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Culture in International Relations
Defining Cultural Diplomacy

Abstract

Culture in International Relations has been a neglected issue, it has only been recently that it gained on importance in the practice and theory of politics. The article aims at defining terms and concepts associated with culture and International Politics: Cultural Diplomacy, Soft power, Public Diplomacy, Nation branding etc. Also two case studies of Cultural Diplomacy activities are presented in order to illustrate the theoretical background.

Keywords: *international relations, culture, cultural diplomacy*

Culture in international relations has always been a neglected issue. Military and economic powers were the ones attracting attention not only of the professionals and politicians, but of the scholars alike. Even International Relations (IR) theories have been focused on power and resources in terms of winning the wars (realism), economy in international cooperation (liberalism) and class struggle (marxism). Constructivism as a theory explaining IR with the aid of ideas, norms and culture came into being in the late 1980s and was popularized by Alexander Wendt in 1999 with his book "Social Theory of International Politics". Constructivists view international relations through the lenses of norms and ideas, they believe that international structure leads its actors to redefine their identities in the process of coexistence.

Culture was also usually associated with the arts – a subject of little importance to the great politics. However, when we look at the past, exchange of gifts by diplomats can be traced back to the antiquity. Cultural Diplomacy seems to have been forgotten for a long time. It has only been recently that it started to make its big 'come back' to the international stage. Public Diplomacy in general is today a crucial ability, as means of communication has made the people and nations stronger, what revolutions in Libya and Egypt have shown us.

In today's world of internet and social media a government needs to speak directly to foreign audiences in order to achieve its foreign policy goals. This is why taking care of country's image and organizing cultural events for foreign audiences gained so much attention in the last couple of years.

But how do we describe all those activities - Cultural Diplomacy, Public Diplomacy or propaganda? In the globalized world of instant culture exchange via the internet the definitions repeat themselves, the terms mix.

In this article the author wishes to present a short background of culture in international relations and then try to define the confusing notions which have lately gained on importance and are widely used in the discipline of International Relations, Communications and Politics:

- Intercultural Studies
- International Cultural Relations

- Foreign Cultural Policy
- Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy
- Soft Power
- Propaganda
- Country image
- Nation branding (country promotion)

On this basis the author will try to define the term *Cultural Diplomacy* and present two examples –one from the past – the *Family of Man* exhibition touring Europe in the late 1950s, and one contemporary - UEA *Past Forward* exhibition touring the United States (US) in the years 2014-2015.

The main research method of the article is a mixed approach of literature analysis and comparative method in order to clarify the definitions of terms associated with culture in the field of International Relations. Also two case studies are presented to illustrate the theoretic deliberations.

Definition of the term *culture* is crucial to even just begin the discussion on its presence and role in International Relations. Oxford English Dictionary defines culture as a 'refinement of mind, taste, and manners; artistic and intellectual development. Hence: the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively'[1] or 'the distinctive ideas, customs, social behavior, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period. Hence: a society or group characterized by such customs, etc.'[2]

Although those definitions may seem quite broad, so is the term culture. It is our language, art, ways of behavior, priority systems and customs passed on by the consecutive generations. In the area of International Relations, dominated by the European scholars in the 19th and 20th centuries, often a narrower, so called 'German approach' has been used which limits culture

[1] Oxford English Dictionary, to be fund online: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45746?rskey=cUcHhr&result=1#eid, retrieved on January 29th, 2015
[2] Ibidem

only to the human intellectual achievements – the arts. This is what we may call today the 'high culture' – opera, classical music, visual arts, literature.

For the purpose of this article the author will adopt a broad definition by Stefan Czarnowski, a Polish culture historian, who describes culture as 'the shared heritage, the fruit of the creative and processed effort of countless generations'[3].

Culture has begun to travel as the earliest relations between countries/states/regions appeared, thus when porto-states where created in the ancient Greece. Culture traveled with trade, with conquest and migrations.[4] Diplomats in those times 'carried messages and the best of them also brought back learning'[5]. They also delivered their own culture to foreign lands and brought back the foreign one. This was often done with the help of a traditional exchange of gifts - a widely renown custom dating back to the ancient times, which was aimed at establishing mutual trust and understanding.

Western religious missions traveling to China bared gifts of European decent. 'Jesuit Mateo Ricci (...) opened China to the West'[6], he brought prism to teach the Chinese about the optics and the portrait of a Virgin to discuss European perspective in painting.

In the medieval period local culture was cultivated and praised, it wasn't until the 15th century when a clash of two great civilizations and the discovery of the New World evoked new ideas, technologies and political forms, which created the need for modern day diplomats - representatives of nation states. At the same time, in Medieval and Early Modern periods art was usually harnessed to power – firstly art was funded by the church, afterwards by the powerful courts. Artists were seen as trained craftsmen and fought for their position and employment by the clergy or the court, which ensured

[3] Stefan Czarnowski, *Kultura*, Warsaw 2005, p.34
[4] Nicholas Cull, lecture given to Cultural Diplomacy class, University of Southern California, January 20th, 2015
[5] Richard Arndt, *First Resort of Kings, American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century,* (Washington D.C., 2005)p. 16
[6] Ibidem, p. 20

regular orders on their artwork. Diplomats where able to carry pieces of art as gifts and were presented with magnificent artworks at the courts they visited - as proof of power and wealth.

The home of modern day Cultural Diplomacy is France. The French have always been obsessed with their heritage, language especially. In 1635 *Academy Francaise* was created by Cardinal Richelieu in order to look after the beloved tongue. It was a marking point in the institutionalization of cultural activities of the state. However it was not until the XIX century that the nation state has been brought into perspective and further institutionalization of cultural societies followed – Alliance Fracaise was established in 1883 with the aim of teaching and promoting of the French language. United Kingdom established British Council in 1934 and Germany - the Goethe Institut in 1951. These institutions have been successfully promoting their countries and languages abroad for nearly a century.

Cultural relations as a term was introduced also by the French when a first separate cultural office was created in the Foreign Affairs Ministry in 1923.[7] This was the beginning of liaison between culture and politics, or culture in international relations, as Americans would call it. Cultural Diplomacy in the XX century has developed rapidly due to both the World War II and Cold War.

In the early 1900s private foundations were created in the US which provided scholarships for scientist and artists - Rockefeller and Rhodes among them. In the 1930s the Germans decided to use culture as propaganda when Hitler came to power, mainly towards Latin America. Those efforts evoked a response from the US and a Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations was approved in 1936 in Buenos Aires. Second ignition for propaganda and harnessing culture in the battle was the World War II and especially its aftermath - the Cold War. Till this day American and Soviet activities undertaken at that time are the best examples of Cultural Diplomacy

[7] Richard Arndt, *The First Resort of Kings. American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century,* (Washington D.C., 2005), p. xvii

- Jazz concerts in Eastern Block and Russian Ballet performances in New York. Both parties had an enemy, which motivated further engagement in the 'idealogical war'. Culture was used as weapon, thus Cultural Diplomacy was institutionalized in the US - Fulbright exchange program came into being and United States Information Agency was created in 1953. Also the Central Intelligence Agency was engaged in organizing the Advancing American Art exhibition in 1946, which however turned out not be a fortunate liaison. After the Cold War has ended motivation for Cultural Diplomacy has fallen rapidly - there was no ideological enemy, thus funding was eventually cut both in the US and in Russia, after the fall of Soviet Union. USIA ceased to exist in 1999 and it was not until the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, that United States started to turn its thoughts back to culture as means of politics.

Let us look closely at different terms concerning culture and the International Relations environment.

Intercultural Relations (Studies)

This term lies on the border of Political Science and Anthropology. Intercultural studies examine the cultural differences and similarities of nations, civilizations and people. A nation, in a word, is a "cultural system," and thus international relations are interactions among cultural systems[8].

These studies focus on cultural differences between peoples and nations, and try to show how can they be overcome or even made use of in relations among states.

International Cultural Relations

A term derived from the British tradition, it has become popular among Polish scholars of International Relations, especially studied by Radoslaw Zenderowski, Grazyna Michalowska and Ewa Zietek. It is a term rooted in anthropological studies applied into the IR research area.

The discipline of International Relations has parted itself from the Political Sciences in Poland, thus in order to situate the cultural activities of the

[8] Akira Iriye, Culture and Power: *International Relations as Intercultural Relations*, in: Diplomatic History, Volume 3, Issue 2, p. 115-128

government in the IR sphere the term International Cultural Relations was adopted. It is also used, though not so frequently, by French scholars such as Frank Robert (*Les relations culturelles internationales).*

The term International Cultural Relations describes all the relations between nations and its people in regard to their cultural characteristics as also to the cultural heritage and all activities related to culture. 'The term covers processes involved in educational exchanges (formerly called "cultural relations" by the US government) and information, propaganda, and psychological warfare activities'[9].

Thus the term is quite broad and may be used to describe all the notions of Cultural Diplomacy and Intercultural Relations in the American perspective. Richard Arndt sees Cultural Relations as 'literally the relations between national cultures, those aspects of intellect and education lodged in any society that tend to cross borders and connect with foreign institutions'[10]. What is more, Arndt points out, that Cultural Relations do happen even if no government action is taken.

International Cultural Relations in the multilateral sense focus on organizations such as UNESCO, where multiple countries cooperate in order to achieve mutual understanding and promote culture and national heritage of different regions.

German scholars use the term **Foreign Cultural Policy** (*Außenkulturpolitik*) - which narrowly describes the activities undertaken in the area of culture or the use of culture by the government towards other international actors[11]. Cultural Policy is a term avoided in the United States, as any liaison between the state and cultural/artistic world may seem to evoke connotations with corruption or propaganda. In Europe however, culture is

[9] Byron L. Fox, *International Cultural Relations*, [in:] American Sociological Review, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Aug., 1950), pp. 489

[10] Richard Arndt, *The First Resort of Kings. American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century,* (Washington D.C., 2005), p. 43

[11] Patrick Schreiner, *Außenkulturpolitik. Internationale Beziehungen und kultureller Austausch,* introduction accessible online: https://leseprobe.buch.de/images-adb/64/ce/64ced1c8-457d-4bdd-8125-52491175eb1a.pdf retrieved on February 20th 2015

widely funded by governments not only in international politics, but also internally and the term has no pejorative notions.

The first two presented terms are broad studies disciplines, the following terms are considered to be tools/methods of Foreign Policy and International Relations.

Diplomacy has a history as old as any political activity ever undertaken. Adam Watson simply calls diplomacy 'The dialogue between the states'. The word is derived from a Greek word 'δίπλωμα' literally meaning 'double' or folded paper, which was used to describe the letters of recommendations used by the travelers in the ancient times - they were the first diplomats.

'In times and places where there are several separate states and their actions affect one another, they cannot function in a vacuum of isolation, with each community considering only how to manage its internal affairs[12]' so diplomacy is needed - the interactions between state's messengers.

Of course there is a number of definitions describing diplomacy as 'the manner in which international relations are conducted'[13] or actions 'concerned with the management of relations between states and between states and other actors.'[14] 'From a state perspective diplomacy is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy'[15]. We commonly use the word to describe the conduct of any negotiations between representatives of states or states and other actors. Diplomacy 'may be regarded as a science or an art, as a craft, a practice, an institution, or a process'[16]. Richard Arndt, the author of *The First Resort of Kings. American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century (*2005) sees diplomacy as 'a process, a technique, (...) a culture'[17].

[12] Adam Watson, Diplomacy: The Dialogue between states, 2004, on: http://web.a.ebscohost.com.libproxy.usc.edu/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzExMTM2Ml9fQU41?sid=73f29320-fbf5-4d41-8d14-2144460b783e@sessionmgr4003&vid=0&format=EB&lpid=lp_1&rid=0, retrieved on February 13th, 2015

[13] Encyclopeadia Brittanica

[14] R.P. Barston, Modern Diplomacy, (London and New York, 1997), p.1

[15] Ibidem, p.1

[16] Elmer Pilgre, Modern Diplomacy. The art and the artisans, (Washington D.C. 1979), p. xi

[17] Richard Arndt, *The First Resort of Kings. American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century,* (Washington D.C., 2005), p. xix

A very simple, yet broad definition is proposed by Nicholas Cull, who defines diplomacy 'as the mechanisms short of war deployed by an international actor to manage the international environment'[18].

Public Diplomacy is a diplomacy aimed at a foreign public, that is, it describes a government's activity designed to influence foreign audiences.

The term was first coined by Dean Edmund Guillon in 1965 at Tufts University. He expressed his belief that public diplomacy 'encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy'.[19] Hans Tuch defines Public Diplomacy as 'a government's process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies'[20]. Evan H. Potter calls Public Diplomacy 'an instrument of statecraft in which one government is trying to influence the public, and therefore, the political environment in a foreign jurisdiction'[21]. What is more Potter emphasizes the solemn role of a government or a state institution in conducting the Public Diplomacy - a political purpose is the key element of such activities[22].

A concise definition is offered by the U.S. Department of State Dictionary of International Relations Terms: 'Public Diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television'[23].

Nicholas Cull has listed five components of Public Diplomacy:

- Listening
- Advocacy

[18] Nicholas Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, [in:] CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles 2009, p. 12

[19] *About U.S. Public Diplomacy* on Public Diplomacy Portal to be found online http://pdaa.publicdiplomacy.org/?page_id=6, retrieved April 2nd, 2015

[20] Hans N. Tuch, Communicating with the world: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), p.3

[21] Evan H. Potter, *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's Soft Power through Public Diplomacy* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), p. 33

[22] Ibidem, p.33

[23] *U.S. Department of State Dictionary of International Relations Terms*, 1987, p.85

- Cultural Diplomacy
- Exchange
- International Broadcasting

Each of them is crucial in order to establish a strong Public Diplomacy towards foreign countries. In this paper we are discussing mainly the third element - Cultural Diplomacy, which however makes use of all other four components.

Nicholas Cull, as many other scholars, notes the emergence of New Diplomacy opposed to the traditional Public Diplomacy. The main characteristics of New Diplomacy are the new media, rising involvement of the non-state actors, blurring of domestic and international news sphere and horizontal structure aiming at relationship building instead of just influencing foreign audiences[24].

Soft Power is term created by the American scholar Joseph S. Nye in 1990 in his book: *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. He developed this concept five years later in *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004).

Nye defines Soft Power as 'the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment.'[25] The main three elements of a country's Soft Power are its culture, values and policies.[26] Soft power can also be described as being opposed to Hard Power - that is military threats and economic sanctions used in order to achieve the desired outcome on the international stage.

The term Soft Power became very popular in the sphere of politics and international relations, basically encompassing all the ideological and cultural assets of the country which may be appealing to foreign audiences. Great

[24] Nicholas Cull, Public Diplomacy..., op cit., p. 14
[25] Joseph Nye, *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power*, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 616, Public Diplomacy in a Changing World (Mar., 2008), p. 94
[26] Ibidem, p.94

examples of Soft Power are Hollywood movies, desired and accessible around the world.

As Soft Power gained on popularity and importance after the 9/11 attacks actions were taken in order to somehow measure its reach and influence. Different institutions prepare various reports and rankings (for example EY - a consulting company), the most popular of which is the annual *Soft Power Survey* conveyed by a British media company Monocle. The ranking is based on nearly 50 factors, standard of government, diplomatic infrastructure, cultural output, capacity for education and appeal to business among them. The survey for 2014/15 points to the United States of America as the country having the most soft power, followed by Germany and United Kingdom.

Lately a new term has emerged in Joseph Nye's studies - Smart Power which is a combination of Hard Power and Soft Power.

Joseph Nye explains that with Soft Power, 'the best propaganda is not propaganda [and] credibility is the scarcest resource'[27]. However during the World War II and Cold War it was a popular tool. **Propaganda** is the culture being produced for or used by the government. It is a term with negative connotations, even if by definition it may seem close to public diplomacy. L. John Martin sees propaganda as 'a persuasive communicative act of a government directed at a foreign audience'[28]. The adjective *persuasive* may be of crucial importance - propaganda is aimed at achieving strictly designed results in favor of the country which does use the method, often making use of the target audience vulnerabilities.

An example of domestic propaganda are the films and posters created on US government's orders promoting support for the American involvement in the World War II or bubble gum comics depicting the 'horrible' communism. International propaganda was broadly used in the Cold War period by both

[27] Joseph Nye, *China's Soft Power Deficit To catch up, its politics must unleash the many talents of its civil society*, The Wall Street Journal, May 8th, 2008 on:http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304451104577389923098678842, retrieved on March 15th 2015.

[28] L. John Martin, *Effectiveness of International Propaganda*, in: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 398, Propaganda in International Affairs (Nov., 1971), pp. 61-70

the Soviet Union and the United States of America, each menacing the opponent's political system: capitalism and communism. All the possible media were harnessed in order to achieve more effective results - film, radio, posters and comics as the most popular.

Country image is simply how other nations view the given state. This is why country image is based on stereotypes and it does exists even if we do not take any actions toward its creation and shaping. Country image is defined as a representation of collective identities that refer to a set of narratives describing a nation (Evans, 1999, pp. 1-8). States produce country-images for domestic and international consumption[29].

If a country decides to strengthen the image or to change it - **nation branding** (also called simply country promotion) comes into the picture. Nation branding are the actions undertaken by the government or its agencies in order to influence nation's image domestically and abroad. Melissa Aronczyk defines Nation branding as 'a result of the interpretation of commercial and public sector interests to communicate national priorities among domestic and international populations for a variety of interrelated purposes'.[30] She also identifies the aim of nation branding as helping 'the nation-state [to] successfully compete for international capital in areas such as tourism, foreign direct investment, import-export trade, higher education, and skilled labour'.[31]

Culture plays an important role in nation branding. As S. Anholt notes, 'treating the promotion of culture as a must means that one can not understand its role in the process of informing about the real spirit and essence of a country. In essence culture plays the main role in the process of enhancing the reputation of a country as it directs the perception of a country by its recipients to areas that will enable a better understanding of it and its values.'[32]

[29] Cesar Villanueva Rivas, The rise and fall of Mexico's international image: Stereotypical identities, media strategies and diplomacy dilemmas, in: Place branding and Public Diplomacy, 2011, p. 24
[30] Melissa Aronczyk, *Branding the nation: The Global Business of National Identity*, Oxford 2013, p.16
[31] Ibidem, p. 16
[32] Anholt Simon, Tożsamość konkurencyjna. Nowe spojrzenie na marke,Warsaw 2007, p. 137.

One of the first examples of nation branding was adopting the orange color as the symbol of the Royal Dutch Family by the founder of the now ruling Orange-Nassau dynasty - William the Silent, known also as William of Orange, in 1544. Principality of Orange was a small state in the southern France, but it gave name to an enormously strong symbol branding today Netherlands. Other examples of nation branding are the big country campaigns adopting marketing-like slogans: 'Cool Britannia', 'Incredible India', 'Discover America' or 'SLOVEnia'.

Similarly to Soft Power, Nation branding is also being measured. Simon Anholt is the founder of several indexes: *Good Country Index, City Brands Index, State Brands Index and Nation Brands Index*. The leading three countries in the *Nation Brands Index* are the same ones as in the *Soft Power Survey* (Germany, US, UK), however top countries in the *Good Country Index* are totally different with Ireland on the top followed by Finland and Switzerland. United States of America are left far behind on the 21st position. Those discrepancies have roots in various variables taken into account while conducting the surveys - *Nation Brands Index* is more focused on prestige, economy strength and possibilities for development, as the *Good Country Index* regards what can a particular country bring to the world's common good. *The Good Country Index* is also divided into a few versions, which take different variables into account: Culture, International Peace and Security, Science and Technology[33].

Cultural Diplomacy is a term pinned down in 1954 by an art critic Aline B. Saarinen in *The New York Times* magazine. It was first used in political terms by Robert H. Thayer, special assistant to the secretary of state in 1959.

But what exactly is Cultural Diplomacy? Many scholars treat it as a part of Public Diplomacy or one of its tools, Freeman M. Tovell puts even an equation mark between Cultural Diplomacy and Foreign Cultural Policy. The

[33] The Good Country Index website: http://www.goodcountry.org/index_intro

most oft-cited definition[34] is the one proposed by Milton Cummings: 'Cultural diplomacy is the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding'[35].

Cultural Diplomacy definition is being tackled from many angles - many scholars, P.M. Taylor among them, apply the perspective of the media and feel that it is an invention of the French from the end of the XIX century. G. Szondi adopts the public relations viewpoint, concluding Cultural Diplomacy to be an element of the 'pantheon of reputation management', alongside creating the brand of a place, the brand of a country, the brand of perception and public diplomacy itself.[36] However the most common opinion is for the Cultural Diplomacy to be a tool, method of the Public Diplomacy or one of its types.

The basic aim of Cultural Diplomacy is mutual understanding, it is not a one-way information channel, but communication between a government and an audience. As Cultural Diplomacy is most often treated as a type of Public Diplomacy we can conclude it is aimed at a public of a foreign country.

Nicholas Cull describes four forms which Cultural Diplomacy can take: a) a form of a cultural gift b) cultural information - presenting something less popular to foreign audiences c) cultural dialogue, which leads to deepening mutual understanding and cooperation d) cultural capacity building - teaching cultural skills to promote understanding.[37] Practical examples of Cultural Diplomacy are the foreign exhibitions (form a and b), concerts (form a and b), publications (form b and d), exchange of scholars and artists (c and d) and workshops (c and d).

Current scholar debate focuses on Cultural Diplomacy actors – as International Relations have gained new, non-governmental subjects, can

[34] Patricia M. Goff, Cultural Diplomacy, in: Cooper A., Heine J., Thakur R., (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy, Oxford 2013, p. 420
[35] Milton Cummings, Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey, Center for Arts and Culture, 2003, p.1
[36] Szondi Gyorgy, *Filary zarządzania reputacją: dyplomacja publiczna w Europie Wschodniej z perspektywy public relations*, [in:] Beata Ociepka (ed.) *Dyplomacja publiczna*, Wrocław 2008, p. 72.
[37] Nicholas Cull, an opening speech given at the *Harmony or Discord: Exploring the Impact of Music Diplomacy?* Conference organized by APDS at the University of Southern California on February 13th, 2015

Cultural Diplomacy be also conducted by a non-governmental party? Evan H. Potter (2008) argues, that absolutely not. Cultural Diplomacy, as any other diplomacy, needs a political purpose. Any activities aimed at promoting national culture, but without any government input (either financial or ideological) may not be called Cultural Diplomacy. Also Simon Mark in his doctoral thesis *A Comparative Study of the Cultural Diplomacy of Canada, New Zealand and India* states that cultural diplomacy is a practice 'usually involving directly or indirectly the government's foreign ministry'[38]. Richard Arndt notes that 'cultural relations grow naturally and organically, without government intervention...If that is correct, Cultural Diplomacy can only be said to take place when formal diplomats, serving national governments, try to shape and channel this natural flow to advance national interests'[39].

On the other hand, most scholars tend to broaden the definition, as the world is changing and other actors are involved in cultural exchanges. Even if we decide to be strict and use the narrow definition, there will still be discrepancies. Let us look at the case of museums. If a National Museum in Warsaw, Poland, lends its work to be shown abroad it is an example of Cultural Diplomacy (the museum in state funded), but if New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art does the same thing – it is not (this museum is funded privately).

Another question which has aroused around the Cultural Diplomacy definition is its measurement. Should a Cultural Diplomacy Index be applied? If so, which measurements, how different from the *Nation Brand Index* should be taken into consideration? Inability to measure Cultural Diplomacy effectiveness is one of its main sources of critique.

All the presented terms are used interchangeably, often by politicians and journalist not connected to the scholarly discussion. Let us compare the terms associated with culture in International Relations.

[38] Simon Mark, *A Comparative Study of the Cultural Diplomacy of Canada, New Zealand and India, on:* https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/2292/2943/02whole.pdf, retrieved on March 10th 2015, *p.3*

[39] Richard Arndt, *The First Resort of Kings. American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century,* (Washington D.C., 2005), p. 43

Table 1. Author's comparison of different terms associated with culture in International Relations

	Involvement of the state	Target audience	Aim	Culture forms	Example
Diplomacy	crucial	foreign governments and peoples	Maintaining diplomatic relations	exchange of gifts, performances	Congress of Vienna in 1815 with music and opera performances
Public Diplomacy	crucial	foreign audiences in general	Prestige and support among foreign audiences	all forms of 'higher culture', education and information	Exchange of scientists and scholars eg. Fulbright Comission
Cultural Diplomacy	crucial (not necessary according to some scholars)	foreign audiences - mainly elites	Prestige and support among foreign audiences	Mostly 'high culture' - art, classical music	An art exhibition in a foreign country organized with the state support eg. *The Family of Man*
Soft Power	not necessary	foreign governments and peoples - mass audience	Measurable effects: postive public opinion, country awerness and image	All forms of culture, mainly popular culture	Hollywood movies popular all over the world
Propaganda	crucial	foreign and domestic audiences - mass	Carefully planned outcomes - usually support	Popular culture	War posters prepared for US and USSR governments

	Involvement of the state	Target audience	Aim	Culture forms	Example
		audience	for a particular government action		during the WWII and Cold War
Country image/ Nation branding	not necessary	foreign mass audiences	Encouragement of tourism, foreign investment	Popular culture	"Incerdible India" campaign

The first main characteristic of Cultural Diplomacy is the state involvement, either ideological of financial. Second is the use of 'high culture', a little neglected in other activities, as they are more goal oriented, thus aiming at mass audiences. Cultural Diplomacy still focuses more on prestige and establishing personal contacts and mutual understanding via exchanges, art and music events than on scale results as tourism attraction (one of the aims of Nation branding).

One of the first examples of Cultural Diplomacy is the *Family of Man* exhibition which toured the world in the years 1956-1963. The collection of '503 photographs grouped thematically around subjects pertinent to all cultures, such as love, children, and death'[40] was chosen by Edward Steichen, an artist and photographer himself. At the time he was the Director of the Museum of Modern Art Department of Photography, thus the exhibition was put together to be shown in MoMA. The exhibit was planned not to be historical, but to show life and its colors: births, childhood, work and also agony and death. It conveyed a universal message of American values and humanism.

[40] MoMA Archive highlights on: http://www.moma.org/learn/resources/archives/archives_highlights_06_1955, retrieved on March 29th 2015

This is why it was a perfect Cultural Diplomacy 'product' - already created beforehand and successful right from the begging - *The Family of Man* opened on January 24th 1955 in New York and attracted thousands of people to visit.

United States Information Agency decided to fund the international tour of the exhibition under the auspices of the The Museum of Modern Art International Program. *Family of Man* has toured the world for over seven years. 'The collection of photographs responded so well to both local circumstances and demands from Washington that reports from Berlin to Beirut were uniformly positive'[41]. It was a great success for the American culture, but also for the agency itself: the exhibition 'appeared in thirty-eight countries and was seen by over 9 million people'[42]. However, the cost was not low, two full-size versions and two of reduced scale reached the price of $180,000. Afterwards two smaller exhibitions 'graduated to full replicas as the success'[43] spread and one more version was sent out to Japan.

Family of Men exhibition is an example of a huge project adopted by the Cultural Diplomacy agency (USIA) to fit the tour in US, Europe and around the world in the times of Cold War and propaganda war between US and USSR.

The second example the author wishes to present is a project undertaken by a small country and fitted for the tour around the United States of America. The exhibition *Past Forward - Contemporary Art from the Emirates* has been organized by the United Arab Emirates (UAE) Embassy in Washington D.C. along with the Meridian Foundation.

The exhibit started its 18-month tour in Washington D.C. in May 2014 and travelled to Fort Worth/Dallas in Texas, Los Angeles in California and Spokane in Washington. Exhibition comprises 50 works of 25 young Emirati artists chosen by two curators: Noor Al Suwaidi, an expert on Emirati art and

[41] Eric J. Sandeen, Picturing an Exhibition. The Family of Man and 1950s America, Albuquerque 1995, p. 97
[42] Ibidem, p. 95
[43] Ibidem, p.95

Dr. Curtis Sandberg, Senior Vice President for Arts and Cultural Programs at the Meridian International Center.

Past Forward is a carefully planned and exercised Cultural Diplomacy project. Its idea was developed within the UAE Embassy in Washington and the exhibition itself co-created with the Merdian Foundation - and organization active in the sphere of Public and Cultural Diplomacy. Both curators and other team members were aware of the target audience and specific aims of the tour. Exhibitions title, artists, even the exhibition design was well planned and prepared. Additional events dedicated for schools have broaden the target audience so it also included children.

As Noor Al Suwaidi, one of the curators, states, the aim of the exhibition was to show how contemporary Emirati artists connect the present and the past, how their heritage influences their life and art works today[44]. The works were chosen carefully with the aid of American partners, so everyone would feel included, they would be able to relate to the art in some way. Also different media were chosen to present the broad spectrum of contemporary art scene in UAE.

Both exhibitions were/are a success. Surely comparing the numbers is pointless, as *The Family of Man* toured the whole world, but the *Past Forward* exhibition was much more targeted and cut especially for American audience.

Family of Man was adopted to form a Cultural Diplomacy project, while Past Forward was created as such from the very beginning. Both ways are popular in today's world Cultural Diplomacy activities, the first one presenting an American approach and latter the Euro/Asian. The direct connection between art and government was always a controversial subject in the US, whereas it is a common example of Cultural Diplomacy in European and Asian countries. Both exhibitions fulfill the Cultural Diplomacy description presented

[44] A speech given by Noor Al Suwaidi to Nicholas Cull's Cultural Diplomacy class at the University of Southern California on February 24th, 2015

in the table: they were state funded, aimed at foreign audiences in order to gain prestige for the organizing states.

What differs the two projects is the art itself. *Family of Man* was a blockbuster exhibition aimed at mass audiences, thus using photography as a new, powerful medium, which would be easily understandable for all. *Past Forward* on the other hand is a quite small contemporary art exhibit aiming at elites, students and children (thanks to the educational program).

These two examples show the possible diversity of Cultural Diplomacy. Art, music or performance may be used from the popular or high culture sphere. Also methods of organizing such an event vary - US would adopt an already existing project or hire another institution to carry it out, in other countries such activities are directly steered and supervised by special government agencies.

Cultural Diplomacy has gained on importance in the last decade. Soft Power became more and more important. This is why all the notions deriving from use of culture in International Relations should be researched deeper in order to provide a wider understanding and practical usage of this terms.

The main critique of Cultural Diplomacy is its inconsistence and lack of measurement tools. Military and economic powers can be easily compared, prestige and positive image can be measured via surveys and opinion polls, but there is never proof of given Cultural Diplomacy activity having influenced particular results.

Non the less, importance of Cultural Diplomacy seems evident, as contemporary world is ruled more by peoples than by governments themselves. Appropriately communicated activities from the Cultural Diplomacy sphere influence the country image, its status on the international stage. Also it does foster mutual understanding leading to less causes for conflicts. This alone should be a crucial argument for applying Cultural Diplomacy into broader Foreign Policy strategies. It seems that P. van Ham's

prediction from 2001 that the world of geopolitics and power is being replaced by a post-modernist world of images and influence[45] is coming into being.

[45] P. Ham, The Rise of the Brand State. The Postmodern Politcs of Image and Reputation. Foreign Affairs, September-October 2001, Vol. 80, No.5, p. 4

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A Cross Cultural Study of Communication Strategies for Building Business Relationships

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A Cross Cultural Study of Communication Strategies for Building Business Relationships

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ABSTRACT This study aims to explore communication strategies for relationship building across cultures from a linguistic as well as a culture-specific perspective. Specifically, it sees business relationships as part of social capital and compares communication strategies used to build relationships in sales firms. The research method is based on a discourse analysis of interviews with business managers, which also incorporates their success stories. In the analysis, relationship building is divided into two stages: the initiating stage and the maintaining stage. It has been found that more interpersonal strategies have been employed by Chinese and Indian business managers when initiating a business relationship. In contrast, the New Zealand and South African managers tend to use more impersonal communication strategies to promote public relations. Similar interpersonal communication strategies are employed in all the target cultures for maintaining relationships. However, a stronger orientation for long-term relationships in the Chinese and Indian cultures has been identified. Furthermore, the communication strategies are dynamic in all the countries investigated since they are becoming more and more multicultural and increasingly globalized in international business and management.

KEY WORDS • communication strategies • cultural dynamics • impersonal • interpersonal • social capital • success stories

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Extensive research has been done in business relationship building, in particular in the area of marketing relationship (e.g. Arias, 1998; Dwyer et al., 1987). The marketing relationship is often used as a universal concept in the study of business relationship-building, such as with *guanxi* (connections) (Arias, 1998). In today's world of globalization and internationalization of businesses, the marketing relationship is becoming increasingly important as a means to meet the marketing needs of sales firms. However, when it comes to establishing specific business relationships in a particular culture, business people can resort to their own cultural values and communication strategies, which may go beyond the area of marketing to include broader social dimensions. Social capital theory (e.g. Lin, 2001) can be of relevance for exploring these social dimensions and relevant communication strategies. Existing literature, however, has given little attention to exploring specific communication strategies for establishing business relationships, and even less has been done from a culture-specific perspective. Intercultural dimensions such as proposed by Hofstede (1991) and Hall (1976) may shed light on the understanding of different communication strategies used to establish business relationships. For example, Grosse (2002) made an attempt to explore relationship building in relation to communication strategies. She mainly used intercultural dimensions to compare American and Latin American cultures, but these cultural dimensions tend to have the presumption that all cultures can be categorized by these kinds of polarized differences, thus ignoring the specific communication strategies each culture employs.

This study attempts to go beyond these limits and employ both intercultural dimensions and culture-specific perspectives to compare communication strategies for building business relationships across New Zealand, Chinese, Indian and South African cultures. These four cultures are chosen for analysis for the following reasons. First, New Zealand is located in the Asian Pacific region, along with China and India, and is also developing close international trade ties with countries in this region and this kind of frequent contact requires further understanding of each other's culture. Second, New Zealand has a significant proportion of immigrants from China, India and South Africa, and comparing and understanding these cultures will shed light on a better understanding between these cultures. Third, South African culture is included here since it may share some similarities with the New Zealand culture as a multicultural society and it would be insightful to explore the dynamics and implications for relationship building in a rapidly changing world. Last but not least, there is a personal reason to compare these cultures: each of the authors comes from one of these cultures and all have lived in New Zealand for at least five years.

Specifically these research questions are proposed:

- What does 'business relationship' mean across cultures?
- What specific communication strategies does each of the target cultures employ to initiate business relationships?
- What specific communication strategies does each of the target cultures employ to further develop and maintain business relationships?

In order to answer these questions, the article first provides some background information about each of the target cultures. Second, it develops a conceptual framework based on social capital and intercultural communication. A particular culture-specific dimension of exploring the semantics of relationship building is recommended to complement these dimensions. The research method is based on both interviews with business managers and genre analysis of their success stories. The research method section details the data of success stories collected from busi-

ness executives. The fourth section discusses findings on how these managers, who are also the main characters of the success stories, have specifically applied the communication strategies to initiate and maintain relationships. The article concludes with findings on the differences between New Zealand and China, and the implications for understanding the dynamics of relationship building.

Conceptual Framework

This section develops a conceptual framework for studying communication strategies of business-relationship building. The discussion also incorporates a culture-specific dimension. According to Bond et al. (2001), it is imperative to have a dual perspective for comparing cultures.

Relationship Marketing

Relationship marketing (Buchanan and Gilles, 1990; Gordon, 1999; Levitt, 1983) is a form of marketing with a strong emphasis on building business relationships with customers, and it is also a further development of marketing, which mainly concentrated on individual transactions previously. It also sees marketing as a pervasive approach for doing business and has the potential to form a synthesis between quality management, customer service management and marketing. Business relationships are often interpreted as a business construct in the light of marketing relationships (e.g. Arias, 1998; Li and Wright, 2000; Yau et al., 2000), which may well reflect the importance of business orientation in the global economy. Other researchers also have made attempts to apply relationship marketing as a universal approach for studying *guanxi* – a controversial issue we will come back to later. In spite of its popularity and its broader focus than traditional marketing, relationship marketing still functions in the marketing domain and has marketing as its core orientation. This limitation indicates that relationship marketing may not be an appropriate approach for studying customer or business relationships that go beyond the domain of marketing. Thus it is essential to examine business relationship from an even broader perspective, hence the introduction of the concept of social capital.

Social Capital: Relationship Building as a Social Construct

According to Lin (2001: 19), social capital is 'investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace'. Social capital is interpreted here as a social asset by virtue of people's connections in the group of which they are a member.

Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) define social capital as the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Putnam (1995: 67) states that social capital represents a social organization's 'networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit'. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986) points out that social capital is composed of social obligations and connections and is linked to possession of a durable network of institutionalized relationships. All these definitions incorporate the concept of 'network'. A network can be understood as firms involved in a long-term relationship, and network relations are also closer and longer term than market relations (Thorelli, 1986: 37), and are likely to facilitate greater information density and a more reliable information exchange than markets do (Easton, 1992).

Another relevant concept to network relations is relational capital (Bontis, 1998, 1999; Bontis and Choo, 2002; Ordóñez de Pablos, 2002, 2005), which is also a subset of social capital. Relational capital extends the definition of relationship marketing or customer capital by including both sides of the value chain (Ordóñez de Pablos, 2005).

Relational capital is thus a broader term that encompasses these two types of values: the value of customer relationships and the value of relationships with shareholders, governments, and partners of strategic alliances. In this way, human capital provides a matrix of relationship-building networks. This can be another valid reason to show why the marketing relationship alone cannot explain all the business network relationships.

In light of the social capital theory, business relationships should be seen as a social construct since they contribute to the formation of networks or group of memberships. In addition, social capital also offers a potential link to communication strategies in the area regarding the way business network relationships are specifically established and maintained in each culture, hence the need to introduce communication strategies and intercultural dimensions.

Communication Strategies and Culture

This section reviews literature in the area of interpersonal communication strategies since networks and business relationships are built through appropriate use of these strategies (Adler et al., 2005; Bolton, 1986; Carlopio et al., 2005). According to Adler et al. (2005), interpersonal communication is characterized by a high level of personal commitment, while impersonal communication represents a clear detachment from personal feelings and involvement. The important dimensions to differentiate interpersonal from impersonal communication include uniqueness, replaceability, interdependence, self-disclosure and intrinsic rewards. In interpersonal communication, one tends to use strategies that are unique and irreplaceable to the interactant. A high level of self-disclosure, such as personal feelings, is also frequently involved in interpersonal communication. An additional feature of interpersonal communication is that it tends to target intrinsic rewards and long-term relationships. The opposite is true of impersonal communication in all the dimensions just mentioned.

These communication strategies can also be seen as related to the intercultural dimensions, and people in different cultures resort to different types of communication strategies for building business relationships and developing social and relational capital. Specifically these intercultural taxonomies are seen as relevant: Hofstede's (1991) power distance and individualism/collectivism, and Hall's (1976) high context and low context. These dimensions are chosen because they can reflect the networking patterns as shown in their definitions. According to Hofstede, power distance (1991) reflects a culture's attitude towards human inequality. Cultures differ in the extent to which they view social status inequality and prefer particular value orientations regarding the importance of status difference and social hierarchies. Hofstede also divides cultures into a continuum of individualism and collectivism, and this dimension reflects the extent to which a culture relies on and has allegiance to the self or the group. Typical examples of individualistic cultures are the USA, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Scandinavia, Britain and Germany. Typical examples of collectivistic cultures are China, India, Japan, Korea, Brazil and Egypt (Gudykunst, 1994; Singer, 1998).

Hall's (1976) low- and high-context cultures are a very important dimension for studying communication strategies. Low-context cultures tend to communicate in a direct fashion, whereas high-context cultures tend to function in an indirect fashion (Gudykunst and Kim, 1997; Samovar and Porter, 1991). In addition, Hall also points to the polychronic nature of high-context communication, which is easily interrupted, whereas low-context communication is characterized by monochronic styles.

It can be inferred that there is a close link between the use of communication strategies and intercultural dimensions. For example,

Table 1 Communication strategies for building business relationships

	Cultures			
Strategies	New Zealand	China	India	South Africa
Uniqueness	Social	Unique	Unique	Social
Replaceability	Replaceable	Irreplaceable	Irreplaceable	Replaceable
Interdependence	Independent	Interdependent	Interdependent	Independent
Disclosure	Little self-disclosure	Frequent self-disclosure	Frequent self-disclosure	Little self-disclosure
Intrinsic rewards	Tangible goals	Both tangible and intrinsic	Both tangible and intrinsic	Tangible goals
Monochronic vs. polychronic	Monochronic	Polychronic	Polychronic	Monochronic

in more power-oriented cultures such as India and China, people need to apply unique and irreplaceable communication strategies to deal with specific relationships relating to power influence when building business relationships. Cultures that exhibit less power distance and strong egalitarianism, such as New Zealand and South Africa, tend to apply more egalitarian and replaceable communication strategies since they tend to treat everyone as of equal status.

Furthermore, similar inference extends to other cultural dimensions. In collectivistic cultures people tend to exhibit more self-disclosure and use interdependent communication strategies, since group members tend to share their feelings and thoughts with each other. People from individualistic cultures tend to have a lower level of self-disclosure and to view themselves as an independent entity for promoting business relationships, such as those shown in marketing relationships. Accordingly, these two types of culture also tend to stress different goals in their communication behaviours. Collectivistic cultures may target both tangible and intrinsic goals for business-relationship building. In contrast, individualistic cultures target mainly tangible goals such as business transactions and product promotion in relationship marketing. This tendency is also in congruence with Hall's (1983) concepts of monochronic and polychronic dimensions. If cultures tend to achieve intrinsic goals in addition to business transactions in the process of building business relationships, they are likely to be polychronic, which means they focus on achieving multiple goals and performing more than one task at a time. This discussion is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 represents a comparison across the four target cultures of possible ways of developing business networks and relationships. However, it is only a static representation of the interrelatedness of communication strategies and culture and at least two dimensions are missing: culture-specific semantics and the dynamics of relationship development. Only relational and social capital theory can help develop these two dimensions.

On the one hand, it is essential to explore the meanings of relationship building shared among the members of the professional culture – the business managers as in this study.

In fact, the culture-specific 'semantics' refers to the particular definitions each culture tends to offer. Take *guanxi* as an example. *Guanxi* can be interpreted in more depth in the light of Fei's (1985) work on the Chinese networking system as part of social capital. According to Fei, Chinese culture is composed of a series of concentric circles with 'I' and 'family' placed at the centre. Subsequent circles that surround this core circle are composed of siblings, classmates and friends. Therefore group membership is the key to relationship building and in order to achieve this, one has to locate oneself somewhere inside the circles.

On the other hand, social capital theory also stresses the long-term investment in relational networking as a kind of resource for members to have access to. An investigation into communication patterns in each of the development stages will help in understanding the dynamics of networking patterns. Communication strategies should not be seen as something static, even within a particular culture. Instead they should be seen as context-related and stage-based in the interpersonal communication processes.

The 'dynamics of relationships' therefore specifically alludes to the stages of a particular business relationship, including the initiating stage and the maintaining stage. According to social capital theory, social networks can be maintained for long-term purposes. Therefore, it is essential to examine the use of communication strategies for each stage across cultures. In light of social capital theory, this article proposes the following dimensions to complement the study of communication strategies:

- Defining business-relationship building from a culture-specific perspective
- Exploring the communication strategies in two stages: the initiating stage and the maintaining stage.

Methodology

The data are drawn and updated from open-ended interviews with business executives of all the target cultures. Fifteen business managers from each culture were interviewed, making a total of 60 across the four cultures. For each country, the interviews were conducted in between two and three major cities. Only European New Zealanders and European South African cultures were included in the discussion. However, we were very much aware of the changing face of the countries, which probably deserves another topic of discussion. The interview results and the managers' success stories were transcribed. The interview questions were composed of three sections in light of the dimensions proposed in the conceptual framework. The managers were first asked to define relationship building in their own language, and then their views on the communication strategies in each of the relationship-building processes were solicited. As a third task, the managers were invited to provide a success story about how they initiated and maintained a successful business relationship. Altogether 15 success stories were collected from each culture, which again makes the total of 60.

Both interview results and success stories are analysed using the proposed conceptual framework. The units for analysing the stories were based on social interactions embedded in the story and the genre approach is used to identify the interactions. According to Orlikowski and Yates (1994), genre is characterized by its purpose, form and content, which are often used as criteria for identifying organizational genres such as stories and business documents (Louhiala-Salminen, 1997; Zhu, 2005). Both purpose and content are seen as the major areas for understanding the success stories. Content can be analysed in the idea unit of moves. A move is a communicative event which also refers to the strategies used in a text, and

form refers to the linguistic features of realizing the moves and purposes (Zhu, 2005). Specifically, the following purposes and moves are seen as essential for analysis:

- Purposes: Promoting business initiatives vs. establishing other types of relationships such as friendship.
- Initiating moves: Communication strategies for initiating relationships.
- Maintaining moves: Communication strategies to further develop and maintain relationships.
- End-result moves: Long-term vs. short-term relationships.

In this way, the focus of analysis is placed on the purposes and content. This focus is also congruent with the proposed aim of identifying communication strategies as shown earlier in this article.

Introducing Target Cultures

This section introduces the target cultures in comparison. One cannot really compare them without an adequate understanding of the target countries, hence a brief introduction to the socioeconomic contexts of New Zealand, China, India and South Africa follows. The focus here is on the mainstream business national culture within each country. However, we are also aware of the multicultural contexts in New Zealand and South Africa and the paradoxical western and eastern business influences in China and India. Furthermore, other levels of contexts such as professional and interpersonal cultural contexts may also play an important role. Detailed attention is given to the different levels of culture where relevant.

The European New Zealand Culture

New Zealand has witnessed a remarkable transformation in the last 20 years, both economically and socially. Muldoon's National government until 1984 involved itself heavily in the economy through big spending and interventionism (King, 2003). After the 1984 elections, the Labour government and its finance minister Roger Douglas, initiated major economic reforms that brought in deregulation and free competition in many sectors. The business culture was mainly one of managing and control over monopolies and an antagonistic attitude towards the workers. With deregulation and a more open economy, managers have evolved towards an upgrading of competitive advantage for NZ businesses (Enderwick and Akoorie, 1996). On the other hand, New Zealand is a small country and people tend to form friendship circles based on cronyism and the 'old boys' network' in business dealings.

It needs to be noted that New Zealand is also known as a bicultural country, where the European New Zealand culture coexists with the traditional Maori culture. More recently immigrants from various countries, in particular from China, are adding richness to the existing bicultural context. The multicultural context may indicate the potential for the dynamics of relationship building in New Zealand.

The Chinese Culture

China is an emerging key player in the international market. Since it started its open-door policy in 1978, it has witnessed tremendous changes in terms of economic growth and international business development. Western influence, in particular that of the market economy, has become a driving force for business undertakings. China has also gone through a series of reforms in organizational structure. As a result, various types of business are in practice, including foreign-owned, government-owned, joint ventures and private companies.

In other words, China is caught between its age-old cultural tradition and the western influence, and the market economy and traditional family values compromise each other and exist alongside each other. On the

one hand, marketing practices and business values have been well accepted and have become a major trend in Chinese society. On the other hand, Confucian heritage and family values are also maintained and reflected in business practices, although there is noticeable conflict between these two sets of values. Confucian capitalism may help describe the context. The idea of 'Confucian capitalism' (such as in Yao, 2003) became well accepted in the past two decades as a concept to explain the capitalist development in East Asia. This term may not fully capture the nature of business practice in China, but it more or less reflects the business-relationship building under both western influence and Confucian principles. Both are also crucial for interpreting and understanding the Chinese *guanxi*.

The Indian Culture

Historically after independence in 1947, India had a command economy with socialistic principles. This led to the *license raj* period in which a few politically connected businesses dominated the economy and were virtual monopolies in their sectors. The Indian economy was closed and even the government played a major role in the economy via its public sector undertakings (PSUs), which were controlled by politicians and bureaucrats. In this era, considerable time was spent by senior management on cultivating 'contacts' within the bureaucracy and political circles.

However in 1991, there was a change in direction with the first tentative steps to economic liberalization (Ghoshal et al., 2000). In the last decade, new competitive and technologically advanced forces have evolved, forcing senior managers to restructure and face the onslaught of foreign competition. According to Ghoshal et al. (2000), many Indian managers aspire to internationalize their companies. Pearson and Chaterjee (2001) write that this new competitive environment has inevitably reshaped managers' expectations and priorities, and in particular the societal value orientations held by them.

The European South African Culture

South Africa is currently a complex amalgam of several cultures and sub-cultures, but the dominant management practices are, for historical reasons, currently still mainly Eurocentric (Booysen, 2000; Jackson, 1999; Manning, 1997; Nel et al., 2004; Prime, 1999). However, after full South African democracy was established in 1994 and Nelson Mandela became President, moves toward Afrocentric management gained momentum. The cultural constellation of the Afrocentric South African management is different from that of Eurocentric management in that it reflects high levels of collectivism and humane orientation, concern for people as well as working for the common good and respect (Booysen, 2001).

Khoza (2002: 22) proposes the redirection of business culture in order for the community concept of business to be pursued. Booysen (2000: 1) states that the face of South African management is becoming more diverse and inclusive of all race groups, which poses a challenge to the dominant Eurocentric approach. This view also echoes other researchers' findings (e.g. Booysen, 2000; Khoza, 2002). For example, in summarizing the current business management culture in South Africa, Dadoo et al. (2001: 130) state: 'Up to now, business has been done according to Western styles of management. Presently, even Africans in senior management positions tend to adopt them. But in future, South Africa could develop its own style of business due to the meaningful interaction occurring among different people.'

Defining Business Relationship Building

This section provides a culture-specific perspective, and relationship building is defined

by managers in the respective languages of the target cultures.

To New Zealand business managers, relationship building was a critical exercise in order to achieve business goals. The terms that emerged in the interviews for relationship building were 'competition', 'marketing relationships', and 'business mates'. There is a clear focus on the business orientation. However, the small size of the economy and population may account for the tradition of conducting business via referrals or 'mates', even though New Zealand is predominantly an individualistic society of Anglo-Saxon heritage (Enderwick and Akoorie, 1996). This seemingly contradictory approach could be due to the history of earlier pioneering farming settlers who helped and were dependent on each other; it is, thereby, a clear focus on community.

The community focus could also be related to the influence from the bicultural and multicultural environment in New Zealand. The managers were aware of the influence from the Maori culture, as Maoris were known to be the earliest settlers in New Zealand. For example, *whanau* or family is a relevant term defining relationships in the Maori language. In the Maori culture, relationships, which also include business relationships, are built around the concept of *whauau* with an emphasis on community support for individuals. In the past 20 years, immigrants from all parts of the world, in particular from China and India, also began to settle in New Zealand, which may also contribute to an increasing emphasis on community-based networks.

In mainland China, *guanxi* is the Chinese word for relationship. Literally it means a personal bond or connection. According to the Chinese business managers, it had a much broader social and cultural construct than the utilitarian concept. Specifically, they emphasized these terms for relationship building: *jiao pengyou* (making friends), *jianli ganqing* (developing connection of feeling between people), and *yanxuxing touzi xingwei* (continual investment behaviour). They also indicated that the action word for developing *guanxi* should be '*jianli*' (establish) *guanxi*, and should not be '*la*' (forcing or using dishonest means) *whanau* as sometimes people misinterpret it. The former is to develop relationships based on reciprocal respect, friendship, effort and continued contribution. The latter is often to do with bribery, doing favours or using power to influence in dishonest ways. However, the Chinese managers also stressed the importance of achieving business objectives in the process of developing *guanxi*, and they believed that *guanxi* can help realize these objectives if it is developed and maintained healthily.

Their views validate the business values, Confucian relationship principles and Fei's (1985) interpretation of *guanxi* discussed earlier. The business managers' comments, however, seemed to go beyond Fei's theory to include more dimensions. A clear emphasis was placed on friendship, trust, honesty, reciprocity and care, without which *guanxi* could not be achieved successfully.

In addition, Chinese managers' definition of *guanxi* seems to have a broader perspective than some of the existing research findings, which tend to focus on a pejorative and utilitarian connotation to mean using someone's influence and authority to obtain favours and political and economic benefits (e.g. Hwang, 1987; Luo, 1997; Yang, 1994).

Indian interviewees used two key words, *jan pehchan* and *sambandh*, to define the concept of business-relationship building in Northern India. The Hindi term *jan pehchan* essentially means 'who you know' and reinforces the criticality of 'familiarity' and 'right connections' as a means of furthering one's business interests. *Sambandh* means a firm bond developed from the right connections and also has the emotional connotation of a long-term tie, which indicates a similarity with the Chinese *guanxi*. This kind of interpersonal bond was particularly true in

the old closed economy. On the other hand, the interviewees also stressed the interrelatedness of *jan pehchan* and 'professionalism', which is indicative of the current open competitive business environment sweeping India.

The South African interviewees indicated that relationship building in South Africa was attained by mutual understanding of what was important to a business and to the benefit of all stakeholders. One interviewee expressed it as 'a concerted effort by different parties to establish a foundation whereupon they can all co-exist in peace and harmony'. As noted earlier, alongside the dominant Eurocentric business orientation, coexists the Afrocentric South African culture. The word that can be used to summarize building relationships for the latter is *ubuntu*, meaning 'a person is a person through other human beings', according to Khoza (2002: 22). With this concept, it is suggested that the community concept of management culture should be enhanced by the concept of *ubuntu*. According to Mbigi (1997), *ubuntu* also means that there should be supportiveness, cooperation and solidarity; that is, communalism. The interviewees were also quite aware of the influence of this concept when emphasizing the importance of business orientations.

These business managers' definitions may well underpin their strategies for building relationships and are used as an underlying guideline for analysing and understanding business relationships.

Communication Strategies for Relationship Building

This section discusses findings from the interviews with the business managers in light of the conceptual framework. Specifically, relationship building is discussed in both the initiating stage and the development stage. Relevant intercultural dimensions are alluded to in these stages as well.

Communication Strategies: European New Zealand Culture

The New Zealand managers to a large extent indicated that the marketing relationship captured the nature of business relationships throughout the relationship-building processes.

Stage 1: Initiating business relationships New Zealand is one of the individualistic cultures, and many of the features described in Table 1, such as a tendency to use impersonal strategies for initiating relationships, apply here. The business managers interviewed noted that they frequently used seminars and public meetings to solicit initial interest in their business proposals. They further noted that these seminars were no-obligation meetings that focused on the market needs. As one manager commented, 'It is a matter of finding the potential partner who may share common interest with us.' It can be seen from this that independence is emphasized in the communication processes of initiating relationships.

New Zealand is also characterized by the egalitarian approach and a low power distance is paramount (Enderwick and Akoorie, 1996). This view is further illustrated by the 'tall poppy syndrome', which discourages individuals from standing out as achievers. Accordingly most of the managers interviewed talked about using an informal 'mates' approach to communicating with all levels of the social hierarchy. To them, what was more important was an understanding that the potential business partner would be reliable and trustworthy – a social approach to apply to all they interact with.

Stage 2: Maintaining business relationships Once the potential customer was identified, they would follow up and maintain it on a one-to-one 'mate' basis and achieve their business objectives. Note that their communication strategies shifted from

impersonal to a more interpersonal style once their relationships became more specific. The managers' orientation towards business meetings and time usage was monochronic as would be expected from Hall's (1976) definition of low-context cultures. The relationships, according to the interviewees, could be either long term or short term, depending on how the objectives were achieved. For example, the interviewees indicated that they could keep in contact with clients over the long term because most people knew each other in the same industry. However, if an opportunistic situation offered itself, they could also develop a short-term relationship. Their attitudes towards relationship development with clients seem to be quite flexible and they are ready to accept and adapt to the relationship pattern.

The interviewees, in general, pointed out that they preferred direct and clear communication in order to reach a 'win–win' business proposition. However, one interviewee mentioned that communication could also be indirect and subtle if the relationship was likely to evolve and be advantageous in the long term. This manager's comment indicates that their communication strategies change when the business relationship becomes more interpersonal.

Communication Strategies: The Chinese Culture

As discussed earlier, China is one of the collectivistic societies (Hofstede, 1991) and the managers' views tend to substantiate this tendency. Communication strategies were also used to achieve social capital of a collective nature. The managers' views regarding this are summarized below.

Stage 1: Initiating business relationships The Chinese managers indicated that it was their own understanding of *guanxi* as shown in their definition earlier that underlined their strategies for initiating a business relationship. As one manager commented, *guanxi* is about connections and 'The more you help others, the more you'll get connected with people.' This view further reflects Fei Xiaotong's (1985) view about China being a *guanxi*-oriented society based on its own peculiar social structure, and it also points to a unique way of establishing *guanxi* in China, which involves connection of feelings and reciprocal care, and also contributes to the development of relationship and social capital.

Specific strategies for establishing *guanxi* at the initiating stage tend to be indirect and often through a third person's introduction. For example, one manager indicated that if he wanted to initiate a relationship with a potential client or business partner, he would like to be introduced to that party through a friend who had existing *guanxi* to both parties. He admitted, however, direct communication to approach the potential client could also be a possibility if he did not have any existing *guanxi*. The relationship was built on a one-to-one basis and was special and also interdependent as it was regarded as part of the *guanxi* network.

Stage 2: Maintaining business relationships With regard to how to maintain relationships, the Chinese managers admitted that they would use different styles based on how the relationship had developed. For example, they tended to be more direct with long-established *guanxi* relationships. Their comments can be interpreted in relation to social proximity again. When *guanxi* was turned into friendship, the social distance actually would decrease accordingly and they would use more direct styles. In other words, their communication style is underpinned by specific *guanxi* with the people with whom they interact, which fits in well with Confucian theory and philosophy about relationship building (Fei, 1985).

In addition, the Chinese business managers preferred a polychronic communication style, which confirmed Hall's (1983)

claim. The reason for their preference could be that they tend to develop a one-to-one *guanxi*, and building *guanxi* with more than one person sometimes happens simultaneously.

Chinese business managers agreed that power relations play an important role for initiating *guanxi* in the Chinese context. In the meantime, they also believed that it was important to understand these power relations in order to use communication strategies appropriately. For example, one business executive pointed out that 'showing an adequate level of respect to senior people' was an important strategy.

In addition, they also mentioned that it was important to reduce the power distance and reach a certain level of proximity as the business relationship developed, which is the second stage in relationship building. So informal communication styles were seen to be useful for developing friendships. One manager, based on her experience of developing *guanxi*, even developed a model of turning 'power or social distance to friendship' as a fundamental principle.

So far the Chinese managers' views were found not to be very supportive of Hall's claims since most of the managers agreed that their communication styles were direct and they often spoke to the point, and this preference was particularly true with the type of *guanxi* closely intertwined with friendship in the second stage.

Communication Strategies: The Indian Culture

Stage 1: Initiating relationships The Indian business executives preferred high-context communication styles that required a subtle or indirect approach to develop *jan pehchan* or knowing the right people for doing business. One way of initiating business relationship was through the 'old boys' network', which relates to well-known colleges and universities. Another facilitator towards relationship building was managers or businesses coming from common linguistic or regional backgrounds. One manager commented that if one belonged to a certain caste that too gave them access to a network system with substantial resources. However, getting connected to and accepted by the target caste can be very time consuming and also involve respect for hierarchy and seniority, which leads to the next cultural dimension of power distance (Hofstede, 1991).

During the interview, the Indian managers mentioned that the various levels of hierarchy had to be respected and were an important consideration in relationship building. The managers usually formed connections horizontally to appropriately match the level of hierarchy. For example, a managing director 'connected' with another CEO or president, depending on the title used.

More derivative types of goals were achieved by the Indian managers, who say they can continue with their existing business partners even after a certain interval of time, and that the ties they had established before could be easily renewed and continued with a similar level of trust and intensity.

Stage 2: Maintaining business relationships Communication strategies became more direct as the relationship developed. The key issue that emerged as underpinning relationship building in the Indian business environment was trust in light of *sambandh* or the firm bond. Accordingly long-term relationships were seen as an essential part of social obligations, which could be extended to the families of the business contacts. Note the difference from the individualistic cultures such as European New Zealanders who are flexible with either short- or long-term goals. For example, a few interviewees said that attending weddings or other such personal functions was expected of them.

Because of the various obligations involved in developing relationships, Indian business executives usually exhibit a polychronic orientation (Hall, 1983), with many distrac-

tions and interruptions during meetings, and this is especially true of the large family-run traditional businesses. However, senior executives working for multinational firms expressed a more professional attitude, similar to the low-context communication style of being direct and forthright, which is another instance to indicate the dynamics of relationship building in a multicultural or international context.

Communication Strategies: The European South African Culture

Stage 1: Initiating business relationships The South African managers pointed out that the major motivation to establish business relationships is the need to fulfil a particular business requirement. This response also lends support to the individualism dimension. The South African managers vouched for long-term relationships. This is in line with the research of Booysen (2000) who states that future orientation, such as in the areas of goal setting, planning and allocation of resources, are important for South African managers. However, the communication strategies of using direct and clear styles were seen as part of their long-term relationships. Note that their long-term strategies are different from those preferred by the Chinese or Indian business executives. The South African interviewees placed great emphasis on the importance of building trust to achieve organizational objectives. They also mentioned that if quick payoffs and a one-off situation arose, the relationship would be short term only. In-depth relationships were, however, less common in building business relations. As one interviewee mentioned: 'The main goal is to achieve the business' set objectives.' This comment is once again characteristic of the Eurocentric management style.

Stage 2: Maintaining business relationships Generally speaking, the South African business managers preferred direct and low-context communication, which indicates a similarity to the New Zealand European culture. However, when a relationship was developed that was envisaged to be longer-term, the communication was subtler and less direct. Note the difference from the Chinese close proximity for maintaining long-term relationships. In the context of E.T. Hall's style of communication, Prime (1999: 6) states that the Eurocentric top management uses an explicit style of communication with little reference to the contextual aspects of communication. Written commitments are the only indicators of trust and there is a tendency to depersonalize relationships and focus on the tasks to be done.

Interviewees also claimed that the approach to establish a relationship could vary, mainly according to the business need. Power distance is therefore a less important variable in application, which shows a certain level of discrepancy with Hofstede's power index. This is an indication that the traditional dimension of power distance being high in business relationships is starting to shift in top management in South Africa. Managers are becoming less focused on maintaining quality and status stratifications, as had previously been the case (Booysen, 2000; Prime, 1999). It may be deduced that more participative communication is starting to evolve when business contexts are established, such as those involving multicultural interaction.

As shown in the interview results, significant differences across the cultures exist in both stages of relationship building, with more interpersonal strategies being preferred by the Chinese and Indian cultures, and the opposite is true with the New Zealand and South African cultures. Differences are also apparent between the two pairs, which can only be interpreted in more depth from the culture-specific dimension. In addition, the interview results can only be explained further in light of the semantics of relationship building provided by each of the target cultures, since the cultural dimensions can-

Table 2 Breakdown of findings from the success stories

	Culture			
Story genre	European New Zealand	Chinese	Indian	European South African
Purposes	Relationship marketing	*Guanxi* and business goals	Interpersonal relations and business goals	Relationship marketing
Initiating moves	Public seminars and direct meetings	One-to-one meeting via 3rd person introduction or direct meetings (rare)	One-to-one meeting in a group or direct meetings (rare)	Public seminars and direct meeting
Maintaining moves	Follow-up meetings and social functions with individuals	Meetings, luncheons, family and friends' activities	Meetings, luncheons, family and cast-related activities	Follow-up meetings and lunches with individuals
End-result moves	Long- and short-term relationship established	More long-term than short-term; *Guanxi* established and reinforced	Long-term preferred; Relationship established and reinforced	Long- and short-terms relationships and bonds formed

not explain fully the dynamics of business-relationship building, nor can they offer the insider's perspective about cultures.

Analysing Success Stories as a Genre

This section analyses the success stories collected from the business executives using the proposed conceptual framework, and both stages of relationships building are examined here. First, a breakdown of general findings from the data is summed up in Table 2.

The Purposes

In general, both tangible and intrinsic purposes are identified in the success stories collected. As shown in Table 2, marketing relationships with clients are the most important purpose for the New Zealand and South African cultures, while both interpersonal goals and business objectives are found in the Chinese and Indian cultures. This finding is congruent with Hofstede's collective and individual cultural dimension, and more collective goals are in existence in the collective cultures of China and India.

However, the strategies of achieving similar goals may vary as shown in the discussion of the next section on strategic moves employed by each culture.

The Initiating Moves

The strategic moves (see Table 2) concur with those preferred strategies discussed in the earlier sections of this article: the New Zealanders and South Africans resorted to public-relation strategies, while the Chinese

and Indian managers mainly approached individuals with irreplaceable interpersonal relationships. These strategic moves are also a further substantiation of the interview results with the business executives.

As shown in Table 2, the Chinese managers sometimes also approached the potential customer or partner directly at this stage. This direct communication strategy can be related to the cultural dynamics discussed earlier. Under the western influence of marketing relationships, the Chinese and Indian managers can also resort to a more direct and open communication style. However, they still prefer a one-to-one interpersonal relationship.

The Maintaining Moves

Maintaining moves are used to further develop and maintain the relationship. At this stage (see Table 2), interpersonal communication using self-disclosure is quite common in all the stories collected across the four cultures. The New Zealand and South African managers also switched to interpersonal communication strategies at this stage. For example, all four cultures tend to have individual meetings and working lunches to follow up their business goals. However, the Indian and Chinese managers were found to use even more interpersonal strategies to further develop their ties with the clients or partners. This kind of relationship also includes further connections within the group or cluster they belonged to. Both cultures tended to be polychronic in communication styles. At this point only the culture-specific perspective can offer a more detailed interpretation. The Chinese managers interact within the *guanxi* networks, taking care of their partners, their family members and the other members connected with the network system, which reflects the continuum of *guanxi*. The Indian managers functioned also beyond the business goals and interacted with the partners' family members within their network system.

End-result Moves

As a consequence of the different communication strategies employed, the end results also indicated significant differences across all four cultures (see Table 2). Most of the stories collected from the New Zealand and South African managers tended to focus on one major goal of promoting businesses. More derivative types of relationship such as friendship were achieved by the Chinese and Indian managers.

However, similarities also exist and each culture may develop both long- and short-term business relationships. What is more interesting is that each culture may have its own preference about this. Business managers in Chinese and Indian cultures appeared to prefer a long-term goal, while this was not as strong in the New Zealand and South African cultures. In addition, the communication styles in both Chinese and Indian culture in fact became more polychromic at this stage as the relationship spread to the related networks that go beyond the business relationship between the manager and the partner or customer.

Examples of Success Stories

Among the 15 success stories collected from each of the four cultures, one from each culture (see Appendix) is discussed in detail in this section, with reference being made to the corpus where relevant. The following four stories were randomly chosen for illustration purposes.

New Zealand Story

As noted earlier, organizing public relations is an important way of communicating business relationships for the initiating stage in New Zealand. As shown in Mr Frazier's case, sound relationships have developed from these activities, including attending public seminars and approaching potential clients directly, which is also true of the initi-

ating move in other success stories collected from the interviews. This scenario has confirmed some of the findings discussed earlier. As already mentioned, the New Zealand interviewees defined relationship building as building trust and dependability with another business 'contact'.

The maintaining move can be analysed in light of the New Zealand manager's definition relating to 'business mates' and keeping 'faith' and the continuity of the relationship. Accordingly, Mr Frazier involves his client in social activities such as golf tournaments. However, a surprising theme to emerge was that relationship building was looked at as a long-term exercise (see the end-result move) and not a short-term one as would be expected in an individualistic society. This could be related to the community focus in a small country characterized by both biculturalism and multiculturalism.

The Chinese Story

This story can be interpreted in light of the collectivistic dimension, power distance, and the culture-specific ways of building trust. As part of the background of the story, Mr Chang, the CEO of the telecommunications sales company, first identifies a need for building a relationship with a brand name corporation in the electronics industry. As shown in the initiating move, his way of initiating a possible relationship was via a third person who is directly connected to the target corporation. In the maintaining moves, their interpersonal relations are also further developed, involving both partnership and friendship. However, each party involved also tried to make sure that they had their own integrity and all the criteria for the collaboration were appropriately met, which led to an ideal win–win outcome, as shown in the end-result move. This story demonstrates that successful relationship building is a process intertwining friendship, integrity, trust and long-term relationships.

The Indian Success Story

The Indian success story can be viewed in light of India being a collectivist society, where the caste-related type of relationship is important in creating trust and loyalty. According to Mun, the senior manager, the concept of the *jan pehchan* (who you know) aspect of 'connections' was critical for both initiating and maintaining relationships with distributors and clients. Mun implies that he initiated relationships through his old school mates, a practice quite similar to *guanxi*. However, different from *guanxi*, it stresses the interaction at the same social status, as shown in this story. The maintaining stage shows even more intensive effort in dealing with his clients since Mun often emphasizes the importance of investing in 'relationship for success' – a communication strategy that effectively encapsulates the concept of social capital. The extensive maintaining efforts have naturally led to growing trust and loyalty from his clients. This scenario is further substantiation of our findings regarding the nature of the Indian economy and business practices. For example, the interviewees defined it as being an exercise to build the 'right connections' for business development, and this focus was also prevalent in other success stories collected from the Indian business executives.

The South African Story

This story is strikingly similar to the Chinese story in terms of finding an appropriate business partner in the telecommunications industry. However, the success of an application is gained through very different communication strategies. In the initiating move, Mr Olivia started with clear communication and directly approached the marketing managers of Nokia and Motorola without any referral from a third person as used in the Chinese case. Mr Olivia switched to interpersonal communication strategies to maintain these relationships. As shown in the maintaining

move, frequent meetings and social activities took place for both parties to communicate in business and also to develop interpersonal ties. A great level of harmony and mutual understanding is stressed throughout their relationship-building process, which can be explained in the South African managers' definition of relationship building focusing on both business goals and the *ubuntu* context as well. As a result they both benefited from their interactions, as shown in the end-result move. This is also a significant example to show how different strategies are used to build a long-term business relationship between the Chinese and South African cultures.

These four stories offer further substantiation of the interview findings. There is an overarching theme across all the target cultures: all business managers regarded relationship building as a process of building trust and reciprocal behaviour. This finding further supports our claim that relationship building is a social construct rather than simply part of business or marketing capital. The major difference lies in the initiating stage. As shown in the New Zealand and South African stories, both cultures employed similar strategies relating to public relations to promote business opportunities. In contrast, the Chinese and Indian cultures vouched for the interpersonal relationships to develop business relationships.

Significant cultural dynamics can also be identified throughout the stories. For example, the New Zealander manager takes an active part in the 'old-mate' networking system to develop his client base. The Chinese manager identifies the need for building *guanxi* first in order to achieve business goals. The South African story, using a similar approach of public relations as in the New Zealand story, offers a glimpse into direct and clear communication styles, but at the same time with the intention of achieving a long-term business outcome.

Conclusion

This article developed a feasible conceptual framework for comparing communication strategies of building business relationships across cultures from both linguistic and intercultural perspectives. Compared to marketing relationships, social capital theory offers a broader perspective to view business relationships as a social construct intertwined with social networking activities. Specific definitions were used to complement the study of communication strategies, and offered further explanation about why certain communication strategies were employed to build relationships. As shown in the managers' own definitions, relationship building was defined in close relation with the sociocultural and economic contexts of each culture. Each of the four target cultures also clearly showed cultural dynamics in a changing business and multicultural context, which indicates the need to study this topic in a broader social dimension.

It has been found that different cultures tended to emphasize different values – such as marketing relationships and 'old mates' for the New Zealand culture, *guanxi* or friendship for the Chinese, *jan pehchan* or right connections for the Indians, and a mixture of business relationships and *utbuntu* for South Africans. This further indicates that even if business managers share similar goals, as shown in the business managers' views, they still resort to different communication strategies for building and maintaining business relationships.

For example, different communication strategies were employed for initiating business relationships: both Chinese and Indian managers resorted to interpersonal communication strategies such as one-to-one meetings, while impersonal strategies such as seminars and public meetings were found to be more frequently used by the New Zealand and South African managers. More similarities in communication strategies were identi-

fied across the target cultures in the stage of maintaining relationships, and all tended to use more interpersonal communication strategies that involved specific communication strategies tailored for the continuation of the existing relationship. However, significant differences were also identified in terms of goal orientations, and more intrinsic goals were found in the Chinese and Indian cultures, which can be seen as the continuation of the long-term tendency already in existence in the initiating stage.

Further differences were also in existence between the Chinese and Indian cultures, which can only be explained from the culture-specific perspective. *Guanxi* and caste are both collectivisitic-based networking systems but they differ in the way people are connected. In addition, there is no lack of differences in the individualistic cultures. New Zealand managers stressed 'mates' as part of the egalitarian approach, while South African managers placed much more emphasis on harmony and collaboration. These nuances of differences are crucial for understanding what communication strategies may be appropriate for each stage of the relationship development.

All these findings have been further supported by the success stories incorporated in the analysis, which offered an insider's perspective into what the business executives actually did to develop business relationships. In addition, the dynamics of communication strategies for relationship building in the global and multicultural contexts have also been identified, as summarized in the section on success stories. Cultures are dynamic and developing and, in particular, individualistic cultures including New Zealand and South Africa have also applied interpersonal communication strategies in order to maintain longer-term relationships. In India and China, the dynamics also exist. Changes are also beginning to take place in China, and both traditional and modern marketing relationships already exist in India. These dynamics will continue as the world becomes more and more globalized. However, the traditional *guanxi* or *jan pehchan* won't go away overnight since they were deeply rooted in the respective cultures long before the concept of business was ever in practice. They are essential for initiating business relationships for these cultures. It will be interesting to see how the dynamics develop and what new forms of relationship building take place under the influence of both traditional and modern marketing relationships.

The research findings have implications for conducting international business and doing business across cultures, and also for developing social networking relations in general. In particular, an understanding of the differences in the preference of interpersonal and impersonal communication strategies at the initiating stage can help prevent potential intercultural barriers. According to Zhu and Sun (2004), intercultural business collaborations tend to collapse at the initiating stage. The nuances of differences between Chinese and Indian cultures and those between New Zealand and South African cultures also have implications for maintaining business relationships. Further research, however, needs to be conducted to see if similar types of preferences also exist in other cultures, more importantly to identify whether the cultural dynamics explored in this article also apply to other cultures.

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Appendix

New Zealand Success Story

Mr Frazier is senior manager for one of the largest law firms in Auckland, which has practising partners in all the fields of law such as commercial, family, property, and immigration. He felt that there had been a change in business practice from a stage where clients just walked in to the firm to a stage where they are actively marketing the firm. One of the key strategies he used was building the client base through marketing relationships, and here is his story.

Initiating	I regularly organize seminars for our clients to update them on the latest law changes, and mail out newsletters with the goal of keeping the clients informed and the firm's name at the 'top of the mind' for brand recall. In addition, I pay attention to the client base and organize business and social activities that will enhance business
Maintaining	relationships, such as golf tournaments and barbecue evenings. At one such barbeque evening I developed a relationship with a large firm providing family services in Auckland including counselling, property settlements, and arbitration. I made it a point to lunch with them regularly and even became 'mates' with some of the managers and attended their family functions.
End-result	This in turn generated a lot of business referrals to my law firm, which I feel was a win–win situation for all concerned.

The Chinese Story

Mr Chang Mingde is CEO of a Chinese telecommunications firm selling mobile phones and other telecommunications products. His firm has recently experienced a downturn in sales. The major problem, he believes, is that they do not sell brand-name products. As China is going through westernization, customers would like to buy products of known brands. In addition, the markets are full of products manufactured by small family businesses. He decided to develop a business relationship with a brand company, as shown in his story below.

Initiating I approached some of my senior management members to find out who knew anyone from a company that produces brand-name products. One of the managers, Li Lan, responded that his friend Ms Wang is a senior manager for the Five Star Telecommunications Corporation, which is well known in China for its quality telecommunications products. With the introduction of Li Lan, I got to know Ms Wang.

Maintaining Subsequent informal meetings with Ms Wang took place to explore the possibility of having our company as a wholesaler. I also offered help to her and her family whenever needed. Ms Wang recommended us as a wholesale company. After appropriate procedures of assessment on our company site, Five Star Telecommunications

End-result Corporation agreed we had met all the criteria. Finally Yada has succeeded in becoming a wholesaler for the brand company and our relationship continues up to today.

The Indian Story

This success story is provided by Mun Bhatia, a senior manager of FMCG firms, which sell a range of products including tea and other grocery items, a line of liquor products and durables such as white goods.

Initiating I always view maintaining relationships with distributors as a critical strategy to achieve business goals. Some of my customers are large firms that in turn are managed by graduates from the same elite institution that I graduated from, which allows for strong networking opportunities. After a connection – *jan pehchan* – is made, it is

Maintaining important to invest in the relationship for success. I always encourage my subordinates in this regard. For example, one of them is particularly good at maintaining his relationship with major clients. He managed our client relationship very well, even going unannounced to the airport or railway station to meet them, sometimes at 5 am! This effort pleases the clients since it shows his sincerity to them and the extent to which he is willing to go in order to maintain the relationship.

End-result This sort of personalized service adds to our commitment to nurturing a long-term relationship.

The South African Story

This story is narrated by Alex Olivia, who is a senior manager at Vodacom South Africa, a telecommunications corporation in South Africa. Vodacom South Africa as a market leader in handsets has over the past years established relationships with various manufacturers. This led to the seeking of opportunities to build relationships in order to market products and to improve business. Alex's story unfolds part of the process of establishing a relationship with manufacturers.

Initiating I did quite a bit of research on telecommunications manufacturers and decided that Nokia and Motorola should be my target since they produce high quality products. I invited their marketing managers to attend some of our seminars, which they did. We explored our overlapping interest in the market after the seminar. Our relationship was established by means of various intensive negotiations between senior managers of these two organizations to establish mutually beneficial advantages in the communications market. Currently Vodacom South Africa provides a market for these

Maintaining manufacturers to distribute their products. As part of the agreement reached between the parties, Vodacom undertook to supply these particular products at the lowest
End-result possible price in exchange for a constant supply of products and parts, as well as an excellent service from the manufacturers which is going to benefit both parties over the long run.

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Résumé

Une étude interculturelle des stratégies de communication dans l'établissement des relations professionnelles (Yunxia Zhu, Pieter Nel et Ravi Bhat)

Cette étude tente d'explorer les stratégies de communication visant à établir des relations entre cultures d'un point de vue à la fois linguistique et culturellement spécifique. Notamment, elle perçoit les relations professionnelles comme partie intégrante du capital social et compare entre elles les stratégies de communication employées pour construire les relations au sein des entreprises de vente. Cette méthode de recherche s'appuie sur une analyse du discours issu d'entretiens avec des cadres dirigeants, en intégrant également à cette analyse leur réussite personnelle. Cette analyse distingue deux stades dans l'établissement des relations: un stade d'amorce et un stade d'entretien. D'après les résultats, les cadres dirigeants chinois et indiens ont eu davantage recours aux stratégies interpersonnelles pour amorcer une relation professionnelle. A l'opposé, les cadres dirigeants néo-zélandais et sud-africains ont tendance à recourir davantage aux stratégies impersonnelles de communication dans la promotion des relations publiques. Des stratégies interpersonnelles de communication semblables sont employées pour entretenir les relations. Néanmoins, on a pu noter une orientation plus forte en faveur de relations à long terme dans les cultures chinoise et indienne. En outre, les stratégies de communication sont dynamiques dans tous les pays de l'étude, car ces pays sont en train de devenir de plus en plus multiculturels et de plus en plus mondialisés en matière d'affaires internationales et de management.

摘要

关于建立商业联系沟通战略的跨文化研究

Yunxia Zhu, Pieter Nel and Ravi Bhat

本研究旨在从语言及特定文化的观点探究跨文化人际创建的沟通战略。具体而言，本研究把商业联系视为社会资本的一部分，并比较用来建立销售公司人际关系的沟通战略。研究方法建立在和经理访谈的基础上，并将他们的成功经历整合在分析里。人际关系的建立在此分析中分为两步：启动阶段和维护阶段。研究发现中国和印度的经理们更多的运用人际关系战略来启动关系的建立。相反，新西兰和南非的经理更倾向用非个人沟通战略来增强公共关系。为了维持关系，所有文化几乎都使用类似的人际沟通战略。然而我们发现中国和印度更倾向于建立长期关系。而且所有被调查国家的沟通战略都是的，因为这些沟通战略不是变得越来越趋向于多文化就是在国际商务和管理中变得更加国际化。

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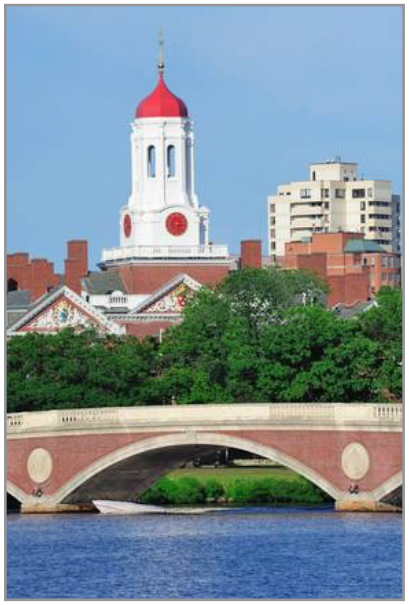

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Cope with culture clashes

Entering the Soho Grand Hotel lobby in his most conservative suit, Stan brimmed with confidence as he approached an important potential customer, Vice President Sugimoto of MTV-Japan. Spotting the stylishly attired Sugimoto chatting with some musicians, Stan approached him with a deep bow and traditional Japanese greetings of respect. When he heard Sugimoto's reply—"What's up with *that,* my man?"—Stan felt a sinking sensation in his gut.

As Stan understood in hindsight, he needlessly raised cultural barriers between himself and Sugimoto that night. He should have realized—based on Sugimoto's employer, his hotel choice, and even his clothes—that his awkward attempt at traditional Japanese manners would only embarrass his guest.

Most of us can identify with Stan's faux pas. In our era of diversity and globalization, respect for cultural differences is constantly stressed. Yet our counterparts are complex people who won't necessarily follow their cultural scripts. Sometimes culture matters a lot, sometimes not at all!

When making judgment calls, we rely on *schemas*: cognitive templates that provide low-effort, ready-made answers. *Cultural schemas* account for the distinctive behavioral biases exhibited by negotiators from a particular culture. Suppose that a buyer in a procurement negotiation is surprised by a new seller's high initial bid. She may wonder, "Is this seller trying to gouge me, or does his product require a high bottom line?" A core American cultural schema attributes behavior to personality traits (as in the saying "Character is destiny"). If she follows this schema, she will interpret the seller's bid in terms of personal factors (the seller's greed) rather than in terms of situational factors (the seller's bargaining position).

Deadlines, distractions, emotional stressors, accountability—all these factors make negotiators more likely to rely on cultural schemas rather than considering a problem from multiple angles. An understanding of these triggering factors

can help you cope with culture at the bargaining table.

For instance, it can enable you to anticipate the extent to which culture will shape your counterpart's behavior. And it can do more than predict behavior, it can help you influence it. You can shape many features of the negotiation in advance—the location, the members of your team, the issues on the agenda, and so on—so as to reduce the possibility of cultural misunderstanding. In your behavior at the bargaining table, you can also work to minimize demands on your attention, emotional stressors, and cognitive cues that provoke culturally based thinking.

Consider the case of a manager who was negotiating a joint venture between his Silicon Valley firm and a major Japanese electronics company. Communication and trust had disintegrated, and meetings in San Jose and Tokyo had failed to restore a common understanding. In both settings, the visitors felt off-guard and defensive, while the hosts were surrounded by distractions and cultural primes. So the two sides decided to meet at a Hawaiian resort, a halfway point geographically and in other ways as well. Though within the United States, the resort catered primarily to Japanese tourists. The primary language was English, but the ambiance was as much Asian as American. In this setting, cultural barriers diminished, and trust was restored.

Adapted from "When Culture Counts—and When It Doesn't," by Michael W. Morris (professor, Columbia University), first published in the *Negotiation* newsletter (June 2005).

Weigh culture against other important factors

As members of organizations and families, we all know from experience that even people with identical backgrounds can have vastly differing negotiating styles and values. Nonetheless, we continue to be intrigued by the idea that distinct patterns emerge between negotiators from different cultures.

Researchers do confirm a relationship between national culture and negotiation style and success. An ongoing project sponsored by Northwestern

University's Dispute Resolution Research Center is exploring the link between process and outcomes—specifically, how cultural tendencies lead to certain process choices, which, in turn, can lead to better or worse negotiation results.

One study undertaken by the center has found that negotiators from the United States typically communicate their priorities more directly than do their Japanese counterparts, an advantage at the bargaining table. Because Japanese negotiators are generally good at making inferences, however, they match the performance of Americans in their ability to use information to generate joint gains.

By contrast, negotiators from Hong Kong and Russia do not create as much value as do American and Japanese negotiators, though for quite different reasons. Hong Kong negotiators often fail to share enough information to identify beneficial tradeoffs, while Russian negotiators tend to rely too much on power tactics.

Although the findings confirm some familiar national stereotypes, it would be a grave mistake to assume that group tendencies reliably predict any one individual's behavior. The important contribution of this research is that cultural differences in negotiation don't hinge precisely on where a negotiator happens to have been born. Rather, they depend on what that negotiator actually does at the bargaining table. The ability to engage in constructive communication—by revealing and interpreting information—matters much more than a negotiator's passport.

Adapted from "Cultural Notes," first published in the *Negotiation* newsletter (April 2004).

Prepare for possible cultural barriers

Even with a common language and the best of intentions, negotiators from different cultures face special challenges. Try following these guidelines when preparing for talks with someone from a different culture:

1. Research your counterpart's background and experience. With a little homework, you should be able to learn who your negotiating partner will be and find out some details about her background and experience. If your counterpart has a great deal of international negotiating experience, you can probably assume that cultural stereotyping (and any effort to modify your negotiating strategy

accordingly) is likely to create new communication difficulties rather than solve old ones. If you have trouble getting information about your negotiating partner, ask an intermediary with contacts at that firm or organization to make inquiries for you. (Be sure the intermediary understands that he is not authorized to make any commitments on your behalf.)

2. Enlist an adviser from your counterpart's culture. If you discover that the person with whom you are likely to be negotiating has little or no international or cross-cultural experience, consider enlisting someone from his culture to serve as your "second" during the negotiation. Rather than deferring to this adviser during talks, plan out signals in advance to indicate when you should take a break for additional advice. In this manner, your cultural "guide" can help you size up the situation, coach you as needed, and even interject if he feels you have made an egregious error or misinterpretation.

3. Pay close attention to unfolding negotiation dynamics. Listen carefully during talks. If you're unsatisfied with the answers you receive, reframe your questions and try again. If you're unsure about what the other side said, repeat what you think you heard. It's safe to assume that people living and working in different cultural settings often view or interpret the same events differently. But in our era of globalization, it's also true that we have more in common on the person-to-person level than you might expect. Don't ignore your intuition, and mind your manners.

Most business professionals recognize when they need technical or legal expertise to proceed with a deal-making interaction. Similarly, cross-cultural negotiators should realize that they might well need help sizing up the situation in advance, as well as interpreting the signals and norms that could make or break a negotiation in a cross-cultural context.

Adapted from "What Gets Lost in Translation,"
by Lawrence Susskind (professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology),
first published in the *Negotiation* newsletter (September, 2004).

Deal with translators

"The language of international business," a British executive once said to me, "is broken English." Fortunately for American negotiators, who usually don't speak a foreign language well, if at all, much of global business *is* conducted in English—an English with a profusion of accents, cadences, and syntaxes.

Because translation complicates negotiation, executives should manage and plan for it as they would any other tactical element in dealmaking. Based on his book *The Global Negotiator: Making, Managing, and Mending Deals Around the World in the Twenty-First Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), Jeswald Salacuse has developed some simple rules that can help you negotiate more effectively in translation, four of which we summarize here.

1. Hire your own translator, and make your choice carefully. Except in cases where special reasons for trust exist, such as when you're negotiating with a longtime partner, do not rely on the other side's interpreter unless someone on your team understands the language and can check the translation. Before hiring an interpreter, try to determine her skill and experience from independent sources, such as the U.S. consulate or the local branch of a multinational bank. In many countries, the linguistic ability of people who call themselves "professional interpreters" varies considerably.

Hiring a mediocre interpreter can wreak unintentional havoc. Several years ago, an American negotiating team in China was astounded when its simple request to bring three typewriters into the country was rejected by government officials on the other side of the table. Only after an hour of wrangling did it become clear that the interpreter had mistranslated the English word "typewriter" as the Chinese word "stenographer."

2. Brief your translator before negotiations start. Translators may be experts in languages, but they will rarely be experts in your business. Context gives words their meaning, but interpreters seldom will know the business context of your deal. For this reason, you should brief your interpreter beforehand on the background of the negotiation: the nature of your company, its business, and the deal you hope to arrange. You should also explain what type of translation

you expect. For example, if you want a word-for-word translation rather than a summary, make that requirement clear.

3. Stay on guard. Some interpreters, because of personal interests or ego, will try to take control of negotiations or slant them in a particular way. This risk may be especially high if the interpreter also works as a middleman, agent, or business consultant and is hoping for future business opportunities from your deal. You need to guard against such power plays by learning enough about your translator to determine potential conflicts of interest and by staying alert throughout talks to ensure that your translator is not adding in personal business advice.

4. Be sure to "chunk" it. When you negotiate in consecutive translation, speak in short, bite-size chunks, pausing after each one to give the interpreter a chance to translate your words. Inexperienced negotiators can become so engrossed in delivering their message that they forget to pause, or do so only after making a very long statement. This can confuse the interpreter and contribute to inaccurate translations. When planning your presentation, remember to pause frequently.

Adapted from "Negotiation in Translation," by Jeswald W. Salacuse, first published in the *Negotiation* newsletter (October 2004).

Avoid ethical stereotypes

As professor Cheryl Rivers of Queensland University of Technology in Brisbane, Australia, has pointed out in a literature review, seasoned negotiators often hear stories about the unethical behaviors of people of other nationalities. Perhaps the toughest problems arise surrounding what Rivers calls "ethically ambiguous" negotiation tactics. Ambiguity can lead us to reach sinister conclusions about the motives of our counterparts, particularly when we lack a solid understanding of an opponent's culture.

Rivers summarizes a variety of cultural differences in negotiation. For example, Asians are more likely to view cultivating a relationship with a negotiating counterpart through expensive gifts, entertainment, or personal

favors as more ethically appropriate than would Americans or Canadians. Similarly, she notes that although Mexicans have higher standards than Americans about what is ethically appropriate, necessity is more likely to lead Mexicans to violate these standards.

Like any differences between groups, these cultural differences are small, on average. Nonetheless, we tend to overuse the stereotypes that arise from these small differences, and these stereotypes block us from noting important individuating information. Thus, we too often act as if the person on the other side of the table represents the cultural stereotype we're expecting. From her statements and behaviors, we seek *confirmatory information* to back up these stereotypes. Perhaps most problematic, when a counterpart uses ethically ambiguous negotiation tactics, we adopt sinister explanations for her motives.

When it comes to negotiating behavior, more variance often exists within cultures than between them. Negotiators should seek out information about individual and cultural differences. However, negotiators are more likely to assume that people from other cultures are behaving unethically than they are to realize that standards of ethical behavior vary. Therefore, don't jump to harsh conclusions about the other side's motives when more benevolent explanations for their behavior are possible.

Adapted from "Cultural Caveats," first published in the *Negotiation* newsletter (July 2006).

Consider the team approach

According to conventional wisdom, when it comes to negotiation, there's strength in numbers. Indeed, several experimental studies have supported the notion that you should bring at least one other person from your organization to the bargaining table if you can. On average, this research has found that teams exchange more information than solo negotiators, make more accurate judgments of the other side, and create more value, resulting in greater profits compared to individuals.

Researchers Michele J. Gelfand, Jeanne M. Brett, Daphne Huang, Lynn Imai, and Hwa-Hwa Tsai tested these findings across cultures and contexts. In the United States, teams engaged in an exercise involving a potential deal outperformed solo negotiators; however, teams *underperformed* solo negotiators in the same exercise in Taiwan. When participants had to resolve a dispute rather than reach a deal, the results changed: teams and solo negotiators achieved similar outcomes in the United States, and teams *outperformed* solo negotiators in Taiwan.

What explains these intriguing findings? The researchers hypothesize that in collective cultures such as Taiwan, negotiating teams focus on developing relationships, both within the team and across the table, and thus are less likely to challenge each other. The result is greater harmony—and less of the friction that is needed to generate novel alternatives. By contrast, the stress of disputing in collectivist cultures may lead Taiwanese solo negotiators to engage in a "flight response" and take a minimum offer, while a team provides the support and assurance needed to stay at the table. The researchers further hypothesize that U.S. teams in a dispute will succumb to excessive competition, thus inhibiting value creation and distribution.

While more work must be done to pinpoint the factors underlying these results, it is clear that the notion of "strength in numbers" is context specific. The next time you are preparing for an important business negotiation, think through cultural and contextual factors before deciding whether to face your counterpart with a team or by yourself.

Adapted from "Team Negotiating: Strength in Numbers?" first published in the *Negotiation* newsletter (March 2007).

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iZulebiTi Zalaufleba

Máire A. Dugan

September 2003

iZuleba da Zala xSirad Zalauflebis sinonimebad gamoiyeneba, TiToeuli maTgani xiSarad Zalauflebis erTaderT saxed ganixileba.

Hans Morgenthau gvTavazobs gansazRvrebas, romelic literaturaSi mocemuli mosazrebebis Semajamebelia: Zalaufleba SeiZleba moicavdes nebismier rames rac meore adamianze adamianis kontrols mayarebs da inarCunebs. Amgvarad Zalaufleba nebismire socialur urTierTobas moicavs romelic am mizans emsaxureba, dawyebuli fizikuri Zaladobidan ufro daxvewil fsiqologiur kavSirebamde romelTa meSveobiT erTi goneba meores akontrolebs. Zalaufleba moicavs erTi adamianis dominirebas meoreze xorcieldeba es moraluri saSualebebiT da kontrolirdeba konstituciuri zomebiT dasavluri demokratiebis msgavsad, Tu esaa daumorCilebeli barbarosuli Zala romelic sakuTar kanonebs mxolod Tavissave siZliereSi poulobs da misi erTaderTi gamarTleba missave zrdaSia.

Zalaufleba ganisazRvreba rogorc Zala, miuxedavad imisa Zalauflebis mflobeli imiciatoria Tu mopasuxe. iseTma avtoritetma rogoricaa jon loki, 17-e saukinis ganaTlebis epoqis filosofosma, romlis traqtati xelisuflebis Sesaxeb SeerTebuli Statebis konstituciis sulisCamdgmeli gaxda, gansazRvra iZulebiTi Zalaufleba rogorc erTaderTi Sesaferisi pasuxi iZulebiTi Zalauflebis ukanono gamoyenebaze. “yvela viTarebasa da mdgomareobaSi, avtoritetis gareSe Zalis winaaRmdeg WeSmariti saSualebaa mas davuiprispiroT Zala” (Locke, John. 1952. *The Second Treatise on Government.* New York: Macmillan. p. 88).

Teoretikosebi Zalas ZalauflebasTan aigiveben. Kriesberg miuTiTebs, rom socialur konfliqtebSi mxareebi “acnobiereben resursebis araTanasworobas da amis mniSvnelobas dominirebisa da winaaRmdegobisTvis, da xSirad ganizraxaven erTi mxares mier sakuTari nebis Tavs moxvevas meoreze” (Kriesberg, Louis. 1998. *Constructive Conflicts from Escalation to Resolution.* Lanham, MD: Rowman Littlefield Publishers, Inc. p.16).

Zalauflebis amgvari gagebas isinic iziareben visac konfliqtis mogvareba surs. magaliTad Ury, Brett da Goldberg Zalauflebas gansazRvraven rogorc “viacis iZulebas gaakeTos raime rasac sxvagvarad ar gaakeTebda” (Ury, William L., Jeanne M. Brett, and Stephen B. Goldberg, 1988. *Getting Disputes Resolved Designing Systems to Cut the Costs of Conflict.* San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers. p.). avtorebi aRiareben, rom es Zalauflebis “erTgvari viwro” ganmartebaa, xolo aseTi viwro gansazRvreba gavlenas axdens mogvarebis da mSvidobis mSeneblobis procesebisadmi midgomaze. amave dros mniSvnelovania rom gavigoT iZulebiTi Zalaufleba da Sesabamisad warvmarToT procesi rodesac Sedegs mogvitans, rogorc rTulad mogvarebadi konfliqtebis SemTxvevaSia.

Robert L. Kahn asaxelebs rTulad mogvarebad konfliqtebSi iZulebiTi Zalauflebis gaTvaliswinebis kidev erT mizezs: Tu vityviT, rom A-s aqvs Zalaufleba B-ze, es aucieblad gulisxmobs, rom A iyenebs garkveul Zalas (force) B-ze manmade arsebuli Zalebis sapirispirod (B-s sakuTari moTxovnilebebis da Rirebulebebis CaTvliT) (Kahn, Robert L. 1964. "Introduction" to *Power and Conflicts in Organizations.* Robert L. Kahn and Elise Boulding, eds. New York: Basic Books, Inc. pp. 1-2).

Zalauflebis gavlena konfliqtis wamowyebiT ar Semoifargleba. rogorc Terrell A. Northrup miuTiTebs, “mxareebs Soris Zalauflebis ganawilebas mniSvnelovani gavlena aqvs konfliqtis kursze da qcevaze… rodesac mxareebi bevrad gansxvavdebian fardobiTi ZalauflebiT konfliqtis mogvareba SeiZleba maRali Zalauflebis mqone jgufis mier iyos Tavsmoxveuli” (Northrup, Terrell A. 1989. "The Dynamic of Identity in Personal and Social Conflict," in *Intractable Conflicts and their Transformation.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press. p.61.).

iZulebiTi Zalauflebis formebi

iZulebas SeiSleba bevri forma hqondes. me SeiZleba xeli SegiSaloT imis gakeTebaSi rac Tqven gsurT imiT, rom SevzRudo garkveuli resursebi an fizikurad SegakavoT. magaliTad Tanamedrove saxelmwifo apatimrebs maT vinc kanonis Sesabamisad ar iqceva. Sxva SemTxvevebSi SeiZleba gibiZgoT iseTi qcevisken romelsac sxvagvarad ar ganaxorcielebdiT. magaliTad mSoblebma SeiZleba sxvadasxva strategia gamoiyenon rom gajiutebuli bavSvi skolaSi wavides, skolis SenobaSi bavSvis fizikurad wayvanis CaTvliT. aseve sxva magaliTia msoflios erebis mxridan erayis navTobis boikotSi gaerTianeba, raTa eiZulebinaT erayis xelisufleba pativi eca 1991 omis bolos Semdgari mSvidobis SeTanxmebisTvis.

yvela es forma ar aris Zaladobrivi, Tumca iZuleba Cveulebriv dakavSirebulia fizikur ZaladobasTan. rogorc C. Wright Mills aRniSnavs, “mTliani politika ZalauflebisTvis brZolaa; Zalauflebis ukiduresi formaa Zaladoba” (Mills, C. Wright. 1956. *The Power Elite.* New York: Oxford University. p.171). Zaladobam SeiZleba mizani Secvalos. Mona romelsac amaTraxeben SeiZleba samuSaos daubrundes, an Tundac aCvenos morCileba sanam zedamxedveli uyurebs, da Seecados damatebiTi dartymebi aicilos Tavidan. patimarma, romelsac awameben SeiZleba gaamxilos

informacia rom waleba dasruldes. omis dros mterma SeiZleba xeli moaweros zavs radgan mas aRar aqvs resursebi brZolis gasagrZeleblad.

Tumca iZluebiTi Zalaufleba yvelaze efeqturia rodesac Zaladobis an sxva sasjelis muqara sakmarisia rom meore mxare daemorCilos moTxovnas.

muqaris gamoyeneba

Louis Kriesberg gvTavazobs mokle ganmartebas romelic iZulebiT Zalauflebis arss gadmoscems: "iZuleba moicavs mcdelobas vaiZuloT meore mxare daTmos SiSis an Zalis gamoyenebis gamo" (Kriesberg, Louis. 1982. Social Conflicts, 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. p. 116.). rodesac igi SiSs axsenebs, aseve muqarasac axsenebs; Cven muqaris qveS vgrZnobT Tavs rodesac vTvliT, rom Zala iqneba gamoyenebuli Tu ar davemorCilebiT meore mxares moTxovnebs.

iZulebiTi Zalauflebis yvelaze gavrcelebuli formaa totalitarizmi, muqaris da Zalis gamoyenebiT SemarCunebuli sistema, sadac kontroli koncentrirebulia despoturi individis an mcire jgufis xelSi. Samwuxarod amis magaliTebi uxvadaa. kolonialuri dabyrobebi totalitaruli reJimebi iyo, sadac ucxoeli mmarTveli daibyrobda ukeTesi iaraRis ZaliT, xSirad mas uneblied exmareboda jaris mier gavrcelebuli daavadebebi. Totalitaruli reJimebis Tanamedrove magaliTebia nacisturi Germania, stalisturi ruseTi, da uganda idi aminis mmarTvelobisas.

iZulebis muqara SeiZleba zogjer iseTive efeqturi iyos rogorc Tavad iZuleba. "jim krous" instituciebi SeerTebul StatebSi, gaZlierebuli ZaladobiT, kanoni, CvevebiT da TeTrkaniani samxreTelebis mxardaWeriT, aTwleulebis ganmavlobaSi inarCunebdnen TeTrkanianebis controls Savkanianebze. tiranul socialur sistemebSi individebis qcevaze muqaris gavlena aRwerilia Richard Wright –is moTxrobaSi "Savkaniani biWi" (Wright, Richard A.. 1945. *Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth*. New York: Harper & Brothers).

is rac Cemi, rogorc Savkanianis qcevaze axdenda gavlenas aucilebeli ar iyo piradad me gadamxdenoda Tavs; amis Sesaxeb mosmenac sakmarisi iyo rom sruli Sedegi SemegrZno Cemi cnobierebis yvelaze Rrma Sreebamde. marTlac TeTrkanianebis sisastike, romelic Cemi TvaliT ar menaxa ufro warmatebiT akontrolebda Cems qcevas vidre is romelic me vicodi.

es gavlena SemTxveviTi ar iyo. "linCis wesiT gasamarTleba socialuri disciplinis instrumenti iyo, romelsac ara mxolod uSualo msxverplze unda moexdina gavlena, aramed yvelaze vinc am movlenas naxavda an mis Sesaxeb moismenda" (Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd. 1993. *Revolt against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign against Lynching.* New York: Columbia Uinversity Press. p. 136).

bevr SemTxvevaSi nagulisxmevi an gamoTqmuli muqara sakmarisia rom samiznes qcevaze moaxdinos gavlena. erTis mxriv fizikuri Zala ar gamoiyeneba, an igi SerCeviTad gamoiyeneba (mag. linCireba). Tumca unda arsebobdes muqaris mkacrad da sistematurad ganxorcielebis saSualebebi, sxva SemTxvevaSi muqara arasando iqneba. Tu samizne ar daemorCileba, muqara unda ganxorcieldes an mxare riskavs ndobis dakargvas Semdgomi moTxovnebis wayenebisas.

amgvarad muqara gavlenas axdens rogorc samizneze aseve muqaris wyaroze. Efeqturi muqara samizneSi SiSs iwvevs da ubiZgebs mas Seasrulos qceva romelsac sxva SemTxvevaSi ar mimarTavda. muqris wyarosTvis ki muqara momaval moqmedebebs zRudavs. Rac ufro naklebad surs wyaros muqaris Sesruleba an rac metia amis safasuri, miT metad eSinia daumorCileblobis. Tu meores mxriv wyaros surs Sedegebis ganxorcieleba ("midi, momeci amis sababi!"), amiT sTavazobs opponents sasjelis Tavidan acilebis saSualebas.

saxedlmwifosTvis jari iZulebiTi Zalauflebis da Sesabamisad muqaris mTavari instituciaa. misi Zalauflebis moculoba oTxi ganzomilebis funqciaa:

1. raodenoba: adamianebi, iaraRi, aRWurviloba da resursebi;
2. teqnologia: iarRis da aRWurvilobis efeqturoba da daxvewiloba;
3. organizaciuli: jaris simwyobre, disciplina, gawrTvna da morali da kontrolos efeqturoba; da
4. sazogadoebrivi: sazogadoebis survili da SesaZlebloba rom efeqturad gamoiyenos samxedro Zala. (Huntington, Samuel P. 1997. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.* New York: Touchstone Books. p. 88)

2001 wels msoflios erebma 839 miliardi dolari daxarjer samxedro danaxarjebis saxiT, rac warmoadgens msoflio saSinao produqciis 26%-s da 137 dolars planetis TiToeul mamakacze, qalze da bavSvze (SIPRI Yearbook 2002. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). http://projects.sipri.se/milex/mex_trends.html). esaa SeiaraRebis da adamianebis warmoudgeneli raodenoba, rac msoflios erebSi araTanabrad nawildeba.

zogjer erTis upiratesi samxedro Zalaufleba SeiZleba sakmarisi iyos rom sxvebma ar isurvon risxvis gamowveva. Zogjer ki rac unda didi iyos samxedro Zala, muqara da ultimatumebic ki ar aris sakmarisi rom sasurveli cvlilebebi gamoiwvios. Amas mowmobs 2003 wlis omi erayis winaaRmdeg. yvela aRiarebs, rom SeerTebul Statebs dam is mokavSireebs ufro diid samxedro Zala hqondaT vidre erays. Tumca erayi ar danebda SeerTebuli Statebis moTxovnebs, da prezidentma buSma ganaxorciela samxedro Tavdasxma.

daumorCileblobis gadawyvetileba SeiZleba ramdenime faqtorze iyos damokidebuli:

samizne SeiZleba arasaTanadod afasebdes meore mxares samxedro Zalas. 2003 wels erayis SemTxvevaSi arasaTanado Sefasebis mizezi socialur ganzomilebebSi iyo. SeerTebul Statebs manmade ar wamouwyia omi, msoflios erebis uemtesoba amis winaaRmdegi iyo, da Zlieri argumentebi SeiZleba moviyvanoT rom asset Tavdasxma saerTaSoriso kanonis darRveva iyo. amitom huseins SeiZleboda efiqra, rom miuxedavad Tavdasxmis muqarisa SeerTebuli Statebi ar Seasrulebda mas socialuri zewolis gamo.

muqaris samizne erma SeiZleba aqcenti gaakeTos sakuTari samxedro Zalauflebis siZliereze. sadam huseins sjeroda, rom misi jaris loialoba mas ufro daumarcxebels gaxdida vidre buSis administracia fiqrobda.

lideri sakuTar reputaciaze SeiZleba ufro metad zrunavdes vidre misi eris keTildReobaze. sadam huseini sakuTar poziciaze da Zalauflebaze metad zrunavda vidre misi xalxis keTildReobaze.

oponentis da sakuTari Zalauflebis fardobiTi siZlieris Sefasebis garda, saxelmwifom romelic TavdasxmiT imuqreba sxva faqtorebic unda gaiTvaliswinos:

ra odenobis destruqcias gauZlebs oponenti?

mowinaRmdegis damarcxeba moitans Tu ara mSvidobian da ufro stabilur situacias, romelic muqaris wyaros metad awyobs?

racionaluria Tu ara oponenti?

pirveli kiTxvis sapasuxod, husienma icoda, rom axali omi ufro damangreveli iqneboda vidre wina, magram araferi mianiSnebda imaze rom mas es ar surda. meore, buSi da misi mrCevelebi Tvlidnen, rom huseinis damarcxeba da misi Zalauflebisgan mocileba regionis stabilurobas ganapirobebda; es ramdenad asea jer kidev ar aris naTeli. Tu sxva SemTxvevebiT vimsjelebT, magaliTad avRaneTiT, gareSe ZalisTvis Znelia dabyrobil erSi mSvidobis da stabilurobis Seqmna. es gasakviri araa, radgan mSvidoba da stabiluroba integraciuli (siyvarulis, pativiscemis da erTianobis gancdis Zalaufleba) da gacvliTi (exchange) (molaparakebis da TanamSromlobis Zalaufleba) Zalauflebis funqciaa. iZluebiTma Zalauflebam SeiZleba dasZlios moqiSpe iSulebiTi Zalaufleba; igi ver Seqmnis integraciul Zalauflebas, da igi anadgurebs an cvlis urTierTgacvlis Zalauflebis safuZvlebs.

am msjelobidan gamomdinare naTelia, rom muqaris sistemebi damokidebulia daSvebaze, rom racionaluri gaTvlebi sandoa. es iZulebiT Zalauflebis mxolod erT-erTi SezRudvaa.

iZulebiTi Zalauflebis upiratesobebi

iZulebiTi Zalaufleba gansakuTrebiT sasargebloa uSualo safrTxis pirobebSi. mSobeli romelic xedavs rom bavSvi gzisken garbis ar efereba, da jildos ar sTavazobs. yvelaze mosalodnelia fizikuri pasuxi, romelsac mSoblis fizikuri upiratesoba ganapirobebs: gadaeRobos gzisken mimaval bavSvs, an fizikurad gamoiyvanis igi. mSobeli aseve garkveuli saxis dasjas mimarTavs, iqneba is fizikuri Tu verbaluri, rogoricaa garkveuli privilegiebis Sewyveta. nebismier SemTxvevaSi mSobeli mSobeli ar marTavs molaparakebas bavSvTan sagzao moZraobasTan axlos TamaSis dadebiTi da uaryofiTi mxareebis Sesaxeb. Man miiRo gadawyvetileba da is unda Sesruldes. policiis oficeri romelic mZarcvelebs upirispirdeba, an saxelmwifos meTauri romelic dambyrobelis Tavdasxmas igeriebs msgavs, ufro vrcel da rTul viTarebaSia.

iZuleba aseve SeiZleba sasargeblo iyos rodesac kamaTi muqaris wyarosTvis raRac Zalian mniSvnelovans exeba. magaliTad evropuli qveynebi mimarTaven iZulebiT da xSirad sastik Zalauflebas rom daamyaron sakuTari wesrigi afrikaSi an sxva regionebSi, kerZod aziaSi. gamarjvebis Semdeg gamoyenebuli iyo urTierTgacvliTi da integraciuli Zalauflebac ki. magram rogorc ki koloniebi ganacxadebdnen maT moTxovnebs TviTdamkvidrebis Sesaxeb, kolonizatorebi TiTqmis yovelTvis nebismier fasad iyenebdnen iZulebiT Zalauflebas, rogorc es indoeTis mier aTwleulebis ganmavlobaSi TavisuflebisTvis brZolam gviCvena.

iZulebiTi Zalauflebis kidev erTi upiratesobaa Sida SeWidulobis gazrda (Coser, Lewis. 1956. *The Functions of Social Conflict.* New York: Free Press, pp. 87-95). Potenciuri mimdevrebis darwmuneba, rom arsebobs saerTo mteri SesaZloa uswrafesi gza iyos lideris garSemo maTi gaerTianebisken. Tumca Tu luders ar gaaCnia iZulebiTi Zalaufleba romliTac daemuqreba mters da daicavs sakuTar mimdevrebs, mimdevrebi SeiZleba sxva lideris garSemo gaerTiandnen. amitom liderisTvis umjobesia iZulebis SesaZleblobebis floba. Morton Deutsch–ma ganavrco es mosazreba da ganixila Tu ra upiratesobebs aZlevs es liders sakuTar mimdevrebTan gasamklavleblad. yofili sabWoTa kavSiris Sesaxeb is werda: “mdidari masala mowmobs, rom gare samyarosadmi mtruli, SejibrebiTi orientacia xels uwyobs Sida SeWidulobas da SesaZleblobas aZlevs sabWoTa liderebs gaamarTlon da ganaxorcielon represiuli kontroli raTa aRkveTon Sida disidentoba da maTi liderobisadmi gamowvevebi” (Deutsch, Morton. 1964. "Producing Change in an Adversary," in *International Conflict and Behavioral Science: The Craigville Papers.* ed. Roger Fisher. New York: Basic Books, Inc. p. 152).

iZulebiTi Zalauflebis SezRudvebi

Tumca iZulebis Zalaufleba STambeWdavia, garkveul situaciebSi igi usargebloa. Karl Deutsch miuTiTebs im qcevis “avtonomiur albaTobaze”, romelic muqaram unda aRkveTos. “Tundac yvelaze Zlierma da sando muqaram SeiZleba ver SeaCeros adamianebi dacfeminebisas; aseve SeiZleba ver SeaCeros socialuri revoluciebi... amas

ukavSirdeba iseTi faqtorebi rogoricaa im qcevis moTxovnileba da motivacia romlis SeCerebasac muqara isaxavs miznad" (Karl Deutsch. 1963. *The Nerves of Governement: Models of Political communicaiton and Control.* New York: Free Press. p. 69).

doiCis am mosazrebis Tanaxmad SeiZleba ver SemaCeroT daceminebisas, radgan Cems am qcevas ver vakontroleb. SeiZleba ver SemaCeroT Tqveni represiuli Zalauflebisadmi winaaRmdegobisas, radgan Cemi TviTdamkvidrebis moTxovnileba SeiZleba Cems SiSze Zlieri iyos. Pirvel SemTxvevaSi me ubralod ver vakontroleb imas rasac Cemgan iTxoven. meore SemTxvevaSi me virCev winaaRmdegobis gawevas.

adamianis moTxovnilebebis Teoriis TvalsazrisiT meore SemTxvevis xangrZlivi Sedegebic SeiZleba pirdapir gamoikveTos:

iZulebis mier SemarCunebuli avtoriteti araracionaluria. Tu adamianis moTxovnilebebis Toeria marTalia adamianebs aqvT moTxovnilebebi romlebic unda dakmayofildes da romelTa Sekaveba SeuZlebelia. es moTxovnilebebi moicavs identobas, rogorc individualurs aseve koleqtiurs; usafrTxoebas, sakuTars da Zvirfasi adamianebisas; da aRiarebas, sakuTars da sakuTari Temis (Dukes, E. Franklin. 1996. *Resolving Public Conflict: Transforming Community and Governance.* New York: Manchester University Press. p. 136).

efeqturobisTvis iZUlebiTi Zalaufleba samiznes usityvo morCilebazea damyarebuli. Tu me mzad var movkvde da ar davnebde, yvelaze daxvewili iaraRi da teqnikac ki usargebloa. Jimmy Cliff aRwers am gancdas: "me mirCevnia viyo Tavisufali Cens saflavSi vidre vicxovro rogorc marionetma an monam" (Cliff, Jimmy. 1972 "The Harder They Come" http://www.bluesforpeace.com/lyrics/harder-they-come.htm).

es gakveTili irlandiuri revoluciuri simReridan viswavle. patrioti gmiri safrTxis qveSaa:

"kevin beri ambobs aras.
kidev erTi wamebuli irlandiisTvis
kidev erTi mkvleloba givrgvinis saxeliT
romlis sastiki kanonebiT SeiZleba irlandielis mokvla
magram ar SeiZleba Cveni sulis gatexva"

pirvel Sexvedraze sityva "mokvla" SecdomiT vimRere rogorc "ganadgureba". Cemma mSoblebma swrafad Semiswores, radgan Sinaarsi ver gavige.

simRerebi da xalxuri gamonaTqvamebi sityvas avrceleben konkretuli sisastikeebis, gaerTianebissaWiroebis da saZulvel mterze Tavdasxmis Sesaxeb. xSirad iZulebiTi Zalauflebis samizne mosaxleoba sapasuxod ufro Sinagan integraciul Zalauflebas qmnis vidre manmade flobda. britanelebma es gakveTili meore msoflio omis dros iswavles. hitleri samoqalaqo samizneebze TavdasxmiT imedovnebda britanelebis nebis gatexvas; amis sanacvlod man meomrebis mTeli kunZuli Seqmna.

iZulebiTi Zalauflebis gamoyenebis safasuri

iZulebiTi Zalauflebis safasuri mokled aRwera Boulding-ma: "ironiulia, rom rac metia muqaris Zalaufleba (boldingis mixedviT iZulebiTi Zalaufleba) da destruqciis Zalaufleba, miT naklebia imis SesaZlebloba, rom misi ganmaxorcielebeli gadarCeba" (Boulding, Kenneth E. 1989. *Three Faces of Power.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications. p.144).

iZulebiTi Zalaufleba aucileblad moicavs uaryofiTi jamis TamaSs, anu viTarebas sadac orive mxare wagebulia an gamarjvebulis mogeba naklebia vidre oponentis danakargi. saboloo jams sul mcire ori faqtori ganapirobebs. pirveli, arsebobs TviTon muqaris safasuri, romelic muqaris sandoobas ganapirobebs. Dwight Eisenhowe–is sityvebi rom gamoviyenoT, "TiToeuli Tofi romelic keTdeba, yoveli gaSvebuli yumbara, yoveli gatyorcnili raketa saboloo jamSi niSnavs imaTgan moparvas vinc SimSilobs da ar daapureben, visac sciva da ar acmeven" (Boulding, Kenneth E. 1978. *Stable Peace.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978). rodesac ixarjeba Tanxa iaraRis SesaZenad romelic sxva mxares Cvens nebas daumorCilebs, SeiZleba es Taxa sxva aucilebeli miznebisTvis ar ixarjebodes. amgvarad Tundac rodesac oponenti nebdeba ufro Zlieri Zalis pirispir, Cven amisTvis safasurs vixdiT. Racionaluri gamoTvlebi moiTxovs, rom SevadaroT ras gvaZlevs Cveni oponenti da ra gvijdeba amis mopoveba.

meore, rodesac iZUlebiTi Zalaufleba gamoiyeneba, Cveni danaxarjebi moicavs muqaris Seqmnis da SenarCunebis safasurs, da misi ganxorcielebis safasurs. jariskacebi kvdebian da iWrebian; SeiaraReba ziandeba. tyviebi gaanadgurebs samiznes, suliers Tu usulos. kampaniis dasrulebis Semdeg adgili aqvs ganaxlebis danaxarjebs. adreul epoqaSi es gamarjvebulis sazrunavi ar iyo; isini midiodnen da maT ukan tovebdnen brZolis vels, an rCebodnen da iTxovdnen xarks dabyrobili miwisgan. Nebismier SemTxvevaSi mogeba gamarjvebuls ekuTvnoda. urTierTdamokudebul samyaroSi gamarjvebuls naklebad SeuZlia damarcxebuls dautovos ganadgurebulis aRdgeba.

ukuefeqti

iZulebiTi Zalaufbis safasuria aseve ukuefeqtis safrTxe. adamianebs ar moswonT maTi nebis winaaRmdeg iZuleba; maT kidev naklebad moswonT Zaladobis qveS yofna. Tundac konfliqtis dasrulebis Semdeg, Tu agresiis msxverpli ar grZnobs, rom samarTlianiba aRsrulda, igi Seecdeba sakuTari Zalauflebis Seqmnas rom "aRadginos

samarTlianoba” pirvelive SesaZleblobisas. amitom gamarjvebulma unda SeinarCunos sando muqaris maRali done, mxolod status qvos SesanarCuneblad, da rom Tavidan aicilos Tavdasxma.

kultura da konfliqti

kultura konfliqtis da konfliqtis mogvarebis arsebiTi nawilia. kulturebi miwisqveSa mdinareebs gavs, romlebic Cvens cxovrebas da urTerTobebs mihyvebian, gvawvdian miniSnebebs romlebic Cveni aRqmebis, atribuciebis, msjelobebis da sakuTar Tavis da sxvebis Sesaxeb moaszrebebis Camoyalibebas axdens. Tumca kultura Zlieris, igi xSirad qvecnobieria, da gavlenas axdens konfliqtze da misi mogvarebis mcdelobaze.

kultura ufro metia vidre ena, sacmeli da sakvebTan dakavSirebuli Cveulebebi. kulturaluri jgufebi SeiZleba saerTo rasis, eTnikurobis an erovnebis iyvnen, magram aseve gavlenas ganicdidnen asakobrivi Taobis, socialuri klasis, seqsualuri orientaciis, unarebis da SezRuduli unarebis, politikuri da religiuri upiratesobebi, enis da sqesis TvalsazrisiT.

kulturasTan dakavSirebiT ori ramaa mniSvnelovani: kultura cvalebadia, da kultura ukavSirdeba cxovrebis simbolur ganzomilebas. simboluri ganzomileba is sivrcea sadac sakuTar identobas ganvsazRvravT. esaa is saTvale, romlis prizmaSic vxeavT samyaros, vayalibebT kavSirebs. Cveni Rirebulebebis Camoyalibebisas kultura amosavali wertilia.

rogor moqmedebs kultura

Tumca zedapirisgan sakmaod Rrmadaa damaluli, kultura ayalibebs Cveni orientirebis mTel dinamikas. TiToeuli Cvengani ramdenime kulturas ganekuTvneba romlebic gvacnobeben Tu ra aris normaluri, Sesatyvisi, da mosalodneli. rodesac sxvebi Cvens molodinebs ver akmayofileben, es xSirad miniSnebaa imisa, rom Cveni kulturaluri molodinebi gansxvavebulia. Cven SeiZleba SecdomiT ganvsazRvroT sxvebsa da Cvens Soris gansxvaveba, rogorc sxvebis mxridan saRi azris nakleboba, magram ver gaviazroT, rom saRi azric aseve kulturaluria. is, rac saerTo aqvs erT jgufs, SeiZleba ucnauri, winaaRmdegobrivi an araswori iyos meoresTvis.

kulturaluri Setyobinebebi ayalibebs urTierTobebis Cvens gagebas, da imas, Tu rogor unda gavumklavdeT konfliqts da harmonias rac yovelTvis dgas dRis wesrigSi rodesac ori an meti adamiani xvdeba erTmaneTs. kulturasTan dakavSirebul sferoSi muSaoba Zalian rTulia, magram ara SeuZlebeli. qvemoT CamoTvlilia ramodenime sirTule dakavSirebuli kulturasTan konfliqtis sferoSi, da maT SedegebTan:

1. kultura mravalSriania – is, rac zedapirze Cans, SeiZleba niRbavdes imas, rac zedapiris qveSaa.

   amdenad kulturaluri ganzogadebebi mTeli suraTi araa, da sxvebis ukeT gasacnobad urTierTobebis Camoyalibebasa da gamocdulebis gaziarebas Semcvleli ar aqvs.

2. kultura mudmivad moZraobaSia (**Culture is constantly in flux**) – pirobebis SecvlasTan erTad kulturaluri jgufebi dinamurad da zogjer arawinasearmetyvelebadi xerxebiT axdenen adaftacias.

amdenad romelime jgufze SeuZlebelia erTxel da sabolood Camoyalibdes am jgufis aRwera. jgufis gagebis nebismieri mcdeloba unda moxdes drosi, konteqstis da individualuri gansxvavebebis ganzomilebis gaTvaliswinebiT.

3. kultura elastiuria – mocemuli jgufis kulturuli normebis codna ar iZleva am jgufis wevris qcevis winaswarmetyvelebas, romelic SeiZleba ar emorCilebodes normebs individualur konteqstualuri mizezebidan gamomdinare.

amitom «taqsonomiis« (mag. «italielebi ase fiqroben«, an «budistebi amas aniWeben upiratesobas«) gamoyeneba SezRudulia, da SeiZleba Secdomamde migviyvanos, Tu gamocdilebiT ar gadavamowmebT.

4. kultura zedapiridan Zalian Rrmadaa mocemuli, gavlenas axdens identobaze da Sinaarsdebaze, Tu vin varT Cveni azriT da ra aris CvenTvis mniSvnelovani – am simboluri donis miwvdena advili ar aris radgan igi Cveni cnobierebis miRmaa.

amdenad, mniSvnelovania gamoviyenoT konfliqtSi CarTuli mxareebis kulturuli ganzomilebebis Seswavlis sxvadasxva gzebi, gansakuTrebiT iribi gzebi, moTxrobebis, metaforebis da ritualebis CaTvliT.

5. kulturaluri gavlena da identoba konteqstis mixedviT mniSvnelovani xdeba. rodesac kulturuli identobis aspeqts safrTxe emuqreba an arasworadaa gagebuli, SeiZleba SedarebiT metad mniSvnelovani iyos vidre sxva kulturaluri identobebi da es fiqsirebuli, viwro identoba SeiZleba stereotipirebis, viwro proeqciis da konfliqtis fokusi gaxdes.

amdenad konfliqtSi myofi adamianebisTvis sasargebloa interaqciuli gamocdileba rac maT daexmareba erTmaneTi rac SeiZleba farTod dainaxon. aseTi gamocdileba gaziarebul identobas uwyobs xels.

ramdenadac kultura ase mWidro kavSirSia Cvens identobasTan (vin varT Cveni azriT), da SinaarsdebasTan (ra aris mniSvnelovani da rogor), es yovelTvis faqtors warmoadgens konfliqtSi. kulturalur cnobierebas mivyavarT platinis kanonis gamoyenebamde oqros kanonis nacvlad. qristianuli darigebis nacvlad “moeqeci sxvas ise rogorc ginda rom mogecqcnen Sen”, platinis wesi gveubneba: “moeqeci sxvas rogorc is mogeqceoda Sen”. (Do unto others as they would have you do unto them)

kultura da konfliqti: kavSirebi

kulturebi CarTulia yvela konfliqtSi, radgan konfliqtebi adamianur urTierTobebSi aRmocendeba. kulturebi aisaxeba imaze, Tu rogor varqmevT saxels, vaxdenT formulirebas, vadanaSaulebT, da vcdilobT movaTvinieroT konfliqti. konfliqti arsebobs Tu ara kulturalur sakiTxia. kanadaSi Catarebul interviuSi moxuci Cineli kaci aRniSnavda, rom igi 40 wlis manZilze ar yofila konfliqtSi CarTuli. sxva SesaZlo mizezebs Sorisaa kulturaluri upiratesoba samyaro daenaxa harmoniis saTvaliT da ara konfliqtis WrilSi, rogorc amas misi konfucianuri xedva karnaxobda. Cveni urTierTobebidan zogierTis konfliqtad wodeba da maTi analizi mcire Semadgenel nawilebad gamorCeulad dasavluri midgomaa rac SesaZloa urTierTobis sxva aspeqtebs bundovans xdides.

mozardebsa da mSoblebs Soris konfliqtze gavlenas axdens Taobis kultura, meuRleebs Soris konfliqtze – sqesis kultura. organizaciebSi sxvadasxva dsiciplinarul kulturebs Soris aRmocenebuli konfliqtebi zrdis daZabulobas TanamSromlebs Soris, da qmnis daZabul an arazust komunikacias da daZabul urTierTobebs. kulturis gavlena konfliqtze sxvadasxvagvaria – igi zogjer ubuZgebs intensivobis zrdas, zogjer Cumad misdevs konfliqtis msvlelobas da misi arsebobs Znelad SesamCnevia sanam adamianebi pirispir ar Seejaxebian mas.

kultura ganuyofelia konfliqtisgan, magram TviTon kultura ar iwvevs konfliqts. rodesac zedapirze amotivtivdeba gansxvavebebi ojaxebSi, organizaciebSi, an TemebSi, kultura yovelTvis saxezea, ayalibebs aRqmebs, damokidebulebebs, qcevas da Sedegebs.

rodesac Cveni kulturaluri jgufebi TemSi an erSi umravlesobas qmnis, Cven naklebad vacnobierebT maT mier gamogzavnili gzavnilebis Sinaarss. dominanturi jgufebis mier gaziarebuli kulturebi xSirad “neitraluri”, “normaluri” Cans – “ase xdeba ylvelaferi Cveulibriv”. Cven mxolod vamCnevT im kulturebis efeqts, romlebic Cvenisgan gansxvavdeba, da qmnis qcevas, romelsac Cven egzotikurs an ucnaurs vuwodebT.

Tumca kultura mWidro kavSirSia konfliqtTan, konfliqtis mogvarebisadmi grakveuli midgomebi minimumande amcireben kulturalur sakiTxebs da gavlenebs. radganac kultura aisbergs gavs, misi CarTva Cvens analizSi da intervenciaSi mniSvnelovania. aisbergis ugulebelyofa SeiZleba saxifaTo iyos, da SeuZlebelia masTan dakavSirebuli arCevanis gakeTeba Tu ar viciT misi zoma da adgili. kulturis gacnobiereba daexmareba adamianebs gaakeTon ufro gaazrebuli da morgebuli arCevani.

kultura da konfliqti: rogor vupasuxoT

kulturis mniSvnelovani rolis aRiarebis Semdgom risi gakeTeba SeiZleba, rom gaviTvaliswinoT igi da CavrToT sapasuxo gegmaSi? kultura SeiZleba Wirveuli iyos: rTuli, არახელმოსაკიდი, da arawinaswarmetyvelebadi. Tu kulturas konfliqtis integralur nawilad ar miviRebT, SeiZleba misi sirTuleebis qselSi gavixlarToT, SezRudulebi Cveni sakuTari kulturis xedviT. kulturuli simwyobre (*fluency*) mravalSriani, kulturebs Sorisi konfliqtis mogvarebis gasaRebia.

kulturaluli simwyobre niSnavs kulturebis codnas: maTi buneba, rogor moqmedeben isini, da rogor aisaxebian urTierTobebze konfliqtis da harmoniis dros. kulturaluli simwyobre niSnavs kulturis ramdenime ganzomilebis codnas:

1. komunikacia
2. saxeldebis, formulirebis, da konfliqtis moTvinierebis gzebi
3. midgomebi Sinaarsdebisadmi
4. identobebi da rolebi

komunikacia exeba sxvebTan dakavSirebis sxvadasxva amosaval wertilebs. am procesis zogierTi aspeqti exeba maRali- da dabali-konteqstis komunikaciebs Sris dayofas SemoTavazebuls **Edward T. Hall** mier.

maRali konteqstis komunikaciaSi gzavnilebis umetesoba ganpirobebulia mis garSemo arsebuli konteqstiT, vidre es eksplicituradaa gamoxatuli sityvebiT. fizikuri garemo, rogor iTqmis saTqmeli, da gaziarebuli gageba erToblivad axdens komunikaciis Sinaarsdebas. interaqciebi xasiaTdeba formalizirebuli da stilizirebuli ritualebiT, ideebis telegrafirebiT maTi warmoTqmis gareSe. araverbaluri maniSneblebi da signalebi am gzavnilebis gagebisTvis arsebiTia. konteqsti sargeblobs ndobiT sadac SesaZlebelia komunikacia verbaluri ekspresiis gareSe, an zogjer masTan erTad. maRali konteqstis komunikacia SeiZleba saxis SenarCunebaSi daexmaros radgan igi naklebad pirdapiria vidre dabali konteqstis komunikacia, magram man SeiZleba gazardos komunikaciis ararsebobis albaToba radgan nagulisxmevi gzavnilebis didi nawili gamouTqmeli rCeba.

dabali konteqstis komunikacia xazs usvams pirdapirobas da ara konteqstis mindobas. am amosavali wertilidan, verbaluri komunikacia zusti da calsaxaa, naklebad aris moculi nagulisxmevi, arapirdapiri signalebiT. dabali konteqstis komunikacia gulisxmobs “Tqvi rasac gulisxmob da igulisxme rasac ambob”. dabali konteqstis komunikacia SeiZleba daexmaros mxareebs Tavidan aicilon gaugebrobebi, magram aseve SeiZleba gazardos konfliqti, radgan ofro SejibrebiTia vidre maRali konteqstis komunikacia.

komunikaciis procesSi adamianebi moZraoben kontinuumze maRalidan- dabali konteqstisken. urTierTobis tipidan, konteqstidan da komunikaciis miznidan gamomdinare SeiZleba met-naklebad eksplicituri da pirdapiri iyvnen. axlo urTierTobebSi xSirad komunilaciis Semoklebuli varianti gamoiyeneba, romelic kominikacias gareSe pirebisTvis gaugebars xdis, magram mxareebisTvis igi sruliad naTelia. imave adamianebma ucxoebTan SeiZleba dabali konteqstis komunikacia gamoiyenon.

maRali- da dabali konteqstis komunikacia ara mxolod individualur strategiebs exeba, aramed SeiZleba kulturaluri jgufebis gasagebadac gamoiyenebodes. zogadad, dasavluri kulturebis tendenciaa dabali konteqstis amosavali wertilis arseboba, xolo aRmosavluri da samxreTuli kulturebs maRali konteqstis komunikaciis tendencia axasiaTebs. am vrceli kategoriebis farglebSi aris mniSvnelovani gansxvavebebi da bevri variacia. sadac maRali konteqstis komunikacia gamoiyeneba, sasargebloa gansakuTrebuli yuradReba mivaqcioT araverbalur maniSneblebs da sxvebis qcevas, vinc SeiZleba meti icodnen komunikaciis wesebis Sesaxeb. sadac dabali konteqstis komunikaciaa norma, sapasuxo pirdapirobis molodinis didi albaToba arsebobs.

saxeldebis, formulirebis, da konfliqtis moTvinierebis gzebi kulturebs Soris gansxvavebulia. rogorc amas zemoT moyvanili interviu gviSvenebs moxuc CinelTan, ar arsbobs sayovelTao Tanxmoba imis Sesaxeb, Tu ra qmnis konfliqts. maTTvis vinc mSvid diskusiasaa miCveuli, ojaxis wevrebis emociuri urTierTgacvla SeiZleba Zlier konfliqtad Candes. TviTon ojaxis wevrebi ki maT urTierTgacvlas SeiZleba gansxvavebuli ideebis sruliad normalur da sasurvel gaziarebad aRiqvamdnen. aseve gansxvavebuli interpretaciis sagania **რთლად მოსაგვარებელი** konfliqtebi. SemTxveva Sejaxebaa, provokacia, eskalacia Tu sruliad umniSvnelo ram, romlic aRniSvnis Rirsic araa? pasuxi damokidebulia perspeqtivaze, konteqatze, da imaze, Tu rogoraa identobis sakiTxi CarTuli situaciaSi,

ramdenadac kulturebs an situaciebs Soris ar arsebobs konsensusi imisSesaxeb Tu ra Seadgens konfliqts, an rogor unda iyos formulirebuli movlenebi interaqciaSi, amdenad amis Sesaxeb SexedulebaTa mravalferovneba arsebobs. unda Sexvdnen Tu ara mxareebi pirispir, gauziaron maTi perspeqtiva da istoria gareSe mediatoris daxmarebiT Tu

mis gareSe? Tu ndobiT aRWurvili megobari unda esaubros TiToeuls da Seecados daexmaros situaciis SerbilebaSi? unda iyos Tu ara mesame mxare mxareebisTvis?

John Paul Lederach Tavis wignSi “mSvidobsTvis mzadeba: konfliqtis transformacia kulturebs Soris”, mesame mxares orgvar rols gansazRvravs, romlebis SeerTebul StatebSi da somaliSi gvxvdeba – formaluri mediatori da tradicionaluri moxucebuli Sesatyvisad. formaluri mediatori mxareebisTvis ucxo piria da cdilobs upiratesobebis gareSe moiqces nebismieri gamosavalis SemTxvevaSi. tradiciuli uxucesebi pativiscemas maTi adgilobrivi codnis da urTierTobebis gamo imsaxureben, da maT endobian mimarTulebis da rCevis misaRebad, iseve rogorc maTi unaris gamo daexmaron mxareebs erTmaneTTan komunikaciaSi. mikerZovebuli nacnobi mesame mxares (romelic icnobs mxareebs, situaciis da urTierTobis istorias) da gareSe neitraluri mxares (romelic ucnobia mxareebisTvis da ar debs sakuTar wvlils gamosavalSi Tu mxareebTan urTierTobis gagrZelebaSi) roli vrcel kulturalur konteqstSi vlindeba. zogadad mikerZovebuli nacnobi mesame mxares upiratesoba mieniWeba tradiciul, maRali konteqstis garemoSi, xolo gareSe neitralur mesame mxare ufro dabali konteqstis garemoSia gavrcelebuli.

esaa kulturaTa Soris konfliqtis marTvis mxolod ramdenime gza. mesame mxare SeiZleba sxvadasxva strategiebs iyenebdes sruliad gansxvavebuli miznebisTvis, rac damokidebulia mis kulturalur gagebaze imisa, Tu ra aris saWiro. multikulturalur konteqstSi mxareebis molodinebi imis Sesaxeb Tu rogori unda iyos konfliqtisadmi midgoma SesaZloa gansxvavdebodes, ramac SesaZloa arsebuli konfliqti kidev ufro gaamwvavos.

midgomebi Sinaarsdebisadmi aseve gansxvavdeba kulturebs Soris. **Hampden-Turner** da **Trompenaars** Tvlian, rom adamianebs aqvT amosavali wertilebis mTeli rangi maTi cxovrebis SinaarsdebisTvis, rac moicavs:

1. universalisturi (wesebisadmi, kanonebisadmi da ganzogadoebebisadmi upiratesoba) da partikularistuli (gamonaklisebis, urTierTobebis da konteqstualuri Sefasebisadmi upiratesoba);
2. specifikuroba (eksplicituri definiciebis, mTelis Semadgenel nawilebad daSlis, da gazomvadi Sedegebisadmi upiratesobis miniWeba) da difuziuroba (paternebze, did suraTze, da SedegTan SedarebiT procesze fokusireba);
3. Sinagani mimarTuleba (Rirebulebas xedavs individualebSi romlebic maTi gacnobierebuli miznis miRwevisken iswrafian) da gare mimarTuleba (sadac Rirebuleba TiToeuli Cvenganis gareTaa bunebriv riTmebSi, bunebaSi, mSvenierebaSi, da urTierTobebSi);
4. sinqronuli dro (cikluri da spiraluri) da Tanamimdevruli dro (wrfivi da erTmimarTulebiani).

rodesac Cven ar gvesmis, rom sxvebs SeiZleba sakmaod gansxvavebuli amosavali wertili gaaCndeT, konfliqtis aRmoceneba da eskalacia metad mosalodnelia. Tundac TavisTavad amosavali wertili neitraluria, uaryofiTi motivebi advilad miewereba imas, vinc kontinuumis meore bolodan iwyebs moqmqdebas.

maaliTad rodesac *pirveli erebis* (**First Nations**) adamianebi xelisuflebis warmomadgenlebTan erTad miwis gayofasTan dakavSirebiT molaparakebebze jdebian kanadasa Tu avstraliaSi, drois gansxvavebulma xedvam SeiZleba gaarTulos rportis damyareba da progresis miRweva. pirveli erebis adamianebi dros ganixilaven win da ukan gavrcobilad, da sakuTar Tavs warmoidgenen Svid TaobasTan mimarTebaSi orive mimarTulebiT. amdenad maTi moqmedebebi da arCevani awmyoSi maTi istoriis da momavalis relevanturia. xelisuflebis Suamavlebma romlebmac ar ician drois dasavleT evropuli xedvis Sesaxeb, SesaZloa istoriuli ambebis moyola da momavali Taobebis perspeqtivaze saubari momabezreblad da ararelevanturad CaTvalon Tuki ver gaiazreben im variaciebs, romliTac dro gagebulia pirveli erebis adamianebis mier.

am magaliTSi moyvanili ganzogadeba SeiZleba moergos an arc miesadagos konkretul situacias. kanadaSi, avstraliaSi, axal zelandiaSi da SeerTebul StatebSi da sxvagan bevri gansxvavebuli aborigeni xalxebi arian. TiToeuls Tavisi gamorCeuli kultura aqvs, da am kulturebs gansxvavebuli damokidebuleba aqvT drois mimarT, gansxvavebuli mosazrebebi aqvT molaparekebebis Sesaxeb da unikaluri identobebi gaaCniaT. xelisuflebis Suamavleblebs SeiZleba aseve hqondeT eTno-kulturuli identobebis rangi, da SeiZleba ar Seesatyvisebodnen swrafad moqmedi qalis da mamakacis stereotips, drois mimarT gazomvadi, zewolis orientaciiT.

magaliTebi aseve Hampden-Turner–sa da Trompenaars–s mier gansazRvruli sami ganzomilebidanac moviyvanoT. rodesac Znelad mogvarebadi konfliqti wlebis da Taobebis ganmavlobaSi grZeldeboda, unda mivmarToT saerTaSoriso standartebs da Carevas, Tu adgilobriv wesebs da praqtikas? isini vinc universalistur amosaval wertils emxrobian saerTaSoriso Carevas da saerTaSoriso standartebis damyarebas mianiWeben upiratesobas. partikularistebi ufro morgebul, ადგილობრივ midgomas amjobineben vidre zogadi wesebis Tavsmoxvevas rac SeiZleba arc Seesabamebodes maT moTxovnilebebs da konteqsts.

specifiurobas da difuzurobas aseve bevr SemTxvevaSi mivyavarT konfliqtamde an mis eskalaciamde. adamianebi, romlebic detalebs moiZieben, eZeben konkretul mogvarebas romelic SeiZleba ganxorcieldes da gaizomos CaTvlian, rom isini vinc procesze, grZnobebze da did suraTzea mimarTuli gamaRizianebeli da Semaferxebelni arian. meores mxriv, maT visi amosavali wertili ufro difuzuria mtad SeuZliaT saerTo suraTSi napralis aRmoCena, romelic arc ise advili gamosavlenilia Tu mxolod Semadgenel nawilebs SevxedavT, da konteqstis danaxva sadac calkeuli mosazrebebi unda jdebodes.

Sinagani mimarTulebis adamianebs sjeraT, rom maT SeuZliaT cvlilebebis moxdena, swamT rom isini “sakuTari bedis batonebi, sakuTari sulis kapitanebi arian” (7). isini ufro Sedegze arian mimarTuli vidre procesze. warmoidgineT maTi gaRizianeba rodesac garegani mimarTulebis adamianebTan aqvT saqme, romlebic yuradRebas aRmzrdelobiT urTierTobebze warmarTaven, bunebasTan harmoniaSi cxovroben, dinebas mihyvebian, yuradRebas ufro process aqceven vidre Sedegs. am Sexedulebebidan arcerTia swori an mcdari; isini ubralod gansxvavebulia. procesis gamaxvileba sasargebloa, magram ara im SemTxvevaSi rodesac Sedegebi sruliad ugulebelyofilia. Sedegebis aqcentireba sasargebloa, magram aseve mniSvnelovania procesis tonis da mimarTulebis yuradRebiT dakvirveba. kulturaluri simwyobre niSnavs sxvadasxva amosavali xedvis Sesaxeb codnas, da orive dialeqtze saubaris unars, maT Soris gadaTargmnas rodesac isini konfliqts amZimeben.

es kontinuumebi araa absoluturi, isini admianebis urTierTobis srulad axsnas ar iZlevian. esaa miniSneba Tu ra Seileba xdebodes rodesac adamianebi xangrZlivad imyofebian konfliqtSi. Cven Sinaarsis maZiebeli arsebebi varT, vyvebiT istoriebs da vqmniT gagebas romelic sakuTari me-s gancdas gvinarCunebs da Cvens miznebs ukavSirdeba. rodesac amas gavacnobierebT SeiZleba konfliqturi mxareebis mier Sinaarsis moZiebis process SevxedoT da movZebnoT maTI daxmarebis gzebi, rom maTi Sinaarsdebis procesi da daskvnebi erTmaneTisTvis ufro TvalsaCino gaxdes.

es SeiZleba ganxorcieldes istoriebis moyoliT da gaziarebuli istoriebis SeqmniT, romlebic erToblivadaa agebuli raTa Seiqmnas sivrce sxvadasxva TvalsazrisisTvis. xSirad konfliqtSi myofi adamianebi yvebian daujerebel istoriebs. konfliqtis naratiuli mogvarebis midgomebi maT exmareba droebiT Tavi daanebon simarTlis Ziebas da, aramed yuradReba warmarTon istoriebze sadac orive mxare xedavs sakuTar Tavs.

Sinaarsdebis Seswavlis kidev erTi gzaa metaforebis Seswavla. metafora aris kompaqturi, mWidrod Sekruli sityvieri suraTi romelic Seicavs did informacias mokle formaSi. magaliTad, imis Seswavlisas Tu rogor daiwyo konfliqti erTi mxare SeiZleba saubrobdes mis dasawyisze rogorc drois burusSi Caflulze rodesac arsebobda sazRvrebi, gzebi da dawerili kanonebi. meore mxare SeiZleba mas xedavdes rogorc samwuxaro sasamarTlo garCevis Sedegs romelic 1946 wels daiwyo. arcerTia mcdari - sakiTxs SeiZleba Rrma fesvebi hqondes da sasamarTlo garCeva konfliqtis ganviTarebis nawili iyo. rodesac ori mxare maT metaforebze laparakobs drois burusSi damaluli sawyisi wertili upirispirdeba ufro konkretuls, calkeul kanonier moqmedebasTan dakavSirebuls. saubrisas ori mxare ufro Rrmad igebs erTmaneTis Sesaxeb konteqstSi, da mets igebs erTmaneTis rolis da identobas Sesaxeb.

identoba da roli asaxavs sakuTari mes koncepcias. me var calkeuli erTeuli, avtonomiuri, Tavisufali agenti, sakuTar Tavze pasuxismgeblobis mqone? Tu upirvelesad jgufis wevri var, romelic arCevans da moqmedebas imis mizedviT awon-dawonis Tu rogor aRiqvams maT jgufi da rogor aisaxebian isini jgufze? isini vinc Tavs calkeul individebad xedaven im sazogadoebas ekuTvnian romelsac anTropologebi individualisturs uwodeben. visTvisac jgufisadmi erTguleba umTavresia im sazogadoebas ekuTvnian romelsac anTropologebi koleqtivisturs uwodeben.

koleqtivistur garemoSi Semdegi Rirebulebebia upiratesi:

- TanamSromloba
- Taobebisadmi erTguleba (ufrosebis pativiscema da dacva)
- saerTo warmatebaSi monawileoba
- jgufis reputacia
- urTierTdamokidebuleba

individualistur garemoSi Semdegi Rirebulebebia upiratesi:

- Sejibreba
- damoukidebloba
- individualuri miRweva

- piradi zrda da miRweva
- sakuTari Tavis imedad yofna

rodesac individualisturi da koleqtivisturi amosavali wertilebi gavlenas axdenen konfliqtze, Sedegad SeiZleba eskalacia miviRoT. individualistebi SeiZleba problemas ver xedavdnen “Seukavebel” dapirispirebaSi, xolo koleqtivistebi Tavs ikavebdnen sakuTari jgufis Rirsebis Selaxvisgan an saxis dakargvisgan da amis gamo cdilobdnen arasaTanadod ar moiqcnen. individualistebi SeiZleba moelodnen koleqtivistebTan SeTanxmebis miRwevas, da Tavi motyuebulad igrZnon rodesac isini ganacxadeben rom maTi mosazrebebi jer jgufTan unda ganixilon sanam gadawyvetilebas miiRebdnen. da bolos, unda gvaxsovdes, rom iseve rogorc sxva ganzomilebebis SemTxvevaSi, adamianebis umetesoba araa sufTa individualistebi an koleqtivistebi. adamianebi iziareben individualistur an koleqtivistur amosaval wertils maTi aRzrdis, gamocdilebis da situaciis konteqstis mixedviT.

daskvna

konfliqtis mogvarebisadmi ar arsebobs universaluri midgoma, radgan kultura yovelTvis gasaTvaliswinebeli faqtoria. amotom kulturaluri simwyobre mTavari unaroa maTTvis vinc konfliqtebze muSaobs an ubralod surs ufro efeqturad gaumklavdes sakuTar cxovrebas da situaciebs. kulturaluri simwyobre gulisxmobs aRiarebas da pativiscemiT moqmedebas im codnidan gamomdinare, rom komunikacia, saxeldeba, konfliqtis formulireba da marTva, Sinaarsdebisadmi midgomebi, identobebi da wesebi kulturebs Soris icvleba.

kulturaze dafuZnebuli molaparakebis stilebi

anonimur statiaSi iaponeli mwerali aRwers SeerTebuli Statebis Suamavlebs, rogorc rTulad gasagebs. amis erT-erTi mizezi isaa, rom “iaponelebisgan gansxvavebiT amerikelebi ar arian rasobrivad an kulturulad homogenurebi, erTgvarovnebi” (1). Zalian rTulia molaparakebis nebismieri erovnuli Tu kulturuli midgomis aRwera, Tumca xSirad xdeba ganzogadeba. am ganzogadebebiT SeiZleba vixelmZRvaneloT, magram es araa mza receptebi. nebismieri ganzogadeba Seicavs WeSmarit an damoukidebelia konteqstualuri faqtorebisgan maT Soris dro, garemo, situacia, fsonebi, mxareTa Soris istoria, sakiTxebis buneba, individualuri upiratesobebi, interpersonaluri dinamika da ganwyobileba.

nebismieri ganzogadeba SeiZleba garkveul dros jgufis romelime wevris mivusadagoT. amis kargi magaliTia im jgufis Sesaxeb ganzogadebebi romelsac Tavad vekuTvniT. Tu gavigebT, rom qalebi an kacebi, an amerikelebi ama Tu im gziT axdenen molaparakebas, ra gavlena eqneba amas Cvenze rogorc am jgufebis wevrze? umetesoba upasuxeba - “gaaCnia ra SemTxvevaSi”, radgan umravlesoba ewinaaRmdegeba martiv kategorizacias da farTo klasifikacias. amave dros SesaZloa sasargeblo iyos gverdidan SevxedoT da davinaxoT sakuTari Tavi da sxvebi manZilidan saidanac SesaZlebelia davakvirdeT kanonzomierebebs da Cvevebs, romlebic gansazRvravs Tu “ra aris normaluri” molaparakebebis dros: kulturasTan dakavSirebuli da kulturis mier gansazRvruli saRi azri.

am TavSi aRwerilia molaparakebisadmi kulturaluri da erovnuli midgomebis ganzogadebebi. es SeiZleba daexmaros Suamavlebs da mediatorebs molaparakebebisaTvis momzadebisas gamokveTon kulturebs Soris gansxvavebi, da gamoavlinon SesaZlo surTueebi rac SeiZleba kulturaluri faqtorebis ugulebelyofas mohyves. isini gamoyenebul unda iqnan rogorc sawyisi wertili da ara rogorc saboloo aRwerilobebi, radgan kulturuli jgufebi Zalian mravalferovania xolo cvladebadi konteqstis gavlena Zalian didia imisTvis rom sandod iqnas aRwerili.

sanam am gazogadebebis monaxazs gavakeTebT aucilebelia vicodeT rom: kulturis, komunikaciis, da molaparakebebis Seswavlis gzebi umetesad dasavluri gagebidan momdinareobs. magaliTad rodesac molaparakebaSi asertiulobis SeerTebuli Statebis an dasavleT evropuli instrumenti iTargmneba iaponurad, is mainc inarCunebs asertiulobis bunebis Sesaxeb dasavlur xedvas. asertiulobis iaponuri xedva, romelic Tavidan acilebas ganixilavs rogorc adaptaciur da saTanado strategias SesaZlebelia ugulebelyofili iyos, da CaiTvalos araasertiulad asertiulobis da Tavidan acilebis bunebis Sesaxeb kulturaluri mosazrebebis gamo. interkulturaluri midgomebis mqone kargi kvlevebis naklebobis gamo (sxvadasxva sawyisi wertiliT da vrceli gamoyenebiT sadac Tavad kvleva viTardeba dam as multikulturaluri gundi atarebs) Sedegad miRebuli ganzogadebebi SezRudulia. kvlevebis umravlesoba keTdeba kulturul-specifikur midgomebze sxvadasxva aradasavluri kulturis warmomadgenlebis mier. aseve zogierTi kulturaTSorisi kvleva xdeba xelmisawvdomi, raomlebic frTxilad unda SeviswavloT (2).

molaparakebebisadmi kulturuli midgomebi

am TavSi ganxiluli iqneba kulturuli gansxvavebebis gaanalizebis sxvadasxva gzebi molaparakebebTan mimarTebaSi. analizi efuZneba sxvadasxva cnobil kulturaTSoris eqsperts, maT Soris Hofstede, Hall, Kluckholn, Strodtbeck da Carbaugh (3). xazi unda gaesvas rom ar arsebobs molaparakebebisadmi erTaderTi WeSmariti midgoma. arsebobs mxolod efeqturi da naklebad efeqturi midgomebi, da isini sxvadasxva konteqstualuri faqtorebis mixedviT icvlebian. rogorc Suamavlebi gaiazreben rom maTi mowinaaRmdegeebi SeiZleba movlenebs gansxvavebulad xedavdnen, maTi msjeloba naklebad uaryofiTi iqneba da metad mosalodnelia miaRwion progress molaparakebebSi.

droiTi orientaciebi

droisadmi ori gansxvavebuli midgoma arsebobs: monoqronuli da poliqronuli. droisadmi *monoqronuli* midgoma arian sworxazovani, Tanmimdevruli da droSi fokusirebas erT movlenaze axdens. es midgomebi yvelaze gavrcelebulia aSS-s, germaniis, Sveicariis da skandinaviis evropuli gavlenis mqone kulturebSi. iaponelebic kontinuumis am bolosken ixrebian. *poliqronuli* droiTi orientacia moicavs erTdroulad mravali saxis movlenebs da mravali adamianis monawileobas. dro romelic saWiroa interaqciis dasrulebisTvis aris elastiuri da ufro mniSvnelovani vidre nebismieri ganrigi. es orientacia yvelaze gavrcelebulia xmelTaSuazRvis da laTinur kulturebSi safrangeTi, italiia, saberZneTia da meqsikia, aseve zogierTi aRmosavluri da afrikuli kulturebis CaTvliT.

poliqronul kulturebSi Suamavlebs axasiaTebs:

- Sexvedrebis dawyebis da dasrulebis moqnili dro,
- Sesveneba roca amas CaTvlian saWirod,
- maRali informaciuli nakadis pirobebSic komfortulad grZnoben Tavs,
- molodini rom erTmaneTis azrebs da fiqrebs waikiTxaven,
- erTdroulad saubari,
- molaparakebis dawyebis dro moqnilia da dagvianeba ar miiReba rogorc piradi Seuracxyofa

monoqronul kulturebSi Suamavlebs axasiaTebs:

- zust dasawyis da dasasrulis drois upiratesoba,
- ganrigis mixedviT Sesveneba,
- dRis wesrigis mixedviT erT jerze mxolod erTi sakiTxis ganxilva,
- misdeven konkretul, detalur da eqsplicitur komunikacias
- urCevniaT isaubron rig-rigobiT,
- dagvianebas ganixilaven rogorc upativcemlobis gamoxatulebas.

drois sxva ganzomileba molaparakebebSi aris fokusireba warsulze, awmyoze Tu momavalze. Carbaugh–s Tanaxmad iranis, indoeTis da sxva Soreuli aRmosavleTis msgavsi kulturebi warsulze arian orientirebulni. SeerTebuli Statebi orientirebulia awmyoze da axlo momavalze. laTinuri amerika ixreba rogorc awmyo da warsuli orientaciisken. rogorc literaturaSia mocemuli, Crdilo amerikis adgilobrivi mkvidrni aerTianeben warsulze da momavalze orientacias romelic gadaWimulia momaval da warsul Svid Taobaze. awmyoze orientirebuli Suamavlebi unda acnobierebdnen rom sxvebi SeiZleba xedavdnen warsuls an Soreul momavals rogorc awmyos nawils. Suamavlebs visTvisac dro gadaWimulia warsulSi an momavalSi, unda axsovdeT rom awmyo orientacias SeuZlia moitanos saWiro cvlilebebi.

sivrciTi orientaciebi

sivrciTi orientaciebi gansxvavebulia kulturebSi. isini ukavSirdeba teritorias, kerZo da sajaro dayofas, fizikur Sexebasa da kontaqtTan damokidebulebas, da molodinebis Tu sad da rogor SeiZleba kontaqti damyardes. CrdiloeT evropis qveynebSi pirovnuli *sivrce* bevrad ufro didia vidre samxreT evropia qveynebSi. magaliTad germanelisTvis an SvedisTvis italielebi da berZnebi Zalian axlos midian. amerikuli etiketis saxelmZRvanelo gvirCevs pirovnuli sivrcis Sesaxeb: “rodesac xvdebi vinmes ar dadge masTan Zalian axlos” (gaxsovdes gabrazebuli gamoTqma: “stay out of my face” “Tavi Sors daiWire”???) arakomfortuli siaxlove Zalian gamaRizianebelia ase rom SeinarCuneT fizikuri distancia, winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi meore adamiani iZulebuli iqneba Tqvengan ukan ixevdes. misaRebia minimum ori nabijis distancia.

garkveuli kulturebi, maT Soris xmelTaSuazRvis, arabeTis, laTino amerikis, ufro taqtiluria da Sexebas metad mimarTaven. aziuri, adgilobrivi amerikelebis, kanaduri da SeerTebuli Statebis kulturebSi ar aris miRebuli Sexeba araintimur garemoSi. zogierT kulturaSi, maT Soris SeerTebul StatebSi, nebadarTulia kros-genderuli Sexeba, maSin roca erTi da imave

sqesis warmomadgenlebis Sexeba naklebad misaRebia. es wesebi gansxvavebulia iaponiaSi sadac xSirad naxavT xelCakidebul qalebs, magram ara mamakacebs. xmelTaSuazRvispireTSi xSirad naxavT xelCakidebul mamakacebs romlebic exebian erTmaneTs saxalxod, magram ara qalebs. misalmebis rituali am suraTs emTxveva, amdenad adgilobrivi normebis codna mniSvnelovania SuamavlebisTvis.

sivrce aseve dakavSirebulia mxedvelobiT kontaqtTan. SeerTebuli Statebis da kanadis dominantur kulturaSi iseve rogorc bevr arabul kulturebSi TvalebiT kontaqti sandoobis da saimedoobis maCvenebelia. Crdilo amerikis adgilobriv mosaxleobaSi mxedvelobiTi kontaqti upativcemulobad da uadgilod SeiZleba CaTvalon. amis msgavsad aziur garemoSi Tvalis qvemoT arideba pativiscemis niSania. am ganzogadebebis miRma aris Zalian didi mravalferovneba. magaliTad Lederach aRniSnavs, rom centralur amerikaSi Tvalebis mciredma moZraobam SeiZleba niSnavdes Secbunebas, pativiscemis gamoxatvas an ardaTanxmebas (5).

molaparakebisas skamebis ganlageba sovrcerTan dakavSirebul normebs unda iTvalisqinebdes. amerikelebi Cveulebriv esaubrebian mopirdapire mxares, an kuTxiT mjdom mosaubres. CinelebisTvis amgvari ganlageba gaucxovebis da uxerxulobis gancdas gamoiwvevs. isini saubrisas gverdi-gverd dajdomas amjobineben.

sivrciT upiratesobebSi uamravi gansxvaveba arsebobs romlebic ukavSirdeba sqess, asaks, Taobas, socioekonomikur klass da konteqsts. es gansxvavebebi jgufebs Soris gansxvavdeba, molaparakebebSi *sivrcis* cvladi unda gaviTvaliswinoT.

araverbaluri komunikacia

sivrcis cnebasTan axlo kavSirSia araverbaluri komunikacia. rogorc kulturaTSorisi kvlevebidan Cans, iaponeli Suamavlebi yvelaze metad iyeneben dumils, amerikelei – zomierad, xolo brazilielebi TiTqmis ara (6). Sexeba garkveul situaciebSi SeiZleba siaxloves gamoxatavdes, xolo sxva garemoebebSi Seuracxmyofeli iyos. magaliTad meqsikaSi Caxutebam SeiZleba gamoxatos sando urTierTobis dasaxwisi, xolo roca germanelma Suamavalma SeiZleba Caxuteba uadgilod intimurac miiCnios (7). daJinebuli mzera an oponentisTvis pirdapir saxeSi yureba ufro misaRebia braziliaSi vidre SeerTebul StatebSi da kidev ufro iSviaTi iaponiaSi.

Zalauflebis distancia

Geert Hofstede aris organizaciuli anTropologi niderlandebidan romelmac Tavisi kvleva or did mravalerovnul korporaciaSi Caatara. kmomerciuli garemos gareT molaparakebebisas igi sifrTxiliT unda gamoviyenoT, magram sainteresoa kvlevaSi gamoyofili gansxvavebebis ganzomilebebi kulturebs Soris. adamianebs Soris Zalauflebis gansxvavebis xarisxisa da misdami damokidebulebis aRsawerad Hofstede-ma gamoiyena *Zalauflebis distanciis* idea. kulturebSi sadac misaRebia *Zalauflebis maRali distancia* adamianebi sxvebze upiratesad iTvlebian maTi socialuri statusis, sqesis, rasis, asakis, ganaTlebis, warmoSobis, pirovnuli miRwevis, ojaxuri warmomavlobis Tu sxva faqtorebis gamo. *Zalauflebis dabali distanciis* kulturebi adamianebs Soris Tanasworobas uSvebs, da metad arian fokusirebuli mopovebul statussze vidre miniWebul statussze. zogadad, rac ufro araTanabradaa keTildReoba ganawilebuli miT maRali iqneba Zalauflebis distancia nebismier erovnul garemoSi. Hofstede-s Tanaxmad *maRali Zalauflebis distanciis* erovnuli kulturebia arabuli qveynebi, gvatemala, malaizia, filipinebi, meqsika, indonezia da indoeTi. am qveynebis warmomadgenlebi molaparakebisas upiratesobas aniWeben:

- ierarqiul struqturas,
- gamokveTil avtoritets, da
- Zalauflebis SeuzRudavad gamoyenebis uflebas.

dabali Zalauflebis distanciis qveynebia avstria, dania, israeli, axali zelandia, irlandia, SvedeTi, norvegia, fineTi, Sveicaria, britaneTi da germania. am qveynebis warmomadgenlebi molaparakebisas upiratesobas aniWeben:

- demokratiul struqturebs da horizontalur organizaciul ierarqias,
- gaziarebul avtoritets,
- Zalauflebis gamoyenebis uflebas mxolod garkveul garemoebebSi da kanonieri miznebisTvis.

gaurkvevlobis Tavidan acileba

Hofstede-s sxva kategoriebi exeba erovnuli kulturebis mxridan gaurkvevlobisa da orazronobisadmi damokidebulebas, da amdenad ramdenad kargad axdenen isini adaftacias. zogadad qveynebi orazrovneba da gaurkvevloba yvelaze metad arasasurvelia moicavs arabul, musulmanur da tradiciul afrikul qveynebs sadac fasobs konformuloba da usafrTxoeba, riskis Tavidan acileba da formaluri wesebisa da ritualebis dacva. ndobiT arian aRWurvilni mxolod axlo megobrebi da ojaxis wevrebi. am erovnuli kulturis warmomadgenlebTan gare SuamavlisTvis SeiZleba Zalian rTuli iyos ndobaze dafuZnebuli urTierTobis damyareba.

Hofstede-s Tanaxmad SeerTebuli Statebi, skandinavia da singapuri gaurkvevlobisadmi maRali mimReblobiT xasiaTdeba. am erovnuli kulturebis warmomadgenlebi afaseben risks, problemis mogvarebas, horizontalur organizaciul struqturas da orazrovnebisadmi tolerantobas. garedan misuli adamianisTvis SeiZleba advili iyos ndobaze damyarebuli urTierTobis dawyeba am kulturul konteqstSi.

maskulinoba – feminuroba

Hofstede terminebiT maskulinoba da feminuroba aRwers Tu ramdenad afasebs esa Tu is kultura asertiulobas an aRzrdasa da socialur mxardaWeras. es terminebi aseve gamoxatavs Tu ramdenad qmediTia socialurad dadgenili rolebi qalebisa da kacebisTvis. Hofstede-is Tanaxmad iseTi qveynebi da regionebi rogoricaa iaponia da laTinuri amerika upiratesobas aniWeben asertiulobas, amocanaze orientacias, da miRwevas. am kulturebSi genderuli rolebi ufro rigidulia da Warbobs “icxovre imisTvis, rom imuSavo” damokidebuleba. *feminurebad* fasdebian qveynebi da regionebi rogoricaa skandinavia, tailandi da portugalia, sadac dafasebulia TanamSromloba, aRzeda da solidarobaze damyarebuli urTierToba, xolo eTika aseTia - “imuSave imisTvis, rom icxovro”. ra Tqma unda gvaxsovdes rom genderTan dakavSirebuli asociaciebi Zalian gansxxvavdeba kulturebs Soris, ase rom is rac erT kulturaSi maskulinurad iTvleba SeiZleba feminurobad iTvlebodes meoreSi. molaparakebisas sasargebloa imis gaTvaliswineba Tu ra rols asrulebs sqesi im kulturul konteqstSi romelsac maTi oponentebi warmoadgenen.

kulturaTaSorisi molaparakebebi

Zalian rTulia im uTvalavi sawyisi wertilebis gansazRvra romelsac iyeneben sxvadasxva erovnuli garemos warmomadgeneli Suamavlebi. gansakuTrebiT imis gamo, rom kulturebi mudmivad viTardeba da konteqsti qcevaze sxvadasxva gzebiT axdens gavlenas. kidev erTi sirTule aris is rom kulturaTa Sorisi molaparakebebis Sesaxeb literature umetesadmodis organizaciuli sferodan aris mocemuli. igi mTlianad ar miesadageba Znelad mogvarebad konfliqtebs, magram es literature garkveul mimarTulebas gvaZlevs sxvadasxva erovnul garemoSi molaparakebisadmi midgomebis Sesaxeb. doqtori Nancy Adler adarebs oTxi erovnebis Suamavlebis mier dasaxelebul wamratebis gasaRebs (8). qvemoT mocemulia gamartivebuli cxrili sadac molaparakebisas adamianebis maxasiaTeblebi mniSvnelobis mixedviTaa dalagebuli rogorc amas TiToeuli erovnebis warmomadgeneli menejerebi afaseben:

amerikeli Suamavlebi	iaponeli Suamavlebi	Cineli (taivaneli) Suamavlebi	brazilieli Suamavlebi

momzadeba da dagegmva	erTguleba samuSaosadmi	daJinebuloba da gadamWreloba	momzadeba da dagegmva
zewolis qveS azrovnebis unari	Zalauflebis aRqma da gamoyeneba	ndoba da pativiscema	zewolis qveS azrovnebis unari
msjeloba da ganaTleba	ndoba da pativiscema	momzadeba da dagegmva	msjeloba da ganaTleba
verbaluri gamomxatveloba	patiosneba / pirdapiroba	produqtis codna	verbaluri gamomxatveloba
produqtis codna	mosmenis unaris warmoCena	saintereso	produqtis codna
Zalauflebis aRqma da gamoyeneba	farTo perseqtiva	msjeloba da ganaTleba	Zalauflebis aRqma da gamoyeneba
patiosneba / pirdapiroba	verbaluri gamomxatveloba		SejibrebiToba

rogorc Adler aRniSnavs brazilielebis da amerikelebis mier dasaxelebuli maxasiaTeblebi TiTqmis erTnairia, bolo kategoriis garda. iaponelebi ufro interpersonaluri molaparakebis stils usvamen xazs, aqcents verbalur gamomxatvelobasa da mosmenis unarebze akeTeben. xolo maTi amerikeli da brazilieli kolegebi ufro orientirebuli arian verbalur unarebze, dagegmvaze da msjelobaze. Cineli da taivaneli SuamavlebisTvis mniSnvelovania rom Suamavali iyos saintereso pirovneba, romelic amJRavnebs daJinebulobas da Seupovrobas.
Suamavlebi aseve gansxvavdebian maT mier gamoyenebuli darwmunebisa stiliT. amerikul garemoSi upiratesia logika, “obieqtur” faqtebze dayrdnoba. emociuri mgrZnobeloba ar aris dafasebuli, da garigebis procesi SeiZleba pirdapiri da miukerZovebeli Candes. iaponeli Suamavlebi afaseben emociur mgrZnobelobas, da emociebs mSvidi ieris miRma faraven. laTinuri amerikeli Suamavlebi iziareben iaponelebis upiratesobas emociuri mgrZnobelobisadmi da mgrZnebared gamoxataven sakuTar Sexedulebebs. arabi Suamavlebi sxvebis darwmunebis mizniT mimarTaven emociebs da subieqtur grZnobebs. rusebi amisgan gansxvavebiT mimarTaven idealebs, da yvelas yuradRebas ZiriTad principebze warmarTaven (9).

SeerTebuli Statebis midgomebi molaparakebebisadmi

SeerTebuli Statebis Suamavlebi individualur Rirebulebebs eyrdnobian, sxvebs da sakuTar Tavs avtonomiur, damoukidebel, da TviTkmar erTeulad ganixilaven. es imas ar niSnavs rom isini mimarTaven rCevas, magram tendencia ganixilon sakuTari Tavi rogorc ganyenebuli vidre raime qselis wevri niSnavs, rom ufro damoukidebeli iniciativa SeiZleba iqnas gamoyenebuli. iaponeli Suamavlis azriT romelmac dawera “molaparakeba amerikelebTan” amerikeli Suamavlebi:

- Suamavlobisadmi iCenen SejibrebiT midgomas, magaliTad molaparakebis magidasTan ukandasaevi pozocooT midian, magram ararealisturi SeTavazebiT iwyeben;
- arian energiulebi, Tavdajerebuli da Seupovrebi; maT moswonT poziciebze kamaTi, da movlenebs universalurad uyureben – e.i. maT moswonT ideebis farTo gamoyenebis Sesaxeb saubari;
- erT jerze erT problemaze saubroben;
- fokusirebulni arian uTanxmoebis sakiTxebze da ara im sakiTxebze romelTa Sesaxebac erTiani azri arsebobs;
- moswonT dasrulebuloba da garkveuloba da ara aradasrulebuli da gaurkveveli viTareba.

ramdenad marTalia es ganzogadoebebi? es damokidebulia imaze Tu romel amerikelebze vsaubrobT, romel seqtors warmoadgenen isini da ra konteqstSi xdeba molaparakeba. es ojaxis sakiTxia Tu komerciuli? es Temis sakiTxebia, erovnuli politika Tu farTo sajaro konfliqti? strategiebi icvleba konteqstis da bevri sxva faqtoris mixedviT.

afrikuli midgomebi molaparakebebisadmi

mraval afrikul erebs konfliqtis mogvarebis adgilobrivi sitemebi aqvT romlebic awmyoSic gamoiyeneba. zogi maTgani xeluxlebelia, xolo zogierTi swrafi socaluri cvlilebebiT danawevrebuli. es sistemebi eyrdnobian molaparakebebisadmi garkveul midgomebs, romlebic pativsscemen naTesaur kavSirebs da ufrosebi rolebs, da zogadad adgilobrivi sazogadoebis struqturas. magaliTad nigeriaSi adamianebi erTiandebian ojaxebad (*nnu*'), soflebad (*idu'* an *obio*), gvarebad ('*dak*) da sagvareulo jgufead (*iman*) (10). rwmena rom winaprebi gavlenas axdenen adamianebis cxovrebaze inarCunebs socialur kontrols, da ganapirobebs formaluri kanonebis minimalur saWiroebas. molaparakeba xdeba socialur qselebs SigniT, dadgenili rolebis dacviT. magaliTad qmarTan konfliqtisas qalebi Tmoben da bodiSs ixdian, amzadeben ritualur saWmels romelic simbolurad harmoniis aRdgenas gamoxatavs.

nigeriul ibibios konteqstSi soacialuri qselis aRdgena umTavresi mizania, xolo individualuri gansxvebebi jgufis interesebs uda daeqvemdebaros. imisTvis, rom daculi iyos miRweuli SeTanxmeba, mxareebi pirobas deben, rom momavalSi ar gamoiyeneben winaprebis Zalauflebas meore mxares mosajadoveblad an dasawyevlad. nebismieri procesis mizania, iqneba is formaluri Tu araformaluri, uzrunvelyos dadebiTi Sedegi "aRSfoTebis da ganawyenebis datovebis gareSe" (11). ufrosebs aqvT arsebiTi Zalaufleba, da rodesac isini Caerevian konfliqtSi an molaparakebaSi maTi sityvebi pativsacemia. es nawilobriv imitom xdeba rom maT sjeraT rom zogierT moxucs xeli miuwvdeba zebunebriv Zalebze da SeuZlia damcveli faris moxsna an uares SemTxvevaSi gamoiwvion piradi ubedureba.

sxva afrikul konteqstebSi arsebobs adgilobrivi procesebis mTeli rangi, sadac xazgasmulia urTierTobebi da ierarqiebi.

molaparakebis iaponuri stilebi

literaturaSi uxvadaa monacemebi molaparakebebisadmi iaponelebis midgomebis Sesaxeb, xolo amerikul da iaponur midgomebs Soris winaaRmdegobi legendarulia (12). iaponelTa komunikaciaze Semdegi Rirebulebebi axdens gavlenas: fokusireba jgufis miznebze, urTierTdamokidebuleba, da ierarqiuli orientaciebi (13). molaparakebebSi es Rirebulebebi vlindeba jgufis moTxovnilebebis da miznebis gacnobierebiaSi, damaRali statusis adamianebis dacvaSi. iaponeli Suamavlebi cnobilni arian TavazianobiT, urTierTobebis damyarebaze aqcentiT, da Zalauflebis arapirdapiri gamoyenebiT (14). iaponelebi zrunaven saxeze das axis SenarCunebaze radgan Tavazianoba ase mniSvnelovania da aseve raTa Tavidan iqnas acilebuili dapirispireba. isini Zalauflebas iyeneben Cumad, arapirdapiri gzebiT ise, rom SenarCunebuli iyos simSvide da harmonia. SedarebiT kvlevebSi iaponeli Suamavlebi naklebad amxelen informacias sakuTari Tavis da maTi miznebis Sesaxeb, vidre maTi frangi da amerikeli oponentebi (15).

iaponeli Suamavlebi naklebad amaxvileben molaparakebisas gamoyenebuli sityvebis pirdapir mniSvnelobas da met yuradRebas aqceven molaparakebis dawyebamde damyarebul urTiertObas (16). garda amisa, SeerTebuli Statebis warmomadgenlebisgan gansxvavebiT isini naklebad akeTeben procedural SeTavazebebis (17).

molaparakebis evropuli stilebi

molaparakebis evropuli stilebi icvleba regionebis, erovnebis, sasaubro enis, da sxva konteqstualuri faqtorebis mixedviT. erT-erTma kvlevam aCvena, rom molaparakebisas frangebi Zalian agresiuli arian, da miznis misaRwevad mimarTaven muqaras, gafrTxilebebs da saubaris Sewyvetas (18). germaneli da britaneli Suamavlebi imave kvlevaSi Sefasdnen rogorc saSualod agresiulebi.

molaparakebis laTinoamerikuli stilebi

laTin4r amerikul konteqstSi roluri molodinebi gavlenas axdens molaparakebebze. sxvebisadmi pasuxismgebloba ufro mniSvnelovania vidre ganrigi da dasaxuli amocanis miRweva. Lederach aRniSnavs rom centralur amerikaSi konfliqtis aRmniSvnelo sityvaa "*enredo*" rac niSnavs "CaTreuls" an "badeSi gabmuls" (19). igi ganmartavs, rom sityva *enredo* imis aRmniSvnelia, rom gvatemalasa da centraluri amerikis sxva qveynebSi konfliqti mWidro urTierTobebis nawilia. amgvarad molaparakeba urTeirTobebis qselis SigniT xdeba, urTierToba xazgasmulia, da aSkara ganxeTqilebas Tavs arideben.

centralur amerikaSi konfliqtis Sesaxeb adamianebi mTlianobiTad fiqroben da pasuxoben mas. Lederach upirispirebs erTmaneTs amerikul bunebriv midrekilebas "Seadginon sia, daanawevron istoria nawilebad rogoricaa sakiTxebi da mosazrebebi" da mis centralur amerikaSi miRebul gamocdilebas, sadac rodesac adamianebs mosTxoven mosalaparakebeli sakiTxebis dasaxelebas, isini amas Tvlian "kidev erT istoriad" (20). isini upiratesobas aniWeben konfliqtisadmi da molaparakebisadmi TxrobiT, mTlianobiT midgomas, da ara sworxazovans da analitikurs. rodesac centralur amerikelebs sWirdebodaT daxmareba molaparakebasTan dakavSirebiT, isini jgufis wevrebs mimarTavdnen vidre gareSe neitralur mxares. amgvarad isini upiratesobas aniWeben arsebuli urTierTobebis ndobas da ara sxva adamianebis codnas da ekspertizas. isini iyeneben termins *confianza* am upiratesobis asaxsnelad. *Confianza* niSnavs "ndobas" rom "isini gvicnoben Cven" da "Cven vicnobT maT" da amitom isini "gaamarTleben Cvens ndobas" (21).

molaparakebis ganviTareba

miuxedavad imisa, rom erovnul kulturebs Soris molaparakebis sxvadasxva midgomebi gansazRvrulia, cvlilebebi aris mudmivi. saerTaSoriso biznes kultura upiratesobas aniWebs molaparakebis dasavlur midgomebs, romelic mimarTulia problemis mogvarebaze da sworxazovan komunikaciaze. rodesac dasavluri normebi Sejerebulia aRmosavlur da samxreTul RirebulebebTan da adgilobrivi tradiciebi Sejerebulia regionalur da erovnul midgomebTan, molaparakebebis praqtika globalur ganviTarebas ganagrZobs.

Zalauflebis gacvla (gacvliTi Zalaufleba)

Sesavali

zedapirulad Tu ganvixilavT, urTierTgacvliTi Zalaufleba martivi cnebaa. me msurs rom Tqven gaakeToT raRac rac CemTvis Rirebulia. imisTvis, rom dagarwmunoT gTavazobT raimes, rac TqvenTvis Rirebulia. amis miRma ki misi gamoyeneba socialur cxovrebaSi rTulia da did dros saWiroebs.

ufro zogadad Tu vityviT, urTierTgacvliTi Zlaaufleba SeiZleba ekonomikuri Zalaufleba iyos. Ekonomikuri Zalaufleba "momdinareobs daTmobis yidvis SesaZleblobisgan. igi materialuri jildos da deprivaciis martiv princips emyareba. Produqcis da urTierTgacvlis adamianuri organizaciebi ganapirobeben resursebis xelmisawvdomobas romlebic arsebobisTvis da socialuri cxovrebiTvis aucilebelia da sasrvelia" (1).

imisTvis, rom SemeZlos mogceT is rasac Tqven afasebT, jer es raRac unda mqondes. amdenad mxolod Tavad gacvla araa mniSvnelovani, aramed aseve misi winmswrebi procesic. es moicavs mopovebas da warmoebas. Amis Semdeg ki dagroveba da Senaxva, iseve rogorc molaparakeba gacvlis pirobebis Sesaxeb SeiZleba urTierTgacvliT Zalauflebas mivakuTvnoT. es aspeqtebi ganapirobebs, rom urTierTgacvliTi Zalaufleba ufro rTulia vidre es erTi SexedviT Cans.

urTierTgacvliTi Zalauflebis kidev erTi sirTule imaSia, rom igi emyareba rogorc gaziarebul Zalauflebas (*erToblivi Zalaufleba*), aseve *vinmeze* Zalauflebas. pirvel SemTxvevaSi mas integraciuli Zalauflebisken mivyavarT, meoreSi ki iZulebiTi Zalauflebisken. Blau miuTiTens am paradoqsze da aRniSnavs, rom gacvla "aRZravs rogorc socialur kavSirebs Tanatolebs Soris, aseve statusis gansxvavebebs" (2). Tu mxareebisTvis sagnebis, servisebis da upiratesobebis mniSvneloba SedarebiT Tanabaria, mxareebs TanatloTa urTierTobebi aqvT. Tu meores mxriv gacvlis sagani araTanabari mniSvnelobisaa, moqmedebs "umciresi interessi principi": "urTierTobaSi meti Zalauflebis mqone adamiani iRebs yvelaze mcires gacvlis Sedegad" (3).

urTierTgacvliTi Zalauflebis kidev erTi sirTulea is, rom gacvlis sagans SeiZleba ar hqondes naTeli gamoyenebiTi mniSvneloba. adamiani erTaderTi cxovelia romlisTvisac mniSvnelovania bunebaSi SedarebiT iSviaTi masalis aRmoCena, SeZena da warmoCena, romlebic Soreuli wyaroebidan moipoveba da rogorc wesi usargebloa yoveldRiuri cxovrebisTvis. am masalis faseulobis miniWebiT maT Seqmnes gamorCeulobis simboloebi, Tviseba romelic esTeturi codnisgan momdinareobs, magram romlisken swrafva adamianis mier Seqmnili civilizaciis fesvebSi Zevs (4).

sazogadoebaSi urTierTgacvlis moqmedeba

urTierTgacvla sazogadoebis Zireuli aspeqtia. yoveli Cvengan yoveldRiurad CarTulia urTierTgacvlaSi, iqneba es safunTuSeSi fulis sanacvlod raimes SeZena, Tu anazRaurebis sanacvlod muSaoba (romelsac ra Tqma inda Semdeg safunTuSeSi SesaZenad viyenebT).

arsebobs mcire sazogadoebebi sadac gacvla socialuri SeWidulobis mTavari principia, sadac TiTqmis mTeli Zalaufleba urTierTgacvlaSia. Axali gvineis vola aseTi eria.

volas sazogadoebaSi nebismieri urTierTobisTvis saWiroa garkveuli TanamSromloba urTierTgacvliT saqmianobebSi, magaliTad materialuri sikeTis pirdapiri gacvlisas. es socializaciis mniSvnelovan mizans emsaxureba da xels uwyobs adamianebs Soris urTierTobas sazogadoebaSi, sadac individisadmi miniWebuli Rirebuleba safrTxes uqmnis mowesrigebul socialur cxovrebas (5).

volas sazogadoebaSi keTildReoba da misi urTierTgacvlis SesaZlebloba sakuTari sargeblobiT statusis erTaderTi ganmsazRvrelia. iZulebiTi Zalaufleba izRudeba urTierTgaclaze aqcentiT, da keTildReobis araviTari odenoba ar aZlevs adamians sxvebze sakuTari nebis Tavsmoxvevis Zalauflebas. sinamdvileSi keTildReoba da zrda naklebad aZlevs adamianebs saSualebas gavlena moaxdinon Tanamoqalaqeebze. garda amisa, integraciul Zalauflebas volas sazogadoebaSi naklebi wona aqvs. SeTanxmebebi SedarebiT mudmivia, Tumca mis monawileebis Soris kavSiri mcire jgufTaSoris pasuxismgeblobas moicavs da jgifis moqmedebaze molaparakeba SemTxvevidan SemTxvevamde icvleba, sadac TiToeuli monawilesTvis umTavresi kriteriumia piradi interesi. urTierTgacvlis garSemo arsebuli normebis rTuli erToblioba erTaderTi SemakavSirebelia rac sazogadoebas aerTianebs. magaliTad, Zaladobrivi sikvdilis Semdeg gadasaxdeli safasuri ar aris ubralod gardacvlilis axloblebisTvis kompensacia; esaa aRiareba pasuxismgebeli mxares mxridan, rom mkvlevloba ar iyo gamiznuli da rom mas ar surs socialuri urTierTobebis Sewyveta. sxva saxis urTierTgacvlebi, mcire Tu didi, volas sazogadoebaSi msgavs sociologiur miznebs emsaxureba (6).

volas magaliTi uCveuloa imiT, rom mTeli Zalauflebis wyaro urTierTgacvlaSia, magram isini ar arian gansxvavebulni ekonomikuri Zalauflebisadmi upiratesobaSi. Zveli fenicielebi (Phoenicians) mTel Zalauflebas vaWrobaze amyarebdnen; isini wamoadgenen "movaWreTa jgufis magaliTs, romelTa moqmedebebi cvlida mwarmoebeli jgufebis cxovrebas romelTa moTxovnilebebi Tavdapirvelad qmnida maT Zalauflebas" (7). Cveni

anbanic da fulis sistemac maTi gavleniT Seiqmna (8). adreuli sazogadoebebis kvlevaSi (sadac Sedis Tanamedrove dania, havai da peru) Timothy Earle askvnis, rom "potencuri Zalauflebis efeqturi gamoyeneba mis kontrolzea damokidebuli, xolo kontroli mtkiced dgas politikuri ekonomiis bunebaze" (9). marqsi da misi mimdevrebi ukidures upiratesobas aniWeben ekonomikur Zalauflebas: produqciis saSualebebi sazogadoebis organizaciis safuZvlad ganixileba.

rTul sazogadoebaSi urTierTgacvla da produqtiurloba Zalauflebis mniSvnelovani wyaroa, magram ma Tar aqvT iseTi upiratesoba rogorc volas sazogadoebaSi. samwuxarod urTierTgacvlis Teoriis zogierTi didi moazrovne, rogoricaa Homans, azviadebda mis mniSvnelobas day vela saxis socialur qcevas urTierTgacvlamde daiyvanda. amas garkveulwilad yoveldRiuri metyvelebac uwyobs xels.Cven iZulebis mniSvnelobiT vaxsenebT "cecxlis gacvlas", da integraciuli mniSvnelobiT – "misalmebis gacvlas". Tumca am sitaciebis dayvana mxolod maTi urTierTgacvlis bunebaze maT mxolod nawilobriv axasiaTebs.

cecxlsasroli iaraRiT daWrili SeiZleba oponentis mxridan mxolod SeCerebis mizniT iqca samizned, an Tavad iyo oponentze Tavadsxmis iniciatori. aqedan ercerTi SemTxveva ar gulisxmobs urTierTgacvlas; orive cdilobs mtris damarcxebas d aver axerxebs Tavdasxmis SeCerebas. misalmebis SemTxveva ufro rTulia. me gesalmebiT imitom rom mixaria Tqveni danaxva da ara imitom, rom minda sanacvlod momesalmon. Tumca imedi gamicruvdeba Tu Tqven civad an sul ar mipasuxebT. aseTi pasuxis Semdeg momdevno Sexvedrisas SeiZleba aRar mogesalmoT, da SeiZ;eba aRarc gaemxardes Tqveni naxva.

Peter Blau ganasxvavebs socialur da mkacrad ekonomikur cvlilebas. am ors Soris gasxnvavebas igi misaRebi pasuxis dakonkretebis xarisxSi xedavs. "socialur gacvlaSi erTi mxare meores sargebeliT uzrunvelyofs, da Tumca sapasuxo molodini arsebobs, am pasuxis zusti buneba ar aris dazustebuli" (10). rodesac Zalauflebis sam saxes ganvixilavT, integraciul da urTierTgacvliT Zalauflebas Soris gamyofi xazi bundovania. socialuri gacvla, rogorc mas Blau aRwers, integraciul ZalauflebaSi Sedis. Tumca urTierTgacvliTu Zalauflebis ganxilvisas Cven gvainteresebs gacla, iqneba is socialuri Tu ekonomikuri, sadac mosalodneli pasuxi SedarebiT naTelia.

urTierTgacvla metwilad emyareba normatul molodinebs rom sapasuxod dabrunebuli unda iyos raime imave Rirebulebis rac gacemulia. yvela kulturaSi adamianebi gaweuli samsaxuris sanacvlod saTanadod pasuxoben (11). Cialdini amas "reciprokulobis normas" uwodebs. dro da arsi Seileba kontraqtiT ari iyos gansazRvruli, magram normebi gulisxmobs misaRebi pasuxis SedarebiT naTel parametrebs. am normis daucvelobis sasjeli xSirad urTierTgacvliTi urTierTobis gawyveta an Semcirebaa. ufro metic, farTod miRebuli normis miRma qceva xSirad TemSi ganixileba. damrRvevi adamiani araerT sxva urTierTgacvliT urTierTobas ayenebs safrTxis qveS.

urTierTgacvliTi Zalauflebis upiratesobebi

urTierTgacvliTi Zalaufleba SeiZleba gamoyenebuli iyos rogorc meqanizmi urTierTobebis wamosawyebad, gasamyareblad an aRsadgenad.is ukanaskneli ramaa rac yvelaze STambeWdavia da SesaZloa yvelaze sasargeblo mougvarebel (intractable) konfliqtebSi.

samoqalaqo omebs gansakuTrebiT damangreveli Sedegebi moaqvT sazogadoebisTvis, Tavisi maRali safasuriT adamianebis sicocxlis da sakuTrebis TvalsazrisiT. xangrZliv perspeqtivaSi safasuri kidev ufro maRalia socialuri infrastruqturis doneze. sazogadoebis wyoba daingra. es SeiZleba SeerTebuli Statebis samoqalaqo omis magaliTidanac vnaxoT. samoqalaqo omi mxolod msoflio oms Camouvardeba sikvdilianobiT, finansuri danaxarjebiT da ngreviT. Tu ufro fardobiT cifrebs gamoviyenebT, rogoricaa mokluli TanamebrZolebis procenti, samoqalaqo omi pirvel adgilzea (12). Tumca danaxarjebi amiT ar Semoifargleba. omis memkvidreoba moicavs grZelvadian samoqalaqo dayofas, rogorc Statebis politikuri konfliqtis SemTxvevaSi yofil konfederatebs Soris misi droSis garSemo (13) da axali konfederatebis jgufebs Soris siZulviliT (14).

Tumca ufro gvian samoqalaqo omSi Paul Wehr da Sharon Erickson Nepstad urTierTgacvlis Zalauflebas Serigebisken warmarTaven. nikaraguis samoqalaqo omi gansakuTrebiT rTuli iyo ormagi konfliqtis gamo. sandanistebi ara mxolod kontrasTan omobdnen, aramed aseve Zaladobriv kionfliqtSi iyvnen CarTuli atlantikis sanapiros indiel da kreol xalxTan.

1988 wlisTvis kontrasebi damarcxdnen, rac naTeli iyo radgan SeerTebulm,a Statebma Sewyvita mxardaWera. orive jgufisTvis sufTa muqara Zviri da araefeqturi aRmoCnda.

rodesac urTierTgacvlis elementebma imata da ukiduresi muqara Semcirda da Serigebam pirvelad iCina Tavi, Secvlilma strategiam xeli Seuwyo mSvidobis da samarTlianobis damyarebas…

urTierTgacvlis procesSi aqtiurad iswrafian muqaris Semcirebisken da Serigebisken. oponentebis urTierTobis procesSi poziciebis da interesebis garkvevasTan erTad mcirdeba muqara. ubralo civiluroba SeiZleba urTierT pativiscemiT Seicvalos (15).

Rirebuli sakiTxebiT vaWrobisas mxareebi swavloben erTmaneTis dapirebebisadmi ndobas. esaa frTxili cekva socialuri Zaladobis ferflSi. magram Wehr da Nepstad Tanaxmad aman SeiZleba safuZveli Cauyaros integraciul Zalauflebas.

urTierTgacvlis Zalauflebas SeiZleba ndobis damyarebis Zlieri tendencia hqondes rTulad mogvarebad konfliqtebSi Tundac rodesac molaparakebebs ar mivyavarT SeTanxmebul nabijebamde an rodesac molaparakebebi arc dawyebula. Charles Osgood-is (1962) daZabulobis Semcirebis Tanmimdevruli urTierTgacvla (GRIT) erT-erTi

modelia imisa Tu rogor SeiZleba urTierTgacvlis gamoyeneba urTierTobebis gasaumjobeseblad gareSe Carevis an pirdapiri molaparakebis gareSe.

civi omis mwvervalze daZabulobis Semcirebis Tanmimdevruli urTierTgacvla (GRIT) calmxrivi svlebis seriaa, urTierTgacvlis SeTavazeba magram ara moTxovna. Osgood aseTi nabijebis ramdenime kriteriums gamoyofs: nabijebi mcire unda iyos; maT Sesaxeb sajarod unda iyos gancxadebuli; maT ar unda Seuqmnan safrTxe sakuTar usafrTxoebas. gamoqveynebis Semdeg daZabulobis Semcirebis Tanmimdevruli urTierTgacvlis (GRIT) Teorias realistebi kritikulad Sexvdnen da es strategia utopiurad miiCnies. SeerTebuli Statebi da sabWoTa kavSiri sastiki mtrebi iyvnen romlebic erTmaneTs atomuri armagedonis zRvarze abalansebdnen. risi miRweva SeiZleboda mcire calmxrivi nabijebiT? saukeTeso SemTxvevaSi es drois dakargva iqneboda, radgan sabWoTa kavSiri asset Jests arasodes upasuxebda; uares SemTxvevaSi SeerTebuli kavSiri arasaxarbielo mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda da sustad warmoCindeboda.

Amitai Etzioni-m (1968) gaanaliza kenedis administraciis ramdenime Tviani monakveTi da aRmoaCina STambeWdavi mxardaWera am strategiis gamoyenebis sasargeblod. drois monakveTi iwyeboda amerikis universitetSi warmoTqmuli sityviT sadac prezidentma kenedim ganacxada atmosferuli atomuri cdebis Sewyvetis Sesaxeb. es ar akmayofilebda daZabulobis Semcirebis Tanmimdevruli urTierTgacvlis (GRIT) yvela pirobas. gancxadeba sajaro iyo da sapasuxo nabijebs ar moiTxovda. igi safrTxes ar uqmnisda SeerTebuli Statebis usafrTxoebas, Tumca misi motivacia ar iyo mtrulobis Semcireba; aramed is rac Semdgomi cdebiT SeiZleba Seswavliliyonar amarTlebda danaxarjebs. Tumca sabWoTa kavSirma upasuxa da ramdenime calmxrivi svla ganxorcielda momdevno ramdenime Tvis ganmavlobaSi. daZabulobis am Semcirebam civi omis eraSi ramdenime ormxrivi paqti ganapiroba, es iyo cxeli xazis SeTanxmeba. Etzioni–m aseve aRmoaCina, rom meore mxarisadmi gavrcelebuli damokidebuleba Semcirda, miuxedavad urTierTgacvlis mokle periodisa.

urTierTgacvlis Zalauflebis SezRudvebi

zogadad urTierTgacvliTi Zalaufleba araefeqturia sanam am meqneba raime rasac Cemi kolega afasbs da piriqiT. sxvagvarad rom vTqvaT “raime moqmedebie Sesrulebis unary ar iZleva Zalauflebas Tu sxva adamiani am moqmedebas jildod ar miiCnevs. ekonomikis enaze unda arsebobdes jildoze moTxovna” (17).

mougvarebeli konfliqtebis SuaSi Cven saqme gvaqvs mxareebTan romelbic erTmaneTs ar afaseben. isini ar afaseben imas, risi SemoTavazebac meore mxares SeuZlia. Tundac es SesaZlebeli iyos, SeiZleba damatebiTi problemebi warmoiSvas. es problemebi israelis cnobil sloganSia gamoxaturi, “araviTari miwa mSvidobisTvis”.

pirvel rigSi ismis kiTxva: vis ekuTvnis kanoniT gacvlis sagani? Tu Israeli aTwleulebis ganmavlobaSi akontroloebs Razas regions da dasavleT sanapiros, palestinelebma israelis kontrolis uflebebs SeiZleba daupirispiron is, rom miwa maT ekuTvniT. amgvarad Tu israeli gadawyvets mSvidobis sanacvlod miwiT ivaWros, palestinelebma SeiZleba CaTvalon, rom isini mxolod da mxolod imas iReben rac maT ukanonod waarTves.

meore, miwa sul mcire gazomvadi sagania. mSvidoba – ara. rogorc slogan gamoxatavs, raRac xelSesaxebi icvleba raRac arxelSesaxebze. saWiroa vaWrobis orive samiznes gansazRvra da dakonkreteba. Tu mSvidoba erTaderTi Rirebulebaa ris sanacvlodac israeli vaWrobas isurvebda, bevri samuSaoa Casatarebeli (rogorc amas SeTanxmebis miRwevis sirTule mowmobs) rom ganisazRvros raa mSvidobis winapirobebi da sakmarisad konkretulia Tu ara isini imisTvis, rom gacvlis sagans warmoadgendnen.

mesame, bevri ebraeli sakamaTo miwas ganixilavs rogorc maTi istoriuli samSoblos ganuyofel nawils, da ara rogorc vaWrobis sagans. garda amisa, 1967 wlis omis droidan, rodesac maT moipoves Razar regionze da dasavleT sanapiroze kontroli, dRemde es miwebi dasaxlda. maTi dabruneba palestinisTvis moiTxovs mosaxleobis gadayvanas, romelTac israelis xelisuflebam manmade dasaxlebis ufleba misca da waaxalisebda kidec amisken. es araa mxolod am miwaze aSenebuli saxlebi; maTi cxovreba dakavSirebulia masTan.

rodesac meore mxares moTxovnebi ar ganixileba molaparakebis sagnad, saWiroa bevrad safuZvliani samuSaos Catareba sakuTari mxares partizanebTan, rom Seicvalos sakamaTo sagnis formulireba. sxvagvarad SeiZleba miRweul iqnas misi daTmobis Sesaxeb SeTanxmeba, magram gacvliT gamowveulma aRSfoTebam SeiZleba mSvidobis SeTanxmeba CaSalos.

daskvna

urTierTgacvlis Zalaufleba ar aris Zalauflebis mTavari forma, magram SuamavlebisTvis esaa potenciuri iaraRi. rodesac mowinaaRmdegebi erTmaneTisTvis mniSvnelovan resursebs akontroleben, am resursebis Sesaxeb vaWroba SeiZleba ara mxolod SeTanxmebis safuZvels qmnides; aman SeiZleba aseve safuZveli Saqmnas momavalSi gaumjobesebuli urTierTobisTvis.

არათანასწორი ძალაუფლება

„ყველას აქვს მისთვის და მისი ოჯახისთვის ჯანმრთელობის და კეთილდღეობის სათანადო საცხოვრებელი სტანდარტების უფლება, საკვების და ტანსაცმელის ჩათვლით“.

არათანასწორობა (inequity) ორი ძლიერი ფაქტორის გარდაუვალი შედეგია: წინათრწმენები და სოციალურ დონეზე არსებული ინდივიდუალური და პოლიტიკიური დისბალანსის დონე. შეიძლება ვიკამათოთ იმის შესახებ, ძალაუფლების დისბალანსი და სხვა სოციალური განსხვავებები განაპირობებს წინათრწმენებს თუ პირიქით (უმეტესობა ამგვარ კითხვაზე ერთ პასუხს ელის მაგრამ რეალობა გაცილებით რთულია; ორივე ფაქტორი მეორეს აძლიერებს. ამიტომ ეს კითხვა ქათმისა და კვერცხის დილემას ჰგავს). როდესაც წინათრწმენები დისკრიმინაციულ ქცევას იწვევს და ძალაუფლების დისბალანსი ხელმისაწვდომობის და მობყრობის სტრუქტურული განსხვავებების ინდივიდუალურ ქცევებში გამოიხატება, შედეგად ვიღებთ უდიდეს სოციალურ, პოლიტიკურ და ეკონომიკურ არათანასწორობას.

ყოველდღიურ მერტყველებაში არათანასწორობა (inequity) და არათანასწორუფლებიანობა (inequality) შეიძლება ერთი მნიშვნელობით გამოიყენებოდეს. აქ კი ეს ორი ტერმინი უნდა განვასხვავოთ: ტერმინი „არათანასწორობა“ აღწერითია, ხოლო „არათანასწორუფლებიანობა“ ნორმატულია. არათანასწორუფლებიანობა ასახავს რაიმე სიკეთის განაწილებას ისე, რომ ვიღაცას მეტი ერგებოდეს ვიდრე სხვებს. არათანასწორობა ამას სცდება: განაწილება არა მხოლოდ არათანაბარია; იგი უსამართლო და დაუმსახურებელია.

ამ განსხვავების განმარტება მარტივი მაგალითით შეიძლება. არცთუ დიდი ხნის წინ, სამხრეთ კაროლინაში დიდმა ქარბუქმა რამდენიმე დასახლება დააზარალა. ასობით ათასი ადამიანი ელექტროენერგიის გარეშე დარჩა. თუმცა გაცილებით მეტს ეს არ შეხებია. ქარბუქის შედეგად ადამიანებს არათანაბრად მიუწვდებოდათ ხელი ელექტროენერგიაზე. თუმცა ვითარება არ იყო უსამართლო. არათანასწორობა ქარბუქის მიმართულების შედეგი იყო, რასაც ვერავინ აკონტროლებდა. თუმცა ენერგოკომპანიას რომ გადაეწყვიტა ელექტროენერგიის აღდგენა ისეთი კრიტერიუმებით როგორიცაა კეთილდღეობა, ან პოლიტიკური გავლენა, ან რასა, ან რაიმე სხვა განზომილება რომელიც არ იქნებოდა დაკვშირებული ელექტროენერგიის საჭიროებასთან, პასუხი იქნებოდა უსამართლო. ასეთი არათანასწორობა შეიძლება იყოს სტრუქტურული და არა ცალკეული გადაწყვეტილებიდან მომდინარე. წარმოვიდგინოთ საზოგადოება სადაც ელექტროენერგიის კომპანიებს თეთრკანიან მომხმარებელთან მიმავალი გაყვანილობა მიწის ქვეშ გაყავთ, ხოლო შავკანიან მოსახლეობასთან მიმავალი გაყვანილობა მიწის ზემოთ რჩება. ქარბუქის დროს ბუნებისგან დაცული თეთრკანიანები კვლავ იღებენ ელექტროენერგიას. მეორეს მხრივ კი შავკანიანი მოსახლეობა ელექტროენერგიის გარეშე დარჩებოდა, მიუხედავად იმისა თუ მწყობრიდან გამოსვლის შემდეგ რამდენად ყურადრებით მოეკიდებოდა ენერგოკომპანია მომხმარებლების ჩივილებს.

ბუნებრივი გარემოებებით გამოწვეული არათანასწორუფლებიანობა არ არის ამ მსჯელობის საგანი, თუმცა მას დიდი ზიანის მოტანა შეუძლია. გარდა ამისა ქარბუქი ერთეული შემთხვევაა. ელექტროენერგიის მიწოდება ორიდან ხუთ დღემდე იყო შეწყვეტილი, რაც სირთულეებს ქმნიდა. თუმცა დაზიანების აღმოფხვრის შემდეგ ყველა მომხმარებელი თანასწორ პირობებში იყო. ისინი ვისაც მანამდე მიეწოდებოდა ელექტროენერგია აღარ იყო იმაზე უპირატეს მდგომარეობაში ვიდრე ისინი ვისაც ელექტროენერგია შეწყვეტილი ჰქონდა.

თუმცა როდესაც არათანასწორობის წყაროები სოციალურ სისტემაშია ჩაშენებული შედეგად მიღებული განსხვავებები არ არის უმნიშვნელო ან ერთეული შემთხვევები. ასეთი არათანასწორობა დროსა და სივრცეში მდგრადია. ხშირად მათზე პასუხისმგებლობას თავად დისკრიმინირებულებს აბრალებენ. ევროპულ აზროვნებაში შავკანიანებს განიხილავდნენ როგორც ნაკლებად ადამიანურებს რასაც შემდგომ იყენებდნენ კოლონიზაციის და მონებით ვაჭრობის გასამართლებლად. ასეთი შეხედულება შემოტანილ იქნა ახალ სამყაროში და იქცა მონობის, გაუპატიურების, ჯიმ კროუს კანონის და სხვა მრავალი სისასტიკის რაციონალიზაციად. ასეთი დამოკიდებულება ვლინდება ცრუ მეცნიერულ მონმაცემებში თითქოსდა შავკანიანები გონებრივად ნაკლოვანი არიან. ასეთი მსჯელობა ზოგჯერ ქცევის ანალიზს ემყარება და არა შინაგან უნარებს. „დომინანტური იდეოლოგია“ ვარაუდობს, რომ „რადგან შესაძლებლობა ყველასთვის არსებობს ვინც კი მას გამოიყენებს, ნაკლოვანი შედეგების მქონე ადამიანები თავად მოიწევენ საკუთარ ბედს, განსაკუთრებით იმით, რომ არ იჩენენ სათანადო ძალისხმევას“ (1).

ისევე როგორც სხვა თვითგანმტკიცებად განმარტებებს, ამ შემთხვევასაც შეიძლება ეჭვით შევხედოთ და გავაბათილოთ. სტრუქტურული არათანასწორობის დაბრალება მათთვის ვისაც ყველაზე ნაკლები ძალაუფლება აქვთ ამ სტრუქტურაზე გავლენის მოსახდენად, ძალიან მიამიტურია და უკეთეს განმარტებას საჭიროებს.

სოციალური არათანასწორობა საყოველთაოა, არსებობს ყველა საზოგადოებაში სადაც არის საკმარისი ეკონომიკური რესურსები რათა მოხდეს სოციალური და ეკონომიკური როლების განსხვავება და შესაბამისი სტატუსის მინიჭება. რატომ არის ასე? ზოგი მოიშველიებდა ფსიქოლოგიურ ახსნას, როგორიცაა ავტორიტარული პიროვნებები. სხვები მიუთითებენ ადამიანის მიკუთვნებულობის მოთხოვნილებაზე და ჯგუფის სოციალურ იდენტობაზე. სოციალური იდენტობის თეორია გულისხმობს, რომ ადამიანები მათი საკუთარი იდენტობის ჯგუფებს ანიჭებენ დადებით სოციალურ ღირებულებას და რომ იდენტობის ჯგუფებს შორის შედეგად მიღებული დაძაბულობა მოუგვარებელი (intractable) კონფლიქტების უმეტესობის წყაროა. ასეთი თეორიები სოციალური არათანასწორობის გაგების შესაძლებლობას გვაძლევს.

მეცნიერები სოციალური იდენტობის თეორიას ფართოდ იყენებენ მოუგვარებელი (intractable) კონფლიქტების განხილვისას, რომელთა უმეტესობაც იდენტობის კონფლიქტებს წარმოადგენს. ამ თეორიას აქ არ განვიხილავთ. პირველ რიგში, იგი ვრცლადაა ასახული ლიტერატურაში. მეორე, სოციალური იდენტობის თეორია უკეთ განმარტავს შიდა ჯგუფურ უპირატესობას რომელიც შეიძლება იყოს არათანასწორობის წყარო, ვიდრე ჯგუფებს შორის უპირატესობას რომელიც არა მხოლოდ არათანასწორობასთანაა დაკავშირებული, არამედ სისასტიკესთან და ჩაგვრასთან.

უფრო სრულ გაგებას გვთავაზობს სოციალური დომინანტობის თეორია, რომლის მთავარი მიზანია ჯგუფებს შორის განსხვავებული სტატუსის განმარტება. Jim Sidaneus და Felicia Pratto (2) განიხილავენ სოციალური დომინანტობის სამ ფორმას: ასაკის, სქესის და „ხელოვნური ჯგუფების“ წევრობის მიხედვით განსხვავებას. სოციალური დომინანტობის თეორია სამ დაშვებაზეა აგებული:

1. ასაკზე და სქესზე დამყარებული იერარქიები ყველა სოციალურ სისტემაში არსებობს, ხოლო სოციალური იერარქიის ხელოვნური რიგის სისტემები (arbitrary set systems) იმ სოციალურ სისტემებში წარმოშვება სადაც ეკონომიკური ზრდა არსებობს.
2. ჯგუფური კონფლიქტების და ჩაგვრის უმეტესი გამოვლინებები (მაგ. რასიზმი, ეთნოცენტრიზმი, სექსიზმი, ნაციონალიზმი, კლასიზმი, რეგიონალიზმი) შეიძლება განვიხილოთ როგორც ერთი და იგივე ადამიანური პრედისპოზიციის გამოვლინება, შეიქმნას ჯგუფზე დაფუძნებული სოციალური იერარქიები.
3. ადამიანური სოციალური სისტემები ექვემდებარება იერარქიის გამაძლიერებელი ძალების საპირწონე გავლენას, რომლებიც წარმოქმნის და ინარჩუნებს ჯგუფური სოციალური იდენტობის მაღალ დონეს. ადამიანური სოციალური სისტემები ასევე ექვემდებარება იერარქიის დამასუსტებელ ძალებს, რომლებიც ჯგუფური სოციალური თანასწორობის მაღალ დონეს განაპირობებს (3).

რამდენადაც უფროსი, განსაკუთრებით საშუალო ასაკის ადიამიანები ახალგაზრდებს აკონტროლებენ, თითოეული ინდივიდი (თუ იგი საკმარისად დიდხანს ცხოვრობს) მისი ცხოვრების მანძილზე ასაკობრივი იერარქიის სხვადასხვა ეტაპს გადის. ამგვარად, ეს არაა ფიქსირებული სიტუაცია და ამ თავში ამ სახის იერარქიაზე არ ვისაუბრებ.

მეორეს მხრივ გენდერული იერარქიები ფიქსირებულია. ადამიანის პოზიცია დაბადებისას განისაზღვრება, და სქესის შეცვლის ოპერაციის გამონაკლისის გარდა, ცხოვრების მანძილზე იგივე რჩება. გენდერულ იერარქიას შეიძლება პატრიარქალური ვუწოდოთ, რადგან ჩვენთვის ცნობილ ყველა საზოგადოებაში მამაკაცებს მეტი სოციალური და ეკონომიკური ძალაუფლება აქვთ ვიდრე ქალებს.

„მდიდრებსა და ღარიბებს შორის დისბალანსი ყველა რესპუბლიკის უძველესი და ყველაზე საბედისწერო დაავადებაა“ - პლუტარქე

ამ თავში განვიხილავთ ხელოვნურად შექნილ იერარქიას. ამის რამდენიმე მიზეზი არსებობს. პირველ რიგში, იგი ყველაზე ინკლუზიურია. მეორე, იგი უკავშირდება სხვა იერარქიებს, განსაკუთრებით გენდერულ იერარქიას, და ახდენს არათანასწორობის ინსტიტუციონალიზაციას. მესამე და ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი, ამ სახის იერარქია ყველაზე მეტადაა დაკავშირებული უკიდურეს უსამართლობასთან მისი ყველაზე სასტიკი და ტირანული გამოვლინებით. ამგვარად იგი ყველაზე მეტად უკავშირდება მოუგვარებელი (intractable) კონფლიქტების ხელშემწყობ პირობებს.

ხელოვნური რიგის იერარქია ადამიანური განსხვავებების გარშემო ტრიალებს, რომლებიც თავისთავად ადამიანის გონების მიერაა შექმნილი (მაგალითად რასა).

ხელოვნური რიგის სისტემები შედგება სოციალურად შექმნილი და კარგად გამოკვეთილი ჯგუფებით. ჯგუფების ჩამოყალიბება ხდება ისეთი მახასიათებლების მიხედვით, როგორიცაა კლანი,

ეთნიკურობა, საკუთრება, ეროვნება, რასა, კასტა, სოციალური კლასი, რელიგიური სექტა, რეგიონალური ჯგუფი, ან ნებისმიერი სხვა სოციალურად რელევანტური ჯგუფური განსხვავებები რისი შექმნაც ადამიანის წარმოსახვას შეუძლია. ამგვარ სისტემებში, ერთი ჯგუფი მეორეზე მატერიალურად და პოლიტიკურად დომინირებულია (4).

Sidaneus და Pratto მე-20 საუკუნის რამდენიმე განსაკუთრებით სასტიკ კონფლიქტს ასახელებენ რომლებიც ხელოვნური რიგის იერარქიისგან წარმოიშვა:

1. ჰოლაკასტი
2. ქურთების გენოციდი თურქეთში 1924 წელს, ირანში 1929 წელს და ერაყში 1988 წელს
3. გენოციდი აღმოსავლეთ ტიმორში 1990-იან წლებში
4. სტალინის მიერ კულაკების დახოცვა 1929 წელს
5. წითელი კამბოჯიელების ტერორი 1970-იანი წლების ბოლოს
6. Kasaian-ების ფართომასშტაბანი მკვლელობები ზაირში
7. ტუტსის და ჰუტუს გენოციდი რუანდაში 1990-იანი წლების ბოლოს

Sidaneus და Pratto გამოყოფენ სამ პროცესს რომლებიც წარმოქმნის და ინარჩუნებს ჯგუფურ იერარქიებს:

1. ინდივიდუალური დისკრიმინაციების დიდი რაოდენობა,
2. ინსტიტუციური დისკრიმინაციების დიდი რაოდენობა, და
3. ქცევითი ასიმეტრია.

ინდივიდუალური დისკრიმინაცია გულისხმობს „ერთი ინდივიდის მიერ მეორეს დისკრიმინაციის მარტივ, ყოველდღიურ და ზოგჯერ საკმაოდ შეუმჩნეველ ინდივიდუალურ აქტებს“ (5). თუ მენეჯერი მცოდნე კოლეგას არ აწინაურებს იმიტომ რომ მას არ სურს ქალი ჰყავდეს ლიდერის პოზიციაზე, ამით ამ ინდივიდს ზიანს აყენებს. თუმცა თავისთავად ამ ინციდენტს ფართო სოციალური ეფექტი არ ექნება. თუმცა შედეგი უფრო ვრცელია როდესაც ათასობით ამგვარი ქმედება ერთი მიმართულებით ხორციელდება ქალების ან ჯგუფის სხვა წევრების საზიანოდ: „ეს განაპირობებს სოციალურ ჯგუფებს შორის ძალაუფლების აშკარა და გამოკვეთის განსხვავებებს“ (6).

ინსტიტუციური დისკრიმინაცია შეიძლება ამოვიცნოთ იმით, თუ „რამდენად განაპირობებს ინსტიტუციური გადაწყვეტილებები სოციალური სტატუსის იერარქიებს შორის დადებითი და უარყოფითი სოციალური ღირებულებების არათანაბარ მინიჭებას, მაშინ როდესაც ყველა სხვა ფაქტორი თანაბარია“ (7). ინსტიტუციური დისკრიმინაცია თავის უკიდურეს გამოვლინებებში სხვადასხვა სახის ტერორის ფორმას იძენს. ოფიციალური ტერორი „არის საჯაროდ და კანონიერად სანქციონირებული ძალადობა და ძალადობის მუქარა შესრულებული სახელმწიფო ორგანოების მიერ და არათანაბრად მიმართული დაქვემდებარებული ჯგუფების მიმართ“. მონობა ოფიციალური ტერორის მაგალითია. უფრო გვიანი მაგალითი იქნება სიკვდილის დასჯის უფრო ხშირი გამოყენება როდესაც ბრალდებული რომელიმე ეთნიკური ჯგუფის წარმომადგენელია, სამხრეთ აფრიკის აპარტეიდი, და ისრაელის ხელისუფლების მიერ პალესტინის თემების წინააღმდეგ კოლექტიური სასჯელის გამოყენება. ნახევრად ოფიციალურ ტერორში შემსრულებლები ხელისუფლების წარმომადგენლები არიან, მაგრამ ქმედება სახელმწოფოს მიერ არ არის ოფიციალურად სანქცირებული. ამის მაგალითია ლათინურ ამერიკაში სიკვდილის ბრიგადების გამალებული გამოყენება. და ბოლოს, არაოფიციალური ტერორის შემთხვევაში შემსრულებელი არ არის სახელმწიფო აგენტი, არამედ უბრალოდ დომინანტური ჯგუფის წევრია. ხშირად ხელისუფლების მიერ ქმედების გამოძიება და დასჯა არ ხდება, როგორც Jim Crow-ს სამხრეთ ამერიკაში თეთრკანიანების მიერ შავკანიანების ლინჩირების შემთხვევაში.

ქცევითი ასიმეტრია ასახავს დომინანტური და დაქვემდებარებული ჯგუფების წევრების ტენდენციას სხვადასხვა სიტუაციებში მოიქცნენ განსხვავებულად. „საკუთარი ადგილის ცოდნის“ ცნება ამ ფენომენის პოპულარული ტერმინია. ქცევითი რეპერტუარის განსხვავების მნიშვნელოვანი შედეგია ის, რომ „დაქვემდებარებულები აქტიურად მონაწილეობენ და წვლილი შეაქვთ საკუთარ დაქვემდებარებაში“. Sidanius და Pratto არ თვლიან, რომ ბევრ შემტხვევაში დაქვემდებარებულები არ ეწინააღმდეგებიან მათ ჩაგვრას და მჩაგვრელებს, არამედ ისინი თვლიან, რომ ჯგუფური სოციალური იერარქიის სისტემას მნიშვნელოვან მდგრადობას, სიცოცხლისუნარიანობას და სტაბილურობას ანიჭებს დაქვემდებარებულების მხრიდან პასიური და აქტიური თანამშრომლობა მათ ჩაგვრაში (8).

არათანასწორობის ფორმები

გლობალურ სისტემას დღეს სამი ძირითადი ტიპის არათანასწორობა ახასიათებს: ძალაუფლების, კეთილდღეობის და ცოდნის (9). დასავლეთი ფლობს გავლენას საერთაშორისო ურთიერთობებზე „რათა მსოფლიო იმართებოდეს იმგვარად, რომ შენარჩუნდეს დასავლური დომინირება, დაცული

იყოს დასავლური ინტერესები და განხორციელდეს დასავლური პოლიტიკა და ეკონომიკური ღირებულებები“ (10). 1999 წელს გაერთიანებული ერების მიერ გამოქვეყნებული ადამიანური განვითარების ანგარიშის თანახმად დღეს ეკონომიკურმა არათანასწორობამ „გროტესკულ პროპორციებს“ მიაღწია. მდიდრებსა და ღარიბებს შორის სხვაობა იზრდება: „ოცდა ათი წლის წინ მსოფლიოს მოსახლეობის უმდიდრეს ერთ მეხუთედსა და დანარჩენებს შორის განსხვავება შეადგენდა 30 1-თან, 1990 წლისთვის იგი გაიზარდა და გახდა 60 1-თან, ხოლო დღეს შეადგენს 74 1-თან“ (11). ცოდნაში განსხვავება ასევე იზრდება და ინარჩუნებს დასავლურ ჰეგემონიას. „მსოფლიოს მთლიანი სამეცნიერო და ტექნოლოგიური შედეგების ოთხი მეხუტედი დასავლურ საზოგადოებებშია წარმოებული, ამასთან მეცნიერების და ტექნოლოგიური ექსპერტების კონცენტრირება მსოფლიოს ამავე ნაწილში ხდება“ (12), „ექსპერტოკრატია შედგება დასავლური (დასავლეთში ნასწავლი) ელიტის ხელთ არსებული მონოპოლიისგან - ესაა ასპექტი რომელიც ექსპერტულ ცოდნას აკავშირებს კულტურული ჰეგემონიის და ბატონობის უფრო ფართო საკითხთან“ (13). ეს განსხვავებები ინდივიდუალურ ეროვნულ სახელმწიფოებში აირეკლება.

არათანასწორობა სოციალური კიბოსავით მოქმედებს, მის საცეცებს სოციალური ცხოვრების ყველა სფეროში ავრცელებს, უამრავი გზებით უარყოფითად აისახება როგორც დისკრიმინირებულ ჯგუფზე, ასევე მის ინდივიდუალურ წევრებზე. რამდენიმე მაგალითი მთლიან მასშტაბებზე შეგვიქმნის წარმოდგენას.

არათანასწორობის ძლიერი ინდიკატორია შემოსავალის და კეთილდღეობის განსხვავება. როგორც გლობალურად ასევე ცალკეულ ერებში შემოსავალის განსხვავება არა უბრალოდ არსებობს, არამედ იგი იზრდება. მაგალითად შეერთებულ შტატებში „1973 და 2000 წლებს შორის ამერიკელი გადასახადების გადამხდელების ქვედა 90 პროცენტის რეალური შემოსავალის საშუალო 7 პროცენტით დაეცა. ამასობაში ზედა 1 პროცენტის შემოსავალი 148 პროცენტით გაიზარდა, ზედა 0,1 პროცენტის შემოსავალი 343 პროცენტით გაიზარდა, ხოლო ზედა 0,01 პროცენტის - 599 პროცენტით“ (14). ბევრისთვის შემოსავლის არათანაბარი განაწილება შიმშილს და უსახლკარობას ნიშნავს. „საკვების უსაფრთხოების არარსებობა პირდაპირი შედეგია სოციო-ეკონომიკური არათანასწორობის, რომელსაც ახასიათებს საკვების პროდუქციის ტრადიციული ფორმების და კულტურული მრავალფეროვნების დარღვევა და დაკარგვა, მასიური სიღარიბე და მიწის და საკვების არათანაბარი ხელმისაწვდომობა“ (15).

სიღარიბესა და ცუდ ჯანმრთელობას შორის კავშირი გასაკვირი არაა. შემოსავლის გლობალური არათანასწორობა დადებით კავშიშია ცუდ ჯანმრთელობასთან. ჰარვარდის სკოლის საჯარო ჯანმრთელობის მკვლევარებმა შეადარეს მსოფლიოს ქვეყნების ეროვნული Gini Indices (Gini ინდექსი არის არათანასწორობის საზომი; იგი გამოითვლის განსხვავებას ნებისმიერი სიკეთის, ამ შემთხვევაში შემოსავალის თანაბარ და რეალურ განაწილებას შორის განსხვავებას). „ასაკის, სქესის, რასის, ოჯახური მდგომარეობის, განათლების, შემოსავლის, ჯანმრთელობის დაზღვევის და სამუშაო სტატუსის ეფექტის კონტროლის პირობებში აღმოვაჩინეთ სახელმწიფო შემოსავლის არათანასწორობის გავლენა ჯანმრთელობის ცუდ თვითშეფასებაზე. Gini კოეფიციენტის ყოველ 0,05 ზრდაზე ცუდი ჯანმრთელობის შეფასება იზრდებოდა 1,39-ით“ (16).

დისკრიმინირებული ჯგუფის წევრებზე მისი გავლენის თვალსაზრისით არათანასწორობის განსაკუთრებით დამანგრეველი ფორმა კრიმინალური სამართალის სისტემაში იჩენს თავს:

დომინანტური ჯგუფის წევრებთან შედარებით დაქვემდებარებული ჯგუფის წევრებს პოლიცია მეტად აჩერებს, დაკითხავს და ჩხრეკს. დაპატიმრების შემდეგ პოლიცია დაქვემდებარებულებს უფრო სცემს და თავდებით გათავისუფლების ნაცვლად აჩერებს საპატიმროში სასამართლოს მოლოდინში. გასამართლებისას მათ მეტი ალბათობით სცნობენ დამნაშავედ, ნაკლებად შეუთავსებენ ციხის ალტერნატიულ სასჯელს (მაგ. საზოგადო სამუშაოები), მეტად შეუფარდებენ ხამგრძლივ პატიმრობას, ნაკლები ალბათობით ათავისუფლებენ ვადამდე, სერიოზული სამართალდარღვევის შემთხვევაში ისინი მეტი ალბათობით ისჯებიან სიკვდილით - განსაკუთრებით დომინანტური ჯგუფის წარმომადგენლების წინააღმდეგ ჩადენილი დანაშაულისთვის (17).

დისკრიმინაციამ შეიძლება არათანასწორობის მოულოდნელ და დამანგრეველ ფორმებამდე მიგვიყვანოს. მაგალითად ჰარვარდის სამოქალაქო უფლებების პროექტმა განსაზღვრა, რომ შეერთებულ შტატებში თეთრკანიან სტუდენტებთან შედარებით შავკანიან, ლათინო და მკვიდრ ამერიკელ სტუდენტებში უფრო მაღალია სპეციალური განთლების საჭიროების მქონედ კლასიფიკაციის მაჩვენებელი. პრობლემა უკავშირდება ასევე ამ სტუდენტებისთვის შეთავაზებულ მნიშვნელოვნად ცუდ სერვისებს. თუ უწინდელი განსხვავებები სიღარიბის შედეგებს შეიძლება მივაწეროთ, ამ შემთხვევაში ასე არაა. კვლევა გვიჩვენებს, რომ გამოვლენილი რასობრივი, ეთნიკური და გენდერული განსხვევაბები ბევრი რთული და ურთიერთდაკავშირებული ფაქტორის შედეგია,

როგორიცაა: სკოლის ავტორიტეტების მხრიდან გაუცნობიერებელი რასობრივი მიკერძოებულობა; არათანაბარი რესურსები (როგორიცაა მაღალი კვალიფიკაციის მასწავლებლების არარსებობა) რომლებიც რასას და კლასს უკავშირდება; IQ-ს და შეფასების სხვა მექანიზმების გაუმართლებელი გამოყენება; პედაგოგების არასათანადო პასუხი მაღალი მნიშვნელობის ტესტირების ზეწოლისადმი; და უმცირესობის მშობლებსა და სკოლის წარმომადგენლებს შორის ძალაუფლების განსხვავება (18). http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/specialed/IDEA_paper02.php

არათანასწორობის შედეგები

სოციალურ არათანასწორობას დიდი მნიშვნელობა აქვს სოციალური კონფლიქტების მოსაგვარებლად.

არათანასწორობის ყოველი გამოვლინების თანმხლები უსამართლობა თვალსაჩინოა. დისკრიმინაციის სამიზნე, დაჩაგრულ ადამიანებს არ ეძლევათ ცხოვრებისეული შესაძლებლობები. მაგრამ მხოლოდ ისინი არ ზარალდებიან. ნაყოფიერების შემცირებით და რესურსების არასწორი განაწილებით ზარალდება მთლიანი საზოგადოებები და ერები. მსოფლიო ბანკმა აღმოაჩინა, რომ რაც უფრო თანაბარია ქონების განაწილება, როგორიცაა მიწა, მით მეტია ეკონომიკური ზრდა საზოგადოებაში (19).

მოუგვარებელი კონფლიქტების კვლევიდან ჩანს, რომ მსოფლიო ძალადობით იმართება და წარმოადგენს საშიშ ადგილს არათანასწორობის გამო. მაგალითად Ted Robert Gurr-მა აღმოაჩინა დადებითი კორელაცია პოლიტიკურ და ეკონომიკურ დეპრივაციას და კონსპირაციის მოცულობას (ორგანიზებული პოლიტიკური ძალადობა მცირე რაოდენობის მონაწილეების ჩართვით, მაგ. პოლიტიკური მკვლელობები და მცირე მასშტაბიანი ტერორიზმი), შიდა ომების მოცულობას (ორგანიზებული პოლიტიკური ძალადობა ვრცელ სკალაზე, როგორიცაა პარტიზანული ომები და ფართო მასშტაბიანი ამბოხებები), არეულობის მოცულობას (სპონტანური მასობრივი ბრძოლა, როგორიცაა ამბოხებები), და ბრძოლის მთლიან მოცულობას შორის შორის (21). სოციალურ არათანასწორობასა და პოლიტიკურ პროტესტს შორის კავშირის კვლევების მიმოხილვისას Ekkert Zimmerman-მა დაასკვნა, რომ ისინი „აჩვენებს წრფივ დადებით კავშირს სოციოეკონომიკურ არათანასწორობას და პოლიტიკურ ძალადობას შორის“ (22). Barbara Harff თანახმად მან და მისმა კოლეგებმა State Failure Project-ში შეამოწმეს რამდენიმე ცვლადი და გამოავლინეს როგორც დისკრიმინაცია („მმართველი ელიტა მხოლოდ ზოგიერთ ეთნოსს წარმოადგენს“) ასევე ეკსკლუზიური იდეოლოგია („ეკსკლუზიური იდეოლოგიისადმი ერთგული ელიტა“) როგორც გენოციდის და პოლიტიციდის მაჩვენებლი (23).

ბევრი თეორეტიკოსი უშვებს ჰიპოთეზას ძალადობის კავშირის შესახებ არათანასწორობასა და პოლიტიკურ არასტაბილურობასთან. მაგალითად Ted Robert Gurr თანახმად „კოლექტიური ძალადობის პოტენციალი ბევრად იცვლება საზოგადოების წევრებს შორის ფარდობითი დეპრივაციის ინტენსივობასა და მოცულობასთან ერთად“ (24). ფარდობითი დეპრივაცია თავს იჩენს როდესაც ის ღირებულება რასაც ჯგუფი იღებს, ან მოელის მიღებას, იმაზე ნაკლებია ვიდრე მისი აზრით იგი იმსახურებს. აქ ტერმინი ღირებულება შეიძლება ნებისმიერ ღირებულს ასახავდეს იქნება ეს ეკონომიკური კეთილდღეობა, პოლიტიკური გავლენა, თუ სოციალური სტატუსი. ფარდობითი დეპრივაცია ბევრად მეტი ალბათობით იჩენს თავს არათანასწორ სიტუაციებში, რადგან თუ სიკეთე შედარებით თანაბრადაა განაწილებული, დეპრივაცია უარეს ვითარებაში ყოფნის შედეგია, რაც მოლოდინებს ამცირებს.

არათანასწორობის მოგვარება

თუ Sidanius და Pratto არ ცდებიან მათ ვარაუდში, რომ ხელოვნური რიგის იერარქიებზე დამყარებული სოციალური დომინანტობა ყველა საზოგადოებაში არსებობს სადაც არსებობს ეკონომიკური წინსვლა (ანუ, ყველა საზოგადოებაში გარდა მონადირე-მომხვეჭელი საზოგადოებისა), სიტუაცია შეიძლება უიმედო ჩანდეს. არათანასწორობა, როგორიცაა სიღარიბე ბიბლიის თანახმად ყოველთვის ჩვენს გვერდით იქნება. მაგრამ რომც არსებობდეს სოციალური იერარქიისადმი მყარი ორიენტაცია, შედეგად მიღებული განსხვავება შეიძლება არსებულ სხვაობას მიუახლოვდეს (But even if there is a pervasive orientation toward social hierarchy, a substantial difference in degree may approximate a difference in kind). ეს მოსაზრება მომდინარეობს შემოსავლის არათანასწორობის და ჯანმრთელობის კავშირის კვლევიდან. Subramanian და მისმა კოლეგებმა აღმოაჩინეს რომ ამ ორ ფაქტორს შორის კავშირი არ არსებობს თანასწორ საზოგადოებებში როგორიცაა იაპონია, ახალი ზელანდია, შვედეთი და დანია. ამ კავშირის აღმოჩენის შემდეგ ისეთ თანასწორ საზოგადოებებში როგორიცაა ჩილე და შეერთებულ შტატები, ისინი განიხილავენ ზღვარის არსებობის

შესაძლებლობას რომლის ზემოთაც არათანასწორობა ცუდ ჯანმრთელობას უკავშირდება, მის ქვემოთ კი არა. შესაძლოა ეს არათანასწორობის სხვა შედეგებისთვისაც ასე იყოს.

„როგორც ჩემი ბებია ამბობდა, მსოფლიოში არსებობს მხოლოდ ორი ოჯახი: მქონენი და არმქონენი“ - სანჩო პანსა სერვანტესის დონ კიხოტ ლა მანჩელში.

მეტი თანასწორობის ძიება დიდი და მნიშვნელოვანი ამოცანაა და იმსახურებს ყურადღებას როგორც მათგან ვინც არსებული სისტემისგან სარგებელს მიიღებს, ასევე მათგან ვინც მისგან ზარალდება. თუმცა მათი ამოცანა განსხვავდება.

„ნებისმიერი დაჩაგრული ჯგუფისთვის მთავარი ამოცანაა მათი ტანჯვის წყაროს მორალური ავტორიტეტის დაძლევა და პოლიტიკურად ეფექტური იდენტობის შექმნა“ (25). Moore განიხილავს „დაჩაგრულებს შორის მჩაგვრელის ხელშემწყობი სოლიდაროზის რევერსიის“ საჭიროებას. ეს კარგად ერგება Sidaneus და Pratto-ს მიერ გამოვლენილ ქცევით ასიმეტრიას როგორც იერარქიის გამაძლიერებელ აგენტს. ამ მოსაზრების უფრო პოპულარული მაგალითია შეერთებულ შტატებში რასიზმის მოგვარებისას „გაშინაგნებული რასიზმის“ ან „გაშინაგნებული ჩაგრულობის“ განხილვა. მეორეს მხრივ ასევე ყურადღებას იქცევს დომინანტური ჯგუფის წევრების მეტი გაცნობიერება „თეთრკანიანი პრივილეგიის“ და მისი დაძლევის შესახებ.

მათ ვინც გადაწყვეტილებას იღებენ შემდეგი გაფრთხილება უნდა გაითვალისწინონ:

დაქვემდებარებული კლასის ხელშეწყობა ეტაპობრივი სოციალური კანონმდებლობით როგორც არაეფექტური, ასევე საშიშია, რადგან სტრუქტურული პირობები დაქვემდებარებულ კლასს გარიყავს ძალაუფლებისგან და გადაწყვეტილების მიღებისგან. ეს ნიშნავს, რომ დაქვემდებარებულ კლასს არ უნდა მივუდგეთ როგორც უბრალო მსხვერპლს, არამედ იგი აქტიური მონაწილე უნდა იყოს საკუთარი უფლებების დაცვაში (26).

საზოგადოების ძიება სადაც არ იქნება არათანასწორობა შეიძლება ძალიან უტოპიური იყოს, მაგრამ ეს არ ნიშნავს, რომ არ შეიძლება თანასწორობის ბევრად მაღალი დონის მიღწევა. განსაკუთრებით, შესაძლებელია მნიშვნელოვანი წინსვლა მიმდინარე ტენდენციების შემოსაბრუნებლად თანასწორობის გაზრდისკენ.