The dynamics of intercultural communication

Cultural differences in Indian and Danish business communication styles

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Resumé: Dynamikken i interkulturel kommunikation

Denne kandidatafhandling har til formål at afklare hvilke kulturelle kommunikative forskelle indere og danskere oplever i et interkulturelt samarbejde. Vi vil analysere hvordan udvalgte kulturelle komponenter påvirker kommunikationssituationen. Disse komponenter er *hierarchy, collectivism, context, face* og *temporality,* der tilsammen afdækker de problemområder vi har identificeret igennem vores empiri. Vi fandt at de første fire komponenter er gensidigt influeret af hinanden, hvorimod den femte komponent tilsyneladende kun var delvist påvirket af de øvrige.

For at opnå optimal indsigt i og forståelse for de bevæggrunde der danner basis for kommunikativ adfærd i henholdsvis indisk og dansk forretningskultur, gennemførte vi en række personlige interviews med repræsentanter for begge kulturer. Med udgangspunkt i vores antagelse om at folk fra forskellige kulturer har forskellige adfærdsmønstre, er vi på baggrund af den indsamlede empiri og den teoretiske analyse kommet frem til følgende.

Nationalkulturer, i dette tilfælde repræsenteret ved de fem udvalgte kulturelle komponenter, påvirker den kommunikative adfærd i en interkulturel interaktion. Eftersom de to kulturer har forskellige værdisæt og dermed også forskellige rationaler, er der risiko for at uopmærksomme aktører ubevidst fornærmer modparten og dermed forårsager et kommunikativt sammenstød. Disse sammenstød kan forekomme i større eller mindre omfang; rangerende fra en lettere misforståelse til et decideret sammenbrud i kommunikationen.

Vores empiri indikerer at danskerne oplever de største udfordringer i forbindelse med context og temporality, da det er disse områder der er sværest for dem at tilpasse sig til, idet det kræver en fundamental redefinition af værdier. De resterende tre komponenter opleves overordnet set som overkommelige forskelle, da det er problemstillinger der i store træk kan omgås ved almindelig høflighed, og ikke nødvendigvis kræver en dybere kulturel forståelse. For indernes vedkommende viste empirien at problemområderne primært bestod i hierarchy, collectivism, context og face, idet disse afspejler grundlæggende værdier i indisk kultur. Det er dog vores opfattelse at nogle af udfordringerne i forbindelse med komponenterne bliver stadigt mindre, eftersom den indiske forretningskultur undergår et generationsskifte og et værdiskift påvirket af den vestlige verden.

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As a final remark it should be noted that all references to our respondents have been kept anonymous out of consideration for their business strategies.

Table of contents

Introduction

"Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom."

India's first Prime Minister
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Introduction

This thesis deals with the dynamics of intercultural communication between Indian and Danish business partners. We find this a relevant topic because of the increasing importance of the Indian economy in the global business environment.

India has begun its onward march on the world market and is slowly emerging as an economic superpower. In the 1990s, as a result of numerous economic reforms, India opened up its markets to the world, and the economic growth exploded (Kumar, 2005, p. 2). Since 1994, Indian economy has had an annual growth of more than 7 %, ranking India among the fastest growing economies in the world. Because of the global financial crisis, the growth in the Indian market in 2008-09 has decreased to 6.5 % annually. Nevertheless, this is still considered to be a substantial growth, and India is by many considered to be the next China in terms of economic growth (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark).

This lucrative market has attracted foreign direct investments from the Western world, including Denmark, as Western companies seek to benefit from the excessive working force and low production costs. Therefore, it is mainly upstream activities in the value chain which are outsourced to India (Kumar, 2007, p. 3). In terms of outsourcing, it is especially within the business fields of call centres, IT, shipping and manufacturing that India has made its advance.

We find it interesting how the fast economic growth has affected business culture in India, and we will thus explore the building blocks of Indian business culture compared to those of Danish business culture.

1.1. Reader's guide

The reader's guide provides an outline of chapters, helping the reader gain an overview of the topics and the structure of this thesis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter presents our basic theoretical stance, which will constitute the basis of our choice of method. This will in turn create the foundations of our theoretical framework and account

for the mutual influence of theoretical choices and empirical data. Finally, we will explain our data collection approach and outline the plan for our data processing.

Chapter 4: Empirical data

This chapter completes the foundation of our data collection. Furthermore, it offers an introduction to our collected data and describes the process of how we have constructed our interview guide. The data matrix encompasses all relevant quotations from our interviews.

Chapter 5: Theory

This chapter maps out our chosen theoretical framework. After a thorough presentation of each selected theory, we will apply the theory to the Indian and Danish societies and explain how the Indian and Danish cultures are affected by said cultural components. As a concluding, remark we will offer a critical perspective to the applied theories.

Chapter 6: Analysis

This chapter applies our selected theories to our empirical data. This is done in order to find connections and deviations that will form the basis of the following discussion. This section seeks only to compare theories and data, and will thus not contain our own interpretations.

Chapter 7: Discussion

This chapter seeks to discuss the conflicting results of the analysis, in order to reach an in-depth understanding of the motives behind the behaviour of our respondents. Furthermore, this chapter provides an explanation for why cross-cultural interaction often results in communicational clashes. This discussion is meant to provide sufficient comprehension of the underlying cultural values, which makes us able to propose an academic explanation of our research question.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter sums up the main chapters of the thesis, Theory, Analysis and Discussion in order to provide a conclusion to the research question.

Presentation

2. Presentation

In this chapter, we will firstly present the *problem areas* within the field of intercultural, interpersonal communication between Indian and Danish business partners. These problem areas will form the basis for our *research question*, which will be the pivotal point of our research. Secondly, we will present our *delimitations*, explaining which areas of interest we have not been able to include in this thesis. Finally, we will present which definition of *culture* we have chosen to apply throughout the thesis.

2.1. Problem areas

As India and Denmark differ in their fundamental pillars of society, we expect a number of dissimilarities in their communication styles. On a geographical note, variances in Indian and Danish conducts are to be expected, as they are situated on continents with different historical backgrounds. Furthermore, the political ideologies of these two nations affect how the respective societies are structured. Likewise, India and Denmark are presently at different economic stages, as Denmark is a developed country and India is still a developing country, and as a result, their needs differ accordingly. So do their cultural values, as they are influenced by the religious views. Where Denmark has a secular view of religion, the traditional beliefs are maintained in India. These religious convictions lead to different cultural behavioural patterns and thereby different communication styles. With the massive Western entry into the Indian market, some intercultural clashes in communication cannot be avoided. Differences in communication, behaviour and cultural background pose potential pitfalls for partners entering into intercultural negotiations.

There is a vast selection of theoretical research on cultural behaviour and how it can affect communication styles. Many researchers have applied these theories of intercultural communication and suggested various examples of recommendations on how to behave in an intercultural situation. More specifically, there are numerous books and articles on how Westerners should conduct themselves in an Indian business setting. We are aware that it certainly is possible to do business in an intercultural setting without specific cultural awareness, as both parties usually are interested in the economic benefits of a business deal. At the same time, we are convinced that business would be much easier and far more beneficial, if both parties have some extent of cultural awareness. Therefore, we find it to be more

interesting to look at which motives lie behind the choices of actions made by Indian and Danish business people. We believe that the written prescriptions only provide a superfluous knowledge about cultures, rather than cultural understanding. In our opinion, the latter is more useful to business people in long-term partnerships, and it serves as a helpful tool to ease the transition from one culture to another. Furthermore, a thorough cultural understanding makes it possible to predict potential communicational pitfalls beyond those described in the prescriptions.

2.2. Research question

As theorists have previously proved that national cultures differ, we assume that people from different cultures have different communicational patterns. This leads us to the following research question (RQ):

> How do cultural components affect the style of verbal communication when Danish business people enter the Indian market?

In order to reach a satisfactory conclusion, we have chosen to focus on five specific cultural components – these are: *hierarchy, collectivism, context, face* and *temporality*. We believe these elements constitute a basis for intercultural analysis, and we have chosen them as we feel they represent the best opportunity for an in-depth analysis of the differences between Indian and Danish business culture.

2.3. Delimitation

Cultural diversity

It would have been interesting to conduct a complete analysis of Indian business culture, but the mere size of India makes it impossible to treat the country as a whole, as the regional differences in both language and culture are too diverse, and should therefore be dealt with separately. Due to limitations in time and resources as well as the restriction of scope of the thesis, it has not been possible to conduct a thorough analysis of that extent. Though our main theorists have chosen to treat India as one culture, we believe that the diversity makes it unreasonable to generalise Indian business behaviour. It is important to note that our Indian respondents are situated in Mumbai, and are as such representatives of the business behaviour

in Mumbai. However, it has not been possible for us to conduct research in other regions of India, and we are therefore unable to conclude whether our respondents' behaviour is representative of the business culture and behaviour in other regions of India. Furthermore, even though Delhi is the capital of India and would as such have been the obvious object for analysis, Mumbai is the business centre of India, and therefore we consider it to be most suitable for this thesis.

Business elements and political aspects

It could have added an interesting dimension to our analysis to include the political aspects of both Indian and Danish business environments, as it would have helped gain a more complete picture of the current motives of the respective business cultures. Most of our Danish respondents operate within the private business sector, but a few have had to struggle with the bureaucracy of the Indian government. As the focus of this thesis is on cultural aspects of business, we have chosen not to incorporate the political aspects, even though they might have an influence on the interaction. In addition, it would have been interesting to explore how business customs affect communication style. However, to maintain focus in the thesis, we have chosen not to incorporate this into our analysis.

Nonverbal communication

We are aware of the importance of body language and other nonverbal communication. And it would have been interesting to observe the nonverbal communication behaviour between Indians and Danes, but unfortunately it has not been possible to witness any actual negotiations between Indian and Danish business partners.

2.4. Culture

Culture has been described in many different terms, and by experts of many different fields. We lean against Schein's view of culture as a set of basic assumptions shared by a group, and as something which evolves over time and thereby changes through generations (Cadle & Yeates, 2004, p. 374). One of the things that make culture an interesting field of research is the complexity that surrounds it. Following are some examples of terms aimed to describe the complexity of culture:

- Conscious/unconscious (Sigmund Freud, psychologist)

- In-awareness/out-of-awareness (Harry Stack Sullivan, psychiatrist)

- Overt/covert culture (Ralph Linton, anthropologist)

- Implicit/explicit culture (Clyde Kluckhohn, anthropologist)

(Hall, 1981, pp. 61-62)

All these are bipolar categories, where cultures can be placed anywhere along a continuum. Edward Hall introduced a tripartite theory, and distinguished between the formal, the informal and the technical culture (Hall, 1981, p. 63). Hall described his theory as modes of behaviour:

- A formal approach is common with things that can be taught and learned, e.g. languages, mathematics, driving a car etc.

- An informal approach is usually taken when things cannot be described, but knowledge has to be acquired through observations and attempts, e.g. how to handle conflicts and emotions.

- A technical approach is usually applied with things that are carefully described and explained, e.g. how to do accounting properly, how to put up tiles in the bathroom etc.

According to Hall, any culture has elements of all three concepts, but one is often more dominant than the other two. A culture is never strictly formal, but will also be informal and technical at the same time. The tripartition can be employed on other concepts, as will be illustrated in section *5.5 Temporality*.

These three concepts correspond with the cultural layers suggested by Schein: artefacts, beliefs & values and basic assumptions (2004, p. 26). 'Artefacts' is similar to Hall's formal approach and consists of things that can be viewed, measured and described. 'Beliefs & values' resembles Hall's informal approach, where you need a more detailed knowledge of the culture in order to understand what goes on below the surface. Things at this level can be measured and understood, but only through thorough investigations. 'Basic assumptions' is somewhat like Hall's technical approach in terms of requiring a specialised and extensive knowledge.

Methodology

3. Methodology

In terms of *theory of science*, we will firstly account for our basic theoretical stance and secondly for our *choice of method*. This will be followed by a *data* section, including a description of the data collection in terms of choice of respondents, designing and executing the interviews and the subsequent data processing. Thirdly, we will explain how we have arrived at our choice of theories.

In order to apply an appropriate method, we must first state the purpose of this thesis to make sure that the data support the foundation of it. The purposes of the thesis will influence the choices made in connection to how research is carried out. With reference to our RQ, we intend to investigate how national culture affects people's style of communication. Therefore the purpose of this thesis is mainly to understand how national-cultural traits affect a person's behaviour in intercultural business communication between Indian and Danish business partners. Furthermore, on the basis of our description and explanation of the cultural differences, this thesis seeks to diagnose main problem areas, and the problem solutions are embedded in the diagnosis. It is not our intention to offer an instructional guide to proper business behaviour, but rather to offer an insight into the underlying cultural values, which in turn will open up the possibilities of behavioural change.

Andersen (1999, p. 20) lists the levels of conceptualisation in modern theory of science accordingly:

- Theory of science
- Method
- Research technique
- Research instrument

In order to create coherence and ensure that the entire process is determined by the prime objective, the bottom levels of conceptualisation should always be a function of the upper levels. The following sections are structured according to the levels of conceptualisation.

3.1. Theory of science

As our main purpose is to offer an understanding of how cultural differences affect communication styles, we have chosen hermeneutics as our point of departure, as we seek to analyse personal perceptions of the communication in Indian-Danish collaborations. According to the hermeneutic way of viewing the world, culture and people mutually affect each other, whereby a dynamic in the interactions is created (Nørgaard, 2002, p. 69; Gadarmer, 1977, pp. 66, 125). Thus, in an interaction, Indians and Danes move towards each other and create a shared understanding. This makes the hermeneutic view applicable, as it allows this change to take place. In the humanities, hermeneutics deals with interpretation, both as a theory of science and as a methodology. This implies that we use it as a way of viewing the world, and as a tool of interpreting it, in order to create a new truth (Gadarmer, 1977, p. 11; Seebohm, 2004, pp. 105-106). According to the hermeneutic view, the world is made up by parts and wholes. These cannot be interpreted individually, as it is impossible to understand one without reference to the other. In order to understand the individual parts one must refer to the whole, and vice versa (Ramberg & Gjesdal, 2005). Understanding and preunderstanding the wholes and parts are what constitute the hermeneutic circle/spiral. The hermeneutic spiral is a dynamic process that continuously redefines reality, and through which, one reaches a new understanding of a whole reality with reference to the individual parts (ibid.). The hermeneutic approach is two-sided as it provides an explanation of both our subject area as well as the process of our research. Our research process has been hermeneutic as it is an interplay of choices of method, which will be elaborated on in section *3.2 Choice of method*.

In establishing our hermeneutic position, we are particularly inspired by Jensen and Nørgaard, who both highlight that the interpretation depends on the interpreter. Nørgaard refers to this as a history-of-effect. The history-of-effect is part of our preunderstanding of reality, and interpretation is dependent on the time and the context in which it is interpreted as well as on the person doing the interpretation (Øhrgaard & Nørgaard, 2004, p. 43; Jensen, 2003/04, p. 6). However, in order to be able to perform an interpretation, it is necessary to be conscious about one's own presuppositions or prejudices. Presuppositions and prejudices, in this connection, are not to be perceived negatively, they only refer to the opinion or understanding a person already has. Therefore, the objective of the interpretation is to reach a fusion of horizons, i.e. a mutual understanding and a redefined reality (Øhrgaard & Nørgaard, 2004, pp. 40-41).

In order to apply the hermeneutic spiral in the context of intercultural communication, we will apply Jensen's reconceptualisation of the hermeneutic circle (Jensen, 2003/04, p. 6), see *Figure 1* below.

Figure 1: Iben Jensen's model of intercultural communication
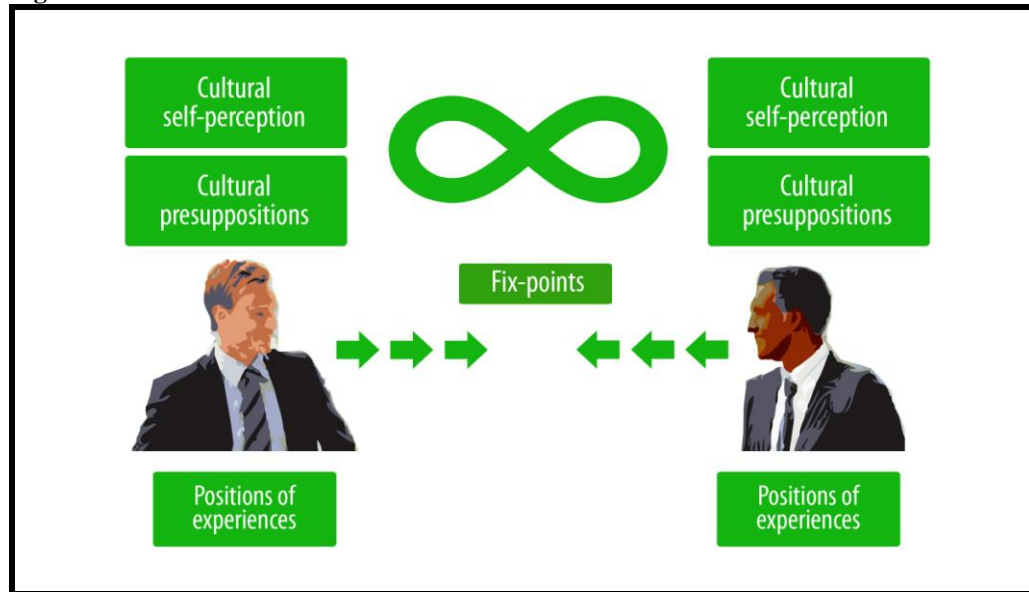
Source: Jensen, 2003/04, p. 6, with own adaptation

Both Jensen and Nørgaard state that in an intercultural communication situation both interactants have cultural self-perceptions, as well as cultural presuppositions about the other culture, which they bring into the interaction. During this interaction both interlocutors gain a broader and deeper understanding of the other culture, and as a result their self-perceptions change (Nørgaard, 2002, p. 69; Seebohm, 2004, pp. 105-106).

As a means of identifying the respective starting points; presuppositions and preunderstandings, of the interaction, we apply functionalistic theories. We are aware that these theorists lean against a cultural relativistic view of cultures as static and something interpreted only in terms of a person's own culture (Hofstede, 2001, p. 15). While this static view may be appropriate when measuring cultural dimensions across cultures, we believe it poses a problem when comparing communication between different cultures, as the functionalistic approach fails to encompass the dynamics and complexity of intercultural interactions. In order to eliminate this problem, we have chosen to add theories on intercultural

and interpersonal communication to the cultural theories, as these will help explain the dynamics of intercultural communication.

3.2. Choice of method

We begin our study with a basic presumption; we expect to find a link between the cultural components and the choice of communication style. In order to confirm this presumption, we initially apply a hermeneutic-deductive method; our data collection is guided by the general notion that a difference in communicational style exists. However, the actual data collected, in an inductive fashion, provide corrections to our first notions and prompt us to revise our theories and find new theoretical explanations. Thus, our approach is neither purely deductive nor purely inductive, but rather moves back and forth between these two approaches in an abductive manner (Josephson & Josephson, 1996, p. 5). The continuing process of changing between different methods is an example of what we previously defined as the hermeneutic circle. This will be elaborated on in section *3.3.3 Processing of data*.

3.3. Data

In this section, we will account for the approach of the data collection and the processing choices. The section is divided into three areas: design of data collection (before), execution of data collection (during) and processing of data collection (after). For this we will mainly use the conceptualisations of Andersen (1999) and Kvale (1996), who in their respective works, outline the processes and relevant decisions a thorough research paper should follow. Andersen provides us with an outline of which decisions we need to make in order to design and analyse our data collection, and Kvale guides us through the qualitative interview.

3.3.1. Design of data collection

We will now account for how we are going to answer the RQ. This is what Andersen (1999, p. 153) calls the design of the data collection. Andersen (ibid., pp. 154-155) lists a number of aspects which, when put together, form the data design:

Type of research unit: The research unit of this study is the differences in culture, values and communication styles between Indians and Danes. But since these are intangible concepts

which are not easily measured, we study the communicational behaviour of business people interacting in India. Since individuals often reflect the cultural values of their own culture, we believe them to be qualified representatives of our research unit.

Number of the research units: It is not possible to perform an exhaustive study, since all business people who are or have been part of an Indian-Danish collaboration cannot be reached. We are therefore restricted to a relatively small number of units.

Time factor: This thesis is static, as we have neither time nor resources to conduct a dynamic study. However, it can be said that the subject of the thesis is dynamic, as it focuses on a communication process that has taken place, i.e. a process which has been going on for a period of time.

Partial or full study: This thesis is a partial study, since we chose only a small number of units to represent Indian-Danish communicational business behaviour. This is also called inference.

Researcher's control of the study: As we conducted interviews and e-mail questionnaires, we have unsystematic control of the study. We are to some extent able to guide the interview via our interview questions, but we have limited control over the answers provided by our respondents.

The thesis is partially coloured by the fact that we are representatives of one of the analysed national cultures. In addition, the research is coloured by the fact that we primarily analyse the interaction as it is carried out when Danes travel to India, and not when Indians visit Denmark.

Selection of respondents

Andersen (1999, pp. 156-159) demonstrates three approaches to respondent selection:

- Simple, random sample
- Stratified sample
- Cluster sample

The point of departure for selection of respondents is the stratified sample. The population is seen as Danish companies working with Indian companies. Strata are therefore concentrated around nationality, gender, age, business etc. The selection of respondents is not entirely random, since others have chosen for us, by providing us with contacts, Indian as well as Danish. We are, however, convinced that none of our contacts have had any interest in controlling or directing our study in any direction, and we therefore assume our respondents to be objectively selected. Our demands have been simple: that our respondents have been part of a communication process and/or negotiation with a partner or person of Indian or Danish origin. As all our respondents met our demands, we assume them to provide valid data.

Data collection methods

After lining out the design of the data collection, we will now account for which methods of data collection we will employ. The design of the data collection determines the choice of data collection methods. Andersen (1999, p. 190) operates with three methods of data collection, but we have added a fourth method (marked with a *), which we find relevant in this study:

- Qualitative or quantitative data

- Primary or secondary data

- First-hand or second-hand data (*)

- Stimuli data or non-stimuli data

Qualitative or quantitative data

Considering the restricted time, funds and networks available, it seems impossible for us to retrieve enough data to complete a quantitative research. Instead, we have chosen a qualitative approach which makes it possible for us to go beyond the behavioural aspects and into the attitudes of Indian and Danish business people.

Primary or secondary data

We will use both primary and secondary data for this analysis. In order to get more recent data to work with and to be able to control the questions asked, we will do the data collection ourselves, which means that we will seek out respondents whom we believe to be able to provide us with relevant experiences of Indian-Danish communication situations.

First-hand or second-hand data

We find it relevant to distinguish between first-hand and second-hand information. Most of our respondents will draw on their own experiences solely, but it can be expected that some will draw on experiences of people they know, which therefore makes the data second-hand data. We must be cautious with this sort of data, because it cannot be verified and we cannot ask further in to the thoughts and feelings of the person who had this particular experience.

Stimuli data or non-stimuli data

Since we are conducting face-to-face interviews, we cannot avoid influencing the data. We do so by our spoken and unspoken language during the interview, the information we provide about ourselves, our thesis and the questions we ask. It is therefore possible that we, by our mere presence, or the way a question is put forward, influence the respondent to act or answer in a specific way. Our e-mail questionnaires are also liable to influence our respondents, again through the questions asked and the information given. The downside of the questionnaires is that we cannot guarantee that the respondents understand the questions, and we cannot guide them in the "right" direction. Furthermore, we cannot easily ask additional questions where respondents have been brief or unclear in their answers.

3.3.2. Execution of data collection

We intend to use a semi-structured questioning technique (Andersen, 1999, p. 206), as we find it to be the best method to ensure that our respondents touch upon the topics we have chosen. Based on our theoretical knowledge, we will put together an interview guide[1] for the personal interviews, and inform the respondents in advance of the topics. This gives the respondents an opportunity to prepare for the interview. For the interview, we will have more specific questions ready for the respondent.

We will use note-taking as well as recording the interviews. Even though this will produce a vast amount of data to be processed, we believe this approach will be more valuable for this thesis. It allows us to put our main focus on the conversation instead of note-taking, and it gives us the opportunity to reassess a quotation at any time during the analysis and interpretation (ibid., p. 183).

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[1] Appendix 1 Interview guides

We believe that a personal, face-to-face interview is the most rewarding interview, and we have thus found it beneficial for us to travel to Mumbai, India, in order to perform personal interviews with both Indian and Danish business people residing there.

3.3.3. Processing of data

The first step of the data processing is to transcribe the interviews and select the relevant quotations where respondents touch upon any of the chosen components. In order to structure this massive amount of quotations, we will categorise relevant information according to cultural components. This process will be described further in chapter *4. Empirical data.*

During our data processing, we found that the execution of our data collection did not provide us with a sufficient amount of data to analyse all the cultural components included in the interview guide. We thus found it necessary to redefine our chosen cultural components, and chose the components which provided us with the best opportunity for an in-depth analysis. Consequently, the process of choosing the theory and the empirical data is ongoing throughout the data processing, and thus the theory and empirical data are repeatedly redefined, cf. the hermeneutic spiral. Though not included in the thesis, the remaining cultural components, which we attempted to investigate through our interviews, are found in the transcripts.

While processing the data, we must also assess the reliability of the answers. Answers may be coloured, information omitted or changed to fit the respondent's image, if he believes a different answer might damage his business image (Andersen, 1999, pp. 221-226). It is up to us to interpret the answers – what is being said as well as what is not being said. The respondents are likely to paint a certain picture, since their answers portrait their own behaviour as well as that of their counterpart.

Anonymity

Due to strategic competitive advantages of our respondents, we have chosen to keep their identity anonymous. The respondents' value to this thesis does not lie in their identity, but in their function as representatives of their national cultures and in the fact that they have had intercultural experiences. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that we have used male

references on all respondents in order to eliminate the gender distinction in the analysis; except in examples where gender plays a significant role.

Translation of quotations

In order to make the reading experience smoother, we have chosen to translate the Danish quotations, used in the analysis, into English. The original versions of the Danish quotations can be found in footnotes, as well as in the data matrix and tables[2].

3.4. Summary

In this chapter, we have accounted for our basic theoretical stance, and described our choice of method. Subsequently, we have provided a detailed explanation of our choices in connection with the design of the data collection and selection of respondents. These choices have been of significant importance in order to make the interview guide mirror the cultural components used throughout the thesis.

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[2] As the examples shown in chapter
4. Empirical data are extracts of the appendices, the Danish quotations are not translated into English.

Empirical data

4. Empirical data

The answers are coloured by the fact that some of our respondents have had somewhat limited experiences. Even so, we generally believe that our respondents are reliable sources of intercultural information, as they all have had work experiences with the opposite culture. Moreover, it has sometimes been necessary to read between the lines, and analyse on what was not being said, as we believe that certain respondents were reluctant to answer our questions for either personal, cultural or strategic reasons.

By using semi-structured interview questions, we have succeeded in gathering detailed data that would not have surfaced in a more structured questioning technique. The selected quotations have been processed in order to transform the quotations into data ready for analysis. In the following, we will describe the phases of this transformation.

Phase 1: In order to categorise each statement according to theoretical components, we have compared the statements of our respondents with the selected theory. This process is known as coding of interviews (Andersen, 1999, p. 253). The purpose of phase 1 is to catalogue all relevant statements in theoretical components. An extract of the complete table can be seen in *Table 1* below.

Table 1: Extract of interview coding

R1-I	
Quotation	Component
There is a lot of socialising happening between business	Collectivism
I think, what I experience is for them [the Danes] it is more business, because they have travelled all the way when they come	Collectivism
In at meeting with Danes, we are clear on an agenda, because we have now become very very tuned on Danish ways of organising meetings, with a definite agenda and action plan, people respond to the action plan, and the date which it is to be complemented. So we are clear on that.	Temporality
In a normal meeting the Indians will do the multitasking.	Temporality
A modern Indian person, she does more than one activity at a time. If you go back to your hotel, your receptionist, she can handle 5-6 customers at a time. In Denmark, you can go, and you stand in line, one person at a time.	Temporality

Source: Own work

Phase 2: After coding the interviews, they must be converted into data in order to be usable in the analysis. This we will refer to as the matrix of empirical data and analysis. This matrix functions as the link between the interviews and the data. The matrix is constructed with

respondents listed in rows and theoretical components listed in columns. Consequently, when reading the matrix horizontally the empirical data from each respondent is extracted, and when reading the matrix vertically, the analytical data from each theoretical component is extracted. This is illustrated with the markings in *Figure 2* below. Due to the scale of the matrix, we found it unfavourable to list the statements chronologically. In stead, we have chosen to provide the quotations with a code, consisting of a letter and a number. The letter signifies the horizontally listed cultural components and the number signifies the quotations divided according to each respondent. These codes will be used throughout the thesis to refer to any particular quotation.

Figure 2: Extract of the matrix of empirical data and analysis

Source: Own work

Phase 3: The last step of the data processing is preparing the data for our analysis, which is done by grouping the data into their respective theoretical categories. Each theoretical topic is illustrated in separate tables encompassing all relevant statements about said topic, as demonstrated in *Table 2* below. After completing these three phases the empirical data is ready to be analysed and discussed.

Table 2: Extract of analysis preparation

Hierarchy	
Quotation	**Respondent**
My counterpart's gender, age, nationality and seniority mean something	R7-I
Hver gang man skal noget i Indien, så skal man have ti underskrifter. Der er nogle led man skal igennem. Alle niveauer har lyst til at have en indflydelse.	R1-DK
Sometimes the differences have caused difficulties, but maybe when you are from different cultures meeting. For us our culture is about respect. You know, people call, if you are senior to them by age, call them sir. And also if you are in an office, a hierarchy higher. But in Denmark, you can call a CEO by his name	R1-I
Jo større en virksomhed er, jo flere underskrifter skal man have.	R1-DK
I og med at jeg var vesterlænding så kom statussen allerede der.	R1-DK

Source: Own work

Theory

5. Theory

In this chapter, we will firstly present the relevant theoretical areas that will help us reach a conclusion of our RQ. Our first cultural component is *hierarchy* which denotes the status-related differences in business and society. The second component is *collectivism* which indicates the types of relations between business partners. The third component is *context* which account for the types of communication styles employed by different cultures. The fourth component is *face* which includes both self- and public image. The fifth component is *temporality* which expresses the view of time within cultures. Simultaneously, we will compare Indian and Danish culture in accordance with these theoretical components. Finally, we will offer some points of *critique* of our chosen theorists.

5.1. Hierarchy

One of the most central concepts in intercultural research is that of hierarchy. Hierarchy is most often expressed through superiority/submission and authority/obedience. However, inequality of power distribution can only exist when accepted by both "master" and "servant" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 82). Fiske (1991) supports this by claiming that power is not attained through force or threat, but through voluntary submission. Fiske refers to this as authority ranking, and states that *"people perceive each other as different in terms of status"* (Hoppe et al, 1996, p. 62). The subordinate is loyal and obedient, while the superior offers help and protection (ibid., p. 68). Burgoon and Hale (1984) also support the concept of hierarchy, referring to it as the category of control, in which a dominance-submission dimension is used to describe power distribution (Hoppe et al, 1996, p. 68). A society can never be hierarchy-free, as some groups will always be more disadvantaged than others (Hofstede, 2001, p. 82). Though there are many different kinds of power inequality, we will focus only on the power distribution between superior and subordinate and in intercultural business communication.

Power distance

In an organisation, hierarchy can be seen as flat or steep, and this indicates the level of power distribution. Hofstede (2001, pp. 79-143) refers to this as power distance, and he defines it as *"the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations accept that power is distributed unequally"* (Hofstede & Bond, 1984, p. 419). Hofstede defines power distance in a boss-subordinate relationship:

"The power distance between a boss B and a subordinate S in a hierarchy is the difference between the extent to which B can determine the behavior of S and the extent to which S can determine the behaviour of B."

(Hofstede, 2001, p. 83)

Hofstede used the "fear of disagreement with management" question as his main indicator of power distance (Hofstede, 2001, p. 85). Power distance is thus measured by the perceptions of the subordinate, as a superior might be too biased to provide a fair answer (ibid., pp. 83, 85). The more fear the answers demonstrated, the higher was the level of power distance. Power distance can be illustrated by the power distance index (PDI) or by a continuum, going from *high power distance*, i.e. great fear of disagreeing with management, to *low power distance*, i.e. little fear of disagreeing with management.

Power distance can be demonstrated in different ways. In high power distance cultures, power is usually centralised at the top of the organisation (Hofstede & Usunier, 1989, p. 146), and the management body is large, resulting in a steep organisational structure. These types of organisations (and cultures) tend to be bureaucratic, because, even though the CEO have absolute power, decisions are run by all management levels, consequently resulting in a slow decision making process. Power inequality is accepted by society as an elementary feature of life (Gudykunst & Matsumoto, 1996, p. 45). Consequently, subordinates never question orders from superiors or people higher in rank or status (ibid., p. 46).

Low power distance cultures tend to have a decentralised organisational structure. There is usually a smaller management body than in high power distance cultures, but managers have more decision making authority resulting in a faster decision making. Egalitarianism is highly valued, and there seems to be an interdependence between superior and subordinate (ibid., p. 45). Moreover, subordinates do not necessarily accept orders immediately, but may in fact enquire as to purpose or even suggest a more appropriate approach.

Hofstede & Hofstede (2005, p. 68) argue that there are at least three factors which affect the power distance dimension of cultures:

- Geographical latitude
- Population size
- National wealth

There seems to be a tendency towards countries with higher geographical latitude to have a lower tolerance towards unequal power distribution (Hofstede, 2001, p. 117). As a result, these countries have a lower PDI than countries in warmer climates. Hofstede contributes this difference to a long-term need for development of technology to protect oneself against the cold weather. In contrast, people living in warmer climates had less need for technology, but focused on relations. Some argue that the difference has to do with the inclination to work, rather than the need to it (Myrdal 1971, p. 217; Bandyopadhyaya, 1978, p. 341; Huntington, 2001, p. 43). They state that higher vulnerability towards diseases, metabolic slowdown and malnutrition are some of the factors which result in a disinclination to work. Hofstede, however, rejects this postulation, claiming that *"if humans perform less in tropical countries, it is not because they cannot become high performers there, but because there is less need for it"* (Hofstede, 2001, p. 117).

A second factor affecting power distribution is the size of the population. There seems to be a positive correlation between population size and power distance: a large population leads to a higher power distance (ibid.). Hofstede debates whether population size is a result of or reason for power practises, pointing out that the will of smaller nations to be independent is related to the attitude towards control and the disinclination to be controlled. Stavig & Barnett (1977, p. 765) argue that people in populous nations accept a distant and hierarchical political authority, and have more difficulties with gathering and structuring smaller groups. People in large population countries consequently question authority less than small population countries, and furthermore, power demonstration is more readily turned to and is not considered as a last resort (Hofstede, 2001, p. 117).

The third factor explaining power distance is national wealth. There seems to be a connection between wealth in countries and power distance (ibid.). It has always been agreed that wealthy individuals have been independent, and this also applies nationwide. Wealthy and independent nations experience a value shift, and consequently focus on other factors, such as less

traditional agriculture, more modern technology, more social mobility and a better educational system (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 70). Considering a tradition of wealthy and independent people to function as master to their subordinates, it can also be argued that wealthy countries should have a high power distance. However, wealth alone is not an indicator of power distance, but when supported by other factors, it can function as an indicator.

In 56 % of the cases, a country's power distance can be predicted from these three factors alone. Other factors suggested to account for the remaining 44 % has to do with country history and include:

- Interpersonal relationships
- Colonial history
- Religious views

(Hofstede, 2001, pp. 117-121; Eisenstadt, 1981, p. 167)

In one of his major works on honour, Iribarne (1989) studied the management system of three production plants located in different parts of the world, but owned by the same company. He identified three philosophies that determined interpersonal relationships: honour, fair contract and consensus. The honour principle, which was found in France, seems to originate from ancient aristocracies and consequently, a strong status separation resides, even within the same management level. The second principle, fair contract, was found in the US, and is explained by a sense of equality developed by immigrants. The third and last principle, consensus, was found in the Netherlands, and derives from the respect for facts and a tendency to thoroughly discuss things and convincing each other of what has to be done (Hofstede, 2001, p. 119).

Colonial history is also mentioned as one of the factors contributing to power differences. Hofstede & Hofstede argue that former colonies often have a high power distance, whereas former colonising cultures tend to have a more equal power distribution (2005, p. 70). Hofstede lists the Roman Empire as an example. In Southern Europe (the Latin countries), where the Roman Empire was widely expanded, there is a tendency towards a high power distance. This can be explained by the historic rule of the Roman Emperors, who had unlimited power and control over their colonies. At the same time Northern Europe (the Germanic

countries) was characterised by tribal societies that were much more independent. The British Empire has a similar record. The former colonies still have a high power distance, which can be interpreted as a result of colonial history, but the colonising power, Britain, now has a relatively low power distance. This might be explained by the previous mentioned factors geographical latitude, population size and national wealth (Hofstede, 2001, pp. 119-120).

Hofstede also accounts for the likelihood of former colonies to have developed social inequality as a result of ancient, local value systems rather than colonial heritage, arguing that many of these colonies also had unequal power distribution before being colonised, and that this inequality was simply taken over by the colonising country. This suggests that inequality is intrinsic rather than a result of colonial history (Hofstede, 2001, p. 120; Kakar, 1971, p. 300).

Eisenstadt (1981) listed religious views as an additional factor contributing to the explanation of power inequality. He distinguishes between mundane/secular cultures and transcendental/religious cultures (p. 157). There seems to be a tendency towards religious cultures having a high power distance, and secular cultures having a low power distance. The explanation must be found in the values evolving from these different views of life. Religious cultures have a history of appreciating authority, whereas secular cultures tend to question authorities and generally accepted rules (Inglehart, 1997, p. 297). Furthermore, secular cultures have developed postmodern values, which are concentrated around individual goals and desires, just as Maslow categorised in his hierarchy of needs[3], and thus postmodern cultures question the motives of authorities more readily than religious cultures (Inglehart, 1997, p. 75). According to Inglehart, religious cultures tend to suppress the desires of the individual and promote the collective goals, which is consistent with trust in authorities (ibid.).

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[3] *"Maslow's theory identifies five basic levels of human needs, which rank in order of importance from lower-level (biogenic) needs to higher-level (psychogenic) needs."* (Schiffman & Kanuk, 2007, p. 97).

Status and formality

Parsons & Shils (1951) developed the concept of ascribed versus achieved status. In high power distance cultures, status is most often ascribed, i.e. assigned status due to a person's characteristics, such as age, gender, social connections, education, profession etc. (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997, p. 102), regardless of the person's actual merits and qualifications. People receive status simply by being, not by doing, and may demand power over those who rank lower in the hierarchy. In low power distance cultures, status tends to be achieved, i.e. earned status due to a person's qualifications and accomplishments (ibid.). Status is received by doing instead of being, and everybody has, in theory, the same chances of success.

The degree of formality in communication is a clear signifier of social hierarchy. Factors such as gender, education, organisational rank and buyer/seller relationships affect formality (Gesteland, 2002, pp. 54-55; Graham et al., 1994, p. 88). Formality is more frequently applied in high power distance cultures, where a subordinate tends to apply a formal and indirect communication style, taking care not to offend the superior (we will treat the styles of communication in detail later on). In low power distance cultures, subordinates use an informal and direct style of communication and consider the boss his (almost) equal, thus taking on a more free approach when communicating. Low power distance cultures tend to have problems with applying the appropriate formality, especially the egalitarian Scandinavians (Gesteland, 2002, p. 49) as the importance of status and formality is downplayed in everyday interactions. Being Caucasian often induces a high status position in non-Caucasian parts of the world; a situation which is unfamiliar to many white people (ibid.). High power distance people prefer to be met by others of matching rank, and while display of power is downplayed in low power distance cultures, a person from a high power distance culture, regardless of rank, will almost certainly distrust a low power distance superior who treats his subordinates as equals. The image of a superior can easily be misinterpreted by cultures with different values, and people interacting in intercultural settings should be conscious of how behaviour projects their status, and how this is interpreted by the counterpart.

This is supported by Usunier, who states that *"status is not shown in the same way according to culture"* (2003, p. 109). Usunier also differentiates between what he calls formal power and

real power/decision-making ability (ibid.). According to Usunier, formal power concerns the externalised display of power, i.e. the image of having power, while the real power/decision-making abilities might be possessed by a person who does not appear to have power, and it might not be apparent for outsiders who actually has the power.

The level of hierarchy is reflected in the type of personal relationships, the contexting process and the application of face employed in a culture. These linkages will be elaborated further in the subsequent sections.

5.1.1. India versus Denmark

Scoring 77 on the PDI (Hofstede official webpage A), India is among the top 20 countries with the highest level of power distance. India's long time history of the caste system has made inequality a profound value of Indian culture and a necessity for balance in society. There are five main castes, or social classes, in India, and it is not possible to move upwards in the social hierarchy. Thus a person remains in the caste into which he is born. Though officially abolished (Cooke, 1999), the caste system still seems to flourish, and people are still judged by social rank, connections and status. As a result, status tends to be ascribed, and formality is applied according to status and rank.

Denmark, on the other hand, is among those ranking lowest on the PDI, with a score of only 18 (Hofstede official webpage A). This is consistent with the general belief that Scandinavian countries value equality and consensus. Denmark is known for its Law of Jante (Jantelov), which has ten points dictating how a person should not feel better than the rest. The Law of Jante is by many perceived as a negative way of producing modesty in people. Though never an official law, the Law of Jante is one of the corner stones of Danish society and mentality. Status is achieved through accomplishments, and Danes have an informal communication style. It is not expected that people with higher status are addressed with any particular deference (Gesteland, 1999, p. 7).

Hofstede and others identified at least six factors that affect the level of hierarchy: geographical latitude, population size, national wealth, interpersonal relationships, colonial

history and religious views. We will put this hypothesis to a test in relation to India and Denmark.

Table 3: Comparison of India and Denmark

	India	**Denmark**
Geographical latitude	Low (22° 00' N)	High (56° 00' N)
Population size	High (1,166 mill.)	Low (5.5 mill.)
National wealth	Low	High
Interpersonal relationships	Honour	Consensus
Colonial history	British colony	Tribal society
Religious views	Religious	Secular

Sources: Own work (India latitude and longitude, nd; Denmark latitude and Longitude, nd.; World Factbook, nd.)

Having higher latitude than India, Denmark seems to have the geographical advantage. While also having a rather low population size and enjoying a relatively large national wealth (per inhabitant), Denmark seems to fulfil Hofstede & Hofstede's primary requirements for having a low power distance. If we look at the other factors suggested to affect the level of hierarchy; interpersonal relationships are built on different principles in India and Denmark. While Indians value honour, Danes appreciate consensus and are thus more inclined to question their leaders. Being a former British colony, India certainly has been influenced by the old, British aristocracy, where Denmark used to be a tribal society with various tribes forming a sort of shared community. Lastly, being religious, Indians are more apt to accept inequality, whereas secular Danes are more likely to questions authorities.

All of the six mentioned factors argued to affect hierarchy seem to be applicable for the explanation of power distribution, in India and Denmark. Thus, we believe that there is truth to the impact of these aspects, which will to some extent offer an explanation of power distribution in societies.

5.2. Collectivism

Hofstede's individualism index (IDV) is the one closest linked to the economic development in a country (Hofstede, 2001, p. 211). It is important to keep in mind that this continuum of *individualism* versus *collectivism* does not refer to the individuals in a society, but to national societies in general. This cultural dimension is divided into two opposing poles; with extreme

individualism in one end of the continuum and extreme collectivism in the other end (ibid., p. 216). Triandis and Gelfand (1998, p. 199) have, in addition to Hofstede's original dimension, suggested that there are two different types of individualistic and collectivistic cultures; vertical and horizontal[4]. However, we have chosen to focus mainly on the traditional definitions of individualism and collectivism, as there has been some disagreement of the validity of the distinction (Sivadas et al., 2008, p. 203).

Individualistic societies are characterised by the fact that people are expected to look after themselves and their immediate family only. From childhood they learn to consider themselves with an "I-identity", and this personal identity is separate and distinct from the identity of others. People are independent, and young people leave home as soon as they have learned to provide for themselves. Just as students, who do not come from wealthy families, usually must work to pay either living expenses or the entire education themselves. People can spend their money as they wish, and in general act according to their own needs and wants. In individualistic societies, it is not considered healthy to be too dependent on a group, neither psychologically nor practically. Therefore, people depend on themselves and choose their relationships carefully and voluntarily (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005, pp. 75-76, 80; Hofstede 2001, p. 229). Furthermore, people from individualistic cultures are mainly task-oriented. Focus in a business communication situation is on solving the problem and getting the work done, which is in conflict with the relationship focus collectivistic cultures prefer.

People from collectivistic cultures are a part of an in-group from their day of birth. Thus, they do not choose their specific relationships; they are predetermined for them (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 81), but will of course broaden through life, as more relationships are developed. Within the in-group, people trust each other completely and are mutually dependent on each other and this particular in-group is distinctly separated from other people in society, who, in effect, belong to out-groups. The in-group is a major part of a person's identity, and focus is on the "we-identity" rather than on the self. Thus, distancing oneself

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[4] Triandis & Gelfand define vertical individualistic cultures as cultures where it is important to be the best, and competitiveness is high, e.g. the US. Horizontal individualistic cultures are cultures where emphasis is in on independence, and hierarchical differentiation is downplayed, e.g. Scandinavian countries. Vertical collectivistic cultures are where focus is on cohesion within the group, and there is typically much respect for authorities, e.g. China. Horizontal collectivistic cultures weigh empathy and cooperation, e.g. Israeli kibbutz (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998, p. 119; Triandis & Suh, 2002, pp. 139-140).

from the group shows a lack of loyalty, which is among the worst things a collectivistic person can do. The interest of the in-group is the most important, and will at all times prevail over the interest of the individual. This, however, does not mean that the well-being of the individual is not considered, but it is assumed that in maintaining the needs and wants of the group, the interest of the individual is maintained as well, as everything is shared. Furthermore, people from collectivistic cultures are often very dependent on power figures, which can be linked to what we previously mentioned about hierarchy in a society, indicating that collectivistic cultures usually have a rather high power distance within society (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005, pp. 74-75, 83, 99; Hofstede, 2001, pp. 225-227; Ho, 1978, p. 396; Triandis, 2004, p. 91). The different focuses on "I-identity" and "we-identity" are also evident in the level of importance a society attaches to face. This will be explained in detail in section *5.4 Face*.

Universalism versus particularism

Individualists are usually universalists, which means that rules apply equally to all situations. Thus, the norm is to treat all business partners equally. Preferential treatment of particular business partners is considered to be both unethical and a bad way to practise business (Hofstede, 2001, pp. 238-239). If a business person is rewarded a bonus, promoted or treated differently, it is usually based on an assessment of the competencies and performance of that particular individual (ibid., pp. 240-241), which was previously referred to as achieved status.

Because of their in-group/out-group distinction, people from collectivistic cultures are often considered to be particularists, and the consequences thereof reach beyond their family and into their business relationships (ibid., p. 239). It is common and ethical business practise to treat people in one's in-group better than those of an out-group. In several collectivistic cultures, morality is determined by what the in-group expects a person to do, and furthermore, when interacting with an out-group, it may be considered morally correct to deceit and exploit the counterpart (Triandis & Suh, 2002, p. 144).

Hofstede argues that the level of future ambitions of business people is often shaped by the level of material wealth in that particular country. This indicates that an increase in wealth in a country also leads to an increase in individualism (2001, p. 223). This corresponds with Inglehart's view on societies, which was previously mentioned in section *5.1 Hierarchy*.

Collectivism and context

Several cultural theorists agree that Hall's dimension of context can be considered to be a function of individualism/collectivism. Individualistic cultures usually employ a low-context, direct communication style, whereas people from collectivistic cultures tend to prefer a high-context, indirect style of communication (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988; p. 45; Gudykunst et al, 1996, p. 33; Hofstede, 2001, p. 212). Context will be further elaborated on in the following section *5.3 Context*. Correspondingly, people expect the communication to be high-context within an organisation as well. The level of dependence on the organisation, which by extension is a part of their in-group, is considerably higher than it would be in an organisation in an individualistic culture. If organisations in a collectivistic society stop taking as much responsibility for their workers, it is fair to say that they employ values typical for modern societies, and that will function as a catalyst towards more individualistic values (Hofstede, 2001, p. 212).

5.2.1. India versus Denmark

India is categorised as a collectivistic culture, ranking considerably lower that Denmark in the IDV (Sivadas, 2008, p. 202; Hofstede official webpage B). The collectivism of Indian culture is evident in Indians' extended families and in-groups, which include several generations, and the company as well. Business is often conducted with people from the already existing network, and managers typically treat their employees as part of the family and attempt to strengthen the relationship with them; loyalty is rewarded rather than competence. There is, however, a generational shift happening in Indian business where the younger professionals tend to value competence over relationships. Even so, network and relationships are still important criteria for doing business in India (Kristensen, 1999, p. 150; Dunung, 1998, p. 347; Christie et al, 2003, p. 281).

What is particularly interesting about India is that there seems to be coexistence between individual and collectivistic characteristics in the Indian mindset. Indian business people tend to be very complex; while being collectivistic in the way that they are attentive to the needs and wants of their in-group, they are also considerably individualistic in their behaviour, meaning that they are rather aggressive and goal-oriented when doing business. This is perhaps most evident among the younger business people as they, through international education,

have been more influenced by Western standards. Even so, it is still rare that an Indian business man makes a decision without consulting his superior beforehand, as the hierarchy is still prevalent in Indian businesses (Kumar, 2005, pp. 2-4; Dunung, 1998, p. 347). This dualistic presence of collectivism and individualism is what distinguishes Indian business people from their East Asian neighbours, who are predominantly collectivists, and at the same time separates them from their Western counterparts, who are predominantly individualistic (Kumar, 2005, p. 2; Kumar, 2007, p. 6).

Denmark is categorised as an individualistic culture, and is thereby also largely different from the Indian culture (Sivadas et al, 2008, p. 202; Hofstede official webpage, B). Most Danes wish to be unique, different and responsible for their own lives. They are very task-oriented, and they enter into a partnership for the sake of the business, rather than the relationships, and are primarily focused on ego-goals (Gesteland, 1999, p. 4; Nelson, 2006, pp. 46-47). Though, having connections or personal contacts with a Danish partner can be helpful in some situations, it is not what dictates business in a Danish context; offering the right product at the right price is what is important. Establishing a relationship with the counterpart may be a result of the cooperation, but it must be a natural development. Furthermore, Danes generally make decisions based on expert advice, individual interests and professional contributions (ibid.; Gesteland, 2002, p. 289; Schneider & Barsoux 2003, p. 130).

The difference in the view of the individual's role and place in society may create problems of understanding for both parties. While Danes will usually be task-oriented and keep focus on the business, Indians will generally be focused on establishing a relationship with the counterpart, and not do business with them, until mutual trust is established. This may cause frustration for both parties, as Danes want things to happen quickly, but Indians prefer to take things slow. However, the younger business generation in India may be partially more task-oriented than Indian business people have been previously. Where collectivistic Indian managers consider an organisation to be a social system, the individualistic Danish managers consider it to be a task system, and both act in accordance with their respective views.

5.3. Context
Western business people and Asian business people often encounter communicational misunderstandings when negotiating with one another (Gesteland & Seyk, 2002, p. 19). There

can be many explanations for these misunderstandings, but often they have to do with irreconcilable expectations of the communication process. Western societies are often deal-oriented, whereas the Asian societies are more frequently relationship-oriented (Gesteland, 2002, pp. 27-31).

Differences in communicational goals are expressed through speech and communication patterns. Hall (1981a; 1983) focused on the rules of exchanging information and how much information is needed, i.e. if there is a shared background or frame of reference, less information is required. Hall labelled this as context, and when put on a continuum, a high need for information is called *low-context* and a low need for information is called *high-context*. A low-context culture denotes a culture that is explicit and where communication is very precise: *"the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code"* (Hall, 1981a, p. 91). The sender does not expect the receiver to have much background knowledge, and the sender therefore bears the burden of a successful communication, i.e. if the message does not come across properly, it is probably because the sender has not been sufficiently explicit. A high-context culture, on the other hand, is implicit, because of a shared background and unspoken understanding between the interlocutors. The sender therefore expects the receiver to know what the subject is without the sender having to actually say it: *"most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while little is in the coded, explicit transmitted part of the message"* (ibid.). This means that the "responsibility" of understanding rests very much the receiver (ibid., p. 98), i.e. if he is not able to read between the lines and understand the underlying message and/or background, he cannot possibly know what the subject is. Consequently, one has to pay much more attention to the surroundings and the counterpart in a high-context culture, than one has to do in a low-context culture. A person is not necessarily strictly high-context, but may be explicit in a business negotiation, and implicit in private conversations. However, a culture is predominantly located towards one end of the context continuum (ibid., p. 91).

High-context cultures distinguish between in-groups and out-groups (ibid., p. 113). If a person is a member of an in-group, he is also expected to have a great knowledge of the rest of the group, so that no one has to be explicit due to the shared frame of reference. Having to express oneself explicitly, especially on sensitive topics, is seen as a loss of self-face (see section *5.4*

Face). Comparatively, assuming that people do not understand was is going on and thus being too explicit, e.g. by providing information the other person is already familiar with or making imprudent suggestions as if the person is not able to think for himself, is also considered as a loss of face, but as a loss of other-face (ibid., p. 68). In high-context cultures, using few words are seen as more trust-worthy than using many words (Gudykunst & Matsumoto, 1996, p. 32), which is the opposite view as in low-context cultures, where many words, rather than a few, are used to provide the truth.

Low-context cultures do not make a distinction between in-groups and out-groups as high-context cultures do. Instead, they tend to value explicitness, openness and transparency in all situations and with all people. Low-context cultures also tend to be more direct in their style of communication than high-context cultures. This directness is related to explicitness, but also to the tendency of being deal-oriented. Being explicit and direct makes way to a quick and smooth communication with Westerners, and they perceive it to be necessary in order to communicate effectively. Collectivistic cultures, on the other side, usually refrain from direct communication, as they find it to be the least effective (Kim & Wilson, 1994, p. 213).

The contexting process

The contexting process is a very central phenomenon, since it depicts how the concept of context actually functions. According to Hall (1981a, p. 86), the contexting process is a state of mind, where one becomes aware of the screen surrounding him. This screen "shields" us from the world around us, and the degree to which one pays attention to the surroundings expresses the level of context. Thus, when moving towards the lower end of the context continuum, one becomes less aware of the context, and more concerned with serving one's own goals and those of the immediate friends and families. In contrast, when one moves towards the higher end of the context continuum, one becomes more aware of the surroundings, and more concerned with the welfare of the entire group or society. The contexting can shift during a conversation (Hall & Hall, 1990, p. 7), signalling that things are going well and that the relationship is becoming closer (towards the higher end of the continuum) or signalling that things are going wrong and that the interactants are distancing themselves (towards the lower end of the continuum). A high-context person is able to see things in a broader perspective, and the concern for welfare and goals of society is closely linked to collectivism.

Furthermore, when communicating, it is crucial to determine the appropriate contexting level for the communication style, in order to address the counterpart properly (Hall, 1983, p. 61), see *Figure 3*. As mentioned earlier, providing either too much or too little information can be damaging to the communication.

Figure 3: Relation between level of context and amount of information needed
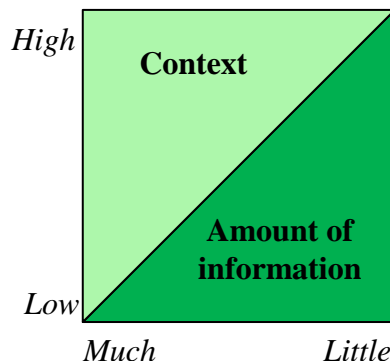
Source: Hall, 1983, p. 61 (own adaptation)

Being from a high-context culture means that less information is needed, cf. the implicitness of high-context communication. On the other hand, a low level of shared knowledge necessitates a vast and explicit amount of information (ibid.).

Direct vs. indirect style of communication

According to Gesteland (2002, p. 33), people from relationship-oriented, high-context cultures prioritise maintaining harmony in the group and thus value an indirect communication style. They are concerned with politeness and are anxious not to offend or embarrass their surroundings in any way; *"Courtesy often takes precedence over truthfulness, which is consistent with the cultural emphasis on the maintenance of social harmony as the primary function of speech"* (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992, p. 158). Thus, a relationship-oriented, high-context culture is not likely to use negations, e.g. "no", "I disagree" or "I don't like that" because of the risk of threatening group harmony. This reluctance to be direct and confronting is closely linked to the concept of face (see section *5.4 Face*). People from deal-oriented, low-context cultures, however, tend to adopt a more straight-forward and confrontational communication style, and tend to value clarity and directness (ibid., p. 143). Differences in

styles of communication lead to misinterpretations because of an ignorance of the offending impact one type of communication may have on other cultures.

Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey (1988, pp. 105-108) distinguish between elaborate, exacting and succinct styles of communication. They claim that an exacting style is preferred in low-context cultures which rank low in uncertainty avoidance[5]; an elaborate communication style is chosen in cultures, which are high-context and moderate in uncertainty avoidance; and a succinct communication style is opted for in high-context, high uncertainty avoidance cultures. The exacting approach in low-context, low-uncertainty avoidance cultures is consistent with the four Gricean maxims of quantity, quality, relevance and manner (Grice, 1975, p. 47), which state that: one should provide no more, no less information than what is necessary in the given situation; one should say only what is believed to be the truth; one should only speak of what is relevant to the context; and one should avoid ambiguity and exaggerations. Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey argue that while Grice's conversational maxims are overall consistent with low-context communication patterns, they may not be compatible with other cultural styles of communication, such as high-context, high uncertainty avoidance cultures (1988, p. 108).

In order to avoid a communicational breakdown, a person from a low-context culture should try to foresee as many misunderstandings as possible when dealing with high-context cultures (Hall, 1981a, p. 127). He should thus be more sensitive and selective in his expressions. However, Djursaa (2006, p. 127) argues that high-context people should in fact be the ones to change as she argues that it is, *"easier for them to learn to use face-value words than it is for others to learn to decode veiled messages"* (ibid., p. 127). This ethnocentric approach[6] we disagree with. We believe it is equally difficult for either to change their style of communication, and that responsibility lies on both sides. Instead, we suggest a geocentric approach[7], thus depending on both sides to learn to decode the communication styles of the other. This way, each culture can continue to communicate in its own style, but listen in the style of their counterparts. This could also be referred to as having a high intercultural

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[5] Uncertainty avoidance is one of Hofstede's cultural dimensions that *"refers to a society's discomfort with uncertainty, preferring predictability and stability"* (Schneider & Barsoux, 2003, p. 87).
[6] An ethnocentric approach is when people prefer to act and interact within the frames of their own culture, as they consider it to be the superior one (Daniels, Radebaugh & Sullivan, 2004, p. 74).
[7] A geocentric approach is when people believe that a mixture of cultures is the best way to achieve a successful partnership (Daniels, Radebaugh & Sullivan, 2004, p. 75).

competence (Kwintessential), which is a term, used about the ability to act appropriately and effectively in cultures different from one's own.

5.3.1. India versus Denmark

India is classified as a high-context culture, thus applying implicit communication. Relationship building is important to Indians, and when being as familiar with each other as Indians are, fewer words are needed when conveying a message. Indians are highly aware of their surroundings, and the contexting process is thus consciously put into function.

As a result of high-context communication, Indians tend to prefer an indirect style of address, which also serves to maintain group harmony. Consequently, the positive, indirect phrases are preferred over negative, direct expressions. As India is a high-context culture and scores moderately on Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance index, it is an elaborate culture according to Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey (1988, p. 107). Indians thus tend to use an animated, vivid language in their daily communication. To the exact Westerner, this emotional language can be rather confusing and misleading, since they are used to an accurate and literal language.

Denmark is one of the most low-context cultures in the world, and Danes value a straightforward and transparent communication, stressing that communication should be clear, concise and to the point. Danes do not like to have to guess the meaning of a message, and are known to always say *"what they mean and mean what they say"* (Gesteland, 1999, p. 6). While Danes tend to perceive themselves as explicit, they too have a shared frame of reference which is apt to make their messages incomprehensible for outsiders.

The directness of Danes is often interpreted as a sign of disrespect by indirect, high-context cultures, such as India. It is, however, in line with Grice's conversational maxims, though it should be remembered that the conversational maxims were in fact developed in and for a Western, low-context communication style.

It should also be mentioned that the Danish sense of humour is apt to offend people from other cultures, as Danes tend to transfer directness and explicitness into their humour, which is thus

likely to be personal and upfront. That is, by many, perceived as rude and insulting, while it for Danes is only meant as a joke.

5.4. Face

Goffman defined the concept of face as the *"positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by his or her self-presentation"* (Goffman, 1967, p. 5). Face includes a person's own perception of his reputation, public image and status among others in a specific interaction, and is important in regard to self-preservation and well-being (White et al, 2004, p. 102). Including both social cognitive issues, identity issues, affection issues and communication issues, the construct of face is multifaceted (Ting-Toomey & Cocroft, 1994, p. 307). The concept of face is typically divided into the notions of *self-face* and *other-face.*

Face and facework are not independent phenomena; they are attached to communication situations and shaped by communicative processes. This is done in two ways; we produce the labels of face and facework in our communicative processes, and we also engage in actions we make fit these labels (Penman, 1994, p. 19; White et al, 2004, pp. 102-103). A person's face is continuously negotiated in a communication situation (Johansson, 2007, p. 276), and in effect the situations dictate our self-identity and the constancy of it. Penman links this view of social context influencing self-identity to relationships, suggesting that in order to create a view of oneself, it must be shaped in dialogue with others (Penman, 1994, p. 21; White et al, 2004, p. 103). This is similar to what was described in *Figure 1*. Furthermore, it is in these social interactions we create our social knowledge, which is considered to be the result of joint actions in the situation. Thus, it is not necessarily related to reality and not objective, but rather subjective, and based mainly on our own values and beliefs about how reality appears (Penman, 1994, p. 23).

Face, facework and culture

Culture and communication mutually affect each other. How people communicate can influence their shared culture and the culture itself can influence how people within that particular culture interact (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1996, p. 3). Researchers agree that the concept of facework is contained by all cultures (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988, p. 84), and all members of a society want to claim a wished particular public self-image. Face and facework are found in the situated discourse in a specific communication situation (Ting-Toomey, 1994, p. 3). Goffman states that face is not a static concept, but a dynamic, psychological self-image, sporadically placed in a flow of events, and it can be lost, gained, taken or given (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988, p. 84; Goffman, 1955, p. 214; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 66). Hence, a person's face will change according to a given situation, just as the social self will vary in accordance with the attitude towards self-conceptualisation in a particular culture (See *Figure 1*). It is the situation and the culture which, to a large extent, determine the degree of self-conceptualisation projected into our face (Ting-Toomey, 1994, p. 3; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988, p. 85).

Depending on cultural background, people have different experiences with previous interactions which affect their claim of face (Gudykunst & Matsumoto, 1996, p. 124). People, unaware of cultural differences, are likely to employ the style of communication they are familiar with, assuming that their counterpart will, of course, use the same style of speech (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992, p. 143). In this type of situation, overcoming the barrier is rather difficult as both parties will attempt to clarify the situation by continuing to employ the strategy that confused the other party in the first place (Tannen, 1979, p. 5). In order to clarify the situation, it requires that one party recognises the problem, and change communication style accordingly (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992, p. 143).

Politeness theory

Brown & Levinson have made a contribution to the face theory, developing the politeness theory where they present the concepts: positive and negative face. Positive face focuses on negotiating the desired self-identity and is significant in portraying a consistent and positive image, which is appreciated by other people. Negative facework focuses on freedom of imposition and action, and it is concerned with establishing and maintaining a distance and

wished interpersonal constraints between self and others (Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp. 61, 66-67; White et al, 2004, p. 103). However, facework is a function of the value orientations in a given culture, hence, communication styles and face-negotiation will vary from culture to culture (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988, p. 86).

Positive face is closely linked to Goffman's notion of face, as it concerns the construct of face and the value of social image. Acts, such as embarrassment, critique, disrespect etc., may threaten the positive face. Negative face is rather different; it concerns a person's desire to act independently. Both types of face can potentially be threatened during a negotiation, but regarding relationships, the positive face is the one closest connected to the success of the agreement (White et al, 2004, p. 103; Cupach & Carson, 2002, pp. 444-445).

Rationality

A given relationship formed in an interaction is directly affected by face threats. What is considered to be face threatening behaviour varies across cultures. It can be defined in regard to rationality, i.e. a person's ability to consider means against an end, in order to select the particular means that meet the desired goal most satisfyingly. Though this notion of rationality suggests a level of intuition, it also implies a level of a minimum-cost, maximum-advantage assessment (Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp. 69-70). However, the desired goal is not necessarily the same for all participants in a situation; and the content of face and rationality might not be the same in all cultures (ibid, pp. 66-67). Thus, what is considered to be a rational desired end in an individualistic, low-context culture might not be a rational desired end in a collectivistic, high-context culture.

Face threatening actions (FTA)

Because face is emotionally invested, it should be dealt with in numerous ways, as nobody wishes to lose face. People are interested in maintaining face, and are thus motivated in situations that help them uphold it and feel discouraged when others do not work to uphold their face or when it is threatened (Goffman, 1967, p. 6). When communicating, people enter into an unwritten, unspoken agreement of cooperation, assuming others' willingness to cooperate in order to maintain everybody's face in the interaction. This cooperation is mainly based on the vulnerability of the interactants' face, assuming that people will defend their face

if it is threatened; and in that defence they will risk threatening the face of others. In situations where face threats cannot completely be avoided, a strategy of minimising the threat and damage will often be employed (Brown & Levinson, 1978, pp. 66, 73). If a participant's face is threatened, it is fair to assume that the issuer has no interest in maintaining harmony, and thereby a cooperative relationship in the situation. Furthermore, research suggests that negative influences will cause participants in a negotiation to become more competitive and less cooperative, and thus less likely to make a deal (White et al, 2004, p. 104).

Face threat sensitivity (FTS)

White et al. define FTS as the probability that a person will respond with a negative affective reaction when his face is being threatened. It includes the individual's own communicational behaviour, perception and affect as well as the way the person is perceived by others. Even though FTS is a narrow personality trait, it is manifested in interpersonal communication, and should therefore be considered in a social manner. As a construct, it is compared to social individual differences; it maps the tendency to react in a specific way to a set of social relations (ibid., pp. 104-106).

Deception

Deception is not as uncommon as one might think, and it is, furthermore, a feature adaptable to a given situation (Ford, 1996, p. 273). A negotiation is perhaps more conducive to deception than other situations, as the criteria of success is to keep your poker face, and not show your colours. When an element of cultural differences is added to a communication context, the situation becomes far more complex as the participants have no means of reading their counterpart (Triandis et al., 2001, p. 74).

As briefly touched upon in section *5.2 Collectivism*, Triandis et al. argue that people from collectivistic cultures can be assumed to lie during a negotiation. Apart from the particularistic conviction previously mentioned, it can be explained by the concept of face, as research has shown that people from collectivistic cultures show tendencies towards lying in order to save face in an in-group relationship. Lying is considered to be a necessary evil in collectivistic cultures, as the individual is expected to put the group before the self (DePaulo & Bell, 1996, p. 704; Triandis et al., 2001, pp. 75, 85). This view is supported by Trilling, who argues that

where people are mainly defined in accordance with social processes, it is acceptable to lie, whereas in individualistic cultures, where people mainly define themselves, lying is not accepted (1972, pp. 160-161). An additional element to the cultural aspect of deceit is the personality of the individuals, as this too has an influence on how people react in different situations.

Machiavellianism

Machiavellianism defines a dimension of self-orientation and exploitation of other people, and was compared by White et al. to the before mentioned FTS. They found that people who rank high on Machiavellianism (high machs) are people who willingly deceive and manipulate others in order to reach their own goal (White et al., 2004, p. 106). Even though Machiavellianism has rather negative connotations, it should be mentioned that high machs are neither amoral nor immoral, but they follow a set of ethical codes that differs from that of low machs. The codes are a system of ethics, based on a particular situation in which moral decisions are based on personal sets of ethical guidelines rather than moral absolutes (Cyriac & Dharmaraj, 1994, p. 282). This corresponds with the notion of particularistic behaviour in collectivistic cultures and universalistic behaviour in individualistic cultures (Gudykunst & Kim 1992, p. 43).

Face and context

It is relevant to point out that in low-context cultures, the process of face-negotiation is carried out in an explicit manner. Giving and protecting face must be done with undisguised moves and countermoves in order to be acknowledged. The arguments presented in a situation follow a pattern of linear logic; it is an immediate input versus output comparison that is at the base of this face-negotiation. On the contrary, face-negotiation in high-context cultures is more accumulative and long-term based. People in high-context cultures are a part of a value system, which is shared by an entire group, thus all face-supporting and -violation moves have an effect on the entire group. Arguments are expressed equivocal and face-moves are usually guided by a spiral, logic pattern. Face-moves are of vital importance, as they help ensure social and personal relationships and harmony within the group (Ting-Toomey, 1988, pp. 217, 225-226; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988, p. 90).

Context also influences the way people deal with conflicts. People from low-context cultures are usually able to distinguish conflicts from the people involved. They can disagree on an issue and still remain friends, without it affecting their relationship much. For people from high-context cultures, the issue of a disagreement is closely linked to the person who brought up the issue, thus if a person openly disagrees with someone, or publicly confronts them, it is considered very insulting and causes both parties to lose face (Zandpour & Sadri, 1996, p. 182).

Face and collectivism

As the importance of face is closely connected to the level of collectivism in a society, we have chosen to elaborate specifically on this linkage. Ting-Toomey presents a theory where she couples individualism, context and face, and states that people from individualistic societies focus primarily on their own face, self-face maintenance, whereas people from collectivistic cultures consider maintenance of other-face to be the crucial factor (Ting-Toomey, 1988, p. 215; Gudykunst et al., 1996, p. 38).

In most collectivistic cultures, direct, low-context communicational confrontations are considered to be direct threats to harmony, and in effect also the interactants' face. In a harmony-disrupting situation, collectivistic people will consort to their high-context behaviour and implicitly indicate a negative answer. In accordance with this, it is also more acceptable to lie in a collectivistic culture, than it is in an individual one, as long as it is done with the intention to save face (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 86; Hofstede, 2001, p. 228; Triandis & Suh, 2002, pp. 139-140, 144; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988, p. 87).

The notion of face is also evident in the distinction between shame and guilt. People from individualistic cultures navigate around the rules and norms of life, steered by an individual conscience and a universalistic mindset, thus if a person breaks a rule, he knows to feel guilty. The collectivistic, particularistic cultures operate more with shame. If a rule is broken, the guilt is not as important as the shame inflicted upon the person who broke the rule. The shame will in effect cause both the rule-breaker along with his in-group to lose face. The tipping point of shame is whether others have become aware of the rule-breaking or not. Shame is rather social and is felt if others are familiar with the rule-breaking, whereas guilt is far more individual and

is felt regardless of others' knowledge. The importance of face is considered to be the result of a society where social contexts play a big part in styles of communication (Benedict, 1974, pp. 222-223; Hofstede, 2001, pp. 229-230).

5.4.1. India versus Denmark

High-context India is rather other-face oriented, meaning that Indians are very concerned with face, as all types of communication have potential influence on their face. The indirect communication employed by Indians is understood to be proper social behaviour and is a means to uphold people's face, and thereby harmony, in a given situation (White et al., 2004, p. 103; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, pp. 187, 197). Not neglecting the presence of individualistic traits in Indian culture, this behaviour corresponds with the classification of India as a collectivistic culture (Hofstede official webpage B, Kumar, 2005, p. 2). Indians have a highly interdependent self-construal, they are more concerned with other-face than with self-face. It is a combined result of the high-context, collectivistic culture, where the self-image is projected by the in-group and a person's self-image (Ting-Toomey, 1994, pp. 3-4; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, pp. 201-202). Furthermore, Indians will usually attempt to avoid conflicts, as it would disrupt harmony in the situation and in effect cause the interactants to lose face (Ting-Toomey et al., 2001, pp. 88-89). The Indian focus on face also means that their FTS is higher than that of the Danes, as they are more concerned with losing face.

Regarding deception and Machiavellianism, it is not fair to say that Indian managers are devious or unpleasant, but their moral integrity is entangled in the concerns of a tough and inhumane Indian market, which they have to deal with (Cyriac & Dharmaraj, 1994, p. 286). This refers to Kautiliya – The Indian Machiavelli's work, where it is mentioned that a ruler must use any means necessary to attain his goal, and that his actions require no moral sanction (Sharma & Bhal, 2004, p. 126). It is, however, on a more moderate basis, as Indian managers have their values and ethic in place, underneath their sometimes questionable actions. Indians will thus bend the truth or lie, but it is usually in order to save face and maintain harmony in the situation, and not to cause harm (Cyriac & Dharmaraj, 1994, p. 286).

Denmark, categorised as a low-context culture, is not particularly face sensitive. It is not necessary to show overt respect or deference to superiors. As mentioned in the context section,

Danes are very informal and direct, which is of no particular threat to their face in a communication situation (Gesteland, 1999, p. 6). Research suggests that Danes, being from an individualistic culture, are mostly concerned with self-face, meaning that in a communication situation, Danes focus on self-face preserving strategies and self-face approval-seeking strategies. They are also typically retroactive in their strategies, and thus prefer to restore lost face rather than prevent it from being lost. If a Dane loses face, he is more likely to explain it by external means, in order to restore face. Success, on the other hand, is explained by internal capabilities. The Danish individualism coupled with the low-context communication also mean that they are more direct in their face-threatening conflict style (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, pp. 191-193, Kitayama et al., 1997, p. 1246).

The different communication styles employed by Indians and Danes show the difference in the importance of face in the respective cultures. The concept of face is pieced together to include the other treated cultural components, which means that individualistic, low-context Danes do not really take the concept of face into consideration, as their culture calls for individuals who are independent, decisive and not afraid to speak their mind. In regard to face, a Dane will usually only take self-face into consideration, as it is what serves him best. In contrast, collectivistic, high-context Indians emphasise the importance of face to a much larger extent. The Indian culture calls for individuals who are part of a group, and who will act in the group's best interest, striving towards maintaining both harmony in the situation and face for themselves as well as for the rest of the group.

5.5. Temporality

It is difficult to avoid dealing with the concept of time when researching cultures and cultural differences in particular. Many scientists have treated time, but we will only deal with only those centred on experienced time and time orientation. In our opinion, these are best outlined in the theories of Hall and Hofstede, more specifically in their theories on chronemics and long-term orientation, respectively. Time is important in connection to communication style since it affects the form of communication, and as Hall puts it, it affects *"the channelling and flow of information, the shape and form of the networks connecting people [...]"* (1983, p. 45).

Chronemics

There are many different types of time, and Hall lines out at least nine different types, including mythic, biological and physical (ibid., pp. 16-27). We will, in this thesis, only treat micro time which is culture specific. Hall divides microtime into *polychronic time* and *monochronic time*. These two modes of time signify the way in which people interpret and treat time in everyday situations. A culture cannot be both at the same time. A person can of course act in a polychronic manner in one situation and monochronic in another situation, but it is always one or the other (ibid., p. 45). However, even though the individual can have elements of both, a culture typically tends towards one of the two modes.

In *Table 4* below are listed some of the characteristics of both polychronic and monochronic time which will be dealt with in the following.

Table 4: The characteristics of polychronic and monochronic time

Polychronic time:	Monochronic time:
Circular time	Linear time
Eternal	Spent, earned, wasted, lost
Eastern	Western
Multitasking	One thing at a time
Take things as they come	Planning, scheduling
Emotional approach	German (technical) approach
Relationship-oriented	Task-oriented
No such thing as being "late"	An "On time" mindset
Heterogeneous	Homogeneous
Inherited	Learned
Intangible	Tangible
Overlapping	Compartmentalised

Source: Own work

Polychronic time (ibid., pp. 47, 49-54) is characterised by doing many things simultaneously, and people from polychronic cultures are often known for their ability to multitask. People experience time as circular and as something that continues in a never-ending spiral. They are therefore less concerned with planning and scheduling, because experience tells them that they never run out of time, thus they deal with things as they come along. This is also a relationship-oriented approach since polychronic people will always make time for their family and friends. It is therefore not uncommon that appointments are pushed or cancelled in order to

make time for relations. This denotes a heterogeneous and intangible view of time as something with many facets and something that cannot be controlled. A polychronic view of time is often inherited through century-long cultures and people see no reason to change it since it has worked effectively for so many years.

Monochronic time (Hall, 1981b, pp. 6-9; Hall, 1983, pp. 48-53) is characterised by doing one thing at a time. People from monochronic cultures feel strongly about planning and scheduling, and are very task-oriented. Time is seen as linear and tangible, i.e. it can be spent, saved, bought, sold, wasted, gained or lost (Hall, 1981b, p. 142). Monochronic people believe that time has a beginning and an end, which explains their pursuit of always "making the best of it" as monochronic people do not want to miss an opportunity. Connected with planning and scheduling is the tendency to compartmentalise time and relations. Time is allotted to prearranged events, and relations vary according to circumstances, e.g. family, friends, colleagues, leisure activities etc. This compartmentalisation helps the monochronic person maintain structure and control. It also symbolises a narrow and homogeneous view of time, with no, or little room for interpretations. In many aspects, a monochronic person sees things in black and white, and as opposed to the inherent polychronic view of time, the monochronic view is learned, and thus, the Westerner tends to see this as the only true way to view time (Hall, 1983, pp. 48-49).

Furthermore, a culture is likely to have internal differences in the view of time, e.g. urban areas are often more monochronic and schedule-oriented than rural areas, which are often more polychronic and seem to have a more relaxed view of time (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992, p. 128; Gesteland & Seyk, 2002, p. 33).

Waiting

These different perceptions of time are bound to cause clashes if interlocutors are not aware of the differences. One of the typical time clashes in connection to intercultural communication is waiting times (Hall & Hall, 1990, p. 21). The Western, monochronic world tends to be strict regarding punctuality. Therefore, if a meeting is scheduled to begin at 9 a.m. and last for an hour, they will arrive a couple of minutes early, and will be upset if the meeting lasts much longer than expected. The non-Western, polychronic world, on the other hand, tends to have a

more relaxed view of time. It is therefore not uncommon that they arrive late for a meeting without an apology, and they expect the meeting to last longer than arranged, and will in fact be offended, if the meeting lasts shorter than the assigned hour. In short, the Westerner will be offended if the non-Western counterpart arrives late without an apology, and the non-Westerner will be offended if the Westerner is in too much of a hurry to leave. When the Westerner is offended, it is because of his strict view of time and of scheduling, whereas when the non-Westerner is offended, it is because of his relationship-orientation. He will feel that the Westerner is not interested in getting to know him, and a successful collaboration is therefore difficult. Furthermore, keeping people waiting can be used as a way of displaying power in polychronic cultures.

According to Hall (1981b, p. 2), there are five different types of arriving late for an appointment: the "mumble something" period; slight apology period; mildly insulting period; rude period; and downright insulting period. However, whereas monochronic people tend to "mumble something" if they are 5 minutes late, polychronic people wait until 45 minutes have passed, but for the monochronic person, a 45 minute delay is downright insulting. Thus, differences in perception of waiting times are one of the most likely cultural clashes. However, taking the time to get to know each other and building up a relationship, is more likely to prevent any serious clashes, and may even serve as a way of enhancing creativity and improving problem solving (ibid., p. 65).

Hall's tripartite theory

Hall's previously mentioned tripartite theory (formal, informal and technical) has also been exemplified on time:

- Formal time: time as we know it; divided into *years*, *months*, *weeks*, *days* etc.
- Informal time: imprecise terms e.g. *later*, *soon*, *a long time ago* etc.
- Technical time: specialised terms e.g. *T minus 2 minutes*, *light years* etc.

(Hall, 1981b, p. 63 with own examples)

These three types of time are important to intercultural communication in terms of inferring the proper meaning when communicating, and applying the appropriate time references in a given situation. For instance when talking about the launch time of a satellite which is to orbit

Earth, it is unsuitable if technicians refer to launch time as "in a moment". Additionally, stating that the train leaves in "T minus 4 minutes" will also be an unusual reference. While these examples of time references might seem clearly out of context, there are similar, more disguised, differences between cultures.

If two interlocutors do not have the same understanding of time, or at least agree on which time they are to work with, communicational clashes almost certainly will occur. If the manufacturer says it takes "months" to produce a certain item, the buyer has to know the real meaning of "months". It could mean anything from weeks to years. Again, the punctual monochronic person would expect a precise date for the completion of the product, whereas the polychronic person would be more relaxed about the precise date.

Long- versus short-term orientation

Hofstede developed dimension specifically designed to determine a culture's view of time. He focused on time orientation rather than the experience of time.

Hofstede's fifth dimension is connected to Confucianism[8], which is a highly valued teaching in many Eastern societies (Hofstede, 2001, pp. 351-354). Hofstede found that the long-term orientation dimension did not divide the world in East and West as the other dimensions, but rather divided the world in a new pattern, with East Asian countries scoring highest, European and Western countries scoring in the lower middle and, surprisingly, non-Western countries in Africa and Asia scoring lowest on the index (Hofstede, 2001, p. 355).

In long-term oriented cultures, focus is on relationships, which are arranged according to status in order to maintain a stable and harmonious hierarchy in society. Businesses in long-term orientation cultures usually work towards establishing a strong position in the market, not expecting instant profit. Managers are often socially related and they typically take their time to get things done (Hofstede, 2001, p. 361; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 218).

In short-term oriented cultures, on the other hand, it is the results that are the main objective, and businesses work towards achieving their goal, and managers are assessed by their

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[8] Confucianism dictates how people should relate to each other in order to maintain harmony and balance in society (Hofstede, 2001, p. 354).

capabilities to reach that goal (Hofstede, 2001, p. 361). This may be coupled with the belief that people from long-term orientation cultures tend to attribute success to effort, and failure to the lack of it, which in turn results in the feeling of shame. In contrast, people from short-term orientation cultures usually attribute success to personal competencies, and failure to external circumstances, as mentioned in section *5.4 Face* (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 215).

Most cultural clashes do not arise as conscious intentions to offend, but as a failure to know and understand the values which are appreciated in other cultures. Non-Western cultures value relations and do not make a distinction between personal and working relations. The non-Westerner spends a great deal of time evolving and maintaining these relations. Networking is essential to a person from a polychronic culture.

5.5.1. India versus Denmark

India is a polychronic culture with a fluid view of time. They view time as eternal, and are thus not concerned with wasting time. This demands a great deal of patience for Westerners in India, especially in connection to meeting times. It is not unusual to be kept waiting (Gesteland & Seyk, 2002, p. 162) and to Indians a few minutes or hours are perceived as "no time". This is also why the concept of "being late" almost does not exist in India. Indians are famous for their tendency to multitask, and they are able to conduct several conversations at the same time, without losing focus.

India is perceived as a long-term oriented culture, scoring 61 on Hofstede's long-term orientation dimension, and Indians thus tend to be concerned with establishing relationships before doing business. It should, however, be noted that a generational shift is taking place in India, and thus many of the younger Indian business people are more likely to adhere to the Western, deal-focused approach.

In spite of this generational shift which affects Indians in many ways, they tend to maintain a more informal view of time. Deadlines are therefore perceived more as an approximate time than a fixed deadline.

Denmark is classified as a monochronic culture, and is as such a task-oriented culture that adheres strictly to schedules and agendas. Danish business people prefer having their time rigidly planned, and value punctuality highly. Consequently, they tend to be offended when others are not punctual, and dislike being kept waiting. They perceive unpunctuality as a sign of disrespect and insincerity (Gesteland, 1999, p. 9). Also, interruptions are not welcomed in a Danish business setting, as Danes tend to focus on the one task at hand.

Denmark is a rather short-term oriented culture and business people are often deal-focused. This is in concurrence with theory, which states that monochronic cultures tend to compartmentalise, and thus separate their personal life from their business life. While a business lunch or dinner is not uncommon, Danes usually do no get personally involved with their business partners.

As a result of this rigid and deal-focused monochronic view of time, Danes often employ a formal view of time in a business context. Thus, when agreeing on a deadline, it is expected that everybody adheres almost religiously to this date. Delays are not well received.

5.6. Critique

5.6.1. Hall

Hall developed his functionalistic, theoretical framework more than 40 years ago, but is still one of the most cited anthropologists in intercultural communication theories (Cardon, 2008, p. 400). Cardon (ibid., p. 422) claims that Hall's contexting theory has never been empirically validated, and that the few studies which have attempted to do so have been unsuccessful as they have been either too limited in scope or unable to find supporting data. Though many have attempted to develop instruments to measure context (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997; Kim et al. 1998; Ohashi 2000), using directness as one of the central components, most have not been able to find any correlation supporting the claim that high-context cultures are more indirect in their communication style than low-context cultures. However, it should be mentioned that even though the theory has not been validated, it does not follow that the theory is a failure, for it has also not been falsified. Gesteland supports Hall's claim, as his research shows that deal-oriented cultures are more direct in their communication style. Gesteland equates deal-orientation with low-context, and relation-orientation with high-context (2002, p.

39). Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey also argue that directness, in the form of exacting communication style, is related to contexting (1988, pp. 105-108).

The critique of Hall's chronemics theory is primarily based on the fact that Hall treats time as it is perceived by a cultural group, rather than how it is perceived by the individual, but cultural studies are, by nature, a set of generalisations. Furthermore, Hall is criticised for applying a "relatively simple dichotomy" that is *too* simple to analyse the complexity of cultures (Ess & Sudweeks, 2006, p. 180).

5.6.2. Hofstede

Hofstede has repeatedly been criticised for his IBM study, as it is argued that it was never meant to be a cultural study, but rather a study of organisational values across nations. National borders cannot be equated with cultures (Baskerville, 2003, p. 6) as cultural values cannot be restricted by geographical borders. Likewise, the study has been rejected by many, as it is considered to be out-dated as well as inadequate, since only 40 countries participated in the first study over 30 years ago (ibid., pp. 1, 8). Moreover, Baskerville (ibid., pp. 8-10) criticises Hofstede for applying what is referred to as the Malinovskian dilemma, i.e. whether cultures are seen as unique and thus not suitable for comparison, or as belonging to the same entity thus sharing basic comparable elements. Hofstede claims to apply a nomothetic approach to his study (2001, p. 26), i.e. general laws do exist, and he is criticised for making this distinction. By doing so he goes against the mainstream anthropology (Baskerville, 2003, p. 9).

In spite of the critique of Hofstede's methods, most agree that difference in attitudes towards hierarchy is important in interpersonal relations, and thus many other theorists (Iribarne, 1989; Eisenstadt, 1981, p. 167; Inglehart, 1997, p. 297) support Hofstede's reasoning and include hierarchy in their research.

The individualism and the long-term orientation dimensions are also subjects to the critique that continuums, are misleading as individuals within a culture may act out of their cultural framework. However, we believe that these two cultural components are still valuable in

intercultural studies, and both have been further developed (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

5.6.3. Goffman

Goffman's notion of face has been subject to much critique. Even though created with Chinese sources, it is marked by individualistic traits, as the model-interactant is exemplified by a Western individual concerned with self-preservation and self-image. This makes the definition problematic if applied in an international context, and much criticism has been aimed at Goffman from non-Anglo-Saxon cultures, as his definition is not applicable in such cultures (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003, pp. 1454-55, 1463). However, Goffman did not intend his definition of face to an intercultural situation, but an intra-cultural situation (ibid., p. 1462). And in spite of the model-actors mirroring Western values, the definitions are not solely ego-centric; an awareness of others is considered to be important in his definition of face (ibid., p. 1458).

5.6.4. Brown & Levinson

Brown & Levinson's concept of face is difficult to apply in a culture that is non-Western, and therefore the universality of the theory can be questioned. They, furthermore, explain deviations from the Gricean conversational maxims with their politeness theory, which they claim to be universal (ibid., 2003, p. 1455; Brown & Levinson, 1978, p. 14). However, it cannot be said with certainty that actions, which on the surface correspond with the politeness theory, have their roots in the motivations they propose. Additionally, the notion of negative face cannot be considered as fundamental to interpersonal relations in non-Western cultures (Matsumoto, 1988, p. 404). Furthermore, Brown & Levinson's definitions of positive and negative face as mutually exclusive seem to not stand ground, as empirical research has proven that a co-existence of several types of framework can be found in some situations, and even be necessary sometimes (Lim & Bowers, 1991, p. 448). However, further research has found that Brown & Levinson's theory on facework strategies seems to apply across cultures.

5.6.5. Ting-Toomey

Ting-Toomey has presented theories that combine theories about interpersonal communication with cultural theories. However, the studies she presents are mainly self-reports and not observations of actual behaviour, and as the knowledge about communication across cultures is mostly descriptive and atheoretical (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988, pp. 133, 230). Therefore, it may not seem to have much stance combining the two areas as they are not necessarily combinable. However, her theories have been supported by other theorists and they have remarkable applicability in regard to explaining behaviour in intercultural situations. Furthermore, her face-negotiation theory is interlinked with Hall's theory about high- and low-context cultures, which makes it useful in this particular thesis (ibid., pp. 157-159; Face negotiation, 2001).

We have chosen to use Ting-Toomey's combination of cultural and interpersonal communication theories, as we find that they complement each other – where cultural theories fall short, interpersonal communication theories take over, and combined they present a more detailed way of analysing interpersonal intercultural communication.

5.7. Summary

We have presented the five chosen theoretical components separately, and compared several theorists' concepts to each other in order to reach a multifaceted groundwork. At the same time the Indian and Danish cultures have been measured against our chosen cultural components in order to elucidate how the two cultures are, theoretically, situated and how they are expected to interact. In the following chapter, our empirical data will be processed according to the theoretical components.

Analysis

6. Analysis

This chapter consists of an analysis of each of the five components. We will compare our empirical data with the selected theory, as this will help us map out the differences between Indian and Danish business cultures. The analysis will constitute the foundation of the following discussion. The applied quotation code (ex. C23) found in the beginning of each quotation refers to the location in the data matrix.

6.1. Hierarchy

Power distance

As we pointed out in section *5.1 Hierarchy*, theory suggests that Indian culture is very hierarchical. This is also the experience of some of the Danish respondents: *"C23: In Asia they are used to hierarchical systems, especially in India, everything must comply with the hierarchy"[9]*. As several Danish respondents noted, the Indian company structure seems to be very steep and centralised. One respondent stated that: *"C48: You get the impression that the managers are involved in far too much because they are less willing to give up any power"[10]*. As explained previously, Danish companies have a flat structure and a decentralised management. However, an Indian respondent stated that*: "C70: The decision making process is very hierarchical from the Danish perspective. The strings were being pulled from Copenhagen"*. This statement is in contrast to the general belief that Denmark is an egalitarian society with an almost equal power distribution. Furthermore, this is a minority position, and several Indian respondents share the Danish respondents' view of the more hierarchical structure in India.

Indian hierarchy is characterised by bureaucratic red tape, the remnants of imperialistic bureaucracy, which makes it a heavy process to attain one's goals. One of the Danish respondents experienced that it was surprisingly difficult to get a phone at his disposition: *"C1: Every time you need something in India, you need ten signatures. There are some levels you must go through"[11]*. The same respondent also noted that: *"C5: The larger the company,*

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[9] Original: *I Asien er de vant til de hierarkiske systemer og i særdeleshed i Indien, alt skal jo følge et hierarki*
[10] Original: *Man har indtrykket af at toplederne er involverede i alt for meget, fordi de ikke er så villige til at afgive magt*
[11] Original: *Hver gang man skal noget i Indien, så skal man have ti underskrifter. Der er nogle led man skal igennem*

the more signatures you need"[12]. Another Danish respondent supported this view, saying that the Indian bureaucracy is similar to what could be found in Europe 100 years ago: *"C29: Their bureaucracy is completely overwhelming"*[13]. He explains it as a relic of India's colonial history. This corresponds well with Hofstede's reasoning that previously colonised societies tend to continue a steep hierarchy and heavy bureaucracy.

There is a general agreement that business titles and positions play a significantly larger role in India compared to Denmark. One respondent observed that: *"C53: I think it is boundary-breaking for an Indian director to e.g. go down and talk to one of the lowest [ranking employees]"*[14]. He had also experienced that when speaking to subordinates they found that it was *"C55: [...] physically straining on them to answer me. It is really frightening for them"*[15].

In a high power distance culture, there can be a general and fairly obvious agreement of opinions, but the final word must come from a person with the right authority, as Indians readily accept authority. In the words of a Danish respondent, talking about the Indians way of viewing responsibility: *"C6: This square is squared, but we [the Indians] don't have the authority to tell you that, we need our manager to tell you in stead"*[16]. All levels of the hierarchy are well aware of, and have accepted, the unequal distribution of power within the company. This results in a reluctance to take on responsibility that is not considered to be within their ranges of power or their areas of expertise. A Danish respondent observed that: *"C39: If our function is dependent on another function, then we usually make sure that that particular function is working"*[17]. Combined, these two quotations illustrate that while Danes feel a stronger overall responsibility to make sure that every aspect of the company functions smoothly, Indians seem reluctant to take on responsibility which is not their own. From a theoretical perspective it may be explained that the Danes' feeling of co-responsibility derives from a decentralised power distribution in low power distance cultures (Hofstede, 2001, p. 102).

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[12] Original: *Jo større en virksomhed er, jo flere underskrifter skal man have*
[13] Original: *Deres bureaukrati er fuldstændig overvældende*
[14] Original: *Jeg tror det er grænseoverskridende for en indisk direktør fx at gå ned og tale med en af de laveste*
[15] Original: *[...]fysisk belastende for dem at svare mig. Det er virkelig skræmmende for dem*
[16] Original: *Den her firkant er firkantet, men vi har ikke autoritet til at sige det til dig, vi skal faktisk have vores manager til at sige det til dig i stedet for*
[17] Original: *Hvis vores funktion er afhængig af en anden funktion, så sørger vi gerne for at dén også virker*

Status

Another important element of hierarchy is status. As noted by one of the Indian respondents: *"C70: People from the Western world enjoy a higher status, just for who they are"*. This is in consistence with what the majority of the Danish respondents experienced; that being Western meant that they automatically belonged to the higher classes of society. In contrast to the majority, there was, however, one Danish respondent who did not feel that being Western had any influence on his status in India; he believed it to be solely due to his position and decision making authorities: *"C21: I don't really have the impression that it is particularly important to be a Western European […] what helps me is that I have the position I do"[18]*. Age, gender and nationality are some of the social factors, Indians use to classify their counterparts. Among our Indian respondents there is a difference of opinion regarding the importance of age and gender in business negotiations: *"C89: My counterpart's gender, age, nationality and seniority mean something"*, one says. However, another respondent feels that *"C76: the counterpart's age, gender, seniority etc. is not at all important to me"*. Similarly, the Danish answers also differ. A Danish male respondent said that: *"C26: It doesn't seem like this country is discriminating towards women"[19]*, whereas a female respondent feels that: *"C36: I have both the fact that I'm a woman and my age against me"[20]*. This inconsistency in the answers might in fact be a result of India being a business culture in development, as one Indian respondent noted that: *"C83: It's [gender, age] becoming increasingly less important because India is a young country"[21]*. Some respondents replied that: *"C80: I certainly want to meet with the decision maker"*, which indicates that when assessing the liability of a counterpart the decision-making powers and position are more important than age, gender or nationality. Thus, nationality and a Western appearance may be more important than gender and age, but what is most important is having the proper position in the company and the authority to make decisions.

There are different aspects of power: *"C11: It's not so much the title in itself that is important, but more the real power a person possesses"[22]*. In Indian culture, possession of power can be expressed in two different ways: a) In a business context, position is important, as illustrated in

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[18] Original: *jeg har egentligt ikke indtrykket af at det er specielt vigtigt at være vesteuropæer […] det der hjælper mig der, det er at jeg har den stilling jeg har*
[19] Original: *Det virker ikke som det her land er diskriminerende overfor kvinder*
[20] Original: *Jeg har det at jeg er kvinde og min alder imod mig*
[21] When the respondent is speaking of India as a young country, he is in fact referring to India as a business culture becoming more globalised.
[22] Original: *Det er ikke så meget titlen i sig selv der spiller en rolle, men mere den reelle magt personen har*

the preceding section. This can be contrasted with the Danish culture where the professional qualifications give you the decision making rights. b) In an everyday context, an Indian with no formal power can in fact enjoy a rather high level of power. One respondent narrated that at the compound where he lived, the guard, though with no apparent power related to his job, was actually in a position to control who was allowed to enter and exit the compound area. This power was executed according to the temper of the guard as well as the relation one had with him. This meant that if you were on bad terms with the guard. you might risk having to wait outside the gates until the guard decided to let you into the parking lot.

The hierarchical system in Indian companies and the power of individuals are mutually reinforced and often demonstrated, as exemplified by a Danish respondent: *"C46: You can have a situation where the director is in a meeting, but he doesn't have to be, it is just to demonstrate that he is important"*[23]. As mentioned earlier, keeping people waiting is a way of displaying power, especially in polychronic cultures.

Formality

The majority of the Danish respondents feels that while the initial meeting with Indian counterparts is very formal, the level of formality usually decreases as a relationship with the Indians is established. One Danish respondent noted that he believed that his Indian counterpart experienced him [the Dane] as informal. This may indicate that the Indians, initially are more formal than the Danes, but at the same time several Danish respondents experienced the Indians as rather informal: *"A22: I'm always on a first name basis with people"*[24]. Thus, once a relationship is established, formality seems to be of less importance.

As mentioned in the theory, the caste system is still a factor of Indian culture today: *"C32: Even though the caste system has officially been abolished in India, it is very clear that there is a big difference in the people we meet with and the army of servants they have running around"*[25]. This indicates a feeling of superiority amongst members of the higher castes; one Indian explains: *"C72: At the top [of the caste system] there is an aloofness that creeps in, and*

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[23] Original: *Man kan komme ud for at chefen sidder i et møde, men det behøver han ikke at gøre, det er bare en demonstration af at han er vigtig*
[24] Original: *Jeg er altid på fornavn med folk*
[25] Original: *Selvom kastesystemet officielt er afskaffet i Indien, så er det tydeligt at der er stor forskel på dem vi mødes med og så den hærskare af tjenere de har rundt omkring*

the sense that they're getting closer and closer to God". This implies that, even though abolished, the caste system still plays a significant role, even in a modern Indian business context. Our interview questions did not include the importance of the caste system in contemporary Indian society, and therefore we have not been able to gather sufficient data to include this aspect further in our analysis or discussion.

6.2. Collectivism
Individualism versus collectivism

As mentioned in the theoretical section about collectivism, Danish culture is perceived to be predominantly individualistic; as one of the Danish respondents stated: *"E3: We, up North, have a bit more courage to stand out from the crowd"*[26]. This shows that Danish business people are usually more independent, and are for the most part not afraid of standing out in various ways. Another Danish respondent added: *"E26: It's very limited how many of them [Indian business partners] I want to include in my personal life"*[27]. This was also supported by an Indian who stated: *"E59: I think, what I experienced is that for them [Danes] it's more business"*. This is consistent with the theory that to Danes it is not establishing a relationship with the counterparts that is important, they seem to compartmentalise more and be more task-oriented.

Contrastingly, Indian culture is more collectivistic, which some of the Danes experienced first hand: *"E1: There were many [participants from the Indian party in a meeting], really many [...] everybody has like 5-10 back-ups"*[28] and *"E25: They showed up with the entire office; they were eight people there so we were a bit outnumbered"*[29]. This shows the Indian preference for collectivistic behaviour and also indicates that Danish business people experienced it as somewhat excessive. On the other hand, an Indian respondent stated: *"E69: Depending on the meeting, you would have between four and six people on either side"*, which indicates that Danes might also sometimes behave somewhat collectivistic and turn out in large numbers.

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[26] Original: *Vi heroppe mod nord har lidt mere mod til at sætte os ud fra mængden*
[27] Original: *Det er begrænset hvor mange af dem jeg gider at blande ind i mit privatliv*
[28] Original: *Der var mange, der var rigtig mange [...] alle personer har ligesom 5-10 back-upper*
[29] Original: *De stillede op med hele kontoret, så der var otte mand stærk, så vi var lidt i undertal*

Networking

Both the Indian and the Danish respondents recognise the importance of networking in India. One of the Danish respondents explained: *"E36: In India, it's all about being 'king of networking' […] they are very quick at finding out that their grandmother went to school with another friend's grandmother"*[30]. This is in consistency with what two Indian respondents noted: *"E60: Network is certainly important"* and *"E73: The Indians are great putting you in a box within five minutes of meeting you. It's all located on do you know so and so"*. These statements support the theory about Indian business culture relying very much on which connections a person has and the importance of applying these connections in a business context.

Where applying a person's network is the first step in the process, the second step is establishing a personal relationship with the counterparts. As an Indian respondent stated: *"E66: There are so many businesses that depend more on relationships than anything else."* This is only one of several examples of statements made about the importance of relationships in Indian business. There was a general consensus among the respondents that personal relationships are crucial when doing business in India. One Dane noted that: *"E39: Here in India you cannot have one without the other. Relations are crucial in order for the business to run smoothly"*[31], which shows that the Danish business people have recognised and accepted the important role, relationships play in Indian business. However, a few Indian and Danish respondents stated the position that: *"E63: I weigh the business relationship highest"* and *"E21: It's the business they [Indians] weigh highest, no doubt about that"*[32]. The Indian respondents indicated that they felt that they themselves as well as the other party weighed the business higher than the personal relationship. Regarding Danes, this is what to be expected, but in relation to the Indians this is somewhat contrary to what the theory traditionally suggests.

The leverage of a good relationship can take a foreign business person far in Indian business. One Dane narrated how every time he was in India, he could easily get a meeting with a high-

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[30] Original: *I Indien handler det om at være 'king of networking' […] de er lynhurtige til at finde ud af at deres bedstemor har gået i skole med en vens bedstemor*
[31] Original: *Her i Indien kan man ikke have det ene uden det andet. Relationer er helt nødvendige for at forretningen skal køre*
[32] Original: *Det er forretningen de [indere] vægter højest, ingen tvivl om det*

ranking member of the government. Even though he did not have a meeting scheduled, it was possible to get a meeting. And every time the government official would reassure him, that if he had any problems, all he had to do, was to let him [the government official] know, and he would make sure the problems went away. This is a good example of the importance of being a part of the right people's in-group. This is also supported by a statement made by one of the Indian respondents: *"E70: You could be giving really bad advice, but if you enjoy the confidence of your client, it doesn't matter"*. This shows that being a part of an in-group is a crucial factor in Indian business relations, as long as that is in place, there is nothing to worry about. However, another Indian also noted that *"E86: In most businesses a relationship is very important […] but you know, if that person is not capable […] it's not sense from any sides. So the ideal situation is if you have a smart and capable friend"*. This is partially in contrast to what is said above and what theory states about the importance of in-group relationships; it also indicates an inclination to prioritise business over relationships.

Universalism versus particularism

The difference between partners in in-groups and out-groups is connected to universalism and particularism. As a Danish respondent pointed out about the Indian way of conducting business: *"E9: Several business deals are agreed upon because people have known each other for a long time, so whether it costs \$5 or \$6 doesn't really mean that much"*[33]. This particularism, where each relationship is weighed specifically, is characteristic for the Indian way of doing business and setting up agreements. At the same time it is, expectedly, very much in contrast to what a Danish respondent said: *"E2: We want it like this: 2+2 = 4. As for personal relations, it doesn't really mean that the answer becomes something else"*[34]. This shows the Danish universalism, and how Danes view rationality in a business context. It is combined with the fact that Danes are predominantly task-oriented, and therefore, their main focus is first and foremost on business, and business is conducted on equal terms for everybody.

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[33] Original: *Mange forretningsaftaler bliver sat op på at folk har kendt hinanden i lang tid, om det koster \$5 eller \$6 betyder ikke det store*
[34] Original: *Vi skal have det sådan, at 2+2=4. Det der med personlige relationer, gør altså ikke at svaret bliver noget andet*

6.3. Context

High- versus low-context

A message can be conveyed either implicitly or explicitly when communicating. As stated earlier, Indians tend to prefer implicit communication, which our Indian respondents agree with: *"A59: You can convey a message, you do not say the full sentence, with a nod of the head, and you can convey the message"*. With this quote, our Indian respondent reinforces the claim that high-context cultures such as India, often communicate through underlying messages. Due to their shared frame of reference, Indians do not need to be explicit. The same respondent also made a comment on the Danish communication style: *"A57: Communication was very open and very clear. It was a very straight forward kind of communication. There was a lot of clarity in the communication [...]"*. It becomes very clear that this Indian respondent experiences differences in the communication styles of Indians and Danes, and he also provides his own view of what makes the difference in communication style: *"A57: [...] Because normally, we Indians never approach anybody with a straight question. We always beat around the bush. But I found the communication with the Danes very very clear.* He notes that: *"A58: A lot of the Indians don't want to be asked a direct question. They would like to be asked 1-2-3-4 and the fifth question will give you the right answer"*. This is in accordance with the cultural research which claims that India is a high-context culture, whereas Denmark is a low-context culture.

Another Indian respondent remarked that *"A69: Danes are very to the point, with an agenda. Complete clarity as to where we want to end up at the end of the meeting. Concrete next steps. It was all quite black and white, very structured"*. This indicates that though being in a different culture, Danes often act within the frames of their own culture. This is supported by one Dane who explained his own reaction to a business negotiation that went wrong: *"A26: I had my fit of rage and said the things I wanted to say, and then I hung up the phone"*[35]. So, while being in a high-context culture, this respondent was reacting in a low-context manner, which may be the cause of even further cultural clashes. It should be noted that his reaction was very strong, even for a person from a low-context culture.

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[35] Original: *Jeg fik mit raserianfald, og fik sagt de ting jeg ville, og så smed jeg røret på*

One Indian respondent seemed to have experienced how these differences in communication style might lead to misunderstandings: *"A59: With Danes they get confused by shaking heads, 'are they meaning yes or no'? So you gotta be very clear in communication and keep it as short as possible"*. The respondent is here referring to the Indian habit of shaking the head while talking, and the meaning of shaking the head is different in the two cultures, thus causing misunderstandings in negotiations.

Directness

Another aspect of context is directness, which also seems to be an issue in some Indian-Danish communication situations. Most Danes experience Indians as being more indirect than Danes: *"A46: They [Indians] are definitely more indirect and indecisive. They always beat around the bush, and are evasive of the subject you're supposed to talk about"[36]*, and several of the Danish respondents seemed rather annoyed with the indirectness of Indians. But one Danish respondent had a different notion: *"A42: The communication seems to be direct"[37]*. Apparently, this respondent disagrees with the general opinion among Danes that Indians are indirect. And in fact, one of the Indian respondents was of the same opinion: *"A77: Most people will generally tell you that Indians are not direct, but that's not true [...]. It's a very very different interaction at the street level; you don't get direct answers at all. But in business, especially in big business, there is no such thing, people down here just don't have the time, so generally talking they're pretty direct. And they're pretty decisive as well [...]"*.

In spite of the divergence of Indians, all respondents seem to agree that Danes are rather direct in their style of communication: *"A88: They are quite blunt, they're very direct"*. The Indian respondents also noted that Danes were to the point. While not having been offended themselves, the Indian respondents believed that *"A67: A typical Indian would take offence with the directness of Danes"*. It might be suggested that the reason why Indians seem to be offended by the directness of the Danes, derives from not being direct in confrontations themselves: *"A83: Indians don't know how to give bad news"*, as one of the Indian respondents replied, while another was more detailed on the matter: *"A70: Indians don't know what direct communication is. There is a lot of subtlety associated with how they*

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[36] Original: *De er helt sikkert mere indirekte og ubeslutsomme. De snakker altid udenom, uden om det emne man nu egentlig skal tale om*

[37] Original: *Kommunikationen virker direkte*

communicate. If they need to say something, they would say something else to get to that point. It may seem like it is not planned, but there is a message to that madness. It's very deceiving". What is particularly interesting about this notion is that the respondent says that the message may seem unplanned and unstructured to the outsider, while it actually has a decided purpose. Another Indian respondent replied that: *"A85: I found that it was very difficult to take criticism so directly. But then you found that when you did something well, the praise also came directly to you",* which indicates that while some Indians take offence at the Danish directness, others are capable of turning it into a positive trait, as they discover that Danes tend to be direct in negative, as well as positive, situations. One Dane noted that you needed: *"A3: More precise and direct explanations. It must be completely basic explanations, down to where you almost feel that you are being rude"*[38], which implies that our respondent found it a necessity to be particularly direct with the Indians, and that he experienced it as unpleasant to act in this manner.

Explicitness

Closely connected to directness is explicitness, and our respondents also found differences in how explicit Indians and Danes are when communicating*: "A82: I think Danes are very clear about their expectations and setting. So either you agree or disagree, but there is no confusion about what you're trying to achieve".* This Indian respondent had observed that Danes tend to be open and clear on the goals of a negotiation, while Indians have a tendency to be vague and ambiguous when expressing their objectives. As theory and our empirical data suggest that Danes are perceived to be very explicit, we found it surprising when one of our Danish respondents noted that: *"A20: I feel that I have to spend a lot of energy just talking, and explaining how you want things done. A lot of things, such as quality and appointments are simply not agreed to"*[39]. The respondent seemed to find it rather exhausting having to be especially explicit with the Indians to make sure they were all in agreement, though explicitness is generally seen as a trait of Northern European, and especially Scandinavian, cultures.

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[38] Original: *Mere præcise og direkte ord for tingene. Det skal være helt basalt, helt ned til der hvor man næsten selv synes man er uhøflig*
[39] Original: *Jeg føler der skal bruges rigtig meget krudt på at tale sammen, og forklare hvordan man gerne vil ha tingene. Mange ting er ikke bare indforstået, som kvalitet, tidsaftaler*

Formality is another issue on which cultures often differ. While many of our respondents, Indians as well as Danes, agreed that the level of formality was rather low, as it decreases when a relationship develops, some stressed that it depends on the circumstances: *"A86: You try to observe who's in the room, who you're with, seniority, position and so on"*, which indicates that this Indian respondent is very attentive to hierarchy and status, and to communicate in a manner that is appropriate to the counterparts' status. Both Indian and Danish respondents agree that *"A86: If you're supplier and they're buyer you'll be a lot more humble"*, which indicates that, in some cases, the business setting takes precedence over relationship building.

A Danish respondent mentions that: *"A36: In my experience, the communication is not concealed. We Danes prefer to be honest and keep our promises, and at the same time, not promise anything we cannot keep. But the Indians over-promise and under-deliver"*[40]. This quote indicates that the Danish style of communication tends to be concise, while the Indian style can be more exorbitant. Another Dane noted that: *"A36: Indians often downplay the expenses if they have to set a price for a job, so that they can get the buyer to accept, because then, when they are in the middle of everything, they [the buyer] can't just say no and walk away, cause then half the work is already done, and you'll just pay the extra amount"*[41]. This quote, as opposed to the previous one, is about being accurate as to agreements, and the respondent points out that some Indians are less than accurate and realistic when determining on deadlines for example.

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[40] Original: *Kommunikationen er ikke så meget pakket ind, vil jeg sige. Vi danskere vil gerne være ærlige og holde hvad vi lover, og heller ikke love mere end vi kan holde. Men inderne de over-promise og under-deliver*
[41] Original: *Inderne underspiller tit udgifterne hvis de skal give en pris på noget arbejde, for at få køberen til at sige ja, fordi når de så står der midt i det hele, kan de jo ikke bare sige nej og gå deres vej, så er halvdelen af arbejdet færdigt, og så betaler man jo bare det ekstra*

6.4. Face
Facework

Another big issue of intercultural interpersonal communication is the concept of face. Several of the Danes have numerous examples of potential face-loss situations. As one Dane noted: *"B18: When reproving a person it's almost like we're speaking two different languages. I want the person [Indian] to understand the mistake so that it doesn't happen again. But I have experienced that the person either doesn't take responsibility or just pass it on, or simply just says 'Yes ma'am, yes ma'am, it won't happen again'"[42]*. This shows the ingrained different ways of approaching a conflict situation; the two parties' points of departure are very different. Other Danish respondents experienced the following: *"B32: If you have a confronting situation with an Indian, he will just click his heels together and say 'It will happen in a moment' but it wouldn't"[43]* and *"B33: It was almost like he refused to accept that there was a problem [...] even though everybody could see it"[44]*. These statements both show the Danes' directness, and indicate the Indian reluctance to accept potential face-threatening situations and in stead attempt to ignore them, in the hope that they will go away.

Some Danish respondents found it difficult to decode the Indians' implicitness: *"B55: There are several degrees of yes"[45]* and *"B56: The challenge lies in managing the process, because you have some employees who sometimes says yes, even though they mean no"[46]*. This type of behaviour shows how the Indians act in order to avoid losing face. To Danes, this is very much in contrast with what they are used to, what they expect, and what they do themselves when asked a question. But this is typical Indian face-saving behaviour; they are attempting to maintain harmony in the situation.

As mentioned previously, hierarchy has considerable importance in the Indian society, which also plays a role in regard to face. One of the Danish respondents noted: *"B49: Here I*

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[42] Original: *Når man skal irettesætte er det som om man taler to forskellige sprog. Jeg vil bare gerne at den person jeg står overfor ser fejlen, og jeg vil undgå at det ikke sker igen, men jeg har oplevet at personen, enten ikke tager ansvaret og sender kamelen videre eller bare siger "Yes ma'am, Yes ma'am, det skal aldrig ske igen"*
[43] Original: *Hvis man har en konfronterende situation med indere, så klakker de hælene sammen, bukker og siger "jamen det sker også lige om lidt", men det gjorde det jo så ikke.*
[44] Original: *Det var som om han simpelthen nægtede at lade sig konfrontere med at der var et problem [...] selvom alle kunne se det*
[45] Original: *Det er altså sådan, der er grader af ja*
[46] Original: *Udfordringen består jo så i at styre processen, i og med at du har nogle medarbejdere som somme tider siger ja, når de egentlig mener nej*

wouldn't do it [castigate someone], it's very humiliating for them. Because of the hierarchy. There is a lot of honour at stake; he doesn't want to lose face in front of his subordinates"[47]. This corresponds with what theory states about the importance of hierarchy and face in an Indian business context.

Face threatening actions and face threat sensitivity

Regarding FTAs and FTS there is a considerable difference in what Indians and Danes perceive as FTAs. *"B47: If I said 'what have you done here?' then they would completely back away and become very reluctant. They would try to deny that things have happened"*[48]. This is an example of how an Indian would react if he was corrected or confronted directly or in front of other people. This kind of criticism would have been a threat to his positive face, as it would compromise his self-image. In a similar situation, a Danish respondent explained that he might be a bit quick to get worked up, stop being as polite or even raising his tone of voice, simply because the Indians refuse to understand what he is saying, this type of reluctant behaviour will most likely be displayed as well. A situation where one party loses his temper is a situation where both parties lose face. According to theory, the high-context participant in a communication situation will always try to maintain harmony, which indicates that if one party lose their temper, the other party will do what is necessary to restore balance in the situation.

Coupled with face-loss there is face-saving, which is also an important element of face. Regarding this concept, a Danish respondent noted: *"B46: They are very protective of their honour. They would prefer to walk out without a deal over losing face"*[49]. This shows the importance of face to Indians. Saving face is a top priority to Indian business people. This corresponds with the theory about FTS, as collectivistic Indians' FTS is generally higher than that of a Dane. Another Dane stated: *"B2: They become very disappointed when you give them bad news. It makes it better, if you say that they should look at it from another angle"*[50]. This is an example of how a Dane has tried to save the face of some Indian subordinates. By attempting to save their face in a potential face-loss situation, harmony has not been disrupted.

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[47] Original: *Hernede vil man slet ikke gøre det [revse en person], det vil være meget ydmygende for dem. Fordi der er hele hierarkiet. Der er meget ære i det, han vil ikke tabe ansigt overfor dem der ligger under ham.*
[48] Original: *Hvis jeg gik ind og sagde "hvad er det du har lavet her?" Så ville de simpelthen bakke fuldstændig tilbage, og blive helt modvillige. De vil sådan prøve at benægte at ting er sket*
[49] Original: *De er meget ærekære. De vil hellere foretrække at gå ud, uden en handel, frem for at miste ansigt*
[50] Original: *De bliver utroligt kede af det når man giver dem dårlige nyheder. Det gør det bedre, at man siger at de skal se det fra en anden vinkel i stedet.*

As an Indian respondent explained: *"B76: I have had to give bad news to an employee [...] generally we try to be sensitive"*. This example also indicates how it is possible for one person to save another person's face by, like in this situation, giving bad news in a sensitive manner. Losing face is connected to the shame that falls upon a person when he is humiliated. A Danish respondent stated: *"B41: If there are any mistakes, or some other negative thing I want to point out, then I wait until I'm alone with that person"[51]*. This is an example of how a person can be sensitive to the other's feelings and thereby save his face.

Theory states that face can be both given and taken. A Danish respondent stated: *"B41: I'll do it like this, if there are superiors present, it is about making the employees look good"[52]*. This exemplifies how he gives face to the employees when their superiors are there to assess them. Indians will value and remember this act of face-giving. The interviews also offered a real situation, where one of the Indian respondents praised his Danish counterparts: *"B57: [...] I find them wonderful, great people. And I think they have helped me grow professionally [...] they have been good on that. They are wonderful and open. And I can depend on them"*. With this praise, he is trying to give face to his Danish counterparts.

People can take face for themselves. As one Dane noted: *"B21: They have a tendency to over-sell themselves, and then fall through, because they want to come off as capable and competent as possible"[53]*. This shows how Indians give themselves face, by emphasising their competencies. Indians' view of rationality is quite different from the Danes' view, and the act of giving face to oneself is coupled with rationality. One Danish respondent told a story about a workman who had promised to have the work done by the time the Dane came home from vacation. But when he returned, it was not at all finished, and not until then, did the workman admit that he never believed he could have the work done within the promised time. In the Indian's mind, it was better to postpone the bad news. The logic behind this was 'why make them mad now, when I can wait a month to make them mad? This way, they are only mad for one month, in stead of the entire two months the work lasts'. The worker avoided telling the

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[51] Original: *Hvis der er nogle fejl eller noget andet negativt jeg vil påpege, så venter jeg med at gøre det til jeg er på tomandshånd med personen.*
[52] Original: *Jeg gør det, at hvis der er nogle overordnede til stede, så handler det jo om at få medarbejderne til at se godt ud.*
[53] Original: *De kan have en tendens til at oversælge sig selv og altså falde en lille smule igennem, altså fordi de gerne vil fremstå så dygtige og kompetente som overhovedet muligt.*

truth in order to, initially, take face for himself by being able to finish the work quickly. But actually, he ends up losing face when it turns out that the Dane gets upset because the work is not finished.

Deception

This experience was one of several examples of how the truth can be modified. Referring to theory, people from collectivistic cultures using deception as a means to save face, and one of the Danish respondents supported this view, noting that: *"B37/38: They have an entirely different view of truth and integrity. An Indian is often a part of something because he might gain something from it, and they are much more calculating than us [Danes] […]. In Denmark, you feel like crap if you've deceived your partner, but in India, the mentality is that you don't deserve better, if you've allowed yourself to be deceived"[54]*. Another Dane agreed that: *"B11: I would call many of them smart sales people. They attempt to sell more than they can actually deliver"[55]*. What these individualistic respondents express is that they find the use of lying unreasonable, but as theory suggests, it is acceptable to use lies as a means to achieve your goals in collectivistic cultures. An Indian respondent confirmed this tendency to use deception, as he narrated that in a cooperation with another Indian, his counterpart refused to pay for services already provided, and in spite of this, shortly after the other party approached our respondent again, with a new business proposition, as he [the counterpart] felt that their previous partnership had been successful. This shows the particularistic view of moral integrity coloured by the rough Indian market. It causes the Indians to act in a high mach manner, as people are ready to deceive and manipulate in order to achieve their goals. This was expressed by an Indian respondent: *"B71: India is a culture where it is your prerogative to bend the rules"*. What he indicates is that Indians are aware of the presence of deception in everyday communication and behaviour; and they accept, expect and use it.

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[54] Original: *De har en hel anden opfattelse af sandhed og integritet. En inder er ofte i noget fordi han kan tjene på det, og de er meget mere beregnende end os [Danskere][…]I Danmark synes man at man har været en lort hvis man har snydt sin partner, men i Indien så er mentaliteten den, at du fortjener ikke bedre hvis du har ladet dig bliver snydt.*

[55] Original: *Så vil jeg kalde mange af dem for smarte sælgere. De prøver at sælge mere end hvad de faktisk typisk kan levere.*

Politeness theory

According to theory, there are several things that potentially threaten a person's positive face. As one Indian stated: *"B67: I probably am more polite with Indians than with the Danes. I would tell the Dane that I don't like it, but with the Indian… no"*. This is in coherence with both theory and our expectations about how Indians interact; they are more polite and considerate of not offending anybody and thereby threatening their positive face. However, this respondent was, to our big surprise, the only one who supported these expectations. One Dane answered that: *"B9: I don't think politeness means particularly much to Indians. If anything then on the contrary, I think it means more in Denmark"[56]*, and another mentioned that: *"B39: Indians are not particularly good at being polite, there are no politeness phrases in Hindi. So the expectations for language usage are also completely different for Danes and Indians"[57]*. This is in contrast to our expectations that Indians do not really consider the politeness in their language that much; it seems they are not exceedingly polite.

Face-management

According to theory, collectivism is connected to face-management, and one Danish respondent noted: *"B48: You can turn it around, and ask if it's because you've done something wrong, if it's because you haven't performed yourself. You would be able to talk about that in Denmark, but you can't do that here"[58]*. This shows how a Dane perceives the problems regarding face and collectivism in an Indian management situation. As a Dane, he has no problem looking inward to question the way things have been done, but due to the hierarchy in India, authority is not questioned.

There are different ways of applying the concept of face in a communication situation. One Danish respondent provides different examples of how face can be applied to work in your favour: a) *"B49: [talking about employees lying] I might raise my voice a bit [...]. And then I might ask them to come up to my office, and then it goes completely quiet down there. [I] have*

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[56] Original: *Jeg synes ikke høflighed betyder noget særligt for inderne. Hvis noget så tværtimod, jeg tror mere det betyder noget i Danmark*

[57] Original: *Der er ingen høflighedsfraser på hindi. Det er meget mere ordrer de bruger. Så forventningerne til sprogbruget er også helt forskelligt for indere og danskere, de bruger sproget helt helt forskelligt.*

[58] Original: *Så kan man så vende den om og spørge om det er fordi man selv har gjort noget galt eller om det er fordi man ikke selv har performet. Det ville man kunne snakke om i Danmark, men det kan man ikke her.*

to show to the others that what has happened here is definitely not accepted"[59] and b) *"B47: If I really have to tell somebody off, I will get personal […] that is like getting slapped"*[60]. These face-taking strategies clearly function as tools to indicate power and maintain the power distance in the situation.

6.5. Temporality

Chronemics

Different views of time are often to be expected when cultures meet. Especially in the decision-making process, Indians and Danes have different approaches, which also became evident in our interviews: *"D69: The Danish side of the table is very organised, very clinical in its approach, [they] knew what they wanted. The Indian side is completely confused, very emotional, [they] never showed up on time"*. What this Indian had observed was that the Danes were focused on time, trying to waste as little as possible, whereas the Indians were less concerned with how much time was spent. A Danish respondent had a similar experience, and noted that: *"D5: In a situation where you had set aside ten minutes, you can expect that it will take almost half a day, or maybe even a whole day just to explain something"*[61]. Spending more time than planned, seemed to frustrate this respondent, who was evidently very time-focused. The outcome of being time-focused is often a faster, sometimes hurried, decision-making process, which was observed by an Indian respondent: *"D81: I feel that certainly the Danes are quite decisive in their approach. Sometimes they're quite impatient to get to a decision. They're like 'ok, let's just agree'. I think sometimes, it's good and bad. Sometimes you want a good debate before you arrive […] at a decision"*. This quote supports the theory that India is a polychronic society that tends to prolong the decision until every argument has been put forth. According to this Indian respondent, Indians like to debate, and he occasionally finds the Danes to be too hasty in their decisions. Another Indian agrees that *"D82: Indians can be much more argumentative"*, but he adds that *"D82: there is a generational shift"* in the decision making approach.

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[59] Original: *Jeg kan lige hæve stemmen lige en anelse ude i rummet […]. Og så kan jeg måske bede dem om at komme op på kontoret, og så bliver der stille dernede. [Jeg] bliver nødt til at vise overfor andre, at det der er sket her, er i hvert fald noget som ikke er accepteret*

[60] Original: *Skal jeg virkelig give en skideballe, så bliver jeg personlig […] Det er ligesom at få en på kassen derhjemme.*

[61] Original: *Hvor man måske havde sat ti minutter af til det, så kan man godt forvente, ja, næsten en halv dag, eller måske en hel dag, for bare at forklare om et område*

A person who belongs to a polychronic culture typically also possesses the ability to multitask, and most respondents agree that *"D60: In a normal meeting the Indians will do the multitasking",* whereas Danes tend to be monochronic and prefer doing one thing at a time. Consequently, many Danes find it disrespectful to be otherwise engaged while in a meeting, and several remark that *"D8: Turn-of-the-phone-during-the-meeting doesn't exist here, at all. People happily answer their phones during meetings"*[62]. It seems to upset Danes when they do not have the full attention of their counterparts. One of the Danish respondents suggested that answering the phone during a meeting could also serve as a demonstration of power. An Indian respondent observed that: *"D70: The Indian side of the table could have twenty things going on, a couple talking across the table, someone's telephone ringing, no problem receiving a call. On the Danish side, one person talks. If the telephone rang and had to be done, they would excuse themselves and go outside if it was urgent, otherwise, they would focus on the meeting itself".* This quote exemplifies what takes place when a polychronic culture and a monochronic culture enter into a negotiation with each other, and both sides act within the frames of their own cultures. One of the Indian respondents explained that *"D63: I can do other things simultaneously; I [...] need to do other things at the same time. I'm a busy man".* People from polychronic cultures can easily be involved in several decisions and discussions at the same time. However, some of our respondents, Indians as well as Danes, stated that both sides of the table were focused only on the meeting at hand, and that mobile phones were switched off and nobody disturbed the meeting. What was really interesting about this subject was when one of our Indian respondents stated that *"D76: I usually tend to focus only on the meeting at hand"* and almost immediately after making this reply, his mobile phone rang, and he excused himself, answered it and made a quick business decision over the phone whilst we were in the middle of our interview.

Structure

Structure is another point in which the Indian and the Danish culture differ: *"A71: I think with the Danes it is quite clear. They are very task-oriented, and very systematic. And they start the meeting with a ten point agenda, and you can kinda go down till you get to point number ten, and then the meeting is over. With the Indians there is no agenda. They just sit down and talk, and somebody figures you have run out of time, and you can move away, and you can be*

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[62] Original: *sluk-for-telefonen-under-mødet det eksisterer slet ikke herude. Folk de tager lystigt telefonerne under møderne*

scratching your head 'what did we really do here?' It's a very different style". According to this Indian respondent, Danes seem to have a tendency to be very organised and structured, while Indians are far more relaxed in their approach to schedules and agendas. One Dane noted that: *"D8: People [Indians] are often late. The scheduled time of a meeting is an approximate time"[63]*, which illustrates the different view of punctuality. Regarding planning in India, another Dane mentioned that: *"D36: Things usually fall into place, not at the last moment but in a more unstructured way"[64]*, which illustrates that Indians will arrive at the goal line, but they will take a different route than the Danes do. The same respondent also noted that: *"D36: Indians almost have an aversion towards scheduling meetings several weeks in advance, unless it is of a gigantic magnitude, regular business meetings and negotiations are preferably scheduled within the forthcoming week"[65]*. This becomes evident when trying to schedule meetings with Indians, and an Indian respondent commented on the same situation, but with a somewhat different perspective: *"D71: The Danes proposed certain dates, because they had looked in their calendars, and four years in advance they know exactly what they're going to be doing, you know it's quite well planned"*. This Indian have observed a difference in terms of planning, and seemed to find it very odd that the Danes had their time scheduled so meticulously. Another Indian described that: *"D57: In a meeting with Danes, we are clear on an agenda, because we have now become very very tuned on Danish way of organising meetings, with a definite agenda and action plan, people respond to the action plan, and the date in which is to be completed. So we are clear on that"*. This respondent explained how he has accustomed himself to the monochronic way of planning a meeting in order to match his Danish counterpart and avoid time related misunderstandings.

Waiting

One of the Danish respondents remarks that: *"D28: A lot of time is wasted during the day where you must sit and explain"[66]*. Danes seem to get upset if they feel they have wasted time on waiting or on a meeting that does not end in a decision, while Indians seem to be more relaxed: *"D73: And the Indians don't think twice about it, it's okay, they can do it another day,*

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[63] Original: *Folk [indere] kommer lystigt for sent. Mødetidspunktet det er et cirkatidspunkt*

[64] Original: *Tingene har det med at falde på plads, ikke i sidste øjeblik, men på en mere ustruktureret måde*

[65] Original: *Indere har nærmest en aversion mod at aftale møder flere uger i forvejen, så skal det i hvert fald være i en kæmpe størrelsesorden, almindelige forretningsmøder og forhandlinger aftales helst inden for den nærmeste uge*

[66] Original: *Der er en del spildtid der går i løbet af dagen, hvor man skal sidde og forklare*

but it's the end of the world for the Danes". Especially meeting times seem to be a point at which Indians and Danes disagree, as a Danish respondent experienced that: *"D2: During a meeting, well more and more people could join. If you say 4 o'clock, they could show up at 4 or 4.30, 4.45 or at 5 o'clock"*[67]. This was rather upsetting to the Dane, because a lot of time was wasted on waiting, and an Indian had had the same experience: *"D69: They [the Indians] started getting closer to the scheduled time, so they would, you know, the first time they might have been three hours late and it evolved to possibly three minutes late, but the Danes were there on time"*. In this case, the Indians began to adjust to the monochronic counterpart, and arrived earlier than usual.

The tripartite theory

Another aspect of planning is when *"D30: We've experienced now, time after time, with rather high-ranking Indian officials, where they would say 'that will be taken care of in no time', and we'll ask 'what is no time?', and they'll answer 'well, that's 10-12 days' and then nothing happens. So, a large aspect is that time is very relative. That's probably the biggest challenge at the moment, that's making things happen"*[68]. What this Dane experiences is a different notion of the term 'in no time', which results in wrong expectations on both sides. Another Dane provides an explanation for this: *"D49: First of all, we knew that there is a general tendency that they work with weeks and months down here, where we work with hours and weeks, or perhaps more, hours and days. And there is nothing wrong with working with weeks and months, if your market accepts that that's the way we work"*[69]. This quote illustrates how Indians and Danes have different views of time, the former having a longer time horizon than the latter.

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[67] Original: *I løbet af et møde, jamen der kunne komme flere og flere ind. Hvis man siger kl. 4, så kunne de sagtens dumpe ind kl. 4, el 4.30, 4.45 eller 5*
[68] Original: *Vi har siddet nu, gang på gang sammen med egentlig rimelig højt placerede indiske embedsmænd, hvor de så siger 'det er så på plads, i løbet af ingen tid', så vi så siger 'hvad er ingen tid' og de så svarer 'jamen det er 10-12 dage' og der sker bare ikke noget. Så det der med tiden er meget relativt. Det er nok den største udfordring i øjeblikket, det er at få tingene til at ske*
[69] Original: *For det første vidste vi at der er en generel tendens til at man regner i uger og måneder hernede, hvor vi jo regner i timer og uger, eller timer og dage måske nok nærmere. Og der er jo ikke noget forkert i at regne i uger og måneder hvis dit marked accepterer det, at det er den måde vi arbejder på*

Long- versus short-term orientation

Several of our respondents felt that the longer they had been doing business with a foreign partner, the more important was the personal relationship: *"D26: In the long run, when you've been in the business for many years, I think personal relations are very important. I have a colleague at home in Denmark. He's been working with the Indian market for 25 years. He has some acquaintances in the business world, who change jobs once in a while, and then he can call us and say that now he has an acquaintance who's moved to another company, so now we can start communication directly with somebody"[70]*. Thus, having a personal bond presents business opportunities, and this was supported by an Indian respondent *"D64: It is important to have a relationship with my partners, and I always notice that with partners I don't have relationships with, I don't do much business again, it's all cut and clean. When you develop relationships you often do more business and make more money and then you can maybe even do it on routine"*. This is evidence of the importance of building relationships, for as one of our Danish respondents noted: *"D19: It's not certain that this deal will go through, but maybe the next one will, and the longer a business relationship is, the better it becomes, the more understanding"[71]*. Maintaining a good and solid relationship can be fruitful in the future, and may make negotiations easier as one becomes familiar with each other: *"D21: Our Indian management, he's been director for this company for four years now, and in those four years he's been through exactly the same process as I have, so if you say that, just as when you're studying anthropology, that you have two different cultures, that when they meet, you will, gradually as you spend time together, the shared frame of reference will become bigger and bigger"[72]*. This Dane suggests that partners will develop a shared frame of reference as the relationship grows. Thereby the dynamic process of interaction causes the cultural self-perceptions and presuppositions within each interactant to change.

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[70] Original: *På længere sigt når du har været i branchen i mange år, så tror jeg at personlige relationer det er utroligt vigtige at have. Jeg kan se at jeg har en kollega der sidder hjemme i Danmark. Han har siddet med det indiske marked i 25 år. Han har nogle bekendte i forretningsverden som der så skifter job en gang i mellem, så han kan ringe ned til os og sige at nu er hans bekendte skiftet over til et andet firma, så nu kan du begynde at arbejde direkte med nogen*

[71] Original: *det er ikke sikkert denne forretning går igennem, men det kan være den næste gør, og jo længere et forretnings forhold er jo bedre bliver det, jo mere forståelse"*.

[72] Original: *vores indiske ledelse han har været direktør for det her selskab nu i fire år og på de fire år har han været igennem nøjagtig den samme proces som jeg har været, så hvis man siger at ligesom når man studerer antropologi, at man har to forskellige kulturer at når de så mødes så vil man efterhånden som man er sammen så vil fællesmængden bliver større og større*

6.6. Summary

After weighing our empirical data against the chosen theoretical components, we have been able to illustrate potential obstacles in an Indian-Danish business interaction. We found that, with a few deviations, the respondents' statements corresponded with the theory – both deviating and corresponding statements will be dealt with in the following discussion.

Discussion

7. Discussion

In this chapter, we will discuss the results of our analysis, and with a foundation in the chosen theories, we will present our interpretation of the empirical data. Furthermore, we will demonstrate how we believe that these cultural components are intertwined with each other, and how they affect communication in an intercultural setting.

7.1. Hierarchy

Power distance

There is a general correlation between theoretical statements and the results of our analysis indicating that India is a more hierarchical society than Denmark. In India, hierarchy is not only prevalent in private businesses, but it also plays a significant role in public institutions, which are dominated by an excessive bureaucracy. People with power are, because of the steep hierarchy, eager to maintain their power in society. The fear of losing status or rank continuously upholds power inequality, and it may thus be difficult for India ever to change its habits. In spite of the official abolition of the thousand year old caste system, the continued practise of it is a proof of the Indian inclination for hierarchical division in society, and also serves as a reason for people's fear of losing status. This hierarchical structure in society is projected into the organisational structure. This view of the Indian society was supported by all respondents and the vast majority agreed that Denmark was quite the opposite in terms of power distribution, except for one Indian respondent who felt that Denmark had a hierarchical business structure. We have not been able to find any definitive explanation for this particular answer, neither in the theory nor in the collected data. But this exception may be the result of various reasons specific to the particular situation the respondent is referring to, of which we have no further knowledge. An estimated guess would be that the Danish negotiator did not match the rank of the Indian counterpart or that the negotiations took an unexpected turn which resulted in the Danish negotiator having to consult his superiors in Denmark. This particular respondent works as a consultant, and in a negotiation situation he serves as a mediator between counterparts. Thus, we assume that his main challenge is to establish a professional connection between the parties. His job is therefore to pave the way for a good negotiation and decision making process, rather than actually intervening in the decision.

The power inequality in India affects both superiors and subordinates, and they find it equally challenging to address one another. The underlying emotion is that of fear. However, we are dealing with different kinds of fear: for the subordinate it is a question of fear of disagreeing with a superior, which was also the emotion Hofstede used to measure power distance, whereas for the superior it is a fear related to losing his power position. He will risk compromising his power if he treats a much inferior employee as an equal; this behaviour is to a large extent associated with his public image and face, which will be dealt with later in this chapter. Additionally, with power comes responsibility and in India not having power means not taking responsibility. While Indians are very reluctant to take on more responsibility than their position demands, Danes seem to be more willing to accept a responsibility that will promote and accelerate the work process. We believe that the difference lies in the Danes' individualistic and egalitarian frame of mind, and in the fact that status is attained through achievement not by ascription. Furthermore, it could also be that Danes are less afraid of standing out in comparison to their peers. Nevertheless, Danes are, too a large extent, individualistic, they tend to adhere to the Law of Jante, and thereby put a sort of restraint upon themselves in order not to be boastful. To move up within the company, one must demonstrate an independent way of thinking and a willingness to accept the positive and negative aspects that come with a decision-making position. In contrast, Indians seem less inclined to take the risk that comes with an independent action, which is closely connected to a somewhat higher level of uncertainty avoidance than Danes. Indians would much rather leave things are they are than take action and risk public criticism. We believe that this is due to the shame connected to being publicly reproached and thereby lose face; as mentioned, we shall return to this issue later on.

Status

Regarding demographic characteristics and their relation to status we have chosen to focus on nationality, age and gender. All but one of our respondents agreed that being Western, and more importantly white, plays a significant role in terms of status in Indian business. We argue that this can be ascribed to the colonial history of India. Having been controlled and governed by white people for so long, may lead to a sort of inferiority complex in Indian mentality, as suggested by one of our respondents who has several years of both personal and professional experiences with intercultural communication. White people in India have always demanded

respect from the Indian people. In the colonisation era power, was a matter of military advantage, and the fact that the Westerners were able to exploit the already existing hierarchical system of the caste society facilitated the acceptance of a foreign power. The caste system promotes the feeling of superiority since it is assumed that the higher you rank in the caste system, the closer you are to God. In contemporary India, white people are considered to belong to the upper class in society and their status is predominantly determined by their economic advantage.

Formality

As many young Indians are educated in Western countries, they become acclimatised to Western standards and acquainted with the Western style of communication, including level of formality, address forms and directness. We agree with the notion that India is experiencing a generational change and believe that with that comes a change of values towards a more Western-like frame of mind. Internally, India experiences great cultural differences, the urban, industrial part of India is much more developed than the traditional, rural areas (Kumar, 2007, p. 4). As mentioned, this thesis is centred on the business sector of India, which in numerous instances is very similar to Western standards.

Even though sharing some values with Westerners, Indians do not seem to have developed what Inglehart classifies as a post-modern view of life (cf. section 5.1 Hierarchy); we thus believe that India is a modern society whereas many Western countries are post-modern. Traditional and modern cultures usually do not question authorities, and as our data suggest that Indians readily accept authority, we do not find it unjust to treat Indian business society as a modern society throughout this thesis. Inglehart has nevertheless categorised India as a society that borders between traditional and modern values. This is based on a national average, but the sheer size of India and its diverse mentality makes this generalisation unreasonable in our opinion. We are well aware of the fact that generalisations are an unavoidable aspect of cultural measurements, but in this particular instance, we feel that it provides a misleading picture of the Indian business society.

Nationality, age and gender

Our findings suggest that the cultural development India is experiencing means that demographic traits such as nationality, age and gender are decreasingly important in business interactions. Generally speaking, these three traits are weighed differently by the respondents, most of them believe that nationality has some importance, gender less and age practically none. The interesting point here is that while men felt that gender had no significance in business relations, the women predominantly felt that they were, to some extent, discriminated against because of their gender. We ascribe the reasons for the male responses to the belief that they do not consciously discriminate against women. In fact, one of our male Indian respondents stated the exact opposite; that women tend to get their way. Assuming that he is right, it could perhaps be argued that the female respondents are too sensitive and too attentive of the gender aspect and therefore turn to this as an explanation for obstacles because of a stereotypical expectation that women in India do not enjoy the same liberty as women do in Denmark. But this may of course also be explained by the notion that it really is more difficult for women to gain the equal amount of respect as their male business partners in India as well as in Denmark, and it might therefore be more difficult for women to have success in business. However, though there may be an aspect of gender discrimination, the obstacles could also be assigned to other factors such as status, competencies, connections etc. Furthermore, the fact that they were interviewed by female interviewers might have also somewhat affected some respondents' answers.

Even though the generational change in society means that traits such as gender, age and nationality have lost consequence, the element of real power is still of significant importance. Real power may be found in unexpected places, as people with no apparent power can execute power over people who enjoy a higher rank in society. With reference to the example of the compound guard in the analysis (cf. quotation C3), we feel that his power execution has elements of both social status and connections. In a society where social hierarchy is of great importance, every level of the hierarchy has a need to feel empowered, and this is manifested in an eagerness to demonstrate power when possible; being empowered promotes self-assertion. However, having the right connections will help gain access in all sorts of situations, whether it is in terms of entering a compound or scheduling a meeting with a high-ranking government official. Another way of displaying power is by keeping people waiting. Though

punctuality is not highly regarded in India, being kept waiting could also be a result of a conscious act of power execution. Being told that the person you have an appointment with is in a meeting, even though he might not be, is an obvious power demonstration that indicates his high status. It is meant to infer respect. It should be stressed that we do not mean to imply that Indians exercise power whenever possible, but rather that they are, because of their hierarchical society, more inclined to do so than Danes, who do it on a more moderate basis. There does, however, seem to be a conflict between the Indian reluctance to take responsibility and their readiness to exercise power. We believe that the explanation can be found in the manager's fear of losing status, which means that he will avoid taking responsibility for something that is not completely his work. The actual execution of power lies in placing responsibility elsewhere.

Status affects the level of formality. This is true for societies in general, but it is more evident in cultures with a high power distance, such as the Indian culture. It is fair to assume that the level of formality decreases as the level of familiarity increases. Though theory suggests that India has a much higher power distance, and accordingly a higher level of formality, our Danish respondents seem to experience an informal communication style from their Indian counterparts. We find this very interesting, and believe it can be attributed to the Western values, which were discussed earlier.

7.2. Collectivism
Individualism versus collectivism

Another trait Western educated business people from India adopt when studying abroad is a somewhat individualistic mindset. Individualism has also become more evident in Indian culture after India has opened its economy to the Western world. Even though Indian business people have embraced some individualistic attitudes they, and the society as a whole, are still predominantly collectivistic. India is considered to be a collectivistic culture by some of the world's leading anthropologists, and we have treated it accordingly. In this particular instance, however, Hofstede's theories should be applied with caution, as it is important to bear in mind that his research is almost 40 years old, and India has undergone a substantial development since, especially in metropolitan areas such as Mumbai. Hofstede's theories were proposed before India became a large player in the international business market, thus they may not be

as applicable today as they were earlier. Thus, the point of a coexistence of individualism and collectivism in Indian culture may be more appropriate. This dualism becomes obvious in the Indian appreciation of networking, a collectivistic trait, and in their aggressive approach to business, an individualistic trait. For that particular reason the Indian business person can be difficult to classify and it may be hard to establish a cultural stereotype[73].

Our Danish respondents experienced Indians as being more collectivistic than they were used to. This was evident in the Indians' use of back-ups at meetings, their wish to establish a personal relationship with their business partners and especially in the importance of networking. The Danish respondents were unable to understand the necessity of the numerous participants on the Indian side, especially because most of them did not contribute openly and actively to the actual negotiation. While this may be a mere expression of collectivistic behaviour, it may also be a way of intimidating the counterpart by displaying power and status. Our data showed that sometimes Danes also turn out in large numbers. The straight-forward, individualistic explanation for this would be that they needed different experts to evaluate specific details. Another, more culturally sensitive explanation would be that the Danes have accepted and applied the Indian strategy and employed a geocentric approach in order to show their willingness to cooperate. Relationships and networking are important elements of Indian business, and as exemplified by one of the Indian respondents, what is most important is who you know and how you know them. Both Indian and Danish respondents agreed that this was essential when doing business. This may be where foreign business people will have most difficulties when attempting to do business in India. The criterion of success is having the right network and the challenge lies in finding a person with desirable connections.

Universalism and particularism

As Indians are particularists and therefore relationship-oriented their rationale prompts them to assess each business deal and business person separately, as no two cases are identical. This particularistic view was exemplified by one of the Indian respondents, who explained that it is not the quality of the work that is most important, but rather the in-group relationship. People in an in-group all benefit from mutual exploitation of the established networks. In contrast,

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[73] In general, stereotypes have negative connotations, and are therefore often avoided. However, when studying culture it is necessary to generalise, and when applied appropriately, they may be helpful in the initial communication.

another Indian respondent believed that the ideal situation would be if people in your network are qualified to do the job, but if not, it is the qualifications that are most important. This rationale is more task-oriented and similar to Western values where business comes first. We believe that the differences of our Indian respondents' opinions may be explained by the generational shift, implying that the respondents are representatives of two different ways of conducting business. This change is turning India towards a more universalistic rationale, leaning against the one we know in the Western world. To Danes, rules are not to be deviated from, and the same rules apply to everyone. As one Danish respondent described it; the outcome of a situation is not determined by personal relationships, but rather by objective reasoning.

Networking

As previously mentioned, Indians are most comfortable with creating relations, while Danes tend to compartmentalise. This was clearly expressed by one of the Danish respondents who did not wish to include his business partners into his personal life. This is a typical individualistic, ethnocentric approach to a foreign culture. While it may be the least demanding strategy for a foreigner in India, it is most likely to also be the least profitable. Theory suggests that Denmark is an individualistic society and thus this method will usually be sufficient in Denmark, because focus is on the task at hand and not the relationships. This corresponds with our findings that Danes wish to separate their private life from their business life. But in India, it is essential to be personally involved in the business as well as in the business partners. Though it might be boundary-breaking for a Dane to establish numerous close relationships with business partners, it is both necessary and favourable in India, as one of our Danish respondents experienced that he was able to make things happen faster and run more smoothly because of his relationship with a high-ranking Indian government official. This is clear evidence that it is crucial to establish in-group relationships, because Indians are more reluctant to do business with people from an out-group. We assume that Danes, too, prefer dealing with in-groups, but we assume that they are less dismissive of people from out-groups.

7.3. Context

High- versus low-context

The Indians' reluctance to do business with people from an out-group may be based on the difference in communication styles of in-groups and out-groups. Our findings suggest that communication in an Indian in-group is implicitly conveyed, which is in concurrence with the applied theory about high-context communication. The respondents also noted that Danes, on the other hand, are much more explicit in their way of communicating. This divergence in communication style may give cause to misunderstandings during negotiations. Our research showed that some of our Danish respondents were frustrated with the Indian implicitness, because it was difficult to get the expected clear and necessary response from the Indian interlocutor. The Danish reaction to this implicitness ranged from mild irritation through an insistence on getting an answer to a loss of temper. It should be mentioned that while the negative reaction to the Indian implicitness might be culturally determined, the intensity of the reactions is perhaps predominantly shaped by personality. To a large extent patience affects how a person reacts to frustration, but more importantly experience in intercultural communication is what influences the reaction to an unfamiliar situation. From our data, we conclude that the interculturally experienced respondents had adapted their way of communicating and their expectations to the interactions with their counterparts, whereas the less experienced reacted ethnocentrically. We observed that the less experienced respondents reacted within the frames of their own culture, because of a lack of understanding of foreign cultures, whereas the culturally experienced respondents were more geocentric in their approach and employed their knowledge about interaction with other cultures.

Explicitness

Even though the Danish explicitness may cause cultural clashes, the Indian implicitness may do the same, but this clash is usually related to misunderstandings. As one of our Indian respondents exemplified, Indians tend to circle round the actual topic and leave it to the receiver to infer the intended meaning of the communication. Similarly, Indians dislike being asked a direct question, but prefer to be asked several indirect questions to which they can infer their own meaning, and then give an answer based on their interpretation. One Indian respondent provided a perfect example of Indian high-context communication, explaining that Indians can deliver a message with a simple nod of the head, and without explicit or direct

verbal communication. In contrast, Danes tend to be clear and structured in their communication. Likewise, Indians must also be attentive to the signals they send, e.g. shaking the head means 'no' in most parts of the world, but in India it has multiple meanings, and therefore it can be difficult for foreigners to interpret that particular signal. At the same time, it can also be difficult for foreigners to interpret the Danes' explicitness. One of our Danish respondents feels that he spends excessive amounts of time explaining his intentions and expectations to the Indians, because they misinterpret the directions. We argue that there are different levels of explicitness in a communication situation. While the Danish explicitness is efficient in a Danish context because of a shared frame of reference, it is not sufficiently precise when communicating with Indians who have a different frame of reference. Culturally determined truisms are not expressed in the communication, but are included as underlying assumptions of the interaction, and are thus not understood by foreigners who have a different frame of reference and thereby different truisms. Some Danish respondents felt that they had to explain everything in detail, down to the point where they felt that they were being disrespectful to the Indians. Being explicit and at the same time avoid causing loss of face seem to be incompatible as the explicitness is needed in order to ensure that the message is conveyed as intended, but on the other hand, too much explicitness may be experienced, by the Indians, as an attack and an attempt to take face. The solution may thus be found in how the explicitness is expressed in the situation.

Directness

The majority of our respondents agreed that, in comparison with Indians, Danes are generally more direct in their way of communicating. Based on the theory, it would be fair to assume that in a contract negotiation between two Indian parties, the interaction would be rather indirect and more time consuming. Nevertheless, some respondents argued that Indians are equally direct when negotiating big contracts. A distinction was made between "regular business" and "big business", and our respondents claimed that when the negotiation concerns "big business", Indians are just at decisive as Westerners are, because they, too, focus on the economic outcome. Thus, it could be argued that the reason for this distinction between "regular" and "big" business is not necessarily culturally determined, but rather a result of international trading customs. Usually, in international business you are dealing with

substantial amounts of money and in order to be competitive in a globalised world, you will have to adjust to the international standards.

The international standards include both the technical aspects of negotiating a contract and the style of communication. The Indian respondents noted that Indians, who are unfamiliar with international communication, would take offence of the directness of Danes. Theory states that Danes are very direct in their way of communicating, which is in consistence with our Indian respondents' experiences in dealing with Danes. In contrast, the respondents stated that Indians are overall unfamiliar with direct communication. The interesting thing is that one of our Indian respondents explained that even though it seems unplanned there is a strategy underneath the unstructured surface of Indian communication. We believe that the message only seems unplanned to the Westerner who does not understand the strategy or the underlying message, but to the Indian, it is the only logical way to convey a message. Indians are able to infer meaning from very little information, because they know their counterparts. But for the Westerner, this indirectness seems very time-inefficient and confusing. Indians, on the other hand, do not experience it as inefficiency, but rather as a means to get to know their counterparts better and establish trust. Culturally experienced business people are able to communicate in their own culturally influenced style and at the same time listen in the style of their counterparts. This makes them excellent when communicating with different cultures. This is referred to as having a high intercultural competence, as we mentioned in the theory.

The conversational maxims

Establishing a relationship with the counterpart is important to Indians, and as mentioned earlier, the level of formality is a good indicator of how well the parties know each other. As the relationship develops, the communication style changes accordingly. Our data suggest that the Indian and Danish communication styles change in terms of Grice's conversational maxims. The quotation "*A36: It is my experience that the communication is not concealed. We Danes prefer to be honest and keep our promises, and at the same time, not promise anything we cannot keep. But the Indians over-promise and under-deliver*" illustrates the Danish way of communicating, and suggests that Danes tend to meet the two conversational maxims quality and manner. The respondent claims that Danes value honesty and commitment to agreements, which is in concurrence with the maxim of quality. At the same time, it also suggests that

Danes prefer direct communication, which corresponds with the maxim of manner. According to the conversational maxims, the respondent has a point when he states that Indians over-promise and under-deliver. However, leaning against Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey's argument that the conversational maxims are only suitable for low-context cultures, we believe that the Indian style of communication cannot be evaluated according to the Gricean maxims. As India is perceived as a high-context culture, it is not reasonable to assess the Indian style of communication according to these four maxims.

One Danish respondent states that "*When reproving a person it's almost like we're speaking two different languages. I [the Dane] want the person to understand the mistake so that it doesn't happen again. But I have experienced that the person [the Indian] either doesn't take responsibility or just pass it on, or simply just says "Yes ma'am, yes ma'am, it won't happen again"*. The Dane evaluates the Indian response according to the maxims quantity, quality, relevance and manner. According to Western assessment, the response is neither sufficient, particularly truthful, unambiguous, nor explicit. What the Danish respondent does not realise is that the Indian is not trying to answer according to any of these maxims, but is in fact attempting to save face in a face-threatening situation. Our data suggested other similar incidences where the Indian party simply was unwilling to accept criticism and completely ignored it out of fear of losing face. Indians will, at all costs, deny a face-loss situation, even though it is obvious to everybody else in the given situation.

7.4. Face
Facework

An element that can cause confusion in the communication is the different applications of the word 'yes'. It can mean either 'I agree', 'I understand what you say' or 'no'. To Danes, the last of the three is what is confusing, because a Dane would typically use the straight forward 'no'. To Indians, saying 'no' (as in 'I don't know') would cause loss of face, whereas 'no' (as in 'I refuse') will disrupt harmony and in effect also cause loss of face. The obstacle for a foreigner is to decode the message in order to retrieve the right meaning. As Indians are from a high-context society, they convey a large part of the message non-verbally, but as people from low-context cultures are used to explicit communication, they are not used to infer meaning beyond what is spoken. This is a typical problem area for Indians and Danes, as they communicate in

very different manners. When asked a question, the Dane would give a direct answer, even though it would put him in a bad light, whereas to the Indian it would be a clear admission of failure to admit to his superior that he was unable to complete the task. Therefore, being from a high-context culture and thereby indirect in the style of communication, the Indian would typically provide a positive answer in order to save face.

The culturally experienced Danes are aware of the concept of face, and take care not to take face or behave in a face-threatening manner. They employ social knowledge, where they move from being universalistic and objective towards being more particularistic and subjective of each situation individually, thus the way in which they perceive reality changes accordingly. But managing face still poses a challenge because Indians and Danes perceive face-threatening behaviour differently. Being from a low-context culture, Danes tend to compartmentalise relations and are therefore able to distinguish a conflict from the person, hence the relationship between the parties in the conflict will remain unaffected afterwards. On the other hand, an Indian, being from a high-context culture, consider the conflict to be an extension of the person who caused it, and therefore criticism is considered very personal, and will cause him to lose self-esteem and face. In this regard, it will be the positive face that is lost, because critique is an attack on the self-image. And therefore it will have a damaging effect on the future relationship.

The rationality behind face-threatening behaviour differs from Indians to Danes, which in effect also means that what is considered to be FTAs in one culture is not necessarily FTAs in the other culture. Because Danes focus on "I-identity", they are less aware of the existence of other-face and "we-identities", and their preferred means of reaching their desired goal do therefore not take the Indian preference for other-face concern into consideration. Rationality can also be viewed in terms of face-saving behaviour, and our data suggested that Indians would much rather bend the truth in order to delay a conflict and thereby a face-loss situation. The Indians' rationale is to minimise the length of the conflict and thereby the extent of it, but in the mind of the Danes, the postponement of the bad news only makes the situation worse. The Danish preference for direct and clear communication causes them to feel deceived by the Indians when information is withheld.

Deception

Several of our respondents agreed that deception is a part of Indian communication culture. On the surface, deception may be perceived as an element that would disrupt harmony in a communication situation, but in India it is, among other things, employed as a tool to achieve their individualistic, personal goals without being too direct and confronting, and thus group harmony is maintained in the situation. This is evidence of the co-existence of individualism and collectivism in Indian culture, as individualistic characteristics are acceptable as long as they do not interfere with the collectivistic mindset. Deception is accepted as a means to win over competitors in the fierce Indian market. But in Denmark, deception is considered to be immoral, and furthermore, the guilt connected with misleading your partner prevents the Danes from exercising this strategy. Therefore, it may be difficult for Danes to do business in India, as they distance themselves from any approach that might be perceived as deceitful according to their own moral standards.

Face threatening actions and face threat sensitivity

Our data suggested that pride is important to Indians, and their self-image is thus very vulnerable to external threats. We believe that this is connected to the collectivistic mindset of Indians, and their concern for both self-face and other-face. The fact that they are attentive towards other-face makes them equally sensitive of FTAs posed by their surroundings. In contrast, the Danes are, as a result of their individualistic mindset, predominantly concerned with self-face, and have no particular regard for other-face. To a Danish superior in India, it is challenging to manage the Indian FTS, and our research provides examples of how this could be handled. One respondent explained how he attempted to adjust to the Indian FTS by expressing himself in a more moderate manner, and by stressing that the message was not to be perceived as a personal attack, but rather as a suggestion to view things differently. As mentioned earlier, Indians have a different frame of reference than Danes, and therefore, the Indians' initial suggestion to a problem solution will most likely differ from the solution the Dane had in mind. Here, it is important to keep in mind that neither solution can be considered to be the definitive solution, but the essence is for them to agree on a common approach. If the Dane fails to maintain harmony, and thereby cause loss of face of the Indian counterpart, the latter will in turn become uncooperative, and negotiations will most likely break down.

Another way of managing face is by avoiding giving criticism in public. Indians are very concerned about their public image, and thus being exposed publicly will injure their self-face severely. This particular notion does not differ from the Danish view of public criticism, as our data suggest that Danes will not feel comfortable being reproved in front of colleagues either. The public reproof is closely connected to shame, which is felt more strongly in collectivistic cultures, because of the importance of other people's opinion of you. Therefore, it can be assumed that Indians will attempt to avoid a situation that will inflict shame upon themselves and their in-group, as it will cause the entire group to lose face. In contrast, the Danish individualistic culture emphasises the importance of self-evaluation, and thus personal guilt is felt more strongly than in collectivistic cultures. In addition to individualism and collectivism, we ascribe this difference to the conflicting frames of reference and different sets of ethical codes, from which Indians and Danes determine their lines of conduct.

As suggested in theory and supported by our research, Indians are very considerate when it comes to giving face to their counterparts. The interview situation provided an actual example of face-giving, as one of our Indian respondents praised his Danish counterparts, even though they were not in the room. By giving them face, he expected harmony to be maintained. In this regard, it is important to emphasise that face-giving is a genuine act, and is not to be viewed as an attempt to deceive the recipient. Therefore, we assume that, while no partnership is free of problems, this Indian respondent is sincere in his praise of the Danish partners. We furthermore believe that, as he hopes his praise will be passed on to his Danish counterparts, it will reflect positively back on him as well as on their relationship.

Politeness theory

With our theoretical expectations in mind that Indians communicate in an excessively polite manner, it was surprising to find that our data collection provided ambiguous results on the matter. Only one respondent seemed to support our expectation; that he would be more polite with Indians. This is an example of politeness expressed through indirect communication. In high-context cultures, you do not need to express politeness with specific phrases, but do so by your indirect complying manner. In low-context cultures, politeness is expressed directly, as the style of communication usually is very direct, and thus Danes would perceive the lack of politeness phrases as rude. As one of our Danish respondents reasoned, Indians often fail to

employ politeness phrases as they do not exist in Hindi. Even though Indians do not consider themselves to be more polite when communicating with Danes, and Danes state that they found politeness to be less prevalent, we believe that politeness plays a major role in interactions. However, it is expressed indirectly and in concurrence with Indian practices, which may be the reason why the low-context direct Danes fail to understand it.

Face management

When managing face it is important to be polite. It is equally important not to be impolite, especially in potential face-threatening situations. Theory suggests that FTAs should only happen in private situations where shame is not inflicted upon the person who is on the receiving end. However, as suggested by a Danish manager, who described how he raised his voice slightly in front of colleagues, FTAs can be used as a strategy by managers in order to infer respect and demonstrate power. This method, even though applied by a Dane, might be more similar to how one would expect an Indian to act in the same situation. As one of our respondents suggested, Indian managers are expected to display their power in front of colleagues and subordinates.

7.5. Temporality

Chronemics

The data suggested that some of the Danish managers realised that they were equally responsible for making sure that the message was decoded as intended by the recipients. In addition to ensuring that messages are decoded correctly, intercultural communicators should also make sure that the notion of time is perceived similarly by the participants in a communication situation. Differences in time perception often pose challenges to intercultural managers. The differences in Indian and Danish time perception are clearly evident in our data collection. The extremities of the differences were described by an Indian who stated that the monochronic Danes are organised and structured, while the polychronic Indians are confused and emotional. These time perceptions are by nature not compatible, and therefore the only solution to reach an agreement is for at least one of the parties to adapt to the other party's view of time, or better yet, for both of them to adapt a little. The fundamentally different time orientations were evident in our findings.

Structure

In the eyes of the well-structured Danes, Indians seem to have a chaotic approach to business, which is a major cause of frustration. Generally, it can be difficult for Danes to force their meticulous planning through in an Indian context. As one of our respondents experienced, he could easily spend half a day in a meeting even though he had only put aside ten minutes for it. What causes frustration for the Danes is that their general expectations about time consumption in regard to meetings is of absolute no use, as the Indians view time as indefinite and therefore rarely stick to schedule. Because Indians view time as unfixed, they consider the Danish preference for tight schedules and immense planning to be absurd and unnecessary. Indians are, as mentioned, collectivistic and their in-group and network are of crucial importance to them. Therefore, they always make time for them, which can easily cause a business schedule to slide. To Indians, this is merely a matter of priority, but to Danes it is insulting to be kept waiting.

Another source of insult is the Indian tendency to multitask, which by Danes is interpreted as a lack of interest. Danes demand full attention from their counterparts, just as they offer them their undivided attention. We believe that Danes perceive inattention as disrespectful, and will thus interpret multitasking as a non-verbal expression that he, the Dane, is not important enough to require the Indian's full attention. One of the typical examples of multitasking is when Indians answer their phone during a meeting. As we experienced first hand, Indians do not hesitate to answer a phone call while in a meeting, and from our observations, we conclude that Indians are unaware that talking on the phone can be perceived as disrespectful by Westerners. Thus, it is fair to assume that, in most cases, the Indian does had no intention of disrespecting his counterpart with this interruption. Moreover, it could also be used as a demonstration of power, as it was suggested by one of our Danish respondents. Furthermore, one of our Indian respondents noted that it was necessary for him to do several things simultaneously, as he is 'a busy man'. While still being polychronic in his business conduct, he apparently does not consider time to be unlimited, as is one of the usual traits of polychronic time orientation. We feel that this, too, is an expression of the generational shift, as well as the result of the influence of the Western business world.

Data suggest that in some aspects Indians remain unaffected by Western standards, as one Indian respondent suggested that Indians have not adopted the structured agenda and prefer to let things run their course, and as he jokingly added, after a while somebody figures out that you have run out of time. While this approach to business may seem both unstructured and confusing, it is in concurrence with what one of our respondents said, namely that things have a tendency to work out in the end. Therefore, our respondent suggested that it would be better to adopt the Indian way of scheduling meetings, but this would never do in Denmark, where arrangements are closely scheduled, and Danes therefore do not have much time for delays or unexpected changes. While Indians almost have an aversion to planning ahead, Danes can be said to have an aversion to the idea of wasting time. These are by nature irreconcilable, and this is one of the reasons for miscommunication between Indians and Danes.

Waiting

Indians do not understand the Danish need for immense planning and find it to be unnecessary and absurd. As one of our Indian respondents humorously said; Danes consider wasting time to be the end of the world. This is an expression of how ridiculous he finds the Danish obsession with time and planning. Though it may be exaggerated, there is an element of truth in this statement, as some of our Danish respondents expressed an annoyance with the Indian lack of punctuality. One of the Indian respondents explained how he had adopted the monochronic view of time and accommodated to the Danish preference for planning meetings. This is an example of a geocentric approach by the Indian party.

It is not only in the planning process, but also during the negotiation, differences in time perception can pose problems to the parties involved. Our data provided examples of how different interpretations of the expression 'in no time' can cause misunderstandings between Indians and Danes. As a Danish respondent points out, Danes view time in terms of days and hours, whereas Indians view time in weeks and months. This results in a different interpretation of the underlying meaning of the expression 'in no time'. One Danish respondent exemplifies this difference in stating that 'ten to twelve days' is a formal time reference in his opinion, but was interpreted as an informal time reference by the Indian. This caused communicational misunderstandings and resulted in unsatisfied expectations.

Long- versus short-term orientation

As treated several times previously, Indian culture as well as Indian business culture is very focused on networking and relationships as well as maintaining harmony in their in-groups. This cannot be accomplished without a willingness to invest your person on a long-term basis. In collectivistic cultures, a relationship is likely to lead to business opportunities, and therefore, it is crucial to preserve one's network. To Danes, this is an unfamiliar way of conducting business, as they are far more task-oriented and thus not used to the necessity of establishing personal relationships in a business setting. However, several of our Danish respondents seem to have realised the importance of relationships and networks in the Indian business environment. Furthermore, one of our Danish respondents explained how his long-term relationship and joined history with an Indian partner had affected and improved their partnership. As he points out, the longer you have known your partner, the better you know how he conducts business and this will in effect make the business run more smoothly.

7.6. Additional remark

Our discussion has led to the realisation that though all relevant, the components are not equally important to the two cultures. Our findings suggest that Indians perceive the four components hierarchy, collectivism, context and face as areas of concern, because they reflect some of the basic values of Indian culture. On the contrary, Danes seem more concerned with context and temporality, as differences therein pose potential sources of frustration. The fact that the representatives of the two cultures do not seem to put equal importance on the five components makes it even more difficult to unveil where the potential pitfalls might be. Though general politeness may take you a long way in intercultural communication, it is essential to identify the values of the opposite culture, and respect this different set of values.

It is in many ways difficult to separate the five components as they are connected and mutually affect each other. As demonstrated, hierarchy affects the level of formality and directness in the communication. High power distance India tends to employ a formal and indirect communication style in order to show respect for superiors. The indirect communication is often employed in collectivistic India, and this is in cohesion with maintaining group harmony and avoiding loss of face, as collectivistic cultures are mainly concerned with other-face. The importance of face in Indian society prompts Indians to apply a high-context strategy which is

in line with the preference for indirect communication. Furthermore, the collectivistic values also form the foundation for the long-term orientation prevalent in many Indian business people. Nevertheless, the generational shift in India and the continued westernisation seem to cause a change of values in business culture. The generational shift appears to have affected the time perception and thus the younger Indian generation is moving from a polychronic view of time towards a monochronic view.

The monochronic Danes most often employ a direct style of communication as a means to save time and focus only on the task at hand. This style is also employed in the superior-subordinate relationship, where an informal manner of speech is the norm. This is an effect of the low power distance in Danish culture, which is projected into organisational culture. The direct communication is a typical trait of individualistic cultures as they usually prefer a low-context style of communication. The concern for self-face and the low-context style of communication employed by Danes can be considered to be a function of their individualistic mindset. We have found that there exists an interdependence between the five components, and elements of face seem to be present in the other four components.

We would like to emphasise that in spite of our discussion and the findings of various cultural theorists, not all communicational problems arise as a result of cultural divergence, but may in fact be ascribed to other personal, organisational, managerial, political etc. disagreements.

7.7. Summary
In this chapter, we have discussed and compared the findings of our analysis to the theoretical components. We have shown how four of the chosen components are interlinked with each other. The fifth is partially separated from the other four, as it consists of two different elements: one that is interaction-oriented and thereby closely connected with the others; and one which focuses on time as experienced. The discussion demonstrated how these five cultural components influence intercultural communication between Indians and Danes.

Conclusion

8. Conclusion

In this final chapter we will provide a conclusion for our RQ, which is:

> *How do cultural components affect the style of verbal communication*
> *when Danish business people enter the Indian market?*

In order to answer this, we chose to analyse five cultural components which were extracted through our data processing. To make the following conclusion more approachable, we have chosen to deal with the, otherwise interlinked, components separately.

The first component was hierarchy which showed that the importance of social class and organisational status plays a different role in the respective cultures. To the high power distanced Indian, it is important to be met by a person of the proper rank, but Danes tend to favour qualifications over organisational position, and would thus not hesitate to include an expert in the decision making process, regardless of his title. This may cause obstacles as the Indian will usually expect to be met by a person of equal rank. We do not intend to imply that Danish top managers are completely unaffected by title, but rather that they are more concerned with qualifications, as status is reached through achievement.

In addition to organisational rank, we found that status was also affected by nationality, age and gender. Our data suggested that in this instance, nationality did not cause problems for Danes as white people typically enjoy status in India. However, age and gender were more likely to be sources of difficulties as power in India is usually ascribed, based on social rank, seniority, networks etc. However, age and gender are not as important as they have been previously. This can be explained by the generational shift of values the Indian society is experiencing as a result of an increasing westernisation.

In spite of the increasing westernisation which affects Indian communicational behaviour in several instances, Indian and Danish business people still have different frames of references. Due to the collectivistic mindset and the importance of networking, Indian particularism is in conflict with the Danish universalism and the belief that everybody has equal rights and opportunities. To Danes the distinction between in-group and out-group in a business context

is of less importance. In effect, this means that Danes do not tend to adapt their communication style to their counterpart, Danish or foreign, but instead usually employ the same level of directness and explicitness. This is one of the major causes of difficulties in an Indian-Danish communication situation for two reasons; the Indian indirectness is a source of confusion for the Danes, as they are unable to decode their messages. And Indians are likely to be offended by Danes' direct style of communication. The problem seems to be both that Indians perceive the Danish communication style as disrespectful and confronting, and that Danes, failing to decode the Indians' signals, feel obliged to be even more explicit to the point where they are being rude.

The Danish directness may be considered as an FTA by Indians, as a public confrontation threatens the Indian's face. In the eyes of the Indian, they both lose face in a confrontation, but the Dane is oblivious to both types of face loss. This is due to the different rationales behind FTAs, which are based on the "I- and we-identities", closely connected to individualism and collectivism, respectively. The Indian emphasis on face, derived from collectivism, means that their FTS is considerably higher than that of the Danes.

Associated with collectivism is long-term orientation, and even though the westernisation of Indian values have made them less long-term oriented, the differences are continuously likely to pose problems. While Indians prefer to spend time on establishing a relationship, Danes are much more concerned with saving time and are thus more task-oriented. The Danish obsession with tight scheduling and punctuality is not compatible with the Indian view of time as fluid and the tendency to multitask. This is why time poses another of the biggest potential problems for Indian and Danish business partners.

We were able to identify the different levels of emphasis the two cultures put on the values reflecting our cultural components: Indians perceive hierarchy, collectivism, context and face to be areas of concern, whereas Danes consider context and temporality as the greatest obstacles when communicating with Indians. The fact that Indians and Danes cannot even agree on the main problem areas makes it that much harder to reach a common understanding. The solution is perhaps found in both sides acquiring cultural awareness, rather than reading cultural guidelines.

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10. Appendices

10.1. Appendix 1 Interview guides

Appendix 1.1

Interview guide - English

Introduction
1. How long have you been working with Danish business partners?
2. Why did you decide to do business with Danes
3. Have you been in Denmark?
    a. If so, how many times?
    b. And how many times have your Danish partners been in India?

Meetings
4. Can you describe a meeting with a Danish partner?
    a. How many participants? Danes/Indians?
    b. Location
5. Usually, when in a meeting, do you only focus on the meeting at hand, or are you capable of doing other things simultaneously (sign papers, answer phone calls etc.)?
6. How did you experience the decision making process? Were the decisions made by the participants of the negotiations or by superiors?
7. How much time was needed to reach an agreement? Did you find that to be as expected or was it faster/slower?
8. What type of agreement do you have with your Danish partners (written or oral)?
    a. And what type do you prefer?
9. What is your position? Are the counterparts' gender, age, nationality, seniority and title important to you?

Communication styles
10. Did you have any expectations of the style of communication prior to doing business with Danes?
    a. If so, which?
    b. Elaboration: how Danes do business
    c. Had you heard anything about the Danes before meeting them – for instance stories about their way of doing business?
    d. If not, do you have an international education, where you have met different cultures?
11. Did you expect any cultural differences between Danes and Indians to cause difficulties?
    a. If so, can you explain?
12. Have you noticed any differences in the communication styles of Danes and of Indians?
    a. If so, how do they differ?
    b. Have you thought about why communication with Danes is carried out the way it is?
    c. Elaboration: Danes have a reputation for being direct in their communication?

Have you noticed that? Do you sometimes find them to be too direct?

13. What did you think of the way the communication took place?

14. Can you think of anything you do different when communicating with Danes in comparison to communicating with other Indians?
    a. Are you more concerned with being polite when negotiating with foreigners than when negotiating with other Indians?

15. Do you have any examples of a very successful communication situation?

16. Have you experienced any misunderstandings between you and your Danish partners?
    a. If so, can you describe the situation?
    b. How did you resolve the problem?

17. Have you been given bad news or had to give bad news to your business partner?
    a. If so, can you describe the situation?
    b. How did you handle the confrontation?
    c. How did your partner respond?

18. Have you experienced that the communication went wrong, e.g. that you misunderstood each other or that your expectations of the agreement were completely different?
    a. If so, why do you think it went wrong? And what do you think could have saved the situation?

19. Do you have a shared frame of reference in terms of technical language within your field, and does it make communication with your Danish partners easier?
    a. If so, can you describe a situation where this is evident?

Relations

20. Do you socialise with your Danish counterparts outside the meeting room? If so, have you noticed any differences in the behaviour of your Danish counterparts depending on when they were at work or in private? Which differences?

21. What do you weigh highest, business or personal relations? Why?

22. What, in your experience, do the Danes weigh highest, business or personal relations?

Image

23. Do you adapt your image when you communicate with Danes, as to when you communicate with Indians?
    a. If so, what did you do to convey this particular image?
    b. If not, which image did you want to give of yourself? (competent/powerful/empathic/polite etc.)

24. Did you at any time feel that your Danish counterparts questioned your person or competencies?

25. How would you describe your Danish counterparts? What are they like?

Final questions

26. Do you think that it is important that the foreign business partners have a thorough understanding of Indian culture and ways of doing business?
    a. If so, why?

27. Is there anything that can make you give up a favourable deal?
    a. If so, what?
    b. Elaboration: If your counterpart showed a serious lack of understanding for the Indian business culture would that affect your decision?

Appendix 1.2

Interview guide - Danish

Indledende
1. Hvor længe har du arbejdet med indiske partnere?
2. Hvorfor besluttede I jer for at gå ind i Indien?
3. Hvor mange gange har du været i Indien?
   a. Hvis ja, hvor mange gange?
   b. Og hvor mange gange har de været her i Danmark?
4. Hvordan kom I ind på det indiske marked; havde I ex en mellemmand eller andre facilitatorer?

Møder
5. Vil du ridse en forhandlingssituation op for os?
   Hvor mange var I fra DK og hvor mange var de?
   Hvilken form for kontakt havde I? – e-mail, møde etc
6. Hvordan oplevede du beslutningsprocessen; hvor blev beslutningerne truffet, og hvem traf dem?
7. Hvor lang tid tog det at nå til enighed?
   a. Tog det lang tid at nå til enighed om kontrakten/aftalen?
8. Hvilke typer aftaler har I med jeres indiske partner?
   a. Fik I underskrevet en kontrakt eller var der tale om en mundtlig aftale?
   b. Hvad foretrækker du?
9. Spillede det nogen rolle hvad din stilling i DK var?
   Tror du det have været anderledes hvis du havde været ældre/yngre, kvinde, anden titel?

Kommunikation
10. Hvilke overvejelser gjorde I jer omkring det indiske marked ift. kultur før I tog dertil?
11. Forventede I, at de kulturelle forskelle ville skabe problemer.
    a. Hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
12. Har du bemærket nogen forskelle mellem den danske og den indiske måde at kommunikere på?
    a. I så fald, hvordan adskiller de sig?
    b. Har du tænkt over hvorfor kommunikationen med inderne forløber som den gør?
    c. Var kommunikationen meget direkte, eller var det pakket lidt mere ind?
       i. Hvad synes du om den måde det foregik på?
       ii. Mener du at kommunikationsformen havde nogen indflydelse på resultatet?
13. Hvad synes du om måden kommunikationen foregik på?
14. Kan du komme i tanke om noget du gør anderledes når du kommunikerer med inderne ift. når du kommunikerer med danskerne?
    a. Hvad betyder høflighed generelt for samarbejdet med inderne?
15. Har du nogen eksempler på en rigtig vellykket kommunikation?
16. Har du oplevet en misforståelse mellem dig og dine indiske partnere?
    a. Kan du beskrive situationen?
    b. Hvordan udredede du situationen?

17. Har du oplevet en konfronterende situation, fx at skulle irettesættende en indisk partner el.lign. vil du fortælle om den?
    a. Hvordan håndterede du situationen?
    b. Hvordan reagerede din partner?
18. Har du oplevet at kommunikationen kørte skævt?
    Hvorfor tror du det galt?
    Hvad tror du kunne have reddet situationen?
19. Hvilken rolle spillede jeres fælles faglighed?

Forretningsforbindelser
20. Mødtes du med dine indiske partnere uden for arbejdstiden? Bemærkede du nogen forskel i indernes opførsel afhængigt af om de var på arbejde eller om du så dem privat?
21. Hvad vægter du selv højest i en forhandlingssituation, og hvorfor?
22. Hvad føler du inderne vægter højest i en forhandlingssituation – business eller det personlige forhold mellem jer?

Image
23. Tilpasser du dit image når du kommunikerer med inderne i forhold til når du kommunikerer med andre danskere?
    a. Hvad gjorde du for at give netop dette billede af dig selv?
    b. Hvilket billede ville du gerne give af dig selv (kompetent/magtfuld/sympatisk/høflig etc.)?
24. Følte du de stillede spørgsmålstegn ved dig og dine kompetencer?
25. Hvordan vil du beskrive inderne? (Var de tilbageholdende/reserverede/kompetente/føjelige/ sympatiske osv.)?

Afsluttende
26. Følte du at du var i centrum under forhandlingerne, eller havde du en fornemmelse af at de var optagede af andre ting samtidig?

10.2. Appendix 2 Coding the interviews

Appendix 2.1 Danish respondent # 1 (R1-DK)

R1-DK	
Quotation	Component
Ååh gud, der var mange. Der var rigtig rigtig mange. Hvis vi skulle snakke måske, om et emne, jamen så var der måske tre parter til stede. Men det er lidt som om at man har en groupie. Alle personer har ligesom 5-10 back-upper	Collectivism
Nu i vores branche, så skal vi have det sådan at 2+2 = 4, vi skal have et svar. Så det der med personlige relationer, det gør altså ikke at svaret bliver noget andet	Collectivism
vi heroppe mod nord har lidt mere mod til at sætte os ud fra mængden	Collectivism
Hvor man måske havde sat ti minutter af til det, så kan man godt forvente, ja, næsten en halv dag, eller måske en hel dag, for bare at forklare om et område	Temporality
Og i løbet af et møde, jamen der kunne komme flere og flere ind. Og ja, hvis man siger kl. 4, så kunne de sagtens dumpe ind kl. 4, el 4.30, 4.45 eller 5	Temporality
Et møde kunne blevet hevet af staben, altså sådan men kunne blive ringet op og så er der en der siger "der er et møde" nååh ok, ja, og man skulle møde op. Og så kunne man så sidde der fra kl. 2 til 6,7,8,9-stykker, og så havde man jo spildt hele dagen. Så ja, meget ustruktureret, og ja, man var jo ikke forberedt, og så er det jo man kan sige at man kommer tilbage med et svar senere. Og så må man jo bare indkalde til et møde senere. Man kan også vende bordet om, hvor vi måske har sat et møde op lidt tidligere, og man er forberedt og så kommer de dumpende ind, dem som man har indkaldt, og de er uforberedte. Alle de spørgsmål man nu har sat op, jamen dem har de ikke svar på, fordi de ikke har forberedt sig. Det tog de meget lidt højtideligt	Temporality
Direkte svar kunne have været meget lettere, men det giver de ikke.	Context
Mere præcise og direkte ord for tingene. Det skal være helt basalt, helt ned til der hvor man næsten selv synes man er uhøflig	Context
"jeg tror I [Inderne] har forstået det på en anden måde, I skal faktisk se det fra en anden vinkel" For det der med at man giver en dårlig nyhed på den måde, så er det faktisk skylden man lægger på en person	Face
De bliver utroligt kede af det når man giver dem dårlige nyheder. Det gør det bedre, at man siger at de skal se det fra en anden vinkel i stedet, for så prøver de det. Men de føler at de har skuffet en	Face
Hver gang man skal noget i Indien, så skal man have ti underskrifter. Der er nogle led man skal igennem. Alle niveauer har lyst til at have en indflydelse.	Hierarchy
Jo større en virksomhed er, jo flere underskrifter skal man have.	Hierarchy
I og med at jeg var vesterlænding så kom statussen allerede der.	Hierarchy
medarbejderne imellem havde jo også nogle forskellige trin. Og dem der var i det lidt lavere trin, sagde stadig "sir" til dem var et trin højere oppe. Det var ikke engang til manageren, men bare en der var lidt højere oppe	Hierarchy
hvis de siger "den her firkant er firkantet, men vi har ikke autoritet til at sige det til dig, vi skal faktisk have vores manager til at sige det til dig i stedet for". Så altså hvis én af dem har sagt det, og det står sort på hvidt, og der så er en af dem der hænger på det i morgen. Det er responsibility, og det er faktisk ikke dem der skal have den, det er deres manager	Hierarchy
Jeg stødte på en inder, som sagde jo at alle havde mulighed for at komme på universitetet. Og det kunne jeg jo ikke få helt til at hænge sammen, indtil jeg fandt ud af at han mente at hvis man er inden for en kaste, så har man mulighederne. Ikke dem der bor på gaden, som er helt uden for kastesystemet. Der er et enormt hierarki. Hvis man er inden for en kaste så er den god nok, selvom inden for rengøringsdamer, og chauffører er der hierarki. Og de spiller på deres magt.	Hierarchy
Den vagt der er ved den compound hvor jeg bor, spillede meget på det med at han kunne lukke en bil ind, når *han* havde lyst.	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.2 Danish respondent # 2 (R2-DK)

R2-DK	
Quotation	Component
Der er det formelle møde, og så er der det uformelle, hvor du sidder og topcheferne kender måske hinanden fra skolen eller hvor de nu kender hinanden fra,	Collectivism
Eller herude er det også lidt mere hvor at jo ældre du er, okay ham respekterer vi lidt mere, men det hænger også mere sammen med, det bliver jeg nødt til at komme tilbage til, hvor lang tid har folk kendt hinanden. Fordi mange forretningsaftaler bliver sat op på at folk de har kendt hinanden i lang tid, så om det koster fem dollars eller seks dollars, det betyder ikke det store. Så det er mere sådan at "Vi vil godt betale seks så længe det bare er en vi kender og vi ved hvad han står for".	Collectivism
De vægter det personlige forhold højere end danskere gør. Hvor danskere er lidt mere kolde og kontante	Collectivism
"sluk for telefonen under mødet" det eksisterer slet ikke herude. Folk de tager lystigt telefonerne under møderne.	Temporality
Folk kommer lystigt for sent. Mødetidspunktet det er et cirkatidspunkt	Temporality
Det er meget typiske at man lige ringer i forvejen og siger "skal vi mødes om en time eller to?" og så skal du ikke bliver overrasket over hvis folk siger nej. Danskerne er mere "tyskere". Hvis du laver en aftale, jamen så har du en aftale	Temporality
gennemsnitligt, der er de lige knap så direkte. Primært omkring de negative ting. Hvor i Danmark, jamen der har vi ikke nogen problemer med at sige "nej, det her der gider vi ikke, lad os stoppe diskussionen nu".	Context
jeg vil faktisk også sige at i forhold til face der i irettesættelser, der mener jeg faktisk ikke der er den store forskel rundt omkring i verden. For jeg tror heller ikke en dansker bryder sig om at sidde ude blandt alle sine kollegaer og chefen kommer ud og sviner personen til. Det bryder en dansker sig heller ikke om. Danskeren vil måske have mere tendens til at stille sig om at sige at "det her gider jeg altså ikke at høre på mere, foran alle andre i hvert fald" som du ikke vil finde andre steder i verden. Men der er ikke nogen der bryder sig om det. Og du kan sige at hvad vi end synes i Danmark, andre vil også tænke at "hvad sker der her" og tænke anderledes om både ham der har modtaget beskeden og om chefen, hvis du gør det i Danmark. Det er ikke de der direkte konfrontationer forskellen den er på. kan du også miste face ved sådan mere sublime beskeder og ting der sker, hvor at der vil jeg sige at der er Indien mere tæt på Danmark.	Face
Så vil jeg kalde mange af dem for smarte sælgere. De prøver at sælge mere end hvad de faktisk typiske kan levere	Face
Jeg synes ikke høflighed betyder noget særligt for inderne. Hvis noget så tværtimod. Faktisk så tror jeg mere det betyder noget i Danmark,	Face
i det danske sprog, der har du ikke den store variation i høflighedsniveau, hvor det engelske sprog har det lidt mere med, er det would eller should eller will eller can og så videre, hvor du kan præsentere tingene lidt mere blødt som du måske gør i starten	Face
Det er ikke så meget titlen i sig selv der spiller en rolle, men mere den reelle magt personen har. Altså at man kigger på er det her virkeligt personen der kan tage beslutningen eller er det bare en håndlanger der eksekverer hvad der er blevet besluttet.	Hierarchy
I forhold til kvinder, der er der meget store forskelle i Indien, alt efter hvor i systemet, hvor i kaste-systemet du er, hvordan du ser kvinder.	Hierarchy
Nejnej, officielt er der stadigvæk kaster. Der er flere firmaer der har officiel politik om du kan sige positiv diskrimination for at få "the untouchables" i arbejde og så videre, og giver speciel præference til dem	Hierarchy
Så jeg vil sige at inderne har ikke nødvendigvis respekt for chefen fordi han er chefen, men der er stadigvæk forskellig behandling forskellige steder i organisationen.	Hierarchy
Nej, officielt tror jeg ikke vi går ind i kastesystemet, men uofficielt der tror jeg vi bliver accepteret i de øvre lag, og vi bliver set som, fra dem i de lavere lag, som de øvre lag	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.3 Danish respondent # 3 (R3-DK)

R3-DK	
Quotation	Component
Jeg har altid følt det personlige forhold fra indernes side	Collectivism
man ikke bare skulle komme og tro at "man kunne ændre på det hele", stille og roligt, var det muligt at indføre små ændringer, når man havde fået et godt forhold til dem man arbejdede med.	Temporality
Jeg mener at der skal være respekt for hinanden, og tålmodighed… det er ikke sikkert denne forretning går igennem, men det kan være den næste gør, og jo længere et forretnings forhold er jo bedre bliver det, jo mere forståelse	Temporality
Jeg synes ikke kommunikationen er særlig direkte det ændrede ikke meget på arbejdsmønstrene, for de blev ikke fortalt på en ordentlig måde hvordan de skulle ændre sig, de fik bare at vide de ikke havde gjort det ordentlig	Context
Jeg føler der skal bruges rigtig meget krudt på at tale sammen, og forklarer hvordan man gerne vil ha tingene. Mange ting er ikke bare indforstået, som kvalitet, tidsaftaler	Context
Når man skal irettesætte er det som om man taler to forskellige sprog. Jeg vil bare gerne at den person jeg står overfor ser fejlen, og jeg vil undgå at det ikke sker igen, men jeg har oplevet at personen, enten ikke tager ansvaret og sender kamelen videre eller bare siger "Yes ma'am, Yes ma'am, det skal aldrig ske igen" og så har man egentlig ikke opnået at få problemet løst	Face
Jeg har faktisk aldrig oplevet at kommunikationen kørte helt skævt	Face
Det betød helt sikkert noget på børnehjemmet at vi var vesterlændinge, jeg blev især brugt til at eskorterer børn som skulle på det lokale hospital fordi det simpelthen gik hurtigere at komme til en læge fordi jeg var med	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.4 Danish respondent # 4 (R4-DK)

R4-DK	
Quotation	Component
Det er forretningen, de vægter højest. Ingen tvivl om det.	Collectivism
Det er også forretningen, jeg selv vægter højest	Collectivism
den oplevelse har jeg overhovedet ikke, at de var optagede af andre ting.	Temporality
vores indiske ledelse han har været direktør for det her selskab nu i fire år og på de fire år har han været igennem nøjagtig den samme proces som jeg har været, så hvis man siger at ligesom når man studerer antropologi, at man har to forskellige kulturer at når de så mødes så vil man efterhånden som man er sammen så vil fællesmængden bliver større og større	Temporality
Jeg har aldrig oplevet at omgangstonen er sådan decideret formel. Altså jeg har altid oplevet med inderne at de kan tåle at man er sådan meget direkte med dem	Context
jeg er altid, altid på fornavne med folk	Context
Det som jeg synes det er at de lige som kan have en tendens til at oversælge sig selv og altså falde en lille smule igennem, altså fordi de gerne vil fremstå så dygtige og kompetente som overhovedet muligt	Face
Nej, jeg har egentligt ikke indtrykket af at det er specielt vigtigt at være vesteuropæer	Hierarchy
Men i forhandlinger og så videre der er det der hjælper mig der, det er at jeg har den stilling jeg har og at de ved at det er derfor jeg kan komme og tage beslutninger. Ikke at jeg er for den sags skyld hvid eller er dansker. Kun at jeg kommer fra hovedkontoret og at jeg i princippet har pengene med. Det er egentligt det, tror jeg.	Hierarchy
I Asien er de jo vant til de hierarkiske systemer og i særdeleshed i Indien og de har jo meget svært ved, altså alt skal jo følge et hierarki.	Hierarchy
Men det er igen fordi de er vant til et meget hierarkisk system, som så igen vil jeg påstå at de ville konkludere at vi er sådan meget uformelle	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.5 Danish respondent # 5 (R5-DK)

R5-DK	
Quotation	Component
de stille op med hele kontoret, så der var otte mand stærk. Så der var vi lidt i undertal.	Collectivism
det er begrænset hvor mange af dem jeg gider at blande ind i mit privatliv, hvis jeg måske ikke føler jeg har noget til fælles med dem	Collectivism
der er en del spildtid der går i løbet af dagen, hvor man skal sidde og forklare	Temporality
På længere sigt når du har været i branchen i mange år, så tror jeg at personlige relationer det er utroligt vigtige at have. Jeg kan se at jeg har en kollega der sidder hjemme i Danmark. Han har siddet med det indiske marked i 25 år. Han har nogle bekendte i forretningsverden som der så skifter job en gang i mellem, så han kan ringe ned til os og sige at nu er hans bekendte skiftet over til et andet firma, så nu kan du begynde at arbejde direkte med nogen.	Temporality
jeg fik mit raserianfald, og fik sagt de ting jeg ville, og så smed jeg røret på.	Context
Oftest der er de usikre når det er man stiller dem et spørgsmål, og så bliver der sådan lidt rysten på hovedet i alle retninger, som der betyder måske/ja/nej/ved ikke. Og så kan man stå der og så ikke rigtigt vide hvad det er de mener når de ryster på hovedet	Context
Og der er nogle mennesker, det opfatter jeg det i hvert fald som, de bliver bare sat til at gøre et job, hvor det er de ikke rigtigt har noget med noget som helst andet at gøre end lige netop det job de bliver sat til at gøre, så hvis det er du spørger dem om noget, så kan de ikke svare på det. Eller hvis det er du beder dem om at de skal have noget hjælp til noget andet, så kan de ikke hjælpe dig, fordi, jeg ved ikke om de ikke må det, men de er nok mere sat i den her position, så de har ikke noget kompetence til at kunne hjælpe dig på nogen andre områder.	Face
Generelt, vil jeg sige måske at den første approach jeg har med folk, så ja. Men jeg er til gengæld og hurtigere til at flyve ud af skabet hvis det er at folk simpelthen bare ikke vil forstå hvad det er jeg siger. Hvor jeg nogle opfatter dem som lidt smådumme hvor de bare ikke vil lytte på hvad det er jeg siger, og jeg har et vigtigt budskab jeg gerne vil frem med. Og det kommer så bare ikke frem. Så kan jeg måske godt fare lidt hurtigere op. Så er jeg bare ikke lige så høflig igen. Der kan jeg måske også finde på at være hurtigere ude af skabet og måske ændre mit toneleje, hvis det er de ikke gider at lytte til mig. Vi kommer måske hurtigere til at irettesætte eller snakke med lidt store ord	Face
det virker ikke som om at det her land er diskriminerende overfor kvinder.	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.6 Danish respondent # 6 (R6-DK)

R6-DK	
Quotation	Component
De er egentlig meget sociale, også selvom det er forretningsmøder	Collectivism
Jeg synes nu ikke er specielt indisk, men det er jo meget med at skulle opbygge en relation. Både til embedsmændene, hvor det gælder om at finde ud af hvem det er der tager beslutningerne, og så få en god relation til vedkommende	Collectivism
Selvom vi egentlig ikke har haft noget at tale om, så har vi lige stukket hovedet ind omkring hende og fået et kop te osv. og snakket lidt. Hun sidder i den del af regeringen der overordnet skal se til at der kommer industri til hele gujaratstaten. Hun sidder på en meget høj position, og alligevel kan vi få møder med hende hver gange. Det er nogle gode møder og hun forsikrer os altid om at hun følger vores projekt, og hvis der er nogle problemer så må vi endelig sige til, så skal hun nok sørge for at det går væk igen.	Collectivism
Vi har siddet nu, gang på gang sammen med egentlig rimelig højt placerede indiske embedsmænd, hvor de så siger "det er så på plads, i løbet af ingen tid", så vi så siger "hvad er ingen tid" og de så svarer "jamen det er 10-12 dage" og der sker bare ikke noget. Så det der med tiden er meget relativt. Det er nok den største udfordring i øjeblikket, det er at få tingene til at ske.	Temporality
De multitasker rigtig meget. Man kan sidde og have et møde om ens eget projekt, hvor der sidder to-tre mennesker ovre i hjørnet som man overhovedet ikke ved hvem er, og de sidder bare og lytter. Man sidder og tænker "hvem er det?" Mobiltelefonerne ringer, og der kommer folk ind og lægger papir på bordet, og så sidder ham man sidder i møde med og læser lidt i det, og så ringer hans telefon. Det er virkelig en fest at være til møde dernede, der sker så meget rundt om en. Men det komme igen også lidt an på hvilket niveau folk er på. De store hanelefanter vi mødes med dernede bliver ikke forstyrret, men tit så er det lidt som at sidde på	Temporality

en banegård.	
Så det der med kommunikationen, man tror egentlig man har en god kommunikation med dem, hvis man nu siger "nu skal I høre, vi har det her problem vi bliver nødt til at få det der til at gå væk, for ellers kan vi ikke bygge vores fabrik", vi er jo rimelig mennesker, vi kommer ikke med nogle urimelige krav eller noget "I liver nødt til at få det til at gå væk, ellers kan vi ikke leje jorden af jer" Så siger de "ok, jamen det vil de godt" "Hvornår kan I så få det væk så vi kan leje jorden af jer?" "Det tager ikke ret lang tid siger de så, 14 dage eller sådan noget", men så sker der ikke en skid	Face
Jeg synes omgangstonen er meget formel.	Face
Hvis man har en konfronterende situation med indere, så klakker de hælene sammen, bukker og siger "jamen det sker også lige om lidt", men det gjorde det jo så ikke.	Face
hvis man taler bøst til en embedsmand, så ville han jo flejne fuldstændig ud, Men det gør de overhovedet ikke. De begynder at nikke, og det er nok det mest farlige. De siger "jamen det forstår de godt" og man selv siger "nej jeg tror ikke I forstå det" men "jojo de forstår det godt". Det er også en interessant ting. Når vi så forklarer ting til dem, som vi jo synes er indlysende, og så spørger vi "kan I forstå det?" "ja, det kan de godt forstå". Men så lidt længere inde i samtalen, kan man så høre, at de ikke har forstået det vi fortalte om i starten. Det er jo meget det der med at en danske ville have sagt "det fatter jeg ikke en brik af". Men der er jo meget med det der med ikke at tabe ansigt; især hvis de fx er bankmænd, de siger ikke at de ikke forstår det.	Face
Det var som om han simpelthen nægtede at lade sig konfrontere med at der var et problem. Vi kunne se at det blev så snært at vi ville have at vide hvad hans plan b var, men han nægtede simpelthen at der var et problem overhovedet, selvom alle kunne se det.	Face
Høflighed er ikke vigtigt overfor udlændinge, der er man almindelig høflig, Men ellers er det sådan almindelig forretningshøflighed.	Face
Det er sådan lidt en udfordring, fordi så må man så typisk gå højere op i systemer og få fat i en der sidder længere oppe, der så giver en ordre ned og så kan man så få ting til at ske	Hierarchy
Den anden store udfordring det har været, det er en gammel engelsk koloni. Det de i hvert fald har arvet fra englænderne er sådan godt gammeldags bureaukrati, red tape ligesom det så ud i Europa for 100 år siden. Deres bureaukrati er fuldstændig overvældende, det er virkelig ekstremt.	Hierarchy
I Indien har vi lært at det betyder noget hvilken stilling man har, men det der egentlig overraskende betyder allermest, det er at man er vesteuropæer. Jeg kan gå ind og få møder med dem der har rigtig høje stillinger, især inde i bureaukratiet. Jeg kan gå ind og få møder med meget højt rangerende embedsmænd fordi jeg er vesteuropæer, Det kan vores lokale ingeniør ikke	Hierarchy
Selvom kastesystemet officielt er afskaffet i Indien, så er det tydeligt at der er stor forskel på dem vi mødes med, og så den hærskare af tjenere de har rundt omkring; der er rigtig stor respekt der.	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.7 Danish respondent # 7 (R7-DK)

R7-DK	
Quotation	Component
I Indien handler det om at være "king of networking", forbindelser er rigtig vigtige i alle forhandlingssituationer. Altså de er lynhurtige til at finde ud af at deres bedstemor har gået i skole med en hvis vens bedstemor har arbejdet hos, som er bror til og så videre.	Collectivism
Her i Indien kan man ikke have det ene uden det andet. Relationer er helt nødvendigt for at forretningen kan køre	Collectivism
Tingene har det med at falde på plads, ikke i sidste øjeblik, men på en mere ustruktureret måde	Temporality
Indere har nærmest en aversion mod at aftale møder flere uger i forvejen, så skal det i hvert fald være i en kæmpe størrelsesorden, almindelige forretningsmøder og forhandlinger aftales helst inden for den nærmeste uge	Temporality
jeg synes ikke tonen var så formel igen	Context
Kommunikationen er Ikke så meget pakket ind, vil jeg sige. Vi danskere vil gerne være ærlige og holde hvad vi lover, og heller ikke love mere end vi kan holde. Men inderne de over-promise og under-deliver	Context
Inderne underspiller tit udgifterne hvis de skal give en pris på noget arbejde, for at få køberen	Context

til at sige ja, fordi når de så står der midt i det hele, kan de jo ikke bare sige nej og gå deres vej, så er halvdelen af arbejdet færdigt, og så betaler man jo bare det ekstra.	
jeg gør det ikke så direkte, hvis jeg skal konfrontere nogen, hvor jeg siger at det her er altså helt forkert.	Context
I Danmark har jeg en forventning til naturlig kompetence, altså cause and effect, at der fx er en kritisk analyse af et projekt, osv. alt det tager jeg for givet. Men hernede er det anderledes. Ingenting kan forventes, det skal specificeres helt præcis ellers får man ikke det man synes man har bedt om	Context
Hernede spørger jeg meget mere ind til specifikke ting, for at få et bedre billede af om aftalen kan holdes. Jeg spørger måske ikke direkte "hvilken garant har jeg får at du kan levere til tiden", men mere sådan "hvor mange personer har du ansat, hvilke forbindelser har du" og sådan.	Context
I Vesten er det mere firkantet, der er mere effektivitet, logik og pragmatik. I Indien er det mere blødt og kompliceret, der skal man helt ned under overfladen for at finde ud af hvad der faktisk sker	Context
Og han [tømren] lover at det kan han sagtens klare på en måned, og det vil være færdigt når vi kommer tilbage fra ferie. Men da vi så kommer hjem, er det selvfølgelig slet ikke færdigt, og han kryber så til korset, og indrømmer at han faktisk aldrig troede at det kunne lade sig gøre. Men her tænker inderne "hvor gøre hende ked af det med det samme? Hvorfor gøre hende sur fra starten? Hvis vi nu kan have det godt den første måned, så er hun glad der, og så er det kun en måned hvor hun er sur, i stedet for de to måneder som byggeriet egentligt har taget".	Face
Konflikter glemmes meget hurtigt fordi de er forventede. En inder kan jo stå og råbe og skrige af sine medarbejdere, men det forventer medarbejderne også, så de bærer slet ikke nag på samme måde som vi europæere nok har tendens til. Vi er ikke vandt til den slags konflikter og vi danskere har det med at bære nag. Så derfor vil vi selvfølgelig huske dem meget mere, også når vi har forladt forhandlingen.	Face
Jeg synes det er vigtigt at vise integritet. Men det er måske også fordi at det eksisterer slet ikke for inderne. At levere det man siger, men det er bare ikke i ligeså høj kurs hernede som det er i Danmark og i Vesten. Og i Danmark har vi jo en forkærlighed for sandheden, men det er nok mest for min egen skyld, fordi det bliver ikke rigtig værdsat af inderne. Men det er måske også lidt for at pudse vores egen glorie	Face
Det har en hel anden opfattelse af sandhed og integritet. En inder er oftest i noget fordi han kan tjene på det, og de er meget mere beregnende end os	Face
Facegiving er vigtigt. Loss of face er kun hvis man bliver opdaget i at snyde. Jeg gør fx det, at hvis der er nogle overordnede til stede, så handler det jo om at få medarbejderne til at se godt ud, så hvis der er nogle fejl eller noget andet negativt jeg vil påpege, så venter jeg med at gøre det til jeg er på tomandshånd med personen. Men det er jo det samme som jeg ville gøre i Danmark. Men fra medarbejdernes side er der en forventning om at det er ok at blive ydmyget af sin chef.	Face
Men som sådan er inderne ikke specielt gode til at være høflige. Der er fx ingen høflighedsfraser på hindi. Det er meget mere ordrer de bruger. Så forventningerne til sprogbruget er også helt forskelligt for indere og danskere, de bruger sproget helt helt forskelligt. En inder giver bare ordre til deres partnere om fx "sit" eller "come", uden nogen efterfølgende høflighedsfrase, og det virker uhøfligt og kommanderende på danskere. Inderne bruger meget mere yderfløjene når de kommunikerer, enten overpositivt, hvor det hele er overfantastisk og dejligt, eller også er det en kommando; enten helt positivt eller helt negativt, men de mener det ikke negativt.	Face
Stilling og titler betyder afsindig meget i Indien, meget meget mere end i vesten Folk kan sige op bare fordi de fx får en kvindelig leder, eller der er nogen anden der bliver forfremmet som har lavere anciennitet end de selv har	Hierarchy
inderne har et meget spidst og fininddelt system, som de bruger til at klassificere folk efter, og det går på både alder, køn, seniority, stilling, kaste, hvor i Indien du kommer fra, dine forbindelser. Det at være hvid er også et plus, helt sikkert. Og alle de her ting putter de ind i lang formel, som så giver nogle point, der hjælper dem til at placerer folk på den her rangliste.	Hierarchy
Hvis vores funktion er afhængig af, at en anden funktion i processen virker, så sørger vi også gerne for at lige præcis dén anden funktion også virker, selvom det faktisk ikke er vores opgave. Men inderne arbejder meget mere i siloer, de vil ikke tage ansvar for noget der ikke er	Hierarchy

deres egen opgave. Derfor er det umuligt at arbejde på tværs med dem, for de vil simpelthen ikke tage ansvar for et område der ikke er deres.	

Appendix 2.8 Danish respondent # 8 (R8-DK)

R8-DK	
Quotation	Component
Jeg tror inderne vægter det personlige forhold højest. Men det er to uadskillelige ting. Du kan ikke lave et partnerskab/J.V. uden først at have opbygget en tillid igennem et personligt forhold	Collectivism
Inderne var fokuserede på vores forhandlinger	Temporality
Hvis der er kunde/leverandørforhold så er omgangstonen meget professionel og vi har ikke oplevet at der er plads til private samtaler	Context
Kommunikationen virker direkte	Context
Det er meget topstyret. Inderne virker hurtige til at tage beslutninger	Hierarchy
Det havde en betydning at jeg var vesteuropæer	Hierarchy
Min rolle i DK spillede en rolle for inderne	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.9 Danish respondent # 9 (R9-DK)

R9-DK	
Quotation	Component
Man mødes jo engang imellem med sine leverandører, ja både for at finde ud af noget om markedet, men også for at holde en personlig kontakt til alle leverandører.	Collectivism
Det er utrolig varierende hvor mange der er til stede ved et møde, men som regel er der mange flere end man forventer i Danmark, vi er altid i undertal.	Collectivism
du kan ikke adskille det forretningen og det sociale, det er møde det hele. Der er ikke den her fine linie imellem hvad der er forretning og hvad der er privat	Collectivism
For det første vidste vi at der er en generel tendens til at man regner i uger og måneder hernede, hvor vi jo regner i timer og uger, eller timer og dage måske nok nærmere. Og der er jo ikke noget forkert i at regne i uger og måneder hvis dit marked accepterer det, at det er den måde vi arbejder på.	Temporality
Man kan altid tage en telefon.	Temporality
Jeg forsøger at vise en interesse for hvad de laver. Hvis man fx ved man har noget bare skal cleares derhjemme og man har en halv time. Jeg har mødet kl. 13, og jeg ved jeg har et andet møde kl. 13.30, det kan man jo godt have derhjemme. Der er noget der skal cleares her, det ved begge parter og så ordner man det og går derfra igen. Gjorde jeg det hernede, så ville de føle det som voldtægt. Og jeg ville måske ikke få det ud af forhandlingssituationen som man skal. Og så har jeg jo sådan set fejlet som leder, for så har jeg jo ikke lyttet til den kontekst jeg sidder i. Så det er vigtigt for mig at de har en fornemmelse af at jeg forstår deres kontekst.	Temporality
det er en udfordring at få dem til at forstå at 12.30 lukker vi altså ned, og så er vi færdige, det er i det her årti, og i den her uge, og ikke i næste uge. Det er det her med at vi altså arbejder i timer og dage	Temporality
Kommunikationen kan blive vanskeligere af at de har en uge-måned tidsregning, hvor vi har time-dage. Det er jo allerede et spændingsfelt der.	Temporality
Jamen de er helt sikkert mere indirekte og ubeslutsomme. De snakker altid udenom, uden om det emne man nu egentlig skal tale om,	Context
Man lærer at håndtere at de hele tiden forsøger at tage røven på én. Men man skal håndtere det rigtigt, fordi hvis man bare spiller arrogant og hård, så får du ikke ret meget ud af det, fordi de er meget ærekære. De vil hellere foretrække at gå ud, uden en handel, frem for at miste ansigt. Så man kan ikke tillade sig at køre helt så hårdt på, og man ved det godt. Der skal man være lidt mere omhyggelig, og man taler måske lidt for længe om tingene, bare for at sikre sig at man har forstået hvad det er vi er blevet enige om.	Face
Skal jeg virkelig give en skideballe, så bliver jeg personlig. Så bliver det sådan noget med "gør det her for mig, det er vigtigt for mig. Jeg, som leder af operationen har jeg et problem med at vi ikke har lavet det her ordentligt." Det er ligesom at få en på kassen derhjemme, den går rent ind.	Face
Men hvis jeg gik ind og sagde "hvad er det du har lavet her?" Så ville de simpelthen bakke	Face

fuldstændig tilbage, og blive helt modvillige. De vil sådan prøve at benægte at ting er sket. I kan nok høre at jeg har prøvet det på den hårde måde. Jeg mener faktisk ikke, selvom folk siger de snakker udenom ting, det gør de ikke. Men de gør det på en anden måde, det er simpelthen bare et andet formsprog, og det mener jeg egentlig ikke er noget problem	
Så kan man så vende den om og spørge om det er fordi man selv har gjort noget galt eller om det er fordi man ikke selv har performet. Det ville man kunne snakke om i Danmark, men det kan man ikke her.	Face
men kan måske også finde på at bruge Face i kommunikationen. hvis de har løjet overfor mig, og finder jeg så ud af det, så kan der godt tage en flig af og så lige hæve stemmen lige en anelse ude i rummet, men ikke mere. Og så kan jeg måske bede dem om at komme op på kontoret, og så bliver der stille dernede. Simpelthen bliver nødt til at vise overfor andre, at det der er sket her, er i hvert fald noget som ikke er accepteret	Face
Jeg vil ikke stå og revse en person, og det ville man jo heller ikke gøre derhjemme. Men hernede vil man slet ikke gøre det, altså det vil være meget ydmygende for dem. Fordi der er hele hierarkiet. Der er meget ære i det, han vil ikke tabe ansigt overfor dem der ligger under ham. Det er ikke noget vi dyrker, hierarkiet, men det er der	Face
Det er altså sådan, der er grader af ja, og det er måske, det er i hvert fald en udfordring	Face
Udfordringen består jo så i at styre processen, i og med at du har nogle medarbejdere som somme tider siger ja, når de egentlig mener nej	Face
Danskere kan stadig finde en comfort zone inden for et nyt emne. Det er meget vanskeligt hernede. Det er meget vanskeligt at få en senior ud af sit bås, han ved noget om lige præcis det her emne, og skal han bevæge sig uden for er han meget modvilig, han synes ikke det er behageligt. Altså, når man bliver senior hernede, så er det ligesom en faderskikkelse, sådan den alvidende fader. Og det er han jo ikke hvis han pludselig indrømmer at der er et område han ikke ved noget som helst om. Så det er sådan en konflikt imellem hvor langt man kan strække sig	Face
Er man aggressiv og smækker med dørene så har man i hvert fald helt stensikkert tabt.	Face
Man sidder jo i en situation hvor folk lægger der person ud på bordet. Hernede er det ligesom personen der lægger en del af hans person på bordet til forhandling, så er det i vesten og derhjemme mere en problemstilling der bliver lagt på bordet. Og fordi han har lagt sin person på bordet og er ked af at tabe ansigt, så har du en hel anden situation end hvis det bare var problemstillingen der var på spil.	Face
Det kan man godt komme ud for, at man får at vide at chefen sidder i et møde, men det behøver han sådan set ikke at gøre, det er bare en demonstration af at han er vigtig. På den måde bruger man de her meget tydelige magtdemonstrationer til at bevise at man er vigtig.	Hierarchy
Min stilling i DK spillede helt klart en rolle.	Hierarchy
Man har indtrykket af at toplederne er involverede i alt for meget, fordi de ikke er så villige til at afgive magt	Hierarchy
Det har helt klart en betydning at jeg er vesteuropæer	Hierarchy
Min alder har selvfølgelig også en betydning hernede, men det forsvinder lidt når de ser jeg er hvid. I forhold til kvinder, så har det betydning i nogle tilfælde.	Hierarchy
Det at du er hvid og at du ser anderledes ud gør faktisk at mange kønsproblemer bliver reduceret. Du er allerede anderledes, så om du er kvinde, så tænker de måske bare "nå jamen du kommer et andet sted fra, der er det måske sådan det er". Men altså hvis du taler om inderne her, så er der en forskel, helt klart	Hierarchy
Hvis jeg taler direkte til en af operatørerne, som jeg måske ikke før har haft noget forhold til, så er de meget nervøse. Det er fysisk belastende for dem at svare mig. Det er virkelig skræmmende for dem.	Hierarchy
Det er sværere for en indisk direktør, at gå foran med et eksempel på en anderledes adfærd, fordi han måske ville være låst af at sådan er det. Jeg tror det er grænseoverskridende for en indisk direktør fx at gå ned og tale med en af de laveste.	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.10 Indian respondent # 1 (R1-I)

R1-I	
Quotation	Component
There is a lot of socialising happening between business	Collectivism
I think, what I experience is for them it is more business, because they have travelled all the way when they come	Collectivism
Network is certainly important.	Collectivism
In at meeting with Danes, we are clear on an agenda, because we have now become very very tuned on Danish way of organising meetings, with a definite agenda and action plan, people responds to the action plan, and the date in which it is to be completed. So we are clear on that.	Temporality
In a normal meeting the Indians will do the multitasking.	Temporality
a modern Indian person, she does more than one activity at a time. If you go back to your hotel, your receptionist, she can handle 5-6 customers at a time. In Denmark, you can go, and you stand in line, one person at a time.	Temporality
communication was very open and very clear. It was a very straight forward kind of communication. There was a lot of clarity in the communication. Because normally we Indians never approach anybody with a straight question. We always beat around the bush. But I found the communication with the Danes very very clear	Context
A lot of the Indians don't want to be asked a direct question. They would like to be asked 1-2-3-4 and the fifth question will give you the right answer.	Context
I think that when Danes ask a straight question, they expect a straight answer. And they are to the point	Context
Maybe a typical Indian would take offence.	Context
You can convey a message, you do not say the full sentence, with a nod of the head, and you can convey the message	Context
With Danes they get confused by shaking heads, are they meaning yes or no. so you gotta be very clear in communication, and keeping it short as possible	Context
I would describe the present Danish team, which is marketing, I find the wonderful. Great people. And I think they have helped me to grow professionally. They have helped me to understand politics in business, so that when I look at it, I can look at it from all angles, and come at a good decision. They have been very good on that. They are wonderful, and open, and I can depend on them. If I have a problem, I can talk to them straight	Face
Indians are by nature, quite a few of them are very sensitive and very emotional and very religious.	Face
Sometimes the differences have caused difficulties, but maybe when you are from different cultures meeting. For us our culture is about respect. You know, people call, if you are senior to them by age, calls them sir. And also if you are in an office, a hierarchy higher. But in Denmark, you can call a CEO by his name	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.11 Indian respondent # 2 (R2-I)

R2-I	
Quotation	Component
It is important to have a relationship with my partners, and I always notice that with partners I don't have relationships with, I don't do much business again, it's all cut and clean. When you develop relationships you often do more business and make more money and then you can maybe even do it on routine.	Temporality
Meeting one is normally a lot more serious than the others, but I can do other things simultaneously, I'm a […] so I need to do other things at the same time. I'm a busy man	Temporality
Danes are far more, well they speculate more and are certainly more straight to the point than Indians are	Context
I'm generally more concerned with being polite when dealing with foreigners than when I'm dealing with other Indians	Face
I have not experienced any misunderstandings with my Danish partners	Face
Well, I mean if I'm not happy with someone, or something they have done, I tell them. But I haven't given any bad news in regard to business.	Face

Appendix 2.12 Indian respondent # 3 (R3-I)

R3-I	
Quotation	Component
I weigh relations highest. If the relations are good, the business comes. There are so many businesses that depends more on relationship than on anything else.	Collectivism
I think Danes weigh relationship also	Collectivism
I think in India everything typically works on relationships as well.	Collectivism
It took two weeks to reach an agreement. And that's short. In comparison it takes about 2-3 months with Indians	Temporality
I think a typical Indian would take offense with the directness of Danes	Context
I probably am more polite with Indians than with the Danes. I would tell the Dane that I don't like it, but with the Indian… no.	Face

Appendix 2.13 Indian respondent # 4 (R4-I)

R4-I	
Quotation	Component
depending on the meeting you would have between four and six people on either side	Collectivism
It is very very relationship based in India. You could be giving really bad advice, but if you enjoy the confidence of your client, that doesn't matter.	Collectivism
The Indians are great at putting you in a box within five minutes of meeting you. It's all located on do you know so and so	Collectivism
With the Indians, connections have to come through relationships	Collectivism
The Danish side of the table is very organised, very clinical in its approach, knew what they wanted. The Indian side is completely confused, very emotional, never showed up on time. They started getting closer to the scheduled time, so they would you know, the first tme they might have been three hours late and it evolved to possibly three minutes late, but the Danes were there on time	Temporality
You could have the Indian side of the table could have twenty things going on, a couple talking across the table, someone's telephone ringing, no problem receiving a call. On the Danish side, one person talks. If the telephone rang and had to be done, they would excuse themselves and go outside if it was urgent, otherwise, they would focus on the meeting itself.	Temporality
I think with the Danes it is quite clear. They are very task oriented, and very systematic. And they start the meeting with a ten point agenda, and you can kinda go down till you get to point number ten, and then the meeting is over. With the Indians there is no agenda. They just sit down and talk, and somebody figures you have run out of time, and you can move away, and you can be scratching your head "what did we really do here?" it's a very different style	Temporality
The Danes proposed certain dates, because they had looked in their calendars, and four years in advance they know exactly what they're going to be doing, you know it's quite well planned.	Temporality
And the Indians don't think twice about it, it's okay, they can do another day, but it's the end of the world for the Danes	Temporality
I mean if you were an Indian person I was meeting, I mean I was ten minutes late, because somebody held me up in the hallway, but I could have had the conversation with the other person in the hallway for another hour and kept you waiting, and it was just fine, no problem	Temporality
Danes are very to the point, with an agenda. Complete clarity as to where we want to end up at the end of the meeting. Concrete next steps. It was all quite black and white, very structured	Context
I think that directness coming from the wrong person, sometimes can be counter productive	Context
It's not so much about what you say, it's about how you say it. I think with the Danes, they are a little more mature about it. And it's taken in context, they choose not to give it much credence. But you know I think with the Indians, subtlety matters a lot	Context
Indians don't know what direct communication is. There is a lot of subtlety associated with how they communicate. If the need to say something, they would say something else to get to that point. It may seem like it is not planned, but there is a message to that message. It's very deceiving.	Context
I think you can be more direct with a Danes, with the Indians you cannot. You have to break it	Context

gently,	
India is a culture where it is your prerogative to bend the rules	Face
The decision making process is very hierarchical from the Danish perspectives, yes. The strings were being pulled from Copenhagen. You had a leader. You knew exactly who the leader was. He was empowered. But the final decisions, they would actually have to go back to Denmark	Hierarchy
Position in the company mean a lot. Age less so. Gender not at all.	Hierarchy
At the top there is an aloofness that creeps in, and the sense that they're getting closer and closer to God. So, you have to be very careful how you address them. It's completely misplaced, but that's how it is.	Hierarchy
People from the western world enjoy I higher status, just for who they are. It can change, but that's how it starts.	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.14 Indian respondent # 5 (R5-I)

R5-I	
Quotation	Component
I weigh the business relationship highest.	Collectivism
The Danes also weigh the business relationship highest	Collectivism
I usually tend to focus only on the meeting at hand. When we go out raising money, we try to be as attentive as possible, so we generally tend to focus on the meeting at hand. (He excuses himself and answers the phone, and talks for about a minute).	Temporality
most people will generally tell you that Indians are not direct, but that's not true, not in the case where you have people making a sigificant amount of money. It's a very very different interaction at the street level, you don't get direct answers at all. But in business, especially in big business, there is no such thing, people down here just don't have the time, so generally talking they're pretty direct. And they're pretty decisive as well, in big business, but in every day life, mind you, it a very different system here in India. In big business in general I think we tend to pretty decisive and up front.	Context
Yes, I have had to give bad news to an employee, yea. Well, generally, we try to be sensitive. Bad news is for example; I just had to let go a bunch of people. So we try to be sensitive, but also be direct.	Face
The counterparts' age, gender, seniority etc. is not at all important to me	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.15 Indian respondent # 6 (R6-I)

R6-I	
Quotation	Component
I feel that certainly the Danes are quite decisive in their approach. Sometimes they're quite impatient to get to a decision. They're like "ok, let's just agree". I think sometimes, it's good and bad. Sometimes you want a good debate before you arrive, and I think there is pros for makin a faster decision. But on balance I think I like th Danish way of approaching problems. When sit to down to a meeting, the intent is to find a decision and a solution; the intent is not to sit down and chit chat and see what happens; the intent is to go in and find a solution and a decision. And you can rest assure that there will be a difinite direction.	Temporality
Certainly compared to Danes, Indians can be much more argumentative. I think there is a lot of opinions internal with Indians. And I don't sometimes see the same sense of urgency in trying to arrive at a solution. They are used to a slow process, or a slower process of decision-making. There is a generational shift. And you have to realise that India is not one country	Temporality
I think, I found that in a Danish context an hour is a long time for a meeting. Meetings with partners would never last that long, I mean I would always be given only 30 minutes with them, and I would usually be done in 20-25 minutes. Because they would be prepared and they would know which direction they wanted to go	Temporality
they are quite blunt, they're very direct,	Context
The Danish people who work here, who work in India. Some of them have been unpopular, because they had a tendency to be very blunt and used their humour insensitively.	Context
Indians don't know how to give bad news	Context
I found that it was very difficult to take criticism so directly. But then you found that when	Context

you did something well, the praise also came directly to you.	
If I had to give bad news to an Indian superior I would sort of give a little bit of background as to why this happened, and then who's to blame. Because they would ask who's fault it is. I think the Danes are more like "ok, so what needs to be done to solve it?" who's fault it is, it more of a secondary issue. I mean they will come to it and say "ok, so what do we need to do to prevent it?" but it's not a central issue. In the situation, the ideal is to solve the problem first. In an Indian context your boss is likely to ask you "how did this happen, who's fault is it?" So you much have done some research before you go in and say all that; you have to have your facts.	Context
I think with Danes they are very clear about their expectations and setting. So either you agree or disagree, but there is no confusion about what you're trying to achieve.	Context
But you try not to be too direct, but to get your message across subtlely. You try to observe who's in the room, who you're with, seniority, position and so on. It you're supplier and they're buyer you'll be a lot more humble than you would be in a Danish setting where you would be more on equal terms.	Context
I think most Indian men are much more polite towards women. So if you're a woman banker, or lawyer or something, you tend to get your way. They can be more rude and blunt to a man, but they will not be like that with a woman. I think it's just cultural, I know for a fact that I wouldn't do it. I think I'd be more careful and polite if I put a woman down, than if it was a man; and that's just a cultural thing I think.	Face
I think certainly want to meet with the decisionmaker, but age and gender has no meaning, but the position is important. Age would have some bearing. Let's say if you're trying to enter into an agreement for someone to represent us in Denmark. I think age would play a role, because that would signify how much experience that person has	Hierarchy
But gender has no meaning. But I would prefer to negotiate with someone who has decisionmaking powers. Because then I can decide along with my partner, when I'm talking to someone, I hope that other person also has the power	Hierarchy
I think gender is increasingly becoming less important, but it still is an important one	Hierarchy
But as for age, yes I think that certainly age does matter. It's becoming increasingly less because India is a young country	Hierarchy

Appendix 2.16 Indian respondent # 7 (R7-I)

R7-I	
Quotation	Component
Relationship building is important, and each decision takes it own time. I weigh business relationships highest, because I have enough personal relationships.	Collectivism
I only concentrate on the meeting	Temporality
my counterpart's gender, age, nationality and seniority means something	Hierarchy

10.3. Appendix 3 Data matrix

(Please see the enclosed CD)

10.4. Appendix 4 Analysis preparation

Appendix 4.1 Analysis preparation - hierarchy

Hierarchy	
Quotation	**Respondent**
my counterpart's gender, age, nationality and seniority means something	R7-I
Hver gang man skal noget i Indien, så skal man have ti underskrifter. Der er nogle led man skal igennem. Alle niveauer har lyst til at have en indflydelse.	R1-DK
Sometimes the differences have caused difficulties, but maybe when you are from different cultures meeting. For us our culture is about respect. You know, people call, if you are senior to them by age, calls them sir. And also if you are in an office, a hierarchy higher. But in Denmark, you can call a CEO by his name	R1-I
Jo større en virksomhed er, jo flere underskrifter skal man have.	R1-DK
I og med at jeg var vesterlænding så kom statussen allerede der.	R1-DK
medarbejderne imellem havde jo også nogle forskellige trin. Og dem der var i det lidt lavere trin, sagde stadig "sir" til dem var et trin højere oppe. Det var ikke engang til manageren, men bare en der var lidt højere oppe	R1-DK
hvis de siger "den her firkant er firkantet, men vi har ikke autoritet til at sige det til dig, vi skal faktisk have vores manager til at sige det til dig i stedet for". Så altså hvis én af dem har sagt det, og det står sort på hvidt, og der så er en af dem der hænger på det i morgen. Det er responsibility, og det er faktisk ikke dem der skal have den, det er deres manager	R1-DK
Jeg stødte på en inder, som sagde jo at alle havde mulighed for at komme på universitetet. Og det kunne jeg jo ikke få helt til at hænge sammen, indtil jeg fandt ud af at han mente at hvis man er inden for en kaste, så har man mulighederne. Ikke dem der bor på gaden, som er helt uden for kastesystemet. Der er et enormt hierarki. Hvis man er inden for en kaste så er den god nok, selvom inden for rengøringsdamer, og chauffører er der hierarki. Og de spiller på deres magt.	R1-DK
Den vagt der er ved den compound hvor jeg bor, spillede meget på det med at han kunne lukke en bil ind, når *han* havde lyst.	R1-DK
Det er ikke så meget titlen i sig selv der spiller en rolle, men mere den reelle magt personen har. Altså at man kigger på er det her virkeligt personen der kan tage beslutningen eller er det bare en håndlanger der eksekverer hvad der er blevet besluttet.	R2-DK
I forhold til kvinder, der er der meget store forskelle i Indien, alt efter hvor i systemet, hvor i kaste-systemet du er, hvordan du ser kvinder.	R2-DK
Nejnej, officielt er der stadigvæk kaster. Der er flere firmaer der har officiel politik om du kan sige positiv diskrimination for at få "the untouchables" i arbejde og så videre, og giver speciel præference til dem	R2-DK
Så jeg vil sige at inderne har ikke nødvendigvis respekt for chefen fordi han er chefen, men der er stadigvæk forskellig behandling forskellige steder i organisationen.	R2-DK
Nej, officielt tror jeg ikke vi går ind i kastesystemet, men uofficielt der tror jeg vi bliver accepteret i de øvre lag, og vi bliver set som, fra dem i de lavere lag, som de øvre lag	R2-DK
Det betød helt sikkert noget på børnehjemmet at vi var vesterlændinge, jeg blev især brugt til at eskorterer børn som skulle på det lokale hospital fordi det simpelhen gik hurtigere at komme til en læge fordi jeg var med	R3-DK
Nej, jeg har egentligt ikke indtrykket af at det er specielt vigtigt at være vesteuropæer	R4-DK
Men i forhandlinger og så videre der er det der hjælper mig der, det er at jeg har den stilling jeg har og at de ved at det er derfor jeg kan komme og tage beslutninger. Ikke at jeg er for den sags skyld hvid eller er dansker. Kun at jeg kommer fra hovedkontoret og at jeg i princippet har pengene med. Det er egentligt det, tror jeg.	R4-DK
I Asien er de jo vant til de hierarkiske systemer og i særdeleshed i Indien og de har jo meget svært ved, altså alt skal jo følge et hierarki.	R4-DK
Men det er igen fordi de er vant til et meget hierarkisk system, som så igen vil jeg påstå at de ville konkludere at vi er sådan meget uformelle	R4-DK
det virker ikke som om at det her land er diskriminerende overfor kvinder.	R5-DK
Det er sådan lidt en udfordring, fordi så må man så typisk gå højere op i systemer og få fat i en der sidder længere oppe, der så giver en ordre ned og så kan man så få ting til at ske	R6-DK

Den anden store udfordring det har været, det er en gammel engelsk koloni. Det de i hvert fald har arvet fra englænderne er sådan godt gammeldags bureaukrati, red tape ligesom det så ud i Europa for 100 år siden. Deres bureaukrati er fuldstændig overvældende, det er virkelig ekstremt.	R6-DK
I Indien har vi lært at det betyder noget hvilken stilling man har, men det der egentlig overraskende betyder allermest, det er at man er vesteuropæer. Jeg kan gå ind og få møder med dem der har rigtig høje stillinger, især inde i bureaukratiet. Jeg kan gå ind og få møder med meget højt rangerende embedsmænd fordi jeg er vesteuropæer, Det kan vores lokale ingeniør ikke	R6-DK
Selvom kastesystemet officielt er afskaffet i Indien, så er det tydeligt at der er stor forskel på dem vi mødes med, og så den hærskare af tjenere de har rundt omkring; der er rigtig stor respekt der.	R6-DK
Stilling og titler betyder afsindig meget i Indien, meget meget mere end i vesten Folk kan sige op bare fordi de fx får en kvindelig leder, eller der er nogen anden der bliver forfremmet som har lavere anciennitet end de selv har	R7-DK
inderne har et meget spidst og fininddelt system, som de bruger til at klassificere folk efter, og det går på både alder, køn, seniority, stilling, kaste, hvor i Indien du kommer fra, dine forbindelser. Det at være hvid er også et plus, helt sikkert. Og alle de her ting putter de ind i lang formel, som så giver nogle point, der hjælper dem til at placerer folk på den her rangliste.	R7-DK
Hvis vores funktion er afhængig af, at en anden funktion i processen virker, så sørger vi også gerne for at lige præcis dén anden funktion også virker, selvom det faktisk ikke er vores opgave. Men inderne arbejder meget mere i siloer, de vil ikke tage ansvar for noget der ikke er deres egen opgave. Derfor er det umuligt at arbejde på tværs med dem, for de vil simpelthen ikke tage ansvar for et område der ikke er deres.	R7-DK
The decision making process is very hierarchical from the Danish perspectives, yes. The strings were being pulled from Copenhagen. You had a leader. You knew exactly who the leader was. He was empowered. But the final decisions, they would actually have to go back to Denmark	R4-I
Position in the company mean a lot. Age less so. Gender not at all.	R4-I
At the top there is an aloofness that creeps in, and the sense that they're getting closer and closer to God. So, you have to be very careful how you address them. It's completely misplaced, but that's how it is.	R4-I
People from the western world enjoy I higher status, just for who they are. It can change, but that's how it starts.	R4-I
Det er meget topstyret. Inderne virker hurtige til at tage beslutninger	R8-DK
Det havde en betydning at jeg var vesteuropæer	R8-DK
Min rolle i DK spillede en rolle for inderne	R8-DK
The counterparts' age, gender, seniority etc. is not at all important to me	R5-I
Det kan man godt komme ud for, at man får at vide at chefen sidder i et møde, men det behøver han sådan set ikke at gøre, det er bare en demonstration af at han er vigtig. På den måde bruger man de her meget tydelige magtdemonstrationer til at bevise at man er vigtig.	R9-DK
Min stilling i DK spillede helt klart en rolle.	R9-DK
Man har indtrykket af at toplederne er involverede i alt for meget, fordi de ikke er så villige til at afgive magt	R9-DK
Det har helt klart en betydning at jeg er vesteuropæer	R9-DK
Min alder har selvfølgelig også en betydning hernede, men det forsvinder lidt når de ser jeg er hvid. I forhold til kvinder, så har det betydning i nogle tilfælde.	R9-DK
Det at du er hvid og at du ser anderledes ud gør faktisk at mange kønsproblemer bliver reduceret. Du er allerede anderledes, så om du er kvinde, så tænker de måske bare "nå jamen du kommer et andet sted fra, der er det måske sådan det er". Men altså hvis du taler om inderne her, så er der en forskel, helt klart	R9-DK
Hvis jeg taler direkte til en af operatørerne, som jeg måske ikke før har haft noget forhold til, så er de meget nervøse. Det er fysisk belastende for dem at svare mig. Det er virkelig skræmmende for dem.	R9-DK
Det er sværere for en indisk direktør, at gå foran med et eksempel på en anderledes adfærd, fordi han måske ville være låst af at sådan er det. Jeg tror det er grænseoverskridende for en indisk direktør fx at gå ned og tale med en af de laveste.	R9-DK
I think certainly want to meet with the decisionmaker, but age and gender has no meaning, but the position is important. Age would have some bearing. Let's say if you're trying to enter into an agreement for someone to represent us in Denmark. I think age would play a role, because that would signify how much experience that person has	R6-I

But gender has no meaning. But I would prefer to negotiate with someone who has decisionmaking powers. Because then I can decide along with my partner, when I'm talking to someone, I hope that other person also has the power	R6-I
I think gender is increasingly becoming less important, but it still is an important one	R6-I
But as for age, yes I think that certainly age does matter. It's becoming increasingly less because India is a young country	R6-I

Appendix 4.2 Analysis preparation - collectivism

Collectivism	
Quotation	**Respondent**
Ååh gud, der var mange. Der var rigtig rigtig mange. Hvis vi skulle snakke måske, om et emne, jamen så var der måske tre parter til stede. Men det er lidt som om at man har en groupie. Alle personer har ligesom 5-10 back-upper	R1-DK
Nu i vores branche, så skal vi have det sådan at 2+2 = 4, vi skal have et svar. Så det der med personlige relationer, det gør altså ikke at svaret bliver noget andet	R1-DK
vi heroppe mod nord har lidt mere mod til at sætte os ud fra mængden	R1-DK
Der er det formelle møde, og så er der det uformelle, hvor du sidder og topcheferne kender måske hinanden fra skolen eller hvor de nu kender hinanden fra,	R2-DK
Eller herude er det også lidt mere hvor at jo ældre du er, okay ham respekterer vi lidt mere, men det hænger også mere sammen med, det bliver jeg nødt til at komme tilbage til, hvor lang tid har folk kendt hinanden. Fordi mange forretningsaftaler bliver sat op på at folk de har kendt hinanden i lang tid, så om det koster fem dollars eller seks dollars, det betyder ikke det store. Så det er mere sådan at "Vi vil godt betale seks så længe det bare er en vi kender og vi ved hvad han står for".	R2-DK
De vægter det personlige forhold højere end danskere gør. Hvor danskere er lidt mere kolde og kontante	R2-DK
Jeg har altid følt det personlige forhold fra indernes side	R3-DK
There is a lot of socialising happening between business	R1-I
I think, what I experience is for them it is more business, because they have travelled all the way when they come	R1-I
Network is certainly important.	R1-I
Relationship building is important, and each decision takes it own time. I weigh business relationships highest, because I have enough personal relationships.	R7-I
Det er forretningen, de vægter højest. Ingen tvivl om det.	R4-DK
Det er også forretningen, jeg selv vægter højest	R4-DK
de stille op med hele kontoret, så der var otte mand stærk. Så der var vi lidt i undertal.	R5-DK
det er begrænset hvor mange af dem jeg gider at blande ind i mit privatliv, hvis jeg måske ikke føler jeg har noget til fælles med dem	R5-DK
De er egentlig meget sociale, også selvom det er forretningsmøder	R6-DK
Jeg synes nu ikke er specielt indisk, men det er jo meget med at skulle opbygge en relation. Både til embedsmændene, hvor det gælder om at finde ud af hvem det er der tager beslutningerne, og så få en god relation til vedkommende	R6-DK
Selvom vi egentlig ikke har haft noget at tale om, så har vi lige stukket hovedet ind omkring hende og fået et kop te osv. og snakket lidt. Hun sidder i den del af regeringen der overordnet skal se til at der kommer industri til hele gujaratstaten. Hun sidder på en meget høj position, og alligevel kan vi få møder med hende hver gange. Det er nogle gode møder og hun forsikrer os altid om at hun følger vores projekt, og hvis der er nogle problemer så må vi endelig sige til, så skal hun nok sørge for at det går væk igen.	R6-DK
I Indien handler det om at være "king of networking", forbindelser er rigtig vigtige i alle forhandlingssituationer. Altså de er lynhurtige til at finde ud af at deres bedstemor har gået i skole med en hvis vens bedstemor har arbejdet hos, som er bror til og så videre.	R7-DK
Her i Indien kan man ikke have det ene uden det andet. Relationer er helt nødvendigt for at forretningen kan køre	R7-DK
I weigh relations highest. If the relations are good, the business comes. There are so many businesses that depends more on relationship than on anything else.	R3-I
I think Danes weigh relationship also	R3-I
I think in India everything typically works on relationships as well.	R3-I

depending on the meeting you would have between four and six people on either side	R4-I
It is very very relationship based in India. You could be giving really bad advice, but if you enjoy the confidence of your client, that doesn't matter.	R4-I
The Indians are great at putting you in a box within five minutes of meeting you. It's all located on do you know so and so	R4-I
With the Indians, connections have to come through relationships	R4-I
Jeg tror inderne vægter det personlige forhold højest. Men det er to uadskillelige ting. Du kan ikke lave et partnerskab/J.V. uden først at have opbygget en tillid igennem et personligt forhold	R8-DK
I weigh the business relationship highest.	R5-I
The Danes also weigh the business relationship highest	R5-I
Man mødes jo engang imellem med sine leverandører, ja både for at finde ud af noget om markedet, men også for at holde en personlig kontakt til alle leverandører.	R9-DK
Det er utrolig varierende hvor mange der er til stede ved et møde, men som regel er der mange flere end man forventer i Danmark, vi er altid i undertal.	R9-DK
du kan ikke adskille det forretningen og det sociale, det er møde det hele. Der er ikke den her fine linie imellem hvad der er forretning og hvad der er privat	R9-DK

Appendix 4.3 Analysis preparation - context

Context	
Quotation	**Respondent**
Direkte svar kunne have været meget lettere, men det giver de ikke.	R1-DK
Mere præcise og direkte ord for tingene. Det skal være helt basalt, helt ned til der hvor man næsten selv synes man er uhøflig	R1-DK
gennemsnitligt, der er de lige knap så direkte. Primært omkring de negative ting. Hvor i Danmark, jamen der har vi ikke nogen problemer med at sige "nej, det her der gider vi ikke, lad os stoppe diskussionen nu".	R2-DK
Jeg synes ikke kommunikationen er særlig direkte det ændrede ikke meget på arbejdsmønstrene, for de blev ikke fortalt på en ordentlig måde hvordan de skulle ændre sig, de fik bare at vide de ikke havde gjort det ordentlig	R3-DK
Jeg føler der skal bruges rigtig meget krudt på at tale sammen, og forklarer hvordan man gerne vil ha tingene. Mange ting er ikke bare indforstået, som kvalitet, tidsaftaler	R3-DK
Communication was very open and very clear. It was a very straight forward kind of communication. There was a lot of clarity in the communication. Because normally we Indians never approach anybody with a straight question. We always beat around the bush. But I found the communication with the Danes very very clear	R1-I
A lot of the Indians don't want to be asked a direct question. They would like to be asked 1-2-3-4 and the fifth question will give you the right answer.	R1-I
I think that when Danes ask a straight question, they expect a straight answer. And they are to the point	R1-I
Maybe a typical Indian would take offence.	R1-I
You can convey a message, you do not say the full sentence, with a nod of the head, and you can convey the message	R1-I
With Danes they get confused by shaking heads, are they meaning yes or no. so you gotta be very clear in communication, and keeping it short as possible	R1-I
Danes are far more, well they speculate more and are certainly more straight to the point than Indians are	R2-I
Jeg har aldrig oplevet at omgangstonen er sådan decideret formel. Altså jeg har altid oplevet med inderne at de kan tåle at man er sådan meget direkte med dem	R4-DK
jeg er altid, altid på fornavne med folk	R4-DK
jeg fik mit raserianfald, og fik sagt de ting jeg ville, og så smed jeg røret på.	R5-DK
Oftest der er de usikre når det er man stiller dem et spørgsmål, og så bliver der sådan lidt rysten på hovedet i alle retninger, som der betyder måske/ja/nej/ved ikke. Og så kan man stå der og så ikke rigtigt vide hvad det er de mener når de ryster på hovedet	R5-DK
jeg synes ikke tonen var så formel igen	R7-DK
Kommunikationen er Ikke så meget pakket ind, vil jeg sige. Vi danskere vil gerne være ærlige og holde hvad vi lover, og heller ikke love mere end vi kan holde. Men inderne de over-promises og	R7-DK

under-delivers	
Inderne underspiller tit udgifterne hvis de skal give en pris på noget arbejde, for at få køberen til at sige ja, fordi når de så står der midt i det hele, kan de jo ikke bare sige nej og gå deres vej, så er halvdelen af arbejdet færdigt, og så betaler man jo bare det ekstra.	R7-DK
jeg gør det ikke så direkte, hvis jeg skal konfrontere nogen, hvor jeg siger at det her er altså helt forkert.	R7-DK
I Danmark har jeg en forventning til naturlig kompetence, altså cause and effect, at der fx er en kritisk analyse af et projekt, osv. alt det tager jeg for givet. Men hernede er det anderledes. Ingenting kan forventes, det skal specificeres helt præcis ellers får man ikke det man synes man har bedt om	R7-DK
Hernede spørger jeg meget mere ind til specifikke ting, for at få et bedre billede af om aftalen kan holdes. Jeg spørger måske ikke direkte "hvilken garant har jeg får at du kan levere til tiden", men mere sådan "hvor mange personer har du ansat, hvilke forbindelser har du" og sådan.	R7-DK
I Vesten er det mere firkantet, der er mere effektivitet, logik og pragmatik. I Indien er det mere blødt og kompliceret, der skal man helt ned under overfladen for at finde ud af hvad der faktisk sker	R7-DK
I think a typical Indian would take offense with the directness of Danes	R3-I
Danes are very to the point, with an agenda. Complete clarity as to where we want to end up at the end of the meeting. Concrete next steps. It was all quite black and white, very structured	R4-I
I think that directness coming from the wrong person, sometimes can be counter productive	R4-I
It's not so much about what you say, it's about how you say it. I think with the Danes, they are a little more mature about it. And it's taken in context, they choose not to give it much credence. But you know I think with the Indians, subtlety matters a lot	R4-I
Indians don't know what direct communication is. There is a lot of subtlety associated with how they communicate. If the need to say something, they would say something else to get to that point. It may seem like it is not planned, but there is a message to that message. It's very deceiving.	R4-I
I think you can be more direct with a Danes, with the Indians you cannot. You have to break it gently,	R4-I
Hvis der er kunde/leverandørforhold så er omgangstonen meget professionel og vi har ikke oplevet at der er plads til private samtaler	R8-DK
Kommunikationen virker direkte	R8-DK
most people will generally tell you that Indians are not direct, but that's not true, not in the case where you have people making a sigificant amount of money. It's a very very different interaction at the street level, you don't get direct answers at all. But in business, especially in big business, there is no such thing, people down here just don't have the time, so generally talking they're pretty direct. And they're pretty decisive as well, in big business, but in every day life, mind you, it a very different system here in India. In big business in general I think we tend to pretty decisive and up front.	R5-I
Jamen de er helt sikkert mere indirekte og ubeslutsomme. De snakker altid udenom, uden om det emne man nu egentlig skal tale om,	R9-DK
they are quite blunt, they're very direct	R6-I
The Danish people who work here, who work in India. Some of them have been unpopular, because they had a tendency to be very blunt and used their humour insensitively.	R6-I
Indians don't know how to give bad news	R6-I
I found that it was very difficult to take criticism so directly. But then you found that when you did something well, the praise also came directly to you.	R6-I
If I had to give bad news to an Indian superior I would sort of give a little bit of background as to why this happened, and then who's to blame. Because they would ask who's fault it is. I think the Danes are more like "ok, so what needs to be done to solve it?" who's fault it is, it more of a secondary issue. I mean they will come to it and say "ok, so what do we need to do to prevent it?" but it's not a central issue. In the situation, the ideal is to solve the problem first. In an Indian context your boss is likely to ask you "how did this happen, who's fault is it?" So you much have done some research before you go in and say all that; you have to have your facts.	R6-I
I think with Danes they are very clear about their expectations and setting. So either you agree or disagree, but there is no confusion about what you're trying to achieve.	R6-I
But you try not to be too direct, but to get your message across subtlely. You try to observe who's	R6-I

| in the room, who you're with, seniority, position and so on. It you're supplier and they're buyer you'll be a lot more humble than you would be in a Danish setting where you would be more on equal terms. | |

Appendix 4.4 Analysis preparation - face

Face	
Quotation	**Respondent**
"jeg tror I [Inderne] har forstået det på en anden måde, I skal faktisk se det fra en anden vinkel" For det der med at man giver en dårlig nyhed på den måde, så er det faktisk skylden man lægger på en person	R1-DK
De bliver utroligt kede af det når man giver dem dårlige nyheder. Det gør det bedre, at man siger at de skal se det fra en anden vinkel i stedet, for så prøver de det. Men de føler at de har skuffet en	R1-DK
jeg vil faktisk også sige at i forhold til face der i irettesættelser, der mener jeg faktisk ikke der er den store forskel rundt omkring i verden. For jeg tror heller ikke en dansker bryder sig om at sidde ude blandt alle sine kollegaer og chefen kommer ud og sviner personen til. Det bryder en dansker sig heller ikke om. Danskeren vil måske have mere tendens til at stille sig om at sige at "det her gider jeg altså ikke at høre på mere, foran alle andre i hvert fald" som du ikke vil finde andre steder i verden. Men der er ikke nogen der bryder sig om det. Og du kan sige at hvad vi end synes i Danmark, andre vil også tænke at "hvad sker der her" og tænke anderledes om både ham der har modtaget beskeden og om chefen, hvis du gør det i Danmark. Det er ikke de der direkte konfrontationer forskellen den er på. kan du også miste face ved sådan mere sublime beskeder og ting der sker, hvor at der vil jeg sige at der er Indien mere tæt på Danmark.	R2-DK
Så vil jeg kalde mange af dem for smarte sælgere. De prøver at sælge mere end hvad de faktisk typiske kan levere	R2-DK
Jeg synes ikke høflighed betyder noget særligt for inderne. Hvis noget så tværtimod. Faktisk så tror jeg mere det betyder noget i Danmark,	R2-DK
i det danske sprog, der har du ikke den store variation i høflighedsniveau, hvor det engelske sprog har det lidt mere med, er det would eller should eller will eller can og så videre, hvor du kan præsentere tingene lidt mere blødt som du måske gør i starten	R2-DK
Når man skal irettesætte er det som om man taler to forskellige sprog. Jeg vil bare gerne at den person jeg står overfor ser fejlen, og jeg vil undgå at det ikke sker igen, men jeg har oplevet at personen, enten ikke tager ansvaret og sender kamelen videre eller bare siger "Yes ma'am, Yes ma'am, det skal aldrig ske igen" og så har man egentlig ikke opnået at få problemet løst	R3-DK
Jeg har faktisk aldrig oplevet at kommunikationen kørte helt skævt	R3-DK
I would describe the present Danish team, which is marketing, I find the wonderful. Great people. And I think they have helped me to grow professionally. They have helped me to understand politics in business, so that when I look at it, I can look at it from all angles, and come at a good decision. They have been very good on that. They are wonderful, and open, and I can depend on them. If I have a problem, I can talk to them straight	R1-I
Indians are by nature, quite a few of them are very sensitive and very emotional and very religious.	R1-I
I'm generally more concerned with being polite when dealing with foreigners than when I'm dealing with other Indians	R2-I
I have not experienced any misunderstandings with my Danish partners	R2-I
Well, I mean if I'm not happy with someone, or something they have done, I tell them. But I haven't given any bad news in regard to business.	R2-I
Det som jeg synes det er at de lige som kan have en tendens til at oversælge sig selv og altså falde en lille smule igennem, altså fordi de gerne vil fremstå så dygtige og kompetente som overhovedet muligt	R4-DK
Og der er nogle mennesker, det opfatter jeg det i hvert fald som, de bliver bare sat til at gøre et job, hvor det er de ikke rigtigt har noget med noget som helst andet at gøre end lige netop det job de bliver sat til at gøre, så hvis det er du spørger dem om noget, så kan de ikke svare på det. Eller hvis det er du beder dem om at de skal have noget hjælp til noget andet, så kan de ikke hjælpe dig, fordi, jeg ved ikke om de ikke må det, men de er nok mere sat i den her position, så de har ikke noget kompetence til at kunne hjælpe dig på nogen andre områder.	R5-DK
Generelt, vil jeg sige måske at den første approach jeg har med folk, så ja. Men jeg er til gengæld og hurtigere til at flyve ud af skabet hvis det er at folk simpelthen bare ikke vil forstå hvad det er	R5-DK

jeg siger. Hvor jeg nogle opfatter dem som lidt smådumme hvor de bare ikke vil lytte på hvad det er jeg siger, og jeg har et vigtigt budskab jeg gerne vil frem med. Og det kommer så bare ikke frem. Så kan jeg måske godt fare lidt hurtigere op. Så er jeg bare ikke lige så høflig igen. Der kan jeg måske også finde på at være hurtigere ude af skabet og måske ændre mit toneleje, hvis det er de ikke gider at lytte til mig. Vi kommer måske hurtigere til at irettesætte eller snakke med lidt store ord	
Så det der med kommunikationen, man tror egentlig man har en god kommunikation med dem, hvis man nu siger "nu skal I høre, vi har det her problem vi bliver nødt til at få det der til at gå væk, for ellers kan vi ikke bygge vores fabrik", vi er jo rimelig mennesker, vi kommer ikke med nogle urimelige krav eller noget "I liver nødt til at få det til at gå væk, ellers kan vi ikke leje jorden af jer" Så siger de "ok, jamen det vil de godt" "Hvornår kan I så få det væk så vi kan leje jorden af jer?" "Det tager ikke ret lang tid siger de så, 14 dage eller sådan noget", men så sker der ikke en skid	R6-DK
Jeg synes omgangstonen er meget formel.	R6-DK
Hvis man har en konfronterende situation med indere, så klakker de hælene sammen, bukker og siger "jamen det sker også lige om lidt", men det gjorde det jo så ikke.	R6-DK
hvis man taler bøst til en embedsmand, så ville han jo flejne fuldstændig ud, Men det gør de overhovedet ikke. De begynder at nikke, og det er nok det mest farlige. De siger "jamen det forstår de godt" og man selv siger "nej jeg tror ikke I forstå det" men "jojo de forstår det godt". Det er også en interessant ting. Når vi så forklarer ting til dem, som vi jo synes er indlysende, og så spørger vi "kan I forstå det?" "ja, det kan de godt forstå". Men så lidt længere inde i samtalen, kan man så høre, at de ikke har forstået det vi fortalte om i starten. Det er jo meget det der med at en danske ville have sagt "det fatter jeg ikke en brik af". Men der er jo meget med det der med ikke at tabe ansigt; især hvis de fx er bankmænd, de siger ikke at de ikke forstår det.	R6-DK
Det var som om han simpelthen nægtede at lade sig konfrontere med at der var et problem. Vi kunne se at det blev så snært at vi ville have at vide hvad hans plan b var, men han nægtede simpelthen at der var et problem overhovedet, selvom alle kunne se det.	R6-DK
Høflighed er ikke vigtigt overfor udlændinge, der er man almindelig høflig, Men ellers er det sådan almindelig forretningshøflighed.	R6-DK
Og han [tømren] lover at det kan han sagtens klare på en måned, og det vil være færdigt når vi kommer tilbage fra ferie. Men da vi så kommer hjem, er det selvfølgelig slet ikke færdigt, og han kryber så til korset, og indrømmer at han faktisk aldrig troede at det kunne lade sig gøre. Men her tænker inderne "hvor gøre hende ked at det med det samme? Hvorfor gøre hende sur fra starten? Hvis vi nu kan have det godt den første måned, så er hun glad der, og så er det kun en måned hvor hun er sur, i stedet for de to måneder som byggeriet egentligt har taget".	R7-DK
Konflikter glemmes meget hurtigt fordi de er forventede. En inder kan jo stå og råbe og skrige af sine medarbejdere, men det forventer medarbejderne også, så de bærer slet ikke nag på samme måde som vi europæere nok har tendens til. Vi er ikke vandt til den slags konflikter og vi danskere har det med at bære nag. Så derfor vil vi selvfølgelig huske dem meget mere, også når vi har forladt forhandlingen.	R7-DK
Jeg synes det er vigtigt at vise integritet. Men det er måske også fordi at det eksisterer slet ikke for inderne. At levere det man siger, men det er bare ikke i ligeså høj kurs hernede som det er i Danmark og i Vesten. Og i Danmark har vi jo en forkærlighed for sandheden, men det er nok mest for min egen skyld, fordi det bliver ikke rigtig værdsat af inderne. Men det er måske også lidt for at pudse vores egen glorie	R7-DK
Det har en hel anden opfattelse af sandhed og integritet. En inder er oftest i noget fordi han kan tjene på det, og de er meget mere beregnende end os	R7-DK
Facegiving er vigtigt. Loss of face er kun hvis man bliver opdaget i at snyde. Jeg gør fx det, at hvis der er nogle overordnede til stede, så handler det jo om at få medarbejderne til at se godt ud, så hvis der er nogle fejl eller noget andet negativt jeg vil påpege, så venter jeg med at gøre det til jeg er på tomandshånd med personen. Men det er jo det samme som jeg ville gøre i Danmark. Men fra medarbejdernes side er der en forventning om at det er ok at blive ydmyget af sin chef.	R7-DK
Men som sådan er inderne ikke specielt gode til at være høflige. Der er fx ingen høflighedsfraser på hindi. Det er meget mere ordrer de bruger. Så forventningerne til sprogbruget er også helt forskelligt for indere og danskere, de bruger sproget helt helt forskelligt. En inder giver bare ordre til deres partnere om fx "sit" eller "come", uden nogen efterfølgende høflighedsfrase, og det virker uhøfligt og kommanderende på danskere. Inderne bruger meget mere yderfløjene når de	R7-DK

kommunikerer, enten overpositivt, hvor det hele er overfantastisk og dejligt, eller også er det en kommando; enten helt positivt eller helt negativt, men de mener det ikke negativt.	
I probably am more polite with Indians than with the Danes. I would tell the Dane that I don't like it, but with the Indian… no.	R3-I
India is a culture where it is your prerogative to bend the rules	R4-I
I'm more concerned with being polite when negotiating with Indians, than when negotiating with Danes.	R4-I
Yes, I have had to give bad news to an employee, yea. Well, generally, we try to be sensitive. Bad news is for example; I just had to let go a bunch of people. So we try to be sensitive, but also be direct.	R5-I
Man lærer at håndtere at de hele tiden forsøger at tage røven på én. Men man skal håndtere det rigtigt, fordi hvis man bare spiller arrogant og hård, så får du ikke ret meget ud af det, fordi de er meget ærekære. De vil hellere foretrække at gå ud, uden en handel, frem for at miste ansigt. Så man kan ikke tillade sig at køre helt så hårdt på, og man ved det godt. Der skal man være lidt mere omhyggelig, og man taler måske lidt for længe om tingene, bare for at sikre sig at man har forstået hvad det er vi er blevet enige om.	R9-DK
Skal jeg virkelig give en skideballe, så bliver jeg personlig. Så bliver det sådan noget med "gør det her for mig, det er vigtigt for mig. Jeg, som leder af operationen har jeg et problem med at vi ikke har lavet det her ordentligt." Det er ligesom at få en på kassen derhjemme, den går rent ind.	R9-DK
Men hvis jeg gik ind og sagde "hvad er det du har lavet her?" Så ville de simpelthen bakke fuldstændig tilbage, og blive helt modvillige. De vil sådan prøve at benægte at ting er sket. I kan nok høre at jeg har prøvet det på den hårde måde. Jeg mener faktisk ikke, selvom folk siger de snakker udenom ting, det gør de ikke. Men de gør det på en anden måde, det er simpelthen bare et andet formsprog, og det mener jeg egentlig ikke er noget problem	R9-DK
Så kan man så vende den om og spørge om det er fordi man selv har gjort noget galt eller om det er fordi man ikke selv har performet. Det ville man kunne snakke om i Danmark, men det kan man ikke her.	R9-DK
men kan måske også finde på at bruge Face i kommunikationen. hvis de har løjet overfor mig, og finder jeg så ud af det, så kan der godt tage en flig af og så lige hæve stemmen lige en anelse ude i rummet, men ikke mere. Og så kan jeg måske bede dem om at komme op på kontoret, og så bliver der stille dernede. Simpelthen bliver nødt til at vise overfor andre, at det der er sket her, er i hvert fald noget som ikke er accepteret	R9-DK
Jeg vil ikke stå og revse en person, og det ville man jo heller ikke gøre derhjemme. Men hernede vil man slet ikke gøre det, altså det vil være meget ydmygende for dem. Fordi der er hele hierarkiet. Der er meget ære i det, han vil ikke tabe ansigt overfor dem der ligger under ham. Det er ikke noget vi dyrker, hierarkiet, men det er der	R9-DK
Det er altså sådan, der er grader af ja, og det er måske, det er i hvert fald en udfordring	R9-DK
Udfordringen består jo så i at styre processen, i og med at du har nogle medarbejdere som somme tider siger ja, når de egentlig mener nej	R9-DK
Danskere kan stadig finde en comfort zone inden for et nyt emne. Det er meget vanskeligt hernede. Det er meget vanskeligt at få en senior ud af sit bås, han ved noget om lige præcis det her emne, og skal han bevæge sig uden for er han meget modvilig, han synes ikke det er behageligt. Altså, når man bliver senior hernede, så er det ligesom en faderskikkelse, sådan den alvidende fader. Og det er han jo ikke hvis han pludselig indrømmer at der er et område han ikke ved noget som helst om. Så det er sådan en konflikt imellem hvor langt man kan strække sig	R9-DK
Er man aggressiv og smækker med dørene så har man i hvert fald helt stensikkert tabt.	R9-DK
Man sidder jo i en situation hvor folk lægger der person ud på bordet. Hernede er det ligesom personen der lægger en del af hans person på bordet til forhandling, så er det i vesten og derhjemme mere en problemstilling der bliver lagt på bordet. Og fordi han har lagt sin person på bordet og er ked af at tabe ansigt, så har du en hel anden situation end hvis det bare var problemstillingen der var på spil.	R9-DK
I think most Indian men are much more polite towards women. So if you're a woman banker, or lawyer or something, you tend to get your way. They can be more rude and blunt to a man, but they will not be like that with a woman. I think it's just cultural, I know for a fact that I wouldn't do it. I think I'd be more careful and polite if I put a woman down, than if it was a man; and that's just a cultural thing I think.	R6-I

Appendix 4.5 Analysis preparation - temporality

Temporality	
Quotation	**Respondent**
Hvor man måske havde sat ti minutter af til det, så kan man godt forvente, ja, næsten en halv dag, eller måske en hel dag, for bare at forklare om et område	R1-DK
Og i løbet af et møde, jamen der kunne komme flere og flere ind. Og ja, hvis man siger kl. 4, så kunne de sagtens dumpe ind kl. 4, el 4.30, 4.45 eller 5	R1-DK
Et møde kunne blevet hevet af staben, altså sådan men kunne blive ringet op og så er der en der siger "der er et møde" nååh ok, ja, og man skulle møde op. Og så kunne man så sidde der fra kl. 2 til 6,7,8,9-stykker, og så havde man jo spildt hele dagen. Så ja, meget ustruktureret, og ja, man var jo ikke forberedt, og så er det jo man kan sige at man kommer tilbage med et svar senere. Og så må man jo bare indkalde til et møde senere. Man kan også vende bordet om, hvor vi måske har sat et møde op lidt tidligere, og man er forberedt og så kommer de dumpende ind, dem som man har indkaldt, og de er uforberedte. Alle de spørgsmål man nu har sat op, jamen dem har de ikke svar på, fordi de ikke har forberedt sig. Det tog de meget lidt højtideligt	R1-DK
"sluk for telefonen under mødet" det eksisterer slet ikke herude. Folk de tager lystigt telefonerne under møderne.	R2-DK
Folk kommer lystigt for sent. Mødetidspunktet det er et cirkatidspunkt	R2-DK
Det er meget typiske at man lige ringer i forvejen og siger "skal vi mødes om en time eller to?" og så skal du ikke bliver overrasket over hvis folk siger nej. Danskerne er mere "tyskere". Hvis du laver en aftale, jamen så har du en aftale	R2-DK
man ikke bare skulle komme og tro at "man kunne ændre på det hele", stille og roligt, var det muligt at indføre små ændringer, når man havde fået et godt forhold til dem man arbejdede med.	R3-DK
Jeg mener at der skal være respekt for hinanden, og tålmodighed… det er ikke sikkert denne forretning går igennem, men det kan være den næste gør, og jo længere et forretnings forhold er jo bedre bliver det, jo mere forståelse	R3-DK
In at meeting with Danes, we are clear on an agenda, because we have now become very very tuned on Danish way of organising meetings, with a definite agenda and action plan, people responds to the action plan, and the date in which it is to be completed. So we are clear on that.	R1-I
In a normal meeting the Indians will do the multitasking.	R1-I
a modern Indian person, she does more than one activity at a time. If you go back to your hotel, your receptionist, she can handle 5-6 customers at a time. In Denmark, you can go, and you stand in line, one person at a time.	R1-I
I only concentrate on the meeting	R7-I
It is important to have a relationship with my partners, and I always notice that with partners I don't have relationships with, I don't do much business again, it's all cut and clean. When you develop relationships you often do more business and make more money and then you can maybe even do it on routine.	R2-I
Meeting one is normally a lot more serious than the others, but I can do other things simultaneously, I'm a […] so I need to do other things at the same time. I'm a busy man	R2-I
den oplevelser har jeg overhovedet ikke, at de var optagede af andre ting.	R4-DK
vores indiske ledelse han har været direktør for det her selskab nu i fire år og på de fire år har han været igennem nøjagtig den samme proces som jeg har været, så hvis man siger at ligesom når man studerer antropologi, at man har to forskellige kulturer at når de så mødes så vil man efterhånden som man er sammen så vil fællesmængden bliver større og større	R4-DK
der er en del spildtid der går i løbet af dagen, hvor man skal sidde og forklare	R5-DK
På længere sigt når du har været i branchen i mange år, så tror jeg at personlige relationer det er utroligt vigtige at have. Jeg kan se at jeg har en kollega der sidder hjemme i Danmark. Han har siddet med det indiske marked i 25 år. Han har nogle bekendte i forretningsverden som der så skifter job en gang i mellem, så han kan ringe ned til os og sige at nu er hans bekendte skiftet over til et andet firma, så nu kan du begynde at arbejde direkte med nogen.	R5-DK
Vi har siddet nu, gang på gang sammen med egentlig rimelig højt placerede indiske embedsmænd, hvor de så siger "det er så på plads, i løbet af ingen tid", så vi så siger "hvad er ingen tid" og de så svarer "jamen det er 10-12 dage" og der sker bare ikke noget. Så det der med tiden er meget relativt. Det er nok den største udfordring i øjeblikket, det er at få tingene til at ske.	R6-DK
De multitasker rigtig meget. Man kan sidde og have et møde om ens eget projekt, hvor der sidder to-tre mennesker ovre i hjørnet som man overhovedet ikke ved hvem er, og de sidder bare og	R6-DK

lytter. Man sidder og tænker "hvem er det?" Mobiltelefonerne ringer, og der kommer folk ind og lægger papir på bordet, og så sidder ham man sidder i møde med og læser lidt i det, og så ringer hans telefon. Det er virkelig en fest at være til møde dernede, der sker så meget rundt om en. Men det komme igen også lidt an på hvilket niveau folk er på. De store han elefanter vi mødes med dernede bliver ikke forstyrret, men tit så er det lidt som at sidde på en banegård.	
Tingene har det med at falde på plads, ikke i sidste øjeblik, men på en mere ustruktureret måde	R7-DK
Indere har nærmest en aversion mod at aftale møder flere uger i forvejen, så skal det i hvert fald være i en kæmpe størrelsesorden, almindelige forretningsmøder og forhandlinger aftales helst inden for den nærmeste uge	R7-DK
It took two weeks to reach an agreement. And that's short. In comparison it takes about 2-3 months with Indians	R3-I
The Danish side of the table is very organised, very clinical in its approach, knew what they wanted. The Indian side is completely confused, very emotional, never showed up on time. They started getting closer to the scheduled time, so they would you know, the first tme they might have been three hours late and it evolved to possibly three minutes late, but the Danes were there on time	R4-I
You could have the Indian side of the table could have twenty things going on, a couple talking across the table, someone's telephone ringing, no problem receiving a call. On the Danish side, one person talks. If the telephone rang and had to be done, they would excuse themselves and go outside if it was urgent, otherwise, they would focus on the meeting itself.	R4-I
I think with the Danes it is quite clear. They are very task-oriented, and very systematic. And they start the meeting with a ten point agenda, and you can kinda go down till you get to point number ten, and then the meeting is over. With the Indians there is no agenda. They just sit down and talk, and somebody figures you have run out of time, and you can move away, and you can be scratching your head "what did we really do here?" it's a very different style	R4-I
The Danes proposed certain dates, because they had looked in their calendars, and four years in advance they know exactly what they're going to be doing, you know it's quite well planned.	R4-I
And the Indians don't think twice about it, it's okay, they can do another day, but it's the end of the world for the Danes	R4-I
I mean if you were an Indian person I was meeting, I mean I was ten minutes late, because somebody held me up in the hallway, but I could have had the conversation with the other person in the hallway for another hour and kept you waiting, and it was just fine, no problem	R4-I
Inderne var fokuserede på vores forhandlinger	R8-DK
I usually tend to focus only on the meeting at hand. When we go out raising money, we try to be as attentive as possible, so we generally tend to focus on the meeting at hand. (He excuses himself and answers the phone, and talks for about a minute).	R5-I
For det første vidste vi at der er en generel tendens til at man regner i uger og måneder hernede, hvor vi jo regner i timer og uger, eller timer og dage måske nok nærmere. Og der er jo ikke noget forkert i at regne i uger og måneder hvis dit marked accepterer det, at det er den måde vi arbejder på.	R9-DK
Man kan altid tage en telefon.	R9-DK
Jeg forsøger at vise en interesse for hvad de laver. Hvis man fx ved man har noget bare skal cleares derhjemme og man har en halv time. Jeg har mødet kl. 13, og jeg ved jeg har et andet møde kl. 13.30, det kan man jo godt have derhjemme. Der er noget der skal cleares her, det ved begge parter og så ordner man det og går derfra igen. Gjorde jeg det hernede, så ville de føle det som voldtægt. Og jeg ville måske ikke få det ud af forhandlingssituationen som man skal. Og så har jeg jo sådan set fejlet som leder, for så har jeg jo ikke lyttet til den kontekst jeg sidder i. Så det er vigtigt for mig at de har en fornemmelse af at jeg forstår deres kontekst.	R9-DK
det er en udfordring at få dem til at forstå at 12.30 lukker vi altså ned, og så er vi færdige, det er i det her årti, og i den her uge, og ikke i næste uge. Det er det her med at vi altså arbejder i timer og dage	R9-DK
Kommunikationen kan blive vanskeligere af at de har en uge-måned tidsregning, hvor vi har time-dage. Det er jo allerede et spændingsfelt der.	R9-DK
I feel that certainly the Danes are quite decisive in their approach. Sometimes they're quite impatient to get to a decision. They're like "ok, let's just agree". I think sometimes, it's good and bad. Sometimes you want a good debate before you arrive, and I think there is pros for makin a faster decision. But on balance I think I like th Danish way of approaching problems. When sit to	R6-I

down to a meeting, the intent is to find a decision and a solution; the intent is not to sit down and chit chat and see what happens; the intent is to go in and find a solution and a decision. And you can rest assure that there will be a difinite direction.	
Certainly compared to Danes, Indians can be much more argumentative. I think there is a lot of opinions internal with Indians. And I don't sometimes see the same sense of urgency in trying to arrive at a solution. They are used to a slow process, or a slower process of decision-making. There is a generational shift. And you have to realise that India is not one country	R6-I
I think, I found that in a Danish context an hour is a long time for a meeting. Meetings with partners would never last that long, I mean I would always be given only 30 minutes with them, and I would usually be done in 20-25 minutes. Because they would be prepared and they would know which direction they wanted to go	R6-I