Exploring Gender Roles in Finnish and American Youth:

A Critical Review of Geert Hofstede's

Masculinity versus Femininity Dimension of National Culture

Master's Thesis
Steven Crawford
Intercultural Communication
University of Jyväskylä
September 2004

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta - Faculty **Humanities**	Laitos - Department **Department of Communication**
Tekijä - Author **Steven Crawford**	
Työn nimi - Title **Exploring Gender Roles in Finnish and American Youth: A Critical Review of Geert Hofstede's Masculinity versus Femininity Dimension of National Culture**	
Oppiaine - Subject **Intercultural Communication**	Työn laji - Level **Pro gradu thesis**
Aika - Month and year **September 2004**	Sivumäärä - Number of pages **168 + 1 appendix**

Tiivistelmä - Abstract

Geert Hofstede's masculinity versus femininity dimension of national culture, one of four dimensions he originally reported in 1980, addresses, among other things, the degree to which gender roles overlap. This dimension is explored in this study, through qualitatively examining distinctive gender aspects within an e-mail exchange program between twelve-year-old students from Finland and the United States of America. The 2002/2003 e-mail program generated hundreds of texts. Specific markers, based on social ideals, values and behaviors that Hofstede associates with masculine and feminine societies, were used to formulate areas of inquiry presented to the participants as well as for content analysis, the principle means of assessment in this study. The results also address the degree to which the studied youth reflect their national culture and how the passage of time since Hofstede's data were collected in his global IBM study (1968 – 1971) has affected the two cultures relative to the masculinity versus femininity dimension, particularly in view of late modern influences.

The major finding of the study is that, while aspects of Hofstede's masculinity versus femininity dimension do appear in the data, the dimension as elaborated by Hofstede does not fully fit all of the results in the present study. A critical perspective is furthered by comparing Hofstede's theoretical lens with that of Shalom Schwartz. The resulting critical discussion centers on whether Hofstede's orthogonal dimensions, each standing alone against the others, can fully convey the complexity of culture. The debate is furthered by viewing the same data with a second analysis through theoretical lens of Shalom Schwartz, whose systematic, integrated view of culture provides an alternative perspective. The report concludes that the conceptualization and interpretation of culture is equivocal. The study also provides a perspective of how qualitative research and assessment can enhance the quantitative research findings of Hofstede and Schwartz. The study surfaced areas of inquiry for future research, including investigating how contact with other cultures influences the awareness and development of national culture in youth, and how messages and artifacts created in the contexts of one culture are received and interpreted by youth in another culture.

Asiasanat - Keywords **Gender, masculinity, femininity, culture, values, national culture**
Säilytyspaikka - Depository **University of Jyväskylä / Tourula library**

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta - Faculty **Humanistinen**	Laitos - Department **Viestintätieteiden laitos**
Tekijä - Author **Steven Crawford**	
Työn nimi - Title **Exploring Gender Roles in Finnish and American Youth: A Critical Review of Geert Hofstede's Masculinity versus Femininity Dimension of National Culture**	
Oppiaine - Subject **Kulttuurienvälinen viestintä**	Työn laji - Nature of the study **Pro gradu thesis**
Aika - Date **Syyskuu 2004**	Sivumäärä - Number of pages in total **168 + 1 liite**

Tiivistelmä - Abstract

Geert Hofsteden vuonna 1980 julkaistussa tutkimuksessa tutkitaan yhtä neljästä tasosta, kansallisen kulttuurin maskuliinisuus- ja feminiinisyys-ulottuvuutta, muun muuassa missä määrin sukupuolierot ovat päällekkäisiä. Tässä tutkimuksessa tutkitaan tätä tasoa sähköpostiviestiohjelmassa 12-vuotiaiden suomalaisten ja amerikkalaisten oppilaiden välillä laadullisesti tunnusomaisesta sukupuoli-näkökulmasta. Ohjelma vuosina 2002-2003 synnytti satoja sähköpostiviestejä. Erityiskohtia perustuen sosiaalisiin ihanteisiin, arvoihin ja käyttäytymiseen, jotka Hofstede liitti maskuliinisiin ja feminiinisiin yhteisöihin käytettiin muodostamaan tutkimusalueita, joita esiteltiin osanottajille sisältöanalyysin ohella arvioinnin peruskeinoa varten.

Tulokset osoittavat myös, missä määrin tutkittu nuorisokulttuuri heijastuu kansalliseen kulttuuriin ja miten aikaväli Hofsteden aineistosta (kerätty globaalissa IBM-tutkimuksessa 1968-1971) on vaikuttanut kahta kulttuuria maskuliinisuus- ja feminiinisyys -ulottuvuudella, erityisesti modernien vaikutusten näkökulmasta.

Tutkimuksessa havaittiin Hofsteden maskuliinisuus vs feminiinisyys -ulottuvuus, vaikka Hofsteden selittämää ulottuvuutta ei täysin pystytä selittämään tutkimuksen aineiston avulla.

Kriittistä näkökantaa on täydennetty vertaamalla Hofsteden teoreettinen linssi -kehystä Shalom Schwartz:in malliin. Kriittinen keskustelu painottuu siihen, voivatko Hofsteden ortogonaaliset ulottuvuudet kumpikin toisiaan vasten täysin ilmaista kulttuurin monimuotoisuutta. Tutkimuksessa käsitellään samaa aineistoa toisen analyysin kautta käyttäen Shalom Schwartzin teoreettista linssi -mallia, mikä tarjoaa systemaattisen integroidun kulttuurin näkökannan vaihtoehtoisesta näkökulmasta. Kulttuurin ymmärtäminen ja tulkinta ovat ristiriitaisia. Tutkimuksessa käsitellään myös sitä, miten laadullinen tutkimus ja arviointi voivat kehittää Hofsteden ja Schwartzin määrällisiä tuloksia. Tutkimusta voi jatkaa siitä, miten yhteydenpito muihin kulttuureihin vaikuttaa kansallisen nuorisokulttuurin tietoisuuteen ja kehittämiseen, ja miten toisessa kulttuurissa luodut viestit ja artefaktit ymmärretään ja käsitetään toisessa nuorisokulttuurissa.

Asiasanat - Keywords **Sukupuoli, maskuliinisyys, kulttuuri, arvot, kansallinen kulttuuri**
Säilytyspaikka - Depository **Jyväskylän yliopisto / Tourulan kirjasto**

CONTENTS

TABLES

FIGURES

1 INTRODUCTION

Between the ages of two and three, children begin to recognize differences and to categorize groups of people (Bar-Tal, 1996: 361). Unfortunately, in some cases this process of group categorization during childhood results in deeply imprinted negative stereotypes that endure into adulthood (ibid: 365). That is because between the ages of ten and fourteen children may change from being accepting of perceived differences in people of other cultures to forming negative generalizations about them (see Lambert and Klineberg, 1967). Reflecting on the potential for negative socialization outcomes, Stone (1986: 34) and LeSourd (1992: 30) point out the need for research focused directly on youth. With this in mind, the present study sets out to contribute to the knowledge base regarding culture and youth by exploring Geert Hofstede's masculinity versus femininity dimension of national culture through qualitatively examining distinctive cultural aspects between twelve year-old Finnish and American[1] youth. The study focuses on gender roles in youth as a dominating aspect of national identity development, and thus also helps to understand in part how the stage is set for the passage to adulthood (Inkeles, 1997: 47).

Attempts to validate Hofstede's theories are abundant in the literature (Hoppe, 1998; Helmreich and Merritt, 1998, among others). However, most of these efforts focus on the study of adults, and on business applications in particular. While a few cross-cultural studies exist that focus on Hofstede's masculinity versus femininity dimension in college students (Best and Williams, 1998; Vunderink and Hofstede, 2001, for example), few studies were found that attempt a deep, qualitative analysis of the dimension in youth, and none were found that compares Finnish and American youth.

1.1 *Objectives*

The primary objective of the present study is to probe the nature of Hofstede's masculinity versus femininity dimension in American and Finnish twelve-year-olds. This is accomplished by searching for evidence that certain social ideals and behaviors Hofstede associates with masculine and feminine societies is present in the gathered qualitative data. Hofstede's original data is now in excess of thirty years old, and the

---

[1] For the purposes of this paper, the term *American* refers to citizens of the United States of America. The term *American* can and perhaps should be construed to include inhabitants of both North and South America, however, tradition and the lack of any practical alternative term dictates the use of this term in this paper to mean U.S. citizens.

passage of so much time is particularly relevant in view of increasing patterns of globalization in recent times that may affect the development of national culture (see Beck, 1992 and Giddens, 1991). A second objective is to further a critical perspective of the masculinity versus femininity dimension by examining the same data through the theoretical lens of Shalom Schwartz. Schwartz's cultural level theory presents an integrated, systematic view of culture, in which cultural dimensions fit into a relative typology of culture, whereas Hofstede's orthogonal dimensions are mutually independent. The third objective of the study is to contribute to the knowledge base about the degree to which youth reflect shared aspects of their national culture. A fourth objective is to explore how a qualitative approach in examining quantitative research can enhance the investigation of culture, by providing for a broader and richer perspective of the cultures studied than is available through a quantitative methodology alone.

1.2 *Masculinity Versus Femininity*

Invariably, the question of "Why masculinity versus femininity" will arise in the discussion of this research topic. According to Hofstede, in a masculine culture social gender roles are distinctive between the sexes, while in feminine cultures social gender roles tend to overlap (2001: 297). Masculinity versus femininity, also referred to by Hofstede and in the present study as the MAS dimension, is the only of Hofstede's four original dimensional indexes in which the United States and Finland are positioned significantly apart (2001: 500). Certainly, Hofstede's original study of 116,000 IBM employees around the world, in which data were gathered between 1969 and 1972, is a landmark study, the largest of its kind in regard to the number of participants and cultures studied.

Hofstede's work is at least familiar to most students of intercultural communication. One recent study claims that Hofstede's 1980 book, *Culture's Consequences*, remains one of the most "influential" books in the field of intercultural relations (Hart, 1999: 586). When I first encountered Hofstede's work, I noticed the rather large gap between Finland and the United States on the MAS index, in contrast to the closeness of the two cultures on the other three of his original dimensional indexes: power distance, individualism versus collectivism, and uncertainty avoidance (2001: 500). Curiosity was immediately formed about whether the MAS dimension accurately reflected the distinctive aspects between the Finnish and the (dominant) American

cultures. Therefore, this research project finds its roots in the intersection of my own academic exploration of intercultural communication with personal experiences and observations as an American living and studying in Finland. The opportunity materialized when, in the process of conducting an intercultural communication internship, I was able to conduct a pilot project that would lead to an investigation of the one of Hofstede's dimensions that claims to comparatively highlight the distinctiveness of the two cultures. The investigation was accomplished by bringing youth of both cultures together in a social studies program, in which the relatively polar position of the two cultures on the MAS dimensional index provided an excellent opportunity for exploring the MAS dimension. The data in this study were gathered through a 2002/2003 pen-pal social studies program conducted between two sixth-grade classes in Finland and two sixth-grade classes in the United States. Nowadays these programs are frequently conducted over the Internet and referred to as "key-pal" or "e-pal" programs. Virtually all of the student participants were twelve years of age at the time the data were collected.

1.3 *The Importance of Youth*

Hall connects age and national culture, saying, "man automatically treats what is most characteristically his own (the culture of his youth) as though it were innate" (1976: 43). Hofstede refers to culture in youth, with regard to national culture and gender socialization, as learned, "Although both nationality and gender cultures are learned, not inborn, we learn their consequences so early that we never know anything else, and we are usually unaware of other possibilities" (2001: 286).

Children grow up quickly to assume local, national and global citizenship roles and today's children will soon take positions of leadership in education, business and government, areas that are increasingly becoming intersections for intercultural contact. Because children are so impressionable, there may be a narrow window of opportunity—while their own identities, values and attitudes are beginning to solidify—for affecting their objectivity and mindfulness regarding not only the rest of the world, in the international context, but in regard to those around them as well, in the multicultural context. However, Furlong and Cartmel cite evidence that "youth transitions have become more difficult" due to late modernity's influences, which they refer to as having a "disembedding" effect on subjective identity creation (1999: 15). Add to this the social stress of current global international conflicts and it is clear that

intercultural communication specialists should focus more effort on youth, with particular focus on the education arena. The results of such research must help inform teachers and be integrated into the curriculum development process. Curricula should be grounded, in part, on theories of identity development and intercultural communication and should result in resources and approaches that target the acquisition of cultural awareness and sensitivity by students. By doing so, patterns of generalization and any possible negative, antisocial stereotypes that might result in youth could be replaced by positive intercultural awareness and sensitivity, and for many youth this may represent a first step toward intercultural communication competence.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to achieve the goals of this study, the following research questions were developed:

1. Is the cultural dimension of masculinity versus femininity, derived by Hofstede in the contexts of adults' workplace and job preferences and elaborated using social behavior markers, visible in the twelve-year-old age participants and the cultures investigated in this study?

2. How has the passage of time since Hofstede's data were collected in his IBM study from 1968 - 1971 affected the two cultures relative to the masculinity versus femininity dimension, as may be evident in the studied youth?

3. Furthering a critical perspective, how can the same data gathered in this study be interpreted through the theoretical lens of Schwartz? How does Schwartz's cultural theory compare and contrast with Hofstede's?

4. To what degree do the studied youth reflect shared aspects of their national cultures?

5. What critical perspectives does qualitative elaboration and assessment bring to quantitative research?

2 CULTURE AND VALUES

2.1 *What is Culture and how is it Measured?*

Geert Hofstede describes culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another" (1984: 5). Hofstede extends this definition to national culture, wherein aspects of culture held by individuals are shared across geographic boundaries and/or across other sorts of boundaries that distinguish common interests, organizations or other collective mechanisms (2001: 1).

Ultimately, the process of distinguishing groups of people results in categorization, and social scientists who attempt to study culture have been challenged regarding whether it is scientifically valid or morally appropriate to create systems for differentiating between groups of people, and, if so, exactly how to do it (Shi-xu: 69). One framework for the study of cultural distinctiveness that has been well developed is the concept of values orientations (see Kluckhohn, 1961; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990; Rokeach, 1973). Rokeach defines the essence of individual values: "To say that a person 'has a value' is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence" (1972: 159). Shalom Schwartz describes culture both in terms of values orientations held by individuals and in terms of values *shared* by individuals (Schwartz & Sagie, 2000: 466). Schwartz describes values shared by individuals as representing a values *consensus* throughout a group. He suggests this consensus provides a basis for social structure (ibid). Schwartz further elaborates his definition of shared culture: "I view culture as the rich complex of meanings, beliefs, practices, symbols, norms and values prevalent among people in a society" (2004: in press).

Theorists have long attempted to construct working definitions of culture. Franz Boas, for example, describes an early, unified definition of culture, characterizing the whole as having a structural framework (1963: 149). Hall points to anthropologists' desire to create and apply structural frameworks: "Anthropologists use predominantly non-mathematical theoretical models that are rooted in culture" (1976: 13). Building on the work of Boas, Hall divides culture into parts from which a representative view of the whole is constructed, "Since culture is itself a series of situational models for behavior and thought, the models anthropologists use are frequently highly abstract versions of parts of models that make up the entire culture (kinship systems, for

example)" (1976: 13). Hofstede also describes how models facilitate theoretical development, "A model is a simplified design for visualizing something too complex for us to grasp" (2001: 2).

Kluckhohn & Stodtbeck developed an early values-based model for understanding differences between groups (1951: 86). The "Values Orientation Method" continues in use today, notably at the Florence R. Kluckhohn Center for the Study of Values. The method is based on three universal assumptions that the Center contends drive the human species:

1. There is a limited number of common human problems for which all peoples at all times must find some solution, including:
    a. What is the character of innate human nature?
    b. What is the relation of man to nature (and super nature)?
    c. What is the temporal focus of human life?
    d. What is the modality of human activity?
    e. What is the modality of humankind's relationship to other people?
2. While there is variability in solutions of all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random but is definitely variable within a range of possible solutions.
3. All alternatives of all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differentially preferred. (Kluckhohn Center for the Study of Values, On the Web)

One notable application of the Values Orientation Method occurred in 1985, when Russo reported the results of *The Values Project Northwest: Xwlemi* (Russo, Bereano, Berez, Dupris, Ensign, Hills, Legters, Lyden, Rabkin, Watson, and Zubalik, 1985). Russo surveyed members of the Lummi Nation of Native Americans in the American Northwest and others outside of the Nation. At that time, the Lummi Nation had recently acquired an island in the state of Washington as an extension of their existing reservation. The Value Orientations Method allowed the Lummi Nation and the State of Washington to better understand their mutual expectations regarding how the land was

to be used, and this understanding was based on values illuminated in the surveys (Russo et al., 2000: 166).

In 1980 Hofstede reported the largest single study of values orientations conducted thus far, in which 116,000 participants were surveyed. While much of Hofstede's research has since found wide acceptance, his research and conclusions are continually debated in academic circles to this day (see Hampton-Turner & Trompenaars, 1997; and Schwartz, 1999 and 2004, in press, among many others). For his 1980 publication, Hofstede collected data in 1968 and 1972 from offices of the multinational concern, International Business Machines (IBM), located around the world. It is important to note that Hofstede derived his dimensions orthogonally, because this will be further discussed in comparison with the deductive reasoning used by Schwartz that formed the basis of his own inquiry. The following quote by Hofstede succinctly describes his overall methodological approach, and is reproduced here in order that the reader can fully understand the methods used to obtain his cultural dimensions:

> Using paper-and-pencil answers on 32 values questions by matched samples of employees of subsidiaries of the same multinational business corporations in 40 different countries, I studied the relationship between nationality and mean values scores. The total number of questionnaires available for analysis was over 116,000, from employees at all levels, managers and non-managers alike; most groups were surveyed twice over a four-year interval, so that the stability of differences found and trends over time could also be tested. Focusing on the relationship between nationality and mean value scores meant that the *country* (*n*=40), not the individual respondent (*n*=116,000) became the unit of analysis. Factor analysis of the 32 mean values scores for each of the 40 countries (an *ecological* factor analysis), showed that three factors together explained 49% of the variance in means (Hofstede, 1980: 83). Afterwards, for reasons explained below, one of these factors was split into two parts, so that four dimensions were created. Each country could be given an index score on each of these four dimensions. (1986: 306, italics Hofstede)

In 1988 Hofstede partnered with Michael Harris Bond to identify a fifth dimension of culture using the Chinese Value Survey, after it was determined that Hofstede's previous survey instruments contained a decidedly western bias. Hofstede (2001) summarized all five of his dimensions of national culture:

1. *Power distance*, which is related to the different solutions to the basic problem of human inequality

2. *Uncertainly avoidance*, which is related to the level of stress in a society in the face of an unknown future

3. *Individualism* versus *collectivism*, which is related to the integration of individuals into primary groups

4. *Masculinity* versus *femininity,* which is related to the division of emotional roles between men and women

5. *Long-term* versus *short-term orientation*, which is related to the choice of focus for people's efforts: the future or the present. (2001: 29)

From his data, Hofstede ranked cultures along indices for each of the five dimensions (2001: 500). While the United States was included in the long-term versus short-term study, Finland was not. As pointed out previously, Finland and the United States are fairly closely positioned together on three of Hofstede's four original indexes. However, on the masculinity versus femininity dimension (MAS), Finland ranked 47th (very "feminine") and the United States ranked 15th (strongly "masculine"). Japan ranked as the most masculine culture in Hofstede's pool of fifty countries and three regions. The countries of Denmark, Norway and Sweden ranked at 50, 52 and 53 respectively, reflecting with Finland a Scandinavian region that, according to Hofstede, is strongly feminine (2001: 285).

Hofstede describes the IBM data surveyed in 1968 and 1972 in terms of "human values," and later he connects his results regarding the four dimensions illuminated in his original study to a previous study in the field of anthropology (Inkeles & Levinson, 1969) that, according to Hofstede, "fairly" predicted the same four dimensions (1986: 307). Hofstede continued to test his original results by "comparing conceptually related data from a variety of sources." and claimed to find significant correlations between his original work and these various data sources (1986: 307). In the process of expanding his work, Hofstede's cultural level pool increased to 50 countries and three regions and the follow-up results, according to Hofstede, "fitted well into the existing dimensions" (ibid).

Expanding on his earlier 1984 definition (see page 12), Hofstede describes culture as, "defined as collective programming of the mind; it manifests itself not only in values, but in more superficial ways: in symbols, heroes, and rituals" (2001: 1).

Hofstede makes a distinction between values and culture and points out that the two are not equivalent, "Values are held by individuals as well as by collectivities; culture presupposes a collectivity" (ibid: 5). Hofstede describes values as having both intensity (how much importance we give to a particular value) and direction, meaning that we usually make a judgment about which side of the value we stand for (either for or against). He states that, for example, one might have strong feelings (intensity) about money yet be inclined to either have a lot of money or even no money at all (direction) (ibid: 6).

When considering how values are expressed, Hofstede makes a distinction between the desired and the desirable. He states that the desired expresses what an individual actually desires, and that the desirable expresses what people think they ought to desire, pointing out that values should not be equated with deeds, but that, "values as the desired are at least closer to deeds than are values as the desirable" (ibid). In the present study, the data acquisition, interpretation and subsequent analyses focus on the desirable.

2.2 *Hofstede's Masculinity Versus Femininity Dimension*

Hofstede interpreted from his IBM study that, "In higher-MAS countries, values of men and women in the same jobs differed more than in lower-MAS countries" (2001: 279). He noted a correlation between MAS and geographic latitude, and in the case of extreme northern latitudes he hypothesized that mutual survival needs between the sexes in a harsh northern environment resulted in more feminine societies (ibid: 331). Hofstede uses Margaret Mead's 1962 work as a foundation for explaining the differing societal roles played by both sexes, pointing out Mead's argument that, since men do not give birth, they seek other ways to achieve uniqueness in their society, such as hunting or building (ibid: 280). Hofstede extends this point by claiming that, "Men, in short, are supposed to be assertive, competitive, and *tough*. Women are supposed to be more concerned with taking care of the home, the children, and people in general—to take the *tender* roles" (ibid, emphasis Hofstede's).

Hofstede uses the phrase "gender roles" to describe certain traditional roles each sex assumes in a given society and describes a pattern of male assertiveness and female nurturance as a "tough" or "tender" dimension (ibid). He also makes an important point, meaningful to this study, that sex at birth strongly dictates gender role outcomes in most societies, "although both nationality and gender cultures are learned, not inborn, we

learn their consequences so early that we never know anything else, and we are usually unaware of other possibilities" (ibid: 286). Based on this statement, I postulated that social markers for the MAS dimension *should* be evident in the data collected in the presently studied age group. Clarifying the degree to which gender roles overlap in any given culture, Hofstede states that differences based on gender are simply statistical, meaning that neither gender holds exclusively a particular value, but that men and women share values, "with different frequency" (ibid: 288). Finally, Hofstede summarizes the distinctiveness of both masculinity and femininity:

> Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct: Men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life. Femininity stands for a society in which social gender roles overlap: Both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. (ibid: 297)

When comparing MAS with his other three original dimensions, Hofstede only sees a link between his Power Distance (PDI) dimension and the MAS dimension, "…where PDI is high, inequality between parents and children is a societal norm. Children are supposed to be controlled by obedience…where PDI is low, children are controlled by the examples set by parents." He continues, "Where MAS is high, inequality between fathers' and mothers' roles (father tough, mother less tough) is also a societal norm" (ibid: 298). It should be noted again that Finland and the United States ranked close to each other on the PDI dimension (2001: 500). Therefore, in the case of this study, PDI should exert a minimal affect on the two cultures when compared to each other based on the MAS dimension.

Hofstede created a societal norm table in which he describes the primary values-based behaviors he attributes to high- and low-MAS cultures. The values and behaviors Hofstede cites in this table serve as a primary guide to the design of the present study, and form the basis for investigating the masculinity versus femininity dimension. Keeping in mind that Hofstede's results place Finland deeply into the low-MAS end of the index and the United States at the high-MAS end, particular attention should be paid to the values and to the related social behaviors, also referred to in the present study as social markers, that Hofstede associates with masculine and feminine cultures appearing in Table 1:

Low-MAS (Finland)	**High-MAS (United States)**
Relationship orientation.	Ego orientation.
Quality of life and people are important.	Money and things are important.
Stress on who you are.	Stress on what you do.
Work in order to live.	Live in order to work.
Minimum emotional and social role differentiation between the genders.	Maximum emotional and social role differentiation between the genders.
Men should be tender and take care of both performance and relationships; women should be the same.	Men should be tough and take care of performance; women should be tender and take care of relationships.
Men and women should be modest.	Men should be and women may be assertive and ambitious.
Sympathy for the weak.	Sympathy for the strong.
Small and slow are beautiful.	Big and fast are beautiful.

**Table 1. The Masculinity Social Norm Table (Hofstede, 2001: 299).
Reprinted with permission.**

As mentioned previously, the United States and Finland are ranked fairly close to each other on the other three of Hofstede's original dimensions in his analysis of fifty countries and three regions (1980). On the power distance (PDI) dimension, the United States ranked 38th and Finland 46th. On the individualism versus collectivism (IDV) dimension the United States topped the index (1st) and Finland ranked 17th. On the uncertainty avoidance dimension (UAI), the United States ranked 43rd while Finland tied at 31st with Iran. Therefore, these three dimensions should have limited comparative influence in the present analysis of the role of the MAS dimension in the discourse between the American and Finnish children in this study.

In Hofstede's IBM data there were a higher percentage of women respondents in Finland compared to other cultures. This may, in itself, illuminate the gender role overlap that exists in Finland by reflecting the large number of women at the management level present in Finland compared to many other cultures. When controlling for the percentage of women, recalculating the MAS index added an additional 25 points for Finland, placing the country much higher on the index. However, Hofstede continues to use the original ranking, because, "high percentages of women, however, were not only a cause but also partly an *effect* of the country's relatively low MAS norm, so I have continued using the original MAS values" (2001: 285, emphasis Hofstede's). In the present study, for the same reasons Hofstede cites above, the original MAS values for Finland are assumed to be accurate.

2.3 *Shalom Schwartz: Another Perspective On Culture*

2.3.1 *Schwartz's Individual Level Values Research*

Shalom Schwartz's early work approached culture from the standpoint of values held by individuals, calling them, "Desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives" (2000: 467). While Hofstede ascribes to values "intensity" and "direction," Schwartz suggests that values have "content" and "structure" (2000, 467). Content, according to Schwartz, expresses a form of motivational goal. From his data, Schwartz derived ten "…motivationally distinct types of individual values, presumed to encompass the range of values recognized across cultures…"(ibid). These values are identified as: self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence and universalism (ibid: 468). In Figure 1, we see that Schwartz's values "structure" places each value into segments on a pie, with certain values placed opposite others in order to make clear their polar relationship:
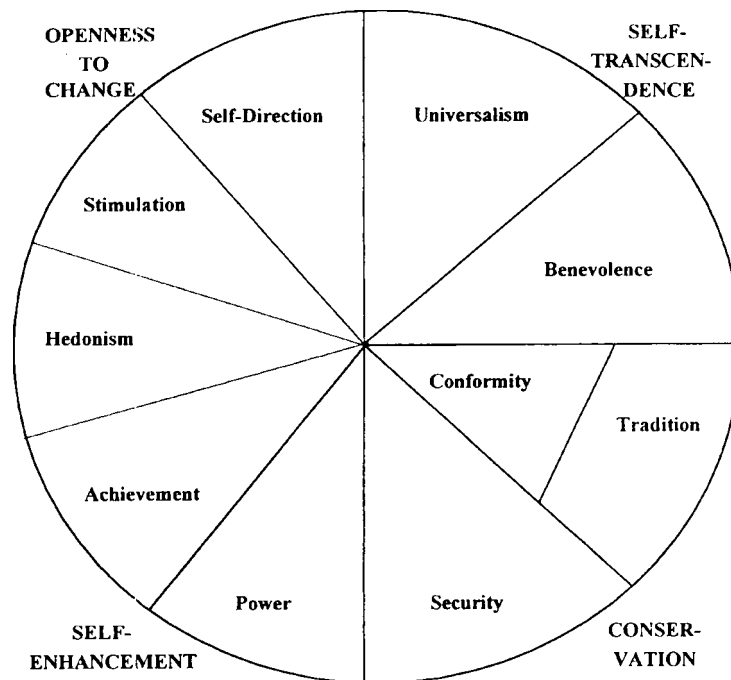
**Figure 1: Structure of Relations Among 10 Motivational Types of Values
(Schwartz & Sagie, 2000: 470). Reprinted with permission.**

Using this structure, the reader can visualize the polar relationships Schwartz's individual level values share as part of a relational "map" of cultural dimensions. Schwartz describes each value:

- Power: social status, dominance over people and resources

- Achievement: personal success according to social resources

- Hedonism: pleasure or sensuous gratification

- Stimulation: excitement and novelty

- Self-Direction: independence of thought and action

- Universalism: understanding, tolerance and protection for the
  welfare of all people and nature

- Benevolence: preserving and enhancing the welfare of people
  to whom one is close

- Tradition: respect and enhancing the welfare of people to
  whom one is close

- Conformity: restraint of actions and impulses that may harm
  others and violate social expectations

- Security: stability of society, relationships and self (1997: 86)

Schwartz's 1992 and 1994 studies added the twin polarities, indicated also in Figure 1, that overarch his ten individual value types: openness to change versus conservatism, and self-enhancement versus self-transcendence.

2.3.2 *Schwartz's Cultural Level Values Research*

Building from previous studies (as exampled by Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990), Schwartz extends his conceptualization beyond values held by individuals, empirically measuring the degree to which values held by individual members form a "value consensus" representative of a group or nation, or, as he states, "…the degree of value homogeneity or heterogeneity in the nation" (Schwartz & Sagie, 2000: 466). Schwartz states that "socially shared" values form a basis for society, serving to create social systems that are compatible with these values, and cites economic and governmental systems as examples of systems that reflect shared values (Smith & Schwartz, 1997: 83). He also stresses the "rewards" available to those who comply with societal level values and states that, "The average value priorities of societal members reflect the central thrust of their shared enculturation" (ibid: 95).

Schwartz derived values at the cultural level by "averaging the value priorities of individuals in matched samples from each society" (2004, in press). He cites his own

1992 study in which he conducted a values survey of individuals across 67 nations and three sub-national ethnic groups; each respondent was asked to rate the importance of each "single value item" as a guiding principle in his or her own life. Separate multidimensional scaling analyses confirmed a consistent cross-cultural meaning for 45 of the 67 values and these were chosen by Schwartz to describe his cultural-level dimensions (ibid).

Schwartz bases his cultural-level studies on three issues he claims to be fundamental to every society: 1) relations between the individual and groups, 2) assuring responsible social behavior, and 3) the role of humans in the natural and social world (Smith & Schwartz, 1997: 99). Schwartz organizes these issues into a cultural-level dimensional perspective, where each dimension is represented by polar opposite values orientations. His first dimension, conservatism versus autonomy, seems roughly similar to Hofstede's dimension of collectivism versus individualism. Schwartz describes individuals in conservative societies as being "embedded" in a "collectivity" with an emphasis on maintaining the status quo, propriety, and the avoidance of anything that might be disruptive to social order (ibid).

His second dimension, hierarchy versus egalitarianism, seems similar to Hofstede's power distance dimension. A high hierarchy culture, according to Schwartz, "…emphasizes the legitimacy of an unequal distribution of power, roles, and resources (social power, authority, humility, wealth)" (ibid: 100). Schwartz correlates high hierarchy with the social need to control for responsible behavior. High egalitarian cultures, on the other hand, "Portray individuals as moral equals who share basic interests as human beings. People are socialized to internalize a commitment to voluntary cooperation with others and to feel concern for everyone's welfare" (ibid). Schwartz is careful to point out that egalitarian values are pertinent in societies where individuals are "autonomous" rather than "interdependent." Thus, egalitarian societies are likely to be high on the autonomous scale in Schwartz's schema.

Schwartz's third cultural level dimension, mastery versus harmony, seems similar to Hofstede's masculinity versus femininity dimension. High mastery cultures, according to Schwartz, are those where "people actively seek to master and change the natural and social world, to assert control and exploit it in order to further personal or group interests." High harmony cultures, representing the polar opposite of high mastery cultures, "accept the world as it is, trying to preserve rather than to change or exploit it" (ibid). Hofstede claims that feminine, low-MAS cultures desire to maintain a

natural world, with minimal human effects on the environment (2001: 323), fitting well Schwartz's harmony dimension.

In the case of the United States, the question of harmony with nature seems to be a rather complicated concept. A significant portion of the population holds nature and its preservation in high regard. Yet the modern United States was founded based on highly individual concepts related to personal freedom, evident in both the United States' *Declaration of Independence* and *Constitution*[2]. The establishment of the Union primarily by people of European heritage, and particularly the subsequent westward expansion of the growing population, was dependent on highly individualistic ideals, where personal goals such as land and business ownership in a free and open society required extreme individual motivation and action at a time in the country's history when the land was wide open for development[3]. These values have endured through time in the United States, resulting in continued stress between growth and conservation ideals.

Hofstede's observation, noted earlier, that higher latitudes such as Finland's required a more cooperative social model in order to survive the extreme climate, seems to fit with Finland's strong national commitment to environmental conservation. It is logical, perhaps, in this case to see a link between Schwartz's mastery versus harmony dimension and Hofstede's collectivism versus individualism dimension, because such a strong commitment to conservation requires a decidedly collective agreement across the population that reflects the underlying values of its people. Schwartz uses social markers such as "ambition, success, daring, and competence" to describe a high mastery culture's seemingly assertive individual attributes, and he ascribes to high harmony cultures, "unity with nature, protecting the environment, world of beauty" (Smith & Schwartz, 1997: 100).

Schwartz describes his cultural level theory as an "Empirically validated typology of value orientations, developed in recent years to describe, map, and give insight into cultural differences" and points out that his approach is "Distinctive in its use of *a priori* theorizing to derive cultural dimensions and to specify how they form a coherent, integrated system" (2004, in press). This approach seems to be extremely useful when visualizing how a culture might be located in a tightly woven map of different cultures, overlaid by a relative typology of cultural dimensions. Schwartz stresses that his three bipolar overarching dimensions, "represent resolutions" to the basic problems that

---

[2] Both documents are available on the Web at: http://www.archives.gov/
[3] This occurred at times arguably at the expense of First Nation, Native American populations.

confront all societies (see page 21 of this report), and that these dimensions "yield a coherent circular structure of relations between them" (ibid). Schwartz claims that this interrelated structure is distinctive, as compared to other theories such as Hofstede's orthogonally derived dimensions in which the axes of the dimensions are perpendicular and thus unrelated to each other (2004, in press).

2.3.3 *Schwartz's Behavioral Correlations Between Dimensions*

When Schwartz describes social behavioral correlations between his dimensions, he sees a strong relationship between high autonomy and development, resulting in higher levels of education, life expectancy and high-income levels (2004, in press). For cultures where embeddedness is emphasized, the opposite pattern results: low education, lower life expectancy and low-income levels. Schwartz identifies strong correlations between democracy and both autonomy and egalitarianism. His data also points toward higher levels of democracy in high mastery cultures, explaining that citizens in mastery cultures use democratic processes to persuade their society to choose their goals. Cultures high in autonomy, egalitarianism and harmony, according to Schwartz, are also least likely to be corrupt. When the opposite is true, as in high hierarchy cultures, "the less law and order in a nation." Schwartz also states that high cultural mastery "may justify using non-legal means to advance personal or group interests" (ibid). In 2004 Transparency International reported on corruption worldwide, and since the annual report began in 1995 the Scandinavian countries (all high in egalitarianism, autonomy and harmony) have always been among the least corrupt countries in the world (2004: On the Web).

Regarding cultures exhibiting high gender equality, Schwartz sees strong links to egalitarianism, autonomy and harmony. He sees no significant link between gender equality and national wealth except for its "influence" on culture (2004, in press). In the same study he also reports a strong correlation between mastery, which he calls "stereotypically male," and low gender equality (ibid).

As previously mentioned on page 21, in 1992 Schwartz employed a values survey across 67 nations and three sub-national ethnic groups that included over 50 value items, such as social justice, humility, creativity, social order, pleasure and ambition. Using multidimensional scaling analysis, Schwartz derived 45 values judged to be equivalent conceptually across the groups measured. Like Hofstede, Schwartz measured correlations across samples using means for each value measured, resulting in cultural-

level dimensions. The pattern of correlation is represented by plotting each value item relative to the others, and overlaid on his three bipolar, overarching dimensions: embeddedness versus autonomy, hierarchy versus egalitarianism, and mastery versus harmony (see Figure 2, page 25). Autonomy is further divided into intellectual and affective states. Notable is the location of each value and its spatial proximity relative to the overarching dimensions. For example, social order is solidly in the realm of embeddedness, and curiosity is solidly in the realm of intellectual autonomy.

2.3.4 *Schwartz's Typology of Culture: Finland and the United States*

The social markers evident on Figure 2 become particularly relevant, because Schwartz's extensive cultural level research data yielded a spatial typology, or map, of 67 nations (2004, in press). Presented here as Figure 3 (page 26), each cultural group is located relative to each other *and* within their specific location relative to the social markers appearing in Figure 2. The results demonstrate significant regional grouping of cultures based on shared cultural values; the primary relation that Schwartz uses to group cultures is geography. According to Schwartz (ibid), his culture groupings "show strikingly parallels" to other theorists' work, including Hofstede's (1980), Huntington's (1993) and the research of Inglehart and Baker (2000). When viewing the typology in Figure 3, the Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Norway and Finland are all bunched tightly at the far end of egalitarianism, reflecting the same sort of Scandinavian regional grouping evident in Hofstede's MAS index. By virtue of the relative visualization available through Schwartz's typology, one can also see that these countries are also located well into the autonomy and harmony emphasis areas of Schwartz's map.

On this same typology, the United States is located fairly well to the mastery side but not nearly as far as some Asian countries, including China, Thailand and South Korea. Notable also is that the United States is positioned near the midpoints for both egalitarianism versus hierarchy and embeddedness versus autonomy. However, due to the relative spatial qualities of Schwartz's typology, it is important when comparing the United States and Finland to also think in terms of the relative distance *between the two countries* on each of the three overarching dimensions.
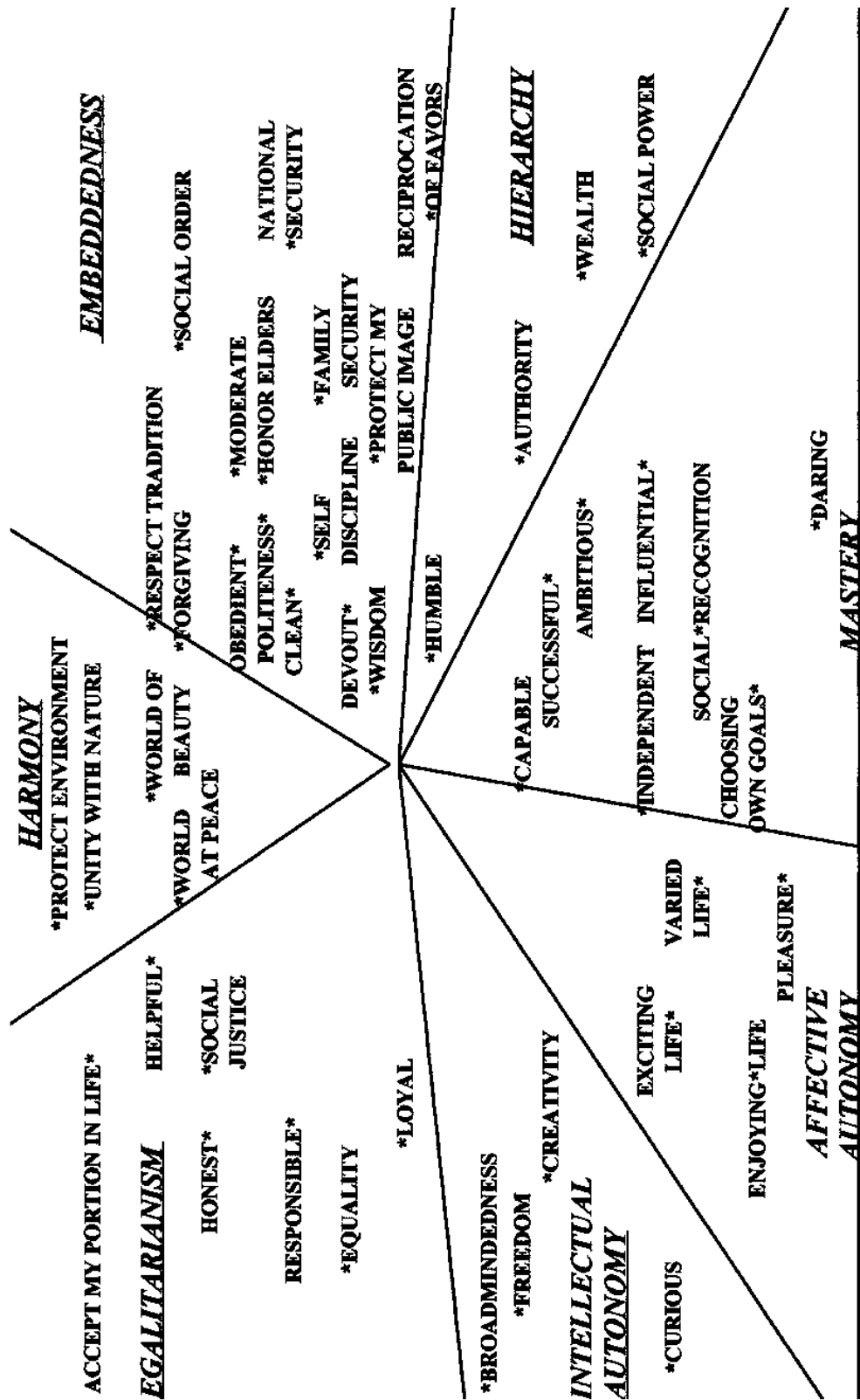
Fig. 2 Cultural Level Samples Comprising 70 Groups
Schwartz (2004, in press). Reprinted with permission.
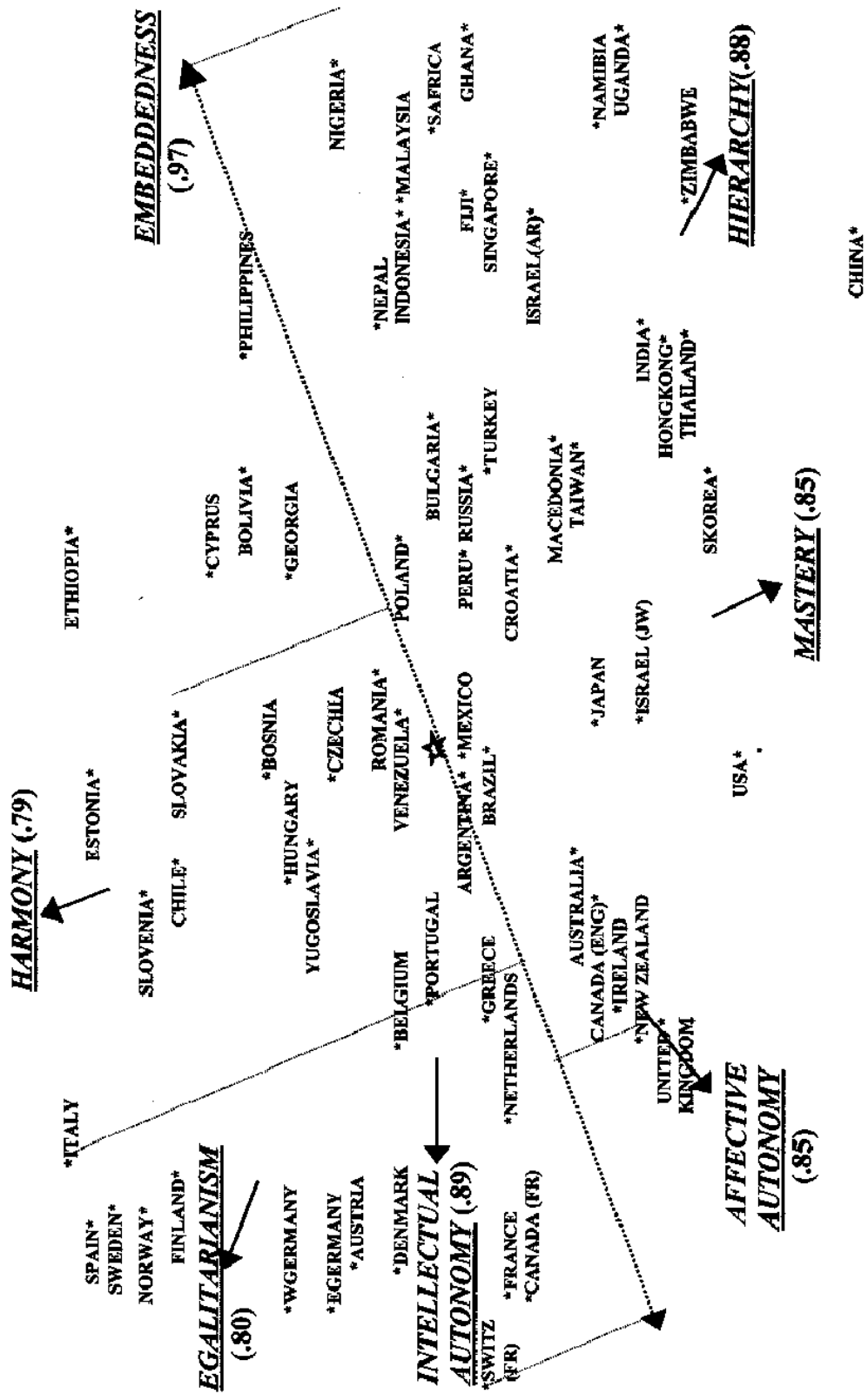
Fig. 3, Co-plot Map of 67 National Groups on Seven Cultural Orientations Schwartz (2004, in press). Reprinted with permission.

2.4 *Culture and Youth*

Hall states, "Man automatically treats what is most characteristically his own *(the culture of his youth)* as though it were innate" (1976: 43, italics added). Children offer a clue to the future because they will fill the social, political and cultural vacuum created as their aging parents retire or die. The degree to which they, at an early age, exhibit unyielding negative stereotypes regarding other cultures provides clues regarding what the future might look like, so working with children in an intercultural context offers an excellent prospect for influencing the future in positive ways. Almost all of the students studied in this research are twelve years old, putting them about midpoint between Lambert and Klineberg's age of openness, up to age ten, and age of awareness, around age fourteen and after. Hofstede argues further that our early years are key to development later in life:

> To be equipped for life, humans need a period of intense programming by their social environment. During the first ten years of our lives we possess an uncanny ability to absorb basic learning; this ability later disappears. A Japanese proverb runs, "The soul of a 3-year-old stays with him until he is 100." This is why children who are disadvantaged in their early years will suffer the consequences for life. (2001:4)

Hofstede suggests that gender roles are cemented through socialization, "Both girls and boys learn their place in society and, once they have learned it, the majority of them *want it that way*" (ibid: 298, emphasis Hofstede's).

Schwartz gives a large credit to schools, and particularly to teachers, in values education. While recognizing that an individual teacher may not necessarily represent national values, "School teachers may be better than most groups for studying values because they are expected to play an explicit role in value socialization and they are presumably key carriers of culture" (2000: 478). As a key carrier of culture, the influence of teachers on the development of cultural values and identity cannot be underestimated. For this reason, I felt that studying the values orientations of youth in the contexts of an in-class social studies exchange program would offer teachers insight into how their students develop their individual and cultural level identities, as well as how their students perceive those in other cultures.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 *The Use of Language To Explore Culture*

This study employs language, in the form of written texts, to explore cultural behavior. Hall points out the difficulty of using language to study culture: "The paradox of culture is that language, the system most frequently used to describe culture, is by nature poorly adapted to this difficult task. It is too linear, not comprehensive enough, too slow, too limited, too constrained, too unnatural, too much a product of its own evolution, and too artificial" (1976: 57). However, Hall also advocates that language has its advantages in describing culture, namely that language provides a system for organizing and communicating concepts (ibid). Perhaps the difficulties Hall associates with using language to interpret culture explains why many cultural theorists rely on questionnaire-based Likert-scale instruments to identify shared values across many distinctive cultures. Even so, the richness of breadth and depth associated with free discourse seems to me to offer the possibility of both a broader and deeper level of cultural understanding.

3.2 *The Disadvantages of Relying on Questionnaires*

Referring to questionnaires, Hofstede states: "These produce provoked behavior, which is used to predict other behavior, both verbal in other situations and nonverbal. Frequently, the validity of these predictions is assumed without further proof, as face validity, whereas a rigid test has to measure the predictive validity, that is, compare predicted with observed behavior" (2001: 4). He relies on other researchers to provide these links to observable data, in effect providing validation to his own constructs (ibid: 5). Because links to observed behavior are required to bring life to quantitative studies, as Hofstede advocates, I chose to combine qualitative discourse analysis with basic quantitative analysis methods in order to explore the MAS dimension more deeply than Hofstede's quantitative, questionnaire-based research allows. I choose to use the ascriptions Hofstede makes regarding the social behaviors of masculine and feminine societies to serve as the focal lens in the design of the study and in the interpretation of the resulting data.

Hofstede's own social markers provided a logical avenue for qualitative investigation, because Hofstede also connects values orientations and discourse:

"Discourse, the forms of text and talk that social actors use for different occasions, reflects the desirable much more than it does the desired" (2001: 7). If, as Hofstede suggests, dimensions of national culture are embedded (reflecting the "desirable") in discourse, then these shared characteristics of national culture may be evident in the texts gathered for this study. In summary, based on Hofstede's own suggestions for elaborating his quantitative research, this study set out to interpret meanings and behaviors embedded in the discourse between groups of Finnish and American sixth-grade students, and to compare them with Hofstede's own predictions regarding the behavior of feminine and masculine societies.

Like Hofstede, Schwartz also employs questionnaire-based, quantitative methodologies to develop a theoretical structure of culture. He addresses the difficulties of relying on quantitative data by first pointing out that situational contexts affect individual values: "Values are directly influenced by everyday experiences in changing ecological and sociopolitical contexts" (Smith & Schwartz, 1997: 79). He also describes the inherent difficulties associated with cross-cultural psychology's reliance on questionnaires, because, "respondents from different cultures vary in the way they typically respond to rating scale formats, some using more extreme responses, for example, while others use more moderate responses" (ibid: 81). Finally, Schwartz points out that values identified in one culture may not carry the same meaning in another culture. Correcting for this problem, according to Schwartz, requires the use of sophisticated statistical methods, including factor analyses and multidimensional scaling analyses (ibid: 81-82).

Both Hofstede and Schwartz's research demonstrate that in order to measure, compare and contrast *many* distinct cultures in the same study, quantitative research, including powerful statistical analysis, is essential. However, Jackson & Niblo emphasize that qualitative methods, such as those employed in this study, can be used as tools to elaborate the claims made in quantitative studies by focusing on the behavior of specific cultures (2003: 18). Moreover, Jackson & Niblo advocate that quantitative and qualitative methodologies can and sometimes should be run in parallel (ibid).

Schwartz (2004, in press) credits Hofstede for making theoretical concepts about culture relevant: "A significant strength of Hofstede's (1980, 2001) contribution is precisely his reasoning and supportive data regarding antecedents and consequences of national differences on his cultural dimensions." As we will see, Schwartz similarly connects cultural dimensions to social behavior in his own research.

3.3 *Problems Related to Cross-Cultural Research*

3.3.1 *Embedded Cultural Bias in Research Design*

Jackson and Niblo point out another major problem with large-scale quantitative studies of culture that has the potential to completely undermine the validity of the resulting claims made about culture. They state that "an overwhelming majority" of quantitative cross-cultural studies, particularly exampled in the field of cultural psychology, represent "imposed-etic" processes, whereby research design, cultural assumptions and interpretations contain a decidedly Western bias (2003:18). Shi-xu takes this point farther by suggesting that the entire discourse within the cultural psychology field is ethnocentric, originating from "Cartesian discourse and the discourse of Enlightenment" (2002: 66). Shi-xu, in his reference to Cartesian discourse, is likely referring to René Descartes' famous "wax argument," in which Descartes contemplates the changing nature of a piece of wax under the influence of a heat source, and observes, "*Thus what I thought I had seen with my eyes, I actually grasped solely with the faculty of judgment, which is in my mind.*" Descartes uses his own capacity for judgment to further the argument for his own existence. Using this comparison, Shi-xu illustrates the inherently biased nature of etic-imposed inquiry, a form of inquiry that stems from Descartes' judgmental perspective.[4]

Jackson and Niblo further point out, citing a 1993 study by Smith and Bond, that the etic[5] approach: "Focuses on the universal aspects of human behavior (the fact that all humans eat, communicate, interact, affiliate, procreate and to a degree, are aggressive)" (2003:18). The emic[6] approach typical of qualitative studies, in contrast, "focuses on the different and varied ways these activities are expressed *within any specific culture* (what specific food each culture prefers to eat)" (ibid: 19, italics added). Jackson and Niblo argue for future quantitative cross-cultural studies to feature a "parallel-emic" design (ibid: 18).

In choosing a methodological approach for this study, I questioned the degree to which large-scale, quantitative research methods such as Hofstede's can accurately and deeply portray a given culture. Somehow I wanted to link the explicit numbers in Hofstede's study to the axiological human behavior we know as culture. This

---

[4] See book five of René Descartes' *Meditations on First Philosophy.*

[5] Etic: Of or relating to features or items analyzed without considering their role as a structural unit in a system, as in behavioral science or linguistics. From Dictionary.com

[6] Emic: Of or relating to features or items analyzed with respect to their role as structural units in a system, as in behavioral science or linguistics. From Dictionary.com

perspective is one that Hofstede himself advocates, encouraging others to observe his statistical conclusions by other means and in real life (2001: 5). This typically involves researchers developing ontological frameworks by employing observations, anecdotes, history or even personal life experiences to give life to their data.

3.3.2 *Cross-Cultural Meaning Validity*

Based on Jackson & Niblo's (2003:18) and Shi-xu's (2002: 66) suggestions that cultural psychology is dominated by Western cultural values, it is assumed that the social markers provided by both Hofstede and Schwartz reflect similar biases, and therefore, the cross-cultural meaning validity, in which words, phrases and concepts are mutually understood by different cultures should be questioned regarding the design and interpretation of the present study.

Smith and Schwartz advocate the use of qualitative methods by pointing out the difficulty in establishing cross-cultural meaning of investigative concepts: "The most defensible approach is to start with parallel, emic studies within many different cultures, seeking convergence in the structure of values chosen for the study" (1997: 84). The present study, and its qualitative design, provides the cross checking that Jackson and Niblo, as well as Smith and Schwartz argue for, by comparing Hofstede's and Schwartz's quantitative research with a corpus of written texts supplied by two cultures. Even so, the difficulty of identifying and ensuring the cross-cultural meaning of concepts and terminology cannot be underestimated in the process of designing this study and interpreting the results.

3.3.3 *Problems Related to the Culture of the Researcher*

Hall points out that culture has an influence on the creation of any social model, "While it will be denied by some, much depends on the anthropologist's own culture, which exerts a deep and abiding influence not only on how anthropologists think but over where they draw the boundaries in such matters" (Hall, 1976:12). While Shi-xu spoke in terms of how Western biases are embedded in the discourse of cultural psychology, Hall seems to be directing his comments toward the individual researcher. Hall's point is well taken in regard to the present study, and the reader must keep in mind the limited familiarity in the case of this researcher with Finnish culture, particularly in the case of Finnish youth. When discussing culture as a communications system, Hall states that

the collective aspects of culture "are complete communication systems with meanings that can be read correctly only if one is familiar with the behavior in its historical, social, and cultural context" (1976: 42).

Hofstede also addresses the issue of cultural bias: "Much more than the physical sciences, the social sciences deal with systems of which the scientists themselves are a part" (2001: 2). One major problem with measuring values, he states, is that, "the universe of all human values is not defined, and that each author has made his or her own subjective selection from this unknown universe, with little consensus among authors" (ibid: 7). Clearly, the culture of the researcher in the present study must be taken into account regarding all aspects of the study, including its design and implementation and, finally, the interpretation of the data. As well, the national cultures of the respective theorists explored in this study have had the same impact on their own work. In the case of the present study, the researcher was a middle-aged male at the time the research was designed and conducted, his native culture Anglo-American, and his native language is English.

3.4 *What are Discourse Studies?*

Carey describes the basic transmission model of communication, where a sender sends a message to a receiver through a medium (S → M → R). He adds to this model the concept of ritual: "A ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time." (1989: 18). Wetherell, Taylor and Yates identify "situatedness," also known as context, as a central component of ongoing social interaction (2001a: 7). This ongoing interaction, or ritual as Carey describes it, and its related social contexts produces the phenomenon we call discourse.

Wetherell, Taylor and Yates describe the analysis of discourse simply as, "The study of talk and texts," conducted in order to explore meaning, and, so important to the present study, to seek "patterns of signification and representation which constitute culture" (ibid: i). These patterns of signification and representation fit into situatedness, where an individual resides not only in physical space but also in social contextual space, with its collective social discourses included.

The study of discourse is located by Wetherell, Taylor and Yates in the post-modern view, a perspective in which culture is ambiguous, individual and reflexive. This view is opposed to the universal truth orientation of modernists, where "truth,

progress, certainty through science and the rational control of self and society" is the established doctrine (2001b: 5). Wetherell, Taylor and Yates organize discourse studies into three domains:

> 1. The study of social interaction—organization of talk and joint activity and as communication.
>
> 2. The study of minds, selves and sense-making—the construction of psychological order in discourse: the construction of identity, the process of making sense, and the emergence of collective and individual mind.
>
> 3. The study of culture and social relations—order and pattern concern the historical and institutional features of discourse. How has meaning-making been organized over time? (ibid)

3.4.1 *Discourse and Groups*

Scollon and Scollon describe discourse as comprising two major *systems*: "those into which one becomes a member through the natural processes of birth and growth within a family and a community (one's gender and one's generation, for example), and those into which one chooses to enter for utilitarian purposes such as one's professional specialization or the company for which one works" (1995: 5).

Scollon and Scollon differentiate between discourse conducted interactively between two cultures (intercultural communication) and discourse produced cross-culturally, in which there exists no ongoing interaction (ibid: 13). The data gathered in the present study was collected from an ongoing social studies program conducted between Finnish and American youth. While the social studies program conducted between the two groups itself was intercultural in nature, the specific data employed in this study were provided by the participants in direct response to a series of specific imposed open-end questions. As such, the analysis does not focus on aspects of intercultural communication, per se, even though the answers were situated in the intercultural social studies exchange program. The one exception to this study's reliance on imposed questions and answers, as will be discussed later, had to do with the analysis of gender communication style. But even in this case no effort is made to track interactivity between the participants in the discourse, either on a message-by-message basis or over time. However, a similarly situated follow-up study might very well focus on the development of intercultural awareness over time through the relationships that the participants develop with each other.

3.4.2 *The Data, and How it Fits into Discourse Studies*

The participants in the present study comprised two sixth-grade classes in Finland and two in the United States. Each classroom was partnered with a classroom in the other country as part of the social studies program. The student participants in each class were each paired with at least one partner, or "key-pal," in the other culture. Over the course of the social studies program they were allowed to communicate freely with their key-pal, as school time allowed. The participants also participated in a variety of social studies activities including, for example, a videoconference and a newspaper exchange. Over the course of the social studies program the participants were required to compose answers to a total of seven open-ended questions I imposed on them, and they were instructed to forward their completed answer to their key-pal(s) via email.

As previously stated, the resulting imposed question answer texts that comprise the principal data in the present study are considered here to fit with Scollon and Scollon's characterization of a cross-cultural communication study. It is important to note that, due partly to the limited time available in the four participating classes for the social studies program, there was little response reactivity between the participants, *after* the answers to the seven imposed questions were exchanged between the paired key-pals, that was *reactive* to the exchanged answers. Outside of producing and exchanging answer texts in response to the imposed questions, the participants would sometimes communicate, or "chat," particularly about popular culture topics.

Scollon and Scollon also describe the difficulties in conducting intercultural communication studies due to the "highly altered and culturally mixed intermediate situations which are the normal situations of intercultural communication" (1995: 13). This description applies to direct, ongoing interaction in a shared physical space between interlocutors in different cultures. However, in the case of the present study, the communication between the partnered classes was technologically mediated, meaning simply that the participants did not share the same physical space, nor did they share the same point in time, since there was an eight-hour time difference between the schools in Finland and the Midwest of the United States. Only in the case of the videoconference did they share the same "virtual" space, although the videoconference did not figure into the data collection objectives for the present study. Virtual space in this context refers to the participants communicating through a shared medium at the same point in time, even though they do not share the same physical space concurrently.

3.4.3 *The Data Focus, and the Appropriate Methodology*

Wetherell, Taylor and Yates state that discourse analysts focus on either process or content (2001a: 7). Focusing on content allows the analyst to isolate "recurring elements" in the text, and these isolated clusters of texts become the meaningful data for the researcher (ibid). The present study is concerned with social markers embedded in the texts that evidence dimensions of culture, as put forth by Hofstede and Schwartz. Therefore, the primary methodological focus here is on interpreting the content of the texts in the corpus through content analysis.

Newnham, Pantebre and Spark describe a variety of applications for content analysis in the social sciences: "To make inferences about the values, sentiments, intentions or ideologies of the sources or authors of the communications; to infer group or societal values through the content of communications; to evaluate the effects of communications on the audiences they reach" (on the Web: ¶24). Because culture reflects shared values, content analysis seemed to be a logical methodological choice for this study.

The Writing Center at the Colorado State University describes the discourse methodology of content analysis as having a very broad application range, including instances in which researchers, "reveal international differences in communication content" (On the Web). This is first done by identifying concepts present in the data and then making comparisons between the cultures involved in the communication. In content analysis, distinctive trends are usually revealed by examining texts that are produced over time. Yet in the present study, the primary focus is limited to identifying concepts present within a single text (question answer), and then tabulating the results for that specific question within each of the two cultures involved in the study, and finally to make comparisons between the two cultures that reveal the cultural distinctiveness within each culture respective to the posed question. A secondary focus will seek for patterns that might be found across the span of the questions, given that a total of seven questions were imposed over a period of several months. Such ongoing patterns may, for example, further substantiate the two theorists presently studied regarding their claims about the Finland and the United States, or, the results may serve to disprove them. As pointed out previously in Wetherell, Taylor and Yates' description, content analysis should identify "patterns of signification and representation which constitute culture" (2001: i).

Martens describes content analysis as a process of, "coding, categorizing, classifying, comparing and concluding" (on the Web). This is essentially the methodological approach employed for the present study, wherein text search codes are developed based on the social markers provided by the studied theorists. The texts are coded, categorized and classified, and ultimately the texts produced by the two cultures are compared and conclusions made about the meaning of the results.

3.5 *Pilot Study*

I conducted a pilot study with sixth grade students in Finland and the United States in the spring of 2002 in order to explore and assess various aspects of the research plan. The pilot program involved the participants in a significant amount of constructivist social studies assignments in which the students conducted basic research about the other culture. In addition, casual email texts were captured between the paired participants that featured a range of discussion topics, few of which were imposed by me or related to the social studies assignments. It was observed that too much of the participants' available time and effort went into conducting the social studies assignments, and this left little time for significant student-to-student contact through email. The casual email texts that were captured were ultimately deemed to be too broad in subject matter to offer much insight into the masculinity versus femininity dimension, offering little substance through which to interpret the targeted dimension.

Based on the pilot study, I made the decision to reduce the emphasis on constructivist social studies research activities featured in the pilot study to an emphasis on structured email exchange that is focused on specific imposed questions. By doing so, it was anticipated that higher quality data would result that would be more easily interpreted in terms of the various social markers MAS and harmony dimensions.

3.6 *The Participants*

Two American and two Finnish sixth-grade classes were recruited to participate in the study, and all four classes represented ordinary public schools. Each of the two Finnish classes was partnered with an American class, forming two teams: Bear (*Karhu* in Finnish), and Cat (*Kissa* in Finnish). The Finnish Bear team class was in an advanced English curriculum track in which some school subjects were taught in English. The Finnish Cat team class was in an ordinary Finnish curriculum. Both American classes

were in standard curriculums for their school system. None of the classes in this study were assessed for English language skills prior to the start of the program.

The Finnish participants in this study were located in south-central Finland. The mother tongue of all of the Finnish students in the study was Finnish. One of the participating Finnish teachers provided a description of the typical sixth-grade student in Finland:

> In Finland the sixth grade represents the last year at the primary level of education. Finnish children typically start school at the age of seven. Finnish sixth graders typically study: Finnish language, Swedish language, English language, science (environment and nature), mathematics, history of the world, religion (Lutheran) or ethics, music, arts, physical education, and technical or textile work. Some sixth-grade students may elect to begin studies in a fourth language.

The American classes were located in the state of Indiana in the Midwest region of the United States. The mother tongue of all of these students included in this study was American English. One of the participating American teachers provided a description of a typical sixth-grade student in the state and local school systems where the classes in the present study were located:

> The sixth grade represents the first year in middle school, also known as junior high school. The student typically starts school at the age of five or six. Classes operate on a nine period daily schedule wherein they switch from classroom to classroom, and from teacher to teacher, moving from one subject to another. Each class lasts about forty-minutes. Reading and language arts periods are usually blocked together. Sixth graders in this Indiana school system typically study: reading, language arts, mathematics, social studies (Western civilizations), science (life sciences), and health/physical education. Other school subjects studied on a rotating basis are: music, art, technology, family and consumer science (home economics) and band/orchestra (optional). These students are not offered a foreign language until the seventh grade, and the foreign language currently offered at the school is French.

3.7 *Working Language of the Program*

English was chosen as the working language because the American students were not proficient in any language besides English. Discussions were held with both of the participating Finnish teachers regarding their students' ability to use English in the

social studies program, and both teachers felt that their students were up to the task. As it would later turn out, there appeared to be no significant problems in the program related to the Finns working in the English language. As mentioned previously, one of the Finnish classes, the Bear team class, was in a "fast-track" English program where some subjects were taught in English. The other Finnish class, the Cat team, was in an ordinary curriculum. The Finnish Cat team therefore would have to dedicate more careful time and attention to their answers, in order to complete their assignments. The Finnish Cat team teacher seemed to be excited at the prospect of his students developing their Finnish skills. While language is not a focus of this study, it was acknowledged that some Finnish students might not be able to participate fully based on their English language and composition skills. As well, the use of the phrase "working language" also belies the practical reality that, in the case of the in-class social studies program, the Finnish participants were effectively working in a "host" communication system, a situation that, as Kim points out, subjects the foreigner to power issues (2001: 100). While acknowledging that the Finns' participation in the program would advance their English language curricula objectives, Kim's description in regard to the implications of social power for second language users is important: "The language of a given society represents the real and well as perceived social, political, and ideological pressures on cultural strangers and linguistic minorities" (ibid). Of particular interest to a language specialist would be the degree to which the youthful Finnish age group studied is affected by their perceptions regarding the use of English in the program. Even though efforts were made to minimize these effects, this aspect of the present study invites significant follow up in the area of second language use in intercultural education programs in youth.

3.8 *The Email Exchange Program*

The key-pal email program was semi-structured, in that the students would be allowed to communicate freely but at times would also be asked to compose answers to open-ended questions supplied by the researcher, and then to direct those answers to their key-pal. The Topica.com email list-serve management system (http://www.topica.com/) was used to manage email communications. All email communication between students was to be conducted through the Topica.com servers and recorded as data in a computer database. In order to create a secure communication environment, access to the Topic.com system would be controlled through a subscription process and only

approved individuals would be able to post or view messages on the list. All "off-line" communication pathways, e.g. personal email addresses, would be prohibited. However, it was planned that at the end of the program the participants would be given the opportunity to exchange personal email addresses. In spite of the clearly stated rule, it was expected that a few of the participants would attempt to communicate off-line, a situation considered to be almost impossible to prevent.

Each of the participating teachers was asked to identify students in their class who were not native to Finland or the USA or whose parents were not natives. These students, totaling five children of immigrants to either country, were allowed to participate in the social studies program but their texts (both casual emails and imposed answer texts) have been removed from the database and analysis. The rationale for this decision is that the study focus is limited to the cultures of the United States and Finland; the assumption exists that the influence of the parents' culture strongly affects the development of gender role socialization in their children, and participants whose parent(s) are not native to the local culture will exert strong influences from their native culture onto their children (see Hofstede, 2001: 298). The final numbers of students whose email texts are included in the analyzed database is 85, and are broken down in Table 2 below.

Finnish Participants

	Boys	Girls	Total
Bear Team	12	8	20
Cat Team	12	9	21
Total	24	17	41

American Participants

	Boys	Girls	Total
Bear Team	7	13	20
Cat Team	7	17	24
Total	14	30	44

Table 2. Program Participants

3.9 *Strategy of Inquiry*

Seven imposed open-ended questions were formulated for the participants to answer. Each question was based on a social maker provided by Hofstede pertaining to the MAS dimension, and these imposed questions form the primary level of inquiry in the present study. A full description of each question, and why it was chosen, follows below. The answers to each of these texts are located in specific email messages exchanged between the participants. The resulting answer texts were to be reviewed and coded based on Hofstede's social marker descriptions regarding the normative cultural behaviors of masculine and feminine societies. One means of justifying the results of a data analysis is to conduct triangulation, whereby more than one method or form of inquiry provides insight into a corpus of text (see Taylor in Wetherell, et al., 2001a: 322). Whereas the primary level of inquiry focuses on specific portions of texts, a second level of analysis is provided by analyzing the entire corpus of texts in regard to codes created that are not directly related to the imposed questions, and these codes likewise correspond to social makers Hofstede provides for masculine and feminine societies. In summary, the imposed questions form the primary analysis and the objective of the additional questions is to justify, through triangulation, the interpretation of the initial analysis. This is done by comparing the primary and secondary analyses, searching for meaningful correlations that may justify the interpretation of the imposed questions data. A full description of each imposed question as well as the other codes chosen for inquiry, as well as a complete description of coding process and each code follows.

3.10 *Primary Level of Inquiry: The Imposed Questions*

In four separate modules, I asked each of the participants to compose a personal response to an open-ended question. Three of the modules comprised two questions, while the final module featured one question. The participants were instructed to compose their answers to each question, and to then to direct their answers to their key-pal through the topica.com email system. In order to enhance cross-cultural understanding of the question contents prepared in English, the Finnish teachers were asked to translate and communicate the questions in both English and Finnish to their students, and to help the students understand the terms used in each question while at the same time to refrain from coaching their students' answers. The Finnish students

also had Finnish to English dictionaries available for their use. In spite of the efforts made to ensure cross-cultural meaning and to ensure that the Finnish participants had the support they might need for understanding the questions posed in English and preparing their answers in English, it was acknowledged that some problems may arise that would affect the participation level of the Finnish participants, or in some way affect the outcome of the program. Nonetheless, this risk was accepted.

As mentioned previously, all of the questions the students were instructed to respond to were composed based on national cultural ascriptions Hofstede gave to masculine and feminine cultures. Text codes were created for content analysis based on behavioral markers Hofstede asserts in his primary Masculinity Societal Norm table (see Table 1, page 18) as well as his behavioral markers regarding family and school life (see Tables 3 and 4, below). As well, the critical analyses informed by Schwartz's theories appearing later in the study are based on his social behavior markers, but these are not included in the present coding scheme.

Low-MAS (feminine)	High-MAS (masculine)
Weak gender differentiation in the socialization of children.	Strong gender differentiation in the socialization of children.
Similar role models: Both fathers and mothers deal with facts and feelings.	Different role models: Fathers deal with facts, mothers with feeling.
Both boys and girls are allowed to cry but neither should fight.	Girls cry, boy's don't; boys should fight back, girls shouldn't fight.
No gender differences in children's playing goals.	Boys prevail in performance games, girls in relationship games.
Both boys and girls learn to be modest.	Both boys and girls learn to be ambitious.
Ideal opposite sex-partner likes children and quality of life.	Ideal opposite-sex partner has success at work.
Positive feelings about home and family.	Less satisfied with home life.
Children don't express aggression.	Children may express aggression.
Friends and acquaintances important.	Family important.
Parents should earn children's love and respect	Children should love and respect parents regardless of behavior.
More unmarried cohabitation.	More quick marriages.
Flexible family concepts.	Traditional family concepts.
Each partner has own interests.	Partners should share interests.
Same standards for brides and grooms.	Chastity and industriousness for brides, not for grooms.
In Asia, same criteria for husbands and boyfriends.	In Asia, husbands to be wealthy, boyfriends to have personality,
Mothers decide on number of children.	Fathers decide on family size.

Table 3: Key Differences Between Feminine and Masculine Societies: Family
Hofstede (2001: 306). Reprinted with permission.

Low-MAS (feminine)	High-MAS (masculine)
Friendliness in teachers appreciated.	Brilliance in teachers appreciated.
Students' social adaptation important.	Students' performance important.
Failing in school is a minor accident.	Failing in school is a disaster.
Public praise to encourage weak students.	Public praise to reward good students.
No special awards.	Awards for good students, teachers.
Competitive sports extracurricular.	Competitive sports part of curriculum.
Average student is the norm.	Best student is the norm.
Curriculum choices guided by intrinsic interest.	Curriculum choices guided by career expectations.
Children socialized to avoid aggression.	Children socialized to fight back.
Students take own problems less seriously.	Own problems taken very seriously.
Ego effacing: own performance underrated.	Ego boosting: performance overrated.
Foreign students in U.S. efface national ego.	Foreign students in U.S. boost national ego.
Young children taught by men and women.	Young children taught by women only.
Teachers give equal attention to girls and boys.	Teachers pay more attention to boys.
Boys and girls study same subjects.	Boys and girls study different subjects.
Small gender difference in perceptual abilities.	Large differences in perceptual ability: boys analytic, girls contextual.

**Table 4: Key Differences Between Feminine and Masculine Societies: School
Hofstede (2001: 306). Reprinted with Permission.**

The decision to use email communication as the imposed question response instrument was based on two objectives. First, it was felt that an actual communication setting, situated in the intercultural context of the in-class social studies program, was important in order to create a sense of social relevance to the actions taken by the students. In other words, the participants knew that their responses would be exchanged with a peer in another culture, and this was expected to be a motivating factor in their response level. Second, Hofstede characterizes questionnaire instruments as provocations introduced by the researcher, whereas documents and speech content analysis represent a more "natural" operationalizing construct (2001: 4). Therefore, using email in this study allowed me to provoke responses, yet allowed the participants a certain amount of freedom, as a consequence of the open-ended nature of the format, to compose their own thoughtful responses. As discussed previously, such qualitative responses were expected to be richer in context and meaning than those derived from questionnaires as exampled by Likert-scale instruments.

3.10.1 *Module One Questions*

1. *Please introduce yourself and describe for your new friend what life in your country and city is like. Examples might be: what the weather is like, what the nature is like, what the people are like, what your school is like, what hobbies or sports do you like, and so on. And be sure to tell your friends why you like or do not like any aspect of where you live or what life is like there.*

2. *Please tell your friend what you would like to be when you grow up and WHY!*

Question 1 was developed primarily to serve as a simple introduction for the participants. It was hoped that the general nature of the question would serve to "break the ice" but would also result in a wide array of answers in which trends might be identified based on Hofstede's various ascriptions for masculine and feminine cultures. For example, it was anticipated that the Finns would focus a high proportion of their responses on their environment, given my own observations about the importance of nature in Finnish society. If so, the question would serve to provoke aspects of femininity based on Hofstede's characterization of feminine societies in regard to the environment.

Question 2 was developed in response to Hofstede's claims that social gender roles either are distinct between the sexes, as in Hofstede's masculine cultures, or overlap, as in his feminine cultures (see Table 1, page 18). It was hoped that the participants' choices for, and ideals related to future vocations would reveal trends that would help serve to either confirm or dispel Hofstede's ascriptions regarding gender role socialization and careers. To this end, it was speculated to what degree the studied age group, given their youthful ideas about their future careers, would reflect their national culture. For example, Hofstede points out that in feminine cultures even university-aged students frequently do not have firm ideas about their future (2001: 303). Hofstede provides clues that inform this study about where children look to when developing a sense of what they want to be when they grow up, "…children see adults of different genders (but mostly females) fulfilling certain roles; they more or less quickly become aware of their own gender category and look for adults to identify with" (2001: 298). In the case of Question 1, the hypothesis was made that one such adult role model concerns vocation choices.

In Table 1 (page 13), Hofstede asserts that feminine cultures place a stress on "who you are" as opposed to masculine culture's emphasis on "what you do." He also asserts that feminine cultures are concerned more with the "quality of life and people" whereas in masculine cultures people are more concerned with "money and things." The participants in this study were always asked to explain the "why" behind their answers, and it was hoped that, in addition to the actual vocations cited, the participants' reasons would reveal insight into these two ascriptions. It was also speculated whether modesty (feminine) and ambition (masculine), another bi-polar ascription appearing in Table 1, might also be evident in the data generated by question 2.

Based on the participants' responses to the career choice question, it was planned to code and categorize the answers according to the types of careers cited. It was also postulated that an important aspect of a subject's career choice(s) would be their reasons behind the choice. These reasons may reveal the intrinsic or extrinsic motivations of the participants. For example, whether an individual is motivated by helping others (intrinsic) or by making a lot of money (extrinsic) may, based on Hofstede's MAS dimension, reveal something about that individual's national culture, keeping in mind still that any particular individual may not reflect traditionally shared characteristics of that culture.

3.10.2 *Module Two Questions*

3. *Please write a short review of your most favorite movie. Please explain why you would recommend the movie to others, so that they might like to see it also!*

4. *Please list one or two of your favorite movie heroes. Please explain why they are your favorites. What characteristics about them do you like? What did they do in the movie that you admire?*

Questions 3 and 4 were developed in order to test Hofstede's claims that children's choices of heroes would exhibit either a masculine or feminine character:

> In masculine countries children learn to admire the strong; popular fictional characters created in the USA 'Batman' and "Rambo'. In feminine cultures children learn sympathy for the underdog and the anti-hero. Small and friendly 'Rasmus Klump' (called Patzi in translations) is a Danish comic hero; 'Olie B. Bommel (Mr Bumble), a clumsy and

naïve anti-hero, has become a national personality among Dutch intellectuals. (1994: 89)

Hofstede gives strong measure to movies as a tool for measuring culture: "Popular movies are to modern society what religious myths were to traditional ones: they express models for behavior" (1994: 89). This study attempts to identify trends in both movie genre preferences and hero choices made by the participants that would either help to confirm, dispel, or otherwise elaborate Hofstede's claims about the characterization of heroes in masculine and feminine societies.

The Internet Movie Database (http://www.imdb.com/) provides the comprehensive guide to movie genres used for the analysis of the favorite movie imposed question answers. An attempt would be made to objectively categorize each IMDB movie genre, associated in the movies cited by the participants, as being masculine or feminine in nature by using Hofstede's characterizations of masculine and feminine societies. Considered masculine were action, adventure, crime, science fiction, thriller, horror, war and western movie genres. Genres considered feminine were comedy, family, romance, fantasy, animation and drama. The criteria used to assess a genre as either masculine or feminine comes directly from Hofstede's Masculinity Societal Norm table, presented in this thesis as Table 1 on page 18. The genres characterized above as masculine frequently feature ego orientation, emphasis on money and things, stress on what you do, gender role distinctiveness, men as tough and women as tender, both men and women can be assertive and ambitious, sympathy for the strong and an orientation toward "big" and "fast." The genres characterized above as feminine more frequently, based on my own observations, feature a relationship orientation, an emphasis on quality of life and people, stress on who you are, minimum gender role differentiation between the sexes, both men and women as tender and modest, sympathy for the weak, and an orientation to "small" and "slow." Of course, most films feature elements of both masculinity and femininity, but the process itself of categorization associated with IMDB creating genres provides, in my opinion, enough information for the categorization in this study, particularly when a film is ascribed more than one genre by the IMDB. Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that these criteria as applied to film genres is subjective in nature, and is limited in this case by the films that I have personally viewed, as well as by my own culture. The reader may agree or disagree in each case based on his or her own culture and experiences as well.

It should be noted that the Internet Movie Database is owned by Amazon.com, a U.S. commercial concern. The IMDB website states that their staff is located in the

United States and Europe, so underlying cultural influences on the organization's approach to organizing, critiquing and categorizing movies and movie genres should be considered.

3.10.3 *Module Three Questions*

5. *Please share with your pen pal your opinions about international conflicts. Should countries resolve conflict through negotiation and compromise? Or, should countries use force in order to prevail? Be sure to explain your answers by stating why you feel the way you do.*

6. *Should women and men take an equal share of work in the home? This refers to general housekeeping chores such as vacuuming, cleaning up the kitchen, doing laundry and picking up around the house. Please explain your answer in some detail.*

Question 5 was developed in response to Hofstede's claims that masculine societies were more likely than feminine societies to resort to conflict in order to resolve international conflicts. Feminine societies, according to Hofstede, were much more likely to start with and stick to a strategy of negotiation (2001: 320). I questioned whether this question would be too challenging for the participants, given to their age and perhaps because they might have a limited amount of knowledge regarding history and current events. But this risk was accepted nonetheless.

Question 6 was developed in response to Hofstede's claim that, "Gender role socialization starts in the family" (ibid: 280). In the responses to this question, it was predicted that concepts regarding both the "ideal" (how things should be, based on the prevailing values across the culture,) and the "real" (actual arrangements regarding housework) would be revealed in the home lives of the participants. In fact, these participants were viewed as likely being particularly good informants for how work in the home was organized between the sexes in their societies.

3.10.4 *Module Four Question*

7. *Please tell your pen pal what you are most thankful for when considering your own country and culture. Please give as many examples as you can think of and explain your answers. In other words, what does it mean to be a Finn or an American?*

Question 7 was developed in order to see how distinctive the American and Finnish participants would be regarding the things, concepts or people they are most thankful for in their society. Hofstede, referencing E. F. Schumacher's 1973 book, *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*, states, "'Things or people' is of course the key choice that distinguishes a masculine from a feminine value system" (2001: 320). It was predicted that the choices the study participants made in response to this question would reflect their values, and the degree to which these values were shared or not shared among their fellow nationals and between the sexes would be notable. Using Hofstede's schema, masculine societies would be oriented to possessions, money and other sorts of attainments in life, whereas feminine societies would be oriented to social as opposed to individual goals.

3.11 *Second Level Analysis Inquiries*

As mentioned in Section 3.9, the primary data analysis stems from interpreting the participants' responses to the seven imposed questions, while the secondary analysis comprises a review of the entire corpus of texts, searching for specific selected social markers that appear across a broad range of topics. This second level of analysis is conducted as a supplemental form of back checking the conclusions resulting from the primary inquiries, and was intended to add depth and breadth to the overall study. It was not known during the research design phase what social markers used by Hofstede to describe feminine and masculine societies would emerge in the texts, so a broad range of codes was created. An extensive discussion of what comprised these codes, and the underlying values associated with them, can be seen in the next section, and a complete list of these codes appears in Table 5, The Nineteen Polar Codes, on page 52.

3.12 *Data Management and Coding*

The qualitative data obtained in this study comprise a corpus of email texts prepared by each participant in response to the imposed questions and, additionally, in the context of free-form email communications. Once each participant prepared his or her response to an imposed question, their answer was transmitted to their partner key-pal(s) as part of the in-class social studies program. Each message text was captured and entered as a record into Filemaker, a database management software program. Each record comprised fields that allow for searching and browsing all records based on a variety of

field queries. Fields in each record include: each message's unique email number, the date of communication, the team designation (Bear or Cat), the correspondent's nationality (Finnish or American), the identity of the sender and receiver (each participant's name, which have been removed in this publication), the sex of the sender and receiver, the group designation (individuals within each team were assigned partners—either one or two, depending on the number of participants available in each team class—, with at least one person from each culture in every group), the unique participant number assigned to each student, and the message text body.

After the fact, an overarching message reference code was created in order to allow me to combine a variety of information into a single searchable field. The message reference code created a unique reference number for each email created, with a code that included the specific email number, the nationality of the sender, the nationality of the receiver, the team (Bear or Cat), the sex of the sender, the sex of the receiver, and the unique participant number assigned to each participant. For example: message reference code number 234ABF16 would correspond to email number 234, American, the Bear Team, Female and participant number 16. Reference code number 160FCM12 would correspond to email number 160, Finnish, the Cat team, Male and participant number 12.

Once all of the email records were entered and the data collection phase ended, the message texts were exported to one of four text-only documents: Finnish Girls, American Girls, Finnish Boys and American boys. Each of the four text files was then imported into TAMS Analyzer (Text Analysis Markup System), a software program for coding qualitative, text-based data.

It should be emphasized here that, prior to data collection, it was unknown how the participants would react to the imposed questions, what exactly would comprise the answers, or precisely how the resulting data could be organized. An initial strategy was developed in which the answer texts would be coded in order to identify and isolate portions of texts that would reveal insight into certain aspects of the MAS dimension. As part of this strategy, a careful review was conducted of Hofstede's MAS social markers included in the tables for the MAS Societal Norm (Table 1, Page 18), Family (Table 3, Page 41), and School (Table 4, Page 42). After speculating about which of the social markers cited in these three tables might appear in the participants' answers, nineteen polar codes were created in TAMS for isolating and marking responses and behaviors identified as corresponding to Hofstede's social markers for the MAS dimension. Some of these codes were directly related to imposed questions, as part of

the primary analysis, and others were intended to apply to the entire corpus of texts, in the secondary analysis, as will be described below. A principal criteria for choosing a specific social marker as an investigative code was whether or not it was conceivable that the social marker would be expressed in the texts made by the particularly youthful age group studied.

One polar social marker code, Gender Discourse Style, originates from a reference made by Hofstede to the work of Deborah Tannen, and is described in more detail below. An additional four codes were created in order to isolate text sections related to specific imposed questions, for example, citations made in response to the Most Thankful For imposed question, bringing the total number of codes to twenty-three.

The original nineteen social marker codes were created as polar codes so that text sections could be categorized either as feminine or masculine. For example, the question concerning movie heroes resulted in two codes, hero>MAS and hero>FEM, thus 1) identifying the answer texts as related to this specific imposed question regarding movie heroes, and 2) designating my assessment regarding whether the response fit either into Hofstede's masculine or feminine characteristics. The nineteen social marker codes chosen for investigation are listed in Table 5, below. The numbers in parentheses direct the reader to specific pages in Hofstede's *Cultures Consequences* (2001, 2nd edition) where the respective social marker appears:

Code and Dimension	Definition	Page Number
Aggression	In feminine societies children do not express aggression. In masculine societies they may.	(301)
Ambition versus Modesty	In feminine societies, men and women should be modest and non-ambitious. In masculine societies men should be and women may be assertive and ambitious.	(300)
Children and Parents	In feminine societies parents should earn children's love and respect. In masculine societies children should love and respect parents regardless of behavior.	(306)

Competition	In feminine societies there should be no competition in class. In masculine societies students try to make themselves visible and compete with each other.	(303)
Conflict	Feminine societies employ compromise and negotiation. Masculine societies are more likely to fight.	(318, 320)
Ego or Relationship Oriented	In feminine societies members are oriented to relationship enhancement. In masculine societies members are oriented to ego enhancement and frequently rate themselves excellent.	(293, 304)
Equal Share of Work at Home	In feminine societies men and women should share work at home equally. In masculine societies men and women may have a different share of work at home	(297, 302)
Family Concepts	In feminine societies, concepts regarding what comprises a family are flexible. In masculine societies family concepts are traditional.	(306)
Friends or Family	In feminine societies friends and acquaintances are important. In masculine societies family is important.	(306)
Gender Discourse Style	Typically American male "report talk" versus American female "rapport talk."	(280)

Hero	In feminine societies children learn sympathy for the underdog and the antihero. In masculine societies children learn to admire the strong.	(300)
Home Life	In feminine societies men and women are focused on the quality of life. In masculine societies men are focused on material wealth, and women on the quality of life.	(297)
Small and Slow versus Big and Fast	In feminine societies small and slow are beautiful. In masculine societies big and fast are beautiful.	(299)
Special Awards	In feminine societies there are no special awards for students. In masculine societies there are awards for good students and teachers.	(306)
Student Performance	In feminine societies the average student is the norm. In masculine societies the best student is the norm.	(306)
Sympathy for Strong or Weak	In feminine societies there is sympathy for the weak. In masculine societies there is sympathy for the strong.	(299)
Things or People	In feminine societies the priority is on conservation and the environment. In masculine societies the emphasis is on growth, and mastery of the environment.	(320)

Tough or Tender Roles	In feminine societies men and women are tender and take care of both performance and relationships. In masculine societies men should be tough, take care of performance; women tend and care for relationships.	(299)
What You Do versus Who You Are	In feminine societies the stress is on who you are. In masculine societies the stress is on what you do.	(299)

Table 5. The Nineteen Polar Codes

The Gender Discourse Style polar code was based on Deborah Tannen's work in the United States, where she studied the distinctive discourse styles between men and women in the United States (1992). Through the study, she differentiated between typically American male "report talk," in which the speaker would simply and efficiently transfer information, and typically American female "rapport talk," in which the speaker would focus on feelings and relationships. Hofstede includes Tannen's work in his discussion of masculinity and femininity but makes no explicit effort to extend the results of Tannen's work in any given culture beyond the United States (2001: 280). Even so, the opportunity to make such a comparison arose in the present study regarding the two cultures studied. The four non-polar codes were created in order to isolate answers to specific imposed questions: LifeInYourCountryCity, pertaining to Question 1; Occupation, pertaining to Question 2; Movie, pertaining to Question 3 and MostThankfulFor, pertaining to Question 7.

It should be pointed out that the aggression code targeted comments the participants made in which the participant describes either an incident they were involved in which they physically attacked another, or instances in the text in which they threaten or express a desire to attack another, even if the threat is made in jest. This code should not be confused, therefore, with the International Conflict imposed question answers.

As already mentioned, the youthful age group studied made it difficult to predict ahead of data collection what values might be evident in the discourse or in what form they would appear. For this reason, all of the social markers cited by Hofstede for masculine and feminine societies in *Culture's Consequences* (2nd edition) were reviewed regarding which ones might be relevant to the studied age group and that

might appear in the data either directly as a result of the imposed questions or in some indirect manner. In order to assure the best chance of collecting meaningful data, the large numbers of polar social marker codes were created in an attempt to capture a broad spectrum of data. Once the codes were created in TAMS, the text data files were imported into four TAMS work-files: Finnish Girls, American Girls, Finnish Boys and American Boys. The text in each of the four groups was then coded with one of the 23 code options listed above.

4 RESULTS

The number of email texts communicated over the course of the program is broken down, based on the two participating cultures and the four groups studied based on sex, in Table 6 below:

Number of Email Texts (Finns)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Bear Team	98	75	173
Cat Team	41	31	72
	139	106	245

Number of Email Texts (Americans)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Bear Team	46	119	165
Cat Team	24	59	83
	70	178	248
		Total Emails	493

Table 6. Email Texts Submission Breakdown

Both groups produced similar numbers of email texts, perhaps reflecting the semi-structured nature of the email exchange program. The Bear team of Finnish and American participants produced more than twice the number of email texts, and this may be due to the fact that the Finnish participants in the Bear team were in an advanced English track curricula. Table 7, below, indicates that girls, on average, produced slightly more emails than boys. However, reflecting the semi-structured nature of the program, wherein most of the emails sent where part of the structured imposed questions exercise, and due to the relatively low overall number of emails per student, no significance is derived from the data in Tables 6 and 7. However, it is notable that the Finnish Bear team's more conversationally advanced English and seemingly "chatty" nature resulted in more casual email texts (not directly related to an imposed question answer), whereas the Finnish Cat team members seemed to focus on the imposed answer texts.

Average Number of Messages (Finns)

	Boys	Girls	Team
Bear Team	8.17	9.38	8.45
Cat Team	3.42	3.44	3.44

Average Number of Messages (Americans)

	Boys	Girls	Team
Bear Team	6.57	9.15	8.15
Cat Team	3.40	3.47	3.42

Table 7. Email Message Averages

After the text coding process was complete, a review of the initial results indicated that some of the polar codes resulted in very few coded texts. A minimum of ten instances of coded text was established in order for responses regarding a code to be deemed statistically meaningful. Although the absence of data regarding a specific code may itself be meaningful, I felt that codes that indicated fewer than ten coded texts did not allow for meaningful comparison between the four groups: American males and females, and Finnish males and females. The codes that resulted in ten or less coded texts in meaningful numbers included: Aggression, ChildrenAndParents, FamilyConcepts, FriendsOrFamily, Homelife, SmallSlowBigFast, SpecialAwards, StudentPerformance, SympathyStrongOrWeak, ToughTender, and WhatYouDo-WhoYouAre. In reviewing the data, it became clear that very few polar codes contained substantive enough data that could be analyzed validly for Hofstede's social markers. Table 8, shown below, reveals polar codes that did have significant results and which could be directly connected to Hofstede's social markers, thus warranting further analysis. The balance of the polar codes were eliminated from the analysis. The gray highlights in the Trend Noted column indicate the eight polar codes that provided substantive results: AmbitionModesty, Competition, Conflict, EgoOrRelationship-Oriented, EqualShareAtHome, Gender Discourse Style, MovieHero, and Things-OrPeople. The codes Conflict, EqualShareAtHome and Hero were directly related to specific imposed questions, International Conflict, Equal Share of Work at Home, and Favorite Movie Hero respectively.

Trend Noted		Finnish Females	American Females	Finnish Males	American Males	Polar Code
	FEM	0	0	0	0	Aggression>FEM
	MAS	1	2	1	2	Aggression>MAS
	FEM	2	1	1	0	AmbitionModesty>FEM
	MAS	2	21	8	10	AmbitionModesty>MAS
	FEM	0	0	0	0	ChildrenAndParents>FEM
	MAS	0	2	0	0	ChildrenAndParents>MAS
	FEM	0	0	0	0	Competition>FEM
	MAS	0	2	1	8	Competition>MAS
	FEM	15	23	20	4	Conflict>FEM
	MAS	1	14	5	10	Conflict>MAS
	FEM	0	21	4	3	EgoOrRelationshipOriented>FEM
	MAS	0	4	0	1	EgoOrRelationshipOriented>MAS
	FEM	14	24	23	11	EqualShareAtHome>FEM
	MAS	0	1	5	0	EqualShareAtHome>MAS
	FEM	0	1	0	0	FamilyConcepts>FEM
	MAS	0	0	0	0	FamilyConcepts>MAS
	FEM	1	5	0	0	FriendsOrFamily>FEM
	MAS	0	0	0	0	FriendsOrFamily>MAS
	FEM	93	132	75	32	GenderDiscourseStyle>FEM
	MAS	12	27	47	37	GenderDiscourseStyle>MAS
	FEM	19	15	11	4	MovieHero>FEM
	MAS	0	9	12	2	MovieHero>MAS
	FEM	0	1	0	0	HomeLife>FEM
	MAS	0	1	0	0	HomeLife>MAS
	FEM	0	0	0	0	SmallSlowBigFast>FEM
	MAS	0	0	0	0	SmallSlowBigFast>MAS
	FEM	0	0	0	0	SpecialAwards>FEM
	MAS	0	0	0	0	SpecialAwards>MAS
	FEM	0	0	0	0	StudentPerformance>FEM
	MAS	0	1	0	0	StudentPerformance>MAS
	FEM	0	0	0	1	SympathyStrongOrWeak>FEM
	MAS	0	0	0	0	SympathyStrongOrWeak>MAS
	FEM	8	0	16	1	ThingsOrPeople>FEM
	MAS	0	0	0	0	ThingsOrPeople>MAS
	FEM	0	0	0	0	ToughTender>FEM
	MAS	0	0	0	0	ToughTender>MAS
	FEM	0	0	0	0	WhatYouDoWhoYouAre>FEM
	MAS	0	0	0	0	WhatYouDoWhoYouAre>MAS

Table 8. Polar Codes Results

The analysis for the polar codes AmbitionModesty, Competition, EgoOr-RelationshipOriented, and ThingsOrPeople, as well as the texts coded for Gender Discourse Style, offered a second level of analysis. This analysis comprised searching the entire corpus of emails for statements made by the participants that were classified as being either masculine or feminine according to Hofstede's social marker description. The four non-polar codes (not appearing in Table 8) were directly related to specific imposed questions: Life In Your Country and City, Most Thankful For, Favorite Movie and Occupation (Career Choice).

4.1 *Primary Analysis: Participant Responses to Imposed Questions*

In summary, the data provided two levels of analysis: 1) the answers provided directly in response to the imposed questions provided the primary focus, and were tabulated independently, and 2) a second level of analysis is provided by a review of all texts for sections that were categorized according Hofstede's cited social marker descriptions, for the codes AmbitionModesty, Competition, EgoOrRelationshipOriented, Gender-DiscourseStyle and ThingsOrPeople. This secondary level of analysis was conducted outside of the seven imposed questions. For example, a participant may provide an answer directly to the Career Choice question, perhaps wishing to become a doctor or bank president, which indicates ambition. Because there may also be other statements in the corpus that reveal an ambitious orientation, the AmbitionModesty code was designed to pick this up. In this manner, the distinct analysis of the career choice question answers is supplemented by the extensive search through the text for sections that reveal insight into a participant's values related to ambition and modesty. Table 9, below, illustrates the primary and secondary level of analyses that materialized after eliminating secondary analysis codes that did not result in significant results, indicating the type of inquiry and the polar or non-polar code associated with the inquiry.

It should be noted that labeling codes as simple polar opposites does not imply that the analysis is shallow. Rather, each section of text analyzed is considered based on *both* the direct answers and the "why" elaborated by the participants for providing their answers. An attempt is then made, based on Hofstede's social markers, to objectively categorize, given the limitations of the research design and cultural interpretation by this particular researcher, whether the coded texts fit more into Hofstede's masculine or feminine description of the particular social marker investigated.

PRIMARY ANALYSIS (Imposed Questions)

Type of Inquiry	Imposed Question Responses
Topical Analysis	(1) Life In Your Country and City
Occupation Analysis	(2) Occupation
Movie Genre Analysis	(3) Favorite Movie
Polar Code	(4) MovieHero
Polar Code	(5) Conflict
Polar Code	(6) EqualShareAtHome
Topical Analysis	(7) Most Thankful For

SECONDARY ANALYSIS (Specific Social Markers)

Type of Inquiry	Review and Analysis of Entire Corpus
Polar Code	AmbitionModesty
Polar Code	Competition
Polar Code	EgoOrRelationshipOriented
Polar Code	GenderDiscourseStyle
Polar Code	ThingsOrPeople

Table 9. Two Levels of Data Analysis (imposed question number in parenthesis)

4.1.1 *Life in Your Country and City*

Question 1 asked: *Please introduce yourself and describe for your new friend what life in your country and city is like. Examples might be: what the weather is like, what the nature is like, what the people are like, what your school is like, what hobbies or sports do you like, and so on. And be sure to tell your friends why you like or do not like any aspect of where you live or what life is like there.*

Sixteen Finnish girls, 23 Finnish boys, 16 American girls and 13 American boys responded to this question. It should be noted that not all of the participants answered all seven of the imposed questions. Although overall responses levels over the program were good, the response levels vary across the seven imposed questions. Question 1 was created not only as an icebreaker but also to stimulate the participants' thinking, and some notable comparisons resulted. For example, while 69% of Finnish girls and 70%

of Finnish boys chose to talk about their weather, only 44% of the American girls and 38% of the American boys chose to talk about the weather in their part of the world. These numbers are notable for two reasons: 1) The numbers are essentially the same for each national group based on sex, and 2) The Finns are clearly oriented to weather as an important component of their environment. In fact, several Finns tied environmental concepts —weather and nature—together in their responses.

This may partly be explained by the stark differences between the environments in the two localities (central Finland and southern Indiana). In other words, Finns as a group might be viewed as being "closer to nature," in both the physical and mental sense, than the American Midwestern students who participated in this study. The following are examples of responses pertaining to weather from all four groups[7]:

<u>American Girls</u>

The weather here is OK... but it can get pretty hot in summer. (86ACF80)

Our weather here switches during the seasons. (15ABF25)

The weather in America is always changing. The summers are long and brutal. The winters are long and harsh. The fall and spring are the greatest times of year. (11ABF22)

The weather in America is okay. I don't really know how it is in some places. Evansville has had NO rain, until a week ago we had lots of it. (7ABF35)

The weather in America strangely changes. Like in the summer it is supposed to be hot, but sometimes it can get kind of cold. In the winter it is supposed to be cold, but it can get sort of hot. (1ABF21)

In Indiana we have a weather pattern. It goes spring, summer, winter, and then fall. Spring is when the flowers blume. In summer it gets really hot. In fall the leaves fall

---

[7] Text messages submitted by the participants cited in this study have only been edited for formatting purposes and to protect the identity of the correspondent. The original language remains chiefly intact. The number in parenthesis after the text refers to the message reference code, described on page 48.

from the trees and it starts getting really chilly. In winter it gets really cold and it starts to snow. (14ABF24)

American Boys

Now I'm going to tell you some things about America? One thing is the weather. In summer it gets very hot over 90 degrees. Winter is around 20 to 30 degrees. It doesn't snow much either. (3ABM31)

The weather is very strange. In the summer it is very hot without much rain this year. In the winter it's cold but not extermly cold. We don't usually set a lot of snow, but once had a blizzard! (8ABM36)

The weather here is always different on different days. Sometimes it's cold and sometimes it's hot. (129ACM78)

Finnish Girls

I like the waether in Finland, because here is so different kind of weathers. In winter is cold and lots of snow. In summer is warm and sunny (sometimes it's rainy summer). Spring is sunny, little rainy and little freeze. In autumn is freeze and rainy. 2. I really like the nature in Finland, because here's so lots of nature. (23FBF8)

I like to live here in Finland because there are a lot of forests in here and that in winter the weather is cold and in summer it's warm. (31FBF4)

There is cold now, but our summer was realy hot. Our nature is realy beautiful, becouse trees leaves are very colourful. (34FBF7)

In Finland winter is very cold, but summer warm. Finland is very long. In the map it looks like a girl. In winter I don't want to go out during breaks, because it's cold. (100FCF72)

Here is cold and snowy on winter, but on summer here is warm and sunny. (101FCF51)

The weather is good, little cold and rainy. (119FCF47)

<u>Finnish Boys</u>

Weather hmm... The sun is shining and its cold in here becouse the winter is coming. (20FBM11)

Here in Finland the weather is cold and cool, but I like it. (25FBM10)

Capital is Helsinki. There is good weather, because there is rather warm. (27FBM14)

Winters are cold, sometimes - 30 degrees. Summers are warm, sometimes rainy. The nature is beautiful and clean. (28FBM15)

Finland is beautiful country. We have a long and cold winter in here. (44FBM9)

Weather is cold and windy in Jyväskylä. Nature is nice in Finland. (38FBM20)

The winter in here is sometimes very cold and sometimes very warm. The summer were hot but now it's getting colder. I think the nature of ours is very clean and fresh. (45FBM12)

At summer Jyväskylä is warm but in winter it's cold and very snowy, so there is both. That's why I like Jyväskylä. (72FBM13)

Here is nice live because here is enough warm and winter is cold. (103FCM53)

Here in Jyvaskyla is going good, because here is still warm and here is autumn, usually first snow comes about an two weeks here. I think at Jyväskylä is best place in the whole world. (104FCM56)

Jyväskylä is nice live because here is summer when is warm and is creepys. Winters is nice when run snow, be able make snowman and snowdog and be able count hills. (110FCM59)

These Finnish participants seem generally more enthusiastic and complimentary of their weather than the Americans, even though one might think of Finland's weather as being much harsher in the winter. But along with the harsh weather comes also a traditional array of outdoor and indoor winter activities for the Finns, including ice-skating, cross-country skiing, ice hockey and ice fishing. For the Americans, weather seems to serve more as an introductory topic in a small-talk[8] conversation style. The Americans' comparatively short and dry delivery of their weather comments may reflect this phenomenon.

The Finns often combine their assessment of the weather with comments about nature. Forty-three percent of the Finnish boys and 50% of the Finnish girls referred to nature in their description of life in their country and city. None of the American students used the term "nature" and very few talked about their natural surroundings. This again might be due to the stark contrast in climate, flora and fauna between the two locales. The Midwestern United States does have beautiful nature but because it is a mix of farmland and urban areas, one has to seek out nature, whereas many Finns in south-central Finland only have to step into their backyard to be in the forest. Even so, these particular Finnish children are clearly oriented to nature in what some might view as a spiritual way. *Muumit* (The Muumis, in English), Tove Jansson's hugely popular books and television series for Finnish children that embodies the Finnish love of nature, is set in the Finnish forest and often features surreal winter scenery and a rather mystical aura in the storyline and visuals.[9]

The distinctiveness of Finnish culture is rather clear in the high level of responses about Finnish nature and this seems to connect well to Hofstede's MAS dimension on the feminine side. The Finnish children's strong connection to nature takes an active role later in life, as evidenced in Finland's political commitment to the environment. Hofstede notes that cultural level values are often reflected in that culture's government (2001: 317). In his table, "Key Differences Between Feminine and Masculine Societies IV: Politics," Hofstede states that in low MAS countries, "Preservation of the environment should have the highest priority" (2001: 323). Additionally, because Finnish boys and girls exhibited similar levels of discussion about both weather and

---

[8] Small talk: Casual or trivial conversation, chitchat, as in *We stood around making small talk until the guest of honor arrived*. The *small* in this expression alludes to unimportant subjects of conversation, as opposed to serious or weighty ones. From Dictionary.com
[9] For more information about Tove Jansson and Muumin, on the Web: http://www.moomin.fi/englanti/tove_full_e.htm

nature, this would seem to conform to Hofstede's contention that values of both males and females in feminine societies overlap.

The following responses from Finns illustrate a strong connection to nature:

Finnish Boys

The air is clean in here and its fresh, the nature is beatyful. (20FBM11)

We have very clean nature in Finland. (22FBM19)

In Finland is very clean nature, because here we have lots of forests and we have about 180,000 lakes. (25FBM10)

The nature is beautiful and clean. (28FBM15)

I think the nature of our is very clean and fresh. (45FBM12)

Finnish Girls

I really like the nature in Finland, because here's so lots of nature. Everywhere are trees. Here's more than 180 000 lakes in Finland. That's very much! Here's very clean air and clean waters. Here can swim nearly every lake. (23FBF8)

I like to live here in Finland because there are a lot of forests in here and that in winter the weather is cold and in summer its warm. There are about 180.000 lakes here in Finland. (31FBF4)

In winter here is very cold but in summer here is quite warm. In summer nature is very wonderful and green. In winter here is white and i think you know why. If you don't know why i tell you the right answer and it is: because here is lots of snow. (*32FBF5*)

Our nature is realy beautiful, becouse trees leaves are very colourful. We had many lakes in hear about 180 000! (34FBF7)

Here is forest almost downtown. Jyväskylä is very beautiful place. (117FCF46)

The Finnish boys and girls also were more inclined to talk about people (in a broad sense) than their American counterparts. The percentages were 38 for the Finnish girls and 22 for the Finnish boys compared to 15% for the American boys and only six percent for the American girls. This seems to fit with Hofstede's Masculinity Societal Norm table (Table 1, page 13), where he claims that in low MAS (feminine) societies, "quality of life and people are important," compared to the high MAS (masculine) opposite, "money and things are important." The Finnish boys (4%) were far less inclined to talk about their nation, than were the other groups: 31% Finnish girls, and 38% for both American boys and girls.

Other notable differences were observed in certain topics between the groups regarding the Life in Your Country question, and these include: American girls and Finnish boys both discussed family more than did the American boys and Finnish girls. American boys chose not to talk about school, whereas many in the other three groups did. None of the Finnish girls brought up sports, whereas members of the three other groups did. Two Finnish boys spoke about the peacefulness of their area, but none of the other groups did. Roughly equal numbers of all four groups spoke about hobbies. Although the question referenced specifically the participants' nation and city, only one Finnish boy choose to specifically talk about his nation (as opposed to general life aspects there, such as weather and nature), while the four other groups all exceeded 30 per cent of participants on this topic. Overall, both Finnish and American girls were slightly more inclined than the boys to talk specifically about their city.

Finally, it was noted that, when using adjectives for describing their countries and/or cities, the Americans frequently used superlative terms such as: the best, great, exciting, awesome, fun and cool. The Finns were much more reserved, more often using softer terms such as normal, peaceful, nice, kind and beautiful. This phenomenon may be related to differences in communication style between Finns and Americans, and will be discussed further in the review of the gender discourse style inquiry.

Table 10, below, presents a breakdown of notable topics cited by the participants, by group and sex, in the Life in Your Country and City question. The percentage listed next to the number of respondents in each group that responded to this question reflects the number of instances each topic was cited divided by the number of respondents (N) within that specific demographic, noting again that not all of the participants responded to each of the imposed questions.

Amer. Girls		Finn. Girls			Finn. Boys		Amer. Boys	
N=16	%	N=16	%	Topic	N=23	%	N=13	%
		8	50	Nature	10	43		
7	44	11	69	Weather	16	70	5	38
				Peaceful	2	9		
3	19	3	19	Friends	3	13	1	8
4	25	2	13	Family	7	30	1	8
4	25	4	25	Hobbies	8	35	3	23
1	6	6	38	People	5	22	2	15
8	50	6	38	School	11	48	2	15
4	25			Sports	6	26	4	31
6	38	5	31	Nation	1	4	5	38
6	38	9	56	City	7	30	4	31

Table 10. Notable Topics Cited in the Life in Your Country and City Question.

4.1.2 *Career Aspirations*

Question 2 asked the participants to: *Please tell your friend what you would like to be when you grow up and WHY!*

Twenty-six American girls, 12 American boys, 15 Finnish girls and 22 Finnish boys responded to this question. Some of the participants cited two or more career choices. During the process of reviewing the career goal responses of the participants five categories of career goals emerged: professional, blue collar, athlete, entertainment, and unknown. A "professional" job was characterized as being mentally engaging as opposed to physically engaging and requiring substantial and specialized training versus innate abilities. Webster's *New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* (2nd edition) describes a professional as one who is: "Engaged of or engaged in or worthy of the high standards of a profession." A profession, in the same dictionary, is described as: "A vocation or occupation requiring advanced training in some liberal art or science, and usually involving mental rather than manual work."

This basic framework for defining a professional is contrasted against a "blue collar" career that may require training, for example in operating heavy machinery or cutting and setting hair, but who's training is limited compared to those careers

requiring a bachelor's or higher-level degree. The same dictionary describes a blue collar worker as: "Designating or of industrial workers, especially the semi-skilled and unskilled," and defines "semi-skilled" as: "of or doing manual work that requires some but not extensive training."

Participants choosing careers as singers or athletes were both categorized in the "entertainment" category and those who did not know what they wanted to be later in life were placed in the "unknown" category.

After factoring together each participant's career goal citations and the reasons stated for each answer, each participant was assessed as exhibiting an overall tendency toward femininity or masculinity, based on Hofstede's descriptions of masculine and feminine societies. Because Hofstede stated that youth in feminine cultures often do no have a clear career direction (2001: 303), responses in which the participant stated they did not yet know what they wanted to be when they grew up were recorded as feminine.

Due to the objective difficulty of categorizing specific career choices as reflecting masculine or feminine values, an important aspect of the participants' responses for categorization was their stated motivation(s). For example, most of those choosing "athlete" were recorded as feminine, because the emphasis seemed to be limited to playing a game for the enjoyment of playing. Occasionally, for example, a participant would state that he or she wanted to be a professional athlete in order to make a lot of money, or otherwise achieve recognition, and this external, wealth motivation resulted in the participant being recorded as masculine.

All together, 26 American girls cited 25 professional, 3 blue collar and 7 entertainment choices. Eighteen American girls made one career choice, while 7 made two choices and one made 3 choices. Objectively categorizing the responses as either feminine or masculine proved difficult for all four groups, and much significance was given to the reasons cited for each specific career choice. Twenty-two American girls were recorded as exhibiting feminine traits, while four were recorded as making overall masculine choices. Most of the career choices made by the participants seemed to reflect their personal ideals for a career. Some cited a desire for jobs that would be financially rewarding. Participants citing financial rewards in their career choices did not refer to the practical realities of their present family life regarding their finances. Nor did they describe their expectations about what practical problems they might face in the future when they assume roles of responsibility. Table 11, below, lists the career citations made by the participants. The greyed rows indicate career choices that were categorized as professional career choices.

Career Choice	N=26 Am Girls	N=15 Finn Girls	N=12 Am Boys	N=22 Finn Boys	N=37 Finns	N=38 Americans
Athlete	5	1	3	11	11	6
Animal Keeper	1	1			1	1
Archaeologist	1		1	2	2	1
Architect			3			3
Artist		1		1	2	1
Business manager				1	1	
Business owner			2			2
Cook		1			1	
Deaconess		1			1	
Doctor	8	1		1	2	6
Engineer			1			1
Game designer			1			1
Hair Dresser	1					1
Important Person			1			1
Interior Designer		2			2	
Lawyer	2	1	2	1	2	4
Marine Biologist	2					2
Meteorologist	1					1
Nurse	2					2
Outdoorsman				1	1	
Pilot				2	2	
Police			1	2	2	1
Politician	1			2	1	1
Sales Clerk		1			1	
Singer	2	1			1	1
Teacher	5	1			1	4
Veterinarian	3	1			1	3
Veterinarian Assistant	1					
Writer		1			1	
UNDECIDED		3	1		3	1
Total Citations (less undecideds)	35	14	15	24	38	50
Professional Totals	25	6	10	7	13	35
% of choices categorized as Professional	71%	43%	67%	29%	34%	70%
Categorized as masculine	4	1	10	12	13	14
Categorized as feminine	22	14	2	10	24	24
	Am Girls N=26	Finn Girls N=15	Am Boys N=12	Finn Boys N=22	Finns N=37	Americans N=38

Table 11. Career Choice Citations

Examples of responses by American girls recorded as feminine:

When I grow up I want to be an assistant veteranarian because I like animals. (86ACF80)

When I grow up I want to be a marine biologist. I want to be a marine biologist because I like sea animals. (139ACF83)

When I grow up I want to be a nurse or a doctor, beacause I like to help children. (121ACF73)

When I grow up I want to be a peditrican. Its a baby doctor. I want to be this because I like little kids and want to help them. (14ABF24)

Hofstede's primary Masculinity Societal Norm table (Table 1, page 13) states that people in feminine cultures sympathize with the weak and feel that "small and slow" are beautiful, while people in masculine cultures sympathize with the strong and big and fast are beautiful. These American girls are clearly oriented toward children and animals and thus seem to identify with beings perceived to be weaker than themselves. This would seem to fit well Hofstede's feminine contentions about sympathizing with the weak versus the strong, and where small and slow is beautiful.

Examples of responses by American girls recorded as masculine:

I think I want to be a meteorologist because I want to know about the weather and how it works. Also I want to be on T.V. (18ABF28)

When I grow up I want to be a lawyer and make a lot of money. (19ABF29)

I am going to be the first girl president in America. I want to be a WNBA player, or a neuro surgeon, that is a brain surgeon. (241ABF21)

In comparison to the responses from American girls that were recorded as feminine, these girls not only have clear and concise conceptual goals but they make no mention of helping others: their cited jobs reflect high ambition and financial rewards. One girl's

ego-driven nature is clearly evident when she states that her goal is to be visible to others while on television. These responses are qualitatively different in terms of values and reflect entirely different motivations than the preceding feminine citations.

Eight American boys cited a single career choice, two cited 2 choices, and one cited three, while one boy was undecided. One of the career choices included in the preceding tally was for "important person." While this is not itself a career, the motivation behind the choice is important to the analysis. The American boys cited ten professional, one blue collar and three entertainment choices. Factoring again career citations and comments (notably motivation), 10 of 12 American boys were categorized as masculine. One American boy who responded to this question was not able to identify a career choice at that time and was recorded as feminine due to Hofstede's statement that youth in feminine cultures often do no have a clear career direction (2001: 303). The boy who stated, "I want to be a really important person when I'm older" was recorded as masculine because his motivation fitted Hofstede's contention that individuals in masculine cultures are ambitious and competitive (ibid). Simply wanting to be perceived as important seems clearly to reflect external motivation and high ambition.

Examples of responses by American boys recorded as masculine:

When I grow up I want to be a video game Producer, creator, designer, tester in Japan. (5ABM33)

When I grow up I want to be a Pro football player. That is because I've been playing the sport for six year's, and I'm good at the sport. (10ABM39)

When I grow up I want to be an Chemicall Eingeneer, Architect, because it involves math, art, and chemicals, which I like them all and very good at. (97ACM71)

I want to be a Basketball player because I always wanted to play professional basketball. I want to be a lawyer because that's my back-up job if I get hurt. That's why I want to be both things. (137ACM63)

As with the American girls' masculine responses, we see career plans here that are clear, ambitious and reflect a high self-esteem. Two of the participants brag about their

talents, and we are left to speculate regarding the reality of their high self-ratings.

Fifteen Finnish girls replied to the career question. Of these, seven cited professional career choices, two cited blue-collar choices and one cited an entertainment choice. Of the Finnish girls who cited career choices, two cited 2 career choices, while the rest cited one. Four Finnish girls stated that they had no career ideals at that time. Fourteen of the Finnish girls' were assessed as feminine regarding the career question and only one was assessed as masculine.

Examples of responses by Finnish girls recorded as feminine:

Maybe I would like to be horsekeeper? I dont know? (101FCF51)

I would like to be doctor becouse I wan't help peoples. (117FCF46)

I dont know what I want to be when I grow up. (34FBF7)

I would like to be a teacher or kindergarten teacher, because I like little children. (119FCF47)

These responses seem to mirror the feminine responses made by some of the American girls. Thinking of others and helping children both seem to fit Hofstede's feminine societal description.

The following response by a Finnish girl was recorded as masculine because she boasts about her skills as a writer and artist:

I want to be a book writer or an artist when I grow up because I'm good at it:) (29FBF2)

Twenty-two Finnish boys answered the career question, resulting in seven professional, five blue-collar and twelve entertainment choices. Twenty of the Finnish boys responding to this question made one career choice only, while two made two choices. Ten of the Finnish boys were recorded as feminine and twelve were recorded as masculine, based on their choices and stated motivations.

Examples of responses by Finnish boys recorded as masculine:

I want to be a swimmer when I grove up becouse then I win competitions and money and then I can raise my family. (20FBM11)

When I grow up I like to be a manager of a bank, because I want to make lots of money. (106FCM55)

When I grow up I want to be soccer player because playing fun and the players are pay very vell. (185FCM58)

I want to be a pilot or police, because I like tension and speed. (248FCM54)

These Finnish boys seem to be ambitious and reward oriented. Athlete was recorded in the entertainment category, and usually categorized as a feminine response. But when a respondent's motivations seemed to reflect a personal orientation to money or recognition (as might be the case in professional athletes), the participant was recorded as masculine.

Examples of responses by Finnish boys recorded as feminine:

I maybe want to be a artist, because its so easy to draw. (21FBM18)

I want to be an archaeologist, because I like history. Especialy the history of Egypt. (197FBM17)

These Finnish boys seem to be intrinsically motivated, versus being oriented to money or recognition, as might be found in an ego-oriented person whose motivations are extrinsic.

Seventy-one percent of the American girls' total citations were professional career choices. It is important to note when calculating the percentage of citations categorized as professional, I excluded the "undecided" citations, since these were not, in fact, actual career citations. In comparison to the American girls, only 36% of the Finnish girls cited a professional career. Twenty percent of the Finnish girls did not know what they wanted to be later in life. The American girls are clearly ambitious, one of

Hofstede's masculine society traits, yet some of the motivations cited by American girls reflect a feminine nature, making the distinction of masculinity or femininity overall problematic. They have high ideals for achievement, yet they want to help others as doctors, teachers and veterinarians.

The fact that 20% of Finnish girls did not yet have firm ideas about a career indicates a slightly feminine orientation as a group based on Hofstede's contention that youth in feminine cultures may not hold specific aspirations in life (2001: 303). However, it was noted that only two Finnish girls cited helping others as a motivation in their career aspirations, running somewhat counter to Hofstede's claims about feminine societies.

Sixty-seven percent of the American boys who responded to the career question cited a professional. One American boy did not yet know what he wanted in a career choice. Finally, only 29% of the Finnish boys cited professional careers yet 55% cited entertainment careers and, in this case, all such citations were for sports such as hockey or football (soccer in the United States). Finnish boys seem strongly oriented toward athletic entertainment careers, although, at age twelve, these participants may not rationalize their choice in terms of the player and spectator relationship. They simply may like sports and admire the high skill of professional athletes. This is left for speculation because the Finnish boys on the whole did not go into great detail about their motivations. As pointed out previously, stated motivations that were external, such as money or personal recognition, resulted in the participant being categorized as masculine. It is notable that none of the Finnish girls cited sports as a career choice, while some members of all of the three other groups did. As a group, 70% of the Americans chose professional careers, compared to 34% of the Finns.

4.1.3 *Favorite Movies and Movie Heroes*

Questions 3 and 4 pertained to the participants' movie preferences:

3. *Please write a short review of your most favorite movie. Please explain why you would recommend the movie to others, so that they might like to see it also!*

4. *Please list one or two of your favorite movie heroes. Please explain why they are your favorites. What characteristics about them do you like? What did they do in the movie that you admire?*

Favorite Movie

There were 14 messages from the American boys, 32 messages from the American girls, 26 messages from the Finnish boys and 23 messages from the Finnish girls in regard to the question about their favorite movies, meaning that a few students submitted multiple texts on this seemingly popular topic. In total, the respondents cited 72 distinct titles. Two citations could not be identified as movies and were not factored into the analyses. Some of the messages did not identify a specific episode of a series, e.g., a specific James Bond movie, and were grouped simply as *Star Wars*, *Harry Potter* or Bond. Therefore, multi-part or thematic-oriented titles, such as any of the episodes of *Star Wars*, or any film within the James Bond series, were recorded as one movie, *Star Wars* or Bond, respectively. I consider such film series to generally feature similar themes, plots and characters and were thus categorized under a single film title and associated genre(s). It should be pointed out that, even though question 3 specifically asked the participants to identify their favorite movie, some participants cited more than one. The American participants cited on average 1.15 movies per participant while the Finns cited 1.67 movies per participant. Overall, 23 participants cited more than one movie and one Finnish boy cited 11 movies. This served to skew the initial genre analysis found in Table 12 below, where an attempt was made to tabulate genre preferences based on country and sex. Therefore, a second genre analysis, contained in Table 13 on the following page, was conducted by eliminating from the genre tabulation all of the participants who cited multiple favorite movies.

An unexpected finding in the data is that the Finnish participants cited *only* Hollywood products as their favorite movies, and cited no Finnish, Scandinavian or European movies. In comparison, a recent media and youth study conducted in Finland showed that while Finnish girls and boys frequently viewed foreign television programming, 59% of Finnish girls aged 13-15 (n=172), and 41% of Finnish boys (n=181) watched domestic series (*kotimaiset sarjat,* in Finnish) regularly on television (Luukka, Hujanen, Lokka, Modinos, Pietikäinen & Suoninen, 2001: 54). In this same study, it was noted that movie viewing was strong in both sexes, and the availability of movie videos and video players in the home no doubt helped to drive this interest (ibid: 270). If Finnish youth are focusing so much of their television viewing time on Finnish programming, the question of why no Finnish films were cited as favorites likely has cultural implications.

AMERICANS	Boys (N=14)		Girls (N=32)	
Number of movies cited	18		39	
Genre	Mentions	% of N	Mentions	% of N
Action	9	64	5	16
Comedy	6	43	20	63
Adventure	10	71	8	25
Crime	1		3	9
Sci-Fi	4	29	3	9
Thriller	5	36	9	28
Horror	4	29	6	19
Family	3	21	14	44
Romance			4	13
Fantasy	5	36	8	25
Animation	1	7	1	3
War				
Western				
Drama	1	7	8	25

FINNS	Boys (N=26)		Girls (N=23)	
Number of movies cited	51		38	
Genre	Mentions	% of N	Mentions	% of N
Action	35	135	19	83
Comedy	11	42	10	43
Adventure	23	88	18	78
Crime	4	15	4	17
Sci-Fi	17	65	5	22
Thriller	18	69	3	13
Horror	3	12		
Family	5	19	5	22
Romance	5	19	7	30
Fantasy	12	46	19	83
Animation			2	19
War	2	8		
Western			1	4
Drama	6	23	6	26

Note: Mentions = the number of times a genre appeared in the films cited by a group.

Table 12. Movie Genre Analysis, *All Movie Citations Included*

AMERICANS	Boys (N=11)		Girls (N=26)	
Number of movies cited	11		26	
Genre	In citations	% of N	In citations	% of N
Action	5	45	1	4
Comedy	3	27	15	58
Adventure	7	64	5	19
Crime			1	4
Sci-Fi	2	18	2	8
Thriller	2	18	4	15
Horror	1	9	5	19
Family	3	27	8	31
Romance			5	19
Fantasy	4	36	10	38
Animation	1	9	1	3
War				
Western				
Drama	1	9	6	23

FINNS	Boys (N=20)		Girls (N=15)	
Number of movies cited	20		15	
Genre	In citations	% of N	In citations	% of N
Action	13	65	8	53
Comedy	5	25	3	20
Adventure	11	55	10	67
Crime	2	10		
Sci-Fi	5	25		
Thriller	5	25		
Horror	2	10		
Family	4	20	2	13
Romance	2	10	1	7
Fantasy	9	45	9	60
Animation				
War				
Western				
Drama	3	15	2	13

Note: In citations = the number of times a genre appeared in the films cited by a group.

Table 13. Movie Genre Analysis, *Single Movie Citations Only*

Of the 70 movies cited, only those within the *Harry Potter* series were cited by members of all four groups. These films were categorized by the Internet Movie Database (IMDB) as within the fantasy, adventure and family genres. By far the most popular movies, in terms of total citations across all groups, were those within the *Lord of the Rings* series, with 23 citations. However, only two American boys cited this series and none of the American girls did, while nine Finnish boys and 12 Finnish girls did. The *Lord the Rings* was listed in the Internet Movie Database as fitting into the fantasy, adventure and action genres.

Thirteen of the movie titles were cited only by Finnish girls, and comedy and romance were the genres most often included in these unique selections. Twenty-one movie titles were uniquely cited by Finnish boys, and comedy and action were the most prevalent genres. Twenty-one movie titles were uniquely cited by American girls, with comedy by far the most prevalent genre, and six movie titles were uniquely cited by the American boys, with comedy and action the leading genres.

Tables 12 and 13 reveal the participants' movie genre preferences by listing the total number of times a genre was cited by a group, based on nationality and sex. Even after filtering out the effects of some participants citing multiple movies (Table 13), several trends remained consistent in the data. The American boys seemed to favor adventure and action movies while the American girls were more oriented toward comedies. The Finnish girls were strongly oriented to fantasy, action and adventure. Among the Finnish boys, the initial analysis (Table 12) suggested a broad orientation to action, comedy, adventure, science fiction, thrillers and fantasy. However, after accounting for the instances of multiple citations by Finnish boys, the results of the second analysis indicated that their strongest group orientation was toward action and adventure.

Movie Heroes

Coding for masculine or feminine movie heroes was quite difficult, as the assessing criteria was objective in nature. Hofstede's ascriptions for heroes, described in the methods section, provided guidance for identifying a role with either feminine or masculine traits. Some choices were quite clear. For example, the ultra-masculine Rambo character is clearly an antithetical hero to the anti-hero Donald Duck (*Aku Annka*, in Finnish, a perennial favorite of Finnish children).

Reflecting on Hofstede's characterizations of heroes and antiheroes, cited on page 44 of the Methods section (Hofstede 1994: 89), as well as his Masculinity Social Norm Table (Table 1, page 18), a general guideline was established to assess the femininity or masculinity of a cited hero. Ascribed to feminine heroes were such qualities as being the underdog, diminutive in stature, tender, modest, funny, overcoming all odds, lacking in strength, and concerned about others, particularly the weak. Masculine heroes were characterized as having such qualities as being strong, large in stature, tough, ego oriented, assertive and ambitious. Using these criteria, the actors' or characters' roles were contemplated in both the specific movie(s) cited by the participants and (in the case of a participant citing an actor's name as opposed to the character(s) they play) in the actors' roles in movies other than the one(s) cited by the subject. Some actors, for example the American comedian Jim Carrey, are stereotyped across their roles in different movies, and Carrey would likely be viewed in this study as a feminine hero. The American actor Sylvester Stallone, another example of a stereotyped actor, would typically be coded as masculine in most of his movies. Particular importance was given to the reasons the subject cited for choosing a particular hero.

Further complicating the interpretation of the movie hero citations are the possible cultural differences between Americans and Finns in the meaning of the term *hero* and the implications associated with the culture of the researcher on this section of the research design, interpretation and analysis.

Unfortunately, since only six American boys responded to the favorite movie hero question, their results are not included in this area of the analysis. Twenty-four American girls noted heroes and, of these, 15 responses were coded as feminine and nine were coded as masculine. Nineteen Finnish girls responded to the movie hero question and all 19 cited feminine heroes. So far, the results seem to concur with Hofstede's schema: In comparison to the Finnish girls' all feminine citations, nine out of 24 of the American girls' citations were recorded as masculine. Hofstede's ascriptions allow for girls to mirror the boys: so we might expect to see these masculine citations from the American girls, while the Finnish girls' responses were 100% feminine as a group, and their national culture is positioned by Hofstede as being strongly feminine. Twenty-three Finnish boys responded to the movie hero question, yet 12 of their citations were coded as masculine heroes compared to 11 feminine citations, indicating a virtual split between masculine and feminine hero choices. Based on Hofstede's ascriptions, however, one might expect the Finnish boys to exhibit a stronger feminine film hero orientation than they did in this study.

When looking closely again at the genre preference data in this part of the study (Table 13), Finnish boys preferred action and adventure movies much like their American boy counterparts. The Finnish girls preferred adventure, fantasy and action movies in that order. The American girls preferred comedic movies followed by fantasy and family movies respectively. The results from the American and Finnish girls appear to feature feminine orientation, with the Finnish girls preferences including a strong orientation to fantasy films, and the American girls exhibiting an orientation to family films. Both the American and Finnish boys' genre selections seemed generally oriented to the masculine side of Hofstede's hero characterizations. Yet Hofstede stated that, in feminine societies, both men and women can be, and often are, tender. The data does reveal, in a downward sliding scale of preference (Table 13), that the Finnish boys did cite movies in the fantasy, comedy, family and romance genres. The movie genre data is too limited in terms of sample size to make strong conclusions, thus perhaps in the present study only the strongest genre orientations are meaningful.

Working under this assumption, we do see similarities between the Finnish and American boys' masculine genre preferences. Finnish girls and American girls were both oriented to fantasy films, with the Finns being much more so. However, the Finnish girls, like the Finnish boys, were strongly oriented to action and adventure (categorized as masculine), while the American girls were primarily oriented to comedies (categorized as feminine), with action and adventure appearing very low on their list.

In summary, although only six American boys responded to the movie hero question, the other groups provided for notable results. American girls' citations included 15 feminine heroes versus nine masculine heroes, and perhaps this is consistent with Hofstede's ascriptions, where one might anticipate some American girls to choose masculine movie heroes. The Finnish girls were coded citing 19 feminine heroes and zero masculine heroes, again right in line with what one might expect Hofstede to predict. The Finnish boys cited eleven feminine heroes and twelve masculine heroes, and in view of the Finnish girls' 100% feminine selections, the Finnish boys' selections seem decidedly more masculine. Perhaps this gives vigor to the suggestion that Finnish boys might be becoming more masculine than in the past based on Hofstede's criteria, and this notion will be explored further in the discussion section. But it also could mean that, had the American boys responded in sufficient numbers to this question, that their citations may have been so predominately masculine that the

Finns do fit the more feminine dimension, by comparison. The fact that boys of that age selected "feminine" heroes at all could be significant.

Examples of texts regarding movie heroes coded as masculine include:

<u>American Girls</u>

Two of my heroes are Jackie Chan I like him because he can fight he actually broke a couple of bones while doing his stunts. (166ACF81)

My favorite actress is Reese Witherspoon. She is the main character in Legally Blonde. *She is great in movies. Her sense of humor is fantastic. She is so good in* Legally Blonde. *In the movie I admire how she decided that she would just head off to collage with her being who she is...miss perfect. Perfect hair, clothes and shoes.* (87ABF22)

They both have Van Diesel in them. And he is soooooooo cute. I so totally admire him. I like those movies because they have a whole lot of excitment. Like fast cars, fighting , motor cycle tricks, and other cool stuff. They're bout an hour or so long. If I hear or see Van Diesel, Im just going crazy. (94ABF26)

<u>Finnish Boys</u>

My favourite movie star is Keanu Reeves. In The Matrix *he is Neo, the One, who saves the world. I like him because he's so cool. The fighting scenes are great.* (150FBM15)

My favourite movie hero is Neo, from the Matrix *of course. He has special powers and he is "the One".* (181FBM9)

Sylvester Stallone is very good actor and Chuck Norris too. Stallone is a good fighter in the movie. Rocky *is a boxing movie. I like* Rocky *movie's. The Rock movie is best movie what I'm ever seem.* (229FCM41)

Examples of texts regarding movie heroes coded as feminine include:

Finnish Girls

I don't know who is my favourite filmstar, becouse all of them are good of them job. They charaothings wht I like is, they are very braves example. Many of them save people. (158FBF7)

My favorite character in this movie is Frodo Baggins(Elijah Wood)I love Frodo because his very brave and cute:) He was very brave when he said mhe would go to Mordor and destroy The Ring. I love Aragorn and Gandalf too. They are not really cute but they are good persons. (187FBF2)

My Favourite actor is ELIAH WOOB, because it is lovelys!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! (235FCF61)

American Girls

My movie hero would have to be Mulan. She's a young chinese girl who joins the army so her eldrely father doesn`t have to go and fight. She has to cut off her hair because women weren't allowed to fight. She ends up winning the whole war and saving her country. I admire how she loved her father so much that she risked her life to save him. (131ACF79)

I also like Jim Carry. He's so funny he is always doing something really funny. (166ACF81)

My favorite movie is the 13th ghost. *My favorite person in the movie is the little boy who gets lost.* (93ABF25)

My favorite movie hero is Harry Potter. He is very brave. He never deserted his friends. One of the things I admire about Harry is when he finds courage to face Lord Voldemort. (96ABF28)

Finnish Boys

My favourite actor is Harrison Ford. I'm sure you have heard about him too. He is funny and humorous. That is why I like him. (184FBM17)

My is Julia Robertson, that's becase she is pretty. (248FCM54)

4.1.4 *International Conflict Resolution*

Question five asked: *Please share with your pen pal your opinions about international conflicts. Should countries resolve conflict through negotiation and compromise? Or, should countries use force in order to prevail? Be sure to explain your answers by stating why you feel the way you do.*

Twenty-seven American girls, eight American boys, 25 Finnish boys and 16 Finnish girls addressed this question. Using Hofstede's contention that feminine cultures strongly favor negotiation to resolve international conflicts, whereas masculine cultures more readily resort to force ((2001: 320), a response was recorded as masculine when a subject stated that use of force was a viable and justifiable option, even if they also said that negotiation should also be attempted first. If they stated that only negotiation should be used, or if they stated that the use of force should never be an option, the response was recorded as feminine.

Seven of the American girls provided masculine responses, while 20 responded with a feminine answer. The eight American boys responses were split between negotiation and force. The Finnish girls were overwhelmingly feminine in their responses, with 15 feminine answers compared to only one masculine answer. The Finnish boys were also strongly feminine, with 20 feminine responses and only five masculine responses.

American girls making masculine responses:

I think that countries should resolve conflicts in an orderly manner. Not just blow them up. I think that people should try to negotiate or compromise. Then maybe if they ignore then we should use force. Not anything that would kill a lot of people, but enough to make them understand. (313ACF79)

I think it would be better if we talked it out with other contries we are going to fight with but some people just don't want to listen. (323ACF66)

If someone did something really bad to the United States, then I would want conflict, but we can't just be pushed around. We need to do what we have to do, and stand up for what we believe in. (360ACF75)

I don't know which one to pick because both are wrong in a way. If we bomb them we could kill people whom didn't do anything. If we compromise they might think their too scared to create war! (308ABF32)

The question about the war and violent attacks on this country and all others in the world is my biggest problem with the world today. I think people should always try to negotiate to see if that helps the problem at all and if it doesn't work then our military should go in to the country should go in and take over the military in that country. Although people have signed a paper or made an agreement they are not always going to stick to their end of the deal. When they break the deal we should send in our Navy or our Army to take over the country. The force is always going to prevail over negotiation because the person you are trying to get through to is going to respond better when they feel threatened. Therefore the president or supreme ruler should always try to negotiate things first. (317ABF22)

So far we have a little war between Afghanistan and the USA. I think it would be great to make a compromise. But then again, they made our Twin Towers in New York collapse. I understand if we bomb them to death. (328ABF27)

What do I think about the different conflicts of international? I have different opinions on all the different conflicts in America. Like for instance, on small conflicts I think we should try to compromise and make it work out. But wars on the other hand are a whole different story. If a different country was to do something and really harm our country, like jacking airplanes or bombing our buildings, we should have the right to fight back. To use are force, to do our best, and try to give them payback. (327ABF26)

It is evident that current domestic and world events drive many of these statements. We are left to speculate the degree to which such pressing matters influence the participants' sense of what is ideal versus what they would actually do themselves if they were in a position of power. In addition, we can only be left to wonder how the responses might have been different if this study had been conducted before such major

events as the September 11th, 2001 attack in New York City, the subsequent war in Afghanistan, and the lead up to the invasion of Iraq. Nonetheless, the above comments are clearly masculine in nature.

American girls making feminine responses:

I think everyone should compramise or negotiate. I think this because if you go to war with another country, you might offend another country. If they get mad enough they might attack you. Also, we need more peace and less violence. Right now we need everyone to be calm not mad. We are already at war, the last thing we need is another country mad at us. (319ACF83)

I think international conflicts should negotiate because going to war may solve problems, but lots of young guys get drafted. People may lose parts of their families dads, brothers and for some people thats all they have. Teachers in school teach us to solve our conflicts by talking it over and not fighting. (321ACF85)

I think that we should have talked with the terroists so we could make peace with them. So that we can visit any place we wan't without harm. (320ACF84)

The conflicts between countries should be resolved by negotiating. There wouldn't be ay fighting and wars. Negotiating solves many problems without anyone getting hurt. I do not like volience. (299ABF23)

I believe that we should not fight over things and just talk the argument out. I believe that because if we were to fight then it might lead to a war and a lot of people would die. Why kill a lot of people when we could just talk it out. I would hate it if we had to start another war. We already had to start a war on September 11, which is my birthday, because of a fool that wanted to crash into the twin towers. (325ABF25)

In America we are battling with Afghanistan, and will posibly have a future war with Iraq. There are many conflicts/wars between the contries in the middle east, and there has been for the past several years. I think if possible we and everone else should find a way to compromise. Many inisant people have been killed and it should stop now! (311ABF35)

These American girls also have current events on their mind, yet their responses indicate an orientation away from conflict, much as Hofstede ascribes to feminine values. Eight American boys responded to the conflict question, with four masculine and four feminine responses recorded.

American boys making masculine responses:

I think first the country should negotiate and compromise because they might not have to go in to war, and they will save a lot of their people and the other country's people. If that doesn't work then they should use force. I'd rather use negotiate and compromise than force. I would only use force if I really truly had to. (307ABM31)

I think countries should try to resolve their conflicts in a non violent way. If they can't then they should probably use force. (309ABM33)

I think that international conflicts should be settled by negotiation and compromise. It would make a peaceful world. Only as a last resort is the only reason to use bryte force. (312ABM36)

I think opposing countries should use negotiation to overcome conflicts. Because when they use force lots of people are killed. But if negotiating doesn't work then they should use force to make peace. (315ABM38)

American boys making feminine responses:

My opinion about the conflict between Iraq and us is stupid. I think we should have world peace. I feel this way because I'm not the type who likes to fight. (305ABM30)

I think that we should negotiate with the other contries. That is because lots of people are getting killed. More people also start doing bad things to hurt other people. If we keep fighting more people would will lose more family members and more people would die. (316ABM39)

I feel the same about war as you. War impersonates pride not peace. It's been one year three months since the trade towers and the pentagon have been destroyed. We are

choosing to attack or not attack Iraq or not. There was 4,000 deaths when they bombed all three places. How would you feel if you were asked to your military when you were older? (310ACM77)

The masculine and feminine responses from the American boys follow a pattern similar to the American girls. There may appear to be a reluctance to use force in the masculine responses, yet the threat of force, and the willingness to use it, is clearly there.

The following examples are from Finnish girls making feminine responses:

I think all countries should resolve their conficts through negotiation and compromise. I think using force is useles because it only kills people. War is not the only way to prevail. (277FBF2)

I think that countries should talk about their problems, war is not the answear!!! I can't think a thing when different countries shold use their powers. (284FBF6)

Do you know is somebody in your class that likes more war that just talking trougth the things? We don't have enybody who likes more war that talking.? (I think so...) (340FBF5)

I think that in international conflicts they should try to negotiate, first, because it would be peacefull. In Finland ex-president Martti Ahtisaari negotiate in Namibia with a good result. Namibia got independent and the war ended. (263FCF50)

Terrorists are bad peoples. Did you know? 100 thunnder peoples dead in Moskovas Theather. Why Terrorists kill peoples. I think that: Wars are stupid thing. I want that: Wars stop. What you think? (283FCF46)

I think that people should negoticate because that could be easier but commplacted to say something without it being forcefull or damanding. (301FCF69)

The lone masculine response from a Finnish girl:

Youre right if another country wants you hafe to fight back, but the war hafe to stop

someday somehow cause people cant go on like that forever. (341FBF6)

This text was coded as masculine because the participant agreed with the stated opinion of her key-pal in the United States, which stipulated that if pressed, fighting is acceptable. All texts that supported violence, for whatever reason, were coded as masculine.

The following are examples of Finnish boys making feminine responses:

Negotiations and comnpromises are better than force because if we use force, then come lots of wars. Conflicts are unnecessary. (264FBM10)

Well I think countries should solve their conflicts by negotiating and compromising. War is always a bad thing. I think that countries should resolve their conflicts throught negetiation and compromise. I think that war and nuclear weapons are useless. They just make corpses and bad mood. Finland doesn't have any nuclear weapons and it is a good thing. (274FBM17)

I think Israel and Balestina should use negotiation and compromise, because if they use their power more people will die. I think the nuclear weapons are uisless. (275FBM18)

I think too that the conflict is stupid. I'm happy that we have peace here in Finland. And those conflicts you are having with Afghanistan and Iraq should be stopped. (333FBM9)

I think that the terrorist attack in Moscow was horrible. Russians president Vladimir Putin did do a very "fine job" then he attacked to the theater. I can't understand that why tsetsenians make war. Why cant they talk about it, first. (272FCM55)

In international conflicts, they should try to negotiate first. If it doesn't help they should think other solutions. For example ask help from U.N and send peacekeepers to the area. (297FCM48)

Finnish boys making masculine responses:

I think that countries should talk about the conflicts because in war many innocent

people die. But they should use their force against the terrorism because terrorists are bad and dangerous. (265FBM9)

If someone can't resolve their conflicts they have to use forse. (336FBM14)

I think that at the Moscows terrorist attack was terrible and the russian attack was right, because they start to shoot innocent peopole and the russian team came and made everything right... (273FCM56)

My opinion is in international comflicts they should try to negotiale first. If negotiale doesn't work must use pover and then people dies. (293FCM58)

I think that at the Moscow terrorist attakc was terrible and the Russian attakc was right because they start shoot incomment peoples. (298FCM52)

At the time the data for this study were collected, the United States was building toward a possible invasion of Iraq and the issue was hotly debated in American society and the international community. At the same time, some of the Finns spoke about another current event in a neighboring state, Russia, where Chechen rebels occupied a Moscow theatre during a performance. The Russian authorities responded by storming the theatre, but not until after deploying a chemical gas to disable the rebels. Many innocent people died, as well as most of the rebels. These international crises, as well as the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan, seemed to play heavily in the responses of all of the participants, making the question about conflict quite relevant to the times but at the same time making the discernment and distinction between the ideal and the real in the answers quite difficult.

The lone masculine response from a Finnish girl demonstrates the difficulty involved in eliminating force as an option in international conflict even in a society that emphasizes negotiation as a key tool in conflict negotiation. Certainly it is hard enough for adults to draw the line where an international conflict becomes dire enough to warrant the use of force; young teenagers, even with their inherent idealism, must feel this uncertainty as well. Indeed, the Finns, in the not-too-distant past, have been forced to take up arms themselves: they endured their own civil war after liberation from the Russians in 1917 and they fought the Russians and the Germans in World War II. The lone Finnish girl whose response was recorded as masculine seems to agree with her

American friend that force is an option, even as she acknowledges that force ultimately must give way to reason. Her response seems sympathetic to the masculine nature evident in her key-pal but her own feminine nature is still evident. However, because she did support the use of force, she was recorded as making a masculine response, and this example illustrates the subjective difficulty of interpreting the data gathered for this study.

In a separate question, posed outside of the seven program-imposed questions, the Finnish Bear team class asked their American counterparts whether the USA should invade Iraq. The first three American girls' responses cited below were recorded as feminine, while all other responses, both from girls and boys, were recorded as masculine.

Examples of responses from American girls regarding the Invade Iraq question posed by their Finnish partner class:

I'm not sure about our relationship with Iraq. I don't think we should attack Iraq. We should find a more peaceful way to settle things. (465ABF28)

The US attacking Iraq is unessesary because, we had no problems that we should have started back up with them, we'er are having enough problems with Aphganastan I personlely think that war is not the answer to anything. (472ABF40)

I think that the US shouldn't go off killing those innconet people. Just should just talk about the sitiation with the Iraq. (492ABF23)

Well for your answers I dont think that we have a good relationshiop with Iraq. I also think that if they didnt want us attacking Iraq then they should turn in that one, I dont exactly remember his name. (463ABF25)

I think our relashionship between US and Iraq, is really bad. We're fighting in war all over one guy. I wish we could've just fought with him and not everyone. I think we sort of do have the right to be attacking Iraq but in a way it's not right because we're killing some peple that are totally inocent and didn't even know about it until they did it. (464ABF26)

I think the relationship between the US and Iraq is bad. I think Iraq deserves to be attacked. I mean they blew up and knocked down the Twin Towers. (469ABF27)

I think that our relationship with Iraq is awful! I think they should of killed him a long time ago in the Gulf War!! (467ABF32)

I think that our relationship with Iraq is horrible. Altough I do think we should go to war I also think it is just going to cause more problems. I also think that the war is Sudam Hussane's fault. He is the one supporting terrorism and he is also a leader of the Taliban. If he does not want to be killed he needs to pray for a miracle from George Bush because President Bush has already told the troops to get ready and they were leaving on last Monday. The things that Sudam has said or done to the U.S. are the reason we are going to war and when all the people in Iraq start to die he is going to blame the entire mess on the U.S. I think that all of this would be better left undone but the U.S. is tired of Sudam doing things that are destroying our country. (471ABF22)

In one way its a good thing I think we should so we can get Usamma. But then we shouldnt because they could attack us back and then every thing will bwe war. (493ABF24)

I think that we should just go bomb them because Iraq bombed us first. Or we should just try to make peace with them. (347ACF81)

Examples of responses from American boys in response to the invade Iraq question:

I think the relationship with the us and Iraq is pretty bad. I don't like war but, I think we are going to war with them. I think we should attack because they could have hidden mass destruction wepons. (460FBM33)

I think the US and Iraq don't have a good relationship because of September 11th. The US should just send in their 50,000 troops and take out the Iraq government. (462ABM38)

The relationshiip between the US and Iraq is almost the same asit was in the Gulf war. I don't mind it, but I still do think we should finish it During the war. (466ABM31)

My opion about our problems with Iraq, is that we should probably go to war with Saddam Husein, because our negotiations have not worked in the past. There is no telling what he might do when he gets his hand on a nuke. (302ACM62)

If someone was commiting a crime I think we should have a talk with the government to see why they are doing a massive crime. If they would say for power we should take actions in our own hands. (329ACM70)

I think we should keep bommbin, because we can't solve conflicts with enemy's. They will keep trying to bomb us. The Unted States I know do not want that. I know I don't like that either. (362ACM63)

Table 14, below, tabulates the responses to both the conflict imposed question and the invade Iraq question. It should be clarified that the invade Iraq question was directed by one Finnish class to one American class, therefore the responses are limited only to this American class.

	Finnish Boys		Finnish Girls		Total Finns		American Boys		American Girls		Total Americans	
International Conflict Question	MAS 5	FEM 20	MAS 1	FEM 15	MAS 6	FEM 35	MAS 4	FEM 4	MAS 7	FEM 20	MAS 11	FEM 24
Invade Iraq Question	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6	0	7	3	13	3

Table 14. Responses Regarding Conflict

4.1.5 *Equal Share of Work at Home*

Question six asked: *Should women and men take an equal share of work in the home? This refers to general housekeeping chores such as vacuuming, cleaning up the kitchen, doing laundry and picking up around the house. Please explain your answer in some detail.*

The almost universal answer seemed to be that, ideally, men and women should share work in the home. Twenty-five American girls, 11 American boys, 14 Finnish girls and 28 Finnish boys responded to the question. All responses were recorded as feminine, except for five Finnish boys who were recorded as masculine. In spite of the feminine

majority responses, the two cultures seem to approach the question in a different way. The Finnish participants frequently spoke in terms of equality while the American participants more commonly spoke in terms of fairness. The five Finnish boys recorded as masculine clearly stated that gender roles should be distinct enough that women should specialize in housework, while men are better suited to other things. One Finnish boy even stated that distinctive roles between the sexes represented the tradition in Finland regarding work in the home (273FCM56).

Thirty-nine percent of Finnish boys and 36% of Finnish girls made comments to the effect that, while workload distribution should ideally be equally weighted, the actual roles assumed by women and men regarding housework could differ. Comparatively, only 20% of American girls and 18% of American boys suggested that the individual roles of men and women in terms of housework could or should differ. On the other hand, 28% of American girls and 18% of American boys made comments to the effect that men in their society tend not to participate in housework, while only 14% of Finnish girls and 7% of Finnish boys stated this to be the case in their society.

The following are some response examples from the American girls:

Anyway I think men and women should have equal work. My parents both work, cook, clean and take care of four kids in one day. I do agree with you about men doing all the repairing, but I think men should also help with cleaning jobs because most women work as well as men. (319ACF83)

I think men and women should take turns with the chores like, men take cleaning the kitchen and women take vacuuming and the next day I think they should switch. (323ACF66)

I think men and women should do houeswork together, because if they do we could get housework done more faster and easier. If we don't work together women would be doing all the work while the men are doing nothing. That's not fair. (306ACF73)

I hate when a men says something is a man's job. We are a equal community, so I think we should be equal with jobs. (360ACF75)

Men should have to do an equal part in housework. The women should not be

responible to do housework alone because they have to work to. (299ABF23)

For the past two hundred years its been a tradition, that woman do most of the house work. I think that if woman left it up to the men than nothing would get done. I don't like it that woman have to do it all. Just why can't it become even or men could do something around the house and not just sit there and watch the woman work there buts iff to keep the house neat. (311ABF35)

Should men and women take equal share of work in the home? Well my opinion is that they do. Both could help out and do things around the house every once in a while. Like they could take turns cooking or cleaning, but should both have jobs or have a way of making money. (327ABF26)

I think men should help with the women who probably works, cleans, the house, watches the kids, and makes food. So the men should work like vacuum or something. (347ACF81)

The following are some response examples from the American boys:

Women and men should have to take an equal share of work around the house. Like vacuuming, cleaning up the kitchen, doing laundry, and picking up around the house. I feel this way because I like to be fair. (305ABM30)

I think women and men should take equal shares work. Such as household chores because everyone is equal. (309ABM33)

Women and men should do equal share of the work in home. Normally both work and it is hard for just one person to do it all. (312ABM36)

I also think that men and women should do equal amount of chores. The women might go to work and the same with the men, but what happens when they come home? The men usually watch T.V. while the women do all the work. It sometimes leads to anger, then to hatred, then they get devorced. (302ACM62)

Here in the USA the mens work is equal to the women. My mom helps out around the

house cooking, cleaning, and working. My dad mostly works and cooks a little bit. They both do their share to make our house easier to live in I clean my room and take out the trash. (329ACM70)

I think that men should do house work around the house. When women do hard stuff, its really hard and men could do hard stuff. Women has to have breaks sometimes. (362ACM63)

The following are some response examples from the Finnish girls:

Women are not the onely one who should work at home. It's not fair if men let women do all the work. Someone think that women are better in doing the laundry, dishing and cleaning up the house. (277FBF2)

And I also think that the housekeeping should share equaly. Because I don't think it's right if only the wife if only the is vacuuming and cleaning and takeing care of the kids and the man is only wathing TV. (281FBF4)

Of course womens and mens have to share the work in the home because that work belongs to everybody. (282FBF5)

Work in the home belongs to man and women. Not just to women. Men can do hard work and mending because men have more muscles than women. Women can cook and for example vacoom. (285FBF8)

I think that all the members of a family should do the family works, because it's fare. In Finland usually all the homeworks are devided egualy. My mum make food, and loundry. My dad repare car, and cut gras. I help mum, and make the board. (263FCF50)

The following are some response examples from the Finnish boys:

I think women and men already have an egual share of work. (268FBM13)

Women and men are equal share of work in the home. Women general chores are cleaning up the kitchen, doing laundry and make food. Men general chores are vacuumign and picking up around the house. (269FBM14)

My opinion about sharing the chores is that mens and women should have equal amount of chores. These days mens sit on the sofa and women do all the work. Mens should do more work at home. (276FBM19)

I totally agree with you. It's very stupid that women always do the work. (355FBM15)

My dad and mother do an equal work in home. I don't know why. I ask my mom and dad and they told me this: We do an qual work my dad do Hard works and my mom do medium works. (291FCM41)

In finland men and women are shareing very much everything so in here they are eguils. But still men are having better salary than women. (294FCM42)

In Finlands jobs are impartial for men and women. My father makes all mendings and often foods and he also goes to work as a musician. Womens look after children and clean the house, make food and they also go to work. Men and women make equal jobs. (295FCM59)

The following five responses from Finnish boys were the only ones from all four groups that were recorded as masculine:

And I think that women should work in the home much more than men because they are better in chore. (265FBM9)

The most important thing in marriage is equality. The man does work and brings money and helps with chores. And woman goes shopping and cleans the house. (287FBM12)

My opinon about mens and womens work in home: every family has they own style do work at home. My father is working at waterworks. My mom is unemployed. (290FCM49)

My opinion is that at women and men should share all work at home at everything is egual. But here in Finland that is simple, because it's traditional. Women do food and cleans house and men do everything what belongs in his job... And in my family I and my brother cleans house and we do lots of jobs what belongs on us. (273FCM56)

I think that fathers should do repairing jobs in home and mums should do all cleaning and washing. That's how we do in our home. (278FCM60)

These responses from Finnish boys present the clear notion that men are better suited to certain activities and women to others. However, this does not imply that the participants are advocating an unequal distribution of workload, just that the division of specific tasks be based on sex. This would fit well with Hofstede's description of distinct gender role socialization in masculine societies. However, one might have expected, based on Hofstede's findings about Finnish and American societies, that these seemingly masculine comments, reflecting a perceived and/or desired gender role differentiation, would come from the American boys, not the Finnish boys. The results in this area of inquiry invite further exploration of gender roles in the home regarding both cultures.

4.1.6 *Most Thankful For*

The seventh and final imposed question the participants were asked to respond to was, *Please tell your pen pal what you are most thankful for when considering your own country and culture. Please give as many examples as you can think of and explain your answers. In other words, what does it mean to be a Finn or an American?*

Thirteen American boys, 25 American girls, 15 Finnish boys and 14 Finnish girls responded to this question. The answers were designated as being either personally in or socially oriented. Most of the participants cited more than one answer. The answers comprised the following topics:

Personal
I'm loved, my bed, career potential, clothes, country, everything, family, food, freedom (general), freedom of press, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, friends, fun, health, hobbies, my home, intelligence, life, my room,

opportunity, my key-pal, my personal possessions, my pets, snow, my teachers, my wealth/money, the weather.

Societal

Independence, clean city, democracy, free education, equality, gender equality, racial equality, free school meals, homeless (that there are none), justice, military, national holidays, national language, national unity, nature, peace, political stability, poor (that there are none), school, security, water, and water education (e.g. swimming).

Several trends were noted. Only a few of the topics were reported by 25% or more of any of the four groups: family, food, friends, home, independence, democracy, equality (generally and specifically gender equality), freedom (generally as well as specific: freedom of press, religion, speech, thought and freedom from fear), peace and school.

| | Americans | | | | Finns | | | |
| | N=13 | | N=25 | | N=15 | | N=14 | |
Topic Cited	Boys	% of N	Girls	% of N	Boys	% of N	Girls	% of N
Family	2	15	18	72	1	7	8	57
Food	1	8	7	28	3	20	7	50
Friends	2	15	14	56	1	7	7	50
Home	0		4	16	2	13	5	36
Independence	2	15	1	4	5	33	5	36
Democracy	1	8	2	8	5	33	4	29
Equality	1	8	1	4	4	27	4	29
Equality (Gender)					2	13	2	14
Freedom	9	69	9	36	1	7	3	21
Freedom (fear)	1	8	1	4	0		0	
Freedom (press)	1	8	1	4	0		0	
Freedom (religion)	2	15	4	16	0		0	
Freedom (speech)	3	23	8	32	1	7	1	7
Freedom (thought)	0	0	1	4	0		0	
(Total freedom citations)	16		24		2		4	
Nature	0		0		3	20	2	14
Peace	0		0		8	53	8	57
School	0		3	12	6	40	1	7

Table 15. Notable Citations, *Most Thankful For* Imposed Question

Seventy-two percent of the American girls and 57% of the Finnish girls cited family as one of the things they were most thankful for, compared to only 15% of

American boys and 7% of the Finnish boys. Fifty percent of the Finnish girls and 28% of the American girls expressed their thankfulness for food, compared to only 8% of the American boys and 20% of the Finnish boys.

Fifty-six percent of the American girls and 50% of the Finnish girls cited friends, compared to only 15% of the American boys and seven percent of the Finnish boys. Thirty-six percent of the Finnish girls and 16% of the American girls cited their home, compared to only 13% of the Finnish boys and none of the American boys.

Ninety-two percent of the American boys and 72% of the American girls cited freedom in some form, compared to only 14% of the Finnish boys and 28% of the Finnish girls. In addition to the overall concept of freedom, some of the American participants cited more than one aspect of freedom: one American girl and one American boy cited freedom from fear; one American girl and one American boy cited freedom of the press; two American boys and four American girls cited freedom of religion; three American boys and eight American girls cited freedom of speech and one American girl cited freedom of thought. Twenty-nine percent of Finnish girls cited freedom, including one who cited freed of speech. One Finnish boy cited freedom of speech. Thirty-three percent of Finnish boys cited democracy, compared to 29% of Finnish girls, while only eight percent of both the American girls and boys did so. Twenty-nine percent of Finnish girls and 40% of Finnish boys cited equality, including gender equality, which was specifically cited by two Finnish boys and two girls. None of the American boys and girls cited equality in any form.

Fifty-seven percent of the Finnish girls cited peace, while 53% of Finnish boys did, compared to none of the Americans. Forty percent of Finnish boys cited school, compared to seven percent of Finnish boys while only 12% of American girls and no American boys did so.

Reflecting back on the citations made for nature in the Life in Your Country and City imposed question, 14% of Finnish girls and 20% of Finnish boys cited nature as something they were most thankful for, compared to none of the American girls or boys. Although these numbers for the Finns are relatively low, the fact that some Finns were thankful for their nature, and the topic seemed not to come to the minds of the Americans on this question, can be compared to the answers provided to Question 1, Life in Your Country and City, where the Finns frequently described the nature, and none of the Americans did. And finally, it was noted that, in addition to the higher number of citations for equality among the Finnish respondents, 14% of Finnish girls and 13% of Finnish boys cited gender equality as a most thankful for concept, while

none of the Americans did. Based on Hofstede's MAS dimension, gender equality would seem to be an important aspect of gender role overlap in low-MAS cultures.

4.2 *Second Level Analysis*

The second level analysis scanned the entire corpus for sections of texts that seemed consistent with one of Hoftstede's social markers for the MAS dimension. Scanning and coding the entire corpus means that scanning for each code in the second level analyses included sections of the corpus that pertain to the imposed questions. For example, a specific text in the career choice imposed question may indicate ambition, but a similar statement may also be made in either another imposed question response or in a text unrelated to any imposed question. Therefore, the results of the secondary analysis questions offer a picture of the overall data that is designed to supplement the primary analysis. The lone exception to intersecting the imposed questions with the codes in the secondary analysis is the gender discourse style inquiry, which specifically addresses communication style and does not behaviorally correlate directly with any of the imposed question inquiries or their associated behaviors. As well, in the imposed question analyses each set of answers featured a specific number of respondents from each group, whereas the coding for the second level analyses includes all of the texts, including the imposed questions as well as the casual conversation email texts.

4.2.1 *Ambition Versus Modesty*

The American girls were coded as making 21 statements that indicated ambition, followed by 10 from the American boys, 8 from the Finnish boys and only 2 from the Finnish girls. Statements clearly indicating modesty were comparatively rare, with the American girls making 1, the American boys none, the Finnish boys 1 and the Finnish girls two. It seemed that texts coded for ambition were much easier to locate, probably because modesty may be expressed in indirect ways, including not saying anything at all. However, a review of the email records showed that only one American participant posted no emails during the program and one American participant post only two emails, while all of the other participants posted at least three email texts. Participants who posted only three or four messages were usually quite focused on the imposed questions, while those who posted more than four were often chatting with their key-pals about topics outside of the imposed questions. Table 7 (page 55), shows that,

overall, the Bear team posted more than twice the number of email texts than the Cat team. The lower number of texts from the Cat team may reflect either a focus on the part of the two classes on the imposed questions, resulting in few chatty off-the-subject exchanges, or it could reflect the fact that the Finnish Cat team class was not as proficient in English, and thus inhibiting their participation. There are a number of other factors that might impact the number of messages sent by each group. For example, time allotments may differ, or individual teachers may simply dedicate more class-time than others to email exchanges.

The following text from an American girl was coded as indicating modesty (and thus feminine): "I wouldn't want to be a regular veteranarian because I wouldn't want to do surgery because I would be held accountable if the animal died" (86ACF80). None of the American boys made statements that were coded as feminine. The following is an example from one of the two Finnish girls who supplied text that was coded as feminine, "hAVE YOU SEEN MY PICTURE ALREADY?? I hope you are not beacause I look HORRIBLE in that *piip* picture...!!!?? Your picture was ok! Bye!_T:XXX :)" (254FBF8). A single Finnish male made a statement that was coded as indicating modesty, "I am sory if you don't undrstand my text" (388FBM11).

By far the most texts indicating ambition (masculine) came from the Americans, the girls providing 21 and the boys 10. Many of these were identified while scanning through that portion of the data dealing with career choice; therefore ambition (high numbers of professional choices and extrinsic motivations such as making a lot of money) and modesty (non-degree professions) in terms of career choices are already accounted for. But the scanning of the entire corpus does result in additional insight into the MAS dimension, by showing other ways that masculine and feminine behaviors express themselves. The following examples are texts that were coded as indicating ambition:

American Girls

Also I'm in all advanced classes. (16ABF26)

Also I want to be on T.V. (18ABF28)

I'm a cheerleader for my school which is very cool. (240ACF85)

I think I'll probably try to be the first girl in the NBA. (42ABF26)

We just got our next year class schedule and I have advanced english, french, advanced social studies, pre-algabra 1, advanced science, and cadet band! (442ACF69)

American Boys

I, of corse, am the leader. (52ABM34)

I'm in deep training for the card tournement this weekend. I trained all yesterday and woke up early this morning to get some extra time in. I'm versing the best people in Indiana and I have a good chance of winning. (162ABM34)

I do pretty good in school. I'm a strait A student. (81ACM63)

Finnish Girls

I WANT TO HAVE ALOT OF MONEY TOO. (48FBF40)

Finnish Boys

When I grow up I want to be the boss of this town maby President because i want lot of money and beautiful and exensive cars. (38FBM20)

I want lots of money and meny car. (46FBM16)

4.2.2 *Competition*

Texts coded for competition resulted in a pattern similar to the results for ambition and modesty. The Americans produced the majority of texts coded as masculine (competitive), while one Finn, a male, produced a single text coded as masculine. In the case of this code, compared to the highly ambitious American girls, the American males produced the majority of masculine coded texts. Coding for the feminine polar aspect, where texts were scanned for comments indicating a preference for not competing produced nothing. However, the lack of comments by the Finns indicating

competitiveness should itself be a good indicator of a feminine cultural orientation away from explicit competition between peers, especially when compared to the numerous competitive texts of the Americans.

Examples of texts coded as masculine for competition include:

American Girls

I like to play basketball and I always tryout for the team. (124ACF75)

My favorite movie is Bring it on its about a group of cheerleaders competing. (91ABF24)

American Boys

I'm in the master leage with my friend XXX and XXX. I'm one of the best but XXX is better. he is training me right now. I could probably beat him but we haven't dueled yet. (51ABM33)

My friend XXX is entering the tournament this weekend. He'll be hard to win against. (162ABM34)

I've been doing everything I can to prepare for this tournement. (242ABM34)

Now, I mostly build decks and battle everybody I can. My newest deck is my *"Psy-kic" deck. It has many good cards in it, like Sabrina's Alakazam.* (242ABM34)

I went to the Ball Park Run and I came in 14th place out of 147 kids. The 2nd fastest 6th grader in the city. (81ACM63)

Finnish Boys

Then I win competitions and money and then I can raise my family. (20FBM11)

4.2.3 *Ego or Relationship Oriented*

This code produced a majority of feminine coded texts overall, where the participant produced text that featured a concern for relationships. When compared to the comparatively small number of texts indicating an orientation to ego, the overall trend

leans toward femininity. The majority of coded texts were produced by the American girls, and these were overwhelmingly feminine, with 21 feminine coded texts and only four masculine coded texts. The Finnish males produced only four feminine coded texts, while the American males produced three feminine coded texts and one masculine coded text. The Finnish girls did not produce any texts that were coded for ego or relationship orientation. Overall, the results for this code indicate a strong orientation to relationships by the American girls, and the numbers for the other three groups offer little hard evidence regarding their orientation.

Examples of texts coded as feminine (relationship oriented) include:

<u>American Girls</u>

I also hope we can get to know each other and become good friends! (240ACF85)

Or i just like hagin with my best friends! My best friends names are; XXX XXX, XXX XXX and XXX XXX. I have a lot more, but I'm not gonna name them all? (141ACF65)

I'm so glad I got to speak with you XXX!!!!!!!!!!!! I hope you write me back and include a lot of stuff about you and your culture. I hope you really, really love my letter!!!!! (141ACF65)

P.S. I appoligize again for making wait to hear from me. (190ACF80)

Your BFFL (best friend for life) (322ACF65)

I'm sorry for not getting you something for Christmas it was kind of expensive. (427ACF81)

We used to have fun until my friend moved. But I'm used to it now. But I will also never forget her. (15ABF25)

I'm so so so so sorry if I'm offending you, but are you a boy or a girl? (4ABF32)

I think you are a beautiful young lady. (224ABF22)

I will send you my email adress on the last email we send so we can continue to talk and be friends. (373ABF22)

Well I'm thankful for getting to talk to you, XXX, this has been a great opportunity, you are very nice to me. (97ACM71)

<u>American Boys</u>

Well I'm thankful for getting to talk to you, XXX, this has been a great opportunity, you are very nice to me. (419ACM77)

<u>Finnish Boys</u>

I'am really glad that you think same way as I do. If everybody would _think this way the Earth would be much better palce to live. (357FBM19)

Hi XXX You're letter is very little, but I don't mind. I don't know what I can write. How are you? XXX (450FBM10)

Hi XXX, I don't need any package of candy. Your letter was good. Your pen pal XXX (453FBM14)

Examples of text that were coded as masculine (ego oriented) include:

<u>American Girls</u>

I hope you like my writing. (122ACF74)

I like to tell jokes, act like a comedian, and make people laugh. Kids in my neighbohood used to come over my house and I told jokes. It was a lot of fun and they laughed a lot. (219ACF75).

On Christmas I am going to wish for a lot of presents. I do have my own room. How don you celebrate Christmas. I celebrate it by opening my presents on Christmas and

then eating a good dinner. I have a good time on Christmas. (349ABF37)

American Boys

I alone use the ultimate power of the 3-step strategy. It is my signature move. (52ABM34)

4.2.4 *Gender Discourse Style*

As mentioned on page 53, Hofstede points to a 1992 study by Deborah Tannen as an example of research that helps to support his findings regarding the masculinity versus femininity dimension. He cites Tannen's differentiation of American discourse style between the sexes: "More 'report talk' talk for men (transferring information) versus more 'rapport talk' for women (using conversation to exchange feelings and establish relationships)" (2001: 280). Using this description, each email text in the corpus was coded for gender discourse style. Finnish girls (n=16) wrote 93 texts that were recorded as feminine and only 12 that were coded as masculine, resulting in 88.5% feminine texts based on the gender discourse style code. American girls' (n=30) texts were coded as 132 feminine and 27 masculine, or 83% feminine. Finnish boys' (n=25) texts were coded as 75 feminine and 47 masculine, or 61% feminine. The American boys' (n=14) texts were coded as 32 feminine and 37 masculine, or 54% masculine. It should be emphasized that the coding for gender discourse style was based on the entire message texts, whereas for other areas of inquiries the code sections typically represent only a section of text from a complete message. For this reason, the following examples of texts coded for gender discourse style contain the entire message text.

Examples of messages from Finnish girls coded as feminine based on gender discourse style:

Hi XXX, our teacher said that I can't write to you at home. I would write to you every day if if I could. Thank u! (You said I'm beautiful) You are pretty too! I love Nelly and Eminen too! I think Nelly's and Kelly's Dilemma is a very good song! Do You like it? Do you hav ean e-mail address? I'm really waiting for the tele-confrincing!! I truely want to meet you and talk with you! After this topica-thing we could write e-mail to each other(if you have an e-mail address) Is this Vin Deisel a actor in TribleX? TribleX

haven't came to Finland yet, but I hope it comes soon! I have got one ex-boyfriend. His name is XXX. I broke up with him because he was booring! We are still very good friends with him. And one of my best friends is a boy, XXX. His on our class. We have been friends a very long time. We met when we were only one year old. My best friends are XXX, XXX, XXX (I call her XXX) And XXX. XXX is one year older than me(13)and the others are on my class. How old are you? And when is your birthday? How tall are you? I'm 160 cm tall. what is your favorite color, food, holiday and school subject. Am I asking too much? I'm soryy if I am:) My favorite color is blue, subjects are PE, art and handworks and my favorite holidays are Christmas and Summer. this is my last guestion this time: What is your favorite book? I love Harry Potter-books and J.R.R.Tolkiens books. I'll e-mail u after out holiday what's next week. Oh, we see each other in the tele-confrincing after our Holiday, so SEE you then! Chiao, chiao bella! From: XXX (249FBF2)

Dear XXX! Sorry I can't answer your questions, but if you ask them again? Have you got an autumn holiday? We have! And Im gonna have my so I don't write you in a week! YES, we've got your photo. Sorry that the last letter wasn't long cause of I was writing the letter on the computer then I push some wrong thing and all my writings were gone!! I just hate computers. And did write so much that I didn't have time to write them again, hope this letter would be longer...But after your autumn holiday we have the video confrication Im so exited!!!! What are your favorite animals? Mine are horses, dogs and lizards. Can we go on our lettering after this? I want!! Don't you wan't too? In my LAST letter I would give you my address and things like that. And you would give yours (in your LAST letter) PLEASE remember to do that!!!! LYLAS!!! XXX. (261FBF6)

Hello XXX,

My favorite movie is The Lord of the Rings: The Felloship of the Ring because I love it as a book. I think J.R.R. Tolkien is a very good author. Have you read any of his books? Or have you seen the movie? I love Elijah Wood! He's so cute:) Do you like him? He's the main actor in this movie. His character is Frodo Baggins. Frodo is a hobbit. I,m not going tell you about the plot, because I think you know it, Do you? If you don't know it, tell me! I would recommend this movie to everyone who likes J.R.R. Tolkien's books and other fantasy movies. My favorite character in this movie is Frodo Baggins (Elijah Wood) I love Frodo because his very brave and cute:) He was very brave when he said

mhe would go to Mordor and destroy The Ring. I love Aragorn and Gandalf too. They are not really cute but they are good persons. I like Harry Potter-movie, Entrapment, Joe Black, Disney's Atlantis the lost empire and Prinsess Diaries. I love many kinds of movies. I love Brad Pitt, who is one of the main characters in Joe Black. Steven Crawford was here little time ago.(today) He was telling about Evansville too. I will see your photo after sending this to you.:) So, this is everything for this time, bye! XXX (187FBF2)

Each of the preceding three emails is expressive and explanative, and the sender seems to be offering her personal feelings about matters of importance to both participants in the exchange, and seem to be seeking empathy commonality in their relationship.

Examples of messages from Finnish girls coded as masculine:

Hi XXX, I don't saw the last dance movie. Maybe it's good movie. I really want see it. I like to go watch movies with my friends. Who is your favorite singer or band? Do you know who is Elijah Wood? From XXX (210FBF3)

Hi XXX, How are you? I'm fine. I think that movie is very good. I'm never heard that movie. I don't have any boy-friend now. My ex-boyfriends name is XXX. He dumped me because he didn't like me anymore. I don't know why. I really don't know what kind of music i like. I like rap and hip hop music too. Your Friend XXX (212FBF5)

Hi XXX, I like more negatiotions and compromises because I don't like conflicts. If they use forse, then comes a lots of warses. Conflicts are unnecessary choose Of course womens and mens have to share the work in the home because that work belongs to everybody sincerely XXX (282FBF5)

Each of the preceding three emails is much shorter than the feminine examples cited, are far less expressive and seem oriented toward simply exchanging information.

Examples of messages from Finnish boys coded as feminine:

Hello XXX! This is my second letter to u. America must be a cool place to live At summer Jyväskylä is warm but in winter it's cold and very snowy, so there is both.

That's why I like Jyväskylä. Jyväskylä is nice but sometimes boring. What kinda words would u like to know? For example snowboarding in finnish is "lumilautailu". When I'm bored I go to skatedoarding. At winter I go to snowboarding. Or usually I just go hanging ot with my friends. At weekends I watch TV at night an get up late. My favorite TV programmes are The Sopranos, Byffy the Vampire slayer, Angle, Smackdown, Friends, The Osbournes and C.S.I. What are your favorite TV programmes? I've got lightbrown hair, my skin color is white and I'm about 160cm tall and I weight 45kg. My hair isn't long but it's not short either, it's about the normal. I hope we can continue mailing afther this?? P.S. If u haven't seen the movie Austin Povers and the Goldmember u should _ee it. P.P.S. What kinda music do u listen to? I like to listen to gangsta rap. I think Tupac is da best but I like Wu Tang Clan, Nas, X Zibit, DR.DRE, Snoop Dogg and O.D.B. too. Your pen pal XXX! (72FBM13)*

Hi again, XXX First I would like to ask few question. First do you know waht is a sauna? Second do you know how many lakes we have in Finland? Do you have a computer, if you have could you tell me what is your favorite game on it? My favorite games on computer are: Heroes of might and magic, Jedi outcast and Ultima Online. I would like America if you didn't have George. W. Bush. And by the way I have a brother called Tatu. Do you have any brothers or sisters? Best wishes, XXX (77FBM19)*

Hi XXX, How are you? My birthday is on the 31st of March. I want to be an archaeologist, because I like history. Especialy the history of Egypt. I like school too. I have lots of friends at school. Have you ever had another pen pal? I had a pen pal year ago. His name is XXX. He is from Michigan. I have never heard about Like Mike, but it must be a good film, I guess. Would you like to know any Finnish words? I can tell you any word you want to know. Do you like to read comics? I read Donald Ducks mostly everyday. Truely yours, XXX (197FBM17)*

Each of the preceding three emails, while not quite as expressive as the majority of the Finnish girls, are seeking dialog and sharing opinions, not just information. These Finnish boys are also asking many questions, and this seems to serve to develop their relationship with their American key-pal.

Examples of messages from Finnish boys coded as masculine:

Hi XXX I have an ordinary Nintendo, I know that it is kind of old, but I like computers more than video games. My favourite computer game is Fallout 2 or Diablo 2. And as I told you, my friend has got Xbox and my favourite game I have played on it is Halo. It is action game too and I like Fallout 2 because it needs some brainwork. And Diablo is almost only smashing demons and ghosts and everything undead or alive, but I like it. I dont know why, but I like it. So have you got computer? If you have what is your favourite game on it? Regards... XXX (252FBM12)

Hi XXX, I think that countries should talk about the conflicts because in war many innocent people die. But they should use their force against the terrorism because terrorists are bad and dangerous. And I think that women should work in the home much more than men because they are better in chore. (265FBM9)

Hi XXX My opinion about war and how they shut be resolved is negotiation and compromises for example the destroying Wtc. I don't know why did they do it but it happened over a year ago and still it's so big thing. The most important thing in marriage is equality. The man does work and brings money and helps with chores. And woman goes shopping and cleans the house. Regards XXX (287FBM12)

Each of the preceding three emails examples possess a rather dry and to-the-point style of delivery, representing those email texts coded as masculine in the Finnish boys. There is very little expressiveness and even the closing remarks seem rather formal.

Examples of messages from American girls coded as feminine:

Hi!! My name is XXX XXX, I'm in sixth grade and I'm almost turning twelve. I have red hair, brown eyes and I'm kinda tall. I have a brother and his name is XXX he's in eigth grade! Do you have any brothers or sisters? I live in the Northern part of the greatful America, which where i live is called Evansville, Indiana. I love it there because we get to do a lot of things there. I live with my dad, XXX; my uncle, XXX; my brother in which you already know a little about, and my grandma, XXX. I have a kitten named Nitemare!! Who do you live with, do you have any pet's if you do what are their names? My full name is XXX XXX XXX, what is your full name? I go to Evans Middle School. It's fun there, but we have carry real heavy books and i mean they are heavy as can be! How is it up there in Findland? Is it any different up there than it is here where i live?

What kind of clothes do you wear? I wear cool shirts with my flare jeans. Flares are pants that are real tight at the top and they get real big and fat at the bottom! What are your favorite hobbies? I like going to Florida where my aunt XXX lives I go to the beach with her son! Or i just like hagin with my best friends! My best friends names are; XXX, XXX and XXX. I have a lot more, but I'm not gonna name them all. All the friends i just named are all writing to someone in Findland too! What kinda languages do or can you speak? I can only speak American and some Maexican like Si. S means yes in Mexican or in other words Spanish. What do you wanna be when you grow up i wanna be a Marine Bioligist because i wanna enteract with sea animals! Or I wanna be a hair or make-up designer because i can design really good!

I'm so glad I got to speak with you XXX!!!!!!!!!!!! I hope you write me back and include a lot of stuff about you and your culture. I hope you really, really love my letter!!!!!

From your new Pen Pal, XXX XXX!!!! (141ACF65)

hey XXX i got your letter of corse! Some of my faveorite T.V programs: Friends (i love joey and phebe) third watch, Americas most wanned, mad t.v. and The osbournes!! Could you tell me what XXX and XXX are please?! I like to listen to pop, rap and oldies! I'm not always listening to oldies. It's my GRANDMA'S FOULT!!! Now I have to tell you bout my faveorite movie. My faveorite movie is Signs. It is soooo supenceful and scary!! It scarerd the blank out of me!!!!!! Have you seen it? When Mel Gipson is in the basement wit his ihs son and his brother is up stairs looking to make sure theres no aliens so that they come out, I was so scared!! Then they came out of the basement and Mel Gipson pulled out a t.v. and you could se the alien I jumped mile when I saw that!!! But yea, if ever see an alien poor some water on him!!(just kidding) Vin dessle is one of my favoirte actors.!! only because so hott (pretty sure you don't think that though. My other favorite actress is Halie Berry. She was realy good in sordfish. well it's time to head out c-ya. your frind XXX

p.s I have seen gold member. *It was too funny*

p.p.s if you can continue so can I write back (123ABF32)

Hey XXX,

Sorry i havent wrote back for awhile! This week in Evansville we have the Fall Festival! Thats when a lot of people Come from different sates around the area and theres food, games, and rides! The food is so good. I seen Surgar and Spice, Kristen Dunsts is in that and Crazy and Beautiful! I cant wait for the teleconfurnce! My teacher told us that

you are on a vacation. Whats the vactoin for? Well I have some questions! How much snow do you get if you get any in the winter? Whats your favorite food? Do you have any forgin food restarants in Finlin? Whats your favorite color? Whats your house like? (is it big or small and do you have a big room) well thats all for now!
Your american friend, XXX
P.S. How do you say somethings in finish I'd like to know some words
TTYL (talk to you later) (257ABF24)

The preceding three texts are extremely expressive, and contain many exclamation points and questions for the receiver. Each of the senders express what seems to be a high emotional commitment to the key-pal relationship, even though they have actually never met face-to-face.

Examples of messages from American girls coded as masculine:

Hi XXX
Where I live it's Sunny outside. I Have two brothers XXX and XXX. XXX is my twin brother, and i have two sisters XXX and XXX. My half sisters and brothers names are XXX and XXX. My mom's name is XXX and my dad's name is XXX. My dad is in Indianaolis right now for work training. My scholl is ordinary because all we do is work and fun stuff like talking to you. My whole name is XXX XXX XXX. My favorite movie is Harry Potter *because it is adventureous and funny. What is Judo? My friend are XXX, XXX, XXX, XXX, XXX, XXX, XXX, and XXX.*
Your Friend XXX (170ACF84)

Hi XXX,
This is XXX. I'd like to tell you a bit about my favorite movie. Its called A Walk To Remember. The main characters are a popular, rebel like boy named Landon, and a not so popular, preachers daughter kinda girl named Jamie. They fall in love. Later on she tells him that she has a disease called Leukimia. He makes all of her wishes come true before she dies. I love it because this is a story about true love. My movie hero would have to be Mulan. She's a young chinese girl who joins the army so her eldrely father doesn't have to go and fight. She has to cut off her hair because women weren't allowed to fight. She ends up winning the whole war and saving her country.

I admire how she loved her father so much that she risked her life to save him.
Your friend, XXX XXX (131ACF79)

My favvorite movie is Snow Dogs.
i think it is a good movie plus i like animmals, so i think you will like it because you said you like nature. My favorite actresses are Camron Diaz and Drew Berrymore. I like them in the movie Charles Angels*. I have a little brother named XXX, mom XXX, dad XXX. We have a dog anmed Buddy and two cats named spencer and ashes. Evansville is pretty nice. We have great mounuments downtown, and big buildings downtown. Some of the buildings have been there for a long time. My grandma lives nextdoor. Her name is XXX and she has a dog named Champ, and a cat named Abby.*
Your Friend,
XXX (192ACF66)

These texts are not nearly as expressive as the preceding messages; there are no exclamation points and few questions are posed to the receiver. The texts are merely informative and lack the strong relationship commitment evident in the preceding texts.

Examples of messages from American boys coded as feminine:

Dear XXX, I got your e-mail and it stinks that you don't have a library near you. You asked me what my favorite sport is, and I like hockey. I play street hockey with some of my friends. I always lose, but its fun anyway. My all time favorite movie is Harry Potter and the Philosiphers Stone. The person who played Harry Potter's name is Daniel Redcliff. In the movie, Harry finds out he's a wizard and when he goes to school he gets in lots of trouble. This weekend, at the library, my friends and I are having a card game tournement. I am the favorite to win the tournement, but my other _friends have powerful decks. XXX and I are already looking at candy recipes for our candy store. We've already found 23 recipes for candy. Hope to hear from you soon, XXX (127ABM34)

Hi XXX, Thanks for the last e-mail. I'am suprised you like Harry Potter. I've read all the books that are out right now. My favorite is Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets. The card tournement that was supposed to be last weekend was moved to this weekend. I've been doing everything I can to prepare for this tournement You say you like

Pokemon cards? I used to collect them too. Now, I mostly build decks and battle everybody I can. My newest deck is my "Psy-kick" deck. It has many good cards in it, like Sabrina's Alakazam. November 4-8 is our school's book fair. One of our teachers sas that they'll have Harry Potter and the Order of Phoenix <#5>. I've read Harry Potter 4 so many times that I know the whole book by heart. Which Harry Potter book is your favorite? Hope to hear from you soon, XXX (242ABM34)

Hey XXX, It's me XXX again! I have recieved your letter and find it very amusing. Our teacher has assigned me to write about my favorite movie. My favorite hero movie is Free Willy it is about these people who strive to save a killer whale and it's family from dying. They face many challenges but persevere. They have three movie's about this topic. You'll probably ask me what my favorite movie is. To tell you the truth I love adventure movies with lot's of adventure! In America there is a wide selection of movies it's overwhelming! If you asked me how many movies I like I couldn't tell you because I like more than I imagine. I am so interested to hear your letter. You make a great penpal. Also by the way there will be another person in our class writing to you.
Your friend, XXX XXX (189ACM77)

Each of the preceding three emails follows a pattern similar in comparison to the Finnish boys and Finnish girls. These messages are not quite as expressive as the American girls' messages that were coded as feminine. However, these American boys are seeking dialog and sharing opinions, not just information.

Examples of messages from American boys coded as masculine:

Hi my name is XXX, and I go to XXX middle school in Evansville, Indiana. America is a great country. Most of the people in America are nice. America's food selection is great. We have hamburgers, fish, tacos, pizza, and for desert you can eat ice cream, apple pie, and much more. For breakfast there is pancakes, eggs, sausage, and buiscuts. I like to draw, and play outside. My hobbies are collecting cards. I love to collect Yu-Gi-Oh trading cards. I like to collect Poke'mon, and Dragon Ball Z cards but not that much. Thats my hobbies, and the food of America. (2ABM30)

I think that international conflicts should be settled by negotiation and compromise. It would make a peaceful world. Only as a last resort is the only reason to use bryte force.

Women and men should do equal share of the work in home. Normally both work and it is hard for just one person to do it all. (312ABM36)

My opinion about the conflict between Iraq and us is stupid. I think we should have world peace. I feel this way because I'm not the type who likes to fight. Women and men should have to take an equal share of work around the house. Like vacuuming, cleaning up the kitchen, doing laundry, and picking up around the house. I feel this way because I like to be fair. (305ABM30)

The American boys' messages were, based on Tannen's description of "report talk," the most masculine of the four groups. Each of the preceding three emails lacks a salutation or closing remark. The messages are short and to the point. And although they are frank in presentation, they lack expressiveness and do not indicate any clear desire to connect with the receiver. This is in stark comparison to the interactive engagement style of the "rapport style" writers.

4.2.5 *Things or People*

Finns produced all of the texts coded for Things or People, except one. This code was based on Hofstede's social behavior marker: "In feminine societies the priority is on conversation and the environment. In masculine societies the emphasis is on growth, and mastery of the environment" (2001: 320). The gist in this statement is that growth and mastery of the environment serves the interest of people, whereas conservation and environment emphasize protecting things such as forests and lakes. All of the texts coded for Things or People were coded as feminine, indicating an orientation to things (conservation and the environment), and all of them were located in the corpus in sections that were either in response to the Life in Your Country or City question or Most Thankful for question. Finnish boys produced sixteen of these texts while the Finnish girls produced eight. A boy produced the lone American text. The texts were all focused on *things* related to the environment, lakes, nature, etc. The Finnish boys produced 16 feminine texts and the Finnish girls produced eight feminine texts and one masculine text. The American boys produced one text coded as feminine. All of the text sections coded for Things or People were located in the answers to the Life in Your Country and City and Most Thankful For questions, and these sections are also analyzed for masculine or feminine content in the respective imposed question analyses.

5 DISCUSSION

The MAS dimension, as described by Hofstede, seems to be evident in portions of the data gathered for this study. Throughout the data, the American youth exhibit what Hofstede might label as fairly strong masculine trends *as a group*, and at the same time they exhibit a significant degree of gender role distinctiveness *between the sexes*. The Finnish youth exhibit what Hofstede might label as strongly feminine trends as a group, but the Finnish boys provide results that, in some respects, are frequently inconsistent with what one might expect from using Hofstede's theoretical lens regarding gender role overlap. The following subsections explore the implications of the results revealed in the data analysis.

5.1 *Primary Level Analysis Inquiries*

5.1.1 *Life In Your Country and City*

When designing and conducting this study, I was concerned about the cross-cultural meaning of certain English terms. For example, it would be beneficial to explore further the term *nature* as interpreted by Finnish youth, because most of them actively discussed Finnish nature (in rather glowing terms) in their response to the Life in Your Country/City question. Moreover, while both the Finns and Americans talked about weather, *none* of the Americans talked about nature. It may be noted again that, in American-style "small talk," the weather is used frequently as an icebreaker in initiating conversation and establishing rapport with others, especially when meeting new acquaintances. "Normal" weather is incidental; only "dramatic" weather—droughts, floods, blizzards, heat waves, tornadoes and the like—warrant any meaningful talk in many areas of the USA. The same is true perhaps for the meaning of nature in the US: farmlands and parks, rivers and cliffs simply are. To command importance in a conversation, the matter of nature would need to be less mundane, such as talking about the peacefulness of the ocean if one lives inland, or about the beauty of the mountains if one lives in the plains.

Based on the overwhelming propensity of the Finnish participants across both sexes to talk about nature, one would have to conclude that the MAS dimension is clearly evident in this portion of the data, and that the Finnish youth were, in this particular example, strongly feminine based on Hofstede's use of the term. The fact that

both the Finnish boys and girls were strongly oriented toward nature substantiates Hofstede's contention that gender is not distinct in feminine societies, at least in this regard. In the case of the Life in Your Country and City question, topical choices of the respondent may reflect the MAS dimension. Americans tended to talk about personal or community-oriented topics (hobbies, school, their city and country) more so than their environment. Much of what the Americans felt was important involved "man-made" topics, as compared to the Finns, who more likely selected naturally occurring topics. Finally, it was noted that, when using adjectives for describing their countries and/or cities, the Americans frequently used superlative terms such as the *best*, *great*, *exciting*, *awesome*, *fun* and *cool*. The Finns were much more reserved, more often using softer terms such as *normal*, *peaceful*, *nice*, *kind* and *beautiful*. These word choice differences may be related to differences in communication style between Americans and Finns, but they also seem to be connected to the MAS dimension. One might argue that the use of superlatives by the American participants would reflect masculine traits such as "men and women may be assertive and ambitious," and "big and fast are beautiful." The Finns' word choices would then reflect the "men and women should be modest," and "small and slow are beautiful" feminine traits described by Hofstede (see table 1, page 18). This area of inquiry warrants follow-up cross-cultural linguistic research focused on youth that will illuminate further the meanings and values in their texts.

5.1.2 *Career Aspirations*

The Americans as a group were more oriented toward professional careers than the Finns were and by far the American girls had the strongest such orientation, even though their motivations as a group seemed to be intrinsic, focused on internal rewards, rather than extrinsic, focused on external rewards such as money or social recognition. Only members of the American boys and Finnish girls groups stated they did not yet know what they wanted to be later in life. Looking at the data from the standpoint of ambition and career/job type cited, one could view the Americans as being particularly masculine in Hofstede's schema, and the Finns would appear to fit well into the feminine side regarding their career aspirations.

In this very first exchange between the groups (questions 1 and 2 were posed together in Module One), the participants were given two wide-open topics through which to introduce and express themselves. In the case of the career choice question, the majority of the American girls cited a professional career choice that required

significant training and credentials, thereby indicating a high level of competitiveness and ambition. This phenomenon may be an extension of the women's movement in the United States that was under way when Hofstede's original data was gathered in 1968 and 1972. One might argue that the women's movement in the United States represented a trend away from traditional gender roles once expected of American women. However, when looking at the data closer, we can see that the intrinsic motivations underpinning many of the American girl's career choices actually reveal a feminine nature, based on Hofstede's contention that feminine societies identify with the weak and the small. Many of these girls chose professional career paths that would ultimately lead them toward caring for people or animals. In some cases, this might reflect a more feminization of the USA in that the girls of this generation—the daughters and, perhaps, granddaughters of the women who fought for equal access to and equal pay for jobs—seem to accept as fact that they can select any career they like—without concern that it might not be opened to them. Twelve-year-old girls in the 1960s may not have been able to be so ambitious—no matter what their motivations—without some members of the society expressing disapproval. This combination of stereotypically masculine, competitive professional-level action objectives with feminine motivations makes it difficult, based on Hofstede's contentions, to categorize the American girls as either masculine or feminine, or to compare them as a group with the American boys in order to ascertain whether their expressed gender roles are distinctive from those of the American boys.

As cited in the introduction section, Culture and Values, Hofstede claims that, "Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct: Men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life" (2001: 280). We are left to interpret whether an American girl choosing a competitive professional career path represents assertiveness, toughness and a focus on success or whether it is simply an expression of the culture's move toward overlapping career roles. At the same time one cannot help but associate their intrinsic motivations for the types of careers mentioned that express modesty, tenderness and concern for the quality of life. The American boys' citations were recorded as overwhelmingly masculine regarding career choice, and this was based primarily on their stated career choices. The American girls were recorded as overwhelmingly feminine, but in this case the categorization was influenced heavily by their stated intrinsic motivations. This raises a question about a shortcoming of Hofstede's quantitative study as exampled by the ambition social

marker: can you really ascribe a dimension to a culture without understanding the motivations, rationales and implications of that dimension in the lives of the individuals within that culture? It is these motivations, rationales and their implications that may affect the realization of the American girls' goals. Their motivations to help and serve may or may not remain the same—but the avenues to do that, through greater opportunity at professional careers once reserved primarily for men, have now opened to them.

Motivation statements reveal the "why" behind the "what" but, even though it was encouraged, some respondents did not offer their motivations in citing a career choice. For those who did not cite a career choice, follow-up on this particular question may have revealed what kinds of jobs they "might" be attracted to. Unfortunately, this program had to fit rather tight time limitations, particularly in the American school, where students shift from class to class and from teacher to teacher during the day. Although it was stressed to the teachers and the students at the beginning of each module to be sure to address the "why" behind every participant's answer, the subsequent email exchanges sometimes did not fulfill that instruction.

Analyzing the career choice citations required fairly stringent criteria for what constituted a professional career. As outlined in the methods section on page 65, Webster's *New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* (2nd edition) describes a professional as one who is: "Engaged of or engaged in or worthy of the high standards of a profession." A profession, in the same dictionary, is described as: "A vocation or occupation requiring advanced training in some liberal art or science, and usually involving mental rather than manual work." This definition was critical to the assessment of the participants' career choice citations. Jobs that ordinarily required a degree for placement and advancement, such as doctor, nurse, and architect, were categorized as professional. Jobs that were not so dependent on a degree were not categorized as professional, and examples include cook, policeman and athlete. One would certainly want the pilot of an airliner they traveled in to be professional, yet becoming a commercial pilot does not require a college degree, although many professional pilots do have degrees. Making this distinction was a difficult but necessary requirement for the analysis of the data, showing once again that the design and interpretation of any study, particularly a qualitative study, requires a large amount of subjective thought. Even so, differences between the Americans and Finns (70 and 34% professional citations, respectively) are notable, indicating that the Americans, as a group, are socialized to be ambitious, a masculine trait according to Hofstede.

However, we see no large gap between the American boys and girls (67% and 71% respectively) that would indicate gender role distinctiveness regarding careers. As well, the seemingly feminine underlying motivations of the American girls, where they indicate their strong desire to help others as doctors and teachers, for example, further muddles that picture, because such feminine motivations may be seen in contrast to the competitive and ambitious nature of a professional job seeker. Finnish girls did not reveal feminine motivations in their career choices, and cited professional careers more than Finnish boys (43% and 29% respectively). Based on results from other imposed questions, one might expect the Finnish boys' to choose more professional jobs than the girls.

On the whole, using career choices as a measurement for culture requires a much deeper level of investigation than the present study allows. Yet, the results here indicate significant differences between the two cultures. These differences, however, are not conspicuously tied to gender role distinctiveness in the two cultures. Peering deeper into the psyche of the Finnish boys, for example, may reveal insight into their orientation toward blue collar and entertainment career choices, and the result may serve to close the already relatively small gap between the Finnish boys and girls; understanding such motivation might result in different criteria for the nature of, say, professional careers, resulting in the reclassification of some of the Finnish boys' entertainment designations to that of professionals. It is also worth speculating about the degree to which the studied age group's career selections represent cultural-level values. It is hypothesized that this age group, around age 12, has significant information about the breath of available career choices and, at the same time, has acquired enough gender role socialization to orient themselves in culturally appropriate ways. In the case of modern women, these traditional roles may no longer apply regarding their sex and their ultimate career choice.

5.1.3 *Favorite Movies and Movie Heroes*

Regarding the questions dealing with favorite movies and movie heroes, the relatively small sample size in this study does not allow for firm or broad conclusions. Additionally, because the data only cites Hollywood produced or distributed products, it should be noted that many Hollywood movies arrive in Finland's theatres and video stores well after their debuts in the United States. As a result, perhaps a filtering effect exists when Finnish theatres and video stores, and to a certain extent television stations,

select which movies will be imported for viewing by Finns. Additionally, most of the Hollywood movies are in English with Finnish subtitles (with the exception of those aimed at the younger, non-reading audiences). It has been suggested to me by some Finns that the subtitling and voice dubbing processes may change some of the dialogue content of the films or that which is perceived by an audience who is viewing an native English-speaking film as second-language speakers. These processes are likely quite challenging due to the differences between Finnish and English, and the end results may be, at least to some degree, a *Finnishized* product. Adult Finns who are proficient in English may be less reliant on subtitles, but many youth may rely on these translations. For these reasons, the main focal area of the data interpretation in the present study is the genre preferences of the participants. Even with this limited view, there is enough qualitative evidence to beg the question: To what degree is Finnish society, which Hofstede claimed in 1980 to be strongly feminine, changing somehow due to Finnish children's frequent exposure to Hollywood cinema, and by extension, to other forms of foreign media?

In regard to movie genre preferences, the Finnish boys and girls in this study seem to share common genre orientations between them that mirror fairly closely those of the American boys. If there were significant gender differentiation evident between Finnish boys and girls, this would run counter to Hofstede's contention about feminine societies, because heroes are an important component of Hofstede's concept of culture (2001: 10). Yet, while the Finnish girls were strongly oriented toward fantasy films, they were also keenly engaged with adventure and action films, both of which were classified in the Methodology section as being masculine genres. It may simply be that when Finnish girls choose a fantasy genre films, these films frequently feature adventure and action aspects.

Even though the Finnish youth in this study cited only Hollywood films as their favorites, there certainly are Finnish films they may watch. Erkki Astala, Head of Production for the Finnish Film Foundation in 2002, cited an average annual release ten Finnish-produced films, from 1998 until today (On the Web), and the influence of these films should somehow be studied in the future. Yet the implications for the future of the studied Finnish youth, so apparently enamored with Hollywood cinema, may be significant over time. For example, if the Finns in this study are influenced toward masculine values orientations reflected in many of the Hollywood films, over time strong Finnish commitments to certain values as evidenced, for example, by the Finnish commitment to social democracy and the environment, could weaken if these future

adult citizens transfer the values they see in the movies to their own lives. The Finnish males in this study, citing only Hollywood movies and choosing numerically slightly more masculine than feminine heroes, may become, in Hofstede's schema, more ego oriented, concerned about money and things, and obsessed with what they do for a living. At the same time, they may become less concerned about who they are as a person, more assertive and ambitious, and less tender, and more tough than female Finns. Some of these changes, if they are occurring, might already be visible in Finnish society. This statement is not intended to be interpreted as being judgmental toward either American or Finnish values, or suggestive that feminine societies are better than masculine societies, or vice versa. Each culture stands alone, as it should, in the history and contexts of its own development.

Any significant cultural change in a society, particularly changes that may be associated with global processes, should at least stimulate interest and inquiry among the members of the cultures, because the implications of those changes can extend into all facets of the society. Recent developments in post-modern theory serve to tie global societal extensions, e.g., movies and the Internet, to rapid cultural change across the globe. Anthony Giddens, for example, cites the extension of institutions as strongly affecting culture, "Modern institutions differ from all preceding forms of social order in respect of their dynamism, the degree to which they undercut traditional habits and customs, and their global impact" (1991: 1).

When Finnish youth cite only Hollywood heroes among their favorite heroes, does this detract from the influences that are derived from Finnish, Scandinavian or even European heroes? We are left to speculate about the influence of Hollywood on the social fabric of Finnish culture and whether it reflects not only the preferences of the youth but also those of the adult Finnish population.

Meanwhile, the actual definition of what constitutes a Hollywood product is increasingly in doubt due to the rapidly changing and increasingly global nature of cinema creativity, inspiration and production. For example, the highest number of citations for a specific film was for the "Lord of the Rings" series, which was chiefly shot in New Zealand and was based on English author JRR Tolkien's trilogy, which was itself significantly inspired by Finnish culture and by the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*. Tolkien also modeled the books' elfin language on the Finnish language, as is clearly evident in Handwerk's description of Tolkein's first exposure to the Finnish language:

> In a letter to W.H. Auden, on June 7, 1955, he remembered his excitement upon discovering a Finnish grammar in Exeter College Library. "It was like discovering a complete wine-cellar filled with bottles of an amazing wine of a kind and flavour never tasted before. It quite intoxicated me; and I gave up the attempt to invent an 'unrecorded' Germanic language, and my 'own language'—or series of invented languages—became heavily Finnicized [sic] in phonetic pattern and structure. (Handwerk: On the Web)

It could very well be that the certain aspects evident in Finnish nature embedded in the Tolkien story appeal deeply to the Finnish youth and drew them to view the recent *Lord of the Rings* trilogy. This argument could be further substantiated by the fact that the second most cited movie by Finns was the *Harry Potter* series. These two film series featured similar mystical and surreal settings and storylines. Yet even considering the power of the *Lord of the Rings* and *Harry Potter* movies, the Finns cited a large number of movie titles, and the fact that they all originate from or at least are distributed by Hollywood seems to suggest an effect in the development of culture in Finnish youth.

5.1.4 *International Conflict and Equal Work in the Home*

While these two topics might seem unrelated, they do in fact look at one similar point, and that is how does one deal with managing the inevitabilities of life: conflict and order. All societies have values that undergird these realities of life, and these values come into to play not only on the interpersonal (particularly family) scene but also in how a society and its leaders interact on the global scene.

In regard to international events, the Finnish youth in this study were firmly on the feminine side of Hofstede's contentions about how societies manage conflict. Only six of 35 Finnish participants included force as an option in their concept of the correct way to manage international conflict. The fact that five of these participants were boys presupposes some masculine influence as compared to girls, thereby raising the issue of gender distinctions within societies. The predominance of the negotiation option in the Finns is significant, particularly when compared to the Americans, where one third of the American girls and half of the American boys supported force as a viable option in managing international conflict.

The conflict question invites further elaboration of the difference between how an individual's responses reflect what should be done, in a social and ethical sense, and

what they would actually do themselves, particularly in a personal and moral sense. Earlier, I pointed out that Hofstede distinguishes these two concepts by stating that individuals express the desired (I want, you want) and that the general population expresses the desirable, (2001: 6). The imposed question, asking whether countries should negotiate or employ force in order to resolve international conflicts, produced idealistic, predominately feminine responses from the Americans that may have revealed a pervasive American idealistic orientation to peace.

Rather surprising was the relevant and timely question posed some time after the international conflict imposed question module was completed, wherein one of the two Finnish classes asked their American counterparts whether they (the Americans) thought the United States should invade Iraq. Focused on this particular crisis, the American participants in this class shifted toward a decidedly stronger masculine response. In this case, the Americans' responses to the Iraq question resembled actions (deeds) as opposed to ideals. The girls provided seven masculine responses (in favor of invasion) versus three feminine responses, while the boys, who were split rather evenly on the imposed question, all answered in favor of an invasion of Iraq. Drawing conclusions about whether these timely answers to a specific current event are related to the MAS dimension is speculative. One could argue, for example, that the American participants were simply mimicking a portion of the social discourse that was prevalent in the United States at that time, particularly with the President George W. Bush administration making a case for the invasion. It might be hard to believe that twelve-year-olds could deliver such strong responses without significant influences from media and from some of the adults in their lives. On one hand, the youthful American participants seem to be thinking critically, making their own sense of the matter and deciding for themselves what the result should be with Iraq. However, one can argue that the participants might be repeating opinions they encountered from their parents, friends and the media. Nonetheless, because it was earlier acknowledged in this thesis that culture is *learned*, these statements are likely reflecting to some significant degree the cultural-level consensus in the adult population of the United States in regard to the Iraq situation.

It would be interesting to see how the Finnish participants would react to a significant and timely conflict development in which Finland had direct implications. Surely, Finland has experienced catastrophic events in the past that compelled decisive action on the part of its citizens. Finland was itself occupied and controlled to a significant degree by, at different times in its history, Swedish and Russian armed

forces. After hundreds of years of foreign control over its destiny, Finland realized independence in 1917. Yet, whatever influences are driving the opinions about conflict in these youthful participants, it is clear in the case of the international conflict question that the Finns, overall as a group, are feminine, in terms of Hofstede's original study, and it is clear as well that the Americans, as a group, are more masculine.

This same trend can be seen within the home. Hofstede clearly states that gender roles in feminine societies overlap (2001: 288), which makes the question regarding the equal sharing of work at home an appropriate area for investigation. Even so, in hindsight after reviewing the answers, the question could have been posed differently. For example, in order to clarify in the imposed question the concept about what "work in the home" referred to, I added the following text: *This refers to general housekeeping chores such as vacuuming, cleaning up the kitchen, doing laundry and picking up around the house. Please explain your answer in some detail.* However, the participants' answers revealed that work "in" the home might also be taken as work "around" the home. This may include many activities that do not fit into the classic *housework* term, some of which may have gender implications. For example, repairing appliances and automobiles, painting rooms and doing yard work may be a part of some cultures' concept of housework, in which work both inside and outside the home comprise more fully the concept of "work in the home." Some of the participants, as presented earlier and especially in the case of some of the Finnish boys, pointed out that men and women have distinctive skills and roles in household work, although ideally the total workload should be shared equally.

A follow-up investigation could focus more deeply on this topic by employing a more expanded series of closed- and open-ended questions, and through the use of more ethnographic approaches that would result in observable behavior. Nonetheless, the point of this limited study is to measure values, and the texts provided by the participants do seem to reflect their ideals and to some degree also reflect the reality in their lives. For example, the American participants were twice as likely as the Finns to state that men in their society do not participate equally in the work in their homes. Even though the total numbers of Americans describing these observations are not large, they do seem to indicate that gender roles regarding work in the home in the United States are distinctive between the sexes, particularly in comparison with the Finnish responses.

5.1.5 *Most Thankful For*

The data revealed some pronounced trends regarding what the participants were most thankful for in their lives. While this study seems to suggest overall that the MAS dimension is prevalent in Finnish and American culture, here we find another paradoxical result. The girls in both cultures were far more inclined than the boys to cite both friends and family in response to the most thankful for question. However, the differences between both groups of girls in terms of the percentages of either group citing friends and family was minimal, indicating that a clear orientation preference between the two concepts was absent. The same applies to the boys in both groups. Fifteen percent of the American boys cited friends, compared to seven percent of Finnish boys. Seventeen percent of American boys cited family, compared to seven percent of Finnish boys. The gap between these results respective to friends and family is minimal. Hofstede cites the 1998 World Values Survey conducted by Inglehart, in which the participants were asked about the relative importance of certain topics in their lives. In this study Hofstede found correlations between both family and friends and the MAS dimension. Family, states Hofstede, "was rated relatively more important in masculine, individualist societies," while, "friends were rated more important in low power distance, feminine, individualist societies" (2001: 301). Based on these contentions regarding masculine and feminine cultures, one might wonder why so few of the Finnish boys cited friends among their most thankful for concepts, or why so few of the American boys cited family.

Following Hofstede's contentions about family and friends in the MAS dimension, one would predict little gender differentiation based on sex in Finnish culture.

It is important to note that the World Values Survey Hofstede cites used Likert-scale measurement instruments, wherein a respondent's answer would identify the relative importance of the topic to them, whereas the questions posed of the participants in this study allowed for open-ended responses. Perhaps the sheer number of opportunities for gratitude in the present study's participants' lives from which they could select makes any comparison between what Hofstede reports regarding the World Values Survey and what these respondents provided difficult at best. In anticipation of a wide range of responses, the Most Thankful For question posed in this study was rather explicit in that it asked the participants to cite those things they were *most* thankful for, and this was itself an attempt to obtain a relative value in the answer. Even so,

substantial differences between the two methodologies used, in the World Values Survey's questionnaires and the present study's open-ended questions, must be acknowledged.

Almost all of the American boys and most of the American girls cited freedom, either generally or in a specific form, as something they were most thankful for. Comparatively, only 28% of Finnish girls and 14% of Finnish boys mentioned freedom. The concept of freedom is strongly anchored in American discourse. Freedom concepts cited by American participants included freedom from fear, freedom of the press, freedom of religion and freedom of speech, all of which are common themes in American discourse, and some of them are expressly represented within amendments to the country's Constitution.

On the other hand, roughly one third of all Finns cited democracy, whereas few of the American participants did. It is argued here that democracy is a social concept whereas freedom is a more individual concept. Hofstede's individualism versus collectivism dimension is the likely driving force in this question for the Americans, as the Americans top the index as the most individualistic country in Hofstede's pool of fifty countries and three regions (2001: 500). It is possible that the higher level of response by Finns regarding democracy reflects the fact that Finland is a social democracy, a political form that might logically be associated with femininity in Hofstede's schema, given a social democracy's orientation to egalitarianism.

Levels of Finnish and American response similar to that for democracy are evident in the citations of independence, where 33% of Finnish boys and 36% of Finnish girls, compared to just 15% of American boys and 4% of American girls mentioned independence. Independence is less an individual concept than freedom, and again implies a social, collective aspect, and both the United States and Finland are independent. However, Finland's 1917 independence from Russia is a much more recent development than the United States' independence from Great Britain in 1776, and there are people alive today in Finland who fought bitterly against the Russians when Russia invaded Finland during World War II. The effects of this war are being conveyed to Finland's youth, as evident in this Finnish boy's comments, "And now after the terrible world war 2 is this country very peace full place. During the war, russian army attacked to Finnland in 1939. the war took six years. But we kept our independense. Last week we celebrated our 85th independense day 6th December" (402FCM55). When considering the long period of time that Finland was ruled by others, and its relatively recent independence, it may not be surprising that Finns would

more frequently cite independence than Americans in the Most Thankful For responses. As one Finnish boy stated, "I am very thankful that Finland is independent country, because then nobody can rule our country" (382FBM19). This compares to the United States which, to date, has maintained its independence for over 225 years, and the relative geographic isolation of the country seems to have created a strong sense of internal security, at least until the September 2001 attacks on U.S. soil and the subsequent conflicts abroad.

Extending the discussion regarding conflict further, over half of both Finnish girls and boys cited peace as something they were most thankful for, whereas none of the American participants did. Certainly peace is a feminine concept, using Hofstede's theoretical guidelines, if only because peace is the opposite of war. One Finnish boy commented, "We don't have any wars because of peace" (385FBM9). The United States has been involved in one conflict or another for many years, whereas the Finns, since World War II, have not and are not currently obliged to participate in conflict anywhere, except perhaps in their well-known role as United Nations peacekeepers. Obviously, there is a large gap between the obligations the United States commits to regarding keeping what it considers global threats in check, and the relatively benign impact of Finnish political and military will in the world. This gap seems to be reflected in this study's data by virtue of the fact that the Finnish participants notice that peace has been a part of Finnish life since World War II, while the American participants perhaps do not cite peace as something they are most thankful for because they do not have a sense that peace exists in their society due to the United States' direct involvement in so many conflicts.

It is also notable that only Finns cited nature among their most-thankful-for concepts, because nature so dominated the Finns' discussion in the Life in Your Country and City imposed question. As well, only Finns cited gender equality as a most thankful for concept. This is particularly noteworthy, since far more Finns also cited equality in the general sense than did the Americans, and, as well, because gender equality would seem to be a significant component on the feminine side of Hofstede's MAS dimension.

Strong orientations to family, as evident in the 72% of American girls who included family in their most thankful for responses, would seem to be directly connected to Hofstede's MAS family social marker for relationships versus ego seen in Table 3 (page 41), where high-MAS societies are represented as having strong family orientation. However, 57% of Finnish girls cited family, and the high percentage of citations for family among American and Finnish girls may indicate that a family

orientation, in contrast to what Hofstede states, is actually a feminine trait, particularly in view of the fact that neither the Finnish or American boys indicated a strong appreciation for family in their answers.

As well, both the Finnish and American girls were strongly oriented toward friends in their responses to the most-thankful-for question, 50% and 56% respectively. This would fit into Hofstede's characterization in Table 5 of low-MAS societies being oriented toward friends. As in the preceding family example, this would point toward the Finnish and American girls as being strongly feminine, while the American and Finnish boys, neither of whom indicated an orientation to friends, would seem to be classically masculine in nature based on Hofstede's schema.

Among the citations listed in Table 15 (page 66), family and friends would most seem to be oriented toward relationships, and in Table 1 (page 18), Hofstede characterizes low-MAS societies as being relationship oriented, while high-MAS societies are ego oriented. This furthers the argument that the American and Finnish girls are feminine in nature. However, a problem emerges when considering the fact that the Finns as a group were characterized in Hofstede's dimension indexes (2001: 500) as being strongly feminine, implying that both males and females in Finnish society shared similar values. Americans are represented in the same index as being strongly masculine, implying that the values of men and women differed. Certainly in the case of the American participants, the boys and girls differ in their responses regarding family and friends in the most-thankful-for question. Yet, so do the Finnish boys and girls. It is helpful here to revisit Hofstede's more comprehensive definition of the MAS dimension, originally appearing on page 12:

> Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct: Men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life. Femininity stands for a society in which social gender roles overlap: Both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. (2001: 297)

Employing this definition, it seems that the Finnish boys' and girls' gender roles do not overlap regarding their orientation to friends and family in their most-thankful-for answers. More so, it appears that the American and Finnish girls share an orientation toward both friends and family, whereas the American and Finnish boys do not. In a high-MAS society such as the United States, as indicated in Hofstede's MAS table

(ibid: 500), one would expect to see the differentiation between the boys and girls that we see in the present study regarding friends and family. In this regard, Hofstede's social markers for friends and family do not appear to hold for these Finnish youth, where the boys are much more like the American boys, and less like their female cohorts.

5.2 *Second Level Analysis*

Even though substantial data was derived from the imposed questions, additional insight on the topic of the applicability of Hofstede's MAS dimension can be gleaned from the entire corpus of data created by the four groups of students over the six-week research project. This section addresses these additional analyses.

5.2.1 *Ambition Versus Modesty*

Overall, this code produced relatively few citations, and most of these were categorized as masculine, representing high ambition. Modesty proved hard to find in the data, and a questionnaire approach to this dimension may have proven better, although differently phrased imposed open-ended questions may also have been more productive. The Finnish girls produced only four coded texts for this inquiry, and these were split between ambition and modesty. On the other hand, the other three groups produced many more coded texts and these were overwhelmingly masculine. The ambition versus modesty code does provide for a limited crosschecking of the analysis for the career choice imposed question by highlighting the ambitious nature particularly evident in the American girls' career choice citations. But again, the American girls were almost always motivated to helping others, and this would seem to be a rather modest ultimate goal compared to making money or gaining recognition, for example. Developing ways to explore modesty further would add to the perspective of the more easily seen texts coded for high ambition, and this points to the opportunity to expand and improve the present study in the future.

5.2.2 *Competition*

It could perhaps be argued that competition and ambition go hand-in-hand, based on the results for this code. All of the resulting coded texts were masculine, and this is quite

logical given the low likelihood of someone pointing out that they do not like to compete. Even so, the American males made, comparatively, more statements that refer to a desire to compete with others. The fact that American girls made fewer references to competing contrasts with their comparatively high number of high-ambition coded texts, and perhaps this can be partly explained by their fairly strong group orientation to intrinsic (helping others as opposed to making money or gaining recognition) motivations that are associated with their ambitious career citations. In the case of Finland, Hofstede states that in feminine societies sports are extracurricular, while in masculine societies competitive sports are an integral part of school life (2001: 303). Hofstede also cites a 1998 study by Vunderick & Hofstede that describes how American students, who participated in an exchange program with Dutch students, were surprised at the "lack of concern" the Dutch students had for their grades in school; this underscores the competitive nature of masculine societies as compared to feminine societies (ibid). My own observations of Finnish schools are compatible with Hofstede's observations. Intercollegiate sports programs, as exampled by many universities in the United States, have no comparable example within Finnish universities. Finnish elementary and high schools do feature sports in their physical education programs, but the emphasis appears to be on wellness and the development of social values, as evidenced by the following statement from the Finnish Ministry of Education:

> The objectives, values and the respective responsibilities in the sports field are defined in the new Sports Act, which came into force on January 1st, 1999. One important objective in addition to the sports promotion is to improve the population's well being and health and support children's and young people's growth. Other aims include gender equality, tolerance, multiculturalism and sustainable exploitation of the environment (On the Web).

All of the final four objectives above seem to fit well into Hofstede's social markers for feminine societies, particularly in regard to gender equality, which presupposes gender role overlap at least to some significant degree, and to the conservation of the environment.

5.2.3 *Ego or Relationship Oriented*

Ego orientation might well be associated with both high-ambition and competition. And in the case of this code the results seem to generally fit those for the two preceding codes, in that the American girls produced overall the most coded texts and these were assessed as predominantly relationship-oriented texts. This code, therefore, might well serve to reinforce the question posed earlier about the American girls' orientation toward helping others in the career-choice-coded texts, while at the same time choosing ambitious and competitive career paths. The American girls' strong relationship orientation, which coincides with their desire to help others, may serve to substantiate their overall feminine nature, allowing for, at the same time, a socially permitted access to careers that are considered to be competitive and ambitious in nature.

5.2.4 *Gender Discourse Style*

A significant trend surfaced during the text coding for gender discourse style. The Finnish and American girls' texts were similar in style, recorded as strongly feminine at 88.5% and 83% of responses respectively. The Finnish boys and American boys were both less feminine: the American boys were even slightly on the masculine side at 54% masculine, compared to the 39% masculine coded texts produced by the Finnish boys. The data show a sliding scale of femininity to masculinity, from the extremely feminine coded texts of the Finnish girls, next to the very strongly feminine American girls, through to the Finnish boys and finally to the slightly more masculine texts of the American boys. The gap between Finnish and American boys seems to be smaller overall than one would predict using Hofstede's guidelines. This suggests one or more concerns with the original data in Hofstede's studies: (1) the original data no longer represents the status of the MAS dimension in Finnish and American societies as it applies to gender discourse style, (2) the studied age group is significantly and qualitatively different from adults in their respective cultures, or (3) that the nature of culture is more complex than the etic-imposed quantitative approach of Hofstede's allows for. Or, it could be that all three are true to some degree.

Donal Carbaugh has compared communication patterns between Finns and Americans, noting particularly that each culture uses, "language, even the same language (e.g., English), in culturally distinctive ways" (1995: 54). He points out that Finns sometimes confuse the gregarious nature of Americans, especially regarding what

might be considered Tannen's American girls' "rapport" style talk when meeting acquaintances, with the quick establishment of what may seem to non-Americans as close ties. This process in Finland, it appears to me, seems to be more formal and takes more time than in American society. One Finnish speech rule observed by Carbaugh has to do with a Finnish tendency to not state the obvious (ibid: 55). This particular rule would seem to affect the "report" versus "rapport" style of talk Tannen found to be so prevalent in Americans. One might expect that the Finnish youth in the present study, who would not normally engage in American-style small talk, would follow their native cultural social interaction expectations in email-based communication. Yet, the Finnish girls in this study do seem to engage in rapport-style communication. Perhaps these participants are reacting to and following the lead, so to speak, of their American interlocutors. This hypothesis, if true, may serve to explain the relative closeness of the American and Finnish girls regarding the discourse style analysis in this study. However, also it would also then be difficult to interpret the Finnish girls as feminine based on gender discourse style, if indeed they are simply following the American lead, and not following their own cultural practices when communicating within their own culture. In order to more clearly elaborate gender discourse style between Finnish and American cultures, a cross-cultural study would likely need to examine communication conducted within each culture, before making any comparisons between the two.

5.2.5 *Things or People*

All of the texts coded for things or people were coded as feminine, and indicated an orientation toward things (conservation and the environment). Twenty-four of the 25 texts isolated for this code were produced by Finns. Because all of the texts coded for Things or People located in the corpus were in sections that were either in response to the Life in Your Country and City question or Most Thankful For question, this code provides some further perspective on the two imposed questions. This is particularly true regarding the Finns' orientation to aspects of their environment, including lakes, forests and nature. However, due to the fact that the texts coded for Things or People were located in the sections for the two imposed questions, this code does not bring any new insights to the discussion, except to note the correlation in the Finnish responses to the Life in Your Country and City and Most Thankful For imposed questions. In hindsight, this code seems rather problematic compared to other areas of inquiry because many of the references to friends make by Finns and Americans were not coded

for People, and this likely means that this particular code did not realize complete results and thus is quite unbalanced. On the other hand, this also points to the one of the strengths of the study, in that having so many areas and forms of inquiry may balance out problem areas and thus enhance the overall analysis.

5.3 *Comparing the Schwartz and Hofstede Theoretical Lenses*

Schwartz's individual- and cultural-level theories were described in the Culture and Values section. It should be noted again that the strategy for data collection in the present study was formed around Hofstede's MAS social markers and not based on Schwartz's cultural-level theory. Yet reviewing the data in this study from the lens of Schwartz's cultural-level theory provides for some interesting comparisons with Hofstede's approach. First it is important to emphasize again the essential structural differences between the theoretical models of Hofstede and Schwartz. Hofstede's dimensions, being orthogonally derived, are mutually independent. As such, each dimension is viewed as a separate component of cultural behavior. Hofstede noted some correlations between his dimensions, yet his system is not designed to provide a systematic view of culture.

On the other hand, Schwartz's model represents a relative typology of cultural-level dimensions, wherein cultures can be positioned on a visual map, not only relatively regarding Schwartz's three overarching dimensions, but also relative to other cultures. Using this approach, Schwartz is able to visualize the relative relationship of one cultural dimension to the others. Schwartz conceptualizes culture through the use of deductive reasoning, wherein he begins with logical hypotheses, as compared to Hofstede's reverse approach in which he looks develops and concepts and social markers based on existing data. Schwartz's a priori reasoning is based on what he identifies as universal societal needs that he rigidly tested to be cross-culturally meaningful.

Hofstede found that only Schwartz's mastery dimension correlated "significantly" with Hofstede's MAS dimension (2001: 296). However, Hofstede does not concur with Schwartz's (Schwartz & Smith, 1997) study in which mastery is represented as the polar opposite of harmony. Hofstede states:

> A dimension 'dealing with the environment,' of which
> mastery and harmony would be the opposite poles,
> appeals to New Age and postmodern fashions, but the

> correlations of mastery with MAS and harmony with UAI [uncertainty avoidance] suggest underlying psychological mechanisms of a different nature. What I read in the Schwartz culture-level values database is a strong IDV-PDI [Individualism − Power Distance] dimension and additional independent dimensions associated with MAS and with UAI; so the basic three factors found in the factor analysis of the IBM data (Chapter 2) reappear in the much broader values set used by Schwartz, which strongly supports the construct validity of the dimensions. (2001: 296) [brackets added]

Regarding the correlation between Schwartz's harmony dimension with uncertainty avoidance, Hofstede states, "On Schwartz's map, harmony stands for unity with nature, protecting environment, and world of beauty. These appealed more in high- than in low-UAI countries" (2001: 159). Finally, Hofstede also sees a positive correlation between his individualism dimension and Schwartz's affective autonomy, intellectual autonomy and egalitarian commitment (2001: 221).

Schwartz holds a variety of critical views regarding Hofstede's research. He points out that the emergent dimensions may have resulted as a consequence of the particular questions asked of the marketing and service department members of the IBM Corporation across the globe, and wonders whether these particular participants were representative of their cultures (Schwartz & Smith, 1997: 98). He also points out that the IBM study may not have provided an adequate enough sample for a global picture to emerge. Finally, Schwartz suggests that Hofstede's data may be too old to be considered still valid (ibid). Later in the same study, Schwartz points out that his own cultural-level research, as compared to Hofstede's, "derived the value contents from diverse Western and non-Western sources, empirically controlled for meaning equivalence, and demonstrated replicability of dimensions with different types of samples" (ibid: 102). And based on a review of four culture-level dimensional studies, Schwartz determined that cultural dimensions should not be viewed as orthogonal (ibid: 103).

Regarding the MAS dimension, Schwartz (ibid: 109) points to two studies by Leung. In the first, Lueng and his colleagues compared conflict resolution preferences between students from Holland and Canada (Lueng, Bond, Carment, Krishnan & Liebrand, 1990). Holland, like Finland, is highly feminine on Hofstede's MAS index. Canada and the United States are close on the same index, with Canada being slightly less masculine. Canada and the United States are also very close on the other three of original Hofstede indexes. In Lueng's study, the Dutch participants, like the Finnish participants in this study, preferred mediation. The Canadian participants, in the other

hand, "Yielded more to the other party's demands and ignored differences less than the Dutch" (Schwartz & Smith, 1997: 109).

In the other research cited by Schwartz, Lueng and his colleagues conducted a similar study, only this time they compared students from Spain and Japan (Lueng, Au, Fernandez-Dols, & Iwawaki, 1992). Again the two countries were close on three of four Hofstede dimensional indexes, and were far apart on the MAS index, with Spain being very feminine and Japan being the most masculine of the countries on the MAS index. The Japanese students in this study preferred negotiation more than the Spaniards did, running counter to Hofstede's expectations for masculine cultures, and apparently causing the researchers to conclude that MAS has no bearing on conflict resolution preferences.

In essence, Schwartz seems suspect of the far-reaching range that Hofstede gives to the MAS dimension. While he describes masculinity, as defined by Hofstede, as featuring a "unidimensional work-centered view of life," Schwartz claims that femininity is a more complex, far-reaching concept (Schwartz & Smith, 1997: 110). Prince-Gibson and Schwartz presented a paper in which they surveyed a heterogeneous population in Israel and found, "no main effects of gender on the importance attributed to any of 10 different types of values, nor any interactions with age, education, or ethnicity" (1998, see abstract). It should be noted that these ten types of values Schwartz is referring to result from his work on individual-level values. Perhaps this is why Schwartz appears to be so skeptical of Hofstede's MAS implications for gender, and explains why he does not discuss gender in his social behavior markers for any of his cultural-level dimensions. These markers are presented for the society as a whole, without regard to sex and gender roles. In other words, Schwartz appears to ignore the differences in his data in regard to the sexes, while Hofstede prefers to seek them out, pointing out that differences between the social roles and attitudes played by men and women in various societies are themselves an important component of any view of group culture.

5.4 *Viewing the Data Through the Schwartz Theoretical Lens*

As previously noted, Hofstede summarizes the MAS dimension as the degree to which social gender roles overlap in a society. In order to illustrate the social impact of the dimension, he uses social behavior markers to elaborate the dimension further. Schwartz also uses social behavior markers to elaborate his dimensions. When examining Cultural

Level Samples Comprising 70 Groups (Figure 2, page 25), the relative position of behavioral social markers can be noted on Schwartz's cultural-level typology. The Co-plot Map of 67 National Groups on Seven Cultural Orientations (Figure 3 page 26) shows the area on Schwartz's map where Finland appears, and there we see the following strongly held values:

> Harmony (as opposed to Mastery): Protect environment, unity with nature, world of beauty, and world at peace.

> Intellectual Autonomy (as opposed to Embeddedness): Broadmindedness, freedom, creativity, and curious.

> Egalitarianism (as opposed to Hierarchy): Accept my position in life, helpful, honest, social justice, responsible, equality, loyal.

In the area where the United States is located we note substantially different orientations:

> Mastery (as opposed to Harmony): Independent, choosing own goals, daring, social recognition, capable, successful, ambitious.

> Affective autonomy (as opposed to Embeddedness): Varied life, exciting life, enjoying life, pleasure.

> Egalitarianism versus Hierarchy: The Americans fall about midpoint in this axis, so it indicates that the culture, overall, does not have a strong orientation toward either of these dimensions.

Specifically, the United States is slightly closer to the median point than Finland on the autonomy versus embeddedness axis; Finland is more directly on the egalitarian axis than is the United States; and Finland and the United States are located at the high ends of the harmony and mastery axes, respectively. In the present analysis we will be

relying primarily on Schwartz's specific social markers, located nearest where the two studied cultures are positioned, and where a culture appears to be strongly oriented on an axis, as our primary investigative tool.

5.4.1 *Life in Your Country and City*

When examining data related to the Life in Your Country and City question through the theoretical lens of Schwartz, one can visualize a connection between the Finns' orientation to nature and Schwartz's harmony versus mastery dimension. One of Schwartz's social markers, world of beauty, may be too subjective to pin down. However, the example of Tove Jansson's *Muumit* program for children was used earlier in this thesis to describe a cartoon that is arguably, in both content and artistry, quite distinct from most cartoon programs in the United States. Jansson's surreal landscapes and mystical themes reveal a sense of beauty about the Finnish outdoors with which most, if not all, Finnish children seem to identify. If the *Muumit* program is representative of Finnish culture, the fact that it is targeted at children may contribute to the frequent and positive descriptions of weather and nature by the Finns in this study. This would seem to match well with harmony rather than mastery. Conversely, the lack of discussion about nature by the American participants, and their comparatively dry comments about their geographic location might lead one to believe that Schwartz's social markers related to harmony were not emphasized in this culture. Other than patriotic comments about their country or city, the American participants are not particularly expressive on this topic, choosing instead a sort of reporting style, and matter-of-factly presenting various aspects of life in their country and city. However, the Americans do seem to report a keen liking for diversity in their lives that they often describe with relish. One American girl wrote:

> *I live in North America. There are fifty states in our country. One of the states is Indiana. I live in Evansville, Indiana. And I have lived in Evansville ever since I was born. Well I've moved and traveled to different places. For instance, I've went to Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, and a whole lot of others. But I've mainly lived in Indiana. Am a sixth grade student at XXX School. I have nine different classes, same with nine different teachers. Also I'm in all advanced classes. So far in school I'm only in student council. Im looking forward to many other school activities. I am twelve years old. I have one nine year old little brother, his name is XXX. I also have a*

twelve year old sister, her name is XXX. we're five months apart and have the same dad. At home I have four dogs. Lady, Big Hause , Jr. , and Tiny. Big Hause, Jr. , and Tiny are Lady's puppies. I also have two birds, They're finches so we didn't name them. We have and play many sports. Basketball, baseball, football, soccer and a few more. My favorite sport is football. What is yours? Sports are my favorite subject. I just love to be up and moving around. I have many hobbies. As I said sports is one of them. Sports, dance, skating, skatebaording, the phone , shopping, and of course hanging out with my friends. Thats what I do most. I have three best friends. They are XXX, XXX, and XXX. We do lots of things together. In Finland what kind of stores do you have? (Like malls or big stores that are popular) What kind of big hobbies Do most people play there? We have roller blading/skating rinks, movie theaters dance clubs , they are a whole bunch. Anyway I love my country, state, I even love my city. I hope you love yours too! (16ABF26)

Similarly, one American boy wrote:

This is XXX I want to tell you about America and Evansville. In Evansville it is fun. We have lots of wonderful sights to see around the whole city. We have parks, theaters, museums, bowling alleys, Rolling Dome and zoos. We also have swimming pools, and other things. Evansville also has lots of restaurants, and a lot of place's for little kid's to go. Living in America is fun especially when you know a lot of people. In other city's we have caves, battlegrounds and other stuff like that. In New York we have the statue of liberty, and in California we have the building that can save people from earthquake. We only have fifty states with lots of other sight's to see. That's what America is like. We also have our own rights, and freedoms. (10ABM39)

The range of activity choices, combined with the obvious enjoyment of life associated with the reported activities is consistent in the data, and might lead one to conclude that these participants are well within the affective side of Schwartz's autonomy dimension, where a much-varied life also presupposes, to a degree, that the local environment has been developed to a level where a large number of activities are available, and this may indicate a social tendency to develop and master the local resources.

5.4.2 *Career Aspirations*

When reflecting on the career aspirations question, the reader should keep in mind that four job type codes resulted for the analysis of the data: professional, blue collar, entertainment and unknown. Some of the participants cited more than one choice. The American girls were overwhelmingly recorded, in Hofstede's schema, as making feminine responses based primarily on their stated motivations for a career choice, which were social in nature, even though their job orientations were predominately professional. It seems that the American girls as a group are seeking independence, choosing their own goals, are daring, seek social recognition, and are becoming capable, successful and ambitious, all traits that fall into Schwartz's mastery dimension. But at the same time, their motivations seem to reveal an orientation to harmony in Schwartz's schema: many are hoping to become a doctor, veterinarian or biologist with the welfare of others as a primary motivation.

As shown beginning on page 21 of the Culture and Values section, Schwartz's harmony dimension means fitting into the world as it is, and mastery refers to active self-assertion. Therefore, we are left to speculate about whether the American girls, while obviously being active and assertive, mean to use their career to either master, direct or change their natural and social order, or whether their goals reflect personal or group needs. If they were, indeed, oriented toward group welfare, this would concur with the finding of Beutel and Marini (1995), who found in their study of American adolescents that girls were much more likely than boys to be concerned for the welfare of others. Paradoxically, in order to achieve their professional goals, these girls will at some point have to enter highly competitive career paths, which will require a high level of mastery over a variety of educational and professional institutions. But the purpose of the present study is not focused on the implication of the participant's choices in the future, but rather on the idealism of the present that may reflect their values.

Perhaps these American girls are more inclined to understand and appreciate, rather than to change, direct or exploit their world, as Schwartz predicts in the harmony dimension. In this case, the Schwartz schema's lack of distinction between the sexes seems to fail the present analysis, because differences in values held between the sexes are not accounted for in Schwartz's dimensions. In other words, the average of the sum of the parts is the norm, whereas each part (in this case men and women) may differ in culturally significant ways, as seems to be evident in portions of the present corpus.

In this regard the data pertaining to career choice for American girls is confusing, because while they are clearly on the mastery side as far as being ambitious, they also seem to fall into the harmonious social side. Schwartz reported a study conducted in Israel, a country that notably appears mid-way on Hofstede's MAS index, in which he found no correlations between gender and values (Schwartz & Prince-Gibson, 1998). The fact that Israel is located at a mid-point on Hofstede's MAS index may be indicative of Schwartz's results in that study. Perhaps cultures located toward the mid-point of Schwartz's axis would show no blatant gender differences, whereas a similar study comparing cultures toward either end of the spectrum would have provided a completely different picture than that resulting from Schwartz's 1998 study.

This provides an excellent focal area for elaborating Schwartz's research in the future because the remainder of the data in this study regarding careers presents compelling gender differentiation. The American boys were overwhelming recorded as citing masculine responses, while the Finnish girls were overwhelmingly feminine. The Finnish boys, responding slightly more masculine than feminine as a group, indicate that each of the four groups' responses were distinctive and followed a general trend, where the girls in both cultures are very feminine, the American boys are very masculine and the Finnish boys are in between. Certainly gender plays a role in the answers to the career question, and the results invite additional inquiry.

5.4.3 *Favorite Movies and Movie Heroes*

It was hypothesized previously in this thesis that, when looking at the favorite movie and movie hero questions data through Hofstede's lens, that the Finnish boys might be undergoing a shift toward more masculine values. This assumes that a study such as the present one would yield different results in the timeframe of Hofstede's original data collection. Hofstede saw positive correlations between Schwartz's mastery dimension and MAS, but not between harmony and MAS. From Hofstede's perspective, Schwartz's harmony dimension has a "New Age" overtone, and may resemble more closely his own UAI (uncertainty avoidance) dimension (2001: 296). There is certainly room for equivocal views, as evident when interpreting the favorite movie question data through Schwartz's lens.

The movies cited by the participants fell primarily into four genres: adventure, action, comedy and fantasy (Table 13, page 75). The two most cited movies, the *Lord of the Rings* series and the *Harry Potter* series, both featured adventure and fantasy in their

respective Internet Movie Database genre listings. *Lord of the Rings* was also classified in the action genre and *Harry Potter* was also classified in the family genre. An adventure movie would seem to imply masterful character traits: daringness, the development of the individual's skills and capabilities, high levels of ambition and likely a high degree of ego and success orientation. However, in the *Lord of the Rings* series, social justice, responsibility, equality and loyalty, as well as an orientation to being helpful and honest, also seemed to be key important ingredients to the storyline and character development. The same could be argued regarding the *Harry Potter* series.

Harry Potter's school chums and the fellowship in the *Lord of the Rings* series both involve socially bonded groups with distinctly shared values and goals. This type of social system more closely fits with Schwartz's descriptions of egalitarianism: accepting my portion in life, being helpful, honest, emphasis on social justice, quality and loyalty. Therefore, classifying either film series as masculine or feminine is difficult at best. Additionally, it must be recognized that the criteria chosen, the genre categorizations given to each film by the Internet Movie Database, may contain systemic cultural biases that affect the present analysis. As well, by whom a script is written, by whom it is directed, and where a movie is produced may provide insight into the film's embedded cultural values. And all of the films cited by the participants in the present study were either wholly Hollywood products or had significant Hollywood involvement. The *Lord of the Rings* series and the *Harry Potter* series were heavily influenced by New Zealand and British culture, respectively, but may still be significantly influenced by dominant American culture. Even so, how deeply the values of any given culture is embedded in cinema is becoming less clear.

To further this point through an analogy, today an automobile might be designed and engineered at organizations in several countries, assembled in a different country with parts manufactured in even more countries around the world, and then sold both domestically in the assembling country and internationally. Films have become very much the same, and as such a global cinema is emerging. Two distinctly global patterns seem evident: (1) American values have permeated, and to a degree still dominate, much of the content that is viewed collectively across a large number of cultures, and (2) These same values seem lately to be undergoing gradual dilution by multiple influences. The *Lord of the Rings* series is an excellent example: A British author inspired by Finnish culture; an American financier (New Line Cinema); A New Zealand set and director; an American company producing and distributing worldwide follow-up

video game concepts (Electronic Arts, Inc.); and a European mobile communications company, Orange, acquiring mobile games rights to the series in a large section of Europe. Although it could be argued that the wide-ranging contributors to the phenomenon that is *The Lord of the Rings* reflects an Anglo-centric orientation, the involvement of so many cultures in the overall production, distribution, as well as follow-up products and services, extends and transforms the traditional cinema business model into a post-modern multicultural experience where culturally rooted ideas and values merge and form new models of behavior across cultural boundaries. It appears that the opportunity for a broader multicultural platform is forming as today's global media become more inclusive in terms of production, distribution and marketing influences.

This post-traditional multicultural media production model makes the interpretation in this study regarding favorite movies quite problematic. But limiting the analysis to Hofstede's descriptions of heroes in masculine and feminine societies to classify the participants' hero preferences illuminates gender distinctiveness that is quite pronounced across the two cultures studied. The Finnish girls' hero citations were coded as all feminine (19 MAS versus 0 FEM), the American girls as strongly feminine (15 FEM versus 9 MAS), and the Finnish boys as nearly even (12 MAS versus 11 FEM). So few American boys responded to the movie hero question that their results were not included in the analysis. However, it might be easy to visualize a sliding scale starting from the exclusively feminine citations of the Finnish girls, to the strong feminine American girls, to the nearly even masculine and feminine Finnish boys, and finally through to the more masculine American boys, as evidenced in similar sliding scales appearing in the conflict resolution, career choice, and most thankful for questions data.

Recalling Hofstede's contention that there is no correlation between his MAS dimension and Schwartz's harmony dimension, there does appear to be strong social markers provided by Schwartz evident in the movie hero data when viewing the data from the perspective of Schwartz's harmony and mastery dimensions. Using Hofstede's descriptions for heroes, including the social markers Hofstede associates with feminine and masculine societies, to analyze each cited movie hero based on their role in the cited movie and the actor's sometimes stereotypical historical roles, proved to be fairly straight forward and uncomplicated. Even so, the decision process was subjective in nature and was affected by my own culture and cinema experience. Trying to view this portion of the data through Schwartz's lens proves more difficult, demonstrating again the subjective nature of the qualitative research method chosen for the present study.

Hofstede's prototypical hero and anti-hero characterizations might be simple enough to apply to mastery and harmony respectively. In this case we see the masculine hero in Schwartz's mastery terms: independent, goal oriented, daring, in search of social recognition, and certainly capable, successful and ambitious. The prototypical anti-hero would then be oriented to harmony with nature, the beauty of the world and peace. However, movie characters are not so simple, and other Schwartz dimensions merit analysis regarding film characters. Finnish youth might be, for example, more oriented to a movie character that is honest, loyal, and oriented to social justice and equality for all. These traits would be associated under Schwartz's egalitarian scheme. Therefore, an attempt to view movie and hero preferences using Schwartz's schema requires a much broader perspective than a direct comparison with Hofstede's MAS dimension seems to allow for.

In order to discuss more effectively the connections between the movie hero citations and Schwartz's dimensions, it might require a substantially more in-depth analysis of the cited movies wherein the researcher views each movie, with its myriad and complex characterizations, before analyzing the specific reasons cited by the participants for picking a particular hero. This, unfortunately, is outside the scope of this study due to the difficulties in obtaining and viewing all of the movies cited as well as the time it would take to do so. However, a different approach, wherein a varied but limited number of movies were pre-selected for viewing by all of the participants, followed by either interviews or questionnaires (or both), might offer a better investigation of the hero question through both Hofstede's and Schwartz's lenses.

Perhaps then, the best chance to realize meaningful insight in this study can only come from the limited analysis of the movie genre patterns. Even so, it must again be recognized that the criteria chosen, the genre categorizations given to each film by the Internet Movie Database, may contain systemic cultural biases that affect the analysis.

5.4.4 *International Conflict Resolution*

Finland is clearly located on Schwartz's relative typology of culture in the egalitarian, harmony and intellectual autonomy sectors. The most significant of Schwartz's dimensions for direct elaboration of the Finnish participants regarding the conflict resolution question would seem to be harmony versus mastery, with its emphasis on world at peace. Conversely, the United States is located squarely in the sectors emphasizing mastery and affective autonomy. Mastery, with its emphasis on

independence, ambition, daringness, and success orientations, seems to be the most significant of Schwartz's dimensions regarding the American participants responses to conflict resolution.

Again, Hofstede contends that there is no correlation between his MAS dimension and Schwartz's harmony dimension, and that harmony correlated more with UAI (uncertainty avoidance). Yet Schwartz's emphasis on world peace in the harmony dimension fits well with the Finnish responses to the conflict question. Given Hofstede's point, we are left to speculate about whether the Finns in this study are merely trying to minimize the uncertainties associated with conflict, or are truly committed to a harmonious relationship with the world, including its other cultures. It is likely that both are true because conflict, and the threat thereof, normally results in uncertainty. This being the case then, one can visualize a link between Schwartz's harmony and Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance. But this should not eliminate mastery from the mix. In fact, "mix' might be a key word when considering how intertwined the motivations of the participants appear to be. In this case, Schwartz's relative typology appears to provide a broader and more comprehensive fit to the data. This is not to say that Hofstede's dimensions are not valid, it simply appears that orthogonally derived dimensions, when viewed singly or even together, cannot take enough account for interconnected social phenomena, whereas the Schwartz approach allows for a clearer relative picture of how cultural dimensions influence each other.

When examining the data regarding conflict resolution, the Finns appear to fit well the harmony dimension, and the Americans seem to fit well the mastery dimension. However, there is nothing very explicit in Schwartz's social markers for mastery that would indicate that high-mastery could or would be directed toward violence; rather they indicate that a subject has the psychological underpinnings that might facilitate a violent response. In this case, Schwartz's harmony versus mastery dimension as a polar concept can only provide an incomplete picture regarding why a society might choose conflict. Finland may, in this regard, be also strongly influenced by the egalitarianism versus hierarchy dimension, meaning that conflict may require an extremely broad consensus, but the United States is roughly at the mid-point of this index, implying that conflict options may be readily available at the executive level. This aspect of one of Schwartz's dimensions (egalitarianism) affecting another (mastery) illustrates the merit of the relative typology of dimensions that Schwartz brings to the study of culture, particularly when comparing and contrasting different cultures.

5.4.5 *Equal Share of Work at Home*

It was previously noted in the present study that the Finnish youth addressed the "equal share of work at home" question primarily from the concept of equality, while the Americans frequently used the term fairness. Viewing Cultural Level Samples Comprising 70 Groups (Figure 2 page 25), equality appears in the social markers Schwartz provides for egalitarian societies. One Finnish girl seemed surprised that the question was even posed, "Of course womens and mens have to share the work in the home because that work belongs to everybody" (282FBF5). There clearly is no gender role differentiation in this remark as far as overall workload is concerned. Taken together, Schwartz's egalitarian social markers for accepting one's position in life, helpfulness, honesty, social justice, responsibility, equality and loyalty all seem well-suited to the notion of sharing work in the home on equal terms.

In the case of almost all of the participants in this study, everyone answered that *ideally* the workload at home should be shared. It would therefore seem natural to suggest that both the Finns and the Americans trended toward femininity and egalitarianism regarding this question. But there was some evidence that some individuals believed it was not so important who (male or female) did what task, just as long as the net workload was balanced. Some of the participants of both cultures cited the existence of traditional gender roles and a few complained about ongoing inequalities in workload between the sexes. Almost half of the Finnish girls responding to this question made reference to traditional inequalities in which male and female workloads in the home were out of balance. Some excerpts along this line from Finnish boys seem to concur with the Finnish girls' assessment of inequality: "And I think that women should work in the home much more than men because they are better in chore" (265FBM9); "The most important thing in marriage is equality. The man does work and brings money and helps with chores. And woman goes shopping and cleans the house" (287FBM12); and, "But here in Finland that is simple, because it's traditional. Women do food and cleans house and men do everything what belongs in his job." (273FCM56). These few views certainly do not characterize a society in which these particular gender roles overlap.

In spite of the examples cited of imbalances of workload in the home based on sex, and regardless of how specific tasks should be assigned between the sexes, Finns and Americans alike felt that the total workload between men and women should *ideally* be shared *equally*. The imposed question asked for the participants' idea of how things

should be, and we are left to speculate about what the reality is nowadays regarding workload in the home in these two cultures. As well, we can assume, considering again the distinction between the ideal and the real, that actual negotiated or imposed workloads in the home conducted in the future by these youth will range widely in terms of their equality and fairness.

When viewing the data in this study regarding equal share of workload in the home from the theoretical lens of Schwartz, it is clear that the majority of the participants reflected their *ideal* scenario. This makes it difficult to find a fit for the Americans within the mastery or affective autonomy sectors of Schwartz's cultural typology. They seem to want to fall into the egalitarian side that includes such notions as being helpful, honest, socially just, responsible and equal. Although providing for interesting observations, the data points to a weakness in the study, in that investigating culture based on the ideal provides for an incomplete picture of what reality actually is. This points to a unique characteristic to keep in mind: that a cultural-level value is not about actual behavior but about idealized preferences averaged across a group. Follow-up research could expand on this part of the investigation by creating simulations in which paired male and female participants act out scenarios that challenge traditional institutions of gender equality. For example, boys and girls in each culture could be paired in a simulated family situation, and asked to establish the family ground rules regarding who will do what jobs in the household based on a supplied list of jobs. The resulting data could also be compared with observed or reported behavior in households.

5.4.6 *Most Thankful For*

In Cultural Level Samples Comprising 70 Groups, and Co-plot Map of 67 National Groups on Seven Cultural Orientations (Figures 2 and 3, pages 25 and 26), it can be noted that Schwartz strongly associates Finland with honesty, responsibility, equality, loyalty, social justice, helpfulness and acceptance of one's "portion" in life. The United States would then be associated with choosing one's own goals, pleasure, varied life, independence, and social recognition. Regarding an analysis of the "most thankful for" question based on Schwartz's theory, the present study focuses on the above social markers and searches for clues among the participants' responses that might be associated with these social markers.

The Finnish participants seemed as a group to be more conscious of certain social concepts in their most-thankful-for replies (see Notable Citations, *Most Thankful For* Imposed Question**,** Table 12 page 74). For example, the Finns much more frequently cited independence, democracy, equality and, particularly, peace, than the Americans, while the Americans focused on freedom(s). These replies seem to place the Finns squarely in Schwartz's "social justice" social marker for egalitarianism, while the social markers "independent" and "choosing own goals"—those reflected in the concept of the various American freedoms guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution—seems to fit well on the mastery side of Schwartz's typology and where the Americans are located.

The Finnish and American girls were also oriented toward family, food and friends in their most-thankful-for replies. This raises a question, because family, food and friends do not obviously fit into either egalitarianism or mastery. It does seem well fit to Hofstede's MAS dimension, in regard to feminine behavior, yet in this case we might expect a larger number of similar citations from Finnish boys, since Hofstede claims many of the same behaviors in feminine societies for both men and women, e.g., tenderness. There may also be a connection here to Tannen's gender discourse style analysis, at least in so far as connecting "rapport" style communication with social behavior reflecting a relational need in females. Evolutionary psychologists' approach to gender role socialization (see Buss, 1995; Hartsock, 1987) portray females throughout human history to be relation oriented as a means of survival, developing over time an almost innate social need for relations with others. Females, lacking the physical power of males, likely used non-physical strategies to ensure their survival and fit into family and group settings. Hofstede also states, when contrasting the MAS dimension with his individualism-collectivism dimension, "Masculinity/femininity is about ego enhancement versus relationship enhancement, regardless of group ties" (2001: 293). If this is the case, then we must infer that both the Finnish and American girls locate solidly on the feminine side, but we are left to speculate whether the lack of citations from American or Finnish boys regarding family or friends infers an ego orientation. If so, then we would likely conclude that the Finnish boys were, like their American counterparts, much more masculine than the Finnish girls. This could very well serve to dispel Hofstede's findings to some degree regarding feminine societies, at least in the case of Finland, and would perhaps also illustrate the effects of late modern influences as previously discussed in the section on favorite movies and movie heroes.

Trying to fit the most-thankful-for responses into Schwartz's typology results in only a partial fit. While the fit for social justice (egalitarianism) and independence

(mastery) are clear, family and friends are concepts that might more logically appear in the embeddeness sector in Schwartz's typology, where social order and family security are located (a dimension where neither Finland nor the United States are located). And at the same time, Hofstede's MAS dimension is more clearly about gender, and thus ultimately about sex, while none of Schwartz's dimensions are explicitly about sex and gender. Making the comparison further problematic, as pointed out in the introduction section, is Furlong and Cartmel's evidence that youth identity creation in today's world is exacerbated by confusing messages from global media, resulting in a "disembedding" process in which values and social behaviors from multiple cultures are mixed (1999: 15). The universalism associated with etic-imposed research, as exampled in cultural psychological research, is increasingly challenged in late modernity, and this notion is supported by the data in the present study.

5.4.7 *Ambition Versus Modesty*

Looking again at Figures 2 and 3 (pages 25, 26), we note the positions of Finland and the United States relative to Schwartz's various cultural level dimension social markers. Most of the social markers appearing in Finland's sector of the typology seem well suited to modesty. The social marker "accept my portion in life" would seem not to facilitate high-ambition. It was noted on page 129 that sports programs in Finnish schools appear to emphasize social values, and competitive aspects of sports do not appear to be emphasized in the Finnish curriculum, although sports programs featuring competitive sports are available outside of school. As well, in the same section it was noted that feminine societies, according Hofstede, minimize the importance of grades, and grades represent a potential area of direct competition between students. Grades and advancement over others are an important part of American students' lives, as evidenced by the following statements made by American participants in the present study:

I do pretty good in school. I'm a strait A student. (81ACM63)

Also I'm in all advanced classes. (16ABF26)

We just got our next year class schedule and I have advanced english, french, advanced social studies, pre-algabra 1, advanced science, and cadet band! (442ACF69)

It was noted on page 129 that Schwartz failed to find a correlation between gender and his cultural level dimensions. This underscores a distinction between Hofstede and Schwartz's theories, where Hofstede emphasizes gender role distinctiveness in societies through his MAS dimension. The results for the Ambition versus Modesty code indicate high ambition for the American girls and lower but still high ambition for the American boys. However, in the case of the Finns, the girls presented few texts coded for high ambition. The Finnish boys, however, were much closer to the American boys in their results, and this may substantiate the view that gender does play an important role in Finnish society in regard to ambition.

Still, the American girls confuse the picture, where their high ambition, reflecting the mastery sector on Schwartz's typology, seems to be offset by their intrinsic motivations that fit best into Schwartz's harmony and egalitarian sectors. Trying to fit all of the intersecting, relational aspects of behavior along a simple polar line of ambition and modesty has proven to be inadequate, and only when taking all of the codes together does a picture emerge about the cultural distinctiveness of Finnish and American societies, as will be seen in section 5.5.

5.4.8 *Competition*

Locating texts specific to competition produced relatively few results. One possible conclusion in the case of the Finns, where there was only one text located for this code, is that competition is not a driving aspect of Finnish life. In the case of the Americans, all ten of the located texts were categorized as masculine, and eight of these were produced by boys. It would seem again, therefore, that Schwartz's schema, which does not make a distinction for gender in his dimensions, seems an ill fit when interpreting the American participants' texts code for competition. Otherwise, when viewing the data from a national group perspective, the data does fit well with the distinctive social markers for mastery and the combined social markers for harmony and egalitarianism, where one would associate the competitive thinking and speaking Americans in with such social markers as independent, successful, capable, ambitious, daring and social recognition. Conversely, the Finns seem well fit, regarding this code, to equality, world at peace, social justice, and accept my portion in life.

5.4.9 *Ego or Relationship Oriented*

Independence, a social marker appearing in Schwartz's mastery sector and among Hostede's social markers for masculinity, illustrates the complexity of American culture, where one is both independent in terms of choosing one's own goals (another social marker in the same sector) and dependent on others, in terms of developing meaningful relationships. This is perhaps compatible with Schwartz's spatial map where the United States, slightly oriented toward autonomy on the autonomy versus embeddedness scale, is located on the affective side of autonomy, indicating an emotional orientation as opposed to an intellectual orientation on the intellectual autonomy side. The concept of ego orientation would seem compatible with independence, as well as social recognition, yet another social marker appearing in the mastery sector. Although the American girls exhibited competitive spirit and high ambition, they scored very high in terms of their strong orientation to others. This seems to fit well the harmony side of the harmony versus mastery scale, yet the United States is located well into the mastery side. As well, the American girls produced the most texts (4) coded for ego orientation, although few members of any of the four groups produced texts that were isolated for this code. *Or i just like hagin with my best friends! My best friends names are; XXX XXX, XXX XXX and XXX XXX. I have a lot more, but i'm not gonna name them all?* (141ACF65)

The American girl quoted above represents the extreme side of relationship orientation evident in the corpus. But interpreting her comments might lead one to believe that she is also "pumping up" her own ego, by bragging about the number of "best" friends that she enjoys.

Hi XXX You're letter is very little, but I don't mind. I don't know what I can write. How are you? XXX (450FBM10)

The Finnish boy quoted above is typical of what I perceive across the corpus to be a Finnish trait of being uncritical of the "other," and may also point to a relationship dynamic that is distinctive of the American girls. The American girls seem both to need relationships and enhance their own egos at the same time, and friends may be one method of ego enhancement. In this respect, and particularly when factoring in the ambition and competition codes, the American girls seem to muddle the assumptions

behind the ego or relationship orientation code. In question is where exactly one would locate relationship orientation on Schwartz's typology. Relationship orientation implies harmony and embeddedness, in terms of the social order that is derived from having good relationships. The American girls exhibit seem to exhibit a harmonious social coping methodology, in spite of their mastery traits of ambition, success and need for social recognition. The other four groups produced few texts associated with this code, and perhaps this serves to further illuminate the distinctiveness of the American girls.

5.4.10 *Gender Discourse Style*

It almost seems straining to find a fit for gender discourse style in Schwartz's schema. Deborah Tannen's research focused on gender differences in discourse in the American population. Hofstede, as mentioned previously, makes no attempt to extend Tannen's result to other cultures, and seems to bring the subject into his discussion simply to provide yet another example of gender differentiation. And again, Schwartz does not bring sex or gender into his discussion of cultural dimensions, other than to dispel any connection between gender and values orientations.

It may be argued that rapport style, versus report style communicating, is tied to relationship orientation, and the American girls' distinctiveness in this regard would be further illustrated by their very strong orientation to rapport style texts. However, the Finnish girls were also very much rapport style oriented as were the Finnish boys, yet neither of these two groups produced significant texts indicating either an ego or relationship orientation. The American boys were the only of the four groups that provided a majority of report style texts.

It may be plausible to place report style communication in the embeddedness sector of Schwartz's typology, where social markers appear for moderation, social order, politeness and self-discipline appear. At the opposite pole one might associate rapport style communication with pleasure, enjoying life and exciting life, especially when considering the frequent use of superlatives on the part of the American girls. But even if we accept these parameters connecting gender discourse style to Schwartz's dimensions, we are still left to attempt to locate the participants in his typology. In this case, the Finnish girls and boys and the American girls would all fall into the autonomy sector and on the affective side, and the American boys would appear in the embeddedness sector, although the embeddedness connection to report style communication represents more of a plausibility than an obvious fit.

5.4.11 *Things or People*

In section 5.2.5 we noted that the results for this code featured heavily citations made by Finns regarding things (and their strong orientation to nature and their environment), and few citations made by all groups regarding people. It was also noted that these missing elements regarding people orientation were likely picked up in other areas of the study. Nonetheless, fitting the premises for the Things or People code (originally based on Hofstede's social markers, see the Methodology section) to Schwartz's cultural typology essentially involves aligning "things" with the harmony dimension and people with the mastery dimension. In the case of the coded texts for Things or People, we again see the Finns strong orientation to the environment and Schwartz's "unity with nature" social marker.

5.5 *Patterns In The Data for Hofstede's Social Markers*

The qualitative nature of the study precludes the sort of statistical data correlation analysis that might be derived, for example, from a study based on a Likert-scale instrument. Even so, a general perception formed when conducting the data analyses: The Finnish girls seemed to consistently produce the most feminine results, according to Hofstede's various social markers for the MAS dimension. Next came the American girls. The Finnish boys seemed to occupy a middle ground between masculine and feminine results, while the American boys seemed be the most masculine of the groups. Therefore, an attempt was made to visualize the relative relationships between each of the four groups' data sets across the entire series of imposed questions and other inquiries. When viewing the results for each set of data, the results for each group were assigned a numerical position on a scale of 1 to 4, with 4 being the most masculine. The scale is not an absolute scale, but rather a relational scale, where each group is ranked according to which group expressed the more masculine or feminine answers, compared to the other three groups. In other words, an attempt was made to determine which of the four groups provided the most masculine data in a given area of inquiry, and then to rank the three other groups in a sliding scale. The reader should particularly note that this ranking is objective and perceptual, and relies on my own interpretation of the data in each area of inquiry. However, the reader is free to return to the results and analyses in each inquiry to assess the ranking order of each group within each inquiry. The results appear in Figure 4, below. It should also be noted that where a particular group

was not included in the analysis for a given inquiry, they do not appear in that category on the chart. As well, in the Equal Share of Work in the Home portion of the figure, three of the groups responded 100% that, ideally, the workload should be shared; therefore only on this question does more than one of the groups occupy the same position on a scale.
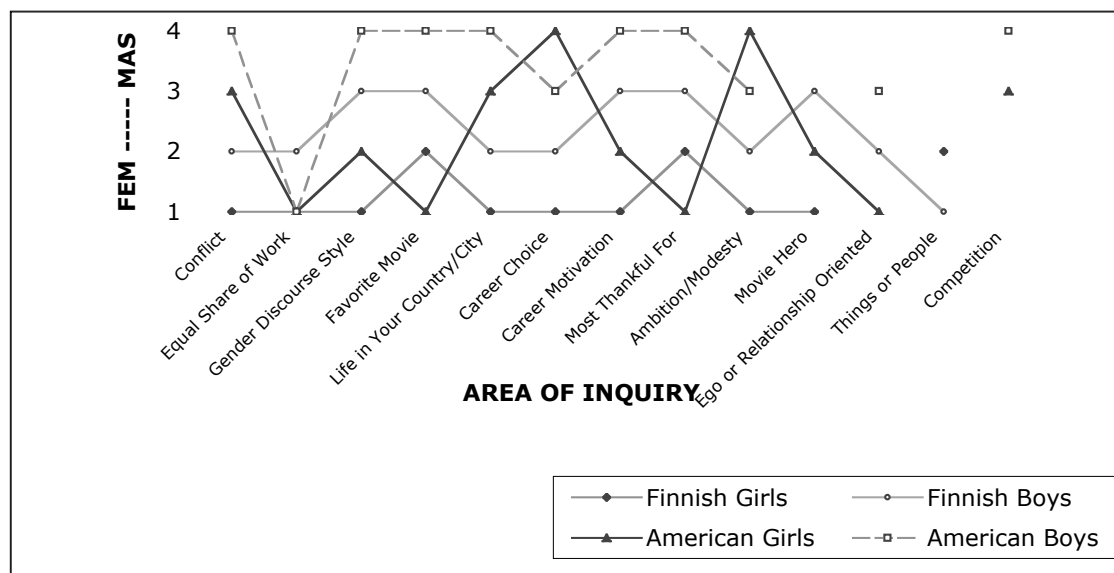

Figure 4. Perceived MAS Across the Data

Several patterns are noted in Figure 4. The American boys are consistently at the high-MAS end of the scale across all inquiries, with the exception of the equal share of work in the home scale, and on the movie hero question where they did not respond in significant enough numbers to include in the analysis. The Finnish girls are consistently at the low-MAS end of the scale, while the Finnish males seem to occupy a middle ground position across all inquiries. As well, the Finnish boys and Finnish girls track across the scales in parallel and in close proximity to each other, seeming to mirror each other, but the boys are also consistently more masculine than the girls. Notable also are the American girls, whose rankings seem to move up and down the scales, sometimes indicating very masculine responses and sometime indicating very feminine responses, while the other three groups each tend to stay at nearly the same level across all of the scales. Hofstede, in the second edition of *Culture's Consequences*, refers to his IBM data when opening his chapter on the MAS dimension, saying that, "In higher-MAS countries, values of men and women in the same jobs differed more than in lower-MAS

countries" (2001: 279)[10]. One might conclude from the data in the present study that the values of the American boys and girls do vary from inquiry to inquiry. Sometimes they are both masculine, and sometimes the girls tend deeply toward the feminine side of the scale. The values of the Finnish boys and girls seem to be close and, as well, seem to remain much the same across the entire spectrum of inquiry. In this regard, Hofstede's summary explanation of the MAS dimension described above fits well the present study, where the American boys and girls differ greatly at times and the Finnish boys and girls are close together.

One could argue then, that the values of the Americans tend to differ along sex, while the Finns' values, in the present inquiries, do not. In this regard Hofstede points out that: "Cultural differences according to gender are statistical rather than absolute. There is an overlap between the values of men and those of women so that any given value may be found among both men and women, only with different frequency" (2001: 288). This places an emphasis on the need to observe and identify patterns across the entire spectrum of inquiry, and this is accomplished, as perhaps might best be expected in a qualitative study, in Figure 4.

---

[10] It should be noted that Hofstede, in his IBM study, only compared men and women in the same jobs in order not to confuse gender roles with occupations (2001: 281).

6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Problems related to the culture of the researcher, and its influence in the research design and interpretation of the data were discussed in section 3.3.3 (page 31). In the Methodology section several questions were raised regarding potential problems related to the study of culture. These questions focused on the use of language to explore culture, typical problems related to cross-cultural research, cultural bias embedded in the research, and cross-cultural meaning validity. In the same section, potential problems regarding the use of English as the working language of the program was discussed. The present section expands on problems related to language and raises some additional potential problems related to the present study.

6.1 *Language*

The in-class social studies program required both cultures to use English as the working language, even though English for these particular Finnish participants is not their native language. Although this study does not specifically set out to investigate language and its use by the studied age group, the implications on the study stemming from one of the cultures having to work in a second language while the other does not are significant, and the data illuminates opportunities for follow-up investigation. As mentioned in the Methodology section, prior to the start of the in-class social studies program the Finnish teachers were asked for their assessment in regard to their students' abilities to participate in English. Both teachers replied that not only would their students keep up in English, but that the Finnish students relished the opportunity to improve their English skills in actual peer-to-peer relationships.

It can easily be argued that is was problematic to establish cross-cultural meaning regarding words, concepts and ideas. This applied not only to the research design, particularly in regard to the imposed questions, but also regarding the interpretation of the Finnish participants' texts. Nonetheless, I accepted this risk in order to proceed with the study. The risk was deemed acceptable due to the narrow primary research objective of identifying culturally oriented themes in the participants' replies to the imposed questions, wherein the essence of the text is more meaningful for the study than how well the texts are composed. An attempt was made to control the foreign language use risks by asking the Finnish teachers to translate the questions verbally to their students, while at the same time being sure not to coach the participants' responses. It seems

rather obvious that a researcher who was fluent in both English and Finnish would be able to design a study that would investigate the two cultures in their own language. However, in the case of this in-class social studies program, and in the context of the previously mentioned master's degree requirement for an interculturally oriented internship program, one of the primary objectives of the Finnish teachers was the improvement of English skills for their students. Thus the objectives of the social studies program were married to the objectives of the present research.

The Finnish Bear team, who studied in an advanced English track, tended to chat more in their texts than did the participants in the Finnish Cat team. While the Finnish Bear team did complete their tasks, they were also anxious to use their English language skills in an expanded dialogue, often talking with their American key-pals about popular culture topics. In comparison, the Finnish Cat team, representing a normal track Finnish sixth-grade class, seemed to focus most of their program time developing their imposed question replies. However, their answers benefited from the additional time and effort, and they proved to be quite responsive and capable.

The American classes did seem to have the larger vocabulary in English, but they seemed less careful about spelling and punctuation than the Finns. This may reflect two distinct factors. First, the Americans' time for the program was very limited, with the students moving from class to class during the school day, whereas the Finnish teachers had more control over their students' time. Occasionally, in their messages the American subjects would state they were short of time. Second, writing under pressure likely means being unable to compose better texts, and, as well, less time for using resources such as dictionaries. Time constraints aside and although the American participants tended to frequently misspell words, there was no difficulty in obtaining meaningful texts from them.

6.2 *Methodological Limitations*

The participants varied in the completeness of their responses to the imposed questions, with some making nuances such as motivation evident while others were not clear or completing lacking. This exposes a weakness in this study as compared to interviews, where the researcher can pursue incomplete or unresponsive answers further. While it might have been conceivable that I could have undertaken the necessary follow-up on particular questions, reality proved more difficult. The timely nature of this particular program, in view of the fact that the agreed commitment was for a limited amount of

class time, made ongoing follow-up impractical. The reality of this study was that the participants were all situated in their dynamic and fast-paced school setting and, particularly in the case of the American participants, were not available at my discretion. Finally, the limited ability for me to create a relationship with the participants was greatly imbalanced. I only enjoyed one direct in-person visit with the American subjects, whereas I was able to visit the Finnish participants frequently because I lived in Finland.

Although the scope of the present study, and its qualitative analysis of almost 500 email texts, may seem large, such studies allow for multiple parallel investigations. A future study of this nature might combine cultural studies, linguistics and educational investigators, each with their respective perspectives and insights, bringing forth even more depth in analysis of such data.

6.3 *Generational and Gender Considerations*

It is also important to note that the age group studied, twelve-year-olds, are much younger than the adults Hofstede surveyed in his study. The questions Hofstede asked in his questionnaires were focused on adult workers' perspectives (2001: 467). Therefore, direct links between the responses of the adult workers in Hofstede's IBM study and the answers provided by the youth in this study should be questioned when making correlations between them. As well, the age difference between the participants and myself is significant. This may complicate the interpretation of the participants' texts in the contexts of their age group, as it relates, for example, to popular culture and modern peer relationships in youth. And finally, the fact that the researcher in this case is a male may have influenced the design of the study and the interpretation of the data, because gender and gender roles are culturally constructed, and thus any lens upon gender must likely be to some degree biased by one's own perception of gender.

6.4 *Sample Size and Cultural Representation*

The large number of email texts resulting from the present study dictated that some level of quantitative analysis was required to interpret the data. Unfortunately, however, the population samples are small and are not representative of either of the two cultures studied. Therefore, the resulting numbers alone do not allow for firm or broad conclusions regarding the two cultures studied. However, this perceived weakness may

be offset by the richness and depth provided by engaging a small and enthusiastic group of participants.

Regarding how representative the four participating classes were of their national cultures, an effort was made to identify and select classes that were typical of their cultures. In the United States, for example, private schools are much more common than in Finland. For the purpose of this study I specifically chose public school classes in United States in order to better match with the normal public schools in Jyväskylä, Finland.

Perhaps it could also be argued that not enough attention was given to the heterogeneity of the samples. It was concluded early on that simply removing those participants who were not American or Finnish or whose parent(s) were not American or Finnish would be sufficient in terms of ensuring a homogeneous sample. As well, because both of the schools that participated in the study represented so-called public, or ordinary schools in their respective regions, any significant variance in social or economic variables *within each nationality* would be minimized. In hindsight, I feel that the American sample is more problematic than the Finnish sample based on the multiculturalism prevalent in the United States compared to the still strongly homogeneous Finnish society. Simply put, there are many more socio-economic factors, such as ethnicity, parental income and parental education, that play into the makeup of American society than nationality alone. Hofstede's data reflects the dominant culture of the U.S. Yet he does not provide information on what the ethnic makeup is of his U.S. sample, and the U.S. may be more multicultural in 2003 that it was in 1970. It may have proven valuable to survey the individuals in each national group in the present study for these socio-economic factors that may influence the gender socialization investigated here.

6.5 *Future Research*

This study sheds light on the MAS dimension, the emic versus etic research design question, youth and national culture, education programs between cultures, and how national culture can be viewed and measured. A further study may target some of the limitations already discussed through a redesign of the current study. Keeping in mind that the emphasis of the present study was limited to probing the nature of the MAS dimension, some new research questions have nonetheless emerged for follow up study. These include:

- How do the participants' views of their partner's culture change over the course of the program?

- How do the participants' views of their own culture change over the course of the program and as a result of the program?

- How could the integration of quantitative methods, such as pre- and post-program surveys, enhance the investigation?

- How can investigators from various fields collaborate in a similar but expanded program in order to investigate culture, linguistics, and pedagogy?

- How can the program be expanded to include more than two cultures? What are the potential barriers to achieving the participation of a variety of globally representative cultures with regard to the socio-economic realties related to global computer and Internet access?

- What methods and materials might be needed to improve the cross-cultural applicability of this type of investigation, and how might cultural influences on the research design and interpretation of the data be minimized? Is it preferable to partner researchers from the participating cultures as a means of limiting biases?

And finally, of particular interest to me, is expanding the cultural artifacts used in the study beyond text, to include the creation of culturally representative graphic elements by the participants such as might result from the use of art, photography and montage, and to observe and measure how participants view and interpret cultural images created in other cultures.

7 CONCLUSIONS

Hofstede's theories stand alone on their own merit and his work still carries significant weight in the research on culture. Through the years Hofstede's dimensions have been extensively elaborated and will continue to be carefully reviewed by students of culture. Schwartz's recent work on cultural-level taxonomy extends the basis provided by Hofstede and others and provides an evolutionary development regarding how national cultures may be viewed. For those who embrace culture as a complex and reflexive process, Schwartz offers a dynamic, systematic view of national culture, one that results in the visualization of relativity regarding different values orientations held across groups. The reader should keep in mind that the focus of this thesis was designed principally to elaborate Hofstede's MAS dimension; Schwartz's theory was incorporated into the study in order to further a critical perspective gained through investigating Hofstede's research. Schwartz's work also clearly presents an excellent opportunity for further qualitative investigation of culture.

The masculinity versus femininity dimension does seem to be present in the data collected for this study, even though the age group studied is much younger than the adults Hofstede surveyed in his IBM study. However, because the MAS dimension stands alone in Hofstede's schema compared to his other dimensions, it provides an incomplete and narrow picture of culture in the case of the two cultures participating in the present study. The reader will recall that the United States and Finland were fairly close to each other on Hofstede's additional three original dimension indexes. Finland does not appear on Hofstede's fifth dimension index, long-term orientation (Hofstede & Bond, 1988), so it is not factored into the present comparative study. It is helpful when studying the MAS dimension to consider together all five of Hofstede's dimensions, yet somehow the orthogonal nature of each dimension, when viewed together, may not yield a cogent concept of culture as a whole because each dimension stands alone. Perhaps the point can be made that one should not attempt to force a systemic relational visualization of culture by attempting to create a relative typology based on Hofstede's five dimensions, because although correlations may be seen between the dimensions, each stands alone. Yet for some, the visualization of culture as a system is a natural and logical construction, even if the precise nature of its components is, as suggested by Yon (2000), elusive.

The passage of time, leading up to late modern contexts, may well have had an impact on the MAS dimension in the two cultures presently studied since the dimension

was first described by Hofstede in 1980. Based on his original findings, Hofstede himself likely would have predicted the distinctiveness of the sexes in the American participants in their replies to the imposed questions. Yet he may have been surprised in the case of the Finnish male participants' tendency to occupy the middle ground between masculinity and femininity in their responses. Unfortunately, there appear to be no studies of youth from the late 1960s and early 1970s, the era of Hofstede's original data collection, that are similar to the present study from which we might be able to compare with the current participants' responses. We are left to speculate regarding what the results of such a study would have been, and thus we are also left to speculate regarding changes over time (and likewise if there actually was a change) in the culture of the Finnish boys. American youth, including those who participated in the present study, are exposed primarily to their own culture, whereas the Finns in this study are actively exposed to other cultures through local, regional and European contacts, and through the process of globalization, and particularly through the media. American popular culture clearly accounts for a large part of the Finnish exposure and consumption of other cultures. It is clear from the sections in this study pertaining to favorite movies and movie heroes that dominant American culture, as represented by Hollywood, is likely an influence on the development of youth culture in Finland. No similar strong influence can be found in reverse, where the American youth are impacted by the culture of Finland.

This perceived "imbalance of cultural trade" might be perceived in two distinct ways, either in a negative or positive light. First, one might infer that a dominant American or "Anglo" culture, if it does in fact affect the development of culture in Finnish youth, could impinge upon many socially constructed Finnish values. On the other hand, several Finns that I have spoken with regarding movies and movie heroes have a different perspective on this issue. In response to the effects of so much Hollywood on Finnish youth, they frequently spoke in terms of the local influences that serve to filter values imposed from beyond the cultural borders of Finland. One notable example provided me by Finns pertains to the translation of English dialogue in films into written subtitles, where the translator seemingly has the power to influence the values embedded in the film through his or her recoding the gist of the English dialogue into Finnish. I have sometimes perceived in these comments made by Finns as their resistance to the possibility of change in their culture from outside influences, or at least as a sort of implicit acknowledgement that a phenomenon of change is underway that indeed concerns them.

The other possible perceptual track regarding a perceived cultural "trade imbalance" has to do with how outside influences may coexist with Finnish culture, and while doing so do not diminish embedded Finnish values. Certainly this scenario finds support in the present study, where the Finnish girls are overwhelmingly feminine across their imposed question responses, while at the same time identifying strongly with Hollywood movies. Yet again, the Finnish boys, while retaining an overall feminine slant in their responses, at the same time provide enough clues to lead one to speculate about whether the Finnish boys are undergoing cultural changes, compared to the Finnish girls. Where this will all go is debatable, but there are considerable studies pointing to a connection between various media and changing values in youth (see Anderson & Dill, 2000; Kraut, Lundmark, Patterson, Kiesler, Mukopadhyay, & Scherlis, 1999). Surely Finland is not immune to this unfortunate aspect of today's global media world.

Viewing the data gathered in the present study through the lens of Shalom Schwartz offers clues regarding the specific cultures studied and, as well, regarding how cultural dimensions may be perceived in a relative manner in contrast to Hofstede's orthogonal schema. Cultural-level dimensions seem more "natural" when they are not represented as being mutually independent, as in the case of Hofstede's dimensions, but rather as being interdependent, as in the case of Schwartz's relative typology of culture. Regardless of how one interprets shared values, the universally applied assumptions regarding any cultural-level value, associated with problems of concern to every culture, may seem an ill fit when applied to any given culture. For example, in the case of the "most thankful for" question, both the American and Finnish girls' answers cited family and friends as significant to them, which might seem to place these answers in the embeddedness sector in Schwartz's typology, along with the social markers for family security and social order. Yet Finnish culture is positioned in Schwartz's findings as being solidly in the harmony sector, while American culture is solidly in the mastery sector.

Cultural mapping systems should not be viewed in terms of being the primary informant in any investigation of culture, and resulting taxonomies should provide more of a general guide than an explicit map. And skepticism, in a healthy dose, should be applied to every cultural theory, as each theory should be examined in the context of a full range of theorists and methodologies. This is due partly to the limitations of any given study, but also it seems due to rapidly changing global contexts.

For the above reason, I conclude that, while the participants in this study do seem

to reflect shared aspects of their national culture, the processes associated with the development of individual and cultural-level identity seem to be constantly in flux and particularly influenced by outside (the national border) influences. Employing a qualitative approach seems well suited for the task of measuring modern influences, such as the media and emerging communication technologies. To this end, quantitative approaches provide the generalized guidance through which qualitative investigators may navigate their way to deeper understanding of cultures. In some respects, as Jackson & Niblo (2003: 18) seem to advocate and the present study supports, conducting quantitative research in parallel or in tandem with qualitative methods would result in a symbiotic, mutually dependent process, and a clearer result.

Perhaps the single most significant moment that occurred during this study resulted when I asked some of the Finnish participants what they learned from their participation in the in-class social studies program. When I originally designed the in-class program, I simply presumed that the Finns would learn about the Americans, and vice versa. But at the end of the program, one of the Finnish participants stated that, through the social studies program, she learned what it meant to be a Finn, and quickly this sentiment was confirmed by others in her class who acknowledged that the same thing happened to them. This illustrated for me that one cannot truly know him- or herself without the contexts that derive from contact with others, and one cannot be fully aware of his or her native culture without direct, interactive contact with other cultures. Agar similarly points out that learning results from cultural contact through interculturally situated conversation: "Culture is not what some group has; it's what happens to you when you encounter differences" (1994: 22). In order to advance simultaneously learning about other cultures and our own, I advocate the continued development of cross- and intercultural communication programs in curricula at all levels of education.

The present study set out to explore Hofstede's MAS dimension in Finnish and American youth, using Schwartz's theory as a critical perspective. It also set out to ascertain the degree to which the studied youth reflected their national culture. The investigation proved to be quite challenging, perhaps because of the numerous and wide ranging social markers Hofstede uses to elaborate the dimension. Schwartz's harmony versus master dimension does in some ways seem to mirror the MAS dimension, but more important in Schwartz's schema is the overarching relative typology that knits culture into a more tangible visualization, where each dimension not only has its polar attribute but is also intimately threaded in relative patterns to other dimensions. While

Hofstede's five current dimensions each stands alone, one naturally does not perceive single, stand-alone dimensions when contemplating something as complex as group culture.

Without regard to either Hofstede's or Schwartz's theories, it is clear that a pattern emerged from the data in which the Finnish girls, all the way through the American boys, responded in consistent and distinctive ways to the imposed questions and the supplemental inquiries. While it is important to factor the cultural values embedded in the research design and interpretation by this researcher, the fact that such a consistent pattern is evident across many of the imposed questions implies that the youth are, indeed, reflecting a pattern of response that must correlate with the values they are being exposed to. Such exposure fits well the notion that culture is learned through contact with teachers, parents, peers and the media. In this regard, it is clear that the studied youth do reflect aspects of national culture in the present study.

The present study also set out to elaborate the two theorists' quantitative studies using qualitative methods. But, it would also seem that Jackson and Niblo's (2003) argument (see page 30 of this report) for future quantitative cross-cultural studies to feature a 'parallel-emic' design merits support. In the case of any large scale cross-cultural quantitative study, as would be required in order to obtain cultural dimensions across as many populations as possible, adding a parallel qualitative aspect would also add a great deal of complexity and time to the investigation. Nevertheless, it is clear from the limited present qualitative study that such an approach would be rewarding to social science.

Perhaps a primary conclusion of this investigation is that the conceptualization of culture and subsequent comparative analyses of any given cultures is equivocal. The main objectives of a student of culture would seem to be, therefore, to first develop an awareness and appreciation of the complexity of culture by seeking contact with a wide range of cultures, and in the process learn more about their own and others' cultural identities, and finally then to seek out the possibilities presented by a multicultural world while furthering their intercultural communication competence.

REFERENCES

Anderson, C. & Dill, K. (2000) Video games and aggressive thoughts, feelings, and behavior in the laboratory and in life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 78, 772-779.

Agar, M. (1994) *Language Shock: Understanding the Culture of Conversation*. New York: William Morrow.

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Best, D., & Williams, J. (1998) Masculinity and femininity and the self and ideal self descriptions of university students in 14 countries. In G. Hofstede & Associates *Masculinity and Femininity: The Taboo Dimension of National Cultures* (106-116). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Beutel, A. & Marini, M. (1995) Gender and values. *American Sociological Review* 60, 436-48.

Boas, F. (1963) *The Mind of Primitive Man*. New York: Macmillan.

Buss, D. (1995) Psychological sex differences: Origins through sexual selection. *American Psychologist* 50 (164-68).

Carbaugh, D. (1995) "Are Americans really superficial?": Notes on Finnish and American cultures in linguistic action. In Salo-Lee, L. (Ed.) *Kieli ja kulttuuri oppimisessa ja opettamisessa*. University of Jyväskylä: Viestinlätieteiden laitoksen julkaisuja 12, 53-60.

Carey, J. (1989) *Communication as Culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Furlong, A. & Cartmel, F. (1999) Changing contexts of youth: individualization, risk and transition. In Puuronen, V. (Ed.) *Youth In Everyday Life Contexts*. University of Joensuu.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hall, E. (1976) *Beyond Culture*. New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday.

Hampden-Turner, C., and Trompenaars, F. (1997) Response to Geert Hofstede, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 21, 149-159.

Hart, W. (1999) Interdisciplinary influences in the study of intercultural relations: A citation analysis of the International Journal of Intercultural Relations. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 23, (4), 575-589.

Hartsock, N. (1987) The feminist standpoint. In Harding, S. (Ed.) *Feminism and Methodology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Helmreich, R. & Merritt, A. (1998) *Culture at Work in Aviation and Medicine: National Organizational and Professional Influences*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.

Hofstede, G. (1980) *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Hofstede, G. (1984) National cultures and corporate cultures." In Samovar, L. & Porter, R. (Eds.), *Communication Between Cultures*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Hofstede, G. (1986), Cultural differences in teaching and learning. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 10, 301-320.

Hofstede, G. (2001) *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*, second edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hofstede, G., & Bond, M.H. (1988) The Confucius Connection: From Cultural Roots to Economic Growth. *Organizational Dynamics*, 16 (4), 4-21.

Hoppe, M. (1998) Validating the masculinity/femininity dimension on elites from 19 countries. In G. Hofstede & Associates, *Masculinity and femininity: The Taboo dimension of national cultures* (pp. 29-43). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Huntington, S.P. (1993) The Clash of Civilizations. *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 3.

Inglehart, R., & Baker, W. (2000) Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review* 65.

Inglehart, R., Basañez. M., & Moreno, A. (1998) *Human values and beliefs: A cross-cultural change in 43 societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Inkeles, A. (1997) *National Character: A Psycho-Social Perspective*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishing.

Inkeles, A., & Levison, D. J. (1969) National character: The study of modal personality and sociocultural systems. In Kindzey, G. & Aronson, E. (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* 23, 418-506: New York: McGraw-Hill.

Jackson, M, & Niblo, D. (2003) The role of qualitative methodology in cross-cultural research. *Qualitative Research Journal* 1, 18-27.

Kim, Y. (2001) *Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kluckhohn, C. (1951) The Study of Culture. In Lerner, D. & Lasswell, H. (Eds.), *The Policy Sciences* 86-101. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kluckhohn, F., & Stodtbeck, F. (1961) *Variations in Value Orientations*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Kraut, R., Lundmark, V., Patterson, M., Kiesler, S., Mukopadhyay, T. & Scherlis, W. (1999) Internet paradox: A social technology that reduces social involvement and psychological well-being. *American Psychologist* 53, 1017-1031.

Lambert, W. and Klineberg, O. (1967) Children's views of foreign peoples: A cross-national study. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts.

LeSourd, S. (1992) A review of methodologies for cross-cultural education. *Social Studies* 83, 30-35.

Leung, K., Bond, M., Carment, D., Krishnan, L., Leibrand, W. (1990) Effects of cultural femininity on preferences for methods of conflict processing: A cross-cultural study. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *26*, 373-388. Correction published: (1991), *27*, 201-202.

Leung, K., Au, Y., Fernandez-Dols, J. & Iwawaki, S. (1992) Preference for methods of conflict processing in two collectivist cultures. *International Journal of Psychology*, *24*, 703-719.

Luukka, M., Hujanen J., Lokka, A., Modinos, T., Pietikäinen, S. & Suoninen, A. (2001) *Mediat nuorten arjessa*; *13-19-vuotiaiden norten mediakäytöt vuosituhannen taitteessa*. Jyväskylä, Finland: Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus.

Mead, M. (1962) *Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

Prince-Gibson, E., & Schwartz, S. (1998) Value priorities and gender. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 61, 49-67.

Rokeach, M. (1972) *Beliefs, Attitudes and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change*. San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rokeach, M. (1973) *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: Free Press.

Russo, K., Bereano, P., Berez, R., Dupris, J., Ensign, T., Hills, M., Legters, L., Lyden, F., Rabkin, L, Watson, J., Zubalik, S. (1985) *Values Project Northwest: Xwlemi*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior.

Schumacher, E. (1973) *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*. London: Sphere.

Schwartz, S. (1992) "Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical test in 20 countries." In Zanna, M. (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 25. New York: Academic Press.

Schwartz, S. (1994) Are there universal aspects in the content and structure of values? *Journal of Social Issues* 50, 19-45.

Schwartz, S. (1999) Cultural value differences: Some implications for work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 48, 23-47.

Schwartz, S. (2004, in press) Mapping and interpreting cultural differences around the world. In Vinken, H., Soeters, J. & Ester, P. (Eds.), *Comparing Cultures, Dimensions of Culture in a Comparative Perspective* (43-73). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Schwartz, S., Bilsky, W. (1987) Toward a universal psychological structure of human values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 53, 550-562.

Schwartz, S., Bilsky, W. (1990) Toward a theory of the universal content and structure of values: Extensions and cross-cultural replications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 878-891.

Schwartz, S., Ros, M. (1995) Values in the West: A theoretical and empirical challenge to the Individualism-Collectivism cultural dimension. *World Psychology* 1, 99-122.

Schwartz, S., Sagie, G. (2000) Value consensus and importance: A cross-national study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 31 (4)

Scollon, R., & Scollon S. (2001) *Intercultural Communication,* second edition. Oxford: Blackwell.

Shi-xu. (2002) The discourse of cultural psychology: Transforming the discourses of self, memory, narrative and culture. *Culture & Psychology* 8, 65-78. Sage.

Smith, P., & Schwartz, S. (1997) Values. In Berry, J., Segall, M. & Kagitcibasi, C. (Eds.), *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3, second edition, (77-118). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Stone L. (1986) International and multicultural education. In Atwood, V. (Ed.) *Elementary Social Studies: Research as a Guide to Practice*, 34-54. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies.

Tannen, D. (1992) *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation.* London: Virago.

Vunderink, M. & Hofstede, G. (1998) Femininity shock: American students in the Netherlands. In G. Hofstede & Associates, *Masculinity and Femininity: The Taboo Dimension of National Cultures* (139-151). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Wetherell, M., Taylor, S., Yates, S. (2001a) *Discourse as Data*. London: Sage.

Wetherell, M., Taylor, S., Yates, S. (2001b) *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader.* London: Sage.

Winthrop, R. (1991) *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology*. NY: Greenwood Press.

INTERNET REFERENCES

Astala, E. *Contempory Finnish Cinema*. [On the Web]
http://virtual.finland.fi/finfo/english/cinema.html (9 May 2004)

Colorado State University, *Uses of Content Analysis*. [On the Web]
http://writing.colostate.edu/references/research/content/com2a2.cfm (14 April 2004)

Florence R. Kluckhohn Center for the Study of Values, *Foundations of the Kluckhohn Model*. [On the Web]
http://www.valuescenter.org/method.html (15 July 2003)

Handwerk, B., "*Lord of the Rings" Inspired by an Ancient Epic* [On the Web]
http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2001/12/1219_tolkienroots.html (12 May 2004)

Internet Movie Database. [On the Web]
http://www.imdb.com/ (1 November 2003)

Martens, B., *Content Analysis: The Method That Made A Fool Of Carnegie Mellon* University of Syracuse [On the Web]
http://web.syr.edu/~bvmarten/content.html (14 February 2004)

Ministry of Education, *Public Sport Administration* Finnish National Government [On the Web]
http://www.minedu.fi/minedu/sports/sport_administration.html (19 August 2004)

Newnham, L., Panterbre, J. and Spark, M. *Content and Discourse Analysis* [On the Web] http://www.globalresearchbusiness.com/methods/contdisc.php (12 November 2003)

Transparency International, *Global Corruption Report 2004* [On the Web]
http://www.globalcorruptionreport.org/ (2 September 2004)

APPENDIX

Due to the large number of email texts (493) comprising the corpus in the present study, I decided to place portions of the electronic database on a CD-ROM disk. The reader may import the data into their own software program for their own analysis, and is free to use the data for academic purposes only. Any use or reference to this data in future research should include a reference citation to this report. An attempt has been made to remove the participants' real names and references made by the participants to other individuals. The CD-ROM disk can be located on the back inside cover of this report. If the report is being accessed via a separate CD-ROM, the data file can be located as a separate file, titled *Crawford Thesis Data.txt*, on the CD-ROM.

The data has been exported from a database program in tab-delimited text format. In order to import the data into a word-processing or database computer program, the reader must import the records using each tab-delimited field in the following order:

Field	Description
Message Reference Code	The message reference code is a unique reference number for each email record, and includes the specific email number, the nationality of the sender, the team (Bear or Cat), the sex of the sender, and the unique participant number assigned to each participant (see page 48 for a more detailed explanation for this field).
Email Number	A unique email number assigned sequentially to each email text, in the order that it was posted.
Email Date	Date of communication.
Participant Number	A unique number provided to each participant in the program.
Nationality of Sender	Sender's country of origin.
Message Text	The complete message text for each record.