

TAMAR CHARKVIANI

Associated Professor, Caucasus School of Humanities and Social Sciences
Caucasus University (Georgia)

THE IMPORTANCE AND INFLUENCE OF LABOR MOTIVATION ON THE
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL LABOR PRACTICES
(CASE OF GEORGIA AND GERMANY)

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Abstract. Market process-oriented reforms in Georgia at the beginning of the 90s intensified the acuteness of the problem of adapting the population to drastic changes in the sphere of labour. As a result of this new types of social-economic behaviour not practised before emerged in the social-economic spheres. For the analyses of adaptation models in the sphere of labour developed in Georgia, it is important to compare them to models existing in countries with a well-formed market system, such as Germany. Unlike Germany, labour relations in Georgia become an object of a clash of private interests and employees start to unite under clan principles. What is being developed is not a jural state but a conglomerate of small communities, which put group interests and norms and the leader's authority in the place of public interests. In Georgian collectives, unlike German ones, labour actions of individuals are directed by attractive motivation (or an emotional feeling of complicity with one another), hence in Georgia informal procedures hinder effective labour activity.

Hence, this article attempts to analyse the structure of labour motives of subjects of labour relations as factors affecting formal and informal practices of labour behaviour in Georgia and Germany. It is important to understand what kind of labour motives promote or prevent the spreading of informal labour practice; which social conditions influence the formation of such motives in German and Georgian labourers; how labour motivation influences forms of integration in the society; which forms of labour activity are encouraged by the society and why; which models of labour activity are formed in Georgia

and Germany based on different labour motives. Problems connected with labour motivation are of current importance in Georgia. The sociological research was based mainly on qualitative research methods. Several research methods have been used: analysis of theories, interviews, empirical sociological research, etc.

keywords: labour practices; Informal labour; Formal labour; Work Motivation

Introduction.

Introduction. Market process-oriented reforms in Georgia at the beginning of the 90s intensified the acuteness of the problem of adapting the population to drastic changes in the sphere of labour. As a result of this new types of social-economic behaviour not practised before emerged in the social-economic spheres – labour has transformed from obligation into a right, the scope of possible forms of occupation has widened, socially sanctioned motives of labour activities have considerably changed, the ideology of justification of individual wealth and private property has come back etc. Drastic changes in the attitude to private property have led to the gradual formation of a new labour values and priorities hierarchy, which resulted in the gradual formation of new models of social labour behaviour and hence to the actualisation of problems connected with the forms of motivation of activities of labourers in a qualitatively different social-economic situation. Problems of adaptation of different groups and strata of Georgian society were determined by these substantial changes in the values and motivational

orientations (Baumann E, 2010).

Of all types of social activities, labour activities have the biggest role in the construction of real everyday life. Labour activity, as one of the basic social processes, most fully realises the potential of the society (Schceth S. 2011). The study of problems of adaptation processes in the sphere of labour reveals models of adaptation to the new socioeconomic situation existing in Georgia and the adequacy of these models to the requirements of a market economy and a democratic society. Labour behaviour and labour relations skills acquired by the labourers in a socialist economy (with all their advantages and disadvantages) today turn out to be inadequate to the new social and labour relations (Giddens, A. 1990). We must take into consideration the experience of countries with developed market economies, gained by them through many years – schemes, models and patterns of labour relations (Schneider, F. 1994a). For the analyses of adaptation models in the sphere of labour developed in Georgia, it is important to compare them to models existing in countries with a well-formed market system, such as Germany.

Hence, this article attempts to analyse **the structure of labour motives of subjects of labour relations as factors affecting formal and informal practices of labour behaviour in Georgia and Germany**. It is important to understand what kind of labour motives promote or prevent the spreading of informal labour practice; which social conditions influence the formation of such motives in German and Georgian labourers; how labour motivation influences forms of integration in the society; which forms of labour activity are encouraged by the society and why; which models of labour activity are formed in Georgia and Germany based on different labour motives (WORLD BANK, 2009).

The sociological research was based mainly on qualitative research methods. Several research methods have been used: analysis of theories, interviews, empirical sociological research, etc. Two types of interviews are used within the

framework of the research: with field specialists (experts) and biographical narrative interviews. Both types of interviews were based on a semi-structured research questionnaire, which involves a conversation without strictly detailing the questions, But according to the unified plan. The questionnaires were structured thematically, and Relevant blocks of research issues were identified in them. The selection of respondents the so-called according to the principle of the snow team included 15 respondents (two German and three Georgian experts), 10 respondents were Georgian immigrants in Germany with higher education aged 25-65).

Informal labour relations as a form of integration in Georgian society

Tasks achieved in this part of the article include the study of functional characteristics of informal relations and the definition of a values and norms structure adequate to the Georgian society supporting professional activities of a Georgian labourer.

What regulates social behaviour in a socio-cultural unity is a typical complex of patterns of behaviour directing an individual, including his/her professional activities. Any professional activity is determined by professional functions, i.e. a profession requires individuals to have certain behaviour qualities. Hence, professional activities are determined by an active behaviour regulator, forming a typical behaviour image of professional activities

The absence of qualities corresponding to market economy requirements in labourers considerably hinders the process of further adaptation of the population to the new situation in the sphere of labour, which in its part, can become one of the basic reasons for the development of informal labour relations in the employment sphere.

Informal labour relations include any relations emerging at work beyond formal relations, i.e. when labour relations are based more on personal contacts – friendship, nepotism, patronage, good relationships with the management, etc.,

rather than formal rules or agreements (Mars G.; Altman Y, 1987). Formal relations, on the other hand, include relations established by a formal document (statutes, regulations, instructions, orders, agreements, etc.) (North D, 1966).

Results of my research revealed that although the type of labourer characterized by inertness and absence of urge towards professional growth prevailed, a great number of labourers hoped to succeed in the new economic conditions not by acquiring these professional qualities but by employing old forms of goal achievement; in the soviet period this was often done through patronage, influence, nepotism etc.

'The whole Soviet society was formed by asocial persons. On the one hand, there was a legal system, on the other – an informal system of relations which was latently spread in our society as a new Soviet system of values (an expert).

In Georgian society, group decisions are preferred to the decisions of individuals. In the interaction of individuals personal relations and those of mutual trust prevail over formal relations. Informality and confidence of relations involve indistinctly defined functional obligations for each individual. This results in an absence of severe control over the quality of fulfilment of labourers' obligations. The absence of control and development of informal relations in the labour sphere causes public institutions to lose the function of satisfying public requirements and become ineffective, being oriented on the realisation of personal or group (clan) interests.

'Labourers identify themselves with a group, they are devoted to 'their group' and work for its benefit and not for the benefit of the society but often against it' (a respondent).

Informal norms which define individual behaviour cause the emergence of 'group interaction ethics', i.e. morals, regulating group interaction, resulting from the public necessity of regulating human behaviour and forming

behaviour stereotypes. However, informal norms, being social regulators, need to rely on social institutions, necessary for their realisation (reference group, family, church, school and other institutions of the kind).

Informal relations (group interests) function as a social regulator, they influence the motives, goals and means of actions of people through social institutions. Small groups form rather a complicated system of norms. The main principle of a group is to "be like the others", in this case, the community, collective hinders the personal inclination of an individual to stand out of the community – disapproves or even tries to eliminate the qualities differentiating them from the others.

According to the research carried out in Germany, informal labour relations in the above sense exist here too but they are not as widespread as in Georgia.

'Sure, Nepotism is widely spread and Patronage as well. Without contacts you might not be finding a good job which means you have to behave according to informal rules and codes' (a respondent).

'The contacts are usually based on informal relations. For instance, a young man is arriving to Berlin and knows that one of his relatives has a restaurant. He can easily start working in this place without even having job permission. Sometimes it's enough to be of the same origin to get a job. Thus, there are certain fields taken by people of a certain origin. Turkish people in the foodstuff field, Georgian girls as babysitters, Georgian men as construction workers, etc' (a respondent).

As the importance of professionalism regulating labour relations prevails over informal relations in Germany unlike Georgia, Germans especially disapprove of informal labour relations in high positions.

'Organised labour is weak in Germany, so it

might be difficult to introduce laws safeguarding that you are not a victim of informal arrangements at the workplace. It would be fair to give people a chance, meaning that in highly competitive areas such as science, public administration and state agencies employment should not be based on personal relationships. I guess that could be implemented by law' (a respondent).

Ultimately, Germans appreciate professional qualities more than informal relations; they are oriented on a high quality of work results, as the quality of their work determines how they are evaluated by society. Hence, to be employed or promoted a candidate in Germany, according to the respondents, must have certain professional qualities.

'First, one must make a good account of oneself, i.e. prove that one is capable of carrying out the work at the required level of quality. Just acquaintance, patronage and other informal relations cannot compensate for his/her lack of skill' (a respondent).

The essence of labour motivation

In post-Soviet countries changes in economic system and forms of property determined institutional changes in the sphere of labour and this, in its part, changed **motivational characteristics** of labour activity. First, it is necessary to specify the concept of 'labour motivation', discuss its basic realizations, and later define its role in the social adaptation of labourers to the new conditions and attitude of society to it. Any human activity is determined by practically existing needs. People strive either to achieve or to avoid something. In a narrow sense, the word 'motivated activity' – has the meaning of free, internally motivated human actions, aimed at achieving goals and realisation of interests. In motivated activities, a labourer independently determines the extent of actions, depending on internal motivation and conditions of the environment.

Labour motivation – is the urge of a labourer to satisfy his/her needs (gain certain welfare) by means of labour activity. The structure of labour motives involves **necessity**, which the labourer strives to satisfy; **welfare**, capable of satisfying this necessity; **labour activity**, necessary for gaining the welfare; and **price** – material and moral cost connected with the realisation of the labour activity. In the formation of labour motivation, the character of norms and values adopted by the individual and giving meaning to their further labour activity, determining their way of life, is of utmost importance. It makes a big difference what norms and rules of labour life are adopted in the process (Turner, J. H., 2009). A person starts professional labour activity having a formed understanding of values. He/she knows what interests he/she would like to realise by using labour. A specific labour environment makes him/her transform their value orientations and make them more realistic. This is how the second, practical layer of labour consciousness is formed, determined on the one hand by the value orientations of the person and on the other – by specific circumstances of professional labour life. Practical demands to work determine specific motivation, which, unlike value consciousness, predetermines the choice of ways and methods of their realisation (Turner, J. H., 1987).

Labour motivation is one of the most important factors in the effectiveness of labour, it represents the basis of a labourer's potential, i.e. all the qualities influencing production activity. Labour potential consists of psycho-physiologic potential (abilities and inclinations of a person, his/her health, capacity for work, stamina, and type of nervous system) and personal (motivational) potential. Motivational potential acts as a trigger, determining which abilities and to what extent the labourer is going to develop and use in the process of labour activity. The connection between motivation and results of labour is mediated by natural abilities and acquired labour skills, but it is the motivation that serves as a source of labour activities of a person (Abrutyn, S., and O. Lizardo, 2023).

Labour motivation has a different character with representatives of different cultures. It is impossible to influence representatives of different cultures in the same way using the same stimulation mechanism, i.e. labour motivation of Georgian, German, Russian and American persons is different. It is necessary to use different stimulating instruments to motivate them and the same stimulation mechanism cannot motivationally influence them all in the same way (European Commission, 2003).

To better understand the differences in reactions of representatives of various cultures to the same stimulus, we will give the following example: *A German management specialist having read A.I. Turgenev's short story 'Mumu' came up with an interesting idea: 'I cannot understand. Why choose both two evils? – The landowner's wife gives Gerasim a simple, clear stimulus: if you want to live in the estate, drown the dog; if you love the dog, take it and leave for the village. Any German would choose one of these options. Gerasim chose neither. His action is paradoxical – he carries out the order and rejects the award. Gerasim doesn't understand simple, clear stimuli and reacts unexpectedly!'*

In this maxim and the surprise of the German specialist lie the answers for the solution to the problem – why do representatives of post-Soviet countries – Russians, as well as Georgians, differ from the Germans and how does their motivation differ? The key to understanding this is 'a clear stimulus. A German having received a 'simple stimulus' will be 'motivated'. In other words, a rational stimulus induces (motivates) a rational action. German stimulation is rationally individualistic as the culture itself directs the labourer to individualistic values, which he/she rationally perceives. Rational stimulation involves clear objectives and calculates (well-grounded) ways of their achievement. Individual stimulation is based on the principle of the labourer's devotion. It enables the labourer to choose the way to make his/her living, which corresponds to his/her level of professionalism and devotion independently, not being directed by

other labourers. The labourer carries full personal responsibility for the quality of work carried out. A Georgian labourer, on the contrary, is irrational and un-individualistic. This differentiates the Georgians from people brought up in Western cultures – reacting 'ambiguously' to 'clear' stimuli. A rationally organised stimulus induces irrational motivation, i.e. unexpected behaviour for the giver of the stimulus. It is irrational, or more precisely attractive (attractiveness from Lat. *tractio* – attraction, inclination). We have to point out that irrational does not mean 'not thinking', or 'not reasoning'. Rationality is just one form of human thinking, there is another – attractiveness. Attractive thinking has a certain quality – lack of calculation, as calculation is characteristic of a choice not of an attractive ideal but of a rational objective. Attractive motivation does not exclude an urge towards material profit, but this urge is just as irrational, uncalculated and based on faith as an urge towards any other ideal. The power of a dogmatic, attractive, irrational urge towards an ideal is immeasurably bigger than a rational, phased movement to the aim. So, firstly, an irrational ideal requires a lack of a plan of movement in its direction, and secondly, the realisation of attractive energy by an individual can only be impulsive.

Labour stimulation may contain the qualities of an aimed-rational or/and value-rational stimulation. In aimed-rational stimulation, the use of rational stimuli is increased, which decreases the effectiveness of attractive ones.

According to the results of the study, Georgians are more attractively motivated, they are directed to act 'in the name of...' the values. But rational stimulation can define only rational objectives (career or wealth), and not attractive values. For an individual acting rationally wealth and career are not values but objectives, achievement of which is defined by certain regulations. On the other hand, for an impulsive, attractive individual, whose actions are not regulated (having no valid regulations or because of impossibility to follow them), an urge towards wealth and career are regarded as values.

This kind of urge usually turns into passion (an attractive social incontrollable inclination).

Comparative analyses of the attitude to labour in Georgia and Germany

Overall, the regulation of the social behaviour of Georgian labourers cardinally differs from the regulations of Western individuals. Typical behaviour of Western individuals is based on individual responsibility – on a rational elaboration of the instrumental strategy of achieving one's due by an individual. On the contrary, the algorithm of Georgian behaviour is based on *collective conviction – on acting together, conjointly* ((Simmel, G.1989).

Analyses of Georgian behaviour in comparison to the Western type show the difference characterised by M. Weber as the difference between aimed-rational and value-rational (attractive) social actions. Attractively oriented individuals value general norms and ideals higher than their aims. Hence in interaction, Georgians adopt priority of norms reflecting collective interests (Alexeev, M. and William P. 2003.).

But if aimed-rational actions, based on the individualism and pedantry of Western people, formulate the principle of rational decision-making by an individual with an orientation on getting an individual result (everyone relies only on oneself); attractive, on the other hand, proceeds from impulsiveness and collectivism. And it is the collective that determines the status of an individual. A Georgian, independent from the collective turns into a marginal. This system is based on an industrious labourer, who is collective responsibility oriented, inclined to conservative forms of labour activities, not connecting his/her social status with his/her achievements in labour. Responsibility for personal welfare is shifted to the 'top' (Schwellnus, C., et al. 2019).

Hence, the motivation of an employee in Georgia in modern conditions has acquired a specific form – that of attractive motivation. In

Georgian social 'dependency' on the collective, the principle 'be like the others' prevails. Based on this, the Georgian collective does not value individual labour but labour giving a synergic effect in collective interaction. Because of this, quantitative (rational) evaluation of the labour contribution of everyone violates the norm – 'do not stand out.' (Burger, C., 2003). But to achieve a synergic effect it is necessary to activate a separate individual and motivate him/her. This is possible when the individual starts realising his/her 'personal objectives'. The motivation mechanism must coordinate the objectives of an individual with collective aims (International Labour Organization, 2016).

Analyses of the functioning of the main social regulators show that in Georgian collective actions of individuals are directed by attractive motivation (or an emotional feeling of complicity with one another). Georgians are assisted here by an instrumental principle 'be like the others and follow the leader'. A separate individual strives to gain a collective evaluation as an acknowledgement of following the main principle of the Georgian collective. Consequently, the motive of a Georgian individual can be defined as an urge towards gaining the leader's evaluation. Georgians do not 'earn' like Germans, they 'deserve'. Such evaluation of an individual's merit is expressed in informal benefits and liberties. Leader orientation, an urge to deserve the benefits, and accordingly a position (status) in the collective represents the principle of 'office devotion' (Benzecry, C., and R. Collins, 2014).

Per se, this is the general principle of self-actualisation of a Georgian individual. A German labourer 'earns', a Georgian – 'deserves'. 'Earning' is a rational-individualistic **motivation** of a German labourer, stimulated mainly by a pecuniary form of compensation of labour; 'deserving' – attractive-collectivist motivation of a Georgian labourer, stimulated mainly by a system of informal benefits as the main form of compensation of labour; For a German the most typical form of initiative is private (or personal), predetermined by 'earning', for a Georgian –

that of serving, office devotion, devotion to the organisation and its fair, understanding leader (the leader is 'fair' when he/she can, in certain cases, deviate from the regulations and come to meet the labourer's needs, a good boss is the one who understands, what his/her subordinates need. The leader's authority is based on giving liberties to the members of the collective, who can follow the 'unwritten rule' and deviate from the *lawful* regulations (deviations from the regulations in Georgia are probably more regular than the regulations themselves) (Ritzer, G, 2008). These deviations from the regulations have the form of informal benefits or liberties, which in our culture represent a traditional mechanism of motivating individuals and at the same time, they serve as an essential instrument for any hierarchical organisation (Vaisey, S. 2009).

'Informal liberties are essential for any administrative structure in Georgia. Benefits and liberties in our culture are the basic instruments of stimulation of individuals (a respondent).

However, from the point of view of market economy professional behaviour of an employee requires aimed-rational behaviour (Patnam R. R. Leonardi, R. Y. Nanetti, 2003). It is this behaviour that according to the experts, guarantees the normal functioning of social institutions. Another thing is, that motivation of an employee involves value-rational character, i.e. it must be based on the principle: 'in the name of...', but to make this principle – a principle 'in the name of... the state, public interests' and not 'in the name of ... the family, friends, acquaintances, the clan' it must be rationally organised. A rationally organised stimulation must create the value motivation of individuals (T. Charkviani. 2006).

'Effectively functioning economics require a different kind of labourer, one oriented on the maximal achievements in labour, initiative, taking responsibility not only for his/her fate but for the success of the common work, well informed of his/her rights and counting first on his/her abilities.

A labourer of this kind strives to improve his/her qualifications, as with these he/she associates his/her possibilities in labour. He/she is capable of innovative activities' (a respondent).

In Western society 'office devotion' is functionally correlated with 'private initiative'. Both guarantee the organisation of the energy of individuals on achieving social aims through the achievement of their objectives, their function being to ensure social integration of the society. Both devotion and private initiative are the forms of organisation of social energy of individuals, a way for their self-actualisation.

'Human ambitiousness, an urge towards career development differs. In Georgia, there are probably more passive people than in other countries. However, I would not start criticising national qualities. In Germany, they say, people live to work. While in other countries they work to live' (a respondent).

Apart from this, a Georgian must have a certain set of behaviour qualities essential for the realisation of his/her professional activities. The most important quality of professional activities, necessary for an official is aimed rationalism, which is characterised as a systematic action, stimulated by rationally conscious motives (rational motivation).

On the whole, according to the experts, the behaviour of an employee must be: *'Systematic, as a way of behaviour, which implies setting aims and tasks, defining the ways of action (methods) for the achievement of these aims and tasks; controlling the correspondence of the procedures performed with the plan parameters; technological discipline, i.e. following the regulations and clear norms describing the procedures essential in labour activities'* (a respondent).

Conclusion

Problems connected with labour motivation are of current importance in Georgia. Unlike Germany, labour relations in Georgia become an object of a clash of private interests and employees

start to unite under clan principles. What is being developed is not a jural state but a conglomerate of small communities, which put group interests and norms and the leader's authority in the place of public interests. In Georgian collectives, unlike German ones, labour actions of individuals are directed by attractive motivation (or an emotional feeling of complicity with one another), hence in Georgia informal procedures hinder effective

labour activity. Systems resembling the ideal type described by Weber come to create a great number of ways of informal actions. Partly this is caused by the fact that a lack of flexibility can be overcome using an informal attitude to formal rules. People involved in such contacts may be more interested in satisfying or protecting their rights than in fighting for the interests of the State.

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ТАМАР ЧАРКВИАНИ

Ассоциированный профессор, школа гуманитарных и социальных наук
Кавказского университета. Веб-сайт: www.cu.edu.ge (Грузия)

ВАЖНОСТЬ И ВЛИЯНИЕ ТРУДОВОЙ МОТИВАЦИИ НА ИНСТИТУЦИОНАЛИЗАЦИЮ ФОРМАЛЬНЫХ И НЕФОРМАЛЬНЫХ ТРУДОВЫХ ПРАКТИК (Опыт Германии и Грузии)

Резюме

Ключевые слова: Трудовая практика; Неформальный труд; Формальный труд; Рабочая мотивация

Реформы, ориентированные на рыночные процессы, в Грузии в начале 90-х годов обострили проблемы адаптации населения к резким изменениям в сфере труда. В результате этого в социально-экономических сферах возникли новые, ранее не практиковавшиеся виды социально-экономического поведения. Для анализа моделей адаптации в сфере труда, разработанных в Грузии, важно сравнить их с моделями, существующими в странах с хорошо сформированной рыночной системой, таких как Германия. В отличие от Германии, трудовые отношения в Грузии становятся объектом столкновения частных интересов и работники начинают объединяться по клановым принципам. Развивается не правовое государство, а конгломерат небольших сообществ, которые ставят групповые интересы и нормы, а также авторитет лидера на место общественных интересов. В грузинских коллективах, в отличие от немецких, трудовые действия индивидов направляются привлекательной мотивацией (или эмоциональным ощущением сопричастности друг другу), поэтому в Грузии неформальные процедуры препятствуют эффективной трудовой деятельности. Таким образом, в данной статье предпринята попытка проанализировать структуру трудовых мотивов субъектов трудовых отношений как факторов, влияющих на формальные и неформальные практики трудового поведения в Грузии и Германии. Важно понять, какие трудовые мотивы способствуют или препятствуют распространению неформальной трудовой практики; какие социальные условия влияют на формирование таких мотивов у немецких и грузинских рабочих; как трудовая мотивация влияет на формы интеграции в обществе; какие формы трудовой деятельности поощряются обществом и почему; какие модели трудовой деятельности формируются в Грузии и Германии на основе разных трудовых мотивов. Проблемы, связанные с трудовой мотивацией, актуальны в Грузии. Социологические исследования основывались преимущественно на качественных методах исследования. Использовались несколько методов исследования: анализ теорий, интервью, эмпирические социологические исследования и т. д.