

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

"Differences in Non-Verbal Behavior in Negotiations Comparing Two Towns in Argentina"

verfasst von / submitted by Vanessa Hofbauer, BSc

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science (MSc)

Wien, 2020 / Vienna 2020

Studienkennzahl It. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:

Studienrichtung It. Studienblatt / degree programme as it appears on the student record sheet:

Betreut von / Supervisor:

UA 066 914

Master Internationale Betriebswirtschaft

Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Bernhard Kittel

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Abstracts

English

Due to globalization, communication between members of different cultures is becoming progressively more important. To find out whether differences in nonverbal communication can be observed between descendants of Spanish/Italian and German/Swiss background in Argentina and to identify the nature of these differences, an experiment has been conducted. In total ten negotiations were recorded in two towns to compare nonverbal behavior. The number of gestures, facial expressions and interruptions as well as the time a subject looked at the other subject during the negotiation were compared to discover differences in nonverbal communication. The values derived from the experiment were compared by calculating the mean and the relative standard deviation. It was also investigated whether there are correlations between factors of nonverbal communication within a town by calculating the Pearson Coefficient. Due to the non-coherent values derived from the experiment, no conclusion could be formulated regarding the differences between and within the two examined towns.

Deutsch

Aufgrund der Globalisierung wird Kommunikation zwischen den Mitgliedern verschiedener Kulturen immer wichtiger. Um herauszufinden, ob es Unterschiede in der nonverbalen Nachfahren Kommunikation zwischen von SpanierInnen/ItalienerInnen Deutschen/Schweizern gibt und wie sich diese Unterschiede äußern, wurde ein Experiment durchgeführt. Es wurden insgesamt zehn Verhandlungen in zwei verschiedenen Städten in Argentinien gefilmt, um die nonverbale Kommunikation zu vergleichen. Die Anzahl der Unterbrechungen und die Verwendung von Mimik und Gestik wurden gezählt sowie die insgesamte Dauer, welche die Testperson die andere Person während der Verhandlung angesehen hat, wurde gemessen und verglichen, um Unterschiede in der nonverbalen Kommunikation festzustellen. Die Werte, die anhand des Experiments erhoben wurden, wurden durch die Berechnung des Mittelwerts und der relativen Standardabweichung verglichen. Außerdem wurde mit Hilfe des Pearson-Koeffizienten untersucht, ob es Korrelationen zwischen einzelnen Faktoren der nonverbalen Kommunikation innerhalb der Städte gibt. Aufgrund der nicht kohärenten Werte, welche das Experiment geliefert hat, konnte keine Schlussfolgerung bezüglich der Unterschiede zwischen den Städten und innerhalb der Städte getroffen werden.

1 Introduction

Globalization and internationalization are omnipresent terms in today's economy, politics and also everyday life. While internationalization stands for being open to other cultures and different opinions and is therefore in many cases viewed as something "good", globalization has a negative connotation of merely economic benefit by exploiting less developed countries to achieve greater economic growth but in this way causing or at least promoting social injustice (Brandenburg & De Wit, 2011).

But what does globalization mean and what consequences are implicated by this ubiquitous term?

"Globalization is the close integration of countries and peoples of the world." (Peng, 2014) It is the interconnecting integration of economic, political, cultural and social environment (Jackson, 2008). This integration of the world population is provoked by the fact that communication and transportation have tremendously decreased in terms of costs. Globalization is also facilitated through the weakening of artificial barriers which allows an easier flow of goods, capital, knowledge and even people. As mentioned above, this can have both positive and negative impacts on the peoples of the world (Stiglitz, 2002).

Disregarding the evaluation whether globalization is good or bad, it does have a big impact on human interaction. It is not always obvious what other people think or do and this needs to be considered, especially in transcultural business negotiations. It is necessary to be aware of these culture specific differences and to consciously consider this divergence in behavior and thinking when in the situation of any cross-national interaction, conversation or even a professional business negotiation (Hall & Hall, 1990).

To further go into the importance of culture in the aspect of human behavior a definition of the word culture is needed. One of the world's most important and influential cross-cultural experts is Geert Hofstede (Peng, 2014). Hofstede defines the word "culture" as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another. Culture in this sense is a system of collectively held values" (Hofstede G. , 1991).

Hofstede defined six dimensions of culture which are: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation and indulgence (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010; Hofstede G., 1991). These six dimensions will be further examined in the following chapters.

Cultural differences affect the behavior of people of different cultural areas. Not only do they mostly speak different languages, they also show different nonverbal behavior (Burgoon, Guerrero, & Floyd, 2016).

This thesis discusses the differences of nonverbal behavior comparing two different towns, in distinct provinces in Argentina, in an experiment. The following questions will be thoroughly investigated and attempted to be answered:

Does nonverbal behavior differ in two regions of the same country, with the only difference being the origin of the ancestors of the people living there?

If so, how does nonverbal behavior differ in these two regions with different ancestral background?

The aim of this thesis is to find and define the differences in nonverbal behavior of Argentines with German/Swiss descent and Argentines with Italian/Spanish descent. To do so, first relevant definitions and theory regarding different aspects of nonverbal behavior will be presented. Then, the two towns will be compared taking into account Hofstede's cultural dimensions with regards to the descent of the people in the investigated towns. Thus, a hypothesis will be derived which will later be either supported or refuted by means of the conducted experiment.

In the following section (2.1) of this thesis, the meaning of communication and the impact of communication will be elaborated. Different types of nonverbal communication will be categorized and defined. Later the two towns investigated in this thesis will be introduced and their ancestral background will be presented. Following the ancestral background of the towns, Hofstede's six dimensions will be analyzed in order to show whether differences in the examined towns can be hypothesized.

Once differences and similarities between the two towns have been illustrated, the cultural background of the inhabitants of the towns will be classified into high and low context culture according to Hall. The meaning of high and low context cultures will be explained and the influence of this categorization will be depicted in connection with the two chosen towns for this study. After clarifying the theoretical part, a hypothesis will be derived.

In section 3, the method chosen for the experiment conducted in this thesis will be presented and the execution and the setting of said experiment will thoroughly be discussed.

In the subsequent section of this thesis, the results derived from the experiment will be closely examined and the differences and similarities will be illustrated by presenting the outcome of the experiment.

After analyzing the results, a summary will shortly outline the findings of the experiment conducted in this thesis. After summarizing the results, a conclusion will comprise difficulties that arose during the execution of the experiment or the analysis and ideas and suggestions for future investigations will be expressed.

2 Theory

2.1 Communication

The word communication derives from the Latin word "communicare" and translates to "to share" or "to be in a relation with" (Cobley, 2008). Communication means that someone communicates something to someone else (Knapp, 2013). This includes all forms of interactions between two or more people, namely between sender and receiver of a message (Ellgring, 2010). But not every interaction is necessarily a form of communication. The crucial factor that is essential to indicate communication is the intention of transmitting something. In communication there is always a constant goal, the method of transmission of a message, which is a crucial requirement to achieve the variable goal, which refers to communicate a certain message. But a variable goal is not always of main interest. Sometimes the goal is to make someone do something, or sometimes, in the case of small talk for example, the main goal is simply to communicate without a certain intention (Burkart, 2019).

Watzlawick notes that "[i]t is not possible to not communicate." (Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 2011). This is the case when the word communication is used synonymously with the word behavior. His claim indicates that every aspect of behavior between two or more people is automatically an act of communication. Following his definition of communication, not saying anything or even ignoring the conversational partner is a form of communication. Silence, thus, also has the power of transmitting a message. It can show disinterest, it may indicate that one is thinking about what to say, that they do not know what to say or it can simply show that the conversational partner does not want to converse (Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 2011).

Communication assumes that the conversational partners share the same knowledge about the significance of used speech and symbols during the act of information exchange. To enable a conversation, it is necessary to assume that both partners understand and also use the words or symbols in the same way as oneself. Speaking different languages, for example, can complicate the flow of conversation enormously (Stöber, 2011).

Spoken language is not necessarily the only means of communication. People also communicate through writing, via notes, letters, emails, social media, through drawings, phone calls, or, as already noted, without words at all. Communicating through gestures or facial expressions alone is quite difficult and requires experience and knowledge about the conversational partner. But these gestures and facial expressions are of great importance in face to face conversations. They can aid to facilitate understanding of spoken words and they can also give a different meaning to spoken words or stress or emphasize certain spoken words which solely with speech would not be possible. Therefore, in literature, communication is classified into verbal and nonverbal elements (Burgoon, Guerrero, & Floyd, 2016; Ellgring, 2010).

"The power of communication between the members of the same tribe by means of language has been of paramount importance in the development of men; and the force of language is much aided by the expressive movements of the face and the body. We perceive this at once when we converse on an important subject with any person whose face is concealed." (Darwin, 1872) Darwin already stated this in a book published in 1872 in Great Britain. Since then many studies have been conducted to investigate and analyze nonverbal communication or behavior (Darwin & Ekman, 1998). Although numerous researches were carried out concerning this topic, it is still challenging to properly analyze and decode nonverbal communication. This is due to the fact that nonverbal behavior not only differs from one culture to another, but it also differs from one individual to another individual (Ellgring, 2010; Burgoon, Guerrero, & Floyd, 2016).

Nonetheless, acquiring knowledge about differences in nonverbal behavior is essential for several reasons. As mentioned before, communication can be divided into verbal and nonverbal communication. Nonverbal communication, further, can be divided into vocal and nonvocal communication. The vocal aspect of communication represents auditive parts. This includes factors related to intonation, volume, the voice frequency, the speed of voice during a conversation, interruptions by conversational partners and also pauses made during speech (Burgoon, Guerrero, & Floyd, 2016).

The nonvocal aspects can further be divided into static and dynamic elements. Static, nonvocal, nonverbal elements of the conversation include external factors such as body structure, face structure and skin color. Whereas dynamic elements include facial expression, gesture, eye contact, body movement, posture, orientation and distance to the conversational partner (Burgoon, Guerrero, & Floyd, 2016). This is visualized in Figure 1 below.

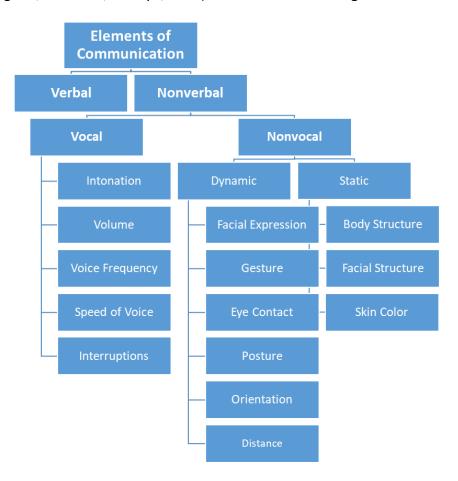


Figure 1: Elements of Communication, Compare: (Burgoon, Guerrero, & Floyd, 2016)

There are also other elements of nonverbal communication that are static but can be changed according to the situation. These elements are the choice of clothing, the choice of hairstyle and also the state of the external environment in which the conversation takes place. An example would be the kind of clothes one wears to a job interview. Dressing adequately shows your personal motivation without you using any words. The same applies to the environment. A CEO's desk, tidied up to perfection, conveys that they have everything under control which is conceived positively. Whereas a messy studio of an artist is not conceived as something bad, but rather as a sign of creativity (Ellgring, 2010). This thesis, however, will only focus on vocal and mostly nonvocal element of the conversation. These aspects will be explained in more detail below.

Before reflecting on how nonverbal communication can be used to express oneself it is important to note that nonverbal behavior is a means to expressing one's feelings, one's mood or emotional state (Green, 2007). These emotions can be shown intentionally but also unintentionally. Studies have discovered that emotions such as happiness, sadness, fear, anger, interest, surprise and disgust are similar in all cultures. This would mean that showing such emotions nonverbally is inherent. This claim has already been tested with blind born children to avoid them having been influenced by their environment. It was also tested with subjects from various cultures (Ekman, 1983). But studies have also shown that children need to learn how to express certain feelings intentionally. Drastic improvements in children's intentionally showing certain feelings via facial expressions were mostly observed between the ages of five to nine (Paul Ekman, 1980).

2.1.1 Vocal elements of nonverbal communication

The vocal elements of nonverbal communication are the elements that can be heard rather than seen. These are, as mentioned, intonation, volume in which is spoken, the voice frequency and the speed of voice during a conversation and also pauses and interruptions made during speech. It would go into too much detail to elaborate on all sub categories of vocal elements and since it is challenging to measure intonation, volume, voice frequency and speed of speech, this study is going to focus on pauses and interruptions by the conversational partners (Burgoon, Guerrero, & Floyd, 2016; Niemeier, 1997). Interruptions are also mentioned by Hall (1990) as a difference noticeable between different cultures and are therefore chosen to be considered. These differences are shown in Figure 8 in section 2.4.

2.1.1.1 Interruptions

The foundation of a conversation or negotiation is that conversational partners take turns. Otherwise it would be a monologue or a speech but not a conversation. This turn taking is expected to happen consensually or else this is considered an interruption of the conversational partner. There are different types of interruptions like changing the subject, showing disagreement or correcting the conversational partner, clarifying a situation or just showing agreement. Some forms of interruption are perceived more negatively than others (Gnisci, Graziano, Sergi, & Pace, 2018).

2.1.1.2 Intonation

Intonation is explained briefly since it is an essential part of nonverbal vocal communication. This element is achieved by raising or lowering the voice. It is a very important and crucial aspect of any conversation because that is how conversational partners can indicate whether they are asking a question or expressing a statement. Intonation gives the possibility to indicate special importance to a certain part of the spoken words. Through intonation it is also possible to modify the content or to emphasize or stress a point (Ellgring, 2010).

2.1.2 Nonvocal elements of nonverbal communication

Nonvocal expressions are any kind of movements of the body during a conversation and can, unlike the vocal parts, rather be seen than heard (Burgoon, Guerrero, & Floyd, 2016). In the following, the different types of nonvocal components of nonverbal communication will be defined.

2.1.2.1 Facial Expressions

Facial expressions are all expressions visible in the face of a person during a conversation. As stated by Ekman and Friesen (1969), most facial expressions are affect display. Facial expressions can be made unconsciously but they can also be shown on purpose. They can also be altered to intensify or neutralize a certain emotion (Ekman & Friesen, 1969). Facial expressions are the most observed part during a conversation. They are also a way of detecting if someone is telling a lie. It has been shown that expressions of emotions are more symmetrical when they are genuine as opposed to posed facial expressions (Hager, 1982). Niemeier (1997) states in a study that members of masculine cultures as defined by Hofstede (see section 2.3.3) are expected to show less emotion and therefore fewer facial expressions than members of more feminine cultures (Niemeier, 1997).

2.1.2.2 Gestures

Gestures are movements made during a conversation with parts of the body, in negotiations mostly with one's hands and head. They can be made consciously or unconsciously and have different functions. Ekman and Friesen (1969) categorized nonverbal behavior, in particular gestures, into five groups: emblems, illustrators, affect displays, regulators and adaptors.

"Emblems are those nonverbal acts which have a direct nonverbal translation, or dictionary definition, usually consisting of a word or two, or perhaps a phrase." (Ekman & Friesen, 1969) These used emblems are usually common knowledge within a group or culture and therefore are universal knowledge within the culture. Emblems are consciously used in most cases. They are most commonly used in places where verbal communication is difficult due to noise, distance or other barriers (Ekman & Friesen, 1969).

Illustrators occur with speech and are directly correlated with spoken words. "Illustrators can repeat, substitute, contradict or augment the information provided verbally." (Ekman & Friesen, 1969) This group of nonverbal behavior is learned by children through imitation of people in their environment and therefore differences are noticeable between members of different cultural groups (Ekman & Friesen, 1969).

Affect display is the third group. Affect display is mostly shown by facial expressions. These include expression of anger, disgust, sadness, fear, happiness, surprise and interest (Ekman & Friesen, 1969). Affect display, as mentioned above, has been tested by Ekman to be inherent (Ekman, 1983). Affect display is not always volitional. Therefore, four display rules have been identified. These are de-intensifying the affect display, over-intensifying, looking neutral or affectless and masking a certain affect to make it seem like a completely other affect is shown. It has also been shown that usually more than one affect is visible at a time (Ekman & Friesen, 1969).

Regulators are the next category of nonverbal behavior classified by Ekman and Friesen (1969). "These are acts which maintain and regulate the back-and-forth nature of speaking and listening between two or more interactants. They tell the speaker to continue, repeat, elaborate, hurry up, become more interesting, less salacious, give the other a chance to talk etc. They can tell the listener to pay special attention, to wait just a minute more, to talk, etc." (Ekman & Friesen, 1969) This group influences the flow of the conversation with the most common motion in this group being the nodding of the head. Further, eye contact, shifts of the body which result in more or less distance and therefore show interest or attention and also eyebrow raises belong to this category. Regulators are usually used unconsciously. Ekman and Friesen (1969) suspect that the use of regulators varies between different cultures (Ekman & Friesen, 1969).

The final group described by Ekman and Friesen (1969) are **adaptors**. Adaptors are used unconsciously and do not transmit a certain message but rather unintentionally reveal emotions such as insecurity or stress. They are again grouped in three categories. These are self-adaptors, alter-adaptors and object-adaptors. Self-adaptors are for example wiping of lips or eyes or squeezing, scratching or just holding a particular part of the body like arms or legs. Alter-adaptors refer to motions connected to interpersonal contact. Such as the movement when giving something to the conversational partner. Object-adaptors, as the name suggests, involve an object. These objects are used but not in their intended way, for example playing with a pen instead of writing with it. In this study, the objects could be bracelets, hair ties or the phone if it is in reachable distance (Niemeier, 1997; Ekman & Friesen, 1969).

2.1.2.3 Eye contact

Eye contact in western cultures is considered a very important factor during a conversation or negotiation. Studies have shown that conversational partners look at each other about 50% of the time during a conversation. It is common to look at the partner more while listening than while speaking. This is considered a sign of paying attention to what is being said. It has to be kept in mind that eye contact is subject to great differences across cultures (Argyle & Cook, 1976).

Hall studied, along with distance (see section 2.1.2.5), the differences in eye contact. He states that it highly depends on the culture in which one was socialized how someone perceives eye contact. Arabs for example maintain high levels of eye contact, Greeks also attach great importance to eye contact as opposed to Americans, who keep less eye contact and members of the Navajo Nation who even avoid eye contact if possible (Hall, 1963).

2.1.2.4 Posture and orientation of the head and body

While movements such as facial expressions correspond to individual emotions, posture indicates liking of the conversational partner (Ekman & Friesen, 1967). James (1932) conducted a study showing images of postures to participants who then interpreted their meaning. The results show that a bowed head indicates thought, deliberation, embarrassment, shame, humility. A turned head can mean either shame, scorn and rejection or curiosity, interest, attention, alertness, slight surprise and self-consciousness. A backward tilted head can mean either distain, pride and denial, stargazer, prayer, and viewing objects above. The position of a forward leaning trunk according to the results of the study show attentive interest, intent scrutiny, curiosity, aggressive advance and amusement or defeat, rejection, dejection, shame, sorrow, inferiority or tiredness. A turned trunk shows the same meaning as a turned head since the natural movement is to turn the head with the trunk in one movement. A backward leaning trunk shows either negation or determination, courage, conceit, laughter and self-esteem or viewing an object above (James, 1932).

Concerning the position of the arms during the communication, Machotka (1965) found out that a position with closed arms is perceived as cold, shy, negative, and passive while a position with open arms is recognized as positive, warm and accepting (Machotka, 1965; Mehrabian, 1972).

2.1.2.5 *Distance*

The distance to the conversational partner indicates the relationship between the partners. It is important to keep adequate distance (Ellgring, 2010). Standing too close to the conversational partner tends to make people feel uncomfortable on the one hand, standing too far away from the conversational partner is conceived as disinterest or being cold on the other. Hall (1968) defined four different zones according to the distance of the conversational partners. These zones are depicted in Figure 2 below. They are called intimate zone, which is up to 1,5 feet (~45cm), personal zone, which is from 1,5-4 feet (~45-120cm), social-consultive zone which is from 4-10 feet (~120-300cm) and the public zone which starts at 10 feet (~300cm). This data shows how North Americans from European decent perceive distance (Hall, 1968).

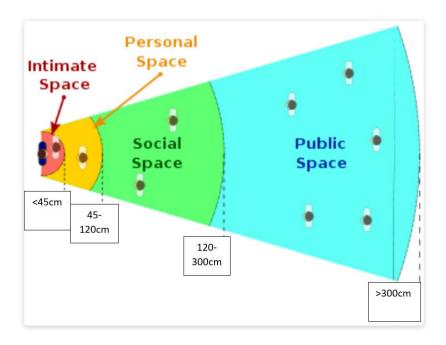


Figure 2: Distances according to Hall, Source: https://zackkaylor.wordpress.com/2012/10/30/space-the-final-frontier/

It is important to mention that different cultures perceive adequate distance to another person differently. This perception is usually developed in early childhood during the socialization process (Hallowell, 1955).

For the experiment in this thesis, the subjects sit at a table. Distance is therefore not measured. It will, however, be taken into account through their position while being seated, whether they are leaning backward or forward or whether they make adjustments during the experiment.

2.1.3 Importance of nonverbal behavior

These are the nonverbal elements that appear in everyday conversation. It is said that between 60 to up to 95% of conversations is made up through nonverbal elements. These nonverbal signals are not always sent on purpose (Mehrabian & Ferris, 1967; Birdwhistell, 1970). Sometimes these nonverbal cues also completely contradict what is being said. In that case researchers have found out that the human mind favors to rely on the nonverbal cues rather than on the actually spoken words. The reason for this problem is that it is difficult to control nonverbal behavior. During a conversation, conversational partners focus on what they are saying rather than how they are saying it or what their body language might convey to others (Givens, 2000).

As mentioned before, for the receiver of a message the nonverbal elements are said to be more important than the verbal elements which can have a great impact on a conversation (Preston, 2005). It needs to be considered however, that nonverbal behavior differs between cultures (Hall & Hall, 1990).

In the following, the two Argentinian towns selected for the experiment (Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires and Humboldt, Santa Fe) will be shortly introduced and a historical background of the origin of the inhabitants of the towns will be given to illustrate why they have been chosen for this study.

2.2 Argentina



Figure 3: Location of Argentina, Source: https://www.definicion.xyz/2019/05/provincias-de-argentina.html

Argentina is a country situated in South America (see Figure 3). It borders with Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil and Uruguay. The country has a long history of colonialization. The colonial power that first took over the land that today is known as Argentina was Spain in the 16th century. In 1816, Argentina finally achieved independence from Spain (Szuchman, 1994). To this day, the Spanish culture still has a noteworthy influence on the Argentinian culture. In large immigration waves, immigrants from a plethora of European countries arrived in Argentina. The highest number of European immigrants arrived from Italy and Spain (INDEC, 2012).

According to the report of the national institute of statistics and census of the Republic of Argentina of 2010, a total of 13.5 per cent of the total foreign born population of Argentina was born in Italy and Spain. Looking at the percentage of people of the age of 65 and above, a total of 44 per cent was born in Italy or Spain respectively. Thus, both cultures had a remarkable effect on Argentinian culture. To compare, German immigrants make only approximately 0.45 per cent of the total foreign born population and about 1 per cent of immigrants of 65 years and over (INDEC, 2012).

The two towns chosen for the execution of the experiment for this thesis are Humboldt, Santa Fe and Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires. In the following, it will be reasoned why these two towns were chosen. It will also be explained what the expectations are referring to the experiment and thus what the hypothesis for this thesis is.

2.2.1 Chivilcoy

Chivilcoy is a city in the province of Buenos Aires, Argentina. In 1869, in the city of Buenos Aires about half the population were foreigners. Italians made a total of 24 per cent of the population. In 1887, Italian immigrants even reached to constitute 32 per cent of the total population of Buenos Aires. Several moved to the countryside in hope for better life. It is documented that Italians made up the largest portion of the foreign born population in the province of Buenos Aires closely followed by immigrants from Spain (Garavaglia, 2001; Devoto, 2006). In 1867, the first association of Italians was founded in Chivilcoy (Chivilcoy A. L., 2020; Chivilcoy D., 2020). By 1901, four Italian associations have already been formed in the city of Chivilcoy (Devoto, 2006).



Figure 4: Location of Humboldt and Chivilcoy, Source: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-the-provinces-of-Argentina-In-the-distribution-maps-on-the-next-pages-the_fig2_277327757

2.2.2 Humboldt

Humboldt is a town in the province of Santa Fe in Argentina (for location see Figure 4, indicated in blue). It was founded on the 1st of October 1868 by the Swiss company of Beck and Herzog. The numbers of the first census conducted by the Republic of Argentina in 1869 show that approximately one third of Humboldt's inhabitants were of German origin. The second census conducted in 1895 shows that still a significant percentage of the population of Humboldt was of German and Swiss origin (Massa de Ochstadt, 2014). This can be seen in Figure 5 below.

The town still sets great value in having a close relationship with Germany and Switzerland. This is shown in having three twinning covenants. Two of these are situated in Switzerland namely St. Niklaus and Birmenstorf. In Germany, their twinning covenant, since October 13th 2019, is Dittelsheim-Heßloch. They place great emphasis on maintaining a regular cultural exchange with their partner cities (Comunidad de Humboldt, 2019; Massa de Ochstadt, 2014).



Figure 5: Source: Censo de la Republica Argentina 1872 and 1898

Having discussed the cultural background of the country and the hereditary background of the towns in question, their cultural similarities and differences will be illustrated by relating them to Hofstede's six dimensions. These dimensions and their implications will be elaborated in the following.

2.3 Hofstede's dimensions

Hofstede defined six dimensions in which members of one culture tend to differ from members of other cultures (Hofstede G. , 2001; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Hofstede does not go into the subject of nonverbal communication. In studies conducted by other investigators, however, the dimensions he defined have shown to coincide with nonverbal behavior of subjects from specific investigated countries or regions (Niemeier, 1997). The dimensions Hofstede characterizes are Power Distance, Individualism, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Long Term Orientation, which was added later on, and, the newest addition to the dimensions, Indulgence. The scale he ranks countries with reference to the six dimensions, reaches from zero to approximately 100 (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

In the following, these dimensions will be explained and then the ranking of each of the relevant countries will be compared to show if there is a difference which would suggest that in the experiment to be conducted a difference in behavior should also be visible. In Figure 6, the scores for Germany, Italy, Spain and Switzerland are illustrated.

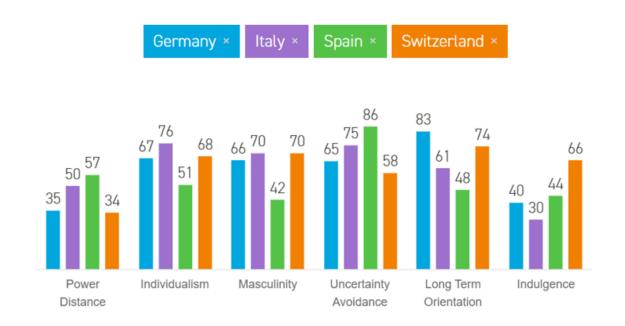


Figure 6: Hofstede's 6 Dimensions, comparing Germany, Italy, Spain and Switzerland, Source: https://www.hofstedeinsights.com/product/compare-countries/

2.3.1 Power distance

"Power distance is the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. The basic problem involved is the degree of human inequality that underlies the functioning of each particular society." (Hofstede G. , 2001)

The higher the rank in power distance, the more members of that culture are likely to accept a given hierarchical order. In turn the lower the rank, the more members of a society are looking for equality and demand justification if power is not distributed equally (Hofstede G. , 2001). The highest ranked country is Malaysia (104) and the lowest ranked country is Austria (11) (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

This refers mostly to the hierarchy within a society. In this case, the experiment presented by this thesis took place between two individuals of similar rank, namely university students. Therefore, this dimension is not expected to make a visible difference in this particular case.

With ranks of 34 and 35, Switzerland and Germany are close together when it comes to power distance. A low ranking in power distance suggests that members of these cultures in business situations are more confident and therefore appear calmer. Italy and Spain as well as Argentina are situated approximately in the middle of the scale (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

2.3.2 Individualism

This category refers to the extent to which members of a certain culture tend to be individualistic or collectivistic. A high rank in individualism is characterized by a self-centered behavior which means that individualistic cultures are expected to mainly take care of themselves and their immediate family. Members of collectivistic cultures on the other hand, with a low ranking in this category, are mostly integrated into groups where it is normal to take care of one another even without being closely related (Hofstede G. , 2001). The highest ranked country in individualism is the United States (91) and the lowest ranked country is Guatemala (6) (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

In Table 1 below it can be seen that Argentina and Spain have a significantly lower rank in individualism with the ranks 46 and 51 respectively while Germany with 67 and Switzerland with 68 are fairly close together and are ranked much higher in individualism. In contrary to the assumption that Italy and Spain will be closer together in the ranking, Italy scores the rank of 76 which is the highest of the considered countries. This is explained by Hofstede because of the cultural differences that appear within the country of Italy. According to his study, the north of Italy is more individualistic than the south of the country (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

2.3.3 Masculinity

High masculinity indicates a society dominated by "competition, achievement and success, with success being defined by the winner/best in field" as Hofstede stated (Hofstede G., 2001). The counterpart to masculinity is femininity which is indicated by a low score on the scale. A high score in this category indicates higher levels of competitiveness and a preference for achievements and material rewards whereas a lower score indicates a cooperative mentality and greater importance given to quality of life. The highest ranked country in this category is Japan (95) and the lowest ranked country is Sweden (5) (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

Except for Spain with a slightly lower rank of 42 followed by the other countries with Argentina (57), Germany (66), Switzerland (70) and Italy (70) the cultures are in the upper midfield when it comes to their masculinity score (Hofstede G. , 2001).

This suggests that there are no outstanding differences regarding the dimension of masculinity in the relevant countries for this study.

2.3.4 Uncertainty avoidance

"Uncertainty avoidance is the extent to which a culture programs its members to feel either uncomfortable or comfortable in unstructured situations. Unstructured situations are novel, unknown, surprising, different from usual. The basic problem involved is the degree to which a society tries to control the uncontrollable." (Hofstede G. , 2001)

The higher the score in this category, the more members of the society are looking for security and stability. The highest ranked country in this category is Greece with a score of 112 and the lowest ranked country is Singapore with a score of 8 (Hofstede G., 2001).

In Table 1 it is evident that all mentioned countries are in the upper half of the ranking while Italy, Argentina and Spain are even in the upper quarter of the ranking which indicates that they have an even more negative attitude towards change (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

2.3.5 Long term orientation

"Long-term versus short-term orientation refers to the extent to which a culture programs its members to accept delayed gratification of their material, social, and emotional needs." (Hofstede G., 2001)

Countries with a low score in the dimension of long-term orientation are not eager for change and pay great importance to tradition while a high score is associated with pragmatism and preparing for the future. The highest ranked country here is China with a score of 118 and the lowest ranked country is Sierra Leone with a score of 16. Argentina scores very low in this dimension with a rank of only 20 compared to Spain who ranks 48th, Italy 61st, Switzerland 74th and Germany 83rd which can be considered a rather high score (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

2.3.6 Indulgence

Indulgence is the newest addition to the six dimensions of Hofstede. "This dimension is defined as the extent to which people try to control their desires and impulses, based on the way they were raised." (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010; Hofstede G., 2020)

The higher the score in this dimension the more members of this society tend to have a positive attitude towards life. They focus more on enjoying life while a low ranking on the other hand indicates a rather pessimistic attitude. Members of societies that score low in indulgence tend to feel more restricted by social norms (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010).

Table 1 shows the ranking of each of the five countries that are relevant for this study in each of the six dimensions defined by Hofstede. Also, the upper and lower extremes are recorded to aid comparison between the countries and better visualize the location on the scale.

Power distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty avoidance	Long term orientation	Indulgence
11 Austria	6 Guatemala	5 Sweden	8 Singapore	16 Sierra Leone	30 Italy
34 Switzerland	46 Argentina	42 Spain	58 Switzerland	20 Argentina	40 Germany
35 Germany	51 Spain	56 Argentina	65 Germany	48 Spain	44 Spain
49 Argentina	67 Germany	66 Germany	75 Italy	61 Italy	62 Argentina
50 Italy	68 Switzerland	70 Switzerland	86 Argentina	74 Switzerland	66 Switzerland
57 Spain	76 Italy	70 Italy	86 Spain	83 Germany	
104 Malaysia	91 United states	95 Japan	112 Greece	118 China	

Table 1: Hofstede's dimensions with country rankings for Argentina, Germany, Italy, Spain and Switzerland, Source: https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/germany, italy, spain, switzerland/on: 25.05.2020

By considering Hofstede's dimensions, the goal was to show that Germany and Switzerland are similar to one another regarding behavior, just like Italy and Spain are. It also shows the difference between Switzerland/Germany to Italy/Spain which indicates that there should be a noticeable difference in nonverbal behavior between citizens of Humboldt (German/Swiss) and Chivilcoy (Italian/Spanish).

2.4 High vs Low Context Cultures

Another classification that has been quoted in an abundance of studies is Hall's definition of high and low context cultures. According to Niemeier (1997), Hall's ranking gives a good perspective on nonverbal communication as well. First, the meaning of high and low context cultures will be elaborated and, finally, it will be shown where both Germany and Switzerland as well as Spain and Italy belong in Hall's ranking. Further, it will be interpreted how the factor of high or low context can influence the findings of this experiment.

Hall and Hall (1990) have ranked countries in high context and low context cultures according to their behavior. A selection of countries can be seen in Figure 7. A high context culture is characterized by already having a great knowledge about background information. Therefore, only a small amount of information has to be transmitted explicitly through words. This also implicates the usage of more nonverbal behavior in high context cultures as opposed to using explicit verbal communication. This behavior leaves more room for interpretation. Members of high context cultures also presume stronger developed social or information systems to assure understanding of the context. Typical examples for high context cultures are Japan and Arab Countries (Hall & Hall, 1990).

Contrary to the high context cultures are low context cultures. Low context cultures are characterized by transmitting the majority of the information explicitly, hence without creating as much need to decode implicit conversational elements. This requires the conversational partners to 'get to the point' when speaking and being specific about the information they present. Examples for low context cultures are German speaking countries which are important in this thesis (Hall & Hall, 1990).

Low context cultures defined by Hall (1990) are linked to highly individualistic cultures as defined by Hofstede. As well as high context cultures resemble the behavior of collectivistic cultures. Information that might seem obvious to members of collectivistic cultures needs to be explained explicitly in individualistic cultures (Hofstede G. , 1993).

High Context Cultures Japan Arab Countries Spain Italy England France North American Countries Scandinavian Countries German Speaking Countries Low Context Cultures

Figure 7: Low Context/High Context Cultures, Source: Hall & Hall, Understanding Cultural Differences: Germans, French and Americans, 1990

In Figure 7, as mentioned, a selection of countries can be seen in their position on the scale from high context to low context cultures. German speaking countries, hence, Switzerland and Germany, are ranked at the very bottom of the scale, while Italy and Spain appear in the upper center of the ranking. Nonetheless, they are defined as being high context cultures by Hall and Hall (1990).

	Low Context	High Context	
Context:	 □ The meaning is explicit and often written down □ Non-verbal supports verbal expression 	 □ The meaning lays in the environment of the context, relationship, status, protocol □ Non-verbal clues are important □ "Yes" could be ambiguous 	
Space:	☐ Interpersonal space☐ Large physical distance	☐ Small/closer physical distance	
Time:	 □ Monochronic □ Do one thing at a time, concentrate on the job □ Take deadlines and schedules seriously □ Accustomed to short-term relationships 	 □ Polychronic Time □ Involved with many things at once □ Highly distractible and subject to interruptions □ Committed to people and relationships 	
Gestures and non- verbal behaviors:	□ Verbal-Centered □ Higher percentage verbal than non-verbal □ Hands support speech	 □ Non-Verbal-Centered □ Lower percentage verbal than non-verbal □ Total communication: hand and face very expressive 	
Language:	☐ Linear ☐ Direct, linear flow of thought logical, rational ☐ External source of knowledge	 □ Circular □ Indirect and circular thinking pattern □ Intuitive, inner knowledge 	

Figure 8: Comparing Low and High Context Cultures, Source: Edward T. Hall, Understanding Cultural Differences, Intercultural Press, 1990.

Figure 8 shows what being a high or low context culture implicates. It indicates that in high context cultures nonverbal behavior is more important than in a low context culture and that the verbally transmitted information is less important than in a low context culture. It also illustrates the difference regarding the space conversational partners maintain during their interaction. High context cultures set more value to personal space and therefore keep greater distances (Hall & Hall, 1990).

According to Hall (1990), it is more common to interrupt the conversational partner in high context cultures while in low context cultures it is more common to concentrate on one thing at a time and, thus, to not interrupt as frequently. In the category of gestures and nonverbal behavior it is demonstrated again that high context cultures focus more on nonverbal behavior and thus pay more attention to it. Low context cultures on the other hand rather rely on what is being said while gestures and nonverbal behavior is merely used to support speech. In the last displayed category, it can be seen that high context cultures communicate more indirectly while their counterpart communicates in a more direct, linear, logical manner (Hall & Hall, 1990; Bilis-Bastos, 1998).

Looking at the theories introduced regarding nonverbal communication, Hofstede's six dimensions, the hereditary history of the two towns investigated in this thesis and the definition of high and low context culture by Hall, the following hypothesis can be derived.

2.5 Hypothesis

Italians and Spanish had a great influence on people living in Chivilcoy, similar to most parts of the Republic of Argentina. However, as shown, Humboldt did not have as much influence from Italian and Spanish immigrants but rather from Swiss and German immigrants. Thus, it is hypothesized that the inhabitants of Humboldt and Chivilcoy respectively show resemblances in their behavior to the countries of the origin of their respective ancestors.

According to Hofstede's dimension of individualism, it is suggested that people with a Spanish or Italian ancestry might react stronger to the low first offer of 50 Pesos in the experiment which will be explained in section 3.2.2 whereas for subjects with Swiss or German ancestors it might be regarded as more common to make a first offer like that. Regarding the follow up offers, it could suggest that Germans/Swiss negotiate more aggressively whereas Italians/Spanish might try to achieve a fairer, more reasonable result and therefore negotiate in a more complaisant manner. Depending on cultural origin of the subjects, differences in nonverbal communication during the negotiation between the subjects of German/Swiss descent and Spanish/Italian descent are suspected.

Considering that Humboldt, Santa Fe has had a great influence from German and Swiss immigrants that settled in Argentina it is assumed that current inhabitants still exhibit German or Swiss, hence, low context characteristic. Therefore, they are expected to use fewer nonverbal cues, express themselves more directly and do not interrupt their conversational partner as often.

On the contrary, subjects from Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires, with a high Italian and Spanish influence are expected to act more like members of a high context culture and therefore use more nonverbal communication and interrupt their conversational partner more often.

This leads to the hypothesis this thesis will investigate.

Subjects of German/Swiss descent will use less nonverbal communication than subjects of Spanish/Italian descent.

In the following, the method chosen to examine the Hypothesis will be introduced. Also, the implementation will be explained in detail by addressing the chosen sample, the set-up of the experiment, the recording concept and the analysis.

3 Empirical Method

3.1 Theory behind the Method

There are various ways of observing human interaction in a negotiation. The most common ones are coordination games and agreement games with either a single dimension of value or multiple dimensions of value (Carnevale & De Dreu, 2005).

In this thesis, a bargaining game, more precisely an ultimatum game, which is an agreement game with a single dimension of value, is chosen for the negotiation experiment (Carnevale & De Dreu, 2005). A traditional ultimatum game consists of two subjects. One is defined as "proposer" and the counterpart is defined as the "receiver". The proposer receives an amount of money. He or she will, then, propose an offer of a certain amount he or she is willing to give to the receiver. The receiver then decides whether he or she wants to agree to this proposition in which case the money will be split according to the proposer's offer or he or she respectively has the option to decline the offer in which case none of the two negotiators receive anything (Güth, Schmittberger, & Schwarze, 1982; van Damme, et al., 2014). This type of experiment has been used to show behavioral differences in diverse cultures and is therefore considered suitable for the empirical part of this thesis (Henrich, Boyd, & et al., 2005).

In this case an adaptation to the traditional ultimatum game will be used. In order to appropriately compare the differences in nonverbal behavior between Argentinians from Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires (Italian/Spanish descent) and from Humboldt, Santa Fe (German/Swiss descent) during the negotiation the ultimatum game will not consist of one offer only. This version of the ultimatum game is called Rubinstein's bargaining model. It was developed by Ariel Rubinstein in 1982. The Rubinstein bargaining model is defined by having additional constraints. Unlike in the traditional ultimatum game, in this bargaining model by Rubinstein unlimited offers are possible. In each round the position of proposer and receiver switch until an agreement is met. Explained briefly this means that person A is the proposer and person B is the receiver. If person B declines the offer of person A, he or she becomes the proposer in the next round and person A becomes the receiver. An additional constraint introduced by Rubinstein is the factor of time. To make time valuable, in other words, to avoid this game taking indefinitely long, each time an offer is declined the initial amount of money is reduced by a certain amount (Rubinstein, 1982; Amann, 2019).

This procedure is chosen to enable a negotiation and thus to protract the final agreement of the participants in order to capture their nonverbal reactions to the offers and their nonverbal behavior in total during the negotiation process.

3.2 Execution

3.2.1 Sample

In total, ten negotiations were conducted. Thus, in each town, Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires and Humboldt, Santa Fe, five negotiations took place. The participants have all been raised and lived most of their lives in their respective hometowns. All of the participants were between 20 and 30 years of age and did not have further education or training in the matters of nonverbal behavior or negotiation.

To further facilitate the analysis, attention is mainly laid on one of the two participants of the experiment in each negotiation. The first proposer, in each town, was the same in all negotiations to ensure a better comparability of the body language and nonverbal behavior of the test subjects altogether.

3.2.2 Experiment

The proposer was given an amount of 500 (9 x 50\$, 2 x 20\$, 2 x 5\$) Argentinian Pesos which at the time the experiment took place, in June 2019, were equivalent to approximately 10 Euros. The proposer was requested to make a first offer of only 50 Pesos, to capture the reaction of the receiver to such a low offer. After that, the proposer and the receiver switched and the new proposer could make the next offer. Whenever the offer was declined, the initial proposer discounted 25 Pesos from the remaining amount that was left on the table. Both sides could gradually increase their offers until an agreement was reached. There was no time limit set regarding the length of each negotiation since the constraint of the discount subtracted after each rejection of the offer was believed to be sufficient to end each negotiation within a reasonable time frame.

The negotiations were filmed with two cameras to facilitate the evaluation of the findings. The videos were then transliterated. The negotiation took place in the native language of the participants of the experiment which in this case means that negotiations were held in Spanish, the official language spoken in Argentina. This condition was chosen to ensure more natural and authentic findings in the observation of the nonverbal behavior of the participants. Conducting the experiment in English or another language might have influenced the nonverbal behavior of the participants on the basis that some participants do not feel as confident speaking a foreign language as they do speaking their native language. The degree to which nonverbal behavior is influenced by the language that is spoken is affected by the level of knowledge of the language of the respective participant (Allen, 1999). Thus, Spanish was the chosen language for the execution of this experiment.

The main focus in the analysis of the video material was concentrated on the nonverbal behavior of the participants. Facial expressions, gestures, eye contact, and interruptions during the negotiation were all criteria that were closely observed.

3.3 Recording concept

The collection of audio-visual data is very important for the type of information that this study is trying to research. Audio recordings allow the observation of the spoken main communication and enables to monitor breaks in speech and communicative noises such as clearing one's throat. Also, only video recordings can adequately record nonverbal behavior which indisputably influences any conversation. Thus, recording the negotiation allows a more detailed and more accurate analysis. Every incident or gesture can be re-observed several times and therefore be thoroughly reviewed. This leads to a database which is more objective and unbiased. Audio visual recordings also allow the review and verification of third parties which gives the experiment more credibility (Pritzlaff-Scheele, Nullmeier, Weihe, & Baumgarten, 2008).

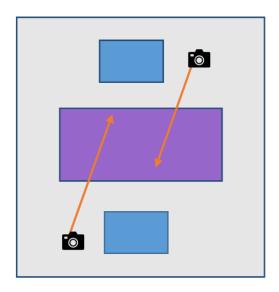


Figure 9: Placement of subjects and cameras

In this case there were only two subjects with the main focus on one of the subjects. Therefore, one camera was chosen to record the receiver as head on as possible. And the second one recorded the proposer to capture the behavior of the proposer during the experiment to document the interaction between the two subjects. The cameras were not moved during the negotiation to avoid distractions or even interruptions. Once the cameras were turned on, the investigator left the room to minimize possible distractions during the negotiation.

The setting of the experiments requires a table to enable the proper demonstration of the offer by the proposer. Figure 9 shows the placement of the subjects and objects during the experiment. The subjects are depicted by the blue rectangles, the camera angle is depicted by the orange arrows and the table is illustrated by the purple rectangle.

3.4 Analysis

First the audio-visual material was transliterated. It was important in this case to have a very detailed transcript not only of spoken components in the videos but also of facial expressions and gestures as they represent the main aspects this thesis seeks to analyze.

There is no uniform codification language for nonverbal elements of conversations (Moritz & Corsten, 2018). One of the methods commonly used is the GAT method (Dittmar, 2009). GAT stands for GesprächsAnalytisches Transkriptionssystem which roughly translates into discourse and conversation-analytic transcription system (Margret Selting, 2011). This method is chosen because it not only focuses on verbal aspects of the conversation, but it also integrates nonverbal aspects into the transcript. The criteria that were emphasized during the development of the GAT-method are the following. This method works according to the so called "Zwiebelprinzip" which translates to onion layer principle. Thus, it is split into different phases which each focus on a different detail of the transcript. This is to facilitate going into more detail later on in the process. Another criterion is the readability. Laymen or ordinary people should be able to read and understand the transcripts without having to acquire further education in the field. Another criterion is to be explicit. Every phenomenon that is transliterated should be assigned a certain symbol. The symbols used in the transcripts will be explained in detail later on in this text (Selting, Auer, Barth-Weingarten, & et al., 2009).

To transliterate using the GAT-method, three steps or phases are usually necessary. The first phase is the minimal transcript. In this phase, the spoken words are written down. Further, overlapping speech is recorded and marked. This is done by using the symbol []. What is said at the same time is written underneath another to facilitate reading. Also pauses in the flow of the conversation are noted. They are indicated by (-), (--), (---) according to the length of the pause. If the pause is significantly longer, this is recorded by indicating the seconds the pause lasted. It is also made a note if the spoken words cannot be understood. This is indicated by (???). Other noises or events that are not part of the conversation but might have an effect on the reaction of the participants, like a barking dog for example, are also written down (Selting, Auer, Barth-Weingarten, & et al., 2009).

Lastly and most importantly, nonverbal behavior is recorded in this step. This is either recorded written down, signaled by two parenthesis, for example: ((laughing)), ((smiling)) or if the nonverbal action happened while something is said, it is recorded using the less than/greater than sign (<>). These are used as follows: The start of the action is indicated by two less than signs (<<). Then the action is explained and followed with one greater than sign (>). This is followed by what is spoken during the action. When the facial expression or gesture is over, this is indicated with another greater than sign (>). To facilitate understanding, an example is given: (Selting, Auer, Barth-Weingarten, & et al., 2009).

<<standing up> we are done> for today

This indicates that the person was standing up while she said, "we are done". She was already standing while she finished with "for today".

This is all the content that is examined and recorded in the first step of the GAT-method. The following two steps are the Basistranskript (basic transcript) and the Feintranskript (detailed transcript). These deal with the voice pitch, the lengthening of words, the accentuation of spoken words, interpretive comments, the volume in which is spoken, the rate of speaking and the voice quality (Selting, Auer, Barth-Weingarten, & et al., 2009).

Considering the fact that in the first phase nonverbal actions are already incorporated, this phase will suffice. Facial expressions and gestures will be recorded in great detail. If relevant, interpretive comments will be added in the transcript to assure comprehension and to avoid misunderstandings.

4 Analysis

For the analysis, data was extracted from the transcripts. First, the duration of each negotiation was measured and then the number of rounds, the corresponding offers and final outcome of each negotiation were excerpted. After the basic conditions of each negotiation were detected, nonverbal behavior of the participants became the main focus. For the means of the analysis, nonverbal behavior was classified into four groups. These umbrella terms are interruptions, facial expressions, gestures and eye contact. In the category of interruptions, the number of interruptions that happened during the negotiation were counted. To enable comparison, interruptions per minute were calculated according to the length of each individual negotiation. The umbrella term 'facial expressions' includes the following expressions: smiling or laughing, biting or licking lips, pursing lips, raising eyebrows and frowning. Gestures include shaking or nodding the head, movement of the hands without touching anything, movement of the hand to touch a part of the body like face or hair and finally touching something other than the body. The act of touching money to indicate the making of an offer was disregarded because it does not fit into the gesture categories defined by Ekman and Friesen (1969) as described in chapter 2.1.2. The last category that was considered is eye contact. In this category, the amount of times a subject looked at the initial proposer were counted. Additionally, the total time the subject looked at the initial proposer was measured. All of the data was adapted to be shown in terms of one minute. From the intermediate results of the parent categories interruptions, facial expressions, gestures and eye contact the mean value was calculated for both towns, Humboldt, Santa Fe and Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires, to enable comparison. In all categories, the intermediate sums and their mean are displayed.

Then, the standard deviation of the categories was calculated for Humboldt, Santa Fe and Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires separately to determine the correlation of the individual results between the participants of either town. This was done to verify the significance of the value depicted by the mean of the category that was used to compare the two towns. The standard deviation for each category in both towns are displayed in Table 4.

H1 01:37 97 2 0 0,00	01:20 80 4 2 1,50	03:10 190 8	02:00 120 8	01:47 107 3	01:58 118,80 5,00	01:51 111,40 7,20	03:55 235 16	01:00 60	02:00 120	01:30 90	C5 00:52 52
97 2 0	80 4	190 8	120	107	118,80	111,40	235	60	120		
97 2 0	80 4	190 8	120	107	118,80	111,40	235	60	120		
97 2 0	80 4	190 8	120	107	118,80	111,40	235	60	120		
0	2	8								50	
0	2			3				2	9	7	2
		1	1		,	7,20	10		3	,	
		-	2	0	1,00	3,40	13	1	2	0	1
	1,50	0,32	1,00	0,00	0,56	1,29	3,32	1,00	1,00	0,00	1,15
		0,32	1,00	0,00	0,50	1,23	3,32	1,00	1,00	0,00	1,13
6	5	20	13	7	10,20	9,20	26	1	12	3	4
2	2	5	0	0	1,80	3,20	7	0	7	1	1
2	6	10	6	8	6,40	5,00	10	6	4	3	2
0	0	1	0	0	0,20	1,60	8	0	0	0	0
1	1	3	4	4	2,60	0,80	1	1	2	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0,00	0,80	0	0	4	0	0
11	14	39	23	19	21,20	20,60	52	8	29	7	7
6,80	10,50	12,32	11,50	10,65	10,35	9,70	13,28	8,00	14,50	4,67	8,08
3	10	7	5	8	6,60	8,00	20	3	12	2	3
10	6	10	2	9	7,40	7,60	20	9	3	2	4
4	1	2	1	14	4,40	3,00	5	2	1	7	0
0	0	0	0	2	0,40	0,20	0	0	0	1	0
17	17	19	8	33	18,80	18,80	45	14	16	12	7
10,52	12,75	6,00	4,00	18,50	10,35	9,91	11,49	14,00	8,00	8,00	8,08
											7
20	10	37		6					18	4	4
12,37	7,50	11,68	4,00	3,36	7,78	6,04	8,94	5,00	9,00	2,67	4,62
225	220	175	175	200	100 00	1/15 00	50	225	100	150	200
	220	1/3	1/3	200	133,00	143,00	30	223	100	130	200
50-50	450-50	450-50	450-50	450-50			450-50	450-50	450-50	450-50	450-50
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Table 2: Values derived from the experiment, Mean

To find out whether there is a correlation between the individual categories, the Pearson Coefficient was calculated. The Pearson Coefficient compares two categories with one another and gives a number between -1 and 1. The further away the result is from zero, the more the two compared values are correlated. 1 implies a perfect positive correlation (ex. the more one uses facial expressions, the higher the result). Whereas -1 shows a perfect negative correlation (ex. the more one uses gestures, the lower the result) (Müller & Buttner, 1994; Diaz-Bone, 2019).

In the following, the results concerning the comparison of Humboldt, Santa Fe and Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires will be introduced and explained.

4.1 Results

4.1.1 Humboldt vs. Chivilcoy

	Humboldt	Chivilcoy
	Mean	Mean
Duration		
Duration of negotiation (mm:ss)	01:58	01:51
Number of rounds	5,00	7,20
Interruptions		
Interruptions per minute	0,56	1,29
Facial expressions		
Facial expressions per minute	10,35	9,70
Gestures		
Gestures per minute	10,35	9,91
Eye contact in total	12,40	12,80
Eye contact per minute	7,78	6,04
Result of second proposer	199,00	145,00

Table 3: Mean, comparing Humboldt and Chivilcoy

Table 3 shows the mean results of each parent category. It can be seen that the means of each category are similar in the two compared towns.

On average, the duration of negotiations is only 7 seconds shorter in Chivilcoy than in Humboldt. Even though the duration in Chivilcoy is lower, the number of rounds is higher. This suggests that individual offers take longer in Humboldt than in Chivilcoy. A slight difference is noticeable when comparing the mean of interruptions that happened during the negotiations. In Chivilcoy, the subjects interrupted each other more than twice as much as in Humboldt. This supports what was stated in the Hypothesis. Subjects with Spanish/Italian background interrupt each other more often. Also, Hall (1990) stated that in high context cultures such as Italy and Spain, interruptions are more common than in low context cultures.

Looking at facial expressions and gestures only very little difference was found, contrary to what was stated by Hall (1990) and therefore suggested in the Hypothesis. Subjects from German/Swiss background showed slightly more facial expressions and gestures than the comparison group with Spanish/Italian background. Subjects from Humboldt also looked at their counterpart slightly more than subjects from Chivilcoy. What is noticeable is that eye contact was significantly less than 50% of the time as suggested by Argyle and Cook (1976).

The similar means displayed in Table 3 suggest that there is no significant difference in behavior between the members of the two towns investigated. On average, the duration of the negotiations, the number of rounds, interruptions per minute, facial expressions per minute, gestures per minute, eye contact per minute and results achieved are similar. Therefore, differences in nonverbal behavior cannot be revealed considering the mean of the data from each town since no significant difference can be shown. Consequently, the Hypothesis cannot be supported. Although there were more interruptions in Chivilcoy as suggested by the Hypothesis, there were less facial expressions and gestures contrary to what was stated in the Hypothesis. In conclusion, taking into account the results shown in Table 3, the Hypothesis can neither be supported nor refuted.

To find out whether the above-mentioned conclusion is valid, the standard deviation for the individual results was calculated to see how much the values deviate from another within the two towns. The standard deviation shows the average distance of the individual values from the calculated mean. The bigger the standard deviation, the less significant are the values to configure a valid conclusion. The standard deviation is compared to the value of the mean by calculating the relative standard deviation (standard deviation divided by mean).

The relative standard deviation enables the direct comparability of the values and thus permits to derive a conclusion whether the values can be regarded as significant. The values of the standard deviation and the relative standard deviation are displayed in Table 4.

	Humboldt	Chivilcoy	Humboldt	Chivilcoy	Humboldt	Chivilcoy
	Mean	Mean	Standard deviation		Relative standard deviation	
Duration						
Duration of negotiation (mm:ss)	01:58	01:51				
Number of rounds	5,00	7,20	2,83	5,81	0,57	0,81
Interruptions						
Interruptions per minute	0,56	1,29	0,66	1,22	1,18	0,94
Facial expressions						
Facial expressions per minute	10,35	9,70	2,11	4,08	0,20	0,42
Gestures						
Gestures per minute	10,35	9,91	5,73	2,73	0,55	0,28
Eye contact in total	12,40	12,80				
Eye contact per minute	7,78	6,04	4,19	2,81	0,54	0,47
Result of second proposer	199,00	145,00	23,82	71,59	0,12	0,49

Table 4: Mean, Standard Deviation, Relative Standard Deviation

The relative standard deviation indicates that the most significant values are the results and the facial expressions per minute in Humboldt and gestures per minute in Chivilcoy. However, since the counterpart in the respective category of the comparison town is considerably higher, the values stated by the mean are not significant enough to enable comparability and thus to derive a valid conclusion concerning the Hypothesis. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Hypothesis can neither be supported nor disapproved with the data derived from this experiment.

Since the data is not significant enough to come to a valid conclusion about the differences in nonverbal behavior between Humboldt, Santa Fe and Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires or between a town with German/Swiss decent and a town with Spanish/Italian decent, the data for each town was examined for correlations within the towns. Results of these correlations will be explained and interpreted in the following sections.

4.1.2 Correlation of data in Humboldt

To show correlations between individual factors, the Pearson Coefficient was calculated. The results for Humboldt, Santa Fe are displayed in Table 5 below.

	Duration	Rounds	Interroptions	Facial expressions	Gestures	Eye contact	Result
Duration	1,00	0,72	-0,31	0,58	-0,52	0,33	-0,77
Rounds	0,72	1,00	0,33	0,80	-0,79	-0,09	-0,91
Interroptions	-0,31	0,33	1,00	0,35	-0,27	-0,27	0,00
Facial expressions	0,58	0,80	0,35	1,00	-0,28	-0,40	-0,81
Gestures	-0,52	-0,79	-0,27	-0,28	1,00	-0,30	0,59
Eye contact	0,33	-0,09	-0,27	-0,40	-0,30	1,00	0,27
Results of 2nd proposer	-0,77	-0,91	0,00	-0,81	0,59	0,27	1,00

Table 5: Pearson Coefficient derived for Humboldt, Santa Fe. All values are calculated per minute.

Considering the data of the negotiations, every value below -0,75 and above 0,75 is considered to have a correlation high enough to be examined in this thesis. The values highlighted in red have a negative correlation and the values highlighted in green have a positive correlation. In total, there are five values to be considered in the case of Humboldt, Santa Fe. The only positive correlating value found in Humboldt, is the correlation between the number of **rounds** and the amount of **facial expressions** per minute. This shows that the more rounds were needed to reach an agreement during a negotiation, the more facial expressions were shown. This might be explained by the fact that the more rounds a subject had completed, the more he or she felt comfortable showing emotions.

Further, there were four negative correlating factors in Humboldt, Santa Fe. The **duration** of the negotiation is negatively correlated to the monetary **result** achieved at the end. Similarly, the number of **rounds** is negatively correlated with the **results**. This is a logical conclusion considering the game that was used in the experiment. After every offer that was refused, the amount of money to be negotiated, was reduced by 25 Pesos. Thus, the longer a negotiation lasts or the more rounds are needed, the less money the subjects end up with.

Another negative correlation exists between the number of **rounds** and the number of **gestures** used. This suggest that the more rounds were needed, the fewer gestures were used during the negotiation. This is the contrary to the effect the number of rounds had on the amount of facial expressions.

The last negative correlation found within the subjects of Humboldt is the correlation between the amount of **facial expressions** used and the **result** of the negotiations. This suggest that the more facial expressions were used, the less money the subjects ended up with. Considering the positive correlation of the number of rounds with the amount of facial expressions this can be syllogized. The more rounds were executed, the more facial expressions were used and the more rounds were executed, the lower the result, hence the more facial expressions were used the lower the result.

The same procedure was performed for the subjects of Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires. The results are shown in the following Table 6.

4.1.3 Correlation of data in Chivilcoy

	Duration	Rounds	Interroptions	Facial expressions	Gestures	Eye contact	Result
Duration	1,00	0,98	0,83	0,64	0,15	0,71	-0,92
Rounds	0,98	1,00	0,70	0,62	-0,01	0,68	-0,97
Interroptions	0,83	0,70	1,00	0,66	0,40	0,72	-0,62
Facial expressions	0,64	0,62	0,66	1,00	0,05	0,99	-0,69
Gestures	0,15	-0,01	0,40	0,05	1,00	0,12	0,20
Eye contact	0,71	0,68	0,72	0,99	0,12	1,00	-0,73
Results of 2nd proposer	-0,92	-0,97	-0,62	-0,69	0,20	-0,73	1,00

Table 6: Pearson Coefficient derived for Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires. All values are calculated per minute.

As visible in the table above, also in Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires there are five correlations. In this case, there are three positive and two negative correlations. As in the previous Table 5, the red color indicates negative correlations and the green color positive correlation.

The two negative correlating factors are the same as in Humboldt, Santa Fe. The longer the negotiation takes (**Duration**), the less money the participants end up with (**Results**) and the more rounds are needed (**Rounds**) the lower the **result**.

The positive correlating factors in Chivilcoy are the relationship between the **duration** of the negotiation and the number of **rounds** needed. This seems to be an obvious correlation but the fact that this does not correlate as much in Humboldt suggests that the longer people think about the individual offer, the faster they come to an agreement.

Another positive correlation is visible between the **duration** of the negotiations and the number of times the subjects interrupted (**Interruptions**) one another during the negotiation. An explanation for this might be that verbal interruptions cause an interruption of the thought-process. Also, sentences are discontinued for a moment when an interruption occurs. This leads to delays in the conversation.

The last correlation that is shown in Table 6 is the correlation between **facial expressions** and **eye contact**. It suggests that the more facial expressions were used, the more eye contact was held during the negotiation. This positive correlation with a value of 0,99 is very high. This suggests that the more facial expressions are used, the more subjects look at their conversational partner perhaps to notice facial expressions on the partners face as well.

4.1.4 Correlations in Humboldt and Chivilcoy

Comparing the correlations in Humboldt, Santa Fe with the correlations in Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires, it can be seen that only two correlations overlap. The overlapping correlations are the negative correlation between the duration and the result and between the number of rounds needed during the negotiation and the result. The only difference that can be mentioned is that the negative correlation of the duration with the results in Humboldt is not as high as in Chivilcoy. Therefore, it can be suggested that in Humboldt individual offers take longer than in Chivilcoy. There is no correlation concerning nonverbal behavior that coincides between the two towns. Therefore, also considering the results derived from the investigation of the Pearson Coefficient, no comparison between the two towns concerning nonverbal behavior can be made.

Three approaches for comparing nonverbal communication in Humboldt, Santa Fe with Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires were elaborated. First the mean of each category was calculated. No significant difference between the categories could be found. Therefore, the Hypothesis could neither be supported nor refuted.

Secondly, the relative standard deviation was calculated to identify whether there are categories that provide values that are significant enough to make a valid statement. The relative standard deviation was low and did not coincide with a higher value in both towns in any category. Therefore, no conclusion could be derived.

Finally, both towns were examined individually to find correlations within the towns. In each town, five individual correlating factors could be found. But the only coinciding correlating factors in both towns were the negative correlation between the duration of a negotiation with the result and the number of rounds with the result. These correlations derive from the rules of the game applied in the experiment and therefore do not concern nonverbal behavior. Hence, these correlations cannot support or refute the Hypothesis.

In conclusion, considering the mean, the relative standard deviation and the Pearson Coefficient, the Hypothesis can neither be supported nor refuted.

4.2 Discussion and suggestions for future studies

The values derived from the experiment were not sufficiently significant to enable a conclusion about differences in nonverbal behavior between subjects from German/Swiss and Spanish/Italian descent. A reason for the insignificant values derived could be the number of subjects that were investigated and analyzed in this thesis. The individual differences in nonverbal behavior is a crucial factor (Burgoon, Guerrero, & Floyd, 2016). With the size of the sample used in this experiment, individual differences are suggested to have a greater impact influencing the overall result. A greater number of subjects might give more coherent results. Therefore, for future research, it is suggested to conduct the experiment with a greater sample.

Another factor that is believed to have had a negative impact on the results of this experiment might be identified in connection with Hofstede's six dimensions. The 5th dimension is long term orientation. A high score in long term orientation suggests that members of these cultures act more pragmatically. Argentina has one of the lowest scores in this category. Therefore, decision making might be influenced by Argentine culture in both towns.

Another reason for the varying outcome was the use of 500 Pesos for the experiment. In an economy like Austria, the value of 10 Euros, which was approximately the equivalent to the 500 Pesos at the time the experiment was conducted (August 2019), is believed to remain stable. Argentina, however, suffers a high inflation. For example, the 500 Pesos that were used in August 2019, were only worth 6,38 Euros in June 2020 as opposed to 10 Euros not even a whole year earlier (Bankenverband, 2020).

Considering feedback from several subjects of the experiment, the value of the money to negotiate about was too low. If the amount of money had been higher, or if the subject of negotiation had been different, there might have been more incentive to achieve an agreement sooner.

This issue could be solved by either using a higher amount of money to negotiate over or by changing to a more stable currency. A suggestion would be to use the US-Dollar instead of the Argentine Peso to create more interest in winning a higher or more stable sum at the end of the negotiation.

In conclusion, for further experiments a greater sample is suggested and the use of a more stable currency to assure a greater desire of the subjects to come to an agreement and therefore provide more coherent results to enable comparability.

5 Summary

In the theoretical part it was argued that nonverbal behavior is a crucial part of communication. It has been identified that nonverbal behavior can be grouped into vocal and nonvocal nonverbal communication. For this thesis, the focus was put on nonvocal nonverbal behavior. The different aspects of nonvocal nonverbal behavior have been categorized and explained according to preceding studies. Later, the historical background of two Argentine towns and the cultural descent of their inhabitants was presented. It has been demonstrated that Humboldt, Santa Fe has a German and Swiss background, whereas the second town, Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires has an Italian and Spanish background. Through their ancestral background it was hypothesized that cultural influences are still noticeable in the population of those towns today.

The differences between Spanish/Italian culture and German/Swiss culture have been identified in theory by investigating Hofstede's six dimensions and comparing the score of Spain and Italy to Germany and Switzerland. In theory, it has also been demonstrated that according to the scores, Germany and Switzerland show similarities as well as Italy and Spain show similarities. On the other hand, differences between Germany/Switzerland and Italy/Spain can be noticed. After these similarities and differences have been identified, the differences of nonverbal behavior between cultures was elaborated by introducing Hall's differentiation into high and low context cultures. According to Hall, Italy and Spain can be defined as high context cultures whereas German speaking countries are defined as low context cultures. A difference in nonverbal communication between high and low context cultures was identified by Hall.

On this basis, it was assumed that due to the cultural origin of the subjects, there will be differences in nonverbal communication during a negotiation between the subjects of German/Swiss descent and Spanish/Italian descent.

The differences between high and low context cultures were further considered whereby it emerged that according to Hall, high context cultures, such as Italy and Spain, were found to use more nonverbal communication than low context cultures such as Germany and Switzerland.

Thus, a hypothesis was derived as follows:

Subjects of German/Swiss descent will use less nonverbal communication than subjects of Spanish/Italian descent.

For the empirical section of this thesis, an experiment has been conducted which was set in Humboldt, Santa Fe and Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires. Rubinstein's bargaining model was used for this experiment. Rubinstein's bargaining model is an adaption of the ultimatum game in which the subjects alternately propose offers until an agreement is reached. The subjects start to negotiate with a total amount of 500 Argentine Pesos. However, after each declined offer, the amount of money negotiated about is reduced by 25 Pesos. No time frame was set.

In each town five negotiations were conducted. All negotiations were video recorded and later on basis of the videos transliterated. Nonverbal behavior was of great importance in the transliteration. The transliterations were later searched for interruptions by the participants, facial expressions, gestures and eye contact. Also, the duration of the negotiation, the number of rounds needed until an agreement was reached and the results of the negotiation were recorded.

With the collected data the two towns were compared by contrasting the means of each category. The means of each category were too similar between the towns therefore no conclusion could be derived. Later, the standard deviation as well as the relative standard deviation were calculated to determine whether the individual values were similar enough and therefore significant to enable a valid conclusion about the differences in nonverbal communication between the two towns. The relative standard deviation showed that the individual values deviated substantially and therefore no conclusion could be derived.

Considering that no conclusion could be derived about direct differences between the investigated towns, the Pearson Coefficient was calculated to compare the values within the towns. The Pearson Coefficient shows correlations between individual values. For each town five correlations were found. But only two correlations appeared in both towns, namely the correlation between the duration of the negotiation with the result of the negotiation and the number of rounds with the result of the negotiation. These values do not involve factors of nonverbal communication and therefore could not be compared concerning the Hypothesis.

After thoroughly examining the data obtained from the experiment, the Hypothesis could neither be supported nor refuted due to the lack of significance of the values to derive a valid conclusion.

6 Conclusion

Nonverbal communication is an important part of communication. The more frequent it becomes to communicate with members of other cultures, the more important it becomes to understand that in other parts of the world not only the language might differ but also the nonverbal behavior.

In conclusion, differences in nonverbal behavior have been found between members of high context and low context cultures in various studies. With the experiment conducted in this thesis, no differences could be observed due to the insignificance of the collected data. However, some correlations could be found within the towns of Humboldt and Chivilcoy. In Humboldt, a positive correlation could be noticed between the number of rounds needed and the amount of facial expressions used. While a negative correlation was indicated between the number of rounds needed and the amount of gestures that were being used. The more rounds were needed to reach an agreement, the more facial expressions and the less gestures were used. This correlation could be investigated in further studies.

Looking at Chivilcoy, two positive correlations concerning the nonverbal behavior could be found. There was a positive correlation between the duration of the negotiation and the amount of interruptions that occurred. The longer the negotiation lasted, the more the subjects interrupted each other or vice versa, the more the subjects interrupted each other the longer the negotiation lasted. The second correlation was found between facial expressions and eye contact. The more a subject looked at the negotiation partner the more facial expressions he or she used or again, the more facial expressions a subject used the more he or she looked at the conversational partner.

These correlations did not overlap in the two towns, but it could be of interest to conduct further research to find out what caused these correlations or whether these correlations merely happened by accident.

Further studies are needed to show whether nonverbal communication differs in various cultures. It would be interesting to conduct the same experiment in Spain and Germany to determine whether a difference in nonverbal communication can be found comparing these cultures directly as opposed to comparing nonverbal communication of descendants of said cultures.

For further experiments a greater sample is suggested and the use of a more stable currency to assure a greater desire of the subjects to come to an agreement.

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Appendix

Transliterations of negotiations in Humboldt, Santa Fe

H1:

0:54

Initial position: both hands on the table, right hand on top of left hand

I: Yo voy a empezar (looks to money) dandote 50 pesos y yo me quedaria con el resto (??? Sisi) (opens mouth, smiles, makes fist with right hand, holds it with left hand) te quedas con esa

P: <<smiles, rubs hands, points in the direction of the 50 pesos bill, looks at I>Esa es tu oferta, tu oferta inicial >

I: Esta es la oferta si

P: (looks down) Bien

(looks up) <<shakes head>No>, not e la acepto (tongue between teeth/purses lips, looks to the left where 25 are taken)

I: Bueno sacamos 25 pesos

P: Bien

(looks at I, raises eyebrows)Ahora oferto yo? (face twitches)

I: Si

P: (touches corners of the mouth with the left thumb and index finger, other hand moves below table elbow stays on table) (10 second pause) (looks from side to side, clears his throat) y (5 seconds)

Espera (counts bills with index finger) (licks lips)

I: Son nueve

P: Mhm (touches corners of the mouth with thumb and index finger, looking down)

(10 second pause) (slides over 1x50 bill) (waves with hand, stares at bills)

Yo te oferto (licks lips) (slides over 4x50 with both hands) si (left hand close to face index finger hiding mouth, right hand on the table ready to slide over money) (10 second pause)y (moves fingers, looks at bills) (10 seconds) << rapidly slides over one more 50 bill>asi> (looks up at I, left hand on the table I fist, right hand in front of mouth, moves fingers in front of mouth to cover mouth entirely(fist)) (looks down, up, down, up)

New position: right hand on the table (fist), left hand covering mouth/hiding a smile

(stares at I)

I: (6second pause) hm

(looks down, left, right, up, down hand in fist, looks up)(12 second pause)

Si yo te dice que si (starts smiling hands still covering mouth) , serian cinco (looks down) y cuatro si (looks up, nods head fast, raises eyebrows, smiles, takes hand off mouth, nods and smiles while collecting money)

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H2:
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0:36

Initial position: arms, elbows, hands folded on the table close to the body, right hand over left I: Te voy a ofertar 50 pesos (looks at 50, looks back at I, starts smiling) vos me decis si aceptas

[yo me quedaria con esto]

P: [No (looks at the bill, looks back, slightly raises eyebrow, slightly shakes head)]

I: No

P: (raises both eyebrows, tilts head, slightly shaking head) No

(touches breast bone with left hand and indicates in the direction of the bills with the other hand, looks at I) << waving hand>Y yo te tengo que decir cuanto para vos>?

I: (???) ahora sacamos 25

P: Aha (left hand disappears under table, right hand touches table slightly and then hovers)

I: Porque me dijiste que no y vos me ofertas lo que te paresca

(---) (purses lips, right hand hovering over table, slightly hesitating)

P: <<slides over 4x50 with both hands>Esto para vos> <<points at rest>y esto para mi>

(looks up, down, up, down)

Position: back to initial position

I: Bien, (raises eyebrows) yo te voy a tener que decir que no Tambien

P: <<nodding>Bueno> (smiles)

I: Saco 25 pesos mas

(counts bills) (nods)

I: Yo te voy a ofrecer esto (still nodding)

P: <<shakes head>No> (looks at I, smiles)

I: No

(shakes head again)

I: Bueno, sacamos 25 pesos mas

position: (both hands disappear under the table)

P: (nods, bites lips) Mhm

(---)

Position: back to initial position

(slightly looks from one side of the bills to the other)

<<sli>ever 4x50 with both hands>Yo te ofresco esto> <<separates 25 into 20 and 5 pulls 20 to her stack and slides over 5> y cinco> (looks at I, looks down, nods, moves head to the side, raises eyebrows, looks at I and smiles)

I: Hm, si (raises eyebrows, nods, bites lips)

P: [Si]

I: [Se dice que si] porque total si digo que no (looks up, down, up)

I: (smiles, raises eyebrows) Bien

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H3:
0:33
Initial position: straight upright posture, elbows on armrest of chair, hands crossed in front of the
body
I: <slides 50 pesos over> Yo te voy a ofrecer esto (looks down, slightly raises eyebrows, up, down, up)
(-)
Y vos me decis si o no
(--)((slightly frowns))
P: <<points at himself> yo tengo que?> ((smiles, looks at I))
I: (looks up, down, up) yo te doy esto y yo me quedaria con todo esto
P: << nodding+laughing>ahaaa> << swiftly raising both eyebrows, shaking head laughing>no, no
acepto>
I: no (-) entonces sacamos 25 pesos
(--)
P: (points slightly at himself, looking at I) ahora [yo te oferto a vos]
                                   [ahora vos me ofertas] (leans back, purses lips)
R: << leans slightly forward, touches nose, points at 25 pesos> esto Tambien se puede ofertar?
((Looks at I))
I: si, si es todo juntos (slightly nods)
P: yo te oferto (--) ((slides over 100 pesos)) (-) <<slides over another 100 pesos, looks at I>Cuatro>
<<sli>eslides over an other 25 pesos >y esto>
<<p>oints at the rest of the money>Y me quedaria con esto> ((stares with slight smile at I, puts hands)
on table))
Position: both hands crossed on the table infront of him
(-)
I: no
((smiles slight twich with head, repositions himself))
((raises eyebrows))
I: <<slides over 200>yo te oferto esto> (looks at I) me quedo con esto
  (smiles)
P: <<raises index finger> y ahora si yo no acepto, como sacas 25?>
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I: vuelvo poner ahi (???)

P: <<bi>bites lip inside>ah <click of tongue> , <<shakes head promptly, raises eyebrows, smiles, looks at I>no> (--) P: ((smiles, laughs, h°)) yo te oferto (--) ((touches 4 bills of 50)) (--) << slides over 3>esto> ((slides over 25)) << points at the rest, looks up and smiles at I>yo me quedo > (laughs, slightly raises eyebrows) Position: arms slightly crossed (---) I: hm no (laughs, bites lips) I: yo te oferto ((looks up, down, looks at I, smiles and nods slightly)) (-) hmmm. Esto (???) P: <<raises eyebrows, points at 3x50 bills>esto?> <
breathes out, smiles, shakes head promptly and leans back a little bit> Hmmm no> (purses lips) << holds indexfinger between lips and nose covering mouth,>hmm> P: <<smiles, slides over 3x50>yo te oferto> <<slides over 25> esto>. <<points at 4 remaining bills>.y me quedo con esto> ((looks up, down,up, down,up, down, up, down, up smiles, slightly raises eyebrows, looks down, up, down, up)) (10 seconds) I: hmmmmm (--) no (smiles, P bites lips, licks lips) (8seconds) (25 pesos are taken away) (I pulls back 4x50) P:<<iimmediately shakes head, smiles looks up> no!> (raises eyebrows, purses lips) P: ((looks up, bites lips, smiles)) (--) <<looks down, raises eyebrows, humms>hmhmhm> (---) ((looks down)) (---) <<sli>des over 3x50>te oferto esto>...<<points at remaining 3x50+25>y me quedo (??)> (looks at I) Position: arms fully crossed I: si P: <<looks at I, smiles>si?> I: mhm P: <<raises eyebrows, smiles at I, looks down, up>>

H4: 0:39 Initial position: forarms/elbows on the table, hands folded slightly underneath table I: <<sli>ling over 50>Yo voy a empezar ofreciendote 50> (purses lips, looks at I) <<p>ints at the rest>y yo me quedo con esto> P: No ((smiles, slight shake of the head)) I: no? esta bien P: <<looks at bills, smiles slightly>Hmhm> <<raises hand> te ofesco> (-) <<slides overt 3x50> 150> <<indicates the rest, looks at I>y yo me quedo con esto> ((smiles)) I: Sacamos 25 (smiles, steaks hair behind her ears on both sides) I: (raises eyebrows) <<sli>des over 4x50>Te ofresco 200> y yo me quedaria con 250 P: <<shakes head to the side while looking down, smiling>Hm no> I: Sacamos 25 P: (looks up, purses her lips) Mmmhm (raises eyebrows) <<sli>twitches her head, slides over 3x50 with hand, 1x50 with indexfinger> Te ofresco los 200> <<p>enints at rest with hand>y yo me quedo con esto > ((looks at I, looks down, up, do up, slight twitch of one eyebrow, smiles)) I: Hm te digo que no P: ((tilts head)) I: ((looks at I, smiles, raises eyebrows)) Hm te ofresco 300 (-) o sea 1[50] P: <<nods> [150]> (-) ((raises eyebrows)) <<slightly shakes head>no> ((laughs)) ((twitches head, purses lips)) (8 seconds) Hmm te ofresco los 150 <<slides over 3x50>> ((looks at I, smiling)) [y yo me quedo con esto] ((smiles)) 1: [no] no Ehhm te ofresco 150 y me quedo aca este P: No ((shakes head, smiles)) ((moves head)) <Hmm <purses lips> te ofresco de vuelta <<slides over 3x50>150> (looks at I) y yo me quedo con lo otro ((raises eyebrows, looks and smiles at I, looks down, up))

I: Te voy a decir que si ((laughs, smiles))

H5:

1:07

I: arranco ofretandote 50 (scratches neck and breastbone)

P: <<shakes head, purses lips>ehm no>

I: bueno quitmos 25 (hides mouth between right index finger)

P: <<waves right hand, points at I, looks up>ahora yo te oferto>

I: mhm (touches chin with right index finger)

P: ehm <<shakes head, raises eyebrows>te ofresco 50> (leans onto her right fist with cheek)

I: (looks up, smiles) yo te digo que no (laughs, opens hand leans into it)

(moves right fingers, moves hand to cover mouth, moves fingers)

P: ehm <<shakes head, moves hand on cheek leans on open fist>no>

(purses lips, touches lips with right hand) << hovers hand over money, raises eyebrows, slightly shakes head>Te ofresco> (--) << shakes head>si Tambien> (touches cheek, moves fingers, smiles, raises eyebrows, looks up) (laughs, plays with ear)

I: (looks up, raises eyebrows) ehm

(looks up) Asi (touches lips with right index finger)

P: <<raises eyebrows, slightly purses lips>hmm> (moves fingers) <<shakes head>no> (smiles) (adjusts money on the table)

(touches cheek) <<sli>des over 3x50>Asi> (touches cheek again)

I: no (shakes head, pulls back 3x50)

P: (moves hand to adjust money) ya perdimos (coughs in left fist) (leans on both hands, index fingers in front of mouth, looks up, raises eyebrows, nods)

(moves fingers, purses lips, raises eyebrows) Hmm si (looks up, raises eyebrows)

I: si Bueno (smiles)

Transliterations of negotiations in Chivilcoy, Buenos Aires C1: 0:46 Initial position: elbows, arms, hand on table, right hand over left in front of body, slightly leaning forward I: Bueno, mi primera oferta es esta y (looks at 50, looks at I, down up down up) Te doy esto [y yo me quedo con todo esto] P: Nunca en mi vida?[???] (laughing) <licks lips, raises eyebrows, laughs, shakes head to move hair>No, la rechazo> I: (licks lips, moves head) Bueno entonces sacamos 25 pesos [haceme una oferta vos] [a mi] P: (raises eyebrows) [Ahora yo] [y si te hago asi] (slides over 2x50 with indexfinger, looks at I) I: me das esto? P: <<waves over the rest of the money, looks at I>y me quedo con todo esto> I: no te rechazo esta oferta (shakes head to move hair) Y ahora [??????????] (looks at I, smiles slightly) P: [???????????] I: Si, yo te oferto esto y me quedo con todo esto (draws eyebrows together, pulls corner of mouth P: no tampoco (frowns) (slides 150 back to middle) I: bueno entonces sacamos 25 pesos (shakes head to move hair, licks lips) P: aaaaaah I: eh vos P: [voy yo] (purses lips, slightly smiles while looking down) (???) una oferta P: esto si (smiles, shakes head to move hair, looks up) (slides over 4x50 with both hands) I: [esto si] P: [esto] <<waves over 4x50>es para vos> <<waves over the rest of the money> y esto es mio> I: no yo te rechazo la oferta (smiles, nods slightly) P: (moves head to move hair) y ahora que sacas I: 25 pesos (shakes head to move hair) Y ahora que te [parece si] hacemos asi (draws eyebrows together, pulls corners of mouth down)

P: [vas vos] P: no (laughing, raises both index fingers, waves hands around, pushes back 3x50) I: no me la aceptas (slides hair behind ears on both sides with both hands) P: no I: Bueno entonces sacamos otro 25 pesos (smiles) Position: one arm, hand on the table infront of body, right hand touches neck) P: para que se me complico ahora <<iindicating towards 25 pesos>Esto para> (??) (looks at I) I: como me podes dar lo que quieras (??) P (slides over 2x50+25) << looks at I, pulls eyebrows together looks down up>pero no vamos a llegar a un acuerdo> (looks back down, slightly shakes head) Position: initial position both hands in front of the body left hand over right I: no no te la voy a aceptar tampoco no sacamos 25 pesos [Ahora] P: [ahora vas vos] (looks at I, smiles) I: si yo te voy a ofertar (moves head to move hair) ?? ofrecer esto P: << looking at 4x50 that are left>> I: y yo me quedo con estos dos que te parece P: me parece que (???) (laughing) << moving elbows off the table>hay que llegar a mitad y mitad> (looks at I, slightly shrugs shoulders, pulls eyebrows together) I: no se P: no tampoco (slides back 3x50) Position: initial position I: no me la aceptas P: no (laughing) Position: initial position I: Bueno P: (laughing, rubs bottom hand with two fingers) no aceptaba nada ella [a ver]

I: [entonces queda asi]

Yo te ofresco [esto me quedo con esto] a si?

P: <<looks up at I> [no me tocaba a mi]>

P: <<looking down, slightly raises eyebrows>me tocaba a mi> I: [(????)] P [(????)] (smiles) I: bueno P: (shifts body, moves hand closer to bills) << nods head to side, raises eyebrows>y yo te ofresco esto Tambien> [que me ofreces?] 1: P: <<slides over 3x50>[esto]> I: esto P << waves over the rest of the money>y esto es mio> I: no (looks up smiling) no te la acepto P: <<looks at I>y ahora?> I: y Bueno P vas vos (looks up) I: si yo te ofresco esto P: <<slightly shaking head>(???ita)> (looks at I, raises eyebrows) [noo] [que te parece] 1: P: <<shakes head, looks at I, shakes head again> no tampoco (ven?)> (tilts head to the side, slides back 2x50) (smiles, slides hair behind ear with left hand) Position:back to initial position <<raising eyebrows>Ahora voy yo> I: si P: <<slides over 2x50+25>te ofresco estos 3> (looks up) <<waving over the rest>y esto es mio> (looks at I, smiles) I: no yo ne te lo acepto P: <<shakes head slightly, laughs, looks up>no me (?? Aceptaste)> I: Bueno (licks lips) yo te ofresco esto y me quedo con esto P: <<looks at I, laughs, slightly raises eyebrows>tengo que aceptar alguna vez?> I: cuando vos quieras cuando te paresca justo P: <<shakes head, pulls eyebrows together, slighty shakes head, slides back 2x50>no no es justo no> I: o cuando no se si (??) [cunado] te guste o como como queda todo (-) dividido P:

[no] (licks lips, looks at I, slightly shakes head, smiles)

P: <
breathes out, frowns>(pero siempre es lo mismo?)> <<moves hands>yo te> (-) <<sli>cluster over 2x50>estos dos tuyo> y <<waves over rest>esto es mio> (smiles, looks at I)

I: yo no te lo(?) (looks down)

Yo te voy a ofertar esto y me voy a quedar con esto (breathes in as if starting to cry, looks up, frowns, looks at I, looks down

P: clara nooo! <<pulls head back, shakes head slightly>No te la acepto> (moves hand to push back 50) (laughs)

I: Bueno

P: (twitches head, smiles, moves hand towards bills) <<looks up, shakes head, smiling>pero me haces siempre lo mismo> <<sli>des over 50+25>esto es tuyo> y <<waves over rest>esto es mio> (looks at I, smiles)

I: no no te la voy a aceptar

P: (breathes loudly, raises eyebrow, adjusts hands) wow

<<looks at I>Vas vos ahora>

I: si yo te ofresco esto y esto me lo quedo yo

P: <<raises eyebrow>no> (looks at I, slightly shakes head)

Pero queda sin nada (looks down, touches 50)

(??) (licks lips, moves hand on the table between her and the bills))

I: Bueno

(-) [vas a]

P: <<reaches towards bills> [es]> (pulls back)

I: entonces (looks at I, smiles, bites lips)

P: <<looks at I>pero me queda sin nada> (???) <<shrugs shoulders>bueno ya fue> <<slight tilt of the head, slides over 5+25, looks at I>esto es tuyo> <<pulls 50 towards her, looks at I again>y esto es mio>

Position: back to initial position, stares at I

I: Bueno (raises eyebrows)

P: <<nods, smiles>listo?>

I: listo

C2:

0:57

Initial position: up right posture, one forearm on the table, the other elbow on the table, hand on head/ear (as if streaking hair behind ear) slightly leaning forward

I: (raised eyebrows, streaking hair behind ear)mi primera oferta es (-) te doy esto a vos y me quedo lo orto

((raises eyebrows, smiles))

(5 sec pause)

P: <<shakes head slightly>no>

I: me la rechazas (-) Bueno (folds hands in front of body)

Position: both hands folded in front of her on the table

Ahora (---) vos me tenes que hacer una oferta a mi

P: ((sits up straighter))< <rubs chin with one hand>Bueno a ver > quedan 400 ((counts while moving her hands, talks with raises index finger)) (8 seconds) 475 pesos (looks at I) (--) << raises eyebrows, waves hands around>para que sea equitativo>

I: como vos quieras reparti lo (waves hands around)

Repositions herself

P: <raises one eyebrow, lifts both index fingers> Bueno> (esta bien?)

<<sli>des over 4x50>Para vos>

<<pre><<pul><<pul><<pre>Para mi>

Y eso <<makes fists, leaning forward> hmm >

(--)

<<sli>es major?)> ((looks at I)) (crosses hands in front of body)

I: me das mas plata a mi?

P: <si <nodds once, purses lips>>

I: y (-) vos te quedas con menos <clicks tongue, raises eyebrows>

P: <<nods, raises eyebrows>si> (??) [aceptar] <slight shake of crossed hands> ((looks up))

I: [Bueno yo te la acepto]

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C3:
0:46
Initial position: leaning backwards, both hands on lap, under the table
I: yo te ofresco esto (looks at I)
P: << moves chin, both eyebrows raised, slightly smiling>y tengo que aceptar?>
I: ((looks down))o rechazar
P: <<nods at money, looks back at I>y pero (?) el resto?> (smiles)
I: me lo quedo yo
P: ((tilts/shake head))no rechazo
I: entonces (-) sacamos 25 pesos (purses lips) (--) ahora vos (looks at I) me tenes que hacer una oferta
a mi
P: <<leans forward, pointing at money>de esto?>
I: de todo
((with an aggressive motion slides over 3x50 (the hand can be heard knocking on the table), leans
backward again, looks at I, smiling))
Esto es lo que me vos me [estarias ofreczando]
P:
               <<closes eyes, nods> [te ofresco 150]>
I: ((bites lips, looks at I))yo te la rechazo ((purses lips, slightly nods with head, looks at I))
Yo te ofresco esto
P: <<slightly shakes head, smiles, looks at I>no rechazo> (bites inside of lips)
I: Bueno
Me tenes que ofrecer (???)
((leans forward, moves chin, slides 4(?)x50, smiles))
Esto para mi
                                                             [y esto para] vos?
P: ((looks at I, nods, closing eyes, slightly raising eyebrows)) [te ofresco]
I: bue yo te la voy a rechazar ((laughs, licks lips, bites lips/tongue))
((looks at I expectant, nods at her, raises eyebrows, stares at her, looks down)) bueno
P: ((bites tongue, tilts head to one side, smiles)) <<sli>head, smiles>no>
((tight face, moves chin))
((leans forward, looking at remaining money)) Te puedo ofrecer ((slides over 3x50+25))
((leans back, looks at I))
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I: no ((laughs, raises eyebrows, looks down, bites lips, slightly nods, looks at I))

P: <<tilts head, starts laughing, shakes head, slightly shrugs shoulders, lifts one hand from below table>no no no>

I: no lo vas a aceptar

P: <<shakes head>no>

I: Bueno

((bites tongue, leans forward, hesitantly lets hand hover over bills, covers mouth with slight fist, elbow on table, rapidly slides over 2x50 +25, leans back, looks at I))
(looks down, up)
(moves chin, looks up, down, up

P: te acepto ((asymmetrical smile, looks at I))
I: me vas aceptar

2:56

I: Bueno

P:<<smiling, nodding, looks up> si>

C4:

0:46

Initial position: hands below table, neither leaning back nor forward

I: mi primera oferta es esta

P: (5 seconds) ehm (-) la rechazo (looks at I)

I: (scratches himself below right eye with right hand) ahora (-) sacamos 25 pesos

ahora me tenes que ofertar vos a mi (looks at I)

P: eh (-) <<slides over 50>te oferto esto> (--)(looks at I) <<repositions himself, both hands on the table, playing with indexfingers, looks at I>aceptas o rechazas >

Position: both hands on the table infront of him, moving fingers, elbows off table)

I: yo (-) la rechazo (??) (slightly nods, plays with fingers)

(looks up) Ahora yo te voy a ofrecer esto (raises eyebrows)

P: <<slides back 3x50> lo rechazo > (slight smile)

I: lo rechazas (playing with fingers)

P: Eh (-) <<slides over ?, smiles, looks at I, one eyebrow raised>te oferto esto > (adjusts sleeve)

I: y yo rechazo (raised eyebrows, scratches himself below right eye with right index finger)

Yo te voy a ofertar esto

P: eh (-) (slightly shakes head) <<sli>back 3x50>lo rechazo > (bites lips) (plays with fingers)

(looks up, makes fist with left hand, holds it with right) [dog barking]

Eh (-) <<sli>eslides over??, looks at I>te oferto esto > (smiles)

I: y yo lo rechazo (plays with fingers)

Te oferto (-) esto

P: (breathes in loudly) << pulls 3x50 closer, looks up>lo acepto >

I: Bueno

C5:

0:53

Initial position: both arms, elbows, hands on the table, right hand on left

I: bueno mi primera oferta es esta

Vos con esto(looks at I) y yo con todo esto (laughing, leaning forward, raising eyebrows)

P: (shrugs shoulders once) << laughing, slightly shaking head, pushes back 50>no claramento la voy a rechazar no>

I: Bueno rachazas la oferta entonces sacamos 25 pesos me tenes que ofertar vos a mi

P: (leans forward, bites lips) okey (7 seconds) << leaning forward, raising hands>okey> (raises index finger of right hand, pushes over 5x50+25 one at a time with left hand, looking at bills, with little hesitation on the last one) ahi (looks at I, smiles)

Back to initial position

I: esta as tu oferta vos [te quedas] con 200 (looks at I) y yo me quedo con todo este resto

P: [si] (looks up, nods once, looking at I)

P: (looks down, up, nods) si

I: Bueno te la acepto

P: <<tilts head to the side, smiles, looks up, raising eyebrows>okey>