

4
SABANCI UNIVERSITY
PROGRAM ON CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION
OCCASIONAL PAPER SERIES

DECEMBER 2003

Integrating Ideas of Culture, Ethnicity, and Multiculturalism into Conflict Resolution and ADR Practice

Kevin Avruch

Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution
George Mason University

**Sabancı
Universitesi**

Kevin Avruch is Professor of Anthropology and a faculty member of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution and the School of Public Policy at George Mason University. He is the author of *Culture and Conflict Resolution* (United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998).

Abstract: Drawing on recent, critical work dealing with culture theory, ethnicity, and multiculturalism, this essay seeks to address the nexus between conflict resolution theory and practice, and aims primarily to contribute to the work of practitioners functioning as third parties and intervenors in intercultural and interethnic conflicts and disputes. Two conceptions of culture are proposed and analyzed, a technical, “experience-distant” sense of the term, crucial for conflict analysis (and for education and training), and an affectively-laden, often politicized, “experience-near” sense of the term, at the root of so much intergroup conflict and, thus, implicated in effective and ethical intercultural practice

Preface

Sabanci University is an English speaking private institution of higher learning that encourages interdisciplinary teaching and research. It offers undergraduate and graduate programs in the Arts and Social Sciences; Engineering and Natural Sciences; and graduate programs in Management Sciences.

The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences is making a substantial investment to develop a Conflict Analysis and Resolution program, designed to provide graduate level education for Turkish and foreign students, particularly those from Southeastern Europe. Consistent with the philosophy and mission of the University, it aims to take a regional lead in providing support for peacemaking and conflict prevention schemas on the ground.

The master's program in Conflict Analysis and Resolution, initiated in Fall 2000, has the following goals and objectives:

To present students with an analytical perspective that will enable them to define objective parameters as well as perceptual and psychological context of conflicts;

To equip students with theoretical understanding and practical skills in conflict resolution to assist them in managing conflict situations in a creative and constructive way. Various approaches to conflict resolution and conflict management techniques are introduced, such as negotiation, mediation, problem solving techniques, and track two diplomacy;

To encourage students to apply their conflict resolution background to policy issues related to disputes in or among governments, organizations, civil society, or corporations.

The international dimension of the program takes into consideration the changing nature of diplomacy in the post Cold War era. In this context, it treats different frameworks of conflict resolution as a tool to study and generate alternative foreign policy options.

The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences is determined to pursue these objectives in an effective way by building international institutional networks and strategic alliances with universities and NGOs.

The Occasional Paper series on Conflict Analysis and Resolution reflects Sabanci University's commitment to the study and practice of conflict management.

Nimet Beriker
Faculty
Program Coordinator

Ahmet Alkan
Dean
Faculty of Arts and
Social Sciences

Integrating Ideas of Culture, Ethnicity, and Multiculturalism into Conflict Resolution and ADR Practice⁽¹⁾

This essay draws on recent, critical work dealing with culture theory, ethnicity, multiculturalism, and intergroup relations. Although based heavily in “theory,” it seeks to address the nexus between conflict resolution theory and practice, and aims primarily to contribute to the work of practitioners functioning as third parties and intervenors in intercultural and interethnic conflicts and disputes. Two conceptions of *culture* are proposed and analyzed in some depth, a technical, “experience-distant” sense of the term, crucial for conflict analysis (and also for education and training), and an affectively-laden, often politicized, “experience-near” sense of the term, at the root of so much intergroup conflict and, thus, implacably implicated in effective and ethical intercultural practice.

The Cultural Turn in Conflict Resolution and ADR

Depending on which part of the field one considers central to it, the origins of conflict resolution as a distinct field of theory and *theory-connected* practice date back to the middle 1950s, to Kenneth Boulding, the group around him at the University of Michigan, and the founding of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; or the 1960s, to Johan Galtung and John Burton in Scandinavia and Britain, the *Journal of Peace Research*, established by Galtung in 1964, and the first “controlled communication” (problem solving) workshop, organized by Burton in 1965. The origins of alternative dispute resolution (ADR), coming from schools of law and legal practitioners with a reformist agenda for American jurisprudence (and supposedly overly-litigious Americans), are dated by some to the Roscoe Pound Conference, “Perspectives on Justice in the Future,” held in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1976 (Nader, 1993).

* *Acknowledgments*: A version of this paper was presented at the annual professional development conference of the Association for Conflict Resolution in Washington, D.C., in April, 2002, and further refined at the “Theory to Practice” conference held at the University of New Mexico School of Law in May, 2002. I thank Chris Honeyman, Kathy Domenici, Ric Richardson, and Wallace Warfield.

However one wants to specify origins, what is striking about virtually all of the early work in conflict resolution and ADR is how little attention “theory” paid to the concept of culture, and how practice, inspired by theory (or vice versa-see Avruch, 1998, pp. 78-80), seemingly ignored the importance of cultural differences among parties (including third parties) as relevant to the sources or outcomes of a conflict or dispute. In some cases there seemed to be active resistance to incorporating culture to theory and practice (Burton, 1987), in other cases just a benign neglect brought on by the presumed universality of rational choice theory and economic behaviorism as templates for panhuman cognition and social relations (Raiffa, 1982). Certainly that protean classic of our field, *Getting to Yes*, in its first edition mentioned culture not at all (Fisher and Ury, 1981), and in its second edition, presumably responding to some criticism of this, lumped culture alongside gender and personality as things to be aware of without, however, affecting the basic tenets of principled negotiation (Fisher, Ury, and Patton, 1991).

In the case of ADR there is some mild irony in its initial neglect of culture, since some of the early reformers read in the anthropology of law (for example Gibbs, 1963), and believed that a viable template for American legal reform-namely, ADR- could be found in the more “therapeutic” nature of dispute resolution in certain “tribal societies” (Danzig, 1973). Although the recourse to what can be called “ethnographic romanticism” was never without its critics, both on conceptual (Felstiner, 1974) and political (Galanter, 1974; Abel, 1982; Nader, 1991) grounds, the practice of ADR itself developed initially in an almost culturally-sensitive free (and class consciously ignorant) environment (Harrington and Merry, 1988; Avruch and Black, 1996). (A partial exception to this is sensitivity to African-American culture demonstrated in the work-much of it crisis-driven-of the Community Relations Service (CRS) of the Department of Justice of the late 1960s and 1970s.)

By the 1980s, beginning perhaps with P.H. Gulliver’s groundbreaking work on negotiation (Gulliver, 1979), an appreciation of culture began to inform conflict resolution and ADR practice. Some of this came from anthropologists and ethnographers entering the field and engaging with some early, major theorists (Avruch and Black, 1987, 1991), or arguing with lawyers on the defects of “disputing without culture” (Merry, 1987). Some came from practitioners with significant cross-cultural experience-many of these working from within so-called peace churches (Lederach, 1991; Augsberger, 1992). Another important input came from scholars in intercultural communication (Gudykunst, Stewart, and Ting-Toomey, 1985), often building on the work on E.T. Hall (1976) or Harry Triandis (1972), or from researchers in organizational behavior (Hofstede, 1980).

By the 1990s one of the founders of the field had added the notion of “cultural violence” to his earlier and seminal insights on structural violence (Galtung, 1990). More to the point, the “problem” of culture in conflict analysis and conflict resolution had generated several edited collections (Avruch, Black, and Scimecca, 1991; Fry and Bjorkqvist, 1997) and anthologies (Chew, 2001), including discrete sections in works devoted to ADR from legal and commercial perspectives (Trachte-Huber and Huber, 1996). Today, in the web-based distance learning curriculum put out by the peace studies and conflict resolution program at the University of Bradford (UK), what Avruch and Black called “the culture question” in 1991 is addressed directly and explicitly as one crucial issue, among several others, that needs to be tackled by any peace studies or conflict resolution pedagogue, theorist, or practitioner (see <http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/confres/dislearn.html>). It is the case, in fact, that nowadays any self-respecting curriculum in ADR or conflict resolution without at least a “module” devoted to culture would be considered deficient; this was decidedly not the case in 1981. Culture, it appears, has arrived, and if the struggle to integrate it into a mature conflict resolution and ADR practice is not yet fully won, surely the ensign symbolizing the Party of Culture is recognized on the field (and in the field) by all sides.

But how precisely is “culture” conceived in this Party? Without attending to all of the nuances that have differentiated scores of definitions of culture from one another over the years, it is fair to say that for most who have made “the cultural turn” in conflict resolution or ADR practice, culture has been conceived generally in terms of:

- Constituting different norms, values, and beliefs for socially appropriate ways to “process” conflicts and disputes, including their management or resolution-what Avruch and Black (1991) called indigenous “ethnoconflict theories” and “ethnopraxes.”
- Affecting significant perceptual orientations toward time, risk or uncertainty, affect (in self and others), hierarchy, power, or authority.
- Comprising different cognitive representations or discursive frames such as schemas, maps, scripts, or images, bound up in such metalinguistic forms as symbols or metaphors.

While the first conception (norms, values, and beliefs) refers to the broad way in which culture provides *context* for conflict and disputing (Caplan, 1995), the second two, highlighting perceptual and cognitive features, orient us to thinking about how culture affects a crucial component of conflict or dispute

resolution, that is, effective *communication* among the disputants or parties, including potential third parties. This is why so many culturally sensitive approaches to conflict resolution or ADR practice (including intercultural negotiation or mediation), appropriately invoke ideas of communicational “competence,” and direct our attention to different cultural “styles,” or to other paralinguistic features (such as body language) of intercultural encounters or disputes (Hall, 1976; Weaver, 1994; Cupach and Canary, 1997). Whatever else they may be, therefore, conflict or ADR professionals should be specialists in managing communicational process; this is an insight with deep roots in our field (Burton, 1969).

Culture: Experience-Distant and Experience-Near

All three conceptions, from norms and values through schemas and symbols, convey collectively an idea of culture that can be called “culture in the technical sense of the term,” that is, culture as an analytical category, even, permitting the hyperbole, as a scientific category. This is the familiar sense of culture as a social scientific term, central to most anthropological writing since the 1930s but also, through Talcott Parsons, to much of sociology and (through figures such as Harry Triandis) psychology as well. But “culture” is also a term in our ordinary, “natural” language and everyday speech- a term moreover with a complicated history and (as we shall see) bearing much political baggage (Williams, 1976; Jenks, 1993; Kuper, 1999). So while practitioners need to be specialists in understanding the “technical” sense of culture, they also need to be aware of how disputants or other parties to a conflict might use and understand the term, especially when they find themselves working in “multicultural” social settings. Mostly, practitioners need to recognize the difference between the two usages. To do this, we shall introduce the distinction between “experience-near” (hereafter, *e/n*) and “experience-distant” (*e/d*) concepts.

The distinction comes from the anthropologist Clifford Geertz who, in turn, lifted it from the psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut (therefore undoubtedly from the experience of clinical *practice*):

An experience-near concept is, roughly, one that someone-a patient, a subject...might himself naturally and effortlessly use to define what he or his fellows see, feel, think, imagine... and which he would readily understand when similarly applied by others. An experience-distant concept is one that specialists one sort or another... employ to forward their scientific, philosophical, or practical aims. ‘Love’ is an experience-near concept, ‘object cathexis’ is an experience-distant one.

Geertz is careful to warn us that the distinction is not necessarily a normative one, in the sense that one concept is to be preferred as such over the other. Confinement to experience-near concepts leaves an ethnographer awash in immediacies, as well as entangled in the vernacular. Confinement to experience-distant ones leaves him stranded in abstractions and smothered in jargon [Geertz, 1983, p. 57].

Given the complicated connotations (the *polysemy*) of the word “culture,” it is obviously an idea that can function in both experience-near as well as experience-distant ways. Analysts and practitioners will want to deploy it in its technical sense, as an experience-distant concept especially useful for identifying communicational impedances in intercultural encounters. But the “players,” disputants or other parties to a conflict, may well appropriate the idea of culture for their own uses. It then becomes an experience-near concept, useful to parties in at least two distinct ways. First, using notions of “culture” may help parties make sense of their own and their opponents’ behavior-as a sort of “folk” social psychology and therefore paradoxically much as the specialist might use the term. Secondly-and here the historical baggage the term carries enters the fray-the notion of culture also carries with it moral connotations (for example of “tradition” or “authenticity”), and thus is also available for use as an ideological or rhetorical resource for parties or contestants, in pursuit of their goals. This happens especially when “culture” is used in conflict around ethnic, religious, racial, or nationalist matters-conflicts around identity.

While Geertz wants to downplay any normative distinctions between *e/n* and *e/d* usages, when it comes to *culture* and conflict resolution we should be more careful. It is a problem when this technical, experience-distant idea is taken over and used by the very parties and actors it is meant to explain. The problem is greater than one of simply confusing logical types or levels of analysis-or of appearing pretentious before your dinner guests by substituting in conversation “object cathexis” for “love.” For culture, given the political baggage it sometimes carries, can be a powerful idea, and thus any confusion by practitioners or third parties of *e/n* for *e/d* can turn out to be potentially deleterious for conflict resolution and, with respect particularly to some of the weaker parties in a conflict, ethically precarious as well.

It is important to emphasize the political potency of *culture* because it is hardly the only term in the social sciences that also does double duty in ordinary speech. Consider the term *market*. As used technically, by economists, it represents something that is (among other things) abstract, complex,

multidetermined, and translocal-the entire enterprise of buying and selling commodities, in fact. As used by a shopper it may well refer to a specific place where particular things are sold. It is the difference between such an utterance as, “The market is jittery after large-scale financial scandals are made known, “ and “I’m going to the market to buy fresh fish.” There may therefore be an *e/n* and *e/d* dimensionality to *market*, but it hardly seems conceptually insurmountable or politically dangerous.

Not so with *culture*. This “hyper-referential word,” in Adam Kuper’s (1999) phrase, comes to us from the nineteenth century reflecting intense conflicts of ideology around group identity and social class (Williams, 1981). For some, like Mathew Arnold or T.S. Eliot, “culture” is the possession of an enlightened few, “the best which has been thought and said in the world” (Arnold, quoted in Jenks, 1993, p. 21). It is an elitist, conservative concept. For others, following Herder in the German Romantic tradition, it is a fully counterrevolutionary idea. Here “culture” refers to the unique (and eternal!) spirit, ethos, or genius of “a people.” It is thus an argument against the entire universalizing thrust of the Enlightenment, and in support of group-ethnic and nationalist-particularism, often expressed, as Michael Ignatieff (1994) put it, in the idiom of “blood and belonging.” Here “culture” is very close to nineteenth century notions of “race.” And in the Romantic tradition of *Kultur und Bildung* (culture as enabling an individual’s personal journey to spiritual fulfillment), it is also a profoundly experience-near conception. Certainly if, say, a Richard Wagner were to speak of “German culture” it is unlikely that he would have the contrast between “high-context” and “low-context” communicational styles in mind.

In the early twentieth century a good deal of the work done by anthropologists (starting with Franz Boas and his American students) to establish a modern, scientific, objective, and technical (that is, an *e/d*) concept of culture-the one we discussed earlier in terms of norms, symbols and schemas-was aimed at decoupling culture from race (Stocking 1968), and ridding it of the more mystical elements of Romantic thought-culture purged of *Volksgeist* (the eternal “spirit” of a people). Boas and many of his students were in addition politically active in liberal, anti-racist, and anti-fascist movements (Hyatt 1990; Lewis 2001). In this sense, then, there was a political and moral component built in to the scientific and technical meaning of the term culture from the very beginning. It was meant both to describe “objectively” differences between social groups without consigning such differences to biology-race or heredity-and to assert the moral equivalence of all cultures. Some have argued that the “victory” of this liberal and relativist political understanding of scientific culture is to be found in the

adoption of this sense of the concept in 1945 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), reacting against the fresh horrors of Nazi and fascist racism and genocide (see Finkelkraut, 1995, who nevertheless writes in a highly critical mode).

The relationship of “culture” and “race” was born in the nineteenth century, and much of the modernist thrust in anthropology, giving us our *e/d* understanding of *culture*, was meant to disentangle them. It was also meant to drain the term of its Romantic (in the sense of “blood and belonging spirituality”), and highly subjective *e/n* connotations. Professional anthropologists were expected to write objectivist ethnographic monographs rather than *Bildungsroman*, highly subjective works of fiction. But a term so powerfully meaningful in everyday speech can at times resist “experience-distancing” by academic specialists or practitioners. Culture still carries *e/n* meanings and may be used for purposes that are antithetical to its *e/d* meanings. Because of this the relationship of “culture” to “race” as well as its other (subjectivist and spiritual) *e/n* connotations have never been fully resolved, and therefore continue to have relevance for how “culturally sensitive” conflict resolution and ADR practitioners do their work in the twenty-first century. Now we are close to seeing why *culture* is so potentially treacherous a term for conflict resolution, and why (third party) conflict resolution and ADR practitioners need to keep the difference between *e/n* and *e/d* senses of it clearly in mind-and not to confuse the two. This latter point is especially important since it is highly likely that the contestants or parties to the conflict will have completely fused the two senses together.

Culture, Ethnicity, and Identity

When the parties use culture in an *e/n* sense it is almost always part of an assertion about collective social identity and group difference. “Identity” because, in *e/n* usage, some *selected* symbols, norms, beliefs, and so on, of culture-usually the more obvious ones relating to religious practice, language, dress, commensality or dietary rules, and the like-are used to define a social collective, to make statements about “who *we* are.” “Difference,” because such statements (about *we*) always imply a *they*. “Collective or communal identity,” writes Steven Lukes, “always requires... an ‘other’; every affirmation of belonging includes an explicit or implicit exclusion clause” (Lukes, 1993, p. 37).

Since at least the late 1960s (Barth, 1969) most social scientists have argued that when culture is “enlisted” in this way by members of social groups it is culture in the guise of *ethnicity*, and the social groups constituted from it are

ethnic groups. (In fact, ethnicity may be thought of as an *e/d* term for the *e/n* usage of culture.) When many intergroup conflicts, especially those around identity issues, are analyzed in terms of ethnicity rather than culture, it brings into sharp relief the fact that culture and ethnicity are hardly isomorphic. It takes very little “cultural content” (say, a specific religious belief or practice) to manufacture a great deal of ethnicity. To make ethnicity, small bits or traits of culture are “objectified,” and these objectified bits are then projected-often performed-onto public domains, such as festivals, rituals, remembrance days, or marches. Ethnic groups are constituted out of linkages among members based upon ties of shared “culture”: language and religion, as well as putative ties of kinship or history. But the actual cultural content matters less than its ability to differentiate one group from another: “*We* march today, *they* do not.” Ethnicity is about difference that is socially or politically significant; ethnic groups are defined by the boundaries between them; culture is used to constitute and maintain the boundaries.

The research literature on the problematic relationship of culture (in the *e/d* sense) to often virulent ethnic conflict is impressive, and growing (for example: on “manufacturing ethnicity” see Roosens, 1989; for detailed comparative case studies see Eller, 2000; on Northern Ireland see Akenson, 1991; on former Yugoslavia, Eriksen, 2001; for the argument extending from ethnicity to nationalism, Gellner, 1997). The point to these studies collectively is that the parties themselves will see their conflict in “cultural” terms: protecting tradition, preserving identity, keeping the faith; indeed, often in the starkest terms of cultural survival in a full-blown “clash of civilizations.” Here, tied to identity and conceptions of authentic self for the parties engaged in the struggle, culture is a profoundly experience-near idea. To someone standing outside the conflict, impressed, say, by the cultural similarities between Protestant and Catholic working class in Northern Ireland, or among Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Sarajevo in the 1980s, it hardly makes sense to see the conflict in cultural terms. Eller has said it best: “When it comes to ethnic conflicts, such groups are not fighting *about* culture... but fighting *with* culture” (1999, p. 48, emphasis in original). The distinction between “fighting about” and “fighting with” is another (instrumental) way to approach *e/d* versus *e/n* conceptions of culture. Conflict analysts, third parties, and practitioners need to keep this distinction in mind, because it has potential consequences for all the parties in ethnic or identity conflicts, especially for weaker parties.

One reason why the distinction is consequential has to do with how ethnic identity is experienced phenomenologically by individuals, in Ignatieff’s (1994)

phrase, as “blood and belonging.” As criteria of group membership, symbols and rites, even a shared past, may suffice to signal “belonging”; but “blood” entails something else. Blood implies ties of kinship and shared ancestry, of heredity and metaphysical biology. When belonging is linked with blood as criteria for group membership, then its expression as (*e/n*) “culture” takes on greater force. For now “culture” as “tradition and customs”-as heritage-becomes in addition “culture” as heredity and biology. In this way (in a return to nineteenth century Romantic conceptions of the term that undoes the Boasian antiracist sense of it), “culture” can become a cipher for race and, in certain sociopolitical settings, its functional equivalent.

Culture, Race, and Multiculturalism

In what sorts of sociopolitical settings can “culture” (*e/n*) become a stand-in for race? One answer, not surprisingly, is in overtly racist settings where for some reason outright “biologism” has become politically costly or embarrassing-a matter of public relations. Kuper (1999), for example, begins his critical discussion of the culture concept noting how the term was used by many in the later years of Apartheid South Africa as a substitute for race, and a sop to South African liberal sensibility. Balibar has described this “neo-racism” as “racism without race”:

It is granted from the outset that races do not constitute isolable biological units and that in reality there are no ‘human races.’ It may also be admitted that the behaviour of individuals and their ‘aptitudes’ cannot be explained in terms of their blood or even their genes, but are the result of their belonging to historical ‘cultures’.... *Culture can also function like a nature....* [Balibar, 1991, pp. 21-22, emphasis in original].

He goes on to show us (with irony) that “progress” of a sort has been made, that perhaps Boas’ scientific anthropological project for culture has had some impact after all. Here is how to distinguish twentieth and twenty-first century neo-racists from their nineteenth century Romantic predecessors: “The neo-racist ideologues are not mystical hereditary theorists, but ‘realist’ technicians of social psychology” (Balibar, 1991, p.23).

But overtly racist societies are not the only ones where culture can stand in for race. The substitution can occur with a great deal more subtlety in sociopolitical settings characterized by an explicit commitment to racism’s ostensible antidote, *multiculturalism*.

Multiculturalism is one possible political response to societies characterized by recognized cultural (read: “ethnic”) diversity. It does not refer to the mere fact, the existence, of such diversity. Analytically, one can reserve the more neutral term “polyculturalism” for that. But polyculturalism as an analytical concept says nothing necessarily about the social context of diversity. It says nothing about the political implications of diversity, that is, that relations between individuals and cultural/ethnic groups are necessarily characterized by socially recognized asymmetries of power or privilege, by forms of dominance and subordination. Of course such a conception of a polycultural society is rather like the physicist’s assumption of a perfect vacuum or a frictionless plane-or the economist’s of a free market-fine for heuristics, but tricky to find in the real world.

In the real world the fact of diversity is typically correlated with forms of inequality and stratification, and dominant groups can relate, both ideologically and in terms of political praxis, to subordinate ones in a variety of ways. Apartheid, or some other form of caste-like social organization, is one such way. Another way is for the dominant group to insist on complete assimilation by others to its version of “culture”-not so likely, of course, if the dominant “culture” has been itself “naturalized” in a neo-racist manner. Yet another way, the ideal for secular liberal democracy, is to recognize diversity but privatize or individualize it, rendering it irrelevant politically. Here is a *civil society* wherein “civic” group membership trumps “ethnic” affiliations in public spheres. Multiculturalism is a fourth possible response to diversity. Here the fact of diversity is both recognized and found virtuous; it is celebrated. A “soft” form of multiculturalism may be virtually indistinguishable from the liberal ideal noted above, perhaps with the addition of support for explicit government policies ensuring tolerance and protection of minorities or otherwise subordinate cultural groups. So-called hard or radical multiculturalism “goes further, conceiving of the nation [or society] as a confederation of ethnic groups with equal rights and construing ethnicity [‘culture,’ *e/n*] as the *preferred* basis of one’s political identity” (Citrin, Wong, and Duff, 2001, p. 77, emphasis in original).

Both soft and hard multiculturalism give rise to a host of positions on social issues of importance in polycultural settings, for instance on immigration, affirmative action, or bilingual education, that put it in conflict with other possible responses, conservative or liberal, to these matters. But it is the hard form that has generated the most heated polemics, both in the United States (Schlesinger, 1992, for example) or Western Europe (Finkelkraut, 1995). What are the implications of either form for conflict resolution practice?

The hard form is typically evident in more deeply rooted or protracted social conflicts around issues of identity, including racial, ethnic, and nationalist ones. But even if we set those, perhaps more emphatic or dramatic conflicts, aside, we find that conflict resolution third party professionals-ADR specialists attached to courts or community centers, or ombudsmen working in universities, hospitals, corporations, or other institutions-will find themselves in polycultural settings wherein some version of at least “soft” multiculturalism (in the form of EOE, affirmative action, or other legal or quasi-legal workplace regulations) predominates. Furthermore, conflict resolution and ADR professionals, in the twenty-first century, are now likely to be “culturally sensitive,” and surely wish to make their practice as responsive to culture as possible.

But to *which* culture ought they direct their sensitivity; to which do they owe response?

Experience-distant culture is a technical concept in the social sciences that refers to shared norms, beliefs, and values; to public symbols and metaphors; to schemas, images, and cognitive maps. Experience-near culture is a political idea found in polycultural settings. It refers to shared identities and demarcated group boundaries. Viewed by outside analysts, this version of “culture” is sometimes called “ethnicity”-even (under certain circumstances) “race” or “nationalism.” When *privileged* as a source of identity (social or political), this version of culture is *the culture in multiculturalism*.

For many sorts of academic analysts or theorists of culture, including the vast majority of those who have researched and written on intercultural communication, negotiation, mediation, or conflict resolution, experience-near culture no doubt is to experience-distant culture as military music is to music: a fundamental misconstrual, if not a polluting abomination. But practitioners of one kind or another, working as third parties in conflicts or disputes within polycultural settings informed by some form of multiculturalism-working in the proverbial real world, that is-do not possess most of the indulgences granted to pure research and ideal types. For practitioners will end up as interlocutors with *parties* in intercultural disputes or conflicts who will often mean something very different by “culture.” For the political *actor* involved in a dispute in a multicultural setting-the ethnic politician, broker, or entrepreneur; the nationalist ideologue or cultural chauvinist; the immigrant or refugee rights activist-the distinction between *e/n* and *e/d* meanings of culture is almost certainly invisible and irrelevant. Worse, the distinction is potentially heretical or treasonous, particularly if asserted publicly by a dissenting member of the group, since merely by introducing *e/d* culture analytically in this situation one

essentially threatens to deconstruct (“unmask”) the *e/n* variety. (Nevertheless, it is doubtful that a lynching or pogrom has ever been stopped by a deconstructionist.)

What, then, is to be done? First, there is the question of what is to be done in the real world of conflict resolution or ADR practice; and then the more theoretical question of what is to be done with the culture concept, itself.

Type-I and Type-II Errors in Intercultural Practice

Let us imagine that you, as a third party of one sort or another, are called to intervene in a dispute or conflict in an “intercultural setting”: the parties appear to have come from different cultural backgrounds or communities. Having been trained or educated to take culture seriously, how do you factor it into your understanding of the conflict or dispute, and then into your process?

Your first task is (as in so much practice) essentially a diagnostic one. You must decide which sense of *culture* is mainly relevant here: the technical, *e/d* sense, or the political, *e/n* sense? Of course, the real world complicates matters immediately. Thus far *e/d* and *e/n* have been presented as mutually exclusive categories, in complementary distribution (when one is “present” the other is “absent”). Semantically this may be true. But the pragmatics of the thing-concerning the semantics as actualized by real persons in social intercourse-are different. Just because a psychoanalyst thinks in terms of object relations and object cathexis doesn’t mean that she cannot experience the emotions of love. Moreover, especially as *e/n* conceptions of culture connect (in persons) with social identity and conceptions of self, it is the case that *e/n* culture may “penetrate” *e/d* culture in significant ways. This is why, for example, it makes sense analytically to speak of a social setting characterized by inequality and a highly racialized discourse of (*e/n*) cultural identities as a (*e/d*) *culture of racism*.

Right away, then, the real world conspires against simple binary thinking. Nevertheless, it is the case that so-called intercultural encounters will be differentially *e/d* or *e/n*, that one sense or the other may predominate, and that the job of the third party is to disentangle them. For heuristic purposes (that great elider of the real world of practice!) let us assume that they are more or less mutually exclusive, and that means that at least two sorts of diagnostic errors or mistakes are possible. As a third party, and thinking analytically of culture in the technical, *e/d* meaning of the term, you may decide that there are *no* significant

cultural differences among the parties, and that therefore culture will have no significant impact on the “processing” of the dispute or resolution. Let us say that you are wrong: that cultural differences exist and they impact the contours of the dispute and the processes of resolution. If culture (*e/d*) is significant and you thought not, then you have made a Type I Error. Culturally speaking, you have a tin ear.

Alternatively, let us say that you decide that there are significant cultural differences between the parties to the conflict or dispute and that therefore culture will have a significant impact on dispute processing and resolution. But let us say that you are wrong. You have mistaken expressions of cultural difference by the parties (or have imputed them yourself) as representing *e/d* culture when, in fact, they are manifestations of *e/n* culture. *You have mistaken ethnic differences for cultural ones.* The antagonists really all do “speak the same (cultural) language,” in effect fighting *with* their culture, not *about* it. If culture (*e/d*) is not significant and you have decided that it is, then you have made a Type II Error. Culturally speaking, you are hearing voices that aren’t really there.

Third Party Intervenor Decision re.: Cultural Impacts	Actual Extent of Cultural Impacts	
	Cultural Impacts “High” or “Strong”	Cultural Impacts “Low” or “Weak”
No Significant Cultural Impacts on Conflict or Dispute	Type I Error (“Tin Ear”)	Appropriate Decision
Significant Cultural Impacts on Conflict or Dispute	Appropriate Decision	Type-II Error (“Hearing Voices”)

Fig. 1. A Heuristic for Cultural Analysis and Conflict Resolution

Type I Errors undervalue culture, underestimating its significance in a conflict or dispute. A Type I Error means that you are “culturally insensitive.” Type II Errors overvalue culture, over-estimating its impact on a conflict or dispute. Since the general cultural turn in conflict resolution, there is a growing literature of the cautionary type warning against Type I Errors, especially for intercultural

negotiation. There has been much less said about Type II Errors. One can begin by saying that Type II Errors by third parties will probably occur under at least these two conditions:

- Where the conflict or dispute involves parties from self-evidently different identity groups, that is the conflict is self-evidently inter-ethnic or inter-racial;
- In a social setting with an institutional bias or emphasis on multiculturalism as a legal prescription and/or a valued ideal.

Now, our goal as practitioners is of course to avoid or minimize errors of all sorts, and generally to practice in efficient, equitable, productive, and ethical ways. We wish to avoid both sorts of mistakes. But speaking again heuristically, and with reference to efficiency, equity, ethics, and so on, which do you think is the worse error: underestimating culture's impacts or over-estimating them?

Assuming that both sorts of errors will affect the efficiency of the intervention-affect the ease of "communicational flow," perhaps-your practitioner common sense (as well as a liberal's tendency toward enhancing cultural sensitivity in the multicultural settings in which most of us do our work) might hold that in the end underestimating culture's impact may be the worse error of the two. What harm, after all, can a little "over-sensitivity" to culture do?

Over-Valuing Culture: Some Consequences of Type-II Errors

The most obvious case for harm occurs in such settings as Apartheid South Africa where, as Kuper (1999) notes, "culture" was simply a crude stand-in for race. Racism operates according to a deficit model, where relations among "cultural" (that is, ethnic, racial, or national) groups are hierarchical, diversity entails disparity, and "cultural" differences, from the perspective of the dominant group, become indices of deficiency-intellectual, moral, or human.

Multiculturalism, operating with a notion of relativism that valorizes all cultural groups, avoids this more obvious danger of racism. However, so long as ideological valorization of all is still accompanied by structural socioeconomic disparities among the groups, then the danger or harm is not so much avoided as driven underground, further from critical view.

This is the core of Howard Gadlin's (1994) critique of cultural approaches to conflict resolution in multicultural multiracial societies where racism (as structural

inequality and domination) is nevertheless an existential fact of social life. An experienced practitioner, Gadlin focuses on the U.S., and African-American- white conflicts in the workplace, often in university settings where the normative commitment to multiculturalism and nondiscrimination is quite strong. He points out that (since the cultural turn in conflict resolution studies and practice), “Cultural background is usually referred to as one of the contributing factors” to these interpersonal workplace conflicts (Gadlin, 1994, p. 36). He cites Kochman’s (1981) study of contrasting African-American and white “cultural styles” in communication as evidence of this approach. His point is not so much to deny the existence of such styles (differential aggressivity, eye contact, and face-saving, are three things he mentions; p. 37)-a point we shall return to later-but rather to think that one can abstract a notion of, say, African-American (or white) “culture” separate from the total context of black-white relations in a structurally racist society. Moreover, this context is what African-American and white Americans *share*. Rather than thinking of culture, mechanically, as something that sets the groups apart and marks their difference, Gadlin argues that this context;

“provides the framework within which cultural differences assume the significance that they do.... When intercultural conflict (conflict between members of different races in a racist society) occurs, it cannot be understood by looking only at the cultural differences between the conflicting groups because these differences, themselves, in part, constitute the very racism of which the conflict is one of many expressions [Gadlin, 1994, p. 39].”

An even more scathing attack on the misuse of culture comes from the Norwegian social anthropologist Unni Wikan, writing about the lives of immigrants and refugees (mainly from Muslim countries in the Middle East and South Asia) in Norway, and to some extent other Scandinavian and Western European countries (Wikan, 2002). Her book is called *Generous Betrayal* (actually the title of a chapter in Finkelkraut, 1995), her name for the “welfare colonialism” of liberal, even progressive, European states that sustains immigrants and refugees but insidiously so, at the cost of their ever attaining equality and independence. The main culprit, for her, is a slavish commitment to multiculturalism, to “preserving” and “respecting” the “cultures” of their immigrants-along with a fear (at least among public figures or intellectuals) of being labeled a “racist” for any action deemed disrespectful of “culture.” But whose “culture” is being preserved, at what costs-and who pays the price? Who are the principal victims of generous betrayal?

Wikan argues that the most marginalized and disempowered in the immigrant/refugee communities pay the price, particularly women and children.

Involuntary arranged marriages, forcible repatriation to their (or their parents') countries of origin, beatings (and worse) for bringing "shame" or violations of family or clan "honor," or simply behaving too much like their Norwegian teenage classmates, have been egregiously ignored by Norwegian authorities (social and child welfare workers, the courts and police) reluctant to appear racist and disrespectful of "culture." Once again, the question arises: whose culture? Wikan notes that it is almost always men (elders, sages-patriarchs) from the immigrant groups who represent the groups to the authorities. When they seek to prevent the Norwegian authorities from interfering in their community's affairs, they speak passionately of "preserving their culture." Here, culture is a profoundly experience-near concept, representing faith, tradition, morality-identity. As political spokesmen for their communities, as ethnic politicians or brokers, they represent the community as having one voice—a perfectly shared culture, in effect. But this is not so. It is, Wikan recounts, a Bosnian male who asks an assembled group of politicians: "Why is it that if a Norwegian won't let his daughter marry an immigrant, it's called racism, but if an immigrant won't let his daughter marry a Norwegian, it's called culture?" (p. 45). In the end, nevertheless, it is the voices of her female interlocutors, the heart of the book, themselves members of these communities and victims of abuse (not all have survived...), that are the most striking with respect to questioning a single and monolithic definition of culture. A Norwegian-Pakistani woman, Nasim Karim, survived a forced repatriation and marriage and severe beatings before she found asylum in a Norwegian embassy. Having returning to Norway and become an activist on behalf of immigrant and refugee women and children, she addressed the Norwegian Parliament: "When a man is subject to violence it is called torture, but when a woman is subject to violence, it is called culture" (p. 107).

For Wikan, the question of who gets to define culture is ultimately a political one, meaning that it comes down to issues of power and privilege. The question of who pays for culture so defined is a moral one, indeed, a question of individual human rights. Here she cites the Indian anthropologist Veena Das: "Culture is a way of distributing pain unequally in populations." If this is the case, then Wikan concludes, "respect for 'the culture' is a flawed moral principle" (p. 28).

Reflecting on Gadlin and Wikan, it is clear that the simple and perhaps for practitioners commonsensical impulse to say that a little over-attention to culture (our Type II Error) can't hurt, is problematic. This is so because over-valuing cultural impacts can be deleterious for the weaker, disempowered, or subordinate parties in the conflict or dispute. It can affect the equity of the

intervention's outcome, its justice. But what must count here is, yet again, the sense or conception of culture that we mean. What is problematic is ignoring the difference between culture *e/n* and culture *e/d*, or mistaking one sort for the other. For practitioners at the point of "diagnosing" the cultural part of the dispute or conflict, it is the difference between pursuing *cultural analysis* and *culturalism*. Analysis aims to get at culture as an experience-distant idea-*and this includes plumbing the experience-near aspects of it*. In contrast, culturalism is a politico-moral stance, a statement about "identity politics mobilized at the level" of the ethnic group or nation-state (Appadurai, 1996, p. 15). Over-valuing culture (*e/n*), culturalism, can result in a practitioner's understanding of and approach to a dispute or conflict that proves harmful to some of the parties because it will:

- Mask or efface underlying structural issues such as gender, class, ethnic discrimination, or racism, in favor of attention to individuating or communication-biased issues like "communicational styles"
- Reify culture as an agent capable of action on its own terms
- Essentialize culture towards a single and unified expression
- Homogenize all group members toward invariant behavioral stereotypes
- Risk replacing older, nineteenth century notions of essentialized racial differences with twenty-first century ideas of cultural ones: Balibar's (1991) "racism without race"

This final point is especially acute. We have gained nothing-on the contrary, promulgated much harm-if we embrace the cultural turn and end up replacing racism as a way of dealing with diversity with a culturalism enlisted for the same ends.

With this critique in mind it is reasonable to ask, Can we or ought we preserve the concept of culture at all?

Writing *For* Culture

Even as the importance of paying attention to culture has gained legitimacy in the conflict resolution and ADR community, the very concept has come under the most acute criticism among scholars and theorists from fields ostensibly

devoted to its study and elucidation: anthropology and cultural studies. Some have written explicitly “against culture” (Abu-Lughod, 1991), or have advised doing away with the term completely (Kuper, 1999). But even among the strongest critics of the notion there is ambivalence, reflecting the fact that if we do away with culture we will just need to invent some other term to take its place. James Clifford writes, “Culture is a deeply compromised idea I cannot yet do without” (1988, p. 10). Arjun Appadurai confesses, “I frequently find myself troubled by the word *culture* as a noun, but centrally attached to the adjectival form of the word, that is, *cultural* “ (1996, p. 12). After borrowing a distinction for the two sense of culture from structural linguistics (“marked/unmarked”) that parallels the distinction made here between experience-near and experience-distant, Appadurai ends up simply assigning numerals to the ideas: “Culture 1 [that is, culture *e/d*], constituting a virtually open-ended archive of differences is consciously shaped into Culture 2 [culture *e/n*], that subset of these differences that constitutes the diacritics of group identity” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 14).

The reluctance to lose culture entirely can be explained if we look carefully at the two works featured in this essay that have been most substantively critical of it, Gadlin (1994) and Wikan (2002). Gadlin, even as he cautions us against over-deploying culture in our understanding of interracial conflicts in America readily notes that such stylistic elements, important for interpersonal communication, as aggressivity, eye-contact, and face-saving, “will be manifested differently in different groups, and expectations of the mediator will also differ for different groups. For that matter, noticeable differences emerge from one culture to the next in the preference given to group versus individual identity” (Gadlin, 1994, p. 37). These are hardly trivial matters if one is concerned with conflict or dispute resolution process or, more generally, communicational competence. More profoundly, the entire point of Gadlin’s critique of cultural analysis is to further the conception of a “culture of racism” as fundamentally structuring black-white social relations in the United States. In the end, therefore, even as Gadlin criticizes culture he falls back on relying crucially on the term for what it represents.

Unni Wikan, declaring on the one hand that culture is a “flawed moral principle,” and demonstrating with great passion the many ways that invoking its authority has served to foster the abuse of immigrant and refugee women and children in Scandinavia, later writes: “Can we then throw the ‘culture’ concept overboard? No, in my opinion.... But we can use the concept with sensitivity and care” (Wikan 2002, p. 82). The concept of culture is not so easily jettisoned because, as one reads Wikan’s book, it so obviously permeates the

very core of her analysis and critique. How else can one describe (and deconstruct), as she does, such notions the immigrants or refugees bring with them as *honor, shame, clan* (solidarity), patriarchy-or ethnic identity and the liberal European state's "welfare colonialism," for that matter? In the end, paraphrasing Appadurai, as culture *e/n* is "consciously shaped" out of the "archive," the raw material, of culture *e/d*, then-as critical theorists or as self-aware practitioners-we will always need a conception of culture "in the technical sense" in order to do our critical, analytical, diagnostic, and interventionary work. We cannot proceed otherwise.

But-a nagging last question-do we need the word *culture*? There have been more than a few candidates for its replacement, depending on the era, the theorist or the idiom, including: collective consciousness, discourse, episteme, habitus, worldview, mindset, groupthink, even that old standby (itself not lacking much in the way of baggage from the last century or two), ideology. Like Appadurai, wishing to cling to the adjective ("cultural") if not the noun-or like Gadlin and Wikan, for that matter-I continue to believe the term is useful and, for what it represents for purposes of critical analysis and practice, is indispensable as well. But we surely need, as Wikan says, to use the concept with "sensitivity and care." In terms of the argument developed here, this means we need to keep the two senses of culture, the *e/d* and *e/n*, conceptually separated in our theoretical and practical work. We must not conflate or confuse the two, even as we may expect the parties in the conflict or dispute to do so routinely. Most crucially, we should never allow, in our thinking and practice, the *e/d* sense of the term to devolve into the *e/n* sense of it, since in that way we admit the probability that culture will become, as so many have warned, simply a politically correct synonym for race (Balibar, 1991; Gadlin, 1994; Finkielkraut, 1995; Michaels, 1995; Wikan, 2002).

The way to do this (what some critical readers will no doubt see as a last-ditch defense mounted on behalf of Boas and the entire modernist project with respect to culture) is, first, to point out inadequacies in some of our previous understandings of the term and, secondly, to propose understandings of culture that address these inadequacies (see for example Avruch and Black, 1991; Avruch, 1998, pp. 12-16; also Wikan, 2002, pp. 87-88). Most importantly, such a reconfigured notion of culture must address what some postmodernists have rightly called the "totalizing" effects of the idea. In this regard, we conclude with a series of cautions for thinking about culture in the "technical sense of the term":

- Cultures do not possess agency, individuals do
- Cultures are not things ("nouns") but analytical categories

- Individuals are bearers of multiple cultures (another reason to regard Figure 1 as merely a heuristic!), not a single one
- Individuals *acquire* their cultures as part of ongoing social life; they are not eternally deep-coded in the gene or the *Volksgeist*
- Cultures are “passed down” to individuals and in this sense one can speak of “traditions”; but cultures (as acquired by individuals throughout their lives) are also emergent and responsive to environmental exigencies (among other things)
- Cultures are not monolithic, integrated and stable “wholes” but are fragmented, contestable, and contested
- Cultures do not “cause” conflict-or much of anything else; they are however the “lenses through which the causes of conflict are refracted” (Avruch and Black, 1993)-and none the less crucial for that

References

- Abel, R. (ed.). *The Politics of Informal Justice*. Vols. 1 and 2. New York: Academic Press, 1982.
- Abu-Lughod, L. "Writing Against Culture." In R. Fox (ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe NM: School of American Research Press, 1991.
- Akenson, D.H. *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991.
- Appadurai, A. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Augsberger, D.W. *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992.
- Avruch, K. *Culture and Conflict Resolution*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998.
- Avruch, K., and Black, P.W. "A 'Generic' Theory of Conflict Resolution: A Critique." *Negotiation Journal*, 1987, 3(1), 87-96 and 99-100.
- Avruch, K., and Black, P.W. "The Culture Question and Conflict Resolution." *Peace and Change*, 1991, 16(1), 22-45.
- Avruch, K., and Black, P.W. "Conflict Resolution in Intercultural Settings: Problems and Prospects." In D. Sandole and H. van der Merwe (eds.), *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Manchester (UK): Manchester University Press, 1993.
- Avruch, K., and Black, P.W. "ADR, Palau, and the Contribution of Anthropology." In A. Wolfe and H. Yang (eds.), *Anthropological Contributions to Conflict Resolution*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996.
- Avruch, K., Black, P.W., and Scimecca, J. (eds.). *Conflict Resolution: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.
- Balibar E. "Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?" In E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein (eds.), *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Barth, F. (ed.). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1969.
- Burton, J.W. *Conflict and Communication: The Use of Controlled Communication in International Relations*. London: Macmillan, 1969.
- Burton, J.W. *Resolving Deep-Rooted Conflicts: A Handbook*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987.
- Caplan, P. (ed.). *Understanding Disputes*. Oxford (UK): Berg, 1995.
- Chew, P.K. (ed.). *The Conflict and Culture Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2001.

Citrin, J., Wong, C., and Duff, B. "The Meaning of American National Identity: Patterns of Ethnic Conflict and Consensus." In R.D. Ashmore, L. Jussim, and D. Wilder (eds.). *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Clifford, J. *The Predicament of Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Cupach, W.R., and Canary, D.J. *Competence in Interpersonal Conflict*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1997.

Danzig, R. "Toward the Creation of a Complementary, Decentralized System of Criminal Justice." *Stanford Law Review*, 1973, 26, 1-54.

Eller, J.D. *From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

Eriksen, T.H. "Ethnic Identity, National Identity, and Intergroup Conflict: The Significance of Personal Experiences." In R.D. Ashmore, L. Jussim, and D. Wilder (eds.). *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Felstiner, W. "Influences of Social Organization on Dispute Processing." *Law and Society Review*, 1974, 9, 63-94.

Finkelkraut, A. *The Defeat of the Mind*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Fisher, R., and Ury, W. *Getting to Yes*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981
Fisher, R., Ury, W., Patton, B. *Getting to Yes*. (2nd ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991.

Fry, D., and Bjorkqvist K. (eds.). *Cultural Variation in Conflict Resolution*. Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Publications, 1997.

Gadlin, H. "Conflict Resolution, Cultural Differences, and the Culture of Racism." *Negotiation Journal*, 1994, 10(1), 33-47.

Galanter, M. "Why the 'Haves' Come Out Ahead: Speculations on the Limits of Legal Change." *Law and Society Review*, 1974, 9, 95-160.

Galtung, J. "Cultural Violence." *Journal of Peace Research*, 1990, 27(3), 291-305.

Gellner, E. *Nationalism*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997.

Geertz, C. *Local Knowledge*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.

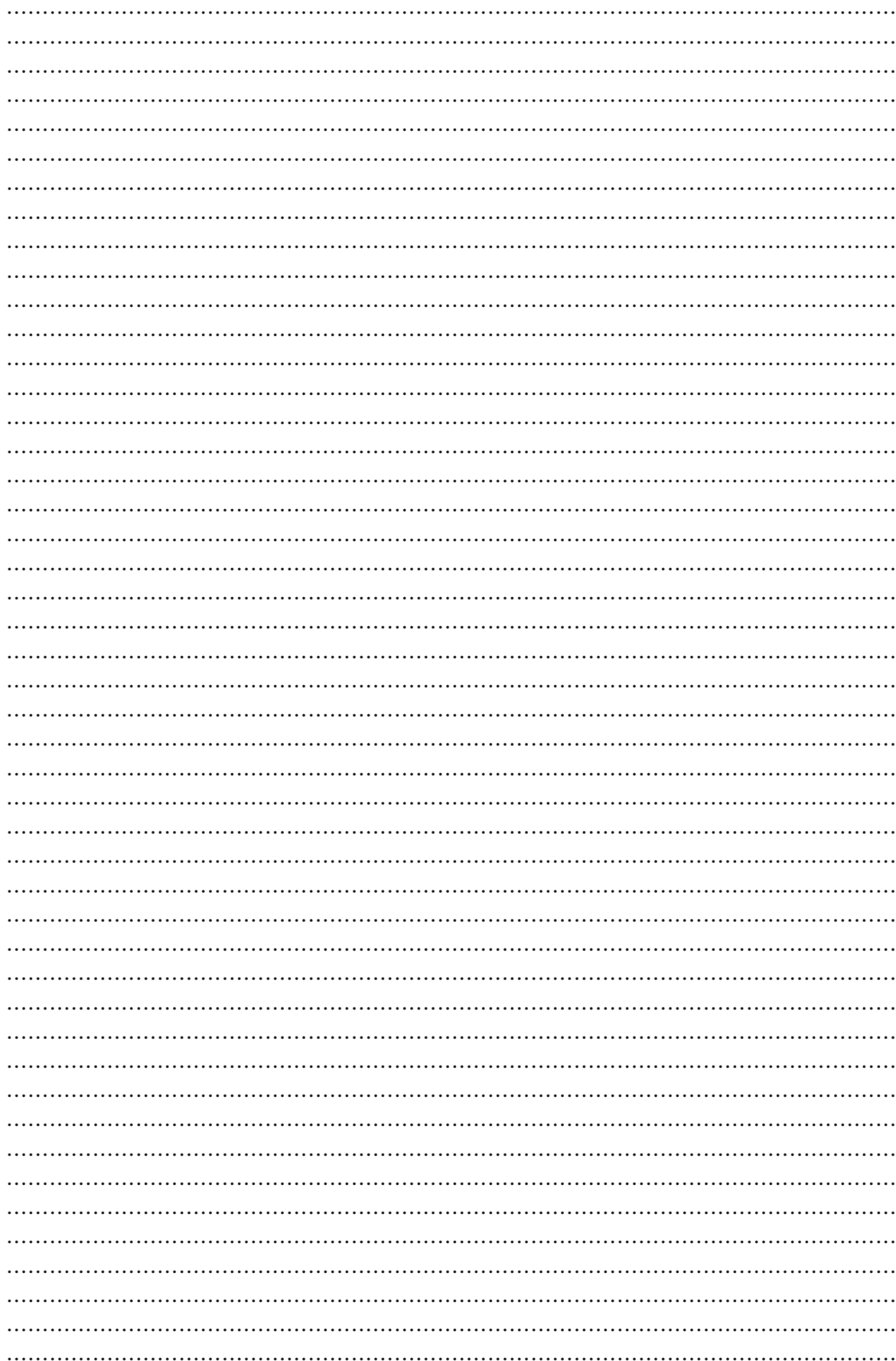
Gibbs, J. "The Kpelle Moot: A Therapeutic Model for the Informal Settlement of Disputes." *Africa*, 1963, 33, 1-11.

Gudykunst, S., Stewart, L., and Ting-Toomey, S. (eds.). *Communication, Culture, and Organizational Processes*. London: Sage, 1985.

Gulliver, P.H. *Disputes and Negotiations: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

- Hall, E.T. *Beyond Culture*. New York: Anchor Books, 1976.
- Harrington, C., and Merry, S. "Ideological Production: The Making of Community Mediation." *Law and Society Review*, 1988, 22, 709-735.
- Hofstede, G. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Beverly Hills CA: Sage, 1980.
- Hyatt, M. *Franz Boas, Social Activist: The Dynamics of Ethnicity*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.
- Ignatieff, M. *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1994.
- Jenks, C. *Culture*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Kochman, T. *Black and White Styles in Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Kuper, A. *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Lederach, J.P. "Of Nets, Nails, and Problems: The Folk Language of Conflict Resolution in a Central American Setting." In K. Avruch, P.W. Black, and J. Scimecca (eds.). *Conflict Resolution: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.
- Lewis, H.S. "The Passion of Franz Boas." *American Anthropologist*, 2001, 103(2), 447-467.
- Lukes, S. "Five Fables About Human Rights." In S. Shute and S. Hurley (eds.). *On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures, 1993*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.
- Merry, S. "Disputing Without Culture." *Harvard Law Review*, 1987, 100, 2057-2073.
- Michaels, W.B. *Our America: Nativism, Modernism, and Pluralism*. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Nader, L. "Controlling Processes in the Practice of Law: Hierarchy and Pacification in the Movement to Re-Form Dispute Ideology." *Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution*, 1993, 9, 1-8.
- Nader, L. "Harmony Models and the Construction of Law." In K. Avruch, P.W. Black, and J. Scimecca (eds.). *Conflict Resolution: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.
- Raiffa, H. *The Art and Science of Negotiation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Roosens, E.E. *Creating Ethnicity*. London: Sage, 1989.
- Schlesinger, A.M. Jr. *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*. New York: Norton, 1992.
- Stocking, G.W. *Race, Culture, and Evolution*. New York: Free Press, 1968.

- Trachte-Huber, E.W., and Huber, S.K. (eds.).
Alternative Dispute Resolution: Strategies for Law and Business.
Cincinnati OH: Anderson Publishing Company, 1996.
- Triandis, H. *The Analysis of Subjective Culture*. New York: Wiley, 1972.
- Weaver, G. (ed.). *Culture, Communication, and Conflict*. Needham Heights,
MA: Ginn Press, 1994.
- Wikan, U. *Generous Betrayal: The Politics of Culture in the New Europe*.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Williams, R. *Keywords*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Williams, R. *Culture*. Glasgow: Fontana, 1981.



Sabanci University
Program on Conflict Analysis and Resolution
Occasional Paper Series

Previous Issues:

1. *“A Journey from the Laboratory to the Field: Insights on Resolving Disputes Through Negotiation”*,
by Daniel Druckman, July 2001.
2. *“The Role of Multilateral Organizations in Conflict Resolution: The Case of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe”*,
by P. Terrence Hopmann, April 2002.
3. *“Communication Chains in Negotiation Between Organizations”*
by Dean G. Pruitt, April 2003

Send your order to:

Nimet BERIKER
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Sabanci University, Orhanli – Tuzla,
34956 Istanbul, TURKEY
Tel:+90 216 483 9245
beriker@sabanciuniv.edu

Please visit us at our web-site:

<http://www.sabanciuniv.edu/fass/conflict>

Sabanci University

Orhanlı Tuzla

81474 İstanbul - Turkey

Phone : +90 (216) 483 9000

Facsimile : +90 (216) 483 9005

www.sabanciuniv.edu