## COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ROMANIAN AND GERMAN NEGOTIATION STYLE BASED ON CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

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ABSTRACT: As a result of intensified international business relations and a unified European space the cultural background of economic agents in the field of international business is getting an increasing importance and leaves to a certain extent its marks on business behaviour of these individuals. Thus from the sixties of the past century onwards the problem of cultural differences and their influence upon professional relations lie in the centre of attention of several researchers like E.T. Hall, Geert Hofstede and others. In business negotiations one may observe a double conditioning of people's negotiation style, at one hand it is the result of individual characteristics like personality, education, experience, personal charisma, but on the other hand there is a strong impact of collective factors, too such as the mental programming of each nation known under the name of culture. In the following study we undertake a comparative/contrastive analysis of German and Romanian — culturally conditioned — negotiation style hoping to avoid at the same time to fall into the trap of stereotypy.

**KEY WORDS:** cultural differences; cultural dimensions; mental programming; negotiation style; intercultural competence.

JEL CLASSIFICATION: F50; F51; M16.

From the sixties of the past century onwards the problem of cultural differences and their influence upon professional relations between the representatives of various nations lie in the centre of attention of many researchers.

In this sense there are to be mentioned among others: the American anthropologist E.T. Hall, the Dutch researchers Geert Hofstede and his disciple, Fons Trompenaars, and the American Richard Gesteland, all of them interested in the problem of cultural dimensions in human interaction in general and in that one of professional relations in particular. The American anthropologist Edward T. Hall had

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classified world's cultures as far back as the sixties according to two classical cultural dimensions i.e. the way of communication and attitude towards time. In this respect one may distinguish between high and low context cultures according to the extent communication results depend on the context in which communication has taken place.

In low context cultures there are direct, explicit messages transmitting what the emitter really meant independently of context and circumstances. On the contrary in high context cultures people have a metaphorical way of speaking, messages are implicit, meaning is conveyed rather by the situations and contexts words were uttered in than by the words themselves.

Time represents beside space another important factor in international transactions. Depending on how it is perceived by community one may distinguish between monochronic (sequential) and polychronic (synchronic) cultures, meaning that representatives of the first type will tackle issues one by one and one after the other, while people coming from a polychronic culture will tend to solve more tasks at once handling time as a flexible entity.

Dealing with the issue of space in social relations Hall initiated a new branch of science, proxemics, studying the role of space in each culture. Thus, there are:

- "contact cultures" adopting a short interpersonal distance in relation with others (e.g. the Arabic world, Latin people in Europe and America):
- "noncontact cultures" with a far longer distance between individuals (North America and Northern Europe).

As a result of a study made at the subsidiaries of the IBM corporation in more than 50 countries upon 20 topics related to employees' values the Dutch researcher, Geert Hofstede, put up four dimensions of cultural differences among nations and categorized countries included in the research on a scale of values from 0 to about 100. Later influenced by a study made according to a questionnaire on oriental values (CVS – Chinese values study) Hofstede extended his dimensional structure with a fifth dimension derived from "Confucianist dinamism".

The four dimensions put up by Hofstede deriving from occidental values are:

- *power distance* (individuals attitude to authority);
- *individualism versus collectivism* (individual in society);
- *masculinity versus feminity* and *uncertainty avoidance* (attitude to action and risk);
- while the fifth dimension found related to oriental values is *short or long term orientation*.

Power distance refers to people accepting authority derived from position in a group and not gained due to competence and personal achievements. Individual's image may vary in different cultures of the world, he/she may be considered independent, sovereign member of a society or part of a group defining his actions and attitudes. Thus, we can speak of individualistic cultures or cultures characterized by collectivism.

In latter one belonging to a group, the physical and spiritual support coming from the group gain special importance in individual's life. Individuals' tendency in a society mainly to masculine or feminine values leaves its marks on that culture and on its attitude to surrounding world. Masculine societies are based on performance and profit, while feminine ones on human relations horizontally and vertically. The level of tolerance of unknown and of anxiety produced by it differs from culture to culture resulting different levels of uncertainty and risk avoidance. The priorities of business people from different cultures are also reflected in their attitudes to time and short or long term orientation.

Fons Trompenaars, another Dutch researcher, made in the eighties and nineties studies upon cultural differences following the same path as Hofstede but including in his research upon 46 countries 10 post-communist countries from the Eastern block as well. From the answers given by the over 10,000 employees he derived 7 cultural dimensions in a similar manner as Hofstede had done placing the countries on a scale between the following extreme poles:

universalism  $\leftrightarrow$  particularism; individualism  $\leftrightarrow$  collectivism; achievement (cultures of "merit")  $\leftrightarrow$  ascription (cultures of "position"); sequential  $\leftrightarrow$  synchronic; internal control (individual respecting environment)  $\leftrightarrow$  external control (environment subdued to individual's interests); specific (studying phenomena by parts)  $\leftrightarrow$  diffuse (integrating approach to phenomena) and neutral  $\leftrightarrow$  emotional.

In his work from 1997 (Gesteland, 1997) Richard Gesteland analyses cross-cultural business behaviour underlining the existence of 4 patterns of business behaviour based on different nation's cultural background. Thus one may find deal-focus or on the contrary relationship-focus cultures which means people from the first category are interested in solving tasks, signing the contract while for their potential partners from the second category interpersonal relationship is more important.

Characteristic for deal-focus cultures is discussing after a few minutes of familiarization directly about the details of negotiation adopting a clear, direct communication style. For getting to negotiations and discussions upon business issues in relationship-focus cultures one must first gain the potential partner's trust and friendship and for saving harmony the interlocutors adopt a subtle, veiled, even metaphorical communication.

The second pattern of behaviour refers to formality in relations, thus one can distinguish between formal respectively informal cultures. The former ones are based on hierarchy, authority and status while the latter ones plead for equality, a flat hierarchy in organizations.

Another factor in differentiating cultures seems to be one's attitude to time. In rigid-time cultures emphasis is layed on punctuality, on a strictly followed schedule, on deadlines – according to Hall monochronic cultures – while in fluid-time cultures (polychronic cultures by Hall) everything seems to be fluid, no one sticks to dates and fix hours and there are simultaneous discussions upon different issues at business meetings.

According to nonverbal behaviour based on nonverbal communication (body language) respectively paraverbal behaviour (voice intensity, meaning of silence, etc.) Gesteland distinguishes between expressive cultures with intense gestures, showing feelings and reserved ones void of these manifestations.

After this synthesis of the research results in the domain of cultural differences one may put the question how and to what extent the presented differences influence human interaction in general and the course of business negotiations in particular. As beside this set of collective factors belonging to the culture of descent one's negotiation style is also defined to a great extent by a set of individual factors, like: temperament, personality, education, professionalism and experience gained during the years, one can neither exaggerate the effect of cultural determination without falling into the trap of stereotypy nor neglect the above presented points.

As all negotiators in the world Germans will bear beside their individual features also the marks of German culture with all its particularities. Characterized through Hofstedes's cultural dimensions German business men although very formal will show little power distance i.e. they will accept the authority of a leader promoted on the base of his/her achievements and merits but not due to belonging to a certain group.

Concerning power distance Romania shows an evolving tendency from the acceptance of social inequality, of differentiating between "some" and "others" "more equal" than the former ones, of power concentration in the hands of the attendants of the Communist Party and of oppression of masses during the communist regime – a perverted form of collectivism – unto the somehow failed attempt of rejecting it in the period after 1989.

What underlines this assertion is the present state of political class, entrusting leadership in some sectors and institutions to persons not on the base of competence and performance but according to party affiliation. Under such circumstances it is a must that position be completed by status and wealth obtained in different ways, honest or less honest ones. Financial state will be shown with predilection people giving up external signs of it neither in the political nor in the economic sector.

A high level of individualism being characteristic for German culture members of a German team will be selected due to particular technical competences. That's why a German negotiator will appreciate a similarly professional partner, a technocrat with the precision of an engineer, speaking in a high-flown, complex way as too great accessibility might be perceived by Germans as lack of professionalism. The team is formed out of a few people having not only the task of planning, designing but of implementing as well.

Despite of a quite stressed hierarchy and the respect shown to it – young people have a great regard for elder ones –, German management is consens-oriented, practicing a consultative leading style. Differences in opinion may be best solved through eye-to-eye discussions, not through a third party getting round the competence of somebody and seeking for solutions by persons higher in rank.

Concerning the level of individualism in case of Romanian culture one can detect a quite clear separation between public and private domain, the latter one coming more abreast of European and occidental norms. Cultural predisposition, the stereotype features we feel tempted to characterize Romanian people through leave their marks more upon state institutions, authorities and public field in general than upon economic agents whose activity is guided by the rules of market economy. In a

private company there is less probable for nepotism and clan spirit to dominate over competences and economic, financial interests.

Thus, according to Hofstede's cultural dimensions a Romanian negotiator will be characterized through moderate individualism, he/she will be tempted to appreciate business partners according to competences and not on the base of social belonging. But because of the importance ascribed to relations this business area will show aspects of collectivism as well as there exist some religious, ethnic subgroups where deals are made preferably intragroup putting barriers to non-members.

In the same way by conflict and problem solving Romanians will be tempted to appeal to acquantainces and their authority instead of getting to consense by one's own efforts and arguments. One should mind also that a "Romanian" negotiator could possibly be only Romanian citizen but belonging to another ethnic group resulting thus probably a double cultural conditioning, by the country's culture at one hand and the culture of the ethnic group of descent at the other. In this way one may find different levels of individualism among Romanian business people not only through a personal, but also a cultural determination, this phenomenon being valid for all dimensions and features handled in the following passages.

Germans are characterized both in their professional and personal relations by:

- punctuality that's what they expect from their partners, too;
- rigurous planning of business meetings 6 to 8 weeks before the meeting;
- discussions going on issue by issue according to a detailed schedule and passing on only after having clarified them one by one.

The stereotype of Germans having the obsession of punctuality is based on German culture being a rigid-time culture acribing great importance to punctuality, deadlines, schedules followed issue by issue.

In E. T. Hall's terminology German society would be categorized among monochronic cultures solving problems and tasks sequentially, one by one. Thus one cannot expect of a German business man/woman to tackle negotiation issues in a hollistic, global manner because this will make him/her feel odd and probably won't even lead to the expected results. Negotiating issue by issue, according to a stated schedule as well as respecting this detailed planning do all serve avoiding uncertainty experiencing a high level in German culture. Due to this wish to avoid unknown and uncertainty a German work team will excel in detailed planning of a project and realization on time and according to indications but will have poorer results in innovation and creativity.

Being also part of a monochronic culture Romanians will prefer at negotiations an established programme, an agenda as a key to discussions even if they don't take it very strictly. Issues will be rather discussed one by one than globally but the time frame of discussions will not be absolutely respected. As gathering information, building relationship, negotiations need a long time, – especially when in realization of the plan state authorities are implied as well considerably slowing down with their bureaucratic procedures the progress in work – negotiations in our country will be slow and decision taking process while passing many hierarchic levels quite the same.

Romanians are usually miser giving information supplementary to the presented ones, when they still drop this reticence, they do it for developing mutual trust. Before the economic crisis both the business and civil sphere showed a quite high disposition of taking credits even on a rather irrational base, – the Romanian state keeps being open to the idea of credit for consume even in present days. I rely on these aspects when I say Romanian society shows a medium level of uncertainty avoidance.

In case of product presentations, product subject to negotiations, Germans prefer technical details, logic arguments rather than emotional manifestations, the content of communication should get the upper hand of body language, all this according to German culture's reserved character (see behaviour patterns by Gesteland).

Thus, within formal presentations or discussions jokes should be avoided. German audience having the capacity to concentrate for a long time – upto one hour – won't interrupt speaker's discourse but at the end will ask detailed questions and will expect similar answers. It is also to be mentioned that German negotiators will appreciate "academic selling" presenting details and stressing upon benefits to get and won't feel comfortably with an aggressive selling style.

Regarding offers German negotiators similarly to the representatives of other Germanic people will show preference for a fair starting price in accordance with contract value and will dislike starting negotiations with an exaggerated price coming in the end to an acceptable one. Taking into consideration this aspect respectively Germans' little disposition to compromises once the offer is made there is no much space for bargain. Nevertheless they seek in discussions consense, reliable partners and long term profit.

In Romanian culture financial status gets a significant importance thus cars, trade mark of clothes, watch and cell phone type belong to one's definition. Making a fetish of wealth results with Romanian people the wish of fast enrichment, so Romanian negotiators when making a price offer will tend to exaggerate at the expense of a fair price and when buying will try to negotiate even a favourable price.

German negotiators' communication style is a direct one being marked by efficiency and their love for truth, as German people say what they think and think what they say. Due to this frankness and direct style representatives of a more complex and sophisticated culture may find Germans arrogant and rude. Their strong national pride and the innate sense of superiority they show generally instinctively without the intention of injury may consolidate this image in the eyes of a partner less familiar with German style.

Due to the direct, explicit communication style messages being rendered by verbal means German business people represent a low context culture, quite accessible for foreigners. They follow rules considered to be universally valid for all circumstances analyzing situations and phenomena by parts. These features are classified by Fons Trompenaars as showing universalism and specificity. Germans' little power distance is also reflected in their perception of equality. Being part of a culture based on achievement Germans know their promotion depends only on their personal performances and not on social or family background this giving them sufficient motivation to work hard.

Taking into consideration Trompenaars' cultural dimensions Romanians' predilection for particular solutions based on interpersonal relationship or social belonging could be the result of particularism characterizing Romanian culture. As in Romanian society persons are not always strictly ranked according to performances and merits, it can be classified rather a culture based on ascription however the economic and business sphere try to counterbalance this aspect.

Considering bribery and the system of looking for back doors in problem solving, communication is not very direct in Romanian business world, despite of it messages still preserve to a great extent their communicative value. Expressing disapproval happens without resorting to euphemism but asking for a favour usually assumes veiled forms.

In Germany there is a precise separation between public space designated to negotiations as well and the private sphere reserved only for the close ones, as they very smartly put it "Dienst ist Dienst und Schnaps ist Schnaps" (Tomalin, & Nicks, 2007, p.229) (task is task and spirits are spirits).

Thus, business contacts resume mainly to work hours, inviting partners to one's home is rare. Being a system-oriented culture negotiations take generally place within an official frame, in the negotiation room. When they are still run during a business dinner these events are formal taking place outside the personal home discussions upon business items being accepted before or after dinner, in no case during it.

In Germany in business world presents are almost unknown, when people still give/take little presents these are unwrapped flowers – in case they have no ornamental wrapping, just a simple brown wrapping paper –, chocolate or handmade souvenirs from visitor's home-country. Too personal presents as perfume, jewelry, flowers like chrysantemums, lillies are to be avoided as they are flowers specific for funerals. Be careful when giving wine as present, Germans are connoiseurs and even cultivators of noble wine.

On the contrary in a country where power distance has remained unaltered in the eyes of authorities, state institutions, business people have formed their own set of solutions keeping on resorting to the old system of "little presents". Being used to corruption and bribing they will be tempted to seek for the back door and less "catholic" solutions, so they won't shrink back from greasing somebody's palm when necessary and won't lay such a great emphasis on honesty and principles. As bribery isn't strange to Romanian business world business presents don't represent a delicate topic either. They are often offered without any hidden intention as part of traditional Romanian hospitality or led by the wish of making our country and its characteristics known among foreigners.

Although being a masculine culture oriented to profit, achievements and competition Germans would not exceed the limits of ethics giving great importance to honesty, respecting rules and reliability, qualities having a special place in their mental programming. Their orientation to masculine values doesn't exclude women's presence in business life, even more the representatives of the fair sex can delight in the same treatment as their male colleagues the only criteria for gaining prestige and status being

competence, education and performance. According to this type of culture Germans perceive life as a frame for work, in other words they "live to work".

However, in Romania women are occupying even more and more high position jobs claiming a high level of education and society seems to accept their emancipation, taking into consideration the values both men and women adopt Romanian culture is still a masculine one.

Its values are:

- realization;
- earnings;
- competition;
- promotion.

Concerning female emancipation and equality of sexes in all domains there is following to be said: Romanian business people generally don't bother negotiating and making a deal with a woman, but the latter one should prove her competence and skills much more than the representative of the other sex would be expected to do, that means a female entrepreneur will have to work hard in order to be accepted as equal partner.

The professionalism she should show doesn't mean she should give up her female features but concerning clothes she is expected to adopt a conservative style, as well. Because of Romanian women and especially business women adopting masculine values one can point out even a masculine character of presents in professional relations. One can offer a Romanian business women flowers, but instead of chocolate a little present related to professional life such as an agenda, organizer and so on fits better.

Just as other Western cultures German society is also rather short term oriented even the more as it shows deal- and not relationship-focus (see Gesteland). Thus negotiations led by Germans will be relatively short issues being handled directly, ,in medias res' after a short introduction, all discussions converging to the final target, the realization of meeting's objective namely signing the contract. This latter one will be taken as law and consulted every time in case of misunderstandings.

However, it lays a quite great emphasis on interpersonal relationship giving thus proof of a medium term orientation, a Romanian negotiator will be esencially interested in task realization, i. e. the deal (deal-focus). Contracts in turn will be very long with detailed conditions and terms and according to Romanians' predilection to assume obligations rather at a declarative level they could suffer major changes until the final signature.

Referring furthermore to Gesteland's categories a German negotiator shows a very high level of formalism. His respect for hierarchy and his politeness will create in the eyes of less formal people the image of the distant and cold German. Foreigners in contact with Germans are advised to wait until Germans initiate socialization, no way to take themselves the initiative. In German society titles, position, good manners are very important, they are addressing each other preponderently in a formal way using the family name. This formalism will be preserved in all professional contacts both vertically and horizontally.

In German work teams team members often keep this formalism in contact with each other, very perplexing for negotiators coming from an informal culture. In order to avoid this situation German colleagues could adopt temporarily for the time of transactions a less formal style coming back to their former attitude back to home.

In accordance with this formalism is German negotiators' reserved behaviour. Germans prefer a larger personal space i.e. a larger distance zone in their interactions, they will listen to their interlocutor patiently without interrupting while in conversations silence breaks will play a welldefined role. Germans' reserved attitude is manifested both on the plane of verbal and para- respectively nonverbal communication in a moderate use of gestures, movements and body language.

Romanian society shows moderate formalism conveying importance to age, social belonging and titles, however concerning the latter one we can't make any certain affirmation. It is in fact a vicious circle: titles and diplomas being considered important, most people long for them resulting a real chase of diplomas.

On the other hand as there are already existing many possessors of such titles, they've lost some of their value and power to confer prestige. Good manners and politeness are also welcome among business people in our country however playing no absolute role in their relations.

A Romanian negotiator will make a moderate use of para- and nonverbal communication tools, his gestures, body and facial movements, voice variations being more intense than for instance in reserved cultures. Visual contact will be sought to the partner, if contrary, intentions are not honest, there is something to be hidden. At the same time Romanian business people will keep moderate distance in their professional relations without invading the counterpart's private space.

Men used to shake hands but huggings, taking somebody by the arm are no practice in our country – as well as there is no handshaking among women or between women and men –, thus we can assert Romanian culture is a "noncontact" one. In Romanian business sphere there's no taboo to show sentiments within the confines of rationality and decency. Of course nervous outbreaks, losing temper are not accepted in moderately affective cultures as the Romanian one either.

Concerning verbal communication and foreign language usage Romanians present both good quantitative and qualitative values derived from necessity and interest partially contradicting the rules of international transactions postulated by Gesteland according to which visitor should adapt to host culture and seller to buyer.

Regarding German culture aspects of internal or external control should also be taken into consideration. What Trompenaars deduces from manager's attitude to environment, – i.e. subjugating it by economy agent or subordination to it on behalf of the latter one – highlights a fundamental trait of German culture.

On the plane of ideas and sentiments German literature of the 18<sup>th</sup> century had been marked by internal orientation/control (Innerlichkeit), while in the socioeconomic field one can assist to German society's intense concern about environment protection not considering nature subdued to human needs and goals but on the contrary dominating in human's relation to it. This environment-friendliness is completed by a strong civil consciousness and sense of duty.

Thus, German economy agents in evaluating a business opportunity will not only focus on the benefits and profit generated but on the consequences upon environment as well. On the contrary according to the masculine values adopted Romanian managers tend to believe that environment is subdued to their activities and plans and pay too little attention to protecting nature in the sense of a sustainable development. Thus they show an external control.

As all negotiations suppose beside the confrontation of arguments and counterarguments respectively objections, beside a battle of numbers a chapter of minimal socialization as well, in the following some topics of success with Germans are presented.

Interest for their culture and country, relating travel experiences – not to forget that Germans are passionate tourists –, sports in general and especially football are favorite small talk topics in Germany. But take care, undermined field is too familiar behaviour, questions about the business partner's private life, topics related to the second World War and the role Germans played in it respectively speaking about the defeats of the German football-team at worldcups.

Synthetizing particularities characteristic for German negotiation style one could make a "recipe" for success in business with Germans consisting of a few ingredients just as follows: proving efficiency and punctuality, sincerity, honesty and direct style, actions according to assertions, putting up rules and respecting them and last but not least respecting hierarchy. Knowing German language at least at basic level could be furhermore added to this list.

No matter how good they should speak English Germans would prefer if possible communication in their mother tongue especially in delicate or very important matters. In the same time negotiations run in English could come to an unexpected turning-point in favour of the business partner showing basic knowledge of German, a gesture very much appreciated by them.

Among Romanians' favorite discussion topics are to be found:

- sports, especially football;
- politics, in post-revolutionary Romanian society it has already become a tradition to express dissatisfaction about the system;
- family;
- properties.

Since the majority of Romanian population is religious there is somehow taboo to express lack of understanding or disaccord concerning orthodox rituals and dogmas. As Romanians – just like other people in Eastern Europe in general – are very hospital accepting professional and even personal invitations is recommended. In case of being invited to a Romanian's home flowers for the lady and a bottle of good beverage are always a good choice.

In completion to these descriptive passages a table of synthesis should stay here for the results and conclusions of former and present research work.

Table 1. German and Romanian negotiation style influenced by cultural differences – synthesis

German negotiation style	Romanian negotiation style
- little power distance (see Hofstede), authority gained through competence and performance - importance of position in hierarchy (strictly according to merits)  - high level of individualism (see Hofstede),	- greater power distance (evolving tendency: communist period → postcommunist period), authority still gained mainly through belonging to a group and relations - importance of position in hierarchy, of status (financial aspects) - medium level of individualism – difference
promotion only on behalf of merits - appreciating a competent, technocratic partner with the preciseness of an engineer - high complexity - sign of professionalism - consense orientation, direct problem solving through the envolved ones	between private sphere and public sector - solutions found appealing to acquaintances - importance of relations, belonging to a certain group (collectivist aspects)
<ul> <li>negotiations item by item according to a stated work schedule</li> <li>importance of deadlines, of punctuality → monochronic culture (see Hall)</li> <li>thorough planning serving uncertainty avoidance (see Hofstede)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>negotiations item by item according to a work schedule but leaving space for flexibility as well</li> <li>a bit more relaxed attitude to time, possible postponements, slow negotiation process, long decision taking process</li> <li>essentially a monochronic culture</li> <li>disposition to take credits → medium level of uncertainty avoidance</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>preference for "academic selling",</li> <li>presenting technical details and benefits</li> <li>preference for a fair price, little disposition for compromises</li> </ul>	- the wish of fast enrichment → often exaggerated initial price, bargaining upon favourable price as well
- low context culture (Hall), direct communication → it may be found arrogant and rude	- not very direct communication, asking for favours in a veiled form
<ul> <li>universally valid rules → universalism (see Trompenaars)</li> <li>culture based on achievement</li> <li>generally no presents in business life</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>preference for particular solutions on the base of relations → particularism</li> <li>culture rather based on ascription</li> <li>because of the system of "little presents" inherited from the communist period no delicate problem giving business presents (mainly given without hidden intentions)</li> </ul>
- masculine values but actions within the limits of ethics - equal treatment for men and women, only criteria: performance	- masculine culture, women have to prove their skills more than men are expected to do
- short term orientation (Hofstede) - deal-focus (Gesteland), relatively short negotiations	<ul> <li>medium term orientation (importance of relationship building)</li> <li>mainly deal-focus but long negotiating and decision taking process respectively contracts</li> </ul>

- high level of formalism, importance of	- moderate formalism, importance of age,
good manners, titles, position	prestige, titles (the latter one corrupted by the
- larger interpersonal distance → reserved	great number of holders of certain titles)
culture (Gesteland)	- moderately reserved culture, concerning
	verbal communication: good command of
	foreign languages
- internal control $\rightarrow$ concern about	- external control, environment subdued to
environment	economic activity
- small talk topics: culture, travel experiences,	- small talk topics: sports, politics (expression
sports	of discontent with political system), family,
- taboos: being too familiar, partners' private	properties
life, World War II., Germany's role in it,	- taboos: lack of understanding for orthodox
defeats of the German football team	rituals, expression of disaccord with religious
	dogmas

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