinctive. The Ethiopian administrative negotiation consists of six stages. Both the Tanzanian and the Chinese process consists of three stages, but the specific stages are different. The Hong Kong process is composed of two stages. In summary, the negotiation processes of the four cultures are nearly completely different from each other.

When looking closely at the nonverbal cues within each stage, however, one observes specific similarities across the four cultures. Through the cultural lens, under each cultural category, the author was able to identify similar nonverbal-negotiation cues from the different cultures.

Negotiation Stages

The first issue to consider is negotiation stages. Negotiation stages in Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China are different from one another. The negotiation stages observed in each culture fit into different models reviewed in Chapter 2. The author reviewed five models. Among the five models, Pruitt's six-stage model (1981), adapted from Druckman's analysis, best captures the negotiation stages followed by the Ethiopian administrators. Wall's three-stage model (1985) best describes the negotiation stages followed by the Tanzanian administrators. Ikle's two-stage model (1964) best captures the negotiation stages followed by the Hong Kong

administrators. Zartman's two-stage model best describes the negotiation stages followed by the administrators from China.

Ethiopia

Owing to the fact that the Ethiopian administrators did not communicate with the U.S. Director prior to their negotiation, they needed to accomplish several tasks in the negotiation meetings. Pruitt's six-stage model (1981) specifies most of the steps involved in the negotiation with the Ethiopian administrators. First, the Ethiopian administrators and the U.S. Director "agreed about the need to negotiate." Second, they "agreed on a set of objectives and principles." They skipped the third stage (agreement of certain rules of conduct) of the model. Fourth, they "defined the issues and set up an agenda." The fifth stage took most of their time when they worked out collaboratively the details of the agreement. They did not carry out the sixth stage-- agreement on implementing details. Before the sixth stage, the Ethiopian administrators needed to consult their superiors and colleagues. The last stage of their negotiation, which is outside the model, involved consolidating/developing friendship and/or closer working relationships. In addition, the Ethiopian administrators perceived the last stage of one negotiation as the first stage of the next negotiation. Therefore, the descriptive model of Ethiopian negotiation stages is not a closed-linear-system, but an open-cycle. In summary, the modified Pruitt's negotiation stage model specifically for Ethiopian negotiators includes the following stages:

1. Agree about the need to negotiate

2. Agree on a set of objectives and principles
3. Define the issues and set up agenda
4. Agree on the details of an agreement
(Discuss with superiors and colleagues)
5. Agree on implementing details
6. Consolidate working relationship

Tanzania

Although the Tanzanian administrators did not communicate with the U.S. Director in writing prior to the negotiation, the U.S. Director's local coordinator for his visit had briefed them on general issues in advance. Tanzanian negotiators omitted the first couple of stages which the Ethiopian administrators went through. The negotiation process was shorter. Wall's three-stage model (1985) captures the negotiation between the U.S. Director and the Tanzanian administrators. First, the Tanzanian administrators stated their position and range of flexibility. Then, the U.S. Director assisted them to explore new possibilities outside of their initial thoughts. Finally, they discussed the reasons for disagreement, or the specifics of agreements. The Tanzanian administrators could not finalize any decision until they consulted their superiors and colleagues. The U.S. Director and the Tanzanian administrators did not reach any firm agreement in the negotiation. Therefore, the model modified specifically to describe the negotiation process for the Tanzanian administrators is an open-ended system which entails the following stages:

1. Establish the negotiation range and identify the relevant issues;
 2. Reconnoiter the negotiation range;
 3. Participate in the crisis/agreement;
- (Discuss with superiors and colleagues.)

Hong Kong

The negotiations between the Hong Kong administrators and the U.S. Director were even shorter than that in Tanzania. The Hong Kong administrators completed the exploration and analysis of the negotiation issues prior to the negotiation meeting through written communication. Therefore, the negotiation consisted of only a couple of steps that fit into Ikle's two-stage model (1964). First, the Hong Kong administrators reached general agreement with the U.S. Director. Then, they worked out the specifics with the U.S. Director. They also liked to seal the agreement on the spot. The descriptive model for negotiation by the Hong Kong administrators is a closed system which consists of the following stages:

1. Reach agreement on a framework of broad objectives;
2. Deducing detailed points of agreement from the framework;
agreement sealed.

China

The administrators from China also relied upon written communication to explore and analyze negotiation issues prior to the negotiation with the U.S. Director.

The actual negotiation between the Chinese administrators and the U.S. Director involved few steps. First, they discussed the preliminary proposals. Then, they discussed the details of the agreements and the implementation procedure. Zartman's two-stage model (1977) captures these two steps. However, prior to the actual negotiation, the Chinese administrators spent time establishing "friendship" between institutions. The model modified for the description of the negotiation by the administrators from China consists of the following stages:

1. Establish relationship;
2. Develop an abstract formula of the agreement;
3. Develop details to implement this formula.

In short, the stages of negotiation followed through by each set of administrators distinguish one culture from the others. In spite of distinctive process differences, however, the four cultures share similarities which are manifested through the nonverbal behavior of the negotiators.

Cultural Nonverbal Negotiation Behavior

High-Context vs Low-Context

The observed administrators from Ethiopia and China exhibited characteristics of high-context culture. Judging from nonverbal behavior of the negotiators observed, Hong Kong and Tanzania lean toward the low-context end of the spectrum.

The administrators from Ethiopia and China used silence to express

disagreement. When they disagreed, they verbalized their opinions and position in an indirect way (e.g., asked a question or offered a vague answer). They tried to suppress any negative facial expressions, but a lack of expression on their faces indicated disagreement. Their nonverbal behavior was generally nondisclosive. The Ethiopian administrators exhibited little positive nonverbal cues to indicate agreement, whereas the Chinese administrators smiled only slightly when they agreed. The administrators from both cultures took the time to establish a friendly working relationship with the U.S. Director and/or his institution. They made efforts to understand the other party in person prior to the actual negotiation. As a result, the whole negotiation process was relatively lengthy and took place at a slow pace. In addition, the negotiation in both cultures ended with ambiguity. The Ethiopian administrators did not commit to a firm decision, while the Chinese administrators avoided committing to the details of an agreement.

The administrators from Hong Kong and Tanzanian expressed themselves mainly through verbal communication instead of nonverbal cues. They were direct and frank with their agreement as well as disagreement. The administrators from both cultures preferred a rapid pace in negotiation. Within the precise time frame, they talked more than they listened.

High-Uncertainty-Avoidant vs Low-Uncertainty-Avoidant

In the observed negotiation, administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, China, and Hong Kong showed some high-uncertainty-avoidant behavior as well as some low-

uncertainty-avoidant behavior. Judging from the administrators' nonverbal behavior in negotiation, the four cultures lean toward the high-uncertainty-avoidant end of the spectrum.

With outsiders (the U.S. Director), administrators from the four cultures were tolerant of disagreement. They all expressed disagreement verbally, coupled with a few nonverbal cues. The Hong Kong and Tanzanian administrators were open and direct in expressing disagreement. The administrators from Ethiopia and China were subtle. They used questions or vague answers to express their disagreement.

In spite of any disagreement, the administrators from Hong Kong and China were willing to compromise in order to reach an agreement. In Hong Kong and China, the negotiators showed a willingness to commit to a firm agreement at the end of a negotiation. In contrast, the Ethiopian and Tanzanian administrators left the U.S. Director with uncertainty. Before consulting with their superiors and colleagues, the Ethiopian and Tanzanian negotiators could not finalize any decision. In this sense, the Ethiopians and Tanzanians showed more tolerance for uncertainty than did the Chinese and Hong Kong negotiators.

However, the Ethiopian and Tanzanian administrators tolerated expressing disagreement and uncertain agreement because both are necessary in order to reach consensus-based decisions among themselves. Therefore, their ultimate goal is to avoid unresolved disagreement within the group even in the expense of agreement with outsiders.

In terms of specific nonverbal communication in negotiation, the researcher

observed codified behavior among administrators from all four cultures. Nevertheless, the Tanzanian and Ethiopian administrators behaved more spontaneously and casually with the U.S. Director, the outsider. The administrators from Hong Kong and China were more uptight about schedules and procedures.

High-Power-Distance vs Low-Power-Distance

The nonverbal behavior of the administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China observed in the negotiation meetings shows that the four cultures are high-power-distance cultures. They all directed more respect and politeness to the U.S. Director (the male representative negotiator) than to the female researcher. Among the four cultures, the power distance is most distinctive in Ethiopia. The researcher observed little interaction across ranks in the offices of Ethiopian administrators. In the Tanzanian administrators' offices, the *degree* of involvement in discussion is proportionate to the status of a person.

In contrast, the administrators from China interact frequently with their subordinates. At the banquet hosted by the president, even the driver was invited and involved in the conversation on a few occasions. In Hong Kong, subordinates did not hesitate to make suggestions in meetings. Although there were codified behavior that marked status differentiation in all four cultures, the subordinates in Hong Kong and China exhibited more relaxed posture and tone of voice in the presence of their superiors than did the subordinates in Tanzania and Ethiopia.

High-Contact vs. Low-Contact

The cultures of Ethiopian and Tanzanian administrators lean toward the high-contact end of the spectrum. They preferred face-to-face meetings and relatively long hand shakes. They liked to sit face-to-face with and approximately two to three feet away from the U.S. Director. The administrators from China relied both on written and face-to-face communication. They preferred further conversation distance. China leans toward the low-contact end. Hong Kong is likely to be in the middle of the spectrum. The Hong Kong administrators preferred fax, telephone, or written communication to face-to-face meetings. Although they appeared relatively cold in the negotiation meetings, especially at the beginning, they compensated for the coldness with immediacy (e.g., one to two feet conversational distance).

Masculine vs. Feminine

In Ethiopia and China, the high-ranked administrators are mostly male. Sex-roles are rigid in those cultures, which are on the masculine end of the spectrum. In Tanzania and Hong Kong, sex-roles are not as rigid. Women are given opportunities to occupy high positions.

In Tanzania, however, the male negotiators were more assertive than the female negotiators. The male administrator assumed the leader role even in the presence of the higher-ranked female administrator. Also, the men talked more than the women talked. The women relied more on nonverbal behavior than the men. Judging from this male-dominating behavior, Tanzania also leans toward the masculine

end.

In contrast, the female Hong Kong administrators were as assertive as their male counterparts. The only difference was that the female negotiators expressed more immediacy toward the U.S. Director than the male negotiators through relaxed posture. These are the characteristics of a feminine culture. However, the assertiveness of the Hong Kong administrators indicates traces of a masculine culture. The culture of Hong Kong administrators is likely to be in the middle of the continuum.

Collectivistic vs. Individualistic

Collective decisions are important to the administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, and China. In addition, the administrators in these three cultures avoided expressing disagreement nonverbally because negative emotion would disturb the mood of the group. Their cultures obviously are collectivistic.

Among the three, the Ethiopian exhibited the most collectivistic nonverbal cues. They took time and effort to reach consensus. They exhibited synchronized behavior during negotiation meetings. For example, while negotiating with the U.S. Director, they interrupted the meeting to make telephone calls, to answer the phone, and to talk to visitors.

The Tanzanian administrators were comparatively less collectivistic. They expressed their personal opinion and emotions openly even though they could not finalize any decision independently.

In contrast, the administrators from China attempted to hide their individual opinions and feelings in the collectivistic culture, although they possessed power to negotiate independently. They tried to dress up their individual decision as one supported by their colleagues and the authority. Moreover, they spent time and effort building relationships/friendships between institutions instead of personal working relationships.

The culture of the Hong Kong administrative negotiators leans toward individualistic end of the spectrum. The Hong Kong administrators acted more independently in the negotiation without worrying as much about the collective decision. They expressed their personal opinions, feelings, and emotions quite openly.

Nonverbal Negotiation Patterns in the Four Cultural Contexts

The author expected to find clear distinctions between the African administrative nonverbal negotiation patterns and the Asian nonverbal administrative negotiation patterns. Indeed, some of the evidence gathered supported this expectation. However, the nonverbal negotiation pattern of the Hong Kong administrative negotiators differs from that of the administrators from China in important ways. Moreover, the negotiation pattern of the administrators from China is closer to those of the African administrators. In particular, the nonverbal negotiation pattern of the Ethiopian administrators shares many similarities with that of the administrators from China. While the nonverbal negotiation pattern of the

Tanzanian administrators is similar to those of the Ethiopians and the Chinese, the Tanzanian nonverbal negotiation pattern and that of the Hong Kong administrators are alike in certain ways.

The researcher observed few traces of "Chineseness" that link the nonverbal negotiation pattern of the Hong Kong administrators with that of the administrators from China. All of the observed administrators from Hong Kong and China are Chinese. Chinese are well known for their conflict-avoidant personality. The Chinese negotiators from Hong Kong and China adopted a compromising approach. For instance, they disagreed with the U.S. Director sometimes, but they showed willingness to accommodate and to commit to firm agreements. Bowing to the authority is also a common practice among Chinese. The Chinese negotiators from Hong Kong and China obviously directed more respect verbally and nonverbally to high-status people, such as their presidents and the U.S. Director, especially in formal occasions. Despite status differentiation, interclass interaction is not unusual. People of different status dine and work together. However, bottom-up respect unwraps the embedded hierarchical social relationship. Within each rank, reciprocity is a politeness strategy.

Furthermore, both the Hong Kong administrators and those from China never touched in public. Although the administrators from China preferred a further conversational distance in comparison with the Hong Kong administrators, they all liked to be "close" enough to comprehend the messages revealed through negotiators' eyes. Messages radiating from the eyes are especially important because Chinese tend

to be nondisclosive with their emotions. Moreover, they planned in advanced so as to be in control of the timing of negotiation. In a productive negotiation session, the Chinese from Hong Kong and China consider silence an omen that signals the end of the current discussion.

In contrast, the Ethiopian and Tanzanian administrators exhibited some distinctively different nonverbal communication behavior in negotiation. For example, silence to them indicates natural pauses in a meeting. They were not as uptight about set agendas, schedules, and procedures of negotiations. Spontaneity is one of the distinctive characteristics of the two African cultures of the observed administrative negotiators. They are such verbal cultures that written communication is not popular. Face-to-face meetings assume special significance. Within the same rank, the administrators interacted relatively casually and they tended to be more expressive verbally and nonverbally. Across ranks, behavior is highly codified and interaction is restricted.

Furthermore, in the negotiation with the U.S. Director, the Tanzanian and Ethiopian administrators negotiated expressed clear preference regarding the negotiation outcome. Yet, they showed no commitment to firm agreements. At the end of the negotiations, both the Ethiopian and Tanzania administrators left the U.S. Director with uncertainty because they could not finalize a decision without consulting their superiors and/or colleagues.

One of the unexpected findings involves the distinction between low-context vs high-context cultures. The administrative nonverbal negotiation patterns of the Hong

Kong and Tanzanian administrators lean toward the low-context end. Whereas the nonverbal negotiation patterns of the administrators from China and Ethiopia stand on the high-context end of the continuum. The Hong Kong and Tanzanian administrators verbalized their opinions directly and frankly. Throughout the meetings, they talked more than they listened to the U.S. Director. During negotiation, they liked to follow the agenda closely so that they could finish business discussion as quickly as possible. Socializing briefly at the end of a meeting is a common practice among professional administrators from Hong Kong and Tanzania. Perhaps owing to British colonial influence, professional women in Tanzania and Hong Kong receive more respect and opportunities to succeed. Thus, contrary to local traditions, the Tanzanian and Hong Kong administrative cultures allow women to participate at a high level in the workplace.

In contrast, the sex roles in the cultures of the administrators from China and Ethiopia are more rigid. All the high-status administrators whom the U.S. Director negotiated with were men. In their high-context cultures, the administrators from China and Ethiopia expressed opinions indirectly. The Chinese negotiators' and the Ethiopian negotiators' subtle nonverbal cues were nondisclosive. Silence was a common strategy used to show disagreement. They tried to avoid blunt disagreement because they valued harmonious working relationships. They took time and effort to establish friendly a working relationship with the U.S. Director. As a result, the negotiation involved a lengthy process. However, the long, slow process does not guarantee an agreement constituted with detailed terms. Both the Ethiopian

administrators and those from China tended to avoid commitment to specifics.

In spite of the high- vs low-context dichotomy that distinguishes Hong Kong and Tanzanian administrative nonverbal negotiation patterns from those observed in China and Ethiopia, the culture of the administrators from China is closer to the two African cultures in certain ways. Masculinity and collectivism dominate in the cultures of the administrators from China, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. Among the negotiators from Tanzania, Ethiopia, and China, the men assumed the assertive leader role in meetings. Although sex roles in Tanzania are not as rigid as those in China and Ethiopia, the male administrators from all of the three cultures always took the initiative to begin, to move, and to end the negotiation. Besides, collective decisions legitimize individual moves in all of the three cultures. Individual negotiators appeared to have no power in finalizing any agreement. Although the Chinese negotiators possessed decision making authority, they liked to dress up individual decisions as collective decisions. The Ethiopian and Tanzanian administrators genuinely refrained from offering any individual commitment.

In comparison, the nonverbal negotiation pattern of the Hong Kong administrators stands on its own in the middle of the spectrums. It is neither as masculine nor as collectivistic as the others. Although the Hong Kong negotiators exhibited some masculine nonverbal cues such as assertiveness, they compensated for that with feminine cues such as nonverbal immediacy. Moreover, the Hong Kong administrators acted independently without inclining to collective decision making or collective identity. Compared to other negotiators from the other three collective

cultures, the Hong Kong negotiators spent the least amount of time establishing working relationship. As opposed to synchronized behavior, the behavior of the Hong Kong administrators was more individualized. Their own schedules and interests guided the negotiation with the U.S. Director. According to Triandis (1996), affluence has turned Hong Kong into more and more an individualistic culture.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Summary

On the basis of the observational data and self-report data, the researcher discovered unique communication behavior among the administrative negotiators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China. The Ethiopian negotiation process was longer than in Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China. The Ethiopian administrators negotiated with the U.S. Director through a six-stage process. The negotiation process in China was also lengthy, but it took three stages only. The Tanzanian and Hong Kong negotiations were relatively short. The Tanzanian and Hong Kong administrators negotiated with the U.S. Director through three stages and two stages, respectively.

The thematic implications derived from the data capture the uniqueness of the nonverbal-negotiation behavior of the administrators from each of the four cultures. Continuity and fluidity characterize the nonverbal negotiation style of the Ethiopian administrators. The Tanzanian administrators assert themselves unpretentiously under the constraints of collectivism and a hierarchical power structure. Efficiency frames the balanced nonverbal negotiation moves of the Hong Kong administrators. The nonverbal-negotiation behavior of the administrators from China is embedded beneath surface meanings.

Despite the discovered uniqueness, the nonverbal-negotiation behavior of the

administrators from each culture shows similarities in one way or another. Through the lens of Andersen's cultural nonverbal cues framework (1995), the Hong Kong and Tanzanian administrators exhibited low-context cultural nonverbal cues. The administrators from China and Ethiopia exhibited high-context cultural cues. Judging from the observed nonverbal behavior of the administrators in negotiation, all four cultures lean toward the high-uncertainty-avoidant end of the continuum. While the cultures of the administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, and China are more collectivistic and masculine, the culture of the Hong Kong negotiators is in middle of the masculine/feminine and the collectivistic/individualistic spectrums. The only cultural category that distinguishes the Asian cultures from the African cultures is high-contact vs low-contact. The African negotiators exhibited more high-contact cues than the Chinese administrators did.

The administrators from Hong Kong and China share some "Chineseness" in their nonverbal-negotiation behavior. In most cases, the cultural cues of the administrators from China are closer to those of the two African administrators' cultures.

Applications

The findings of the current study can assist in facilitating intercultural negotiation in several ways. Firstly, the derived knowledge about the nonverbal negotiation behavior of administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hong Kong, and China functions as a guide for understanding negotiators from the four cultures. In

particular, the derived information about the unique nonverbal negotiation cues of the administrators from each of the four cultures would be useful for the visitor negotiator in order to avoid misunderstanding of the nonverbal behavior of the local negotiators. For example, understanding the efficient style of Hong Kong administrative negotiators avoids misperceiving them as pushy, insincere, or cold. Knowing the collective decision making procedures adopted by the Tanzanian negotiations prevents giving up on their ambiguous agreement. Understanding the symbolic meanings underlying certain moves of the negotiators in China helps to avoid misinterpreting their behavior. Knowing the preference for spontaneity among Ethiopian administrators saves disappointment at their failure in keeping appointments or in responding to written requests. Understanding the synchronized behavior of the Ethiopian administrators avoids frustrations about interruptions at negotiation.

Secondly, on the basis of the knowledge about local nonverbal negotiation patterns, the visiting negotiator is able to adjust his/her own negotiation style accordingly so as to be in harmony with local negotiation styles. For instance, negotiators from China and Ethiopia like to spend time establishing friendly working relationship. The foreign negotiator needs to leave enough time in their schedules in order to accommodate the slower negotiation pace in China and Ethiopia. In contrast, when negotiating with Hong Kong administrators, the visiting negotiator needs to set up a negotiation by fax or phone in advance so as to conduct business during the face-to-face meeting as quickly as possible. In Ethiopia, the foreign negotiator needs to learn to be a good listener in order to gain a turn to speak. In contrast, one needs to

be assertive in gaining a turn in the verbal culture of Tanzania.

Thirdly, the more a foreign negotiator knows about the nonverbal negotiation pattern of a culture, the more effectively (s)he can strategize his/her negotiation moves when negotiating in that culture. For example, if a U.S. negotiator knows that "guan xi"--relationship--is important in facilitating negotiation in China, (s)he can take the initiative to establish a friendly working relationship with the Chinese negotiator(s) by presenting gifts or by returning their visits. If one knows that Ethiopian negotiators treat time as a continuous stream, one would not push for an agreement at the end of the first meeting, but allow more time for hours-long meetings. If a foreign negotiator knows that Chinese negotiations from Hong Kong and China see their counterpart's minds through the eyes, (s)he should be more careful about eye expressions. If a foreign negotiation team knows that female Tanzanian negotiators rely more on nonverbal cues to express themselves in the presence of men, the team may send a female representative to negotiate with the female Tanzanian so as to allow her to express her opinions more directly.

Suggestions for Further Research

The findings of the present study assisted in the refinement and further development of Andersen's nonverbal cultural framework (1995). The researcher proposed several modifications in the framework on the basis of the four cultures studied that are intended to adapt the framework to intercultural nonverbal negotiation among professional administrators. Owing to the small size of the sample, these

modifications require further testing. The researcher collected most of the data for this study in government and university settings. The modified framework could fruitfully be tested with data collected from private business settings.

In addition, the findings of the present case study have the potential to be generalized to other contexts. Here, the researcher focused on administrative negotiation with U.S. administrators. Data may be collected from other contexts to refine the findings and to develop further the modified cultural nonverbal cues framework. Possible contexts for future research regarding intercultural nonverbal negotiation are: negotiation between politicians, negotiation within multinational/multicultural organizations, and interethnic-group negotiation.

The current findings also provide research questions for further inquiry in the larger cultural contexts. Data can be collected from different sectors (as opposed to focusing on administrators only) of each of the four cultures regarding intercultural nonverbal negotiation with Americans. For example, the general research question would be: how do Chinese negotiate with Americans nonverbally? or how do Ethiopians negotiate with American nonverbally? The findings for each culture also can be compared to the U.S nonverbal negotiation patterns.

Appendix 1

Please answer the following questions in the context of the meeting with Peter Koehn, Director of International Programs, The University of Montana, in May 15, 1995. You can write on the back of each page if you need more space for your responses.

Part I

1. How often do you meet with Americans for work purposes?
2. How long have you been in a position where you have the opportunity of working with Americans?
3. Do you think that Peter Koehn's communication style at your meeting was typical of Americans? In what ways was it typical/not typical?
Typical:

Not Typical:

4. During the meeting with Peter Koehn, did you intend to reach agreement rapidly, at a moderate pace, or slowly?
5. What specific things (i.e., steps and procedures) did you and Peter Koehn do before, during, and after the meeting? Please describe as much as you can remember.

4) establish friendship or a personal/working relationship

8. What were the differences between your communication style and that of Peter Koehn?

Appendix 2a

Part II (Ethiopia)

In the meetings between Peter Koehn and a few Ethiopian administrators, I observed the following communication patterns. Please indicate by circling yes or no whether you agree with my interpretations of your communication behavior with U.S. professionals. Please feel free to comment on or correct my interpretations for any of the following statements.

1. You usually shake hands with male visitors first, then female visitors, and finally male colleagues. [yes / no]
2. Bowing to people in higher status is a way to show respect for the superior. [yes / no]
3. Praising the other party is a politeness strategy. [yes / no]
4. Nodding means you are listening, but not necessarily expressing agreement. [yes / no]
5. Chatting causally with others at the end of a meeting/negotiation is necessary in establishing a cooperative working relationship. [yes / no]
6. Agreement is reached through consensus. [yes / no]
7. You express disagreement with negative facial expressions. [yes / no]
8. You express disagreement through silence. [yes / no]
9. You always wait until the speaker finishes what he prepares to say for your turn to speak. [yes / no]

10. It is common for a person to speak for 10 to 15 minutes continuously in a meeting/negotiation. [yes / no]
11. You always sit face-to-face with the negotiator. [yes / no]
12. Interruption (e.g., visitors, incoming phone calls, or questions) is not considered disruption in a meeting. [yes / no]
13. Silence indicates the end of a meeting. [yes / no]
14. You only communicate and interact with people of the same rank or one level higher or lower in the hierarchical structure. [yes / no]
15. No firm agreement can be made until you consult with your boss. [yes / no]
16. Punctuality is not important. [yes / no]
17. You prefer not to reach an agreement at the first meeting. [yes / no]
18. You are more likely to reach an agreement if the other party is accompanied by a highly respected person. [yes / no]
19. You are more likely to reach agreement with people who show concern for your family. [yes / no]
20. In a meeting, you smile only when you are happy. [yes / no]
21. You are less likely to trust women in negotiation. [yes / no]

Appendix 2b

Part II (Tanzania)

In the meetings between Peter Koehn and several Tanzanians, I observed the following communication patterns. Please indicate by circling yes or no whether you agree with my interpretations of your behavior with U.S. professionals. Please feel free to correct my interpretations to any of the following statements.

1. You always sit face-to-face with the other party in a meeting. [yes / no]
2. Sitting face-to-face shows respect for one another. [yes / no]
3. You always shake hand with women first, then with male professionals. [yes / no]
4. The use of hand gestures while talking indicates friendliness. [yes / no]
5. The use of humor lightens up a meeting. [yes / no]
6. You like to laugh away embarrassment. [yes / no]
7. Laughter also indicates avoidance of sensitive issues. [yes / no]
8. You smile only when you find things interesting. [yes / no]
9. Speaking loudly indicates friendliness. [yes / no]
10. You like to talk more than to listen in a meeting. [yes / no]
11. The duration of each speaking turn lasts for at least 10 minutes in a one-hour meeting. [yes / no]
12. Asking questions is NOT a way of showing interest. [yes / no]
13. Lack of eye contact with the speaker indicates lack of interest in further discussion. [yes / no]
14. Jotting notes about what the other person says is an expression of sincerity. [yes / no]
15. When listening, a steady gaze at the speaker indicates interest in the subject matter. [yes / no]

16. When talking, a steady gaze at the listener indicates confidence in winning the argument. [yes / no]
17. The longer the eye contact one makes with the other party, the more respect one shows for the other. [yes / no]
18. Upright firm posture (e.g., sitting with straight back) indicates closed-mindedness. [yes / no]
19. Curling one's body posture and leaning forward indicate lack of confidence. [yes / no]
20. The lower the voice, the lower one's confidence in winning the argument or negotiation. [yes / no]
21. You feel free to express disagreement verbally. [yes / no]
22. You avoid expressing disagreement nonverbally, such as by negative facial expression. [yes / no]
23. You cannot reach an agreement alone because you have to talk to your boss first. [yes / no]
24. Silence does not mean disagreement. [yes / no]
25. Tanzanians are comfortable with silence as a means of pausing in a discussion. [yes / no]
26. Person in higher rank take the lead in discussion and in moving the meeting along. [yes / no]
27. Women prefer socializing with women and men prefer socializing with men. [yes / no]
28. Men should take the initiative in a meeting. [yes / no]
29. Professionals usually socialize (e.g., take lunch or dinner) *after* a negotiation. [yes /no]
30. Tanzanians like to talk about themselves in the beginning and at the end of a meeting. [yes / no]
31. Whispering to one's colleague(s) is a means of indicating the end of the meeting. [yes / no]

32. Not bringing up a new conversation topic is a way to end a meeting. [yes /no]
33. Silence toward the end of a meeting indicates its closure. [yes / no]

Appendix 2c

Part II (HK)

In the meetings between Peter Koehn and several Hong Kong professionals, I observed the following communication patterns. Please indicate by circling yes or no whether you agree with my interpretations of your communication behavior with U.S. professionals. Please feel free to correct my interpretations for any of the following statements.

1. Shaking hands is a form of greeting with men, but not with women. [yes / no]
2. You feel more comfortable sitting at an angle rather than face to face with a U.S. professional. [yes / no]
3. You prefer close conversational distance (1 to 2 feet) in a meeting. [yes / no]
4. You like to follow a prepared the agenda closely in a meeting. [yes / no]
5. You like first to finish business discussion(s) before chatting about other subjects. [yes / no]
6. Praising the other party or the other party's institution is a polite way to begin a meeting. [yes / no]
7. It is OK to be up to 20 minutes late to a meeting. [yes / no]
8. You like to reach an agreement within the first 15-20 minutes of a meeting. [yes / no]
9. After agreement is reached, you like to spend at least 15 minutes chatting about other subjects. [yes / no]
10. You take the initiative to end a meeting when the scheduled meeting time is over. [yes / no]

11. When you smile, this does not necessarily mean agreement. [yes / no]
12. During a meeting, a smile is merely an expression of politeness. [yes / no]
13. When you do not smile, this does not convey disagreement, but is an expression of being serious. [yes / no]
14. You do not feel comfortable with silence in a meeting. [yes / no]
15. When you nod, this does not necessarily mean that you agree. [yes / no]
16. You prefer relaxed postures in a meeting. [yes / no]
17. During such meetings, you avoid any interruption (e.g., incoming phone calls). [yes / no]
18. While listening, gazing at the speaker's eyes shows respect. [yes / no]
19. You are more friendly toward the end of a meeting because you know the other party better. [yes / no]
20. Humor is important in a business meeting. [yes / no]
21. Asking questions is a politeness strategy. [yes / no]
22. You like to reach immediate agreement in person at a meeting. [yes / no]
23. You feel free to express your disagreement verbally. [yes / no]

24. You avoid expressing disagreement nonverbally, such as by negative facial expressions. [yes / no]

Appendix 2d

Part II (China)

In the meetings between Peter Koehn and several Chinese professionals, I observed the following communication patterns. Please indicate by circling yes or no whether you agree with my interpretations of your behavior with U.S. professionals. Please feel free to comment on or correct (in Chinese or English) my interpretations for any of the following statements.

1. You always shake hands with men first before you shake hand with women, regardless of their status. [yes / no]
2. It is not your responsibility, and, therefore, it is not necessary, to interact (including greeting) with the U.S. visitor(s) with whom you do *not* have working relationship. [yes / no]
3. Hospitality (e.g., picking visitors up at the train station or airport and taking them out to lunch) facilitates reaching agreement with U.S. professionals. [yes / no]
4. A nod without a smile is the usual polite way of greeting. [yes / no]
5. Greeting with smiles indicates special respect for foreign visitors. [yes / no]
6. In a meeting, you smile only if you are happy with the way the discussion is going. [yes / no]
7. In a negotiation, when you do not smile, this does not necessarily mean that you are not interested in the discussion. [yes / no]
8. A meeting between the U.S. professional(s) and the president of your institution facilitates reaching an agreement. [yes / no]
9. The meeting with the president is a formality which does not involve any business discussion. [yes / no]
10. A nice meal facilitates reaching agreement. [yes / no]
11. In a meeting with a U.S. professional(s), you like to carry out a discussion or conversation from a distance (at least six feet) from the other party. [yes / no]
12. You prefer reaching an agreement in one meeting. [yes / no]

13. You usually do not prepared an agenda for a meeting. [yes / no]
14. In a business meeting, you like to focus mainly on business discussion but not on socializing. [yes / no]
15. You usually do not gather information for reaching agreement before a meeting but gather it during the meeting. [yes / no]
16. As the representative of the host institution, you usually take initiative to move a meeting along. [yes / no]
17. When other people are talking about something you are not interested in, it is OK to cut them off. [yes / no]
18. In a meeting, people of higher status do not gain more turns to speak. [yes / no]
19. It is common that a person speaks continuously for 5 to 10 minutes at one turn. [yes / no]
20. In a meeting, it is unnecessary to jot down the details of the discussion. [yes / no]
21. When you want to avoid dealing with an issue, you ignore the presence of the other party. [yes / no]
22. You are not comfortable with silence in a meeting with U.S. professionals. [yes / no]
23. When you nod, this does not necessarily mean you agree. [yes / no]
24. In a meeting, you laugh when you are embarrassed, among other reasons. [yes / no]
25. A laughter lightens up the tone of an expression. [yes / no]
26. It is important to be polite only to the U.S. professional(s) who is/are responsible for reaching agreements, but not to others so as to show the former special honor. [yes / no]
27. It is impolite to address the other party by name. [yes / no]
28. You do not gaze steadily at someone whom you respect when talking. [yes / no]
29. When listening, you like to gaze steadily at the speaker in order to read his/her

- facial expression. [yes / no]
30. It is polite to make eye-contact *only* with someone who is at equal or lower status. [yes / no]
31. When reaching agreement with U.S. professionals, you can make the final decision alone. [yes / no]
32. You like to be accompanied by your assistant or a colleague when discussing with a U.S. professional(s). [yes / no]
33. People of higher status deserve more respect (e.g., they should be served first). [yes / no]
34. Men should receive more respect than women. [yes / no]
35. It is not important to be exactly on time. [yes / no]
36. People of lower status should always wait for people of higher status. [yes / no]
37. When reaching agreement with U.S. professionals, you like to make an immediate decision in one meeting. [yes / no]
38. When you are not willing to reach agreement at the spot, this indicates disagreement. [yes / no]
39. You usually are friendlier to the other party after the agreement is reached. [yes / no]
40. You express disagreement with silence. [yes / no]
41. Asking questions is a means of expressing disagreement. [yes / no]
42. As the representative of the host institution, you usually take the initiative to end a meeting. [yes / no]
43. It is polite to chat with the other party for a while after you have indicated the end of a meeting by standing up. [yes / no]

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