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Cross-cultural differences in Central Europe

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Abstract *The positions of four Central European countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) on Hofstede's dimensions of national cultures are estimated on the basis of matched samples of students. Findings from The Netherlands are used to calibrate the scores found for the four Central European countries. The findings show that there are important differences between the value orientations in Western Europe (represented by The Netherlands) and Central Europe. Furthermore, there are substantial differences among the four Central European countries. Slovakia has an extreme position among these countries on four of the five dimensions. The differences found may have implications for the political and economic processes of integration within Europe.*

Introduction

Hofstede's (1980) landmark study of 50 countries and 3 regions is the main frame of reference for studies that attempt to gauge the impact of differences in national cultures on management. In the second edition of his book *Culture's Consequences* Hofstede brings together an impressive number of replications and studies in which the indices developed in the original study are used in widely differing research contexts (Hofstede, 2001; see also S^ˆndergaard, 1994). One of the strong points of Hofstede's work is that it provides, on a robust empirical basis, numerical assessments of the positions of a large number of countries on five dimensions of culture. These dimensions are power distance, individualism-collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity-femininity and long versus short-term orientation. The fifth dimension mentioned, long versus short-term orientation, is not based on Hofstede's original study, but on later work of a group of scholars who looked at national cultures from an explicitly Chinese frame of mind (The Chinese Culture Connection, 1987). The findings of this project were complementary to those of Hofstede, in that not only three of



Hofstede's dimensions were replicated, but long versus short-term orientation also came up as a new dimension (Hofstede and Bond, 1988).

These five dimensions together cannot be assumed to exhaust the universe of differences between national cultures, but they have substantial face-validity and have been empirically demonstrated to be related to many aspects of management and organization. For instance, power distance has been shown to be correlated with the approachability for subordinates of the boss; individualism-collectivism with negotiation behavior and, even strongly, with differences in management training courses results under individual or group focused condition; uncertainty avoidance with job satisfaction; masculinity-femininity with the percentage of female managers; and long versus short-term orientation with the propensity to save (all these examples are taken from Hofstede, 2001). Hence, the positions of countries on Hofstede's dimensions reflect real cultural differences that are influencing pertinent phenomena.

In view of the attractive characteristics of Hofstede's indices it is not surprising that researchers have tried to go beyond the existing database in order to be able to use Hofstede's dimensions also in studying countries not in the original database[1]. In those cases, estimations have been used for countries not in Hofstede's database (e.g. Barkema and Vermeulen, 1997). The estimations were based often on publications of the Institute for Training in Intercultural Management or the Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation, two institutes based in The Netherlands and closely connected with Hofstede, which in turn were based on experiences gained in training sessions or in consulting, on studies of single countries, or on small-scale comparative studies.

The use of estimations is a perfectly legitimate way of extending the applicability of Hofstede's indices, as long as the difference in reliability between these estimates and proxies and the original scores based on Hofstede's research are taken into account. However, there is a tendency to take as given the data entering the statistical analysis, and to neglect differences in the empirical bases underlying different data sources. In our view it is essential that researchers who use estimations of scores on Hofstede's dimensions are well-informed regarding the foundations of these estimations. In this paper we provide in-depth information on the basis of estimations for four countries: the Czech Republic; Hungary; Poland; and Slovakia. The discussion of the foundations underlying these estimations is presented as an example that also gives insight in the bases of estimations for other countries. But the four countries are also of particular interest in their own right, as they are on the nomination to enter the European Union within the next five years, and hence increasingly intensive social, political and economic interactions with other European countries are to be expected. In that perspective it is interesting to know more about the cultural orientations in these countries, the more so since the scattered evidence available suggests that there are marked cultural

differences among the Central and Eastern European countries (Jankowicz, 1994; Kruzela, 1995). The relevance of acquiring appropriate cross-cultural skills is often underestimated by Western managers operating in Central and Eastern Europe (Villinger, 1996); knowing more about the cultures one is dealing with should be the first step in this learning process.

In the next section of this paper we will first present the study that served as the basis for our country estimates. After that, we discuss and interpret our findings, also referring to other sources. Conclusions and recommendations for further study follow.

A study of work-related values in Central Europe

The authors of this paper conducted in 1998 a survey in four Central European countries: the Czech Republic; Hungary; Poland; and Slovakia. The Netherlands was also surveyed for control purposes. The goal of this project was to link differences in national culture with attitudes and expectations regarding future membership of the European Union. The research focused on Central European countries nominated for inclusion in an enlarged European Union. We report here on that part of the project that was concerned with the measurement of national cultures.

The instrument used in the study was the value survey module 1994 (VSM 1994; see Hofstede, 1994). This instrument is a revision of an earlier questionnaire based on the questions used in the original IBM research (Hofstede, 2001). It also includes items to measure the fifth dimension, long versus short-term orientation. The procedure followed in developing and validating the questionnaire items is described in Hofstede (1994). The items have partly been taken from or developed on the basis of those used in Hofstede's original (1980) study. On top of that, additional items have been developed and tested in the course of a number of replication studies (Hofstede, 1994).

The respondents in all five countries surveyed were university students in the fields of business or economics. Sample sizes were around one hundred for each country. Only respondents who classified themselves as nationals of the nation in question were included in the study. The study followed the strategy of matched samples (Hofstede, 1991), meaning that rather than trying to draw representative samples from the populations of countries involved, it was decided to survey narrow samples which differ in nationality but were alike in as many respects as possible. This has the advantage that many possible sources of variation that are not of interest in this study, like profession or age, are ruled out (the consequence of this research strategy is that the samples are comparable in many respects, but not in nationality). As the respondents are not fully representative for the populations of their countries, the positions on the culture dimensions we found can only be approximations of the positions of the populations. However, the strategy of matched samples may be expected to yield accurate estimates of the differences between the countries studied. Furthermore, by means of a calibration procedure described below, we have

also adapted the scores to make them comparable with those reported in Hofstede (2001) for 50 countries and three regions.

The description of the samples in Table I shows that our samples of university students were relatively well-matched in terms of age, but some differences in age distribution exist. In order to check for possible influences of these differences on our outcomes we correlated age categories with the 20 items from the VSM 1994 that were used to calculate the scores on the culture dimensions. Although ten of these correlations were significant (Spearman Rank correlations, applying a 5 per cent confidence interval), there was no consistent pattern over countries. Only one variable had a significant correlation with an item in more than one country[2]. We concluded that there was no systematic relationship between culture items and age, and hence no serious source of bias.

However, there were substantial differences between countries in the proportions of male and female respondents. Because these differences may have an impact on the findings, the following procedure was employed. The positions on the cultural dimensions were first calculated separately for men and women. Subsequently, the country scores were calculated as the average of those of males and females, the methodology recommended by Noorderhaven and Tidjani (2001). In this way, men and women have equal weight in the scores calculated for all the countries.

The positions of the five countries calculated in this way and rounded to full integers are tabulated in Table II. We call these scores “uncalibrated” because in this form they are not yet comparable with those reported for other countries by Hofstede (2001). The calibration procedure will be described below. For The Netherlands the number of respondents was 119, 76 percent men and 24 percent women. The findings for The Netherlands (not included in Table II) were:

Country	Czechia	Hungary	Poland	Slovakia
Number of respondents	107	98	103	102
Male respondents (<i>n</i> (%))	53 (50)	32 (33)	50 (49)	26 (25)
Respondents under 20 years (<i>n</i> (%))	28 (26)	18 (18)	18 (18)	6 (6)
Respondents 20-24 years (<i>n</i> (%))	79 (74)	64 (65)	65 (63)	88 (86)
Respondents over 24 years (<i>n</i> (%))	0 (0)	17 (17)	20 (19)	8 (8)

Table I.
Description of the samples

	Czechia	Hungary	Poland	Slovakia
Power distance	51	47	35	79
Individualism-collectivism	74	65	61	46
Uncertainty avoidance	61	69	65	37
Masculinity-femininity	39	60	45	96
Long- vs short-term orientation	25	56	42	49

Table II.
(Uncalibrated) positions of the countries on five dimensions of culture

- power distance, 14;
- individualism-collectivism, 85;
- uncertainty avoidance, 37;
- masculinity-femininity, -17; and
- long versus short-term orientation, 41.

As Table II shows, we found a quite diversified pattern of cultural characteristics among the countries surveyed. However, in this form our findings are not directly comparable to those of Hofstede (2001), as the composition of our samples is very different from the IBM employees used in Hofstede's study. This is a serious disadvantage, since the frequent use of Hofstede's scores and their coupling to many other empirical measures has created a framework for interpretation indicating the various consequences of, e.g. large power distance. The findings reported in Table II tell us something about the positions of Czechia, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia on the five dimensions, relative to one another. However, these scores tell us little about the positions of these four countries relative to the 50 other countries in Hofstede's database.

In order to attain this comparability, the scores obtained from the Dutch sample were used to calibrate our results with Hofstede's findings. In order to do so, the difference between the scores obtained for The Netherlands in this study and those of the original IBM study were added or subtracted from the scores obtained for the other four countries. For instance, in the IBM study the score for The Netherlands on power distance was 38, the score found in this study 14. This means that a correction factor of 24 has to be added to the scores found in this study to make them comparable to those reported by Hofstede (2001) for 50 countries and three regions. This calibration results in an upward adjustment of the scores for power distance (+24), masculinity-femininity (+31), and uncertainty avoidance (+16). Long-term orientation is also adjusted upwardly, but only slightly (+3), and individualism-collectivism is slightly adjusted downward (-5). This leads to the best estimates of the positions of the four countries within the framework of Hofstede we can make on the basis of this study (see Table III). A warning is apposite here. Even though we with confidence report these scores as our best estimate of the positions of the four countries, compared with those in Hofstede's dataset, it should not be forgotten that the empirical base of our findings is different and generally less robust

	Czechia	Hungary	Poland	Slovakia
Power distance	78	74	62	86
Individualism-collectivism	68	59	55	40
Uncertainty avoidance	81	89	85	57
Masculinity-femininity	81	102	87	127
Long vs short-term orientation	28	59	45	52

Table III.
Calibrated positions
of the countries

than the large and very well-matched samples of Hofstede (2001). However, if interpreted with caution, our scores can be helpful in understanding characteristics of the national cultures of these four countries, and their possible implications.

The upward calibration of the scores on power distance in our study may have to do with the relatively high level of education of our respondents, as this factor is associated with lower scores on power distance (Hofstede, 2001, p. 90). Age may explain the upward calibration of uncertainty avoidance, as older respondents tend to score higher on uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 2001, p. 153). The upward calibration (+31) in masculinity-femininity may have to do with the fact that our scores are based on balanced male-female samples. In the original IBM samples only 7.5 percent of the respondents were males, and male respondents tend to score higher on masculinity (Hofstede, 2001, p. 285). Also age may play a role. The mean age of Hofstede's respondents was 30-34 years, considerably older than our respondents. In our sample (the four countries taken together), younger respondents scored significantly lower on the masculinity items than older respondents, suggesting that the relative youth of our sample may lead to an underestimation of the masculinity score of the general population. The very small changes in individualism-collectivism (-5) and long-term orientation (+3) may be due to measurement error and can further be neglected.

In our data, the differences between the countries on the power distance dimension are small, with Poland at the low end of the spectrum, and Slovakia at the high end. Three of the four countries score closer to the individualistic pole of the individualism-collectivism dimension, but Slovakia is markedly more collectivistic. As far as uncertainty avoidance is concerned, Slovakia again sharply differs from the other Central European countries in our sample. Slovakia displays moderate uncertainty avoidance, while the other countries have strong uncertainty avoidance. Slovakia is also an outlier for masculinity-femininity. All four countries incline to the masculine pole, but Hungary and Slovakia do so extremely. As far as long versus short-term orientation is concerned, finally, the table shows that the Czech Republic inclines to the short-term pole, while the other countries have more intermediate positions. Within our sample, Slovakia scores at the extreme of four of the five dimensions.

We will now look closer at the findings of our empirical study, also making use of data from other sources, and if relevant looking at the individual items that make up the various dimensions. We will organize the discussion in this section on a dimension-by-dimension basis.

Interpreting the findings

Power distance

Among the four Central European countries in our sample, Slovakia shows the largest power distance and Poland the smallest, while all four countries exhibit

a relatively large power distance if compared with, e.g. Western European countries. Musil (1993), describing the differences between Czechia and Slovakia from a historical perspective, notes that in Slovakia extended families and patriarchal families prevailed while Czech families, on the contrary, were smaller, and the father's position was less strong. This observation is in line with the large power distance of Slovakia in our findings, and the difference between Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The Czech respondents came out of our survey as having the second highest score on power distance, although markedly lower than Slovakia. Other sources are conflicting regarding the position of the Czechs on this dimension. Kruzela (1995) stresses an "egalitarian attitude" as one of the most typical attitudes of the Czech society. On the other hand, Thorpe and Pavlica (1996), using a discourse analysis technique, found that Czech managers tend to see themselves as individuals who are pre-ordained to lead, which would correspond with a larger power distance. Their numerical finding for the power distance index, using the same instrument as we in our study, was 47 or 67 if calibrated using the findings for Great Britain also reported. Chadabra (1994) notes a distrust of authority resulting from the previous communist period. However, this is not necessarily an indication of a small power distance, but can vary well be explained as what Hofstede (1980, p. 102) calls a "counterdependent reaction": not satisfied with the performance of a leader subordinates in a large power-distance culture may go to the extreme of altogether rejecting authority. All in all, the observations suggest a position of Czechia on the power distance dimension above the midpoint of the scale.

For Hungary, Hanak (1995) in a historic perspective points at the preservation of the feudal mentality of the Hungarian petty nobility. This would be caused by among other things the long domination of the Turks and the absolutism of the Hapsburgs. As a consequence democratic values did not take root, and the Hungarian political culture shows recurrent manifestations of antidemocratic nationalism. Kapitany and Kapitany (1995) point at the "cult of charismatic leaders" in Hungary that predated the socialist rule.

In Poland, the power distance is markedly smaller than in the other three countries. Two items are mainly responsible for this lower score of Poland. Poles attach much value to having a good working relationship with their direct superior, and to being consulted by him or her. Other sources in the literature are ambivalent with regard to power distance in Polish culture. Polish managers have a tendency to adopt an autocratic management style, and to resist everything that could dilute managerial authority (Hickson and Pugh, 1995; Jankowicz, 1994; Jankowicz and Pettitt, 1993; Zalezka, 1996). However, acceptance of authority by subordinates is not a matter of course. This has to do with what Jankowicz (1994, p. 483) calls the "idiosyncratic stance towards authority" of the Poles. Outward respect for authority (or even servility) is important, but need not necessarily be accompanied by any real commitment from the side of the subordinate (cf Zalezka, 1996).

Historically, the Polish society was a curious mixture of democratic and authoritarian elements. Near the bottom, the local nobility was able to retain near absolute control over their serfs well into the eighteenth century. At the top, however, decision-making took place on the basis of equality, culminating in the practice, from 1652 onwards, of the national parliament to take decisions unanimously. This had the effect of weakening the political center, while at the same time strengthening the power of the aristocracy (Jankowicz, 1994). All in all, the Polish ambivalence *vis-à-vis* authority appears to be rooted in the recent as well as the more distant past. Authority is something to be reckoned with, and it is wise to obey at least ostensibly, but at the same time the legitimacy of authorities is easily questioned.

Individualism-collectivism

In our sample, the Czech Republic stands out as the most individualistic country, while Slovakia is most collectivistic. The individualistic nature of the Czech culture is corroborated by other sources. Kruzela (1995) stresses this aspect of Czech culture, and draws a link to the Husite movement in the fifteenth century. In comparison to Luther the leader of Reformation in Germany, Jan Hus, more strongly emphasized individual rights and responsibilities. In contrast, Thorpe and Pavlica (1996) calculated a calibrated score of 38 only on the individualism-collectivism scale. This low score does not seem to correspond to the findings in most other sources, which characterize the Czech Republic as an individualistic country, at least for post-communist Central European standards.

The historical observations of Musil (1993) with regard to family structures in Czechia and Slovakia can also be related to the important difference in individualism between the two countries. Moreover, modernization occurred later in Slovakia, and more under influence of the socialist system. This had an important influence on attitudes toward work, like those captured by our study. Looking at the individual items forming this dimension, two stand out. In describing an ideal job, the Slovak respondents attach less importance to having sufficient time for their personal or family life than respondents from other countries, and to having good physical working conditions. Both aspects may be assumed to be strongly linked to wealth, hence, apart from the historical factors mentioned above, the relatively low level of wealth of Slovakia may be an important explanation.

Poland has an intermediate position on individualism-collectivism within our group of Central European countries, but is much more collectivistic than a Western country like The Netherlands. This is also reflected in the management literature. Compared to employees in the USA, Poles are more inclined to form a group with strong trust relations, and work together in "beating the enemy" (Yanouzas and Boukis, 1993). Individual responsibility is often avoided (Zalezka, 1996). The ethic of shared responsibility of the socialist

days may have promoted this tendency. But it is likely that relatively strong collectivist values are more deeply rooted in the Polish culture. Relationship building is very importance in business, and eating and drinking play an important role in this process. First one builds a good relationship, only then business can proceed smoothly. But there is little doubt that compared with, e.g. Russia, the Polish culture is much more individualistic (Hickson and Pugh, 1995).

Uncertainty avoidance

While three of the four countries in our sample display strong uncertainty avoidance, Slovakia is a remarkable outlier in this dimension. The low score of Slovakia on uncertainty avoidance contrasts with Musil's (1993, pp. 490-1) observation that "Slovaks are more 'locals' whereas Czechs . . . are more like 'cosmopolitans'". The relative positions on the uncertainty avoidance of the two countries do not bear this out. If we look at the separate items, the low score of the Slovaks is caused mainly by the fact that they tend to agree with the statement that one can be a good manager without having precise answers to most questions that subordinates may raise about their work. Furthermore, the Slovak respondents see relatively little harm in competition between employees. Turning to Czechia, Thorpe and Pavlica's (1996) calibrated score on uncertainty avoidance for this country was 80, which corresponds closely with the finding in our study. Hence, Czechia may indeed be assumed to be characterized by strong uncertainty avoidance. Musil (1993) suggests that this may in part be a heritage of the socialist era, in which the emphasis was on equality and security of living standards rather than on their absolute level.

The high score of the Hungarian respondents on the masculinity-femininity dimension is mainly caused by the item "when people have failed in life it is often their own fault", with which they agree more than respondents from the other countries. The strong uncertainty avoidance is reflected in the tendency of Hungarians to see themselves as surrounded by enemies, and the strong suspicion that Hungarians minorities abroad are treated unfairly (Csepeli, 1991).

The relatively high score on uncertainty avoidance of Poland (compared with Western European countries, not with Czechia and Hungary) is corroborated by Nasierowski and Mikula (1998) who using the same instrument as we in this study, and calibrating the scores for Poland using Canada as a reference group, came to an estimate for uncertainty avoidance in Poland of 106. The observed strong uncertainty avoidance is in conformity with casual observations, like the strong reference for experts in Poland (Jankowicz, 1994; Jankowicz and Pettitt, 1993). Signs of strong uncertainty avoidance can also be seen in the Polish attitude towards authority. "Legitimate power", or "position power", is very important in the Polish context. According to Jankowicz (1994, p. 486), Polish managers "often carry

and have available for display a written statement which is sometimes used as an additional form of business card, legitimizing their status and making explicit their access to their own supervisor's power". Subordinates give recognition to a status position, not to the superior as an individual (Zalezka, 1996). Looking at the items in our instrument, Polish respondents report feeling relatively often nervous or tense at work, and tend to disagree with the statement that one can be a good manager without having precise answers to most questions that subordinates may raise. These tendencies are associated with strong uncertainty avoidance. But they have no problem with competition between employees, which drives down their score on uncertainty avoidance. Hence, while the score of Poland on uncertainty avoidance is very close to that of Czechia and Hungary, they are so for different reasons.

Masculinity-femininity

Also on this dimension Slovakia occupies an extreme position. All the countries in our sample tend to the masculine pole of the dimension, but Slovakia even more than the other countries. If we look at the separate items forming this dimension, it is clear that Slovaks in describing an ideal job attach little importance to working with people who cooperate well with one another. This is the main factor leading to the very high score of this country on masculinity.

Regarding the Czech Republic, Thorpe and Pavlica (1996, p. 222) also emphasize the masculine attitude of Czech managers, who see themselves as "strong male individuals". This is reflected in the findings of their study using the VSM 1994, in which the Czech Republic comes out with a high score of 90 on masculinity-femininity, or even an extreme of 151 if corrected using the British data. Musil (1992) cited Eurobarometer data indicating a very low level of trust in the then still existing Czechoslovak Republic. In as far as these findings are also valid for the Czech part of the nation, they also point at a rather masculine culture. This is also borne out by our data. The Czech respondents disagreed most with the statement "most people can be trusted", one of the items forming the masculinity-femininity dimension. If we compare the Czech Republic and The Netherlands, the most pronounced difference is on this item. All this suggests a position on the masculine rather than on the feminine side of the scale, although Czechia was the least masculine country in our sample. If we look at the separate items forming the masculinity-femininity dimension, it becomes clear that the difference between the Czech Republic and The Netherlands, a markedly more feminine culture, is predominantly caused by only one item. The Czech respondents on average agreed more than the Dutch respondents with the statement "when people have failed in life it is often their own fault". This aspect of Czech culture may also have to do with the Czech variety of individualism.

Our findings suggest that the Polish culture is strongly masculine (although much less so than Hungary and Slovakia). However, Nasierowski and Mikula

(1998) came to a much lower estimate. There are very few sources in the literature that can help us here. Jankowicz and Pettitt (1993, p. 102) note in passing that “*all* the managers in the companies with which we dealt were male”. The high score of Poland on masculinity (compared with The Netherlands) is mainly caused by their agreeing more with the statement “when people have failed in life it is often their own fault”. All the Central European countries agree more with this statement than the Dutch respondents. This is curiously at odds with the notion of collective and diffuse responsibility in socialist times.

Long- versus short-term orientation

In this dimension the strong short-term orientation of the Czechs is the most striking finding. Chadabra (1994) notes that many Czech managers opt for short-term profits, and spend much time looking backwards rather than planning for the future. This ties in with the low score on short versus long-term orientation found in our sample, which also corresponds with Thorpe and Pavlica’s calibrated score of 5 on this dimension.

In contrast, the score we obtained for Hungary suggests a much more long-term orientation. This score is mainly caused by the fact that the respondents in their private life attach much importance to thrift and persistence. Simon (1993) notes that in the Hungarian value hierarchy, a peaceful, harmonic life is the most important value. The long-term orientation may also account for the realism regarding short-term economic improvements that was much more prevalent in Hungary than in other Central European countries shortly after the fall of communism.

Conclusions and recommendations

Our findings illustrate two important facts. First of all, even after the systemic changes around 1990, there are marked cultural differences between Central European countries and Western Europe (represented in our sample by The Netherlands). Secondly, there are important differences between the four Central European countries. In our sample, Slovakia is markedly different from the Czech Republic on four of the five dimensions. This is the more striking since these two countries have been united within one nation for many decades. Both the differences among Central European countries and those between these countries and Western Europe cannot be neglected, as they may influence the outcomes of processes of politico-economic integration.

Furthermore, it is reasonable to expect more intensive and quick processes of value change in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe than in most other parts of the world. On the one hand, the fall of communism may have re-established historical continuity (Csepeli, 1991), and the countries concerned may be assumed to return to their historical trajectories. But the 40 years under socialist rule have had an impact on these societies that makes it unlikely that a

durable equilibrium will soon be found. In the coming decades relatively strong shifts in value orientations may occur as a response to the outcomes of political and economic processes that in many cases will thwart unrealistic expectations. Under these circumstances it is of the utmost importance to periodically measure these value orientations. This kind of study not only has obvious practical relevance, it also is of considerable scientific importance, as these countries that are still in the process of rebuilding their societies form a huge social laboratory.

For practising managers our study contains two warnings. First, in spite of the small geographical distance, there are marked cultural differences between the Central European countries in our sample and a Western European country like The Netherlands. Our numerical findings confirm earlier observations of practising managers in this respect (for observations from Dutch managers, see, for example, the literature cited in Noorderhaven, 1997). Secondly, it would from a managerial perspective be dangerous to treat the Central European countries as a homogenous group. For instance, the two neighboring countries of Czechia and Slovakia differ sharply in four of the five dimensions. This means that it may be problematic to combine activities in these two countries in a single integrated organization. Furthermore, if our expectation is correct, few regions in the world will exhibit cultural shifts as strong as Central Europe in the coming decades. If this is true managers would do well not to rely too much on static pictures of the cultures concerned, but to keep a keen eye on value shifts in these countries. Experience built up during the years of transition may soon become outdated.

Notes

1. Hofstede (2001) also provides an overview of such estimates.
2. Item 17 ("An organization structure in which certain subordinates have two bosses should be avoided at all costs") was more strongly disagreed with by older respondents in both Poland and Slovakia.

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