

Michał CHMIELECKI
Społeczna Akademia Nauk w Łodzi
Wydział Zarządzania
Katedra Marketingu

NEGOTIATION METAPHORS ACROSS CULTURES

Summary. Recent years have seen an explosion of interest in the cultural dimensions of conflict. Books, numerous studies, and courses have offered perspectives on the nature of culture and its complex relationship to the transformation of conflict. This article focuses on metaphors concerning negotiations across cultures. Certain metaphors are widely used in diverse approaches to negotiation. The article attempts to answer the question of how the usage of metaphors for the process of negotiation differ across cultures.

Keywords: Metaphor, Culture, Negotiation, Cognition, Communications

METAFORY NEGOCJACJI W UJĘCIU MIĘDZYKULTUROWYM

Streszczenie. Ostatnie lata przyniosły eksplozję zainteresowania międzykulturowymi wymiarami konfliktu. Książki, liczne badania, a także szkolenia i kursy zaproponowały różne perspektywy, pozwalające na analizę roli kultury w transformacji konfliktu. Ponieważ stosowanie metafor określających proces negocjacji jest w dużym stopniu uzależnione od kultury, w artykule podjęto próbę odpowiedzi na pytanie, w jaki sposób użycie tych metafor różni się od siebie w odmiennych kulturach.

Słowa kluczowe: metafora, kultura, negocjacje, poznanie, komunikacja

1. Introduction

International business has changed dramatically over the last couple of years. Globalization used to be the exclusive domain of large multi-billion dollar companies.

Nowadays even small size enterprises cannot escape the issues associated with global trade, complex supply chains, offshoring and outsourcing. Culture's impact on business and negotiations is immense. International business requires people to communicate more effectively across cultural and national boundaries. In order to avoid failures, managers need to approach negotiations from a more culturally competent point of view. For the past few decades scholars have explored the ways in which culture influences values, communication styles, and business practices. Today there is a great recognition among scholars and specialists that cultural differences affect all facets of international business. In this divergent and constantly changing environment negotiation is a key area in which managers need to improve their expertise,¹ especially in intercultural aspects. Even those who never leave their home office have to interact effectively with people from varied backgrounds.²

Metaphors become invisible through habitual use and processes that institutionalize the story behind the metaphor. However, they tell a lot about the attitude of the other side. That is why becoming culturally competent requires from negotiators also a deep understanding of metaphors used in the process of conflict resolution. Metaphors pervade the practice of negotiation and related dispute resolution processes and their use varies across cultures.

2. Metaphor

Metaphors are essential in human communication. They are a key to understanding not only frames and unconscious thinking,³ but also "regimes of truth" as well as intentions and evaluations.⁴ Metaphors shed light on underlying meanings, promising the possibility that negotiators can find out more about what is proposed and wanted and why. They can promote empathetic connection and are a good way to relate to opposing views. Metaphors could be used to shift attention and emphasis. Conceptual metaphors may account for the cognitive and social realities that negotiations are intended to address. When thinking about complicated problems and abstract ideas, metaphors are invaluable.⁵ Most negotiations are quite complex, and to describe them, negotiators use various metaphors. Metaphors can provide clues to how a negotiator might view the business negotiation.

¹ Loewenstein J., Thomson L.: The Challenge of Learning. "Negotiation Journal", No. 16(4), 2000, p. 399-408.

² Davison S.C., Ward K.: Leading International Teams. McGraw-Hill, London 1999.

³ Lakoff G., Johnson M.: Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought. Basic Books, New York 1999.

⁴ Charteris-Black J.: Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2004.

⁵ Kövecses Z.: Metaphor: A Practical Introduction. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2002.

3. Negotiations

Many scholars would date rigorous research in the field of negotiation back to von Neumann and Morgenstern's⁶ classic work on games and economic behavior. From that point on, many various definitions and approaches were coined. Negotiating can be viewed as coordination in an environment of diverse interests and conflicts.⁷ It can be portrayed as a management process of the interrelationship among interests, rights, and power between or among parties. Negotiation refers to a process in which individuals work together to formulate agreements about the issues in dispute. This process assumes that the parties are willing to communicate and to generate offers and counter-offers. Agreement occurs if, and only if, the offers made are accepted by both parties. Regardless of definition, negotiation involves several key components including two or more parties to a negotiation, their interests, their alternatives, the process and the negotiated outcomes.

It's worth stressing that negotiations are the subject of cross-cultural research in cross-cultural management. Intercultural management, as a field of knowledge, provides guidance that can be useful in business practices and enable efficient collaboration between people from different cultures. Intercultural management deals with the analysis of different types of cross-cultural interactions, for example: organizational culture, human resource management, operations and leadership teams, multicultural development of cultural competence, expatriate issues, knowledge management, cross-cultural communication, cross-cultural conflict resolution including cross-cultural negotiations.

4. Culture

The belief that a nation possesses certain collective mental characteristics isn't a new concept. In 98 CE Tacitus described the character of ancient German tribes. In the 14th century the great Muslim scholar IbnKhalldûn described differences between mentalities of nomads and sedentary peoples.⁸ Later in the 18th century, many renowned philosophers like Hume or Kant explored the questions of "national character". A lot of progress was done after World War II when the U.S. government asked anthropologists to help understand the way their enemy nations thought.

⁶ Von Neumann J., Morgenstern O.: *Theory of Games And Economic Behavior*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1947.

⁷ Ahdrih R.B.: *The Strategy of Boilerplate*. "Michigan Law Review", Vol. 108, Iss. 5, 2006,

⁸ Hofstede G., McRae R.R.: *Personality and Culture, Revisited: Linking Traits and Dimensions of Culture*. "Cross-Cultural Research", Vol. 38, No. 1, 2004.

The role of culture in the world of business has been the subject of various research for at least twenty-five years. Researchers have studied the influence or the impact of national cultures on organizational behavior and the way managers from different cultural backgrounds interact with one another.⁹

Cultures is complex and poses many problems of definition and interpretation.¹⁰ One of the most commonly used definitions of culture – not a being a complex one – in the literature on culture, negotiations and business in general has been provided by Geert Hofstede, who was the author of the first major empirical multi-country study of consequences that culture has for the field of management. Hofstede defines culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another”.¹¹

Culture colours everything we see. It is a set of lenses through which all parties see conflict. Culture is also the medium in which behavioural patterns and values grow and are passed on one generation to the next. It is impossible to leave the cultural lenses at the door to a process. Without perspective and experiences through which we interpret and intuit the way forward, it would be impossible to transform conflicts. Cultural legacy gives people a range of behaviours from which to choose; it gives people a “common sense” of conflict and how to approach it.

Culture is always relevant. If we define culture broadly, that is, including many types and levels of differences, all conflicts are, in the end, intercultural. This comprehensive definition has the benefit of admitting culture as an element of every conflict analysis, even at the cost of an over-emphasis cultural factors.

5. Understanding the role of culture in negotiations

It's obvious that different cultural systems produce different negotiating styles and the effects of cross cultural differences on international negotiation are widely acknowledged. There is substantial empirical evidence that negotiating tendencies differ by culture.¹² These styles are shaped by each nation's culture, history and other factors. Negotiators experience not only differences in language or dress code, but also in different perception of the world, the definition of business goals and motivation.

⁹ Adler N.J.: International Dimensions of Organizational Behavior. Thomson/South-Western, Cincinnati, OH 2002.

¹⁰ Sułkowski Ł.: The Problems of Epistemology of Corporate Culture. “Journal of Intercultural Management”, 2009.

¹¹ Hofstede G.: Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations, London 2003.

¹² Adair W.L., Brett J.M., Okumura T.: Negotiation Behavior When Cultures Collide: The United States and Japan. “Journal of Applied Psychology”, No. 80(3), 2001.

Culture influences negotiation in many ways. Firstly, through its effects on communication and through their conceptualizations of the process, then through the goals negotiators aim for, the means they use, and the expectations they hold of the other side's behavior. Moreover, culture affects the range of strategies and tactics that negotiators develop. In international negotiations, people bring to the negotiating table their beliefs, values and expectations. Very often they are unconscious of them. According to these values, they interpret, present, judge and communicate. Cultural factors usually complicate and prolong negotiations. However, when properly managed, they can lead to increased mutual gains.

All conflicts involve interpersonal interactions that occur in the context of cultures. It must be stressed that the exact influence of culture will differ from person to person as no two individuals from the same country, region, religion, socio-economic class or gender will exhibit the same patterns of cultural behaviours and attitudes.

Culture shapes not only the possibilities for resolution or transformation, but also the naming, interpretation, enactment and course of conflicts. A satisfactory response to conflict in cross-cultural setting requires a sophisticated understanding of culture, and quite an extensive experience across borders.

Lewicki et al.¹³ indicate, despite that fact that practitioners and scientists use the word 'culture' differently, that culture is the vital aspect of international negotiations. Thus cultural differences may influence negotiations in a variety of ways, one of them being the *definition of negotiations* itself. Metaphors are a perfect tool to understand how particular cultures define and understand negotiations.

6. Metaphor in negotiations – current state of knowledge

Until now, conflict resolution specialists have dealt with metaphors in a limited way. Typically¹⁴ they have named a metaphor source domain in general terms (e.g. sports) and then given anecdotal examples of language.

A dispute has been understood in metaphoric terms as a battle, a sport or game; dispute resolution as cooking, commerce, or sometimes even dancing and gardening. Wilmot and Hocker¹⁵ discuss sixteen common metaphors that negotiators use to approach conflict or to form a perspective: war, struggle, explosions, court trial, force of nature, animal behavior, messiness, communication breakdown, games, heroic adventure, balancing, bargaining,

¹³ Lewicki R., Saunders D., Minton J., Barry B.: Negotiation. McGraw-Hill Irwin, New York 2006.

¹⁴ Wilmot W., Hocker J.: Interpersonal Conflict. McGraw-Hill Education, New York 2001.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

a tide, a garden, a dance, or as quilt-making. Gelfand and McCusker¹⁶ cite some of these, enlarging games to include sports and adding theatre/cinema as a source domain. Haynes¹⁷ discusses war, competitive games, and journey metaphors.

Negotiation can be a game of poker in which players must hold the cards close to the chest. Negotiation can be viewed as football, where a “level playing field” is required; mediators are thus “umpires” or “referees.”, or like basketball, where “timeouts” are sometimes taken, or like baseball where parties sometimes play “hardball”.¹⁸

7. Research methods and findings

This article attempts to answer the question of how the usage of metaphors in the process of negotiation differ across cultures. The research was based on literature studies, IDI and CAWI (Fig. 1). It was conducted from the beginning of May until the end of July 2012.

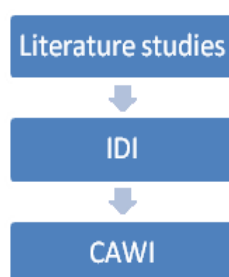


Fig. 1. Research process

Rys. 1. Proces badawczy

Source: own study.

The main hypothesis of this study is that negotiators from Poland would be more similar to US negotiators in defining and understanding negotiation process than to Chinese negotiators.

In the first part of the research process, literature studies and IDI served as methods for identifying and defining metaphors for negotiations. 23 IDIs were conducted. 8 with representatives of American culture, 6 with representatives of Chinese culture and 8 with representatives of Polish culture (see Tab. 1).

¹⁶ Gelfand M.J., McCusker C.: Metaphor and the Cultural Construction of Negotiation: A Paradigm for Theory and Research, [in:] Gannon M., Newman K.L. (eds.): Handbook of Cross-Cultural Management. Blackwell, New York 2002.

¹⁷ Haynes J.: Metaphor and Mediation, <http://mediate.com/articles/metaphor.cfm>, 1999.

¹⁸ Thornburg E.: Metaphors Matter: How Images of Battle, Sports, and Sex Shape the Adversary System. “Wisconsin Women’s Law Journal”, No. 10, 1995; Archer M., Cohen R.: Sideline on the (Judicial) Bench: Sports Metaphors in Judicial Opinions. “American Business Law Journal”, No. 35, 1998.

Table 1

Demographic differences between respondents – IDI

Country	Chinese		American		Polish	
Sex	4 male	2 female	5 male	3 female	5 male	3 female
Age -mean	46	35	34	35	39	37
Education: Academic degree	4	2	4	3	5	3
Professional experience in conducting business negotiations in years – mean	15	9	11	13	17	13

Source: Own study.

Table 2

Metaphors used for the process of negotiation and their explanations

Metaphor	Description
War	Negotiation is a process where you either “ <i>win or lose</i> “. In negotiation every move is justified. The other side is suspicious of our motives.
Marathon	Negotiations can be painful. They require time. Success needs time.
Poker	The other party will probably try to cheat us somehow. We have to be vigilant about of the possibility of unethical tactics being employed against us.
Climbing	It's a risky process, that requires a lot of preparation. Sometimes you need to resign at some level. There are many surprises waiting for you during the process, that is why you never go alone and you have to rely on others.
Cooking	Both parties must cooperate and complete one another in order to achieve a goal.
Dance	You must be engaged in it with all your soul. You need to move with grace and flow with the melody line (you cannot change the external negotiation environment).
Sculpting	Like sculptor you need to get rid of many unnecessary layers of information and get to the core.
Playing in a band	Understanding and open communication between parties is crucial. If you want to focus attention on yourself too much you won't reach a goal.

Source: Own study.

The second part the questionnaire was developed to explore how respondents from different cultures view and understand the process of negotiation. In total, 161 respondents took part in the online survey. 65 from Poland, 54 from China and 62 from USA.

Table 3

Demographic differences between respondents – CAWI

	Poland		China		USA	
Number of respondents	65		54		62	
Sex	38 male	27 female	39 male	15 female	34 male	28 female
Age – mean	45	43	47	39	39	36
Education: Academic degree	36	27	36	14	28	27
Years of professional experience in business negotiations	25	21	23	16	15	12

Source: Own study.

Respondents were asked to choose one metaphor that best describes the process of negotiation. Metaphors were selected for the questionnaire on the basis of previously conducted IDIs. There were a few more metaphors found during conducting literature studies

but none of the respondents indicated them as relevant. Table 4 presents the results of the questionnaire.

Table 4

Metaphors describing the process of negotiations

	Poland	China	USA
War	31%	9%	32%
Marathon	8%	26%	13%
Poker	42%	11%	25%
Climbing	6%	26%	9%
Cooking	5%	6%	4%
Dance	3%	9%	7%
Sculpting	0%	4%	2%
Playing in a band	5%	11%	9%

Source: Own study.

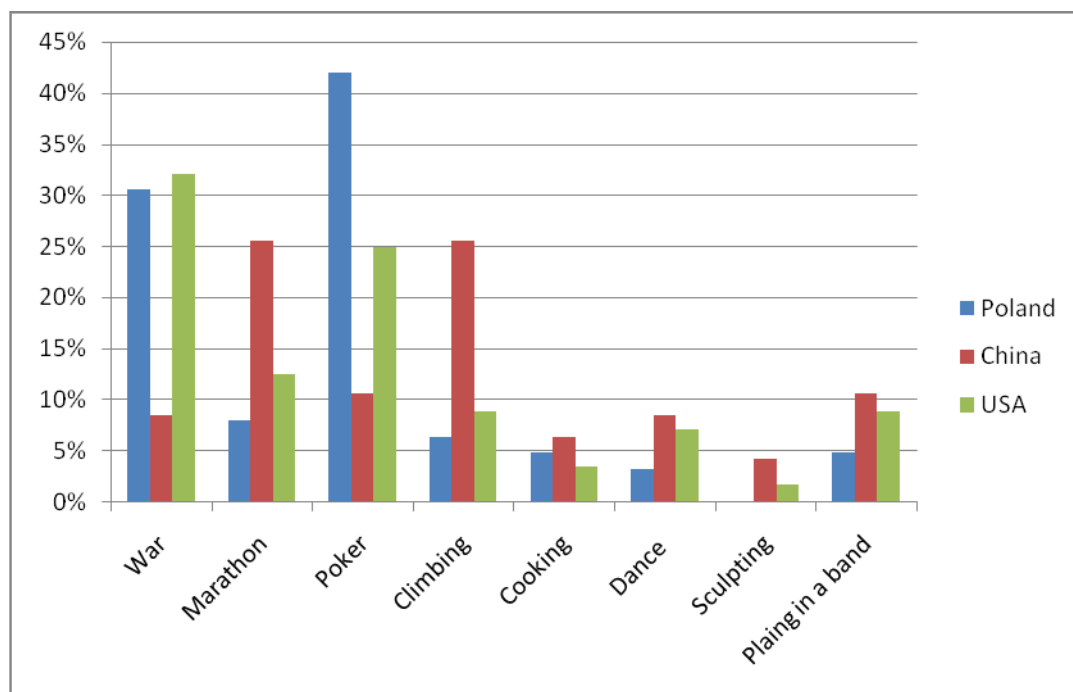


Fig. 2. Metaphors describing the process of negotiation

Rys. 2. Metafory określające proces negocjacji

Source: Own study.

8. Discussion

It is clearly visible from the graph that the usage of metaphors for the process of negotiation differs across cultures. It is also visible that some metaphors such as war and sports metaphors are generally given reference to than art metaphors such as dance or sculpting, as seen in all of the cultures presented. The main hypothesis of this study is that

negotiators from Poland would be more similar to US negotiators in defining and understanding the negotiation process than to Chinese negotiators. It is visible that in terms of understanding and referring to the process of negotiation, Polish respondents are closer to American respondents than to Chinese ones, which proves the hypothesis.

The initial categorizations look as follows: an American negotiator will try to control as much as possible. He is the battlefield commander, calling the shots and bringing the firepower of his intellect to bear on the opposing forces. Chinese negotiator like to give the appearance of being able to endure any amount of pain to get to the point where he wants to be. A Polish negotiator is a poker player, he expects to be cheated at some point, he is very distrustful. However, where do these approaches stem from?

Chinese culture, by many researchers¹⁹, has been categorized as collectivistic. Collectivism is present in many aspects of the negotiations. Both the high degree of collectivism, as well as long-term orientation²⁰, are characteristic for Chinese culture. They are a kind of mutual exchange warranty.²¹ The relationship is formed on mutual favours exchanged among the members of the group.²² Due to Confucianism they become the social norm. The Chinese treat each person differently depending on the relationship prevailing between them. Another important concept which is important here is “guanxi”. Studies show that despite the fact that guanxi is culturally and historically “built” in the Chinese way of thinking and acting,²³ this concept will change in the near future. Any attempt to do business arrangements without the establishment of an appropriate harmony will be considered rude. Trust and harmony are more important to the Chinese than any document. Until recently, China's property rights did not exist. Not surprisingly, they rely more on trust than on rigid contractual arrangements. Another important element here is the concept of “chikunailao” which translates into hard work and being diligent. Hard work, even in very difficult conditions, is for the Chinese an ideal of itself. Here, where martial arts were born, masters achieved perfection after years of painstaking work and thousands of repetitions of blocks,

¹⁹ Bond M.H., Hwang K.K.: The Social Psychology of the Chinese People, [in:] Bond M.H. (ed.): The Psychology of the Chinese People. New York 1986, p. 213-266; Gabrenya W.K., Latané B., Wang Y.: Social Loafing in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Chinese on Taiwan. “Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology”, No. 14(3), 1983, p. 364-384.

²⁰ Hofstede G.: Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations, London 2003.

²¹ Williams A., Nussbaum J.F.: Intergenerational Communication Across the Life Span. Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, New Jersey 2001.

²² Tan D., Snell R.S.: The Third Eye: Exploring Guanxi and Relational Morality in the Workplace. “Journal of Business Ethics”, No. 41(4), 2002; Walder A.G., Li B., Treiman D.J.: Politics and Life Changes in a State Socialist Regime: Dual Career Paths Into the Urban Chinese Elite, 1949 to 1996. “American Sociological Review”, No. 65, 2000.

²³ Standird S., Marshall R.S.: The Transaction Cost Advantage of Guanxi-Based Business Practices. “Journal of World Business”, No. 35, 2000; Wong Y.H., Tam J.H.L.: Mapping Relationships in China: Guanxi Dynamic Approach. “Journal of Business and Industrial Marketing”, No. 15, 2000.

strikes and kicks. How does perseverance and diligence translate into negotiations? Certainly when it comes to preparing for negotiations the Chinese "do their homework" more diligently than their Western counterparts. The second thing is perseverance at the negotiating table. What is normal for the Chinese will be considered a very exhausting experience for a European. Demonstrating patience is a good sign, "chikunailao". Rarely does it happen that the Chinese accept concessions in the early stages of a negotiation. In addition, they have a huge range of tactics, with an emphasis on the extension of the negotiation process to achieve a better agreement. In China, an important role in shaping the contemporary values of the Chinese was played by Confucianism. When it comes to the United States it was the set of characteristics of the people who settled in the new territory. Colonizers rather quickly joined some of the Anglo-Saxon values of individualism with the lack of formal rules of communication and efficient use of time. Those emigrants who left Europe and came to America, already manifested their individualism through emigration. Besides, they believed in freedom, equality, self-improvement and accountability.

Americans tend to be very meticulous. They relatively quickly threaten to appear in court under threat of penalty. Americans impose a fast pace in conversations. This could pose a serious threat to the provider, causing him to regret that he agreed to accept some of the wording in the contract given to him by a merchant from America. Americans are relatively persistent and in the case of failures they do not give up. They are aggressive and seek to win at all cost. Furthermore, they consider that every negotiation must result in a particular set. "For the competitive Americans who hate to lose, everything in life is a game you should win".²⁴ Americans are energetic, expansive and assertive. They are full of faith and optimism. Americans are willing to take risks. Innovation, change and progress are highly valued.

Because of Polish history, i.e. the partition of Poland, two world wars, and the communist era, the country did not have proper conditions to develop international trade, and that is why it does not have a strong tradition in negotiations. It also explains the fact why Poles tend to be so distrustful about business partners. It is still common to use bribes, kick-backs, or other inducements in Polish business life. Family and friend bonds still play a key role in Polish business culture. When it comes to other elements of negotiations, it is suggested that the approach towards the negotiation process itself is rather flexible than systematic or even at times chaotic. Preparation is still a problem among Polish negotiators and they do not attach too much importance to it. The time factor does not seem to be creating much pressure.

²⁴ Kim Y.: *Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation*. Sage, London 2001.

9. Conclusion

Cross cultural differences can thwart negotiators' plans. It is therefore crucial that they incorporate a cross cultural competence and global thinking approach. With the growth of international business, negotiations have become more complex. Negotiation functions therefore become far more challenging. In addition to the usual professional skills, negotiators should expand their knowledge of world cultures, languages, customs, ways of conducting business. Cultural misunderstandings occur not only when differences are noticed and misinterpreted, but very often when a surface similarity (e.g. in etiquette) obscures significant difference that exist at a deeper level. Perhaps treating each negotiation as unique is the key to success.

Cultural competence includes not only knowledge of history, language, verbal or non-verbal behavior, world-views or 'do's and don'ts' but also values, norms etc. Unfortunately, much of such cultural "knowledge" stems from stereotypes or certain simplifications. Too often people attach some positive or negative value and emotional color to them. "People from different countries see, interpret, and evaluate events differently, and consequently act upon them differently".²⁵ They also use different metaphors to describe the process of negotiation. It is important to understand this because many people spontaneously use metaphors to influence the conflict resolution process. They seem to recognize that metaphors can work quickly and naturally to change thinking about the process.

Bibliography

1. Ahdrich R.B.: The Strategy of Boilerplate. "Michigan Law Review", Vol. 108, Iss. 5, 2006.
2. Adair W.L., Brett J.M., Okumura T.: Negotiation Behavior When Cultures Collide: The United States and Japan. "Journal of Applied Psychology", No. 80(3), 2001
3. Adler N.J.: International Dimensions of Organizational Behavior. Thomson/South-Western, Cincinnati, OH 2002.
4. Archer M., Cohen R.: Sidelined on the (Judicial) Bench: Sports Metaphors in Judicial Opinions. "American Business Law Journal", No. 35, 1998.
5. Bond M.H., Hwang K.K.: The Social Psychology of the Chinese People, [in:] Bond M.H. (ed.): The Psychology of the Chinese People. New York 1986.

²⁵ Adair W.L., Brett J.M., Okumura T.: Negotiation Behavior When Cultures Collide: The United States and Japan. "Journal of Applied Psychology", No. 80(3), 2001, p. 77.

6. Charteris-Black J.: *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2004.
7. Davison S.C., Ward K.: *Leading International Teams*. McGraw-Hill, London 1999.
8. Gabrenya W.K., Latané B., Wang Y.: Social Loafing in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Chinese on Taiwan. "Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology", No. 14(3), 1983.
9. Gelfand M.J., McCusker C.: Metaphor and the Cultural Construction of Negotiation: A Paradigm for Theory and Research, [in:] Gannon M., Newman K.L. (eds.): *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Management*. Blackwell, New York 2002.
10. Haynes J.: Metaphor and Mediation, <http://mediate.com/articles/metaphor.cfm>, 1999.
11. Hofstede G.: *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations*. London 2003.
12. Hofstede G., McRae R.R.: Personality and Culture, Revisited: Linking Traits and Dimensions of Culture. "Cross-Cultural Research", Vol. 38, No. 1, 2004.
13. Kim Y.: *Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation*. Sage, London 2001.
14. Kövecses Z.: *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2002.
15. Lakoff G., Johnson M.: *Philosophy In The Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*. Basic Books, 1999.
16. Lewicki R., Saunders D., Minton J., Barry B.: *Negotiation*. McGraw-Hill Irwin, New York 2006.
17. Loewenstein J., Thomson L.: The Challenge of Learning. "Negotiation Journal", No. 16(4), 2000.
18. Standird S., Marshall R.S.: The Transaction Cost Advantage of Guanxi-Based Business Practices. "Journal of World Business", No. 35, 2000.
19. Sułkowski Ł.: The Problems of Epistemology of Corporate Culture. "Journal of Intercultural Management", 2009.
20. Tan D., Snell R.S.: The Third Eye: Exploring Guanxi and Relational Morality in the Workplace. "Journal of Business Ethics", No. 41(4), 2002.
21. Thornburg E.: Metaphors Matter: How Images of Battle, Sports, and Sex Shape the Adversary System. "Wisconsin Women's Law Journal", No. 10, 1995.
22. Von Neumann J., Morgenstern O.: *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1947.
23. Walder A.G., Li B., Treiman D.J.: Politics and Life Changes in a State Socialist Regime: Dual Career Paths Into the Urban Chinese Elite, 1949 to 1996. "American Sociological Review", No. 65, 2000.

24. Wong Y.H., Tam J.H.L.: Mapping relationships in China: Guanxi Dynamic Approach. "Journal of Business and Industrial Marketing", No. 15, 2000.
25. Williams A., Nussbaum J.F.: Intergenerational Communication Across the Life Span. Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, New Jersey 2001.
26. Wilmot W., Hocker J.: Interpersonal Conflict. McGraw-Hill Education, New York 2001.