Cross-Cultural Issues Between the English and the Chileans: An Introductory Analysis to Understand Cultural Differences in Business and Society

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To my father Carlos and my nephew Christopher…

Abstract

Cross-cultural relations between the Chilean and the English are becoming more and more important, especially since Chile is reinserting itself into the world of international business. Though the effect that cultural difference may have is a well documented topic, there is limited literature about the specific differences between Chileans and English, and how they view each other.

The literature review shows the effect that history and natural conditions have had on the minds and behaviour of the Chileans, and allows us to understand their motives and thought patterns. Chilean society, as a result of the strong influence received from the 'Old Continent', is described as much closer to Europe than most of the other Latin American cultures.

The interviews revealed some very interesting opinions of one group towards the other.

The Chileans, naturally more concerned with relations and family, find the English rather cold and unsociable. They also mention that the English are political, rigid, not very hierarchical but show respect towards authority. For the Chileans, the English are focused and goal oriented, but they are not seen as people that try to impose; they like the decisions to be generated by consensus. They are trustworthy because they honour their word, but they are not loyal to their jobs.

In the eyes of the English, Chilean people like to have face-to-face contact and give big importance to relationships and family issues. Despite being affable and easy going, the Chilean orientation towards family makes it difficult to penetrate their deepest circles. Chileans are also seen as hierarchical, with strong social differences and with a tendency towards authoritarianism. Chileans are described as people who are rather passive and who prefer to avoid conflicts. Although, when the conflict explodes, they might be quite passionate as well. They tend not to assume responsibility, but competition amongst their peers is forcing them to work longer hours and causing increasing levels of stress.

In spite of all its limitations, the importance of this study is indisputable, as it presents real and practical information about how culture influences the relations between Chileans and English. It may well become a starting point for people interested in this particular topic.

I. Introduction

It has been pointed out several times (Trompenaars, 1997; Fogel, 1999; Osland, 1999) that culture should be one of the most important things to be addressed by anybody trying to do business or just moving to some place different from their mother country.

Executives and managers are moving around more frequently than ever before, and this trend should continue to increase as time goes by. Hickson (1995) is right when expressing: "the world is getting smaller and horizons are getting wider, especially managerial horizons". As people move to different countries and societies, they must be aware of the implications it may have when they feel or act as a complete stranger in the other culture (Fogel, 1999). Regardless of how open-minded we think we are, we have been raised and formed in our own society, with our customs and beliefs, which are the very basis of biases and misconceptions.

Amongst others, the impact of culture in achievement and success is one of the most debated subjects in today's world of business. The extensive attention paid to the success and ensuing problems faced by the Japanese is probably the best example of the importance given to cultural issues (Rodríguez, 1991).

For the author, the fact that the Chilean economy is strongly reintegrating and starting to participate in the international world of business is more than a motivation to undertake research in this area. Chilean society is undergoing a lot of changes, and just like its Latin American neighbours, it is struggling to find its way and place in today's globalisation (Recht, 1998).

The impact of Chilean culture on the way Chileans do business is a topic only recently investigated in Chile, mostly due to the failure of the economic models applied in the past, and the relative success of others.

On the other hand, the author has always felt a particular curiosity towards British society, the English in particular.

Apart from this, the author has felt motivated to explore this area especially because of the lack of literature on this particular topic. There is literature about Chilean culture, and English culture, but very few authors, if any, have written about cross-cultural relations between both. The author is aware of the limitations of this work, especially in time and depth, but the objective is not to give a detailed analysis, but rather to create an awareness of such a topic.

This work will briefly revise some topics of cross-cultural relationships between Chilean and English society. Particular attention will be paid to the conditions and motives behind Chilean culture.

Chapter II will define and examine the concept of culture as defined by Hofstede and Hickson. It will then revise and compare the positions of Chile and Great Britain in the study completed by Hofstede. It will finally study Chile and its changes in the last decades. Chapter III describes the methodology used to do this research and some of the difficulties encountered. Chapter IV shows the results of this research and presents a brief analysis of it. The initial focus is given to how the Chileans see the English, and then how the English perceive the Chileans. A small section with some extra comments made by the English people about their experiences in Chile, has also been included.

II. Theoretical Background

The importance of culture, and its effects on relationships and organisations, is only lately being understood and given the attention it deserves. Why is culture so important? The answer is simple. Because culture can be found everywhere, it can be found everywhere people are to be found (Hickson, 1995). However, it is important to keep in mind that the effect of culture is also unclear at times. It is evident that culture directly influences the way we live and act, but it is not always completely clear exactly how it affects them. As it will be discussed later, not everything can be attributed to culture.

The hidden impact of culture is something we are unaware of most of the time. In that it is something completely immersed in our behaviour and beliefs, it is not a conscious element of our mental furnishings. As an analogy by Trompenaars (1997) exemplifies: "It is not until you are trying to get rid of the hiccups and hold your breath for as long as you possibly can that you think about your need for oxygen". The need for oxygen is not conscious.

A Definition of Culture

As there are many books written about culture, and as many definitions of culture, the focus will be kept on the most commonly used definitions. As described by Hickson (1995) culture means "the shared values that typify a society and lie beneath its characteristic arts and architecture, clothes, food, ways of greeting and meeting, ways of working together, ways of communicating, and so on". Hofstede (1991) explains it as the "collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people to another".

In other words, culture is a sort of programme that we have in our minds; it is the "software of the mind" that is loaded and updated continuously. This is not to say that we will act as machines responding to a master programme. Culture is only partially responsible for our behaviour. According to Hickson (1997): "A person's behavior is only partially predetermined by her or his mental programs". Moreover, "culture shapes everything, but does not determine everything" (Hickson, 1995).

2.1 Hofstede's Theory

The famous study, completed by Hofstede (1980) a few decades ago, presents the most useful tool for understanding and describing some of the cross-cultural differences found among societies. The results of the investigation undertaken by this Dutch researcher are also practical for this paper, as it clearly identifies and examines Chile and Great Britain. Some of the other investigations that have been written about culture identify Great Britain, but not Chile.

This work will not go into detail about the work of Hofstede, not only because it is not its objective, but also because that is outside the boundaries of this work. It will be assumed that the reader is familiar with the dimensions (1) and implications as set out by Hofstede.

According to the investigation, Chile scored very differently from England (2) in all four dimensions; only on Power Distance both countries are not in complete opposite sides.

On **Power Distance (PD)**, Chile scored 63 and England 35. The extreme values are 11 and 104. In terms of position, Chile is situated 24/25, and England is 42/44 out of 53 countries. The Chilean position on the scale is roughly in the middle, near some other Latin American countries

as Uruguay, Colombia and Salvador, whereas England is near to the low power distance extreme.

In practical terms this should mean that English people going to Chile, or relating with Chileans, should find more hierarchical structures, as well as people more dependent on this hierarchy. As will be discussed later (3), Chilean culture presents a great deal of paternalism. Perhaps because English society is a society of class distinctions as well, this is the reason that both countries do not score on completely opposite extremes. In their own way, the English also accept there are differences among them.

English people should also find Chileans lacking in autonomy and not willing to assume responsibilities. It is good to remember though, that a low or high score only means a relative position for one country in relation to the other.

On **Individualism/Collectivism (IDV)**, Chile scored 23, England 89, and the extreme values are 6 and 91. Chile is positioned 38th, and England 3rd out of 53 countries. According to this, there is a great difference between English individualism and the more collectivist approach of the Chileans. At this point, the influence that the family has on Latin American countries is already clear. The family is extremely important for Chileans, and is one of the things that surprises most English people living in Chile.

English people moving to Chile should find the need to create and nurture a relationship in order to be more effective. The individualistic approach of "I do my job, so I assume others will do the same" is not valid in countries like Chile, where a good relationship virtually guarantees that the job will be done. The English should also feel a big difference in terms of how Chileans are more involved with their jobs in an emotional way.

On **Masculinity/Femininity (MAS)**, Chile scored 28 and England 66; virtually opposite extremes of a scale that goes from 95 to 5, where the higher the score, the more Masculine the society. In terms of position, Chile is the 46th, and England is 9/10 out of 53 countries.

The position of the two countries, especially Chile, may seem illogical to many people, especially if we remember the image of '*macho Latino*' that Latin American countries tend to have. For this image, it would make more sense to be closer to Mexico (score of 69 and 6th position). The truth of the matter is that this dimension is thought to be more problematic than the previous two. It has been argued that this dimension can be divided into at least two new dimensions. The strange position of all Latin American countries, distributed all over the scale, might confirm that the dimension is not completely clear. Nonetheless, Chilean society in particular has a great deal of influence from its Indian groups, especially *Mapuches* (4). For the *Mapuches*, the role of the women is extremely important, and they live in a kind of matriarchal society.

On **Uncertainty Avoidance (UA)**, Chile scored 86 and England 35; the extreme values are 8 and 112. In terms of position, Chile is situated 10/15, and England is 47/48 out of 53 countries. Again, according to these figures both countries are roughly in opposite extremes on the scale. As a result, the English should expect their Chilean colleagues to be reluctant to change, as will be seen in the next chapter. This reluctance to change is also reflected in them being more loyal to their jobs (Rodríguez, 1991 and 1999).

One area that is not clear is that according to Hofstede (1980 and 1991), the people from a society with a higher uncertainty avoidance index (UAI), should strongly abide by the rules. This is not true in the case of Chileans. Despite having a high UAI, Chileans, like the majority of Latin

American cultures, feel comfortable breaking rules. However, it is true that the country has lots of rules, and many of them are obsolete and impractical (5).

So far, the relative position given by Hofstede's study to Chile and England has been discussed. Though it is true these positions were based on a survey done a long time ago, culture changes very slowly (Hickson, 1995). Moreover, the positions given by Hofstede's study are relative. As change is a given for all societies, and globalisation is a major force behind change, it is not foolish to imagine all societies moving at the same time. This is not to say that they will converge at a common point, though some authors may think so. It makes more sense however to think they are all moving in a similar direction, and the differences with them.

The next chapter will examine, in more detail, Chilean culture and the role of History in its development.

2.2 Chilean Culture and History's Influence

Despite the fact that there are countless numbers of books written about culture and its effect on, and in, management, the author faced a problem when looking for literature regarding the effects of Chilean culture on management practices and relations. Even more difficult was the task of finding literature describing cross-cultural relations between English and Chileans. However, while in Chile, the author did find some literature about Chilean culture, which unfortunately has not been published in English. The issue of translation (6) was an important factor in this regard. The majority of what follows has been extracted from the work of Rodríguez (1991 and 1999), and Calvo (1998).

Chilean Culture

Rodríguez (1999) describes the existence of three topics that encompass Chilean culture: a) a vision of the universe that emerges from the Indian (7) -Spanish fusion, b) a rejection of its own identity, and c) a social link based on primary relations.

The vision of the universe –how humans understand nature and how they relate to it– is very relevant to the case of Chile. The Spanish conquerors tried to legitimise the introduction of Catholicism using many of the local customs and structures, which caused them to be hidden, but they were never substituted by a new set of customs. The main idea of the indigenous vision is seeing nature as something superior to a human's desire. It assumes there is no degree of control over it. This view is based on two things: First, there is the idea of cyclic time. Things will inexorably repeat themselves, surpassing human's will. Thus, it is necessary only to adapt to them. Second, catastrophes are the palpable proof that nature destroys human's attempts to cause change. As any attempt to create a change will face the destruction of nature, hence the best answer is to accept fate. Instead of having a great desire for doing better, Chileans become conformists. In addition, the uncertainty about the future creates a feeling of instability. Consequently, Chileans are more adaptive than proactive. Change in many cases is also associated with catastrophes, and is thus considered harmful.

The natural conception of time inherited from the natives, and not suppressed by the conquerors, is based on natural cycles. Time is defined as before and after the harvesting; it is not chronometric, but associated with events. As the events are generally in the past, the future, in the absence of these events, is an uncertain and uncontrollable entity.

This latter characteristic can explain why Chileans tend to think short term. They usually do not plan in advance, and when they do, they plan for the very near future. For example, Chileans do not usually save money for their retirement, and that was one of the reasons a pension scheme was forced into action during Pinochet's regime.

Identity is a completely unsolved problem for Latin Americans. At the same time we both affirm and deny our origins. In Chile, this is a recurring theme since colonial times. Spaniards missed their homeland; *criollos* (8) wished to have been born in Europe; *mestizos* (9) did not understand their ambiguous past; and the indigenous missed their pre-Hispanic lives.

Even today this feeling remains unsolved. The elite classes follow imported living styles, looking towards Europe and the USA. The popular classes are a bit more loyal to the traditional culture, but they also value the elite's lifestyles. In some way, people value what they are not. In Chile, the ideals of beauty are white skin, blonde hair and blue eyes. In summary, we want what we are not.

The middle classes are somehow in between, which makes it even more difficult. The middle class has to fight its way up, towards the elite, with a lot of autonomy, while also denying the traditional past. There are many examples of people that 'disown' their parents in order to reach better positions (10). In a press conference after wining a tennis tournament, Marcelo Rios –a famous Chilean Tennis player– was asked whether he had Mapuche inheritance. He answered with a torrent of bad words and insults.

As in many other societies, there is not only a social, but racial stratification. The 'white class' is associated with the economic, social, political and cultural (11) power, and the indigenous and *mestizos* are relegated to an inferior class. Montt (1984) describes this order and the Power Distance: "The psychological relation race-class and self-esteem, established during the colonial and neo-colonial times of Latin America have pushed Latin Americans, both authority and subordinates, to accept the existent differences in power, as if they were inherent and natural inequalities of human existence". The differences are then in every aspect of life. The boss is also the boss outside the office (Rodríguez, 1991).

One of the consequences of this paradigm is that it produces an unstable character. Chileans usually describe themselves as 'extremists' in the way that one day they are the best, and the next they are the worst. This insecurity in their own capabilities is not only because they are Chileans and underdeveloped, but because they value foreign things, what they do not have. Many foreign people complain about a lack of initiative, and the length of time it takes to make a decision in Chile; this can easily be related to that insecurity. Many Chileans will believe that in order to take that decision, they need something else, something they do not have.

Relationships conform to the other element. In Latin American countries, people relate to each other in friendly manner. Links of any kind are based on relationships, not on contracts. Relationships go beyond their origins; they break into the affective dimension. In these societies, establishing a relationship within the organisation is a way to achieve better performance and to improve chances of co-ordination and support.

Relationships are extremely important in Chile. People usually have some very close friends among their colleagues; and business relationships, similarly to private ones, are personalised. Hence, affectivity and emotions have an important place in the organisation.

People from countries like the US or the UK, with high levels of individualism, are surprised about the importance that a good relationship may have on regard to 'getting things done'. Just telling people what is needed is usually not enough; creating and fostering a good relationship is much more effective. For an Anglo-Saxon, this may look like inefficiency, but as Trompenaars (1997) reveals, the family societies put more emphasis on effectiveness than on efficiency.

As a consequence of the importance given to relationships, people are valued as a whole. It is not possible to separate the individual from his or her work; the person is what he or she does. This complicates criticism at work, because you are not only criticising the job, but also the person.

The highly emotional content of these relationships also establishes some distrust towards the people that do not belong to the intimate circle. Rivera (1978) describes Latin Americans as men of two worlds. One, the most intimate, is where primary relations occur. The other, wherein lies the rest, is where secondary relations occur. In the former, Latin Americans are open, informal and very *solidarios* (12). An in the latter, they are more formal, serious and selfish. This can explain why many foreigners that live in Chile say that, even though Chileans are extremely friendly, it is not easy to penetrate into their groups. They say it is not easy to be part of the deepest levels.

The origin for this difference may come from the organisational model of the *hacienda* (13) and other similar ones. This closed and familiar organisation creates and reinforces links within the group. The model of the *hacienda* is the result of the coincidences between the indigenous social structure and the semi-feudal system brought by the conquerors. The paternalism that comes from this is two-sided: For the *patrón* (14), his job is to decide for his employees, because they are not capable of self-determination. Here, the legacy of the Catholic Church is clear. During colonial times, the church established for itself the role of 'showing the right way to the inferior Indians'. For the *inquilinos* (15), the existence of the *patrón* allows them to leave the problems under the *patrón*'s direction; the future is so unstable that they prefer to leave him in control. The link establishes reciprocity where the *patrón* offers his backing, and the *inquilino* his loyalty.

Because only the *patrón* can decide about important matters, it can easily turn into an authoritarian relationship. All decisions are supported on the authority, which converts the employee into an insecure person who does not make decisions that might contradict the *patrón*. It becomes common not to assume responsibilities, not to take decisions on their own. There thus follows a drop in self-esteem.

Tables 1 and 2 on the Appendix show, respectively, a summary of the Chilean culture as it was discussed here, and a comparison between what Rodríguez calls the Western model, the Japanese model, and the Chilean model of relationships at work.

Another important issue is that the people of southern Latin America (Chileans and Argentineans) are regarded as quite different compared to the rest. Some people jokingly speculate that this is because of the colder weather. The fact is that foreigners find Chileans (and Argentineans (16)) a lot more reliable and similar to Europeans than the rest of the Latin Americans. As Roraff (1998) describes: "Upon arriving in Chile, most people are struck by the fact that the population seems so 'European'. In contrast to their northern neighbours Peru and Bolivia, Chileans have a high percentage of European blood".

Economic Models and Culture

Many models have been applied to all cultures around the world, the bulk of them coming from the USA. Some of them were successful, but many others had no positive effect at all. Some of them even had a disastrous effect. As Rodríguez (1991) describes, "it was forgotten that a model is a cultural product, and when imposed to another culture it will provoke unforeseen changes". As culture is something deeply embedded in people's beliefs and thoughts, no matter how good a model might be, people will continue seeing the world in their own way.

In Chile, the poor results obtained with the application of models imported from overseas were attributed to many things: "race, underdevelopment, lack of education, having been colonised by Spanish, not Anglo-Saxons, etc" (Rodríguez, 1991). The model was never put on trial, because it has already shown to be successful where it was invented. The blame was put on the people and the culture, not the applicability of the model. Thus, the effort was set on trying to change the people, to suit the model. It was not realised that it is much easier to introduce changes in a model, rather than pretending to change the whole culture to make it more suitable for the model.

Unfortunately we, the Chileans, have always attributed the problem to ourselves. As Rodríguez (1991) summarises: "But in Chile we are used to. For many years we have been looking for the *new man*. This is defined, on the positive side, by many things: as many, as models have been wished to implement. On the negative side, the new men have a common characteristic: they are not like we are the Chileans".

As opposed to this vision, it is relevant to ask "is not possible to use, part of one's own culture, to improve aspects of the people's quality of life?" (Rodríguez, 1991; Osland, 1999). Some cultures like the Japanese have achieved this. They have showed that their model flows from their own culture, and it is there that makes sense. The main idea is that organisational models combined with the cultural style where they will be applied, have the best chances to be fully adopted and used.

Latest Changes

Like many other cultures, Chilean culture has been affected by many changes. In the few last decades the changes have been even greater. Many people are concerned about a hypothetical loss of national identity. On the other hand, as it has already been discussed, a conflict with personal identity is something common in Chilean society. It is not uncommon to hear Chileans expressing that they lack history and have nothing to identify with.

During the major part of its almost 200 years of history, Chile has received a lot of influence from European countries. In the beginning it was Spain. France was also a referent in terms of education, and specially fashion, for the rich. Great Britain has also played a part in Chilean history. In the last part of the 19th century, many Britons went to Chile, mainly as advisors to the recently established Chilean Navy, and as merchants (Roraff, 1998). Britons are also credited with the introduction of afternoon tea, something not seen in other Latin American countries.

In recent times, especially after World War II, the impact made by the USA, in every aspect, has been enormous. The USA is Chile's principal commercial ally outside Latin America. The music that most of the young people listen to, with the exception of the popular classes, has mainly been in English, and comes in majority from the US. Movies have also had a big impact on

Chilean lives. The identity problem of the Chilean took from the movies the new ideals of beauty, life style and so on.

Chile's democracy has been regarded, for the most part of the 20th century, as the most stable in all of Latin America. During Allende's socialist government, different factors led to the ruin of the economy (17). The coup d'état of 1973, destroyed the democracy, and with it came a period of many changes. Pinochet's government focused immediately on the economy, being advised by a group of technocrats educated at the University of Chicago, known as the "Chicago Boys". They implemented a process of rapid economic openness, importing the models they had been taught in the Business School Programmes.

The objective of the reforms taken was to improve the economy and Chile's ability to compete in the international markets. Nonetheless, the models were applied exactly as they were learnt, regardless of the differences, especially in culture, that constitute the vast gulf between Chile and the USA. The result for many people was desolation, whereas many others got very rich.

It is not clear if these reforms could have been undertaken without a dictatorial government in power. The fact is that it brought a great deal of change. The people that emerged successfully from these changes, started to think more in an American-Capitalistic way, and became the ruling classes in economic and social spheres.

The hard times of the 80's resulted in surviving organisations having to radically change the way in which business was traditionally done. Similar to the process followed in the UK during Margaret Thatcher's government, the businessmen became imaginative, quick, and flexible, but they also became ruthless and somehow selfish. The survival of the strongest started to put aside some of the most common practices in Chilean organisations.

The full effect of this influence is still unknown all over the world, but in cultures with a few years of history and a weak self-identity, it can be very dangerous. For example, Schwartz (2000) describes that the effect in the USA, apart from having one of the highest standards of living in terms of money and access to material things, is also increasing unhappiness, divorce rates, teen suicide, violent crimes, depression, etc. The blame is set "on rampant individualism, fed by a commercial culture that encourages materialism and a national media circus that makes the worst of human behaviour look normal". He also reveals: "The truth is that economic liberalism and cultural conservatism are inherently incompatible and self defeating" (Schwartz, 2000).

These strong changes, associated with the present trend towards insertion in a global economy have set the scenario for some important changes in the national culture and those associated with organisations.

Rodríguez et al. (1999) conducted an experiment to determine possible changes in Chilean organisations. According to the results, topics such as paternalism and improvisation are currently not as strong as they used to be. Nonetheless, as it is clearly observed, the sample was taken from big and important companies so, the results have to be carefully understood before considering them as general for any company in the country. In spite of this fact, big companies are generally those in the lead of changes and implementation of new technologies and methods. If this is still true, the changes in these companies are the tip of the iceberg, and the rest of the companies should soon follow suit.

The reasons for these changes are, as stated before, globalisation, the influence of foreign countries and changes in the domestic economy during the last 3 decades.

The recent economical success of the country may well have an important influence in the way people perceive the possibilities for the country and the individuals. Actually, success can also be seen as part of the natural instability. Success can easily lead to an overvaluation of what is perceived as national, which at the end is another way of showing this lack of identity. As some Chileans reflect, "we don't know what to do when we win". Recently it has been noted that there is a certain change in Chilean mentality, mainly an increase of aggressiveness and energy. But it is not clear whether the reason for this is recent achievement and success, or the own lack of confidence that is hidden under a temporal mask of overconfidence.

The influence of globalisation, knowledge, technologies, and the degree of specificity in the job suggests that the links once built around trust will slowly change to be supported by contracts. Chilean companies are increasingly becoming more professional. Not long ago it was common to work almost one's whole life for the same company, having a career that might well take you right up to senior levels. Nowadays this has changed dramatically. Within the hierarchies of many companies there is now an abrupt abyss between those jobs that demand a professional degree and those without such a requirement.

The results of the investigation followed by Rodríguez (1999) suggest that people's confidence is undergoing change, and that major importance is now being given to education and variations in the way we relate with equals and superiors.

The levels of confidence seem to have changed. In the past, things like the authoritarian behaviour of the *patrón*, the lack of identity, and the impossibility to control the future, defined a lack of confidence that was a common aspect of Chilean society. With the present advances, the chance of taking responsibilities, the autonomy to take decisions, the flexibility, and the value put on work and on domestic things are leading to cultural changes within Chilean organisations. The typically Chilean *chaqueteo* (18) also seems to be diminishing lately.

Among the reasons that can be attributed to this change in the levels of confidence is the improvement of the Chilean situation vis-à-vis other countries. Chilean companies now give more value to domestic products, and hence there is more confidence in national and individual projects. The good economic situation of the country has also helped to place some more trust in Chilean products and services, which in turn increases the confidence of the people. The new global trend of valuing local and domestic things is playing its part as well.

The impossibility to have any control over nature, thus a fear for change and a reluctance to plan and undertake projects of any kind, is shifting towards a mayor acceptance of change. Change is now even valued as an opportunity, which shows more confidence. Again, economic success is playing a big part in this new confidence. As Rodríguez (1999) explains, the transformations of the last time are contributing to improve the image of change. In his own words: "As culture is the result of the human experience, such changes may modify the culture in the long term".

The economic model is mentioned as a reason for these changes as well. Understanding nature in terms of laws makes it easier to control. For the companies, it makes planning possible, creating of strategies, changes in structures, etc. Despite all this movement towards professionalism, the results of the study show that there is still a major preference for stability, for clear rules and for staying a long time in the same company (19).

The role of education is more complex. The investigation showed that the level of education divides the people into two groups, which, to some extent, oppose each other.

Formal education acts as a reinforcement for the capabilities of the individuals. Though experience is still the main source, education plays a very specific role: to provide the necessary confidence for developing personal capabilities and skills. Education creates confidence in the people, who now feel more positive about their own capabilities, even if they are not using the specific knowledge they received through that education. In addition, professionals and technicians are seeing their chances increase, as opposed to those without a formal education.

As a result, there are two groups. One of them is educated, generally executives, white-collar employees, professionals or technicians, and another less educated, generally blue-collar employees, and those in manual jobs. The less educated group is "more unconfident, less flexible, gives less value to national things, is more conformist, works only to cover the more basic needs, is less tolerant to change and gives less value to technology", as opposed to the more educated group.

The social links are very important in Chilean culture. The Chilean tries to personalise all of his relationships, which is repeated in the organisational field as well. Paternalism and friendship between colleagues are examples of these.

As in other characteristics, there are changes in this dimension too. A personal link is not such a strong attribute anymore, but the behaviour is still there. In other words, the form of relationship is still there, but the motivation is different. The friendly manner to relate to each other stays, but is now based more on a formal need than on a real and personal link between the people within the organisations. Some authors attribute this to an increasing social complexity. Relationships and functions are more rational, which minimise the chance of creating a personal link that goes beyond the limits of the organisation.

As a consequence, people no longer feel in debt as a result of this strong and personal connection. There is no feeling of commitment to the organisation because it is like a family. They are now feeling freer to change jobs.

This paradigm, where the form of relating to each other is still warm and personal, but the motivation is no longer the same, is what many foreigners describe as a double standard in modern Chilean companies. They feel a very personalised treatment from their peers, but it does not really compromise those involved.

In the case of the paternalism, there is a trend of change to what this used to mean. Now it is not that relevant who is the boss or who is the subordinate. Traditionally, the subordinate would put the responsibility of his own destiny and choices onto his boss. This change towards a bigger sense of confidence is encouraging people to believe they can take their destiny into their own hands Furthermore, they do not perceive the future as negatively as they used to. Hence, the protection that paternalism offers is no longer necessary.

The differences in power used to be supported by a similar social structure. According to Rodríguez (1999), the results show that knowledge is now a more legitimate support for those differences. A boss is now accepted and respected in showing his knowledge and skills.

Tables 3 through 5 in the Appendix, show the results of the investigation, as a comparison to the original characteristics.

As we have seen, there are a great number of changes affecting, and soon to affect, Chilean culture, not only at an organisational level, but also at a national level. Those changes are, to a great deal, motivated by the external influences of globalisation.

It is important to mention, however, that these changes have been discovered in the main companies, which are big (in comparison to the rest of the Chilean market), professional, and with a great deal of influence from people that have studied or lived overseas. The bulk of the Chilean companies are still small, and run like family controlled organisations.

III. Methodology

3.1 The Choice

The decision to undertake research in an area such as cross-cultural relations has been deeply influenced by the personal situation and interests of the author. The experience of living in a different country, for a long period of time, has had a great influence on the way the author thinks about life and relationships. It has provoked an interest in the topic. Living for almost a year surrounded by people from extremely different backgrounds has more than motivated and launched the desire to learn more and contribute to a creation of awareness about these kinds of issues.

Once the main topic for this dissertation had been decided, the problem was to work out a way in which to carry out the research. The type of research was heavily going to influence the experience, the conclusion, and its scope of use, but particularly it was going to affect the learning experience of research in this topic.

Qualitative Research

As the objective of this study is to provide ideas and awareness on the differences between the Chileans and the English, it was necessary to use a tool that allows the collection of primary data, directly from the field. This tool was to permit not only the gathering data about known and perhaps already discussed topics, but also to provide the opportunity to discover new topics that were not on the mind of the author.

The motivation for this study is not to specify numbers and statistics about the behaviour and customs that differ between these two cultures. It is further not about enumerating how many people do or think something. It was about discovering, in the most useful and detailed manner, what the people think and do.

On this basis, the use of Qualitative Research provided the best-suited technique. Open interviews with the people involved in these situations are the best choice in order to glimpse the details that surround this. As McCracken (1988) says, "the long interview is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armory". It gives us the opportunity to look through that window that the interviewees provide, to see how they see their environment. In his own words: "The method can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world. It can also take us into the life world of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experience. The long interview gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves" (McCracken, 1988). This kind of argument is very common to describe some of the

characteristics of Qualitative Research, and is shared by Miles and Huberman (1984 and 1994), Kvale (1996), and Usunier (1998).

Additionally, the author believed at the time that the most rewarding experience should come from open discussion with the subjects. In order to really learn and discover things, it was necessary to create the chance for them to share deep thoughts and to express opinions and judgements about how they see each other. The personal and direct face-to-face interaction was an extremely important factor to consider, and it was mostly responsible for the decision to take on Qualitative Research.

3.2 Planning the Interviews

The process of setting up the interviews started with frustrating experiences. Having the idea of interviewing Chilean people working and living in England, the author had no response whatsoever from Chilean institutions that should be in charge of commercial relations between the two countries. As a result, the author decided to do all the research in Chile exclusively. Thus, to find adequate candidates for the interviews, personal contacts were used in the case of Chileans and some of the English people. For the rest of the English people, the Chilean-British Chamber of Commerce provided an extensive list of British companies working in Chile. The companies were then addressed directly by the author. Despite the fact of being an outsider, once the reasons and motivations of the interview were explained to the people, most of them were very pleased to help.

The fact that the interviews had to be carried out in Chile presented a small dilemma that must be commented on.

The English people that were interviewed are all living permanently in Chile, with a range between 2 and 36 years of permanence in the country. This means that they are all immersed in a Chilean environment. Thus, the *acculturation* process, as Domino (1992) defines it, is not only setting them in a more valid position to judge their counterparts, but it is also influencing and shaping their views and, in consequence, their opinion about Chileans. To some extent, they are no longer just English; they are also somewhat Chilean. However, we cannot talk about *assimilation*, as this "usually refers to the complete loss of the original ethnic identity, as the person is absorbed into the dominant culture" (Domino, 1992). The gradual process present here is more similar to what he refers as "bicultural or multicultural acculturation: that is, an individual being able to participate actively in several cultures without having to negate one's ethnic identity" (Domino, 1992).

In contrast, the majority of the Chileans are living in their own country and the contact with English people, though it has a daily basis for several years in most of the cases, is not as deep as in the other case. They are not immersed in the English culture.

3.3 Interview Design

As it was explained before, long and individual interviews provide the best tool to ascertain the real thoughts and visions of the people involved. To carry out the interviews, it was extremely important not only to make balanced decisions about the people that were going to be implicated, but also the manner in which the interviews were going to be tackled.

Interviewees

Being the objective to study cross-cultural relations between English and Chileans, it was necessary to choose people with a great deal of involvement between one and the other. Among the possibilities given by the short notice period, 12 people were carefully chosen. Six of them Chileans working for English or English related companies, and six of them English working in Chile, for Chilean or English companies.

Interview Process

All of the interviews, but one, were undertaken at the work place. Though this can set a certain bias and pressure in the interviewees, the author was happily surprised by a great deal of co-operation. Unfortunately, the working environment set a time limit that could not be extended.

For all interviews, except one, a tape recorder was used. Some notes were taken as an aid to place some comments in the context in which they were made. The author kept a paper with some notes about the topics he wished to cover, but no other intrusion whatsoever during the process. The interviewees were allowed to speak for as long as they wanted about a certain topic, keeping interruptions to a minimum and only in case of needing to clarify an idea. As McCracken (1988) explains, the primary objective of the qualitative interview is to allow respondents to tell their own story in their own terms. Only then will be possible to discover what they really think about the topic.

3.4 Translation

Though some of the interviews were carried on in English, most of them were in Spanish. The interviews were then typed and translated to English by the author.

The translation of the interviews meant a new concern to deal with. Spanish and English are not only different languages, they also have different origins. Spanish having its origin in Latin and the Roman Empire, and English being a Germanic language.

In addition to this fact, the type of communication also differs. Chilean society uses, to some extent, what Hickson (1995, and 1997) defines as High Context Communication. This means that apart from the words, there is a lot that is said through gestures, expressions, changes in the voice tone, and other things. In contrast, English society tends to be straightforward. They are a Low Context Communication society (Hickson, 1995 and 1997), in the sense that they rely mostly on the words to express themselves.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to transcribe exactly what was communicated trough this High Context Communication, specially if it is to be translated to the language of a Low Context Communication society.

The Spanish spoken in Chile is basically the same as in the rest of the Hispanic American Countries (20) and it is remarkably similar to Spanish spoken in Spain. As Roraff (1998) observes, in comparison there are many more pronunciation and vocabulary differences between the English spoken in the US and England.

Nonetheless, in every single one of these countries there is a great deal of words that are particular to that society. Many of them come from the mixture between the Spanish conquerors

and the people that inhabited the territories conquered, and a lot of them have a whole social and practical meaning. Some of those meanings are difficult to explain, because they are related to the particular conditions of the country where they developed. In the particular case of Chile, there are many expressions that have a social explanation, and even an environmental justification. This is to say that the natural conditions of Chile, as discussed in a previous chapter, have not only affected the behaviour and customs of the Chilean, but they have also contributed to give a whole new meaning to some of the words.

The author has tried to describe and explain, to the best of his capabilities, the real meaning and context of some of the opinions and comments made by Chilean interviewees. Although, it is important to say that some of them do not have a simile in the English language, neither in its society.

IV. Practical Analysis

The interviews revealed the existence of prejudices and predispositions, from both groups of interviewees towards the other, and from the author towards both groups. The author found some answers and comments in line with his own ideas. Similarly, the previous literature review contributed to challenge some of these preconceptions, and to corroborate others.

Topics such as affectivity and the importance of family in general confirmed the initial ideas, whereas some others –like punctuality– were found not to be relevant.

An especial mention must be made to the fact that Chileans, as well as all other Latin Americans, are very open. The literature describes Chileans as humble and easygoing, but very protective about letting somebody penetrate to the deepest part of the group. This was clearly confirmed by some of the English interviewees.

4.1 The English in Chilean Eyes

When asked to mention ideas or concepts related to English people, most of the Chileans will mention, probably in this order, monarchy, order, punctuality, progress, quality, wealth, and coldness. They would probably also mention elegance, in the sense of smartness, such as Rolls Royce and James Bond, but also The Beatles and the punk movement. Though all of these concepts are related to the English, the English themselves would probably discard some of them (21). But it is necessary to remember that these are relative concepts. It is how one culture views the other, compared to itself.

The interviews showed some interesting ideas, though it is unfortunate that all the Chilean interviewees, though they work on an every day basis with English people, are not really embedded in the English culture (22).

Due to space constraints, only some selected quotes have been added to the body of this work. The full version of these can be found in Appendices II and III.

Interpersonal Relationships, Friendship and Family

Though Chileans did not comment on the family issues of their counterparts, they did express their beliefs about how English go about friendship, relationships, and manners. Most of it related to the work environment of course.

When discussing the issue of relationships, some of the comments were:

You can create a personal link that goes beyond… well, not very far, but beyond the working environment. [José]

Is colder than with a Chilean, or with an Argentinean. [Felipe]

I don't think they don't care about people. They are less affective, but that is not the same as saying they are not people-oriented. [Ana]

They are cold; they just go and work. They don't spend time talking about football, etc… They allow very few personal and close relationships. [Martin]

They have the culture of the Pub… And they interrelate a lot in that environment… They are not extremely sociable… But they are not very closed either. [José]

Chileans made very similar comments regarding how they see the English. All of them expressed that the English are cold in comparison to Chileans or other Latin Americans. It is not difficult to relate with the English, but Chileans miss the strong link that comes from close contact; Chileans are very physical. Physical contact is something very common in families and among friends. In general, the English are not tactile people. "When it comes to physical contact, the English are still deeply reserved" (Miall, 1999).

Nonetheless, the author finds the comment made by Ana very interesting. She makes the distinction between affectivity and orientation to people. As it is obvious to assume, the cultural differences are mainly seen as a deviation from our own culture. Very seldom do we stop to think that they may in fact be going in the same direction, using parallel lanes.

The family and friendship dimension is described in similar terms. According to the comments made by the interviewees, it looks like the only concern to the topic is how it might affect the chance to achieve something. This is a typical characteristic of family societies (Hickson, 1995).

They are not like a clan. The Englishman doesn't care whether you are his brother, uncle or anything… There is no favouritism based on family. [Neil]

They have nets of friends, just like us… Maybe it is less important. Here if you don't have friends, you're doomed. There you have fewer chances, but you do have chances… They have pressure from friends as well, but more subtle. [José]

There is some favouritism; especially if you are part of the team, but it looks like there is no such thing as "*pitutos*" (23) as we know them. [Martin]

Regarding dealing with them, the interviewees expressed that the natural ability for diplomacy found in the English, more than a barrier, is something that must be considered when dealing and doing business with them. People from Low Context Communication societies develop a great deal of ability with the use of words. In that sense, when having to communicate in a Low Context basis, the people from High Context societies feel at a disadvantage.

To deal with them demands all from you. They are subtle. They can be insulting you with a smile, and you'll smile back. Because they are insulting you indirectly, and you can't take it. If you take it as an allusion to you, you'll get upset. [Neil]

If they want to tell you that you are a stupid, they will. But within a phrase like –should you do this, you'd be a stupid– and that's exactly what you have been doing… It's like an art. [Neil]

It is important to mention that it is probably in relationships and family issues where we can find the deepest differences between Chileans and English. As will be seen in the next section, the English are deeply surprised by the Chilean approach to family. It is not that one group feels deeper than the other, but only that one group shows it in a way that is different and somehow extreme from the other.

Structure, Systems and Authority

Most of the interviewees commented on the differences they see in terms of working and planning. Chileans see the English, in comparison to them, as very structured and organised. But they also see them as more rigid. Nevertheless, some people in Chile –including the author– see this system as a very comfortable one; things work and it is not necessary to struggle with every detail.

Very structured. I met this guy, and every time he learned a new word, he will write it down in his diary. And like that in everything. [Carolina]

They are reliable and organised… Methodical, systematic and they specially plan a lot. [Martin]

Everything is more regulated with them… This bureaucratic system is more complex, but it is easier to follow and you can focus the attention on more important issues… It makes easier the day-to-day leaving… The system works… And you don't need to fight with everybody. [Martin]

According to the interviews, Chileans see, as a notorious difference, that English society is more egalitarian in terms of social distance and differences. Despite the fact that English society is also a society of classes, Chileans still see them as more 'democratic'. The English see themselves as equals and they expect to be treated accordingly.

Hierarchy, the social issue, social classes, are still an issue here in Chile. For them (the English) it's very different. [Ana]

The boss-employee relationship (in terms of distance) doesn't exist (in England). The relationship is more direct; there are no social barriers. You can just go and tell him you don't agree on something. He will listen… They see each other as equals… Here if you go to somebody else's office you are underrating yourself. The position is that 'the others must come to my office'. [Martin]

However, Chileans recognise that the English have a clear hierarchical society. For the Chileans, the English apparently know and respect that difference and their role in society.

In a way they don't like autocracy. But they respect authority… They see a superior as distant, but if they think he is doing something wrong, they will go and tell him. [José]

Compared to us, they give more autonomy… I'm not sure if it is trust, they just assume that you know your job. Hence the superiors trust in your decisions. [José]

They are definitely hierarchical. Very respectful, and they know very well their place, capabilities and responsibilities inside the organisation. [Neil]

Delegation is another issue. In Chilean eyes, it seems that the English 'pass the ball' quite often. There is an interesting issue in this topic however. Both, English and Chileans see the other as not good at taking decisions at the right time (24). Perhaps it is because they are talking about a different moment of time. English would feel that the best is to plan and decide accordingly. Whereas Chileans think they answer very quickly when the problem arises. Hence, when the

English are worried that the decision is not being taken, the Chileans will think that there's no decision to be taken; because the problem has not arisen yet.

The truth is that they lack that sense of clear leadership. They don't have that kind of leadership common to people that take the complete picture, and then take full responsibility for it. [Felipe]

It is not a lack of competence, it is probably the system; they are not used to (answer quickly), … they delegate, they 'pass the ball'. [Felipe]

But they are a bit like an elephant, slow. [Felipe]

As for how decisions are taken, Chileans see English as driven by consensus. Although, this is seen as lack of leadership. Perhaps Chileans are expecting clear orders, something common in a relatively high Power Distance society (25).

They delegate a lot. The guys assign responsibilities and allocate them. In that sense they allow some autonomy. [Felipe]

When they try to do something more compelling, they fail. They fail because being political and formal, they fail on force into action. [Felipe]

The English get involved in the issue, but they never give you a solution… They prefer the solution to be bottom generated… They are going to wait for a position to rise; therefore things can take a long time. [Felipe]

Attitude Towards Success and Conflict

Chileans see the English as very result oriented, and somewhat selfish. It looks like their more Masculine approach –as in Hofstede's dimensions– is not completely understood by the more Feministic Chilean society.

They are more formal in their work relationships, and always thinking what they are gaining from it. [Ana]

They have a clear goal, and they will achieve it, no matter what. [Neil]

They are more closed, more goal oriented, and they don't go very deep with you. [Carolina]

However, this vision of goal orientation is also seen as an ability to focus on the target, but without producing high levels of stress. Chileans instead, are more stressed when looking for success. Despite having a high score in Hofstede's MAS (26) index, English are not seen as tough as they should by the Chileans.

Looking for success, they are more similar to us than to the Americans. [José]

Here (Chile) the more you work, the better you are. There (England) you work the necessary time and then you just go home. They are focused. [Martin]

I believe Latin Americans, particularly Chileans, work more than a normal Englishman. Though they are slightly more productive probably. [Felipe]

Seems to me that there (in England), life is more relaxed. They don't live with that pressure for success… like we do. [Ana]

They are not forceful… The English are not tough. Political and formal, yes, but not tough. [Felipe]

When faced with a conflict, English are seen as diplomats, and very political. It will be seen later that English think Chileans take too long to solve conflicts as well. Maybe here we are facing the same situation mentioned before, where both societies acknowledge the conflict at a different stage.

They are not aggressive at all. Faced with a conflict, their first reaction will be to avoid it… It is not that they are cowards, but if they can choose, they will try an alternative route. [José]

I believe that they manage (conflict) in a very formal and subtle way, which makes them extend it too long. There is no quick solution. [Felipe]

Because opinions were divided on this topic, we can take it as a warning that the people were not thinking exactly in the same terms.

(Faced with conflict) They are extremely direct, but without loosing diplomacy… The topic is decided quickly, it is not an eternal argument. [Neil]

Here, things are left in the air. And they can stay there for a pretty long time, until it explodes. But we try to stay cool; as long as it is not an emergency, we don't react. [Ana]

In another area, English are also seen as braggarts, in the sense that they like to promote their work and make sure they get the attention they deserve. Chilean Feminism, to a certain extent, is more concerned with balance.

They sell themselves very well, very good personal marketing. [Felipe]

I believe they kind of lack precision and attention to the details… The Englishman works more with presentations, ideas, and what his collaborators have said. [Felipe]

Finally, Chileans see their counterparts as good at controlling and making adjustments. This is probably a result of being good planners. If the plan was good enough, it will only be necessary to make corrections from time to time.

I would say that the English are more like optimisers rather than makers… Probably there are English good at making things, but they prefer optimisation to innovation. [Felipe]

Flexibility, Adaptation and Change

Generally, English think of themselves as being flexible and good at managing change. Most of this is based on a comparison with the other Northern European societies. Nonetheless, Chileans think very differently. Though for Chileans the English are rigid and somehow inflexible, they agree that English are more flexible than Germans or Scandinavians.

They are much more rigid than us. [José]

They don't know what to do when there are changes… I think it's because they live in a country so secure that they lack the capacity to react. [Felipe]

They abide completely (by the rules), regardless of sense. Rules must be obeyed. [Neil]

They like to put on paper what they have agreed… They don't go into informalities. Very formal, everything has to be written. [Felipe]

They are not bad at do-as-I-go… Much more structured than us, but they are far more flexible than their Northern European neighbours. [José]

Punctuality and time management seems to be in a different category. The English, compared to the Chileans, are more rigid with timing issues, but the latter also recognise that they do not take it to the extreme.

They are more punctual than us… They are more rigid… But they don't loose their heads because of punctuality. [José]

(Punctuality) Is normal; is not a big issue for them. In general terms they are very punctual, they try to start on time… But the English don't get stressed because of it. [Felipe]

There is at least one area where the Chileans see that rigidness as something positive. For the Chileans, the English are trustful.

They stand for their compromises; that is important. [Felipe]

I've never seen somebody not honouring his word. [José]

They respect agreements and their word. [Neil]

Miall (1999) describes this characteristic as: "…absolute truthfulness and a commitment never to break a promise or to go back on one's word".

Regarding loyalty to the job, Chileans have the impression that English have no problem to swop whenever they want. This is probably a natural consequence of their individualism.

They probably swop (jobs) more than us. [José]

It is not difficult for them to swop jobs… If they don't like it, they just move. [Carolina]

 They (the British) have no loyalty for their jobs. They have the 'I am being paid for doing this' attitude. [Martin]

As a final point, Chileans tend to look with some envy on many of the benefits that the English system provides, but they also give a great value to the liberty they have. For them, the English system does not give enough 'space to move'.

Here you have a better quality of life; there is more room for improvisation. There (England) you have to plan much more. Even for a holiday you can't decide at the last moment where to go. In a way, you have to change your way of life; you loose the freedom to improvise. [Martin]

4.2 The Chilean in English Eyes

For the English interviewees, Chileans are easygoing, affable, relaxed and strongly familiar. But they are also seen as cautious, dependent, hierarchical and lacking initiative. The family issue is the most important topic for the English to mention as a difference.

During the interviews, some fascinating ideas were brought up, many were a complete surprise for the author. It is important to mention as well, that all the English interviewed are well embedded in the Chilean society, so, their opinions are even more valid.

Interpersonal Relationships, Friendship and Family

The topic of relationships, and especially family was, by far, the most recurrent during the interviews.

The English are surprised with the importance that personal communication and relationships are given in Chile.

Well, Chileans are very, very polite… Chileans are very, very easygoing and relax. Easy to talk to. [Ian]

It's much more important to have a good relationship with people. In Chile it could make a huge amount of difference if you actually develop a relationship with that person, everything happens so much easier. [Ian]

I think that over here is more important to get face-to-face communication. They like to get face-to-face, see the people. [John]

The family is where the English see the greatest difference with their society. The close and very warm family link so typical in Chile is what surprises the English the most. Some of the interviewees also expressed admiration for this type of strong relationships.

The involvement of the family in a marriage, for example, in the Latin environment is pleasantly much more than it would be in an English environment. We get great support from the grandmothers, parents, uncles and aunts. [Mark]

They (the English family) aren't as physical with the children as Chileans are. [Mark]

In Chile the family is one's life; and everything else is secondary. The extended family is very much a part of Chilean life. [Mark]

Nonetheless, the issue of having difficulties entering the deepest circles is also worth to mention. As seen before (27), Chileans tend to be very close in their relationships, but those relationships are not easy to achieve, especially for people from another culture.

That same close and protected circle that we value for raising the family is also very hard to penetrate. [Leslie]

If you sort of grade it, from 1 to 10, it's really easy to get to 3. But, to get beyond 3, to really, really understand, it takes a lot longer. [John]

The kind of communication that occurs at that level, the 'gossip net' in the office, I'm still not connected to… because I am a *gringo* (28)... Or maybe it's because I'm one of the bosses. [Ian]

I find is much more difficult (in Chile) to break into, from a social point of view. [Mark]

The family, the social surroundings of the average Chilean are so… sound, and fundamental to their lives, that they don't really need too much external social stimulation. [Mark]

Structure, Systems and Authority

The style taken to solve problems is something very particular to each society. The way cultures see and express authority is another key issue to understanding the approach; most of the time, the social structures reveal that approach.

For the English, Chileans have a very particular way of doing business and working things out. They see Chileans as good at delaying decisions –something that the Chileans also think about the English (29)–, and a bit ambiguous.

In Chile there is a tremendous culture of delaying everything until the last minute. [Leslie]

The delaying is terrible, and waiting until the last possible moment to make a decision. Anglo-Saxons take decisions a lot faster. [Leslie]

The Latin approach will be a little to the left, a little to the right, a bit backwards, a bit forwards, and eventually they end up at the same point. But it's a much more considered approach. [Mark]

I think you like to get to (the end)… you see the objective and you like to go the most direct way. And if the rules say you should go over here and then over there…you go "oh no, I want to go there", and you just do it. [John]

Despite having a society of classes as well, the English see Chilean society as the more hierarchical one, with more difference between the upper and lower classes. Particularly, they mention that the disparity can make a difference when talking about achieving results.

I think that Chilean business generally is very hierarchical… The boss is the boss, and generally the boss acts as the boss in a very dictatorial manner. [Mark]

I think Chile is a mixture between the old hierarchical 'class society', and the new hierarchical 'money society'. And there's a sort of mixture in-between. [Mark]

It is very strange that habit, among their colleagues, of 'smelling each other'. There is a lot of evaluation regarding where you come from in the society. [Leslie]

The way Chileans manage authority is something not completely understood by the English. Coming from a very courteous society, the English are very surprised with how mandatory this culture can be.

In England, everybody tends to be more polite. With a lot of 'would you mind?' 'Please', etc. Here in Chile I found the people is more direct. 'Do this', 'don't do this', etc. The way of saying things is completely different. [Michael]

The authority is important. The *patrón* is a key. It's an easy way to find security. Once I asked why they rely on him, and they told me: "well, everything is very clear. And if the guy is too soft, nothing gets done and there's a lot of abuse". [Michael]

Attitude Towards Success and Conflict

As said before, the English see the Chileans as more passive and dependent. Because of their Masculine approach to life, they feel frustrated when relating with a more inactive and less assertive style. The Chileans avoid risk more than the English and this makes them look more inert.

Chileans are… in my experience, much more passive and accepting. They are not as quite aggressive, as pushy… in general. They want to have a fairly secure life style. They are risk adverse. [Ian]

This more quiet style encourages the Chileans to avoid conflict more often than their English counterparts which is another way of showing a minor degree of assertiveness.

I think that generally Chileans avoid conflict, much more than English people. You would rather avoid it, ignore it or pretend it doesn't exist, or handle the conflict in a different way. [Mark]

Certainly, people in Chile tend to hide their ambition; Because ambition is not necessarily, liked in Chile. Strong ambition I mean… Because if you are really ambitious, you are necessarily conflictive. [Mark]

Nevertheless, the Chileans have a much more direct and maybe aggressive way of facing the conflict when this is open and obvious. Because they tend to avoid conflict, many times the resolution stage ends in confrontation.

But when there is an open conflict, here they turn to be very violent…. Here, when people get really, really annoyed, they get very, very angry and agitated. [Ian]

Here in Chile everybody is humble and mild, but when you get to a conflict situation, my god! Chileans are hard. You can't step on people… I admire that fighting spirit. [Michael]

Once you have a conflict appearing, there's a complete polarisation of sides. And you can see a tremendous polarisation on both sides that tend to become very hard. [Michael]

The Chilean idea of competition is somewhat strange to the English. The fact that Chile is a developing country, with some success in recent years, produces a great desire for improving and doing better. Despite not being assertive, the Chileans are stressed by this desire to perform outstandingly.

People work these horrendously long hours. They start at 8 AM and they probably finish at 8 PM… In England, they don't want you in the office after 5pm. Here is the complete opposite. They want you for as long as possible, even weekends if they can. [Michael]

I think it's all about image. Here in Chile image is a tremendously important factor. [Michael]

And it's impossible to get anybody to accept they made a mistake. Even if to most people it's obvious they made a mistake. People don't seem to want to accept that. [Ian]

Finally, because of their collectivist approach, Chileans are also concerned with a certain level of balance among them. In Chile, the result is what Chileans call *chaqueteo* (30).

You see a lot the typically Chilean '*chaqueteo*'. [Leslie]

Flexibility, Adaptation and Change

Latin American countries have an image of being very flexible and good at breaking rules. They are seen as bad at punctuality as well. Despite these differences, these topics were not mentioned many times by the interviewees; for perhaps they do not perceive a big difference.

About flexibility, Chile is very flexible in the way of doing things. You arrive late to a meeting and it's perfectly OK. In that sense there's a lot of flexibility here. [Michael]

The issue of punctuality, one of the biggest complaints towards Latin Americans, is not seen as a big problem in the case of Chile. Maybe it helps in fact that English punctuality is somewhat overrated.

I found here, give it or take a few minutes things normally work pretty much on time. But it's not a major motivation. [John]

The Chilean can be punctual without a problem. They just have to decide to do it. Not like in some other countries… In Chile, if it's necessary to respect the time schedule, they will. [Leslie]

Yes it is irritating at times, but generally is not a problem… I think it's flexible, but not unpleasantly flexible. [Ian]

Probably the biggest difference in this area is regarding rules, their motivation, and their applicability. For the English, there are too many rules in Chile, and they seem to have no sense, because the locals are always finding a way around them.

There're a lot of them! (rules) And there's always a way around them. [John]

Things won't work the way they suppose to, unless there's a hundred different rules written down to tell you exactly what you can and you can't do. But then it doesn't work here, because people think and always find a way to ignore them or getting around them. [John]

In the origin of those rules might be the reason for that difference. The English society, as opposed to the Chilean is based on trust.

Well, I think it goes back to why the rules were created. It goes back to trust. At the end of the day, if I signed a document, as far as I'm concerned, I signed it. But if you don't believe that is my signature and you require that I sign it before a Notary Public, then that's because you don't trust. [Ian]

Other Considerations

As part of the objective of this study is to describe how Chileans are seen by the English, it is important to mention that all the English interviewees expressed that they see Chile as a country not very different from theirs.

As far as I can tell, Chileans are similar to us. They are of European descent, Spanish, or German, or Yugoslav if you go back to their ancestries. So, I found most Chileans are fairly European in their outcomes, and attitudes, and values. Somehow it feels familiar. I feel very comfortable and pleasant. [Ian]

My impression is that there is a lot about the system here that is very close to the European system… It is relatively easy to work. [John]

Out of all the countries in South America, Chileans are undoubtedly the easiest people to deal with… They are much more straightforward to deal with than other Latins. [Mark]

Humour, an important way of expressing oneself, was also mentioned as a common point between the two cultures.

We (English) are cynical in the humour; and that's the humour I found in Chile. It's based on a lot of cynical kind of sarcasm. And that comes in just general conversation with people, and you find you're just hitting the same sort of button, if you can say that; and we are laughing at the same points.

Finally, but not least important is the fact that all the interviewees describe Chile as a fairly transparent country, with little corruption.

Chile I would say is not corrupt… There's perhaps a little bit of that in Chile. But generally, things in Chile are very transparent. [Mark]

VI. Conclusion

Many things have been said about the impact of culture on doing business and relationships, though not much has been written about cross-cultural issues involving Chilean and English people.

Research was completed by the author with the intention of revealing some of those cross-cultural issues that connect both cultures. The field research was done in Chile, through personal interviews with twelve people. Half of them English working and living in Chile, and the other half Chileans that for some reason have been exposed to relationships with the English.

From the interviews, although it is clear there are differences, some of them quite important, both cultures recognise that those differences are not extreme. The English interviewees expressed that they found themselves pretty comfortable living and interacting in a Chilean environment. The Chileans gave similar impressions. Out of all the differences commented on, relationships within the family was the most mentioned topic by the English as a significant difference. On the other side, the Chileans mentioned that they view English as cold and very reserved.

Most of the differences mentioned by the interviewees can be related fairly easily to the results given by the research of Hofstede. The big differences in the UA, MAS and IDV indexes, and the not so big difference in PD are supported pretty well by the results of this research.

English and Chilean society have in common the differences among classes, which explains the not so big difference in PD. English society has a high score in IDV and MAS which explains the difference in the approach to achievement and assertiveness. What is not explained by Hofstede's dimensions is the high level of stress present in the Chilean society. Maybe the best explanation is that given by one of the interviewees –Michael– who expresses the notion of a different time stage, with Chile in its youth struggling to improve and find itself (31).

Chile's position in the UA index is well reflected by the fact that Chilean society posses many and precise laws and rules, as opposed to the English. What Hofstede's work fails to explain is the Chilean habit of breaking rules and going around them.

A very positive conclusion to this work is the good amount of experiences that the author was able to share with the interviewees. The interview and analysis process more than enriched the author's vision and opinion of others. It gave a better sensibility to face life and relationships.

Finally, it is important to mention the limitations of this work, hence its conclusions. Unfortunately, the time limit to develop deep and detailed research is absolutely out of the space possibilities permitted for in a dissertation like this is.

In second place, the difficulties suffered to find the pertinent literature reduces the chances to develop a stronger argument based on that literature. Although, the literature that was found, proved to be very similar and the conclusions analogous.

In third place, but no less important is the issue of biases. Management theories and studies are mainly being developed in the English speaking countries, with the US being the biggest contributor. Thus the bulk of the literature is in English. As a result, not all of it can be translated into realities for other countries; the reverse process is also valid. The limitation is not only

present in the language. More important is the fact that any study, theory or model developed is culture biased (Hickson, 1997). This bias is present because any conclusion drawn is done within the boundaries of our own cultural programme. We eat, sleep and move with that culture within ourselves. We live with it like we live with oxygen - we are not really aware that it is there, but we would be lost without it.

Acknowledgements

Appendices

Appendix I – Chilean Culture

Table 1. Traditional Chilean Culture – Summary

Vision of the Universe	Vision of his Identity	Relationships
The Chilean seeks in the past his reason for being, leaving the intuition as a tool to face the future	*The Chilean sees himself as part of a society without history. Hence, there is no base to construct individual and national projects*	*The Chilean lives better inside his closest group, thus he tries to create close links and ignore the others*
• Fatalist, one is submitted to nature's will. • The effort is in covering primary needs. • Conformist. • Past and present oriented. • Reactive rather than proactive. • Aversion to change and intolerant towards instability. • Rationality based on experience or intuition. • Perspective of before and after is based on nature.	• Overvaluation of foreign canons. • Strong value on education as a means to ascend socially. • Society's characterisation combines rational, economical and social aspects. • Differences among people are socially acceptable. • Unstable character given by the lack of identity or emotional base. • Lack of confidence on individual and national capabilities.	• Social links are given by reliance on friendship and family. • Roles are fuzzy, extensive, and not rational. • Criticism is not tolerated because there is no difference between the person and his work. • The reciprocity of paternalism becomes the way *patrones* and *inquilinos* relate to each other. • Paternalism is reflected on authority and loyalty. • The link is legitimated by the existence of respect. • No confidence to take decisions, as he needs the *patrón* to take them.

Table 2. Models of Relationships at Work

	Western Model	**Japanese Model**	**Chilean Scheme**
Recruitment	Universal/ Technical rationality	Particular/ Adscription process and empowerment.	Particular/ Technical rationality
Type of Relationship	Impersonal	Personal	Personal
Compromise	Contractual	Company paternalism	Paternalism
Basic Orientation	Individualistic	Group-oriented	Individualistic
Economic Rationality	Productivity (Long term)	Productivity (Long term)	Revenues (Short term)
Interdepartmental Relations	Competition / Conflict	Collaboration	Competition / Conflict
Communications	Vertical, specific, individual	Horizontal, group-oriented, broad	Formal: Vertical Informal: Horizontal (gossip)
Responsibility	Restricted, individually assumed	Unclear, assumed by the group	Unclear and not assumed
Participation	None; Individual decisions	Some; shared decisions	None; Individual decisions
Hierarchy	Specifically defined; egalitarian in the rest	Vaguely defined; very hierarchical	Vaguely defined; very hierarchical

Table 3. Summary of Results – The Individual

Traditional Vision	Actual Trend
The Chilean is not confident about assuming responsibilities and making decisions.	On average, those in the survey show a better confidence, with the educational level the main factor for this: the more educated, the more confident.
The Chilean is adverse to criticism. It is not possible to separate the person from the work, so criticism is not well seen.	Not enough evidence to suggest a relevant trend. A relation was found between trust in superiors and a greater tolerance to critics.
The Chilean establishes norms to guide himself. The necessity of certainty and the search for stability cause norms to be generated and followed to make the acts of others more predictable.	The majority of the people seek to establish norms. This tendency crosses all the estates of organisation; as much by executives who want to impose rules, as by workers who need them. Within the layers there are also rigid informal norms.
The established rules are unshakeable. Aversion to change and the necessity to have defined and stable rules causes that the Chilean is little tolerant to skip self-imposed norms.	A better disposition is appraised to skip the rules when necessary. This is stronger in more educated people. Besides, the executives who establish the rules feel that they can modify them.
Formal education is valued because it gives the individual a reassurance as to his capacities; those capacities are practically based on experience.	The education is valued like a reassurance to capacities. There is a tendency to give greater value to education as personal development.
The Chilean looks for models abroad instead of in his own country. Not valuing 'the local' encourages him to import models into the organisational environment. There is a relation between insecurity and overvaluation of foreign things.	A greater tendency is observed to value the national. Nevertheless, the people of less education appear less near this tendency. The relation established between the overvaluation of the foreigner and insecurity is ratified.
The Chilean prefers an empirical rationality or intuition, over reason.	Intuition is the most important tool within Chilean organisations. People with better education differ from this tendency. This can also be related to the smaller relative age of this segment though.

The Chilean prefers to improvise rather than plan. Due to being present oriented, he tends to adapt rather than anticipate. Planning does not make sense in an uncertain future.	There is a greater tendency for planning. Nevertheless, people with less education differ from this tendency. A calm life is still preferred, but due to competition it is more necessary to anticipate than to adapt.
The Chilean only does what he is ordered to. The impossibility to control his destiny makes him a conformist.	The Chilean is not a conformist at work. Only people with less education are conformists. The origin of this seems to be linked to insecurity and authoritarian practices.

Table 4. Summary of Results – The Relationships

Traditional Vision	Actual Trend
The Chilean seeks to generate personal links with his superiors (and subordinates). Relations are taken to a plane beyond the functions determined on the paper.	There is not enough evidence to ratify whether in the studied organisations people try to conform a link boss-employee beyond what is specified by their functions.
The Chilean, when valuing by allegiance, tends to maintain asymmetric relations. The social differences stay within the organisation. Thus, the boss is the boss inside and outside the office.	The differences are legitimised by technical aspects of profit more than by allegiance, contacts or social position. The treatment is still hierarchical and a clear definition of scopes is established. It may seem to be a change in respect to the traditional scheme.
Little social mobility makes asymmetric relations last. Because the power differences inside the organisation are sustained by external social aspects, mobility is reduced.	A greater mobility is noticed, specially in the executive and professional levels. The power differences would be sustained more in technical knowledge and individual achievements. For this same reason people with less education say they have fewer opportunities to make a career within the company.
The Chilean prefers to be told what to do. The authoritarianism, that is to say, that only the boss can solve the problems of the organisation, causes people to expect to be told what to do.	A greater delegation and a greater autonomy to assume a decision is observed. Within the more educated people this tendency is accentuated. The workers are nearer the authoritarian model.
The Chilean hopes to be protected by the boss in other ambits, additional to the labour one. The boss, besides to solve the problems of the organisation must worry about other aspects, such as the family or personal decisions of his employees.	Worrying about the integral person is still there. Nevertheless, there are young people –recently hired– who do not give importance to this global concern.
The Chilean seeks to generate links with his peers. In the same way with his superiors, the relations between the colleagues at work are taken to a friendship level that surpasses the limits of the Organisation.	One is not to generate a bond of friendship between the colleagues at work. A friendly treatment stays and is demanded as a way to be related.

The Chilean is *solidario* with his colleagues at work. The Chilean wishes to be part of the group, to form friendships and therefore he is *solidario* with his pairs. Solidarity at a personal level.	Solidarity is present within the Chilean work environment. It would be possible to say that this solidarity is within the treatment that must be offered within the company. Solidarity in the labour place.
The Chilean prefers to maintain the composition of the group. He does not want differences between the peers take place (*chaqueteo*).	It does not exist as much *chaqueteo*, but the relation between insecurity and *chaqueteo* was verified. It would be possible to say that the hypothesis of: "To greater security, less *chaqueteo*" is still valid.

Table 5. Summary of Results – The Organisation and the Individual

Traditional Vision	Actual Trend
The Chilean prefers to work in a stable and safe atmosphere. The Chilean, when looking for stability, prefers to stay for a long time in the same organisation.	Remaining in an organisation is valued. This tendency is accentuated among elder people.
The Chilean prefers to keep doing things the way they are made at the moment. The Chilean prefers stability before innovation.	The Chilean prefers stability over innovation, although the change is not badly valued. The people of greater education are less resistant to change.
The Chilean requires and demands a personalised treatment. People are seen as integral beings and not like categories, therefore, they deserve personalised treatment.	The Chilean demands treatment based on respect. This variable seems to stay despite the increasing depersonalisation of labour relations. There is an increasing professionalism on all the levels.
The way the company treats its employees depends on the people who direct the company.	The incorporation of direction techniques of people is removing the personalised touch from the Chilean companies way of management.
The Chilean prefers diffuse and extensive roles to specific and narrow ones.	Most of the Chileans prefer the extensive roles whenever they conserve their need for certainty.
The Chilean establishes a commitment with the organisation that goes beyond the contract. Any relationship within and with the organisation is personalised.	The commitment is increasingly moving towards a contractual-monetary type, specially between the youngest workers. There is greater importance placed on university titles and certificates of studies.

Appendix II – The English in Chilean Eyes

The following boxes are the full version of quotes extracted from the comments given by the Chilean interviewees.

Box 1. Interpersonal Relationships, Friendship and Family

a. Relationships

> You can create a personal link that goes beyond… well, not very far, but beyond the working environment. [José]
>
> Is colder than with a Chilean, or with an Argentinean. [Felipe]
>
> I don't think they don't care about people. They are less affective, but that is not the same as saying they are not people-oriented. [Ana]
>
> They are cold; they just go and work. They don't spend time talking about football, etc… They allow very few personal and close relationships. [Martin]
>
> At work they relate far less than us. They do talk around a coffee, but a lot less than us… It looks like they interrelate less during office hours. Out of the work, I'd say they interact more than us. [José]
>
> There (in England) everybody talks to everybody, even in the streets, in the stores. Here a Chilean never talks to anybody. But it's precisely that which makes the relations you do have (for Chileans) much deeper and warm. [Neil]
>
> They have the culture of the Pub… And they interrelate a lot in that environment… They are not extremely sociable… But they are not very closed either. [José]
>
> Leaving the office you go to a pub and have a drink, talk to the people. And after some time going to that place you know the people and call them your friends, but it's not the kind of friendship we have here (in Chile). [Neil]
>
> Once we had an experience. Travelling around Turkey we met an Englishman, and he lent us all his equipment for paragliding, I couldn't believe it. I never expected that from an English person. [Carolina]

b. Family and Friendship

> They are not like a clan. The Englishman doesn't care whether you are his brother, uncle or anything… There is no favouritism based on family. [Neil]
>
> They have nets of friends, just like us… Maybe it is less important. Here if you don't have friends, you're doomed. There you have fewer chances, but you do have chances… They have pressure from friends as well, but more subtle. [José]
>
> There is some favouritism; especially if you are part of the team, but it looks like there is no such thing as 'pitutos' as we know them. [Martin]

c. Dealing with the Other Culture

To deal with them demands all from you. They are subtle. They can be insulting you with a smile, and you'll smile back. Because they are insulting you indirectly, and you can't take it. If you take it as an allusion to you, you'll get upset. [Neil]

They are the kings of diplomacy. [Neil]

If they want to tell you that you are a stupid, they will. But within a phrase like – should you do this, you'd be a stupid– and that's exactly what you have been doing… It's like an art. [Neil]

The English are very political… They manage very well the relations between groups of power… They are not direct. [Felipe]

d. Other Comments

Ah! That takes us to a very crucial thing. They don't like learning Spanish, and I think that's definitively something they must improve… I think it's horrible… They don't want to learn, because they think English is the language of the world. [Felipe]

Box 2. Structure, Systems and Authority

a. Structures and Planning

> Very structured. I met this guy, and every time he learned a new word, he will write it down in his diary. And like that in everything. [Carolina]
>
> They are reliable and organised… Methodical, systematic and they specially plan a lot. [Martin]
>
> Everything is more regulated with them… This bureaucratic system is more complex, but it is easier to follow and you can focus the attention on more important issues… It makes easier the day-to-day leaving… The system works… And you don't need to fight with everybody. [Martin]

b.1 Social Distance – Social Differences

> Here (in Chile), an idiot from an important family will always have a good image, regardless of having done nothing in his life… Hierarchy, the social issue, social classes, are still an issue here in Chile. For them (the English) it's very different. [Ana]
>
> The boss-employee relationship (in terms of distance) doesn't exist (in England). The relationship is more direct; there are no social barriers. You can just go and tell him you don't agree on something. He will listen… They see each other as equals… Here if you go to somebody else's office you are underrating yourself. The position is that 'the others must come to my office'. [Martin]

b.2 Social Distance – Autonomy and Authority

> In a way they don't like autocracy. But they respect authority… They see a superior as distant, but if they think he is doing something wrong, they will go and tell him… Their society behaves less autocratically than ours. [José]
>
> Compared to us, they give more autonomy… I'm not sure if it is trust, they just assume that you know your job. Hence the superiors trust in your decisions… Within a certain space, they trust more in the people's criteria… And it's not the system, they do trust more in the people. [José]
>
> They are definitely hierarchical. Very respectful, and they know very well their place, capabilities and responsibilities inside the organisation… They know clearly whether they can make a decision or just pass the data to a superior. [Neil]

c.1 Decision Making – Leadership

The truth is that they lack that sense of clear leadership. They don't have that kind of leadership common to people that take the complete picture, and then take full responsibility for it. [Felipe]

It is not a lack of competence, it is probably the system; they are not used to (answer quickly), … they delegate, they 'pass the ball'. There is no leadership; they are more like a football team, where there is a defender that plays defence, another one plays offence, etc. Thus they just pass the problems, the work. [Felipe]

But they are a bit like an elephant, slow. [Felipe]

c.2 Decision Making – Delegation, Autonomy and Consensus

They delegate a lot. The guys assign responsibilities and allocate them. In that sense they allow some autonomy. [Felipe]

I would say they try to impose, but they also try that it generates as a consensus; and then apply it… They prefer it to be bottom generated; and when they try to do something more compelling, they fail. They fail because being political and formal, they fail on force into action. [Felipe]

The English get involved in the issue, but they never give you a solution… They prefer the solution to be bottom generated… They are going to wait for a position to rise; therefore things can take a long time. [Felipe]

Box 3. Attitude Towards Success and Conflict

a. Driven by the Goals

> They are more formal in their work relationships, and always thinking what they are gaining from it. [Ana]
>
> They are more goal oriented, we like the human part more. They are more of working, working, working, and then they leave (the office) and that's it. [Carolina]
>
> They have a clear goal, and they will achieve it, no matter what. [Neil]
>
> They are more closed, more goal oriented, and they don't go very deep with you. [Carolina]

b. Focusing and Imposing

> Looking for success, they are more similar to us than to the Americans… The English search for success, but a professional success, not just wanting to be millionaire. [José]
>
> Here (Chile) the more you work, the better you are. There (England) you work the necessary time and then you just go home. They are focused. [Martin]
>
> There is a bigger focus on efficiency than here. [Ana]
>
> I believe Latin Americans, particularly Chileans, work more than a normal Englishman. Though they are slightly more productive probably. [Felipe]
>
> I think they are less success oriented than us. Of course there are exceptions, but in general terms. The English values his free time. [José]
>
> Seems to me that there (in England), life is more relaxed. They don't live with that pressure for success… like we do. [Ana]
>
> They are not forceful… The English are not tough. Political and formal, yes, but not tough. [Felipe]
>
> They impose less than the Americans. [Felipe]

c.1 Conflict – Avoiding and Delaying

> In reality, many times they may avoid the conflict, because they don't want to get into the conflict they don't care about, or the one that is not going to provide any bonus for them. [Felipe]
>
> They are not aggressive at all. Faced with a conflict, their first reaction will be to avoid it… It is not that they are cowards, but if they can choose, they will try an alternative route. [José]
>
> I believe that they manage (conflict) in a very formal and subtle way, which makes

> them extend it too long. There is no quick solution. [Felipe]

c.2 Conflict – Assuming and Solving

> (Faced with conflict) They are extremely direct, but without loosing diplomacy… The topic is decided quickly, it is not an eternal argument. [Neil]
>
> Here, things are left in the air. And they can stay there for a pretty long time, until it explodes. But in a way that is more suitable for us, the Latins, as we like better solving things in emergencies, without planning. We are very good at repairing. We repair a lot faster than the Anglos. But we try to stay cool; as long as it is not an emergency, we don't react. [Ana]

d. Orientation to Business

> They sell themselves very well, very good personal marketing. [Felipe]
>
> I believe they kind of lack precision and attention to the details… The Englishman works more with presentations, ideas, and what his collaborators have said. [Felipe]
>
> I would say that the English are more like optimisers rather than makers… Probably there are English good at making things, but they prefer optimisation to innovation. [Felipe]

Box 4. Flexibility, Adaptation and Change

a.1 Flexibility – Regulations

They are much more rigid than us. [José]

They don't know what to do when there are changes… I think it's because they live in a country so secure that they lack the capacity to react. They are kind of 'square', theoretical. They lack that capacity you need to solve urgent situations. [Felipe]

They abide completely (by the rules), regardless of sense. Rules must be obeyed. [Neil]

They abide more by the rules. They avoid breaking them. They are strict… This also results in lack of flexibility… They respect the regulations, and the authority shows more respect for the others. [Martin]

The English like to standardise all; everything must be in order. Everything must be ruled, so you can have better control… Everything has its time, its structure, even when they go out. Every single thing has its time. And the same at work. [Carolina]

They like to put on paper what they have agreed… They don't go into informalities. Very formal, everything has to be written. [Felipe]

They are not bad at do-as-I-go… Much more structured than us, but they are far more flexible than their Northern European neighbours. [José]

a.2 Flexibility – Punctuality

They are more punctual than us… They are more rigid… But they don't loose their heads because of punctuality. [José]

(Punctuality) Is normal; is not a big issue for them. In general terms they are very punctual, they try to start on time… But the English don't get stressed because of it. [Felipe]

a.3 Flexibility – Truthfulness

They stand for their compromises; that is important. [Felipe]

I've never seen somebody not honouring his word. [José]

The English are, in general, very conservative and respectful; they respect agreements and their word. [Neil]

b. Loyalty to the Job

> They probably swop (jobs) more than us. [José]
>
> It is not difficult for them to swop jobs… If they don't like, they just move… I believe it's easier for them to swop to another job. [Carolina]
>
> They (the British) have no loyalty for their jobs. They have the 'I am being paid for doing this' attitude. [Martin]
>
> Looks like you don't need a particular profession. They (the British) are more open, you can change, study, learn something new, etc. There is more freedom to work. Here (in Chile) it is more valued the stability at work… Maybe because of this liberty they are not loyal to any job. [Martin]

c. Other Comments

> Here (in Chile) you have a better quality of life; there is more room for improvisation. There (England) you have to plan much more. Even for a holiday you can't decide at the last moment where to go. In a way, you have to change your way of life; you loose the freedom to improvise. [Martin]

Appendix III – The Chilean in English Eyes

The following boxes are the full version of quotes extracted from the comments given by the English interviewees.

Box 1. Interpersonal Relationships, Friendship and Family

a. Relationships

> Well, Chileans are very, very polite… Chileans are very, very easygoing and relaxed. Easy to talk to. [Ian]
>
> It's much more important to have a good relationship with people. In England, if you want something done, you can pick up the phone, and talk to somebody, and they will do it when they got the chance. Whereas in Chile it could make a huge amount of difference if you actually develop a relationship with that person, visit him and talk to him face-to-face, then everything happens so much easier. [Ian]
>
> I think that over here is more important to get face-to-face communication. I don't find the guys here totally comfortable with that form (of sending emails or just using the phone). They like to get face-to-face, see the people. [John]

b. Family

> Family ties are very, very strong. I was very impressed… This family had 3 children, two sons and a daughter. The daughter lived in the US for nearly 6 years, but still, after 6 years, she'd ring her mother twice a week. From the US! She rang twice a week, every week, without fail! After 6 years she's gone to the US. [Ian]
>
> The involvement of the family in a marriage, for example, in the Latin environment is pleasantly much more than it would be in an English environment. We get great support from the grandmothers, parents, uncles and aunts. [Mark]
>
> They (the English family) aren't as physical with the children as Chileans are. They don't pick them up as much, and play with them. It is a very, very different attitude. Which is why perhaps, English people on a whole are much more independent than Chilean people at an early rate. [Mark]
>
> In Chile the family is one's life; and everything else is secondary... The extended family is very much a part of Chilean life. In my house, everyday there's a member of my wife's family: an uncle, an aunt, a cousin, a grandmother, etc. And they just come around and they see the children, and take them up and play with them. The English people wouldn't do that. [Mark]

c. Friendship – The Difficulty of Entering

> The Chilean values his family environment and the whole family. Thus, getting inside that circle is quite difficult… That same close and protected circle that we value for raising the family is also very hard to penetrate. [Leslie]
>
> If you sort of grade it, from 1 to 10, it's really easy to get to 3. In the first meeting the Chilean's are very hospitable, and when the business people come, they want to get together, "let's go to a restaurant", "let's do this" and "how about the family?" But, to get beyond 3, to really, really understand, it takes a lot longer. [John]
>
> The kind of communication that occurs at that level, the 'gossip net' in the office, I'm still not connected to… because I am a gringo... Or maybe it's because I'm one of the bosses. [Ian]
>
> I find is much more difficult (in Chile) to break into, from a social point of view… I found that people have grown up since they were children with the family first of all. And with a small group of friends. And if you want to break into that, as a foreigner, or a newcomer, it's almost impossible to do. People are secure within their own social setting. They have their family, they have their friends that have known for 50 years, they all go to the same church, they went to school together, and they went to university together… So, whereas Chileans will be very friendly to you on the surface, they, for example, very seldom invite you back to their house. Very, very seldom. They will meet you at a restaurant, to have lunch, you'll have a good time, and you might not see them for a few months. [Mark]
>
> The family, the social surroundings of the average Chilean are so… sound, and fundamental to their lives, that they don't really need too much external social stimulation. Because they have their families, they have their friends, and why have more? Why let someone that you don't know into the group? [Mark]

Box 2. Structure, Systems and Authority

a. Structures, Planning and Delaying

> Anglo-Saxon mentality is very organised, things are a lot more planned, and they are done in time. And decisions, in my opinion, are made when they correspond to the timing. In Chile there is a tremendous culture of delaying everything until the last minute. [Leslie]
>
> The delaying is terrible, and waiting until the last possible moment to make a decision. Anglo-Saxons take decisions a lot faster. [Leslie]
>
> The answer doesn't have to be 'yes' or 'no'. It can be 'perhaps', or 'maybe', or 'possibly', or 'I will see what happens and then I will give you a decision'. [Mark]
>
> The Latin approach will be a little to the left, a little to the right, a bit backwards, a bit forwards, and eventually they end up at the same point. But it's a much more considered approach. [Mark]
>
> We tend to, in business, go from point A to point B… Whereas a Chilean might not do that. He might take risks, he might go often in other avenues, and look at other alternatives, and take much longer to rich the final conclusion. But the final conclusion might be better than it would be in a society such as Britain. [Mark]
>
> I think you like to get to (the end)… you see the objective and you like to go the most direct way. And if the rules say you should go over here and then over there…you go "oh no, I want to go there", and you just do it. [John]
>
> If I want something done, I'll call somebody and say: "can you do this?" And I'll expect them to do it. A Chilean might not call that person. A Chilean might call someone that is closely associated with that person and say: "look, why don't you chat to this person and ask him if he wouldn't mind thinking about something related to this particular topic". [Mark]
>
> The thing that comes to me straightaway is bureaucracy.... And if you want to get a document signed, you can't just sign it, you have to sign it in front of a notary, and get it stamped… I think that anything that is vaguely legal seems to be very complicated. So it has been quite frustrating for me. [Ian]

b.1 Social Distance – Hierarchy and Differences

I think that Chilean business generally is very hierarchical… The boss is the boss, and generally the boss acts as the boss in a very dictatorial manner… They are, in general, very pleasant to their equals and their superiors, and very tough on the guys below them. Often at the expense of productivity I think. Often it's just because they want to be seen as the boss. [Mark]

I think Chile is a mixture between the old hierarchical 'class society', and the new hierarchical 'money society'. And there's a sort of mixture in-between. [Mark]

It is very strange that habit, among their colleagues, of 'smelling each other'. There is a lot of evaluation regarding where you come from in the society. [Leslie]

In England as well there is a very strict class structure, but I think people are generally more open with regard to class, than they are in Chile… In Chile, class is important. It's much better to have a lawyer who went to a very good school, and a very good university, because you know that he'll know all the people who are at the top… Whereas you have a lawyer who struggled his way through a government school and went to a great university, he won't be as good a lawyer. Because he will never have the contacts that those other people have. [Mark]

This social thing of evaluating the other; it doesn't happen with us, with Europeans. If I bring a guy from London, regardless of where in London, the guy is immediately accepted here. Just for being European. [Leslie]

b.2 Social Distance – Authority

In England, everybody tends to be more polite. With a lot of 'would you mind?' 'Please', etc. Here in Chile I found the people is more direct. 'Do this', 'don't do this', etc. The way of saying things is completely different. [Michael]

The authority is important. The *patrón* is a key. It's an easy way to find security. Once I asked why they rely on him, and they told me: "well, everything is very clear. And if the guy is too soft, nothing gets done and there's a lot of abuse". [Michael]

b.3 Social Distance – Changes

Well, one thing that has changed in Chile is money; much like the US... Money is becoming an important factor in determining your class. If you are earning 40,000 dollars a month, and your father was a taxi driver… In Chile you would drive a great car and live in a great neighbourhood, and you'll consider yourself to be of a higher class than someone who hasn't got that much money… But he will probably struggle to join one of the 'clubs' and be around with all the guys who consider themselves from a higher class. [Mark]

Box 3.Attitude Towards Success and Conflict

a. Passive, Dependent and Risk Adverse

> Chileans are… in my experience, much more passive and accepting. Generally, they want to do well, but they are more contented, accepting what's available. They are not as quite aggressive, as pushy… in general. They are quite concerned about security. They want to have a fairly secure life style. That's my impression. They are risk adverse. [Ian]
>
> I find that this is, once again, a function of the structure of the family, predominantly in Chile. The people are less independent. They are more dependent on their family, and the existing social structure. Whereas perhaps English people are more independent, and they can make their own decisions. [Mark]

b. Conflict – Avoiding

> I think that generally Chileans avoid conflict, much more than English people, or Americans, or South Africans… I think the average Latino in Latin America, and in Chile as well, will be reluctant to confront a conflictive situation. You would rather avoid it, ignore it or pretend it doesn't exist, or handle the conflict in a different way. [Mark]
>
> Certainly, people in Chile tend to hide their ambition; they are not as evidently aggressive, as they might be in England… Because ambition is not necessarily, liked in Chile. Strong ambition I mean… Because if you are really ambitious, you are necessarily conflictive. And Chileans prefer to avoid conflict. [Mark]
>
> Maybe it's conflict resolution in a different way; as I said earlier, we tend to go from A to B, black and white, yes or no. Maybe the Chilean attitude is somewhat less conflictive and at first sight it's difficult to understand. [Mark]

b.2 Conflict – Facing

> But when there is an open conflict, here they turn to be very violent…. Here, when people get really, really annoyed, they get very, very angry and agitated. Yeah, I find that uncomfortable… Is all that Latin blood coming out… When a Chilean gets angry… he gets really angry. [Ian]
>
> Here in Chile everybody is humble and mild, but when you get to a conflict situation, my god! Chileans are hard. You can't step on people… I admire that fighting spirit. [Michael]
>
> Once you have a conflict appearing, there's a complete polarisation of sides. And you can see a tremendous polarisation on both sides that tend to become very hard. The conflict here (in Chile) tends to be more aggressive than in England… In the UK, I think it's more about conversation. [Michael]

d. Criticisms and Assuming Responsibility

In the Chilean society you are unlikely to find anyone who will say you are wrong, especially if you are the boss… I find it very, very difficult to get criticism. [Mark]

I've been disappointed by how quickly people avoid responsibility. So if there is a problem, or a conflict or a difficulty, people sort of step back and try to avoid being involved... If there is an error, something has gone wrong, trying to find whose fault it is… is almost impossible. [Ian]

(In England) It is not such a big thing (to make a mistake), whereas here it is awful, like committing a crime, so nobody wants to accept it. Very strange. [Ian]

e. Running for Success – Competing and Image

People work these horrendously long hours. They start at 8 AM and they probably finish at 8 PM… In England, they don't want you in the office after 5pm. Here is the complete opposite. They want you for as long as possible, even weekends if they can… And this horrendous habit of not being the first in leaving the office. [Michael]

I think it's all about image. Here in Chile image is a tremendously important factor. The most important factor. Image is everything... Image and perfectionism go together I guess. [Michael]

And it's impossible to get anybody to accept they made a mistake. Even if to most people it's obvious they made a mistake. People don't seem to want to accept that. [Ian]

You see a lot the typically Chilean '*chaqueteo*'. [Leslie]

I think it's different time stages. Chile, if we can put it in terms of age, is in its teens, like 18 or something. Europe must be around 60, whereas the USA around the 30's. And when you are 18, you have lots of energy, and want to do everything now. You want to succeed, and be better. Here people work more than 48 hours a week. Some of them much, much more. We are living here, things that our countries in Europe have lived before, and which we no longer do. [Michael]

f. Other Comments

In the UK women might think: "Oh, Chilean females, are being taken advantage of, because males are in charge…" and you misunderstood completely. The people in charge in Chile are the women. Because they send the guys rushing out thinking they are in control, and it's not like that at all. [John]

Box 4. Flexibility, Adaptation and Change

a.1 Flexibility – General

> About flexibility, Chile is very flexible in the way of doing things. You arrive late to a meeting and it's perfectly OK. In that sense there's a lot of flexibility here. [Michael]

a.2 Flexibility – Punctuality

> I found here, give it or take a few minutes things normally work pretty much on time. But it's not a major motivation, and if something is more important, they soon forget about the schedule, whereas in the UK the schedule and being on time is the most important issue. [John]
>
> The Chilean can be punctual without a problem. They just have to decide to do it. Not like in some other countries… In Chile, if it's necessary to respect the time schedule, they will. [Leslie]
>
> Here it's different, more flexible. They set a meeting for 11 o'clock, and everybody turns up later, 11:30 or something like that. [Michael]
>
> Yes it is irritating at times, but generally is not a problem… I think it's flexible, but not unpleasantly flexible. [Ian]

a.3 Flexibility – Regulations and its Origin

> There're a lot of them! (rules) And there's always a way around them. [John]
>
> Things won't work the way they suppose to, unless there's a hundred different rules written down to tell you exactly what you can and you can't do… whereas in the UK there're less rules, and you can operate much less formally, but the things are going to work. But then it doesn't work here, because people think and always find a way to ignore them or getting around them. [John]
>
> Well, I think it goes back to why the rules were created. It goes back to trust. At the end of the day, if I signed a document, as far as I'm concerned, I signed it. But if you don't believe that is my signature and you require that I sign it before a Notary Public, then that's because you don't trust. [Ian]

Box 5. Other Considerations

a.1 General Comments – Similarities

> As far as I can tell, Chileans are similar to us. They are of European descent, Spanish, or German, or Yugoslav if you go back to their ancestries. So, I found most Chileans are fairly European in their outcomes, and attitudes, and values. Somehow it feels familiar. I feel very comfortable and pleasant. Much more so than in Southern Africa or Asia. They are much more different. Definitely Chile is similar to Europe. [Ian]
>
> My impression is that there is a lot about the system here that is very close to the European system… It is relatively easy to work. [John]
>
> Out of all the countries in South America, Chileans are undoubtedly the easiest people to deal with… They are much more straightforward to deal with than other Latins. Much more black and white… Chile is a bit more like Europe in that respect. Like England… In comparison to other Latins. [Mark]

a.2 General Comments – Humour

> We (English) are cynical in the humour; and that's the humour I found in Chile. It's based on a lot of cynical kind of sarcasm. And that comes in just general conversation with people, and you find you're just hitting the same sort of button, if you can say that; and we are laughing at the same points. [John]

a.3 General Comments – Corruption

> Chile I would say is not corrupt… There's perhaps a little bit of that in Chile. But generally, things in Chile are very transparent. [Mark]

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Notes

1) Hofstede's work can be easily read and understood on the book *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (1991), or the original source: *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values* (1980).

2) Though Hofstede's results are for Great Britain, we will consider this values fully applicable to England.

3) See *Chilean Culture* in section 2.2.

4) *Mapuche*, meaning 'man of the land' is the biggest and most influential Indian group in Chile.

5) Many parts of the Chilean legal system are based on the Civil Code that was written by Andrés Bello in the 19th century.

6) See section 3.4.

7) It must be remembered that the original inhabitants of the American Continent where all regarded as Indians as Columbus thought he had arrived to that area of the globe.

8) *Criollo* was the name given to those born in the colonies, within Spanish families.

9) *Mestizo* was the name given to the children of Spanish with Indians.

10) The author knows about an overseas student who, before returning to Chile, changed his name from Pedro Cordero to Pierre Mouton (a literal translation), in order to declare a French past.

11) Because they have the privilege of access a better education.

12) *Solidario* is a Spanish word to describe a person that believes in and professes solidarity.

13) *Hacienda* is the Chilean word for a big farm, and the people that work in it, also live there, creating a very close relation between the owner and the employees.

14) *Patrón* is the name used in Chile for the owner of the hacienda. The boss.

15) *Inquilino* is the name used in Chile for the workers of the hacienda. The employees.

16) Argentina, especially the area of Buenos Aires has a great amount of Italian immigrants.

17) However interesting, it is not part of this dissertation to analyse the reasons for this.

18) When competition, or envy, led to a situation of trying to weaken somebody else's achievements, Chileans refer to it as *chaqueteo*. The idea is to avoid someone standing over the rest of the group.

19) In Chile, changing jobs often is not well perceived. A person who has changed jobs 3 times in 5 years may well be seen as unstable. Trust is very important in these societies, and you need time to develop trust.

20) It refers to all those countries that were Spanish colonies and hence inherited the language. In South America, only Brazilians do not speak Spanish. Being a former colony of Portugal, their language is the Portuguese.

21) English quality for example is something that the same English are not very sure of.

22) See section 3.2.

23) *Pituto* is a jargon to describe somebody –family or friend– who can do something for us. *Pitutos* are used in Chile to avoid paying a traffic ticket, skip the military service, etc.

24) See section 4.2.

25) See section 2.1.

26) See section 2.1.

27) See section 2.2.

28) Though in Chile *gringo* is a word more commonly used to describe Americans, it is also used to describe Britons, Australians and New Zealanders. To some extent it is also used to describe any foreign people with a Caucasian look. Germans, French, Yugoslavians and even Spaniards can be called *gringos* if they are blond and with bright eyes.

29) See section 4.1.

30) See footnote 17 in section 2.2.

31) See *Running for Success – Competing and Image,* Box 3 in Appendix III.