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Georgia and Armenia in Perspective"

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Abstracts Keynote Speakers

Thomas de Waal – Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Prisoners of the Caucasus

The presentation will examine the question of why those powers, big and small, wishing to solve the problems of the South Caucasus are, in Pushkin's phrase, "prisoners of the Caucasus."

Three features which are characteristic of the dynamics of the South Caucasus will be discussed:

- Inter-locking geography, which makes different ethnic and political groups dependent on one another for communication and economic well-being.
- Three very different levels of scale in the South Caucasus: small autonomous regions affiliated to ethnic groups (Abkhaz, Ajaris, Ossetians, Karabakh Armenians), three out of four of which have waged separatist movements; the three big nations of the South Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia); and the three big neighbours which are also former imperial powers (Iran, Turkey, Russia). The notable aspect here is that the smaller parties tend to set the agenda, not the larger ones.
- A tradition of regional alliances.

As a result of these characteristics, the post-Soviet South Caucasus is a multi-dimensional example of the famous "security dilemma," whereby the efforts of one group to protect themselves and solve their security problems inevitably causes insecurity to their neighbour—and very often conflict.

It will then be discussed to what extent democratization can be a solution to the security problems of the region.

One way of looking at the security problems of the region is to say that different neighbours have a veto over the peaceful development of each other—Russia and Abkhazia over Georgia, Georgia over Abkhazia, Armenia and Nagorny Karabakh over Azerbaijan and vice versa, the Karabakh Armenians and the Karabakh Azerbaijanis over each other. (The situation is somewhat reminiscent of the famous "liberum veto" which made the Polish sejm simultaneously the most democratic and most unworkable parliament in history).

Seen this way, democratic aspirations cannot be treated in isolation. The objective could be framed as dismantling this system of mutually destructive vetos and building instead a system of "minimal consent" where each actor is allowed a veto over the actions of the others only as it affects its vital security interests.

Christoph Stefes – University of Colorado Denver / Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB)

Critical Junctures, Institution Building and Regime Survival in Armenia and Georgia

Recent work on the stability of autocratic regimes has focused on the ability of regime leaders to co-opt strategic actors in state and society through various distributional and institutional mechanisms. The argument is quite convincing: non-democratic leaders cement their rule by making credible commitments to potential rivals, promising the continuous sharing of political power and economic resources in exchange for political loyalty. This promise is backed up through the creation of various informal and formal institutions (e.g., patronage and kinship networks as well as ruling parties, oversized cabinets, semi-autonomous courts, respectively).

What has been neglected in this research is that regime leaders also have to ensure that the co-opted side remains loyal and does not use its newly gained resources to turn against the regime. Regime leaders therefore also need the stick (repression) and not just the carrot (cooptation) to continue tying societal and state elites to their regime. Moreover, cooptation needs to be backed up by popular support (or, at least, acceptance). Hence, regime leaders need to legitimize their rule.

Finally, recent research on autocratic stability has paid undue attention to the origin and successive development of the institutions of cooptation (as well as repression and legitimation). Historical institutionalism has offered some plausible propositions about the emergence of institutions during times of crises – or, as historical institutionalists call them, critical junctures – and about the ways, these institutions shape political trajectories and how we might explain their demise.

In his speech, Christoph Stefes will apply insights from both strands of research – on autocratic stability and political institutions – and from his earlier work on systemic corruption to explain political developments in Armenia and Georgia since 1991. He thereby contrasts the inability of Eduard Shevardnadze to immunize the political regime of Georgia against its later opponents with the relative stability of Armenia's regime, facing similar challenges. He explains this difference by showing how individual decisions – themselves constrained by historical contingencies and structural forces – by Armenian and Georgian leaders at various junctures have created lasting institutional legacies that shaped the future of the Georgian and Armenia regimes.

Concluding with an analysis of the current developments in Georgia, Christoph Stefes will also how Mikheil Saakashvili has been able to revamp the Shevardnadze regime and create instead a stable institutional foundation for his regime.

Short Biographies of the Keynote Speakers and Discussants of the Workshops

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Roy Allison holds a DPhil in International Relations from the University of Oxford and is University Lecturer in the International Relations of Russia, Eastern Europe and Eurasia at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. Previously he was Reader in International Relations at the London School of Economics (2009-2011). Dr Allison's research focuses in particular on the international relations, foreign and security policies of Russia, Ukraine, Central Asia and the South Caucasus. His broader interests cover regional conflicts, regionalism, international norms and foreign policy analysis. He is currently completing a book on Russia and military intervention.

Gianni D'Amato is Professor of Migration and Citizenship Studies and Director of the Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies at the University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland. He studied at the Universities of Zurich and Potsdam, where he wrote his Ph.D. on issues of citizenship and the integration of foreigners in industrialized countries. His research fields include migration, citizenship and populist mobilization.

David Aprasidze is a professor of political science at Ilia State University (Tbilisi) and director of the Archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia (Soviet Security and Party Archives). 2010-2012 he was Dean for Graduate Studies at Ilia State University. In 2008-2009 he was chairman of the Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD). He studied politics at Tbilisi State University and received his Ph.D. in political science from Hamburg University, Germany. In 2009 he was awarded a Fulbright scholarship to research at Duke University. His fields of research include post-Soviet transformation, foreign policy decision making, and Georgia's political institutions.

Timothy Blauvelt is Associate Professor of Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies at Ilia State University in Tbilisi, Georgia. Timothy defended his dissertation in Political Science on citizenship and nationalism in Georgia at the State University of New York at Buffalo in 2001, and has worked in the region for more than a decade (in Russia and Ukraine as well as in Georgia). Since 2003 he has been Country Director in Georgia for American Councils for International Education: ACTR/ACCELS, and he has lectured on the political history of the USSR at the Center for Social Sciences of Tbilisi State University since 2006. He has published articles on Soviet and Caucasus political history, clientelism, nationality policy, and ethnic mobilization in Europe-Asia Studies, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Kritika, War & Society, and Nationalities Papers.

Richard Giragosian is the Founding Director of the Regional Studies Center (RSC), an independent “think tank” located in Yerevan. Giragosian is currently a contributing analyst for Oxford Analytica, a London-based global analysis and advisory firm, and serves as both a lecturer and Senior Expert at the Yerevan State University’s Centre for European Studies (CES). He was a regular contributor to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) publications from 1999-2008, and also served as contributing analyst for the London-based Jane’s Information Group, covering political, economic and security issues in the South Caucasus, Central Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, from 2003-2010.

Nicolas Hayoz is associate professor of political science and the director of the Interdisciplinary Institute of Central and Eastern Europe at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland). Since 2007 he has been Programme Director of the regional research promotion program RRPP – Western Balkans. Nicolas Hayoz has also been directing the Academic Swiss Caucasus Net since its launch in 2009. He has published articles on politics and state reform in Eastern Europe and has conducted research projects in Russia and in Georgia (in the framework of SCOPES – scientific cooperation with Eastern Europe). His research interests include transition studies in Eastern Europe, particularly the transformation process in Russia, political sociology and political theory.

Alexander Iskandaryan is a political analyst and Director of the Yerevan-based Caucasus Institute. His areas of study are ethnopolitical conflicts, post-Communist transformations and nation building in the former USSR in general and in the Caucasus in particular. Since the early 1990s, he has specialized on conflicts in the South and Northern Caucasus, elections in a transition setting, and the building of post-Soviet identities. He has also conducted and supervised research on migration, regional integration, media development and the formation of public discourses.

Alexander Markarov holds a Doctor of Sciences Degree (Dr. Habil.) with specialization in Political Science (2010) from the Institute for National Strategic Studies, Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Armenia. Since 2008 he has been Deputy Vice Rector for International Cooperation and Scientific Policy at Yerevan State University. He teaches political science at Yerevan State University and is the founder of a study program in Public Administration at the same institution. His research fields include democratization, political transformations and post-soviet politics, comparative study of semi-presidentialism and opposition studies. He is member (since 2012) of the Doctoral Degrees Conferral Specialized Commission in Political Science and a Board member (since 2011) of the Political Science Association of Armenia.

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Christoph Stefes is Associate Professor for Comparative European & Post-Soviet Studies at the University of Colorado. Presently on sabbatical/academic leave, he has joined a research group at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (Social Science Research Center Berlin) that investigates the conditions of stability of autocratic regimes. He is an expert on the Caucasian and Central Asian post-Soviet Union states. His research focuses on governance and the detrimental consequences of corruption in this region. In addition, he currently serves as a Senior Fellow at the Ecologic Institute Berlin, analyzing societal conflicts that are caused by climate change.

Thomas de Waal is a senior associate in the Russia and Eurasia Program at the Carnegie Endowment, specializing primarily in the South Caucasus region comprising Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia and their breakaway territories, as well as the wider Black Sea region. De Waal is an acknowledged expert on the unresolved conflicts of the South Caucasus: Abkhazia, Nagorny Karabakh, and South Ossetia. From 2002 to 2009 he worked as an analyst and project manager on the conflicts in the South Caucasus for the London-based NGOs Conciliation Resources and the Institute for War and Peace Reporting. He is author of the authoritative book on the Karabakh conflict, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan Through Peace and War* (NYU Press, 2003), which has been translated into Armenian, Azeri, and Russian. His latest book is *The Caucasus: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

Jonathan Wheatley holds a PhD in Social and Political Sciences from the European University Institute in Florence. Subsequently, he was a Research Fellow at the *Osteuropa Institut*, Free University Berlin. He is now Regional Director at the Centre for Democracy in Aarau (Switzerland) with responsibilities for the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Western Balkans region. In addition to publishing a number of scholarly articles, his academic interests include political regimes and state-building in the former Soviet space; the pre-conditions for direct democracy in the post-communist states of the Balkans and the former Soviet Union; comparative studies in democratisation involving the successor states of the Soviet Union as well as states of Latin America and West Africa; political and economic participation of ethnic and national minorities in Europe.

Giga Zedania is professor and the director of the Institute for Modernity Studies at Ilia State University (Georgia). Since 2010 he has also been the local coordinator of the research

promotion program in the South Caucasus (ASCN – Academic Swiss Caucasus Net) in Georgia. He has edited volumes and published articles on the societal values in Georgia, political elites, nationalism, secularization and theory of modernity. His research interests include social and political theory as well as studies of social transformation in Georgia.

Panel Abstracts

Panel 1: Migration, Diasporas and Social Inclusion

Discussants/Moderators: Gianni D'Amato and Silvia Serrano

1.1 Aghasi Tadevosyan and Alina Poghosyan, National Academy of Sciences, Armenia

Armenia: Migration, Everyday Life and Transition

The proposed research aims at discussing transformation of migrant various groups' everyday life and its influence on transition in Armenia. Many transitional processes have been actively discussed in Armenian scientific and public auditoriums. These discussions have had economic and political reformation biases. However transition seizes not only economic and political spheres, but cultural, public and everyday life as well. Transformations in one sector of society crucially influence the transitional processes as a whole. In this sense some groups of migrants represent the most dynamically transforming segments influencing transition in Armenia specifically. Living for long years in various cultural environments migrants experience cultural and everyday life transformations. These changes, owing to migrants' return or steady communication with relatives and family members left in Armenia entail cultural and social remittances and more globally effect the transition in Armenia. Through the current research we aim at uncovering some unspoken issues, particularly:

How does migration change migrants' everyday life (their everyday strategies and tactics, time and space organization, communication ethics, and other components of everyday life)? How do migrants influence/change their micro-environment (friends and family)? How do migrants influence/change their macro-environment (communities and particular societal segments)?

The following methodology is applied to reach the research objectives: 1) In-depth interviews with 3 groups of migrants: labor migrants, returnees, students, 2) A Case Study (with in-depth interviews and observation) in the rural community Arpeni and 3) A Case Study 2 (with in-depth interviews and observation) of a civil movement "We are the owners of the city". The first to phases have already been completed, while the Case Study 2 is to be conducted in September.

The gathered field data have not been analyzed methodically yet. Nevertheless the reading of materials reading and field work discussions have led to some preliminary ideas to be checked out in the process of the data analysis. Particularly the field materials hint that 1) migrants' everyday strategies variously influence their integration tactics and process, 2) Migrants' everyday strategies influence the kind of social and cultural remittances, 3) Cultural changes are not perceived unambiguously, in some cases cultural changes are even regarded as negative.

The next step concerning the field research is organization and implementation of the Case Study 2 and there are some issues to be considered soon: the delineation of the frontiers of the cases Study (civil movement), observation of their activities and detection of the migratory influence.

1.2 Astghik Chaloyan, Yerevan State University

Approach to Methodological Basis of Studying Migrant Networks

The aim of my work is to make an analysis of migrant networks in the frameworks of transnational social spaces and transnationalism. There are a lot of explanations and definitions of transnationalism. However, all of them indicate more or less the same phenomena, that is- some combination of plural civic-political memberships, economic involvements, social networks and cultural identities reaching across and linking people (migrants) and institutions in two or more nation-states in diverse, multilayered patterns.

Analyzing various definitions of transnationalism, we rest on the three dimensions of transnationalism suggested by Steven Vertovec: transnationalism as a type of consciousness; transnationalism as a (re)construction of "place" and locality; and transnationalism as a social morphology. Basing on these three dimensions of transnationalism, we consider transnational migrant networks as localities positioned in transnational social fields. Thus, we view the society in the scope of social field conception, in which there is a distinction between ways of being and ways of belonging.

In this framework transnational migrant networks are being positioned in so called transnational social fields which are a powerful tool for conceptualizing the potential array of social relations within networks. It takes us beyond the direct experience of migration into domains of interaction where individuals who do not move themselves maintain social relations across borders through various form of communication.

Studying migrant networks in the context of transnational social fields newly highlights issues of identity construction and reconstruction. Transnationalism contributes to the change of the concept of home. Changed concept of home or the possible confusion about being home abroad as well as at home simultaneously, is one of the most important indications and guarantees of some specific identity formation which we have named as a transnational identity. The majority of migrants seem to maintain several identities that link them simultaneously to more than one nation. It is a common consciousness or bundle of experiences which bind many people into the social forms or networks. Its significance extends from collective international action through its influences on national governmental policy to the individual who simply asks, "Who am I?" The answer to this question can indicate various angles of one's transnational being, which comes to deal and which is simultaneously also a result of transnational lifestyle.

Finally, positioning migrants within transnational social fields makes clear that incorporation in a new state and enduring transnational attachments are not binary opposites. The challenge is to explain the variation in the way that migrants manage all transnational communications and how host country incorporation and homeland or other transnational ties mutually influence each other.

1.3 Arthur Atanesyan and Arthur Mkrtchyan, Department of Applied Sociology, Yerevan State University

Towards New Armenian Social Networks

One of the changes has been the distortion of traditional modes of cohesion which caused continued metabolism of both existing migratory circulation and local traditional networks. The mentioned change itself is determined by modern global transformation of the political, social, economic and communicative spheres.

Under the light of the current transformations in Armenia which have led to changes in social relations, communication, and value systems, the new transnational social networks have been identified, which are more flexible and have numerous qualitative configurations for continued reproduction in comparing with former migratory and local traditional networks. The contemporary Armenian migrant no longer matches what classic migration theories depict as a bipolar object. Instead, it has turned into a poly-focal actor of transnational networks: “new” network substitutes functions of “traditional” ones providing continuation of community (communities) migrants are involved in. The migrant is acting within transnational network made of “unstable” communities – unlike the communities of traditional Diaspora. Conditioned by global communication, a transnational social network is being shaped where the Armenian migrant is still part of the home community; this increases the probability and intension of short-term, periodic migration, reduces both the costs and the dangers. In result, traditional social networks are being replaced with global temporary ones. Hence it is necessity to re-assess the state of social networks in contemporary processes of Armenian migration. We also need to cast new light on the social transformations, and the changing patterns of social cohesion that impinge these processes of migration.

In order to do this, our research project addresses social changes currently taking place in the post-soviet space, with an emphasis on the Armenian social network transformations through migration processes. The goals and the objectives of this study are linked to the broader ASCN research topics on Social Change, linking together migration and Diaspora, social networks, social cohesion, and value changes.

The goal of the project is to model the process of replacement of local networks (based on traditional modes of cohesion) by global, transnational networks as a result of the disruption of social cohesion and contemporary migration processes.

The general objectives of the project are:

1. To describe the structural changes of traditional social networks in the context of inclusion of Armenia into World society;
2. To identify the causes of distortion of social cohesion;
3. To explain how distorted cohesion disrupts traditional local networks in Armenia and leads to emigration;
4. To describe the transformation of migration flows into transnational migratory circulation;
5. To identify the ways of how classic Diaspora communities are transformed.

The following outcomes are expected: 1. Development of a conceptual scheme that will describe and explain the nature of networks' transformation within the framework of migration processes and changing social cohesion; 2. Development of theoretical-methodological

bases and methodical instruments to measure the impact of distortion of cohesion on migration and transnational network construction; 3. Publication of a collective work on the topic; 4. A PhD thesis paper prepared on this topic; 5. New BA and MA programs designed in the context of sociology of migration, social cohesion and social capital, network analysis.

1.4 Annett Fleischer, European University Institute

The Role of Social Networks for Return Migration and Reintegration

Summary

This study aims to explore returnees' patterns of reintegration in the country of origin by taking into account the situation before emigration, the experience in the destination country and the return and post-return conditions. This holistic approach of studying departure, arrival and return enables to analyse the impact of the migratory experience on decision and circumstances of return and to examine patterns of economic, professional and social reintegration. This explorative study presents the results of 200 structured interviews with returnees in Armenia, out of which 146 respondents returned from the Russian Federation. It discusses the socio-demographic characteristics of returnees, drivers of reintegration and incentives for re-emigration. In doing so, it contributes to the discussion of return temporariness and practices of circular migration. In addition, this study sheds light on the role of the social networks and in particular on the importance of the family for the entire migration process including departure, arrival, return, reintegration and re-emigration.

Main findings

- The average Armenian returnee is 36 years old, married, completed a secondary education, living in Yerevan or another urban environment, has spent five years in the Russian Federation where he/she was temporary employed and sent around 1000€ per year to his/her relatives.
- While emigration decisions were strongly driven by economic factors, particularly the idea to derive a higher income than at home, reasons to return tend to be motivated mainly by family factors, including the duty to support the family and nostalgia for the home country and people. The maintenance of cross-border social networks and the connected availability of social capital (both tangible and intangible resources) have a strong bearing on migrants' social reintegration.
- In contrast to little obstacles of social reintegration, returnees were confronted with a number of economic and professional reintegration impediments, including insufficient employment opportunities and unsatisfactory salary levels.
- These economic-professional reintegration obstacles in Armenia and at the same time, more favourable conditions in the Russian Federation, could be the main reason for the large number of returnees who expressed their desire to re-emigrate.
- The example of Armenian returnees from the Russian Federation shows that it is a common practice for migrants to return on their own initiative, to remain several years together with their family in their home country and then to consider re-emigration. Thus, return is not viewed as the end of the migration cycle, but rather as an important stage between two stays abroad.

1.5 Joseph Salukvadze and David Sichinava, Tbilisi State University

Coping with Marginality and Exclusion: Can IDP Communities Successfully Integrate into Mainstream Urban Societies in Georgia?

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, citizens' alienation and marginalization became a serious problem in all post-Soviet cities, as a significant part of the population struggled to adjust to the new economic conditions. In Georgia this overall problem has been aggravated by an inflow of internally displaced people (IDP), fleeing from ethno-political conflicts and wars. In fact, IDPs have formed a distinctive group in today's Georgian urban society, which differs from the "mainstream" social groups in terms of its identity, networking, mobility, residential and place-making patterns and which may be considered as one of the most socially and spatially excluded and vulnerable strata of the Georgian population.

As a result of armed conflicts and wars in Georgia in 1990's and 2008 up to 400,000 people were displaced from their original living space. Some of them managed to return to their homes, while up to 250,000 still stay in permanent shelters. The majority (more than 200,000) of IDPs are from Abkhazia, though no exact statistics exist. IDPs either live in a private accommodation or a group shelter "officially" called collective centre.

The proposed research intends to explore social and spatial barriers for the inclusion of the IDPs groups into the "mainstream" urban societies, based on the experience of a variety of urban contexts across Georgia.

Despite several research projects implemented in the field there are several white spots especially concerning the spatial aspects of urban IDP population in Georgia. For the current project there are three main aspects which by itself involve numerous research questions:

- a) Social networks and resilience
- b) Spatial inclusion/exclusion
- c) Political power and empowerment

The first aspect covers a broad range of IDP lives. It investigates the level of involvement of formal and informal structures and their usage in coping strategies, the importance of social networks in building ties among IDPs and mainstream society.

It is evident that spatial particularities are one of the crucial determinants of exclusion/segregation of particular social groups. The research aims to investigate spatial patterns of IDP settlements, the role of housing and already implemented state policies towards internally displaced population

Political participation and media coverage can be identified as indicators of exclusion. Is governmental help genuinely attempting to solve the problems or are there signs that they are exploiting the situation? What are the key strategies necessary to ensure the integration of IDP population?

Our baseline study will be grounded on an extensive fieldwork, cartographic/map analysis, and interviews. The main target group for the study within the research project is IDPs living in the collective centres of 8 different cities with highest numbers of IDP population across

Georgia: Tbilisi, Rustavi, Gori, Kutaisi, Tskhaltubo, Batumi, Poti and Zugdidi. One of new settlements emerged after the 2008 war will also be studied, so that all major IDP areas in Georgia will be covered.

Apart from the main target groups, collectively settled IDPs, we are going to interview individually accommodated IDPs, as well as local and international non-governmental organizations working on IDP related issues, local government representatives, urban planning experts and other relevant specialists, politicians, as well as representatives of the Ministry of Refugees and Accommodation.

1.6 Lela Rekhviashvili, Central European University

Second Transition in Georgia and the Survival of Poor and Marginalized Groups: the Case of IDPs

Despite relative institutional and economic progress that Georgia achieved over the last decade, poverty and inequality remain prevalent. Street-vending among other informal economic practices has become one of the main coping tactics for the poor throughout 1990s. Since the Rose Revolution the government has been trying to eliminate these practices in the urban areas of the country. The number as well as the spread of the vendors has remarkably decreased, but still many people decide to disobey the strict and costly regulations and pursue illegal vending in the streets of Tbilisi. The presentation aims to discuss the forms and the ways that disobedience takes; the reasons of continued vending; the ways the police and the city hall controllers are being coopted and the tentative reasons of the constant failure from the side of the state to reach the aim of eliminating street vending. As De Soto claims, the way to formalize informal practices is to alter the cost benefit balance for the persons engaged in informal practices. On macro level Georgian state seems to fulfill the expectations that legalist/institutionalist thinkers would suggest for the developing country like Georgia, where the share of informal economy for last couple of years is on average around 70 % of GDP (Schneider, Buehn and Montenegro, Shadow Economies all over the World: New Estimates for 162 Countries from 1999 to 2007 2010). The micro picture uncovers the reasons why informal economy doesn't decrease on the lowest scales and informal practices remain so widespread in Georgia despite positive macro changes.

The central research question is: **How did the change of developmental trajectory since 2000s affect the coping mechanisms of poor and marginalized groups in Georgia?**

Therefore one part of the research is observing the institutional changes in Georgia over last decades. The improvement of the institutional environment is supposed to alter informal practices and forms of informal economy, therefore the coping strategies of the poor. The field work is focused on studying the response of the street vendors to efforts of formalization of economic activities by the state.

The specific question guiding the fieldwork is: **How did the changes in formal institutional structure and subversion of informal institutions, cause alteration, redirection and may be reinvention of informal economic practices and coping mechanisms in Georgian Society?**

At the conference I will present the results of one and half month long ethnographic research on the solutions, behavior and the reasons of disobedience of street vendors. Even if the law enforcers in Georgia (partuli and city hall supervisors) are no longer easy to avoid, as they are not corrupted and try to enforce the law, the costs of disobedience is high; still the cost of obeying the laws are unaffordable for the street vendors. Therefore many of them continue vending illegally, applying diverse many times creative tactics to manage vending. The policies applied to restrict vending are working in counterproductive ways, and attempt to forbid the problem instead of solving the problem.

1.7 Milena Baghdasaryan, Martin-Luther University

Entanglements of Citizenship and Nationhood in the Process of Naturalization of Refugees from Azerbaijan in Armenia

Numerous authors, including Yasemin Soysal (1997), Christian Joppke (2007) and Saskia Sassen (2008 [2002]), have argued that modern citizenship has entered a post-national phase after the World War II. For instance Soysal (1997) argues that citizenship based on national belonging is giving way to a new form of citizenship that has as its foundations the international human rights framework. However, researchers writing on post-Soviet countries have pointed out that at least in the initial years after independence in many of these countries laws on citizenship have been tightly entangled with ethnic nationhood in various ways (Brubaker 1994, Verdery 1998). As pointed out by David Laitin (1999: 294), after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the leaders of the post-Soviet states 'considered these states the organizational tool for the historical fulfillment of their titular nationalities'. Nevertheless in many post-Soviet countries laws have been adjusted to correspond to international democratic standards; for instance the entry of 'nationality' was removed from citizens' passports. Still, the question concerning how citizens associate citizenship and nationhood in post-Soviet countries has hardly been studied.

This paper addresses the question how citizenship and nationhood are connected in present-day Armenia within and beyond the legal framework. It does so by examining the process of naturalization of refugees from Azerbaijan in Armenia. The refugees from Azerbaijan had arrived to Armenia as to their national homeland, however they faced social-economic hardships there and many emigrated from Armenia. Numerous refugees became Armenian citizens while others (about 30% in my field site) preferred not to accept citizenship till they would be provided with housing by the state. At the same time officials have relied on the 'homeland' rhetoric when encouraging the refugees to naturalize. Has citizenship in Armenia been influenced by post-national developments or is it perceived in tight entanglement with nationhood and national belonging? In this paper I argue that post-national changes are taking place in Armenia, yet the refugees and the state policy strongly associate citizenship in Armenia with their national belonging.

1.8 Haykanush Chobanyan, Yerevan State University

The Socio-Political Impact of Labour Migration on Armenia

Throughout the history of Armenia as an independent state, emigration flows have always dominated the migration picture, with massive flows during the 90s and gradually decreasing flows up to nowadays. The emigration flows originating from Armenia are mainly composed of labor emigration flows, which form up to 80-90% of the total amount.

While many researches have analyzed who migrates and what causes migration there was very little study of the effects of migration on social institutions, vulnerable groups as well as on geographical distribution.

Therefore, in the research I examine the socio-political impact of labour emigration in three dimensions: on the social institution of work; vulnerable social categories in the society- women, children, and elders, poor, etc., and geographic - the differential impact of labour migration on rural vs. urban areas.

By focusing on the social institution of work, one of the main social structures that contributes to the reproduction of social inequality in the society, the paper will explore the following research question: What new venues of social inequality does labour migration create, and to what extent do these changes induced by labour emigration open new opportunities for social mobility or marginalization for traditionally vulnerable social categories, such as women, elders, etc.? The research will try to close the gap with past researches and examines to what extent structural change induced by labour emigration varies from rural to urban areas, and whether international labour migration contributes to the diffusion of social change in Armenia.

The methodology of the study is a combination of two methods: the primary source of the data used in the paper is secondary data, (i.e. official national statistics, policy documents, studies conducted by other organizations, etc.). This has been supplemented with semi-structured interviews with eight experts in the field of migration (policy makers, scholars, representatives of NGO's and international organizations).

In conclusion the research foresees to develop relevant recommendations for future policy making on labour migration, as well as for further scientific research on the topic.

Panel 2: Civil Society, Social Capital and Social Networks

Discussants/Moderators: Jonathan Wheatley and Ghia Nodia

2.1 Robyn Angley, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies Harvard University

Civil Society in Competitive Authoritarian States: NGOs and Georgia's Rose Revolution

Research Questions

- Did NGOs play a role in the Rose Revolution? If so, what role did NGOs play?
- Would the Rose Revolution have happened without these groups?
- What permitted these groups to have the influence that they did?

Methodology

- Identified the civic groups that seemed to have had the most impact on the Rose Revolution (all were Tbilisi-based NGOs)
- Conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with politicians, journalists, and analysts, as well as relying on media reports, documents from funding organizations (USAID, NDI), interviews conducted by other scholars and other secondary literature

Differences in Approach

- Acknowledged the agency and role of domestic actors
- Broadened the lens of focus away from Kmara
 - Evaluated Kmara as a product of the coordinated actions of a cadre of reformist actors, rather than as the dominant civil society player

Main Findings

- Georgian NGOs had their biggest impact *before* the election
- NGOs provided an indispensable base for the Rose Revolution in the following ways:
 - Helped import and advocate the Serbian or "electoral revolution" model (Bunce and Wolchik): Extensive election monitoring, united opposition, independent media, Peaceful protests, youth movement (Kmara), focused on the president as the target of activism
 - Mounted extensive election observation efforts: Vote monitoring, parallel vote tabulation
 - Established a political agenda for the election: 10 Steps for Freedom
 - Questioned Georgian democracy and human rights' credentials by writing shadow reports and scholarly evaluations
 - Defended the formal liberties allowed under Georgian law, including attacks on the election code, laws affecting NGO funding, and the right to assemble

Lessons Learned

- **Regime type matters:** In competitive authoritarian regimes, NGOs can extend the influence of pro-democracy groups by defending and exploiting the areas of contestation allowed under the existing government.
- **Elections are opportunities:** Civil society organizations can enhance the electoral process by conducting vote monitoring activities (similar to the PVT carried out by ISFED or the domestic election observation effort coordinated by GYLA); these endeavors help enforce government accountability by highlighting procedural irregularities, illuminating biased campaign conditions, and exposing fraud.
- **Personal relationships extend influence:** In countries with weak institutions, low rates of political participation, and a heavy reliance on kinship and patronage networks, civil society

representatives without solid political connections are less effective in fostering political change.

- **A free press augments NGO influence:** Free media give NGOs a medium through which to broadcast their message and to pressure the government to implement democratic changes.

2.2 Abel Polese, Tallinn University

Revolutions and Failed (Colour) Revolutions in the Former USSR: an Assessment of the Impact of External Factors on Civil Society in the Georgian and Armenian Cases

For more than two decades now civil society promotion has been on the agendas of international aid organizations. Starting from the assumption that a vibrant civil society is positively correlated with democratic improvements, country assistance programmes from government and international agencies have progressively concentrated on civil society as a primary agent of change. This has had two main effects. On the one hand, it undoubtedly transformed the nature of domestic civil societies and played an important role in a number of transformation processes, such as the so-called “colour” revolutions. On the other hand, the considerable resources invested in civil society promotion have received more criticism and even overt backlashes than praise. Despite the emphasised role of civil society in political change witnessed in the former USSR (and in the Middle East and North Africa more recently), civil society has often be considered a self-standing force. The vast literature on civil society and its activities, especially that generated in the aftermath of the colour revolutions, too frequently fails to explore the causal relationship between civil society and a set of other forces that are crucial to social and political change.

This paper wants to fill this gap in the literature and study the interaction between civil society and the political forces operating at different levels of a state. In this respect it aims at recharting the relationships between civil society, international donors and the state in order to explore two questions:

- 1) what are the limits of democracy promotion strategies that target civil society as the main actor in the sociopolitical transition of a country?
- 2) what are the factors that allow civil society to play a role in effective pluralisation and democratization of a country?

In order to address these questions one cannot look at civil society in isolation but must consider complex interactions between civil society and international donors as well as between civil society and the state.

Theoretically, we draw on a number of research traditions – from social capital literature to institutionalist approaches. Empirically, we will explore and compare two case studies: Georgia, where social and political change has resulted from civil society activation (even if, according to many, it has failed to meet the expectations) and Armenia, where change, at least in political structures, has been absent. The paper will look at civil society state donor relationships in different country contexts providing a variation as to the level of democracy and degree of statehood – from authoritarian regimes and so-called “fragile states” to democratic and semi-democratic countries.

2.3 Nana Sumbadze, Institute for Policy Studies, Tbilisi

Civic Participation in a Transforming Society: Motivational Forces, Social Capital and Trust

Despite 20 years of independence and claimed by the country course to democracy, indicators of democracy do not improve over time and Georgia is considered as a country with “Hybrid democracy”. Lack of participation can to a considerable degree account for such condition. The study of the motivation to join voluntary associations and benefits obtained from membership can be used for planning the measures to increase participation. The need to control and to belong are two important forces that determine a person’s behavior. The answers to the following research questions are discussed: is control motivation more salient for joining instrumental associations and motivation to belong for joining associations with expressive functioning? Is generalized trust a result of membership? How do people become members of associations, what are the reasons for joining, how satisfied are they, and what are the benefits of membership Type 1 and Type 2 associations? The control motivation was significantly higher ($M=65.23$) in members of Type 1 than in members of Type 2 associations ($M=61.31$), ($F=33.36$; $df\ 1$; $p<.001$).

Motivation to belong was measured by a scale consisting of 6 statements and rated on a 5 step scale. Dispersion analyses (ANOVA) confirmed our hypotheses. The motivation to belong was significantly higher ($M=11.28$) in members of type 2 than in members of Type 1 associations ($M=10.25$), ($F=26.38$; $df\ 1$; $p<.001$). Generalized trust has not proved to be linked with the length of membership in association.

Most often membership is the result of friend’s advice in Type 2 and offer from the organization in Type 1 associations. The most often selected reasons for joining Type 1 associations are: sharing the goals of association – 94.0%, common interests -91.3%, desire of participating in public life – 80.3%; for Type 2: sharing the goals of association – 73.6%, relaxing and gaining inner peace - 67.0%, common interests -60.1%, 90.6% of Type 1 and 88.9% of Type 2 association members are satisfied with membership.

The biggest benefits of membership for Type 1 associations are: feeling of doing useful work – 91.7%, possibility of getting new experience – 89.3%, feeling of being a member of a group with nice people -88.7% for Type 2 association: feeling of being a member of a group with nice people -82.3%, relaxation and gaining inner peace – 71.0%, possibility of sharing – 68.6%.

It can be concluded that:

- Motivation to control is leading for joining Instrumental associations.
- Motivation to belong is leading for joining associations oriented on self-expression
- Generalized trust is not a result of membership
- Membership of Type 1 associations is more based on invitation to join and in Type 2 associations on advice.
- Satisfaction of membership is high. Main benefits being in Type 1 associations more task oriented: feeling of doing useful work, getting new experience and belonging to a group and in Type 2 associations more social: belonging to a group, relaxation and sharing.

2.4 Kornely Kakachia and Tamar Pataraiia, Tbilisi State University

The Role of Social Networking in Georgian Party Politics

Good and democratic political institutions are indispensable to a sustainable democracy. Political parties are one of the central institutions of modern representative democracies and are confronted by a number of new challenges, many of which have neither been anticipated nor adequately addressed.

The paper studies the impact of modern communication technologies and social media networks on Georgian party politics and the ways how political parties can promote active involvement of ordinary voters in political process by using social networks. The aim of this research is to draw from the evidence based research the most promising and innovative practices that can be readily adapted and incorporated by political parties and their leaders into their day-to-day work.

During the intended research period the following two hypotheses will be tested: 1) there is a correlation between the well institutionalized political parties and increased intensity of activities in online social networks, using modern communication technologies; 2) the intensive use of online social networks and modern communication technologies leads to victory over rival parties.

Within the project framework, qualitative research methodology will be used and in-depth interviews conducted with policy makers, consultants in political campaigns, experts in communication technologies, bloggers and civil society leaders. Electoral campaigns of political parties that would shed light on issues raised by the project team are also monitored.

The study was conducted via active monitoring of 11 Georgian political party web-site. For this purposes a questionnaire has been elaborated according which the party web-sites and facebook/twitter pages of eleven political parties have been monitored and all necessary information compiled in an xls. file. In addition to web-site monitoring the research team conducted 60 interviews with experts of modern communication technologies, bloggers, freelance journalists and political party leaders.

On the basis of these two reports a comprehensive analysis has to be written about Georgian political parties' information policies, which will help researchers to improve their understandings about the potential role of social networking during the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections in Georgia.

2.5 Mariella Falkenhain, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin

The Politics of Co-optation: Civil Society and the 'Cooperative' State in the South Caucasus

Research problem and research question

Political authorities in non-democratic regimes can use negative and positive sanctions towards strategically important actors. While the former (e.g. hard and soft forms of repression) aim to worsen the targets' status quo, the latter rely on the selective distribution of privileges, and may be subsumed under the term co-optation. Research on authoritarian regimes has mainly focused on the co-optation of potentially powerful regime opponents, notably opposition leaders, the military or economic elites. However, neither societal elites nor civil society organisations are systematically identified as possible or actual targets of cooptation. This is surprising given that civil society may, despite limited pluralism, be of strategic importance for an autocratic regime. Civil society may for instance support opposition parties or give "voice" to marginalised groups, thus contributing to a plurality of opinions and agendas and ultimately challenging the autocratic polity. At the same time, civil society actors may also become (indirect) supporters to autocratic rule by providing relevant information from the bottom-up and thus acting as mediators between the society and the state. Under conditions of limited statehood, civil society can compensate for deficient state capacity by contributing to the achievement of public policy goals. Co-optation aimed at NGOs may thus be understood as incumbents' attempts (a) to control and channel latent or openly articulated demands and preferences, and/or (b) to capitalise on additional resources gained from this exchange, most notably in areas of limited statehood.

In changing the status quo to the seeming advantage of its targets (by offering them new rights, positions or money), co-optation can produce unintended consequences for the regime. Based on these reflections, the guiding research questions are: Under what conditions/within which settings do political leaders in the South Caucasus (attempt to) co-opt NGOs? How effective is the use of co-optation strategies towards NGOs?

Objectives

The purpose of my dissertation project is to analyse (mainly institutional) cooperation agreements between the state and civil society in the South Caucasus and uncover the mechanism of co-optation. The project aims to single out the underlying logics of this mechanism (types, target actors, resources exchanged, sequencing) and its potential to reproduce autocratic rule. Finally, the project aims to gain insight into the degree to which the effectiveness of co-optation is affected by transnational linkages.

Methodological approach

- Most similar systems design, comparative case study design;
- Limitation to three issue areas: human rights, environment, and health;
- Time period under analysis: 2000 to 2011 (includes changes in leadership and increased engagement on the part of external actors);
- Data collection through document analysis (civil society indices, NGO reports, state documents, country reports), snowball sampling and in-depth interviewing.

2.6 Aron Buzogany, German Research Institute for Public Administration Speyer

Society Organizations as Agents of Europeanization in the Southern Caucasus

Most research on the European Neighbourhood Policy focuses on the institutional design of these policies on the EU level and addresses questions related to the different economic and geo-political interests EU member states hold when bargaining about the future of EU-neighbourhood relations. Much less attention has been given to the impact of EU policies in the target countries, and if so, this has mostly addressed the (un-)willingness of governments to side with the EU (or not) on a very general level, i.e. to change geo-political orientations, introduce more democratic structures, etc.

In contrast, examining policy change triggered in Georgia and Armenia by the EU's neighbourhood policy framework, my research focuses on environmental policy as a typical "low politics" policy field. This project is on-going and based on interviews carried out in Georgia and Armenia in 2009-2010 and in Brussels in 2011. The results show that in areas of EU external action where the EU lacks resources, know-how and opportunities to get engaged, non-traditional stake-holders, such as civil society networks can get a chance to shape EU policies both in Brussels and on the ground. Analyzing the domestic empowerment of civil society in the neighbouring countries, the paper describes how Brussels-based green civil society networks and their local affiliates from the domestic environmental movement have established themselves as watchdogs of governments in the neighbourhood countries. This gives them also some, even if limited leverage to co-shape policy developments in Georgia and Armenia, but also in Brussels.

The research highlights also two main dilemmas externally funded civil society groups face in the two South Caucasus countries. First, being non-membership based organisations, the legitimacy of their activities is mostly upheld externally, which brings about problems on the domestic level. At the same time, some of these basically elitist groups have increasingly recognised this problems and started to "grow grass-roots" in order to increase their domestic legitimacy. Second, the externally funded (and legitimized) organizations face a dilemma in emancipating themselves from their external donors, which often follow policies designed for different settings and not fit well with domestic realities. However, "biting the hand that feeds" is not always an easy task due to the resource-dependence it implies. The research shows how some of the environmental organizations have developed strategies to counteract this problem by diversifying funding and becoming critical of EU external action highlighting the contradictions between different EU activities on the ground (e.g. those between economic and environmentally sustainable development). In sum, the research contributes to our understanding of domestic state-society relations in policy-making as well as the external influences on these relations, which is extremely important in designing policies meant to provide external help for domestic actors.

2.7 Akbar Valadbigi, Yerevan State University

Studying the Peculiarities of Social Capital Among the Yezidi Rural Population of Armenia and Northern Iraq

Sparkling at the heart of social capital is social trust. Simply a two-word concept, social trust has proven to be an intriguing concept, one which has captured the interest and imagination of scholars, researchers, and professionals alike. The study of social trust among ethnic minorities is especially the object of current public concern. Although much ink has been spilled by researchers to dissect the state of social trust in burgeoning democracies, direct study of this concept is lacking among Yezidi communities. In an attempt to address this imbalance, therefore, the overriding concern of this paper has been to examine the state of social trust among two geographically different communities of the Yezidis; the Yezidis of Armenia and the Yezidi community of north Iraq. Therefore, the main question addressed in this paper is how much diversity in the level of trust may exist between these two communities. Along with shedding light on this question, the paper suggests feasible procedures, that if taken, the deficit of trust in some Yezidi-populated areas may be promoted.

2.8 Marina Muskhelishvili, Centre for Social Studies

The Role of Social Capital in Rural Community Development in Georgia

This paper presents some results of the study on social capital in the Georgian rural communities (the second year). It then briefly discusses how the research results can be interpreted based on the previously formulated hypothesis.

20 villages were selected based on information obtained at the previous stages of the research. 30 respondents were interviewed in each village (total 600 respondents) using face-to-face interview method. It should be emphasized that neither the sample of villages nor the sample of respondents are representative for Georgia. The survey aims at understanding the patterns of relations.

During the first year of the research the project team found that some forms of cooperation are widespread in Georgia, others - relatively rare. Given the combination of different forms of cooperation in some areas and its absence in others, the following conceptual question has to be raised: Should social capital be understood as an intensity of cooperation? Should it be linked to the ability of community to overcome the dividing lines within social structure?

As the survey revealed, there is a phenomenon of village "cohesion" that can be described as a village's social capital. Cohesion refers to the ability of villagers to accomplish collective goals (repairing something or collecting money for village needs; reaching agreement and making a decision). Such cohesion is strongly linked to the "sense of justice" among villagers: "wealthier individuals are hardworking and able", vs. "hard work and capability are not that important attributes for wealth".

Cohesion is not just an ability to form social relations; it is also convertible in an economic gains. As data analysis shows, within the clusters of villages, community cohesion and economic condition of the village inhabitants correlate with each other in linear way. Although there are some other factors that influence this interrelation and create clusters of villages.

What are these factors? Hypothetically, we suggested that the most important difference would exist among Georgian and Azeri villages, but this hypothesis showed to be wrong. Georgian and Azeri villages in the Eastern Georgia formed one cluster and followed very similar logics, while villages from the Western Georgia, mostly, fall into two other clusters. Difference between East and west appeared to be more significant than the ethnic/religious one.

Although, all the villages are quite egalitarian and report absence of any privileged groups, there is inequality in wealth distribution within them. As data analysis shows, village inequality variable does not correlate with the village cohesion or wealth. Nonexistent correlation between social capital and equity may explain difficulties of the international NGOs that try to foster community mobilization and cooperation. As data showed, such intervention is better linked to the village equity than to the village cohesion (including the evaluation of justice).

Panel 3: Media, Discourses and Public Space

Nicolas Hayoz and Alexander Iskandaryan

3.1 Lia Tsuladze and Mamuka Andguladze, Tbilisi State University

Social Media Development Tendencies in Georgia – Power of the Real Virtual?

One of the determining factors of global transformations in the contemporary world is the shift from the industrial society to the information one – “the Information Age” as Manuel Castells calls it. The information society is a new step in the life of the mankind exposing new principles of social and technological order. The development of information technologies has pushed the development of new/social media characterized by interaction, pluralism, and mobility. Unlike in classical media, the information in social media is “controlled” by the user, not the provider that results in the development of citizen journalism. In this way, the information is relocated, which is equal to the relocation of power.

In this context the issue of “mediocracy” that is “colonization of politics by media logic” (Meyer, 2002) becomes crucial and a question rises whether nowadays the social media possess a real potential to lead politics. How do the political actors respond to this increased pressure – utilizing the means of “rationalization of persuasion... based on research on audiences and the organization of systematic campaigns” (Mayhew, 1997), as an outcome becoming more professional themselves (Negrine, 2008), or attempting to divert the citizens’ attention from the daily political issues and neutralizing their discontent via the means of “infotainment,” which is believed to be turning into the “global ideology” (Iyengar, 2011).

In addition, the boom of social media gives a new incite to the identity issues as the “here and now” audience of the traditional media moves elsewhere, namely, to social networks, which means that one can become global simultaneously retaining the local identity.

The aim of our project is to study the abovementioned trends in the social media in Georgia and to trace their future development. For this purpose, we have decided to analyse the social media based on its 4 main functions: information, entertainment, democracy, and control. Identifying the role of each of these aspects in our society enables us to trace both the current state and the future development trends of social media in Georgia.

The research is based on both qualitative and quantitative methods. To compare the social media development tendencies in a regional and international perspective, relevant sociological and judicial literature is reviewed, respective normative acts and case law are analysed, as well as qualitative and quantitative content-analysis and discourse analysis of social blogs and websites are carried out. In addition, qualitative/in-depth interviews with the media-experts and bloggers are conducted and a quantitative research to trace the development tendencies of social media among the population is conducted in the capital and other cities of Georgia with the largest number of internet users.

In the current presentation we discuss the main theoretical issues regarding the development tendencies of social media and illustrate their characteristics on the example of Georgian social media based on the content- and discourse analysis of the selected social blogs and websites, as well as some preliminary results of in-depth interviews with the media-experts and bloggers. Finally, we discuss the local media legislation and its application in practice.

3.2 Koba Turmanidze, Tbilisi State University

Opinion Formation and Dynamics in Georgia: a Look through the Blogosphere and Social Networks

Social networks have always been important media for opinion formation. Development of Internet puts social networking experience online and first time in history allows us to study the traces of the opinion formation process through social networks. As social preferences of transitional societies are being formed during the transition process, social networks are bound to be more important in these societies. Despite its importance the research on effects of social networking in Georgia is absent.

The objective of the project is to take a first look at Georgian blogosphere and social networks in order to identify key players. These are the people that occupy central position in these networks according to different criteria (e.g. blogs that are source of information, blogs that control the flow of information etc.). The other objective is to assess the limits of their power in diffusing information and influencing people's opinion on important issues.

We conducted two efforts of data collection that resulted in a rich dataset on Georgian blogosphere. It includes the data on blog's behavior and inter-linkages with other blogs in 2010 and 2011. The dataset comprises nearly all Georgian blogs active at the time of the data collection.

Using the dataset we have analyzed the structure of the Georgian blogosphere and its evolution over time. We have identified that Georgian blogosphere is comprised by the dense core and sparse periphery. This points to the fact that although core has power to self-organize quickly (due to the short social distance within the core) it has somewhat limited power to affect opinion of the bloggers that are on periphery.

In order to draw more precise predictions on the possible dynamics of the public opinion, we have utilized a simple theoretical model of persuasion. In this model numerous like-minded neighbors can persuade the decision-maker to change opinion to the one jointly held by the neighbors. Using two variants of this model we have explored the implications of Georgian blogging data.

Our analysis confirmed that influence of the core does not span much further than its boundaries. This is true about the data of 2010 as well as 2011. However, there were important changes that took place within the year that has elapsed between the two data collection efforts. In particular, our analysis reveals that during year 2011 the periphery of the bloggers managed to better self-organize. Assuming different opinions held by core and periphery, periphery in 2011 has become a worthy opponent of the core. Our model predicts that the split between the two mutually exclusive (opposing) opinions is much closer in 2011 than it was in 2010.

3.3 Nelli Babayan, Freie Universität Berlin

Media in Armenia: the Watchdog that Rarely Barks and Never Bites

The media has long been regarded as the best watchdog for government and ideally satisfies the non-partisanship requirement of civil society. It also represents the freedom of expression requirement of democracy and can act as a forum of contestation during elections at the same time ensuring the transparency of government actions through investigative reporting and exposure of any non-democratic behaviour. Though media development was not included in the initial projects on democracy promotion, since the mid-1990s it has started to acquire a stable position within democracy promotion policies of many promoters.

Armenia's media environment is diverse and abundant with different types of print and broadcast outlets. Whether these outlets have taken the advantage of the promised freedom in reporting the "truth and news" is a different issue. This paper analyses media development strategies of the EU and the USA in Armenia and the media's ability to perform its watchdog functions especially during elections cycles given the political, economic, and social constraints.

Although press freedom is guaranteed by the Constitution, the media-related law has often been shrewdly used to curtail media's capacities. By analysing the media's performance of its functions, this paper reveals not only the effectiveness of Armenia's media but also the effectiveness of media development strategies of two most influential democracy promoters. Sponsorship of media outlets by business tycoons with close ties to the authorities has added to slow if any democratic progress of Armenia and has hindered the fulfillment of the media's watchdog. Despite legal guarantees for the freedom of expression, broadcast and print outlets have often exercised self-censorship in fear of possible official retaliation as in the case of several imprisoned editors and closed TV stations. Regular economic and sometimes physical pressure on media, coupled with tighter legal control over broadcast media have even resulted in setbacks in media freedom compared to the earlier years of independence and made media's utility of performing the watchdog function low.

3.4 Yevgenya Paturyan, American University of Armenia

Not Quite Online Yet: Media Consumption Patterns of the Armenian Public

The paper uses public opinion data from “Caucasus Barometer” and “Alternative Resources in Media” surveys to map recent trends in media consumption in Armenia. It argues that despite a remarkable growth of internet penetration, online media in Armenia reaches only a small part of the population.

When asked “What is the most important source of information on current events and news for you?” an overwhelming majority of the respondents (90%) named television, followed by internet (7%), radio (2%) and newspapers (1%). Armenian TV is watched for current events and news every day by 87% of respondents.

Using a media channel to inform oneself on news and developments, and trusting the information obtained are not always the same thing. They certainly are not in Armenia. Among those who do express an opinion about given type of media, online publications are those most trusted: 63% of respondents “trust” or “trust very much” the information they receive from this source. Next in the list of most trusted sources are local TV channels, social networking sites and “neighbours, friends and relatives”. Local and national newspapers are the least trusted sources of information. Online publications are also seen as more objective and free from government and business control.

Some 30% of the respondents have used internet in the last 12 months. Most of internet users do that on a daily basis: 72% of internet users (21% of the general population) either use it once or several times a day. Internet usage varies significantly across settlement types: 43% of respondents from Yerevan report using internet, 33% in other urban areas and 13% in rural areas. Age is strongly related to internet usage: younger cohorts are more likely to use internet. What do people do online? Three most common activities are: visiting social networks, using social engines and using instant messengers.

Only one third of the Armenian population uses internet, and uses it mainly for social interaction and as a general information source. Newspapers haven’t gone online yet; they are read by 34% of the population, mostly in the old style paper form. TV remains the main and the most important source of information regarding events and news for the overwhelming majority of Armenians, although it is not trusted and does not show what people would like to see.

3.5 Alexiandr Novikau, Northern Arizona University

A Comparative Study of Public Discourse on Corruption in Armenia and Belarus

The past decade has witnessed an increase in the focus on curbing corruption in post-Soviet states, because corruption has traditionally been viewed as one of the main problems facing transition economies. Levels of corruption and state capture in most post-Soviet countries remain high even after almost two decades of transition. Despite the distinctive characteristics of the different countries, some of their shared legacy from recent Soviet past, and common features of their subsequent transformations have a bear on the degree and specifics of the corruption phenomenon.

One of the features of the post-Soviet corruption is that occurs at three levels—at the grand level of top governmental officials; at the middle level of middle state bureaucracy and top managers of state-own enterprises; and also at the petty level of municipal clerks, police officers, health practitioners, and teachers. However, in fighting corruption and stimulating public concern about this issue, different post-Soviet countries are focused on different levels. This comparative discourse analysis of mass media and academic publications on corruption from 2001–2010 provides an insight into the ways in which the corruption paradigm is constructed in post-Soviet countries.

The research analyzes academic publications, conferences agendas, media coverage and social media in how they address corruption. It focuses on a comparative discourse analysis of corruption in media and personal blogs, including how national media and the general public appraise the situation in neighboring countries.

The paper argues that the academic and media attention in Belarus focuses exclusively on the middle and petty levels, while in Armenia it also includes the grand level. Although both Armenia and Belarus participate in international anti-corruption mechanisms such as Istanbul Anti-Corruption Action Plan, Armenia as a contrast to Belarus has effective monitoring and evolution mechanisms and active civil society organization participation in fighting corruption. At the same time, the media and general public acknowledge the achievements of Belarusian authorities in fighting corruption at the petty level.

3.6 Nino Abzianidze, University of Zurich

The Media-based Mechanism of Identity Formation: Confrontational vs. Non-confrontational Identities

How do media contribute to the identity formation in the ethno-territorially divided post-conflict societies? - is the main research question of the present PhD project. As long as the stability and national unity are important preconditions for successful democratization, solution to ethnic conflicts in the countries, which encounter complex task of transforming authoritarian regimes into democratic political systems, has become an extremely challenging issue for practitioners as well as for the scholars working in the field. This study addresses particularly the ethno-territorially divided societies, i.e. unit consisting of at least two groups divided by the cleavages of ethno-territorial nature.

Much of the post-conflict literature has been relied on exploring the most appropriate institutional design for the development of peaceful relationships between the conflicting sides. Most of the authors stress the importance of ethnic political elites in designing the institutional solutions to the conflict. Despite the fact that the connection between the elite cooperation and collective identity is presupposed in the literature, especially on the power-sharing institutions, obviously, there is not a direct linkage between these two variables. Therefore, there is a need for considering a mechanism which would reveal how the institutional settings set by the ethnic political elites shape identities in the post-conflict situations. Given its ability to disseminate information through the broadest audience in the short period of time, the present study considers media as intermediate variable or more precisely as a central part of the mechanism contributing to the construction or re-construction of conflicting ethnic groups' identities. The study aims at identifying how exactly this mechanism works.

This approach reveals the heuristic model of political communication according to which the latter is understood as a system of dynamic interaction between political actors, media and public. However, it might not be very well-suited for understanding the political communication in the post-conflict ethno-territorially divided societies as it does not reflect the complexity of this setting. Namely, it does not take into consideration that the political arena in this situation comprises different ethno-territorial units with different political actors, media and publics in it. Based on this critique the present study proposes an extended model of political communication applicable particularly to the societies divided along the ethno-territorial lines. The model is planned to be tested on the case of Georgia as a post ethnic-conflict setting.

While measuring ethnic groups' identity particular focus is made on its relational content i.e. understanding of "other" in relation to "self". To make a slippery concept of identity an adequate measure, classifying it as confrontational vs. non-confrontational identity is proposed. It will be measured through the extent to which conflicting ethnic group members perceive each other as a threat, blame each other for oppression, express negative attitudes towards each other and perceive "self" superior compared to "other". What are the determining factors for identity being either type can be identified based on the empirical data.

Conducting research on several dimensions such as ethnic elites' relationship, type of media coverage and type of ethnic groups' identity implies applying diverse methods, content analysis of media reporting being central to it. For measuring whether the type of media coverage (conflict-oriented vs. non-conflict oriented) coincide with the type of identity (confrontational vs. non-confrontational) conducting a survey and using the data of existing survey is planned.

3.7 Arshak Balayan, Harvard University / Yerevan State University

Power Shifts in Contemporary Armenian Society

This report aims at presenting power shifts that have taken place in Armenia since its independence in 1991. Social, political, economic and technological transformations in Armenia that occurred during the last two decades were accompanied by power transitions from the State to the society. In addition to this power transitions the nature of power relations has changed and at present agenda setting and social preference manufacturing are what political agents struggle for.

The main hypotheses of this paper is that coercive power exercised by the government and attempted by political parties has gradually metamorphosed into softer forms of exercising power for controlling social behavior.

To assess this hypothesis the nature and types of social power are analyzed, a brief excursion to modern social history is made, analysis of actions by the State, government and other substantial political agents is done and current stage of struggle for public discourse agenda setting and preference manufacturing is outlined.

The report benefits from a selective comparative analysis of print media published during the considered period.

3.8 Oleksandr Svyetlov, Heinrich Heine University

The Role of Opportunity Structure and Media in Framing the Rose Revolution

It is submitted that most indispensable requirements for “colour revolutions” are a weak and unpopular state incumbent, a credible opposition, civil society, divided elite and security forces sympathetic with the opposition. I would also like to underline more components: independent media able to inform and mobilize against the old regime and cognitive mechanism of interpretation by the masses, rendering mass support. As noted by McFaul, autonomous media remained vital in triggering change despite the incumbents’ last-ditch efforts to hang on to power. Indeed, the regime in Tbilisi was a mix of partially democratic institutions with autocratic practices, whereby security forces were reluctant to clamp down on opposition, which had access to Rustavi-2 TV as alternative media.

In my paper I will test the extent and degree of applicability of these factors’ impact upon the processes and outcomes of the “Rose Revolution” and propose to draw more of current discipline’s attention to the role of ideational factors, disseminated, e.g. by third parties like Kmara. Parallels will be drawn to Ukraine’s PORA, e.g. the “structure of opportunity approach”, in my view, needs amendment as the opportunities are not always self-evident and obvious to mass protestors, and as such, this approach alone cannot explain the outcomes of successful or failed revolutions. Thus framing or “stories” acquire new importance for the protest actors, who understand themselves as engaged in the production of meaning of their real actions and anticipated results in relation to their opponents. In the context of revolutionary changes’ agency and structure, it’s been noted, that people’s dissatisfaction must be translated into socio-political action. Thus the process of grievance interpretation becomes more important for actual protest behavior than the “objective” origin of dissatisfaction.

Panel 4: State Power, Governance and Democracy

Roy Allison and David Aprasidze

4.1 Bidzina Lebanidze, Freie Universität Berlin

Why is there no Liberal Democracy in the Post-Soviet World? External Influences and the Failure of Democratic Consolidation in Post-Soviet States

1. Problem Statement

The post-Soviet states face a unique form of post-socialist transition that differs greatly from the course of transition made by the Central and East European States and also by the Western Balkan states in the last decade. One of the clearest benchmarks of this uniqueness has been the ongoing failure of democratization processes. According to the Freedom House Index, whereas by the end of the 1990s the six Western post-Soviet states posted better than average scores in democratic development than the Western Balkan states, in the subsequent years the democracy scores for the post-Soviet states has been permanently declining. Thus, the important question is why the post-Soviet countries make it so hard with the democratization processes.

2. Research Objective

The aim of the paper is to explore to what extent the international environment accounts for the failure of the democratic consolidation of the post-Soviet states, which manifests itself through the strengthening and consolidation of hybrid and semi-authoritarian regimes throughout the entire region.

3. Research Question

To what extent does the international environment contribute to the consolidation of hybrid and semi-authoritarian structures in the post-Soviet states?

4. Case Selection

The study is comparative in design and applies a “most similar systems design”. It is confined to four post-Soviet states: Armenia, Belarus, Georgia and Ukraine.

5. Theoretical considerations

Rational Choice Institutionalism	→	<i>rational “external incentives model”</i>
Sociological institutionalism	→	<i>“logic of appropriateness”, “authoritarian diffusion”</i>

6. Research Hypothesis

Overall, throughout the post-Soviet space, two external obstacles for democratization can be observed: Russian attempts to isolate the post-Soviet states from Western influence and the unwillingness of the EU to push for democratic reforms through democratic conditionality and attractive incentives, which leave the post-Soviet states both democratic and authoritarian without an external push for (further) democratization. These two tendencies affect the democratization processes in the NIS in two ways: as a negative impact on the cost-benefit calculations of incumbent political regimes for a democratic opening and by fostering the diffusion of authoritarian norms throughout the region. Thus, if the current modus operandi of the two main external actors remains relevant, the prospects for democratic development of the region will seem rather bleak.

4.2 Nozima Akhrarkhodjaeva, University of Bremen

Change and Stability in Hybrid Regimes (with a Focus on Post-Soviet Eurasia)

The end of the Cold War marked the end of many authoritarian regimes across the world. However, rather than full democratization, the introduction of multi-party elections in many previously non-competitive regimes has led to the proliferation of a variety of hybrid regimes that combine significant elements of both democratic competition and authoritarian rule. New concepts were invented to examine these new types of regimes, most prominent of them being “competitive authoritarianism”, “semi-authoritarianism”, and “defective democracy”.

In more recent scholarship, interest in hybrid regimes has been reinvigorated by a chain of electoral protests across post-communist countries during 2003-2008 that resulted in power transfers in Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004) and Kyrgyzstan (2005).

Much of the current studies addressed the question of change and stability in hybrid regimes by looking at the role of elections in bringing about change in these types of regimes. Although the electoral focus of the existing literature has improved our understanding of the questions of change and continuity among hybrid regimes, some important questions still remain to be answered. What factors make electoral authoritarian regimes more/less vulnerable to electoral change? What explains change and continuity in post-Soviet hybrid regimes? Or, to put it differently, why some electoral authoritarian regimes are stable (like Russia) while others are not (like Georgia or Ukraine)?

The main goal of this work is to explore the electoral dynamics of hybrid regimes in the post-Soviet region focusing on media and its role in electoral change and continuity. I aim to find what are the effects of media on electoral change and continuity? How and to what extent independent media does contribute to electoral change? And what types of media manipulation strategies are used by the ruling elite to ensure electoral stability? My main hypothesis is that independent media increases chances of electoral change in hybrid regimes.

The goal of this research is two-fold. First is to analyze the effects of independent media on political outcomes. And the second is to identify different strategies practiced by the ruling elite to ensure regime stability via manipulation of media. To identify the role of independent media comparative case study method will be used and interviews will be conducted. I analyze elections which can be counted as focal points in regime dynamics. Those are elections in Georgia 2003, Ukraine 2004, Russia 2008, and Russia 2012.

To identify strategies the ruling elite uses to manipulate media, several methods will be employed:

- Media statistics will be used to elucidate the question of news circulation, and freedom of the press.
- Legal analysis will be employed to analyse legislations that hinder freedom of press.
- Opinion polls will be used to find out if biased media coverage has an effect on incumbent's legitimacy.
- Content analysis method will be used to figure the ways media distorts and skews coverage of political affairs.

4.3 Taline Papazian, Sciences-po Paris

Acts of Birth of the Post-Soviet South-Caucasus Republics: a Comparison of Founding Texts in Georgia, Armenia & Azerbaijan

My PhD was devoted to the study of the impact of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict on state-building in Armenia from 1988 to 2008. I gave evidence that the conflict situation has got specific dynamics over state-building by identifying 3 domains of statehood that were put at the forefront of political investment and investigating the effects of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict for all 3: first, the ideology of the national movement of the late Soviet era eventually leading to independence and war with Azerbaijan over the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh region (1988-1991); second, the building of the army before, during and after the open phase of hostilities (1991-1994); and third, the politico-legal institutions of the Republic and the trajectories of key political leaders.

The present research project bases itself on an extrapolation of this latter aspect. In my dissertation, I studied in great length the politico-legal acts adopted in Armenia, starting with the Declaration on independence of 1990 up to the Constitution of 1995. It appears that among a number of variables impacting the representations and the building of prime state structures, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict holds a major place, either as a direct input or as an indirect element reshaping other variables. Based on these observations, the new research project is considering whether the conflict variable is equally important in Armenia's two South-Caucasus neighbor's cases. Considering indeed that these 3 countries lived the last years or months of the Soviet Union in situations of escalating ethno-territorial tensions; that they subsequently all experienced armed conflicts in the immediate aftermath of the Soviet Union dismantlement; and that the stakes of these conflicts were –and still are– political and territorial determination of the new states, the issue of possibly generalizing the observations made for Armenia to Azerbaijan and Georgia is a significant one.

The texts considered as political and legal referents telling us about representations of statehood. Therefore they are an important starting point in order to understand how national elites (re)tell their political history. For the present intervention, I have selected one type of politico-legal acts for all 3 countries, which is the respective declaration of independence. As political proclamations of a new identity paving the way for later Constitutions, I regard them as acts of birth of the new Republics, allowing to capture a purely political picture of the representations of statehood. In contrast, Constitutions are supposed to be legally exhaustive and to fill in the blanks left by regime change and the new independences, in other words to formally enter the « normalized » era of the new political order.

The present intervention will demonstrate that in spite of their looking alike, these texts are very different. Examining the Soviet contexts of their adoption outlines these differences. I will also take into consideration the historical depth of these texts, namely their « national » forerunners: the acts of independence of 1918 for the 3 states, which are explicitly called on. Re-reading of the history of the state is of importance to understand some of the current representations of the state and nation in the 3 cases.

4.4 David Siroky, Arizona State University

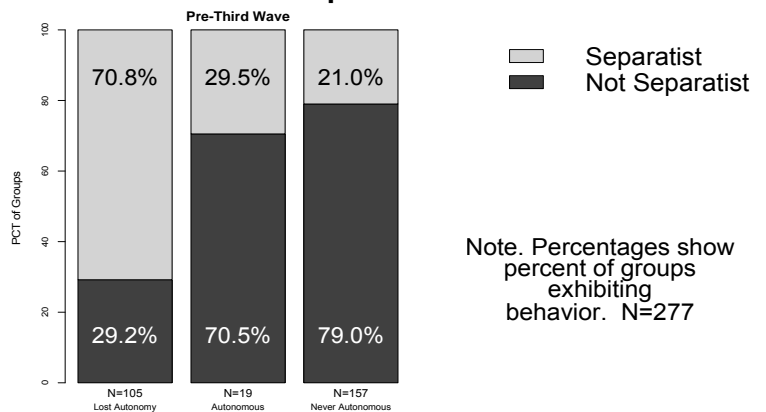
International Dimensions of Secessionist Insurgency: Sub-National Evidence from Georgia

Abstract: Case study evidence suggests both that ethnic groups with autonomous institutional arrangements are more prone to engage in secessionist conflict, while other studies suggests that autonomy dampens the demand for more direct rule and thus is associated with less secessionist conflict. Quantitative investigations of the effect of autonomy on separatism have found little support for a clear empirical link between autonomy and conflict. We argue that this discrepancy stems in part from conflating two distinct situations in the implicit reference category—non-autonomy. The lack of autonomy is too heterogeneous to serve as a useful baseline for evaluating the effect of autonomy, since it contains both groups that have never had autonomy and groups that had autonomy, but lost it. We hypothesize that, while groups that were never autonomous may be unlikely to mobilize due to a lack of collective action capacity, and currently autonomous groups may possess the capacity, but lack the desire; groups that have lost autonomy retain both powerful incentives because of loss aversion and the capability to strive for secession. Using a new data set of 347 ethnically distinct groups in 103 states between 1960 and 2003, we provide strong evidence that autonomous groups are the most likely to secede, while currently autonomous are significantly less so, and never-autonomous groups are the least likely to secede. These findings remain robust even when controlling for other confounding factors such as political exclusion, regime type, access to natural resources, regional fixed effects and gdp per capita.

Theoretical Expectations

	Low Capacity	High Capacity
Weak Motives	Never autonomous, included groups	Currently autonomous groups
Strong Motives	Never autonomous, excluded groups	Historically autonomous groups

Empirical Results



4.5 Hamazasp Danielyan and Armen Grigoryan, Areg Scientific Cultural Youth Association

Patterns of Political Elite Formation in Post-Soviet Armenia

Methodology and data collection

Taking into the account certain limitations institutional or positional approach was adopted to identify political elite members. According to this strategy people holding elected and appointed into politically significant positions both on the national and local level were selected as representatives of the political elite in Armenia.

The research has been designed to utilize both qualitative and quantitative methods. The project includes three main components of collecting data. More specifically following activities had been carried out:

- representative targeted survey implemented via standardized face-to-face interviews with 700 representatives of the elite,
- collection of biographical data of over 1000 past and current officials
- in-depth interviews with 65 representatives of political elite in Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh.

The team is determined to make these rich data available to the research community.

Expected results and preliminary findings

During the conference the research team will present only some of preliminary findings of the research concentrating on two main topics:

- values and beliefs as well as political orientations of younger generation of political elite and comparison with the rest of population,
- Statistical analysis of Armenian MPs: main trends for the last two decades, including the issue of gender representation and the effects of proportional and majoritarian electoral systems on composition of the parliament.

4.6 Tetiana Kostyuchenko, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine

Political Elites in Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine: the Role of Social Capital for Continuity and Circulation

The impact of political regime change on social transformations was explored and described by various authors. Special attention was focused on elites and agents of social changes and reforms. However, it is still a gap in understanding what relational structures power circles form, in other words – what are those networks that make policy and develop legislation in the country. This question becomes even more important when the society experienced the phenomenon of “blat” as informal trust and exchange of obligations based on interpersonal connections. Thus, this informality might still play crucial role in all spheres of life, including politics, disabling elite circulation and recruitment to occur.

The paper seeks to analyze the role of ties that bind members of political elites together in three post-Soviet countries – Armenia, Georgia, and Ukraine. Two of these countries experienced non-violent ‘revolutions’ in power circles during last decade.

Thus, the research tasks of this study were the following:

- i. to define clusters of in-country networks in order to assess the scope of fragmentation of national elites;
- ii. to explore the connections between political actors within and between three countries;
- iii. to identify beneficial network positions of individual actors and cliques in order to evaluate opportunities and constraints for policy-making.

In order to assess the impact of network capital in elite continuity in the three aforementioned states, the composition of legislative and executive elites during the last 20 years was analyzed. Secondly, network datasets were compiled containing individuals and their affiliations detecting common biographical experiences among the elite members. Finally, the most ‘surviving groups’ were compared, revealing the role of connectedness of elite groups in their ability to survive and stay or return to power during regime changes.

4.7 Hrant Kostanyan, Ghent University

Wide-Ranging and Gradual Yet Unassertive: The Substance of EU Democracy Promotion in Armenia & Georgia

The presentation examines the substance of the EU democracy promotion in the official documents and in practice within Armenia and Georgia. Starting from liberal democratic model, this presentation specifically takes an in-depth look at EU's efforts to promote the core elements of democracy proper such as electoral process, respect for political and civil rights, horizontal accountability and effective power to govern as well as the external conditions including state administrative capacity, civil society and socio-economic development.

The applied methodology is primarily comparative. This presentation draw on a triangulation of the data collected from multiple sources: 1) document analysis, 2) independent reports, 3) journalistic articles, 4) secondary academic and policy-oriented literature complemented by 5) off the record interviews with a number of policy makers.

Structured primarily through the frameworks of the European Neighbourhood Policy, the Black Sea Synergy and the Eastern Partnership, the EU's policies towards Armenia and Georgia are far-reaching and tackle a whole host of sectors and issue areas. To a varying degree, the EU addresses most of the elements of the democracy proper and the external conditions. As a result of the EU's engagement in the selected countries of the Southern Caucasus a number of important reforms have already taken place and others are in progress.

These reforms, inter alia encourage democratisation of both Armenia and Georgia through balancing between incentives and conditions. However, as opposed to the promise of differentiation engraved in the official documents, the EU has been reluctant to implement strict conditionality measures in cases where Armenian or Georgian authorities merely pay lip service to the EU rather than genuinely engaging in implementation of jointly agreed reforms. The EU has given priority to stability over democracy promotion in Armenia and Georgia pursuing the approach of gradual transformation of these partner countries towards democratic states through continuous implementation of wide-ranging reforms.

Through testing power-based, institutionalist and domestic structure hypotheses, this study concludes that the latter accounts for the variation in substance of EU's promoted democracy between Armenia and Georgia.

4.8 Elene Jibladze, Central European University

Politics and Policies of Higher Education Reform in Georgia

My research calls into question a widespread enthusiasm towards and positive assessments (Crosier et al 2007¹) of the post-2003 reforms of higher education in Georgia. The research problematizes available assessments of the HE reform and seeks to identify factors that foster or hinder the educational reform processes in the context of this transitioning country.

Based on the empirical study of two policy areas, Quality Assurance and University Autonomy, I suggest that the higher education reforms (2004-2010) have been suffering from the abstract policy goals and lack of involvement of key actors in the policy implementation process. In this presentation I argue that these outcomes have been determined by the particular character of education reforms. Namely, the core goal of the new government to remake Georgian society along modern/democratic/liberal lines was exclusively the task of government elite, for the weak and backward Georgian society could not contribute to the system building. Therefore, the civil society, or a society at large was imagined to be a product of, but not a source of the reforms. This belief was coupled with the idea that the country was in need of urgent changes. Because of time-constraints the policy goals were never thoroughly communicated to the universities and remained abstract.

W.J. Mayer labeled Georgian educational reform as “centralized decentralization” (J. Meyer 2007²) emphasizing the role of governmental elite that centrally imposed the concepts of democratic rule within the university structures. The presentation provides a comprehensive picture of these centrally managed reforms.

¹ David Crosier, Lewis Purser and Hanne Smidt. Trend V: Universities shaping the European Higher Education Area. EUA, 2007.

² Meyer, John. Centralized Decentralization in Georgia Education. GEDA, 2006.

Panel 5: National Identity, Minorities, Religious and Cultural Capital Timothy Blauvelt and Alexander Agadjanian

5.1 Tatia Mebagishvili, Ilia State University

The Role of the Orthodox Church in the Formation of Georgian National Identity

The research raises the question of the role of the Orthodox Church in contemporary processes of collective identity construction in Georgia. The Georgian society is currently in a transition process where the Soviet values, norms and system of relationships are being devaluated whereas new ones have not yet been established. We assume that the Orthodox Church has been strengthening its influence on society and contributing much to the construction of national identity since Georgia regained independence in 1991. In our paper, we retrace the evolution of the Orthodox Church and show how its role has changed from being a state-controlled and (at best) tolerated institution in the Soviet Union to an independent and influential institution, attempting to impose a hegemonic definition of Georgian national identity today. We argue that in this process, the content and practical meaning of Christianity have been redefined so as to accommodate leading interests and that its ideology is likely to replace the Marxist-Leninist one. Our study builds on the existing literature and an extensive body of both primary and secondary data: archival research, an analysis of the press and ecclesiastic publications, the World Values Survey and CRRC Household Surveys. Apart from these, we include in-depth interviews and several case studies. Beyond the Georgian case, our paper tackles the issue of the future of democracy and of religion-based nationalism in the South Caucasus.

Hypothesis

Today, the Orthodox Church of Georgia plays a major role in the construction of the national identity, as its influence over Georgian society has been gradually growing since 1991.

Research Questions

- How does the Georgian Orthodox Church operate to keep or grow its influence on people's perception of national identity?
- What is the ideology that the church and the government, willingly or not, coordinately spread?

Results

The period the research team focused on the years 1989-2011. Our findings are derived from the content analysis of public press, in-depth interviews (with the two target groups – clerics from the capital and various regions of Georgia, as well as politicians), and case studies of pre-election campaigns and orthodox movements. According to the results we got from these methods, our hypothesis seems to be proven right overall. Today the GOC holds an unprecedented strength, not an equal position with other institutions. Even a superficial observation suffices to see that in terms of holding both - the truth and power – it is the closest institution to hegemony, if not hegemonic. Obviously, this fact was also encouraged by the Georgian state which, by signing the Concordat, does not defend ideological neutrality and cannot guarantee the freedom of conscience of its citizens. As a result, the GOC can and actually does provide content for Georgian national identity: it is a collective confined to

ethnical (“Georgian”) and religious (orthodox Christian) sign. Citizenship does not count. This type of nationalism rose as an adversary for civic nationalism, the ideology of which is provided by the liberal state. Today the Georgian people stands at a crossroad: in its self-definition process, it has to make a choice between two roads – religious nationalism (a 20th-21st century product in Georgia) or civic nationalism (which has its roots in the 19th century).

In this presentation, we will address the similarities between the various newspapers and periodicals with regards to issues such as religion, the authority of the Patriarch, the perception of the West and western values as opposed to ‘Georgian identity’, minority issues, etc. Another topic that will be touched upon in are the preliminary findings the research team obtained from the in-depth interviews with the project target groups – clerics from the capital and various regions of Georgia, as well as politicians. Interviewed were 25 clerics (from both the capital and the regions) and politicians representing 9 political parties. The questionnaire comprised over 30 questions designed to explore the respondent’s views on issues such as Georgia and Eastern Orthodoxy, state and religion, the authority of the Patriarch, approach to other and minority confessions, as well as the contemporary world. The interviews showed the dominant political ideologies in the country and offered a possibility to group political parties accordingly. Among the issues that uncovered clear ideological differences between the political parties are the restoration of the monarchy in Georgia and the legal status of the Georgian Orthodox Church. Interviewers used similar questionnaires when conducting in-depth interviews with the clergy. The interviews resulted in a number of interesting findings.

5.2 Eva Fuchslocher, Humboldt-University Berlin

The Influence of the Georgian Orthodox Church on the Georgian National Identity

The Georgian national identity is a religious-national identity, which was formed during the long centuries of foreign rule and occupation, detached by short phases of national independence. Due to this historical experience, the Georgian Orthodox Church (GOC) became the guardian of the Georgian nation. From early on the idea developed that a Georgian had to be a Georgian Christian. This assumption is also widespread today and creates difficulties for the religious minorities in Georgia. My talk will demonstrate how this religious-national identity on the basis of homeland, language and faith is influential in present-day Georgia. I will also discuss how so-called threats against the nation are used against (religious) minorities.

Although Georgia is a multi-ethnic state with several spoken languages and religions, the GOC is de facto the state church. It has privileges and decisive influence on Georgia's national identity and its political and public life. Especially since the independence from the Soviet Union in the 1990ies the GOC has become very popular. Today, the GOC with its old and new churches and monasteries is almost everywhere visible in the country. Georgia without its church is unthinkable.

In a short historical introduction, I explain the linkage of the GOC and orthodox Christianity with the Georgian nation. I will also briefly discuss the theoretical framework of my research. After these preliminaries, I will focus on the adoption of the new law on religious minorities in summer 2011 that is seen by the GOC and opposition parties as a threat for the entire nation. Equipped with that influential argument and big demonstrations on their side, only a symbolic law could be achieved by the Saakashvili-administration. This example describes a power-struggle about different interests and questions of national-belonging; and about the question whether other religious groups but the GOC should be officially recognized as religious organizations and therefore as part of the Georgian nation, or not. A second example will show how the GOC uses its influential position to define what a "healthy" Georgian nation should be. I will illustrate how the GOC and other Christian groups in Georgia deal with homosexuals. This example concerns questions of national-belonging from a moral point of view, but also questions of gender.

5.3 Iago Kachkachishvili and Giorgi Nizharadze, Tbilisi State University

Labor Culture and Religious Discourse in Different Communities of Georgia

The aim of the project is to find out interrelation between religious values, work ethics and economic behavior of Orthodox and non-Orthodox (in particular Catholic and Protestant) Christians, as well as Muslims.

The project is being implemented through conducting qualitative sociological research in rural and urban communities of Georgia. The methodological framework of this sociological research is case studies which imply the combined use of the following specific methods: content-analysis, expert interviews, focus groups and in-depth interviews.

Preliminary research results: From the material obtained on the basis of expert interviews and content analysis, the following has become evident:

- In Catholic and Orthodox traditions one of the deadly sins – apraxia (inactiveness) is interpreted in different ways: Catholic Church identifies it with idleness, while in the Orthodox Church it is associated with despair. Consequently, in Orthodox churches, including the Georgian Orthodox Church, idleness is not considered to be a sin, at least a cardinal sin.
- In Georgian Church traditions labor is not viewed as an independent value (good deeds). It is understood as the means of ensuring physical existence and the aim of physical existence is spiritual perfection. Besides, in “Biblical” terms, labor is comprehended as farming or craftsmanship.
- According to one of the respondents, an Orthodox theologian, Orthodox Church life is overloaded with festivities, the mass lasts long hours, during which the congregation has to stand (unlike Catholic rules); the parish gets exhausted and has no time for productive work.
- Another respondent, the former Orthodox clergyman notes that Orthodoxy is oriented at the word rather than the act; the act is understood in the first place as spiritual work (Georgian traditional feast serves the above reason where the expression of verbal loyalty towards values (when toasting) is practically identified with the fulfillment of social duties).
- Experts of Orthodox religion note that the Georgian Orthodox Church (similar to the Armenian Apostolic Church but unlike Catholic and Russian Orthodox Church) has no elaborated social policy; No document exists containing the church position about on-going processes in the changing world. One of the results of the above is that the subjective factor acquires great importance in the relationships of the Church and congregation, particularly the priest’s individual views and qualities.
- The analysis of the material that has been obtained so far enables us to say that the churches that have long existed in Georgia are undergoing certain enculturation, i.e. “acquiring Georgian characteristics”; namely we can notice the trend of shifting a focus from “act” to “word”. This especially concerns the Georgian Baptist Church (which, by the way is not recognized by Baptist groups living in west Georgia).
- In the so called “New Churches” we get a different picture. For instance, in the interview with the representatives of Jehovah’s Witnesses, the labor is described as a religious value. “For a pious person, religious service is important, however, it is unacceptable when a person resorts to self-justification saying that s/he cannot work because of being engaged in a religious service”.

5.4 Milena Oganessian, University of Montana

Imperfect Peace? Intermarriage and Ethnicity in the Republic of Georgia

Located between the Black and the Caspian Seas, for centuries the Caucasus has been one of the most ethnically diverse and culturally rich regions of the world. Of the three South Caucasian states of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia, the latter has the most diverse ethnic and religious population. The main thesis of this dissertation research is that inter-ethnic marriage is a significant indicator for understanding the prospects for peace and stability, albeit sometimes flawed, in a strife-torn region such as the Caucasus, specifically, the Republic of Georgia. The dissertation research focuses on the anthropological understanding of the concept of ethnicity, the rigidity of ethnic boundaries (Barth 1969), and inter-ethnic tensions through attitudes about inter-ethnic marriage across three communities (Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis) in Georgia during and after the Soviet Union.

Inter-ethnic marriage represents an important indicator of social and cultural relations, integration processes, and a group's status within the larger social fabric. Mixed marriages are assumed to reduce violent conflict between groups of people. Thus, according to this assumption, inter-ethnic marriage is less likely to occur when there are rigid sociocultural boundaries between groups of people. Based on the annual nationwide survey conducted by the Caucasus Research Resource Centers (CRRRC), people in Georgia are selective about whom they approve women of their ethnicity marrying (Caucasus Barometer 2010).

In this regard, a number of questions arise. How have ethnic boundaries between groups of people in Georgia changed after the demise of the Soviet Union? What structural, historical, and other factors have influenced such divisions along ethnic lines? What are some of the implications of the persistence of ethnic boundaries for civic nationalism in multi-ethnic societies and inter-ethnic relations in the South Caucasus region?

The proposed dissertation research aims at providing anthropological understanding of ethnic boundaries and social distance in Georgia by employing a mixed method approach which involves analyzing quantitative data and documenting personal accounts about ethnic intermarriage during and after the Soviet Union. The fieldwork will be based on multi-sited ethnography and urban anthropology in the capital of Tbilisi and rural areas, the Kvemo Kartli and in the Samtskhe-Javakheti regions. Participant observation, structured and semi-structured interviews with experts and key informants, as well as focus group discussions will help reveal some of the factors that affect people's decisions to marry or not to marry outside of their ethnic group and provide a better understanding of inter-ethnic relations in Georgia.

5.5 Nino Aivazishvili, Martin-Luther-University

Ingiloyes and Public Ceremonies in Azerbaijan

This presentation describes a particular public memorial ceremony in Azerbaijan, the sixth anniversary of Heydar Aliyev's death. The term 'memorial ceremony' I understand in Paul Connerton's sense and usage, as a certain "form of symbolic representation" (Connerton 1999: 53). I borrow this concept for my analysis to show how public ceremonies in Azerbaijan (like everywhere in the world) can be considered to be a powerful tool for government to send the 'main messages' to the citizens. Through this 'main messages', citizens on the one hand identify, or interpret the general ideas of citizenship, on the other hand, they are informed about notions concerning their own citizenship, with an emphasis on obligations for the society in Azerbaijan. Moreover, through such ceremonies the nature of the current political regime, as well as the positioning of various actors, such as government- citizens, elite - ordinary citizens and those political and ethnic relations can be reflected.

The emphasis in my analysis is on the concept of interaction, such as the interests and negotiations between different actors at different levels. My example would include village administration - villagers, village administration - district administration, and state-citizen relations. For this, I consider the roles of the participants of the ceremony closer asking the following questions: Which roles are performed by different actors, in this case by the participants of a ceremony? And which attitudes arise through this performance? In my example I arrange the participants of ceremony into two categories: 'simple people', and 'local elite.' These are described in more detail below and their connections to each other and to the state are depicted.

5.6 Arus Harutyunyan, Western Michigan University

Imagining National Identity through Territorial Politics: War in Nagorny Karabagh, Elites and Citizens

Using the case of Nagorny Karabagh, the research question of this paper raises two intertwined theoretical questions. First, it asks whether there can be contesting national identities in an ethnically homogeneous state. To explore this question, I employ an extensive qualitative analysis of key texts pertaining to the identity issue of Karabagh since 1988 and a quantitative content analysis of elected parties' and presidents' policy positions on this issue from 1993 through 2006. Here, my main contention is that the crisis created around Karabagh revealed contesting ways of imagining political boundaries of the Armenian state. Strikingly different discourses and policies on this issue by liberal nationalists and ethno-nationalists must be understood as profoundly contrasting portrayals of Armenian national identity. Therefore, ultimately I argue that the object of contestation has been the national identity itself since clashing visions have been about contesting ways of dealing with a classical element of national identity: territory.

The case of Karabagh challenges a large body of nationalism studies, where according to the dominant assumption the shared ethno-religious, linguistic and cultural attributes of a homogeneous community so powerfully unite its members that no politically significant internal disagreements could arise. Yet, I contend, that since national identity is primarily a political phenomenon, ethno-cultural homogeneity alone cannot guarantee a harmonious flow of visions and worldviews in a bounded political community. Moreover, identity contestation among co-ethnics may take as chronic a form as among diverse ethnic groups, and may be as consequential for developmental and liberal democratic projects in ethnically homogeneous states as it may be in ethnically heterogeneous ones.

Persistent identity contestation in ethnically homogeneous Armenia also challenges the post-Soviet literature. In this literature, Armenia remains classified as having a single and institutionalized ethnic type of identity inherited from its Soviet past. However, my findings demonstrate that generalizations based on a "common Soviet legacy" hypothesis are misleading since they overlook significant differences existing within post-Soviet states.

Second, my paper explores whether identity contestation in an ethnically homogeneous state affects Armenian citizens' political trust, perceptions of social justice, and democratic attitudes. To explore this question, I conducted a nation-wide public opinion survey in 2006. Analyses reveal that the public's and political elites' perceptions of Karabagh issue are marked by sharp discrepancies. My findings also suggest that studies explaining these variables should consider not only national identity but also whether that identity is shared by the members of a political community. Moreover, consistent with the scholars of liberal nationalism, the study concludes that before celebrating the instrumental value and the ethical significance of a common national identity for political trust, democratic attitudes, and social justice, we ought to make sure that it is based on values that promote thin liberal nationalist conceptions of national self-image, without compromising liberal principles.

5.7 Lela Chakhaia and Natia Andghuladze, Ilia State University

Identities, Cultural Capital and Educational Choice of Georgian Youth – an Ethnographic Study

The goal of the research is to study the factors that affect educational choices of young people in Georgia and how exactly these factors work. The questions posed during the research are: how is one's social and cultural background associated with one's educational attainment and related choices? How do institutional factors affect educational choices? How are differences in cultural and social background reflected in formal schooling practices?

The methodology chosen to investigate the issue is ethnography – regular observation of young people enrolled in the final stage of lower secondary and upper secondary education in their everyday environment. Participant observations and interviews are major tools used during the research process. The study is designed to consist of four observations throughout two years.

24 participants have been recruited for the study from four different localities throughout the country. The four localities differ from each other by economic and social status, education level, religious, ethnic composition, location etc. Within localities participants have been recruited to ensure maximum variations in the backgrounds and educational outcomes of participants.

The first round of observations is completed and the second round is underway. The research team has identified the following major themes and trends through the preliminary analysis of the data:

- Social pressure. Absence or presence of social pressure is a significant factor contributing to making an educational choice. Certain decisions are taken for granted.
- Economic considerations. In three out of the four locations (except Vake-Saburtalo) economic considerations are very important in making a choice – particularly that of dropping out after lower secondary education. This is somewhat stronger among young people than their parents.
- Value of education. Lower practical value attached to educational outcome by younger people from more disadvantaged families might be an indicator for growing inequality in attainment.
- Language barrier. For non-Georgian-speakers lack of Georgian language skills remains one of the main factors for not being able to move to tertiary education.
- Religious affiliation. In Khulo, where religious sentiments are strong, education is used by religious leaders both among Muslims and Christians as a tool for spreading religious influence.
- Examinations. Introduction of school certification examinations has presumably caused drastic increase in upper secondary drop-outs and the rates can be expected to increase further.

5.8 Tamar Khoshtaria, Tbilisi State University

Social, Cultural and Political Values of Young People in Georgia

The research project (PhD thesis) focuses on youth in Georgia and explores their social, cultural and political values. Within the project, youth is identified as young people aged 18 to 27. These are citizens born between 1985 and 1994 who went to school after the collapse of the Soviet Union. They grew up in a country which was going through social and political change. The goal of the planned project is to study their social perceptions, cultural values and political attitudes, while this transformation in the country is still ongoing.

Methodology:

The research methodology consists of qualitative and as well as quantitative methods. The appliance of both techniques gives the opportunity to study the subject from various sides and have statistical data, as well as in-depth analysis.

Qualitative component:

During the first year of the project, 16 focus groups will be conducted in 4 cities with young people living in Georgia. The selected cities are Tbilisi, Telavi, Kutaisi and Batumi in order to cover east as well as west part of Georgia. In each city, there will be 4 focus groups, each consisting of approximately 8 participants: (Female participants aged 18 to 22, as well as 23 to 27; Male participants aged 18 to 22, as well as 23 to 27).

Quantitative component:

Over the past years, CRRC has conducted several surveys (including CRRC's annual survey Caucasus Barometer), which integrate a variety of variables relevant for the research project. The secondary analysis of these datasets will help to understand a broader picture of the studied subject.

However, during the second year of the project, a survey will be conducted with about 2000 respondents in the same 4 cities (Tbilisi, Telavi, Kutaisi and Batumi). The results gained from the focus groups will assist to develop a questionnaire and to close the questions (as the important topics with answer options will be identified).

In each city, up to 500 interviews will be conducted with young people aged 18 to 27. Stratified clustered sampling will be used in order to make the sample representative for the selected 4 cities (primary sampling units will be voting precincts; secondary sampling units will be households and final sampling units will be individuals).

Panel 6: Value Systems, Social Change and Memory Politics

François Ruegg and Giga Zedania

6.1 Narine Khachatryan and Sona Manusyan, Yerevan State University

Values, Beliefs and Social Behavior: Dynamics and Specifics in Modern Armenian Society

Background

A number of cultural-universal approaches and methods aimed at studying cultural varieties as well as their relation to economic, social and political variables are being developed within the frames of comparative social studies. Nowadays, there exists a range of popular models of cultural dimensions, the most famous one among them being R. Inglehart's (1997, 2000), G. Hofstede's (1980), S. Schwartz's (1992,1994), G. Triandis's cultural syndromes (1995) etc., all of which are intended to identify links between cultural varieties and the macro-factors such as socio-political system, economic growth, different kinds of social problems. Our study takes the perspectives of micro-social theories and sociocultural psychology to look at issues of value changes.

Objectives and Research Question

The main research objective is twofold and targets the following two interrelated components:

- To capture the dynamics of values/beliefs and patterns of socio-economic and political behaviors.
- To reveal the specifics of social consciousness at the levels of values, beliefs and economic and political behaviors in the context of presently occurring social and cultural changes.

Research question: What is the relationship between social behavior and underlying values and beliefs, and how (in which ways) does the sphere of prevailing values/beliefs shape patterns of economic and political behavior in the context of socio-cultural changes?

Methodology: Mixed qualitative and quantitative methods have been used in research.

Expected Results: Dynamics of values across the dimensions of traditional vs. secular-rational and survival vs. self-expression revealed (by comparing WVS data on Armenia for 1997 and 2008- 2010);

- A. Age/generational and gender differences in value orientations, beliefs and behavioral patterns in the framework of dimensional approaches revealed (e.g. Sh. Schwartz's cultural values approach).
- B. Difference between rural and urban inhabitants in value orientations, beliefs and behavioral patterns, assuming that mobility (internal, migratory) is a dynamic indicator.
- C. Cultural specifics of the interrelation between values, beliefs and patterns of political and economic behavior identified.

- D. Causes and factors of the assumed cultural-specific differences in values, beliefs and social behaviors analyzed based on results of interviews and focus-groups.

Preliminary Findings

Differences between the same indicators for Armenia (WVS-1997, EVS-2008, WVS-2010)

A general tendency towards strengthening of traditional values is observable, particularly in:

1. Child rearing and traditional family values.
2. Enhanced feeling of national pride and religious identity.
3. However, there is some trend towards possible self-expression in issues related to gender equality.

There is also observable trend towards strengthened survival values. In particular, it manifests:

1. In values related to child rearing, where the emphasis is on hard work as opposed to autonomy and creativity.
2. Attaching increasing importance to economic and physical security as compared to freedom of expression and life quality.
3. In increased cautiousness and decreased interpersonal trust.
4. In decreased political activity of citizens.

Factor Analysis of Social Axioms

1. On the whole, 4 out of the 5-factors of the Social Axioms model by Bond&Leung worked.
2. Nuances and alterations to these factors were identified that seem to have societal/cultural underpinnings.
3. A new factor was identified at this stage that points to possible issues in the individual-society nexus in our culture.

6.2 Tigran Matosyan and Lusine Saghumyan, “Hazarashen” Armenian Centre for Ethnological Studies

The Value of Grit in Formal and Informal Education of Armenia

We use the term “grit” (a synonym of “willpower”) as a concept signifying “passion for long-term goals.” It is a non-cognitive attribute that refers to perseverance and repeated application of self-control over a period of time for attaining long-term goals. A number of longitudinal studies conducted during the past several decades have demonstrated that the ability of perseverance and self-control developed at an early age has positive effects on a person’s future development and achievements in life. Moreover, some researchers argue that orientation toward long-term goals may be culture-specific. Societies become progress-prone if grit assumes a status of a dominant cultural value, being shared by majority of population and reproduced by institutions of formal and informal education.

The main goal of our research project is to understand what role grit as a value plays in formal and informal education (preschool and early secondary) of modern Armenia. Do policy makers responsible for development of educational strategies attach importance to it? Is grit contained in and transmitted through informal education (“hidden curricula”)?

This conference is an excellent opportunity to share and discuss our preliminary findings with the audience. First, we will present the analysis of official documents concerning the ideology of preschool education in the Republic of Armenia. Second, we will speak about the results of examination of reading materials prescribed by the state curriculum for institutions of preschool education. Here we will present a value-based classification of more than 200 units of reading materials (fairy tales, stories, poems, fables, etc.) and point to the place of grit relative to other values. Finally, we will share the results of our survey conducted among more than 500 students. In this part, we will demonstrate what the preferences of the Armenian youth are toward “gritty” styles of parenting (styles that foster in children orientation toward longer-term goals). Here, we will also analyze the role that normative forms of folklore such as proverbs and sayings play in teaching perseverance and passion for long-term goals in children.

6.3 Alexi Gugushvili, European University Institute

Why Parents Matter? Social Background and Life Chances in Transitional Societies

Background

The vibrant literature on socialist and post-socialist intergenerational educational inequalities and social mobility, to my knowledge, provides no answers on fundamental stratification question in the South Caucasus: Do life chances of individuals, measured in educational and labour market outcomes, depend on various forms of capital which their parents possess, and if so, how these links changed in 1991-2011? So far the short time span of available datasets has prevented scholars from making the broader conclusions on the emerging social stratification regimes. Nonetheless, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia differed in the poverty and inequality levels from other Soviet Union republics, which already in the communist era could affect the equality of opportunities in the South Caucasus. Furthermore, in the last two decades these societies have also experienced monumental changes such as political violence, economic contraction and democratic disarray, all of which could influence the new patterns of intergenerational social stratification.

Data & methods

I employ three complementary and comparative datasets – Generations and Gender Survey (UNECE, 2012), European Values Studies (EVS, 2010) and two waves of Life in Transitions Survey (EBRD, 2006; 2010). Together with the respondents' achieved level of education and their labour market outcomes, these datasets consist of information on parental education and occupational attainment, and their material, cultural and political capital. Using various statistical techniques such as ordered logit, linear probability, multinomial, ordinary least squares and quantile regression models, I compare educational attainment, transition to higher education and social mobility between pre- and post-transitional generations. This is done by studying the performance of cohorts which experienced definitive stages of life course – higher educational institutions and labour markets – before and after the beginning of 1990s, by means of including cohort–social background interactions in the fitted models.

Results

I find that inequalities in access to education in Georgia significantly increased for both men and women born since 1971, while access to better jobs depends on parents' occupation, especially for males. The comparison of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia reveals that for overall educational attainment the role of parents education and social class has consistently increased only in Georgia. This does not apply to higher education which seems to become more accessible regardless of social background. Having a mother who used to be a communist party member associates with the higher educational attainment and this effect intensifies since the independence everywhere in the South Caucasus. The socio-economic index of attained occupation depends on parent's socio-economic position, but for transition to professional jobs own education seems to be most relevant in Georgia. Last but not least, respondents' household earnings have strong links with parents' social status, even after controlling for respondents' own education. The latter effect is very similar across the countries. It seems that parents play decisive role in defining their offspring's life chances and this is particularly salient in Georgia.

6.4 Nino Javakhishvili and Nino Skhirtladze, Ilia State University

Adolescent Identity Formation: Globalization Versus Localization

The project proposes to study the impact of international educational exchange programs on identity formation in early adulthood. Identity formation is a primary psychosocial task of adolescence, which, along with intra-personal factors, is highly dependent on environment - the concrete space and time in which this process takes place. As a result of prolonged transition to adulthood the task of exploring and forming identity has been expanded to the period of early adulthood which is sometimes referred as an emerging adulthood (Arnett 2000). The diversity of modern contexts, associated with increased frequency of contact among different nations, should be reflected in how identities are formed. The novelty of these environmental conditions influences patterns of psychosocial development, identity structure and content - all of which need more in-depth investigation.

Young persons participating in educational exchange programs face the task of identity formation within the context of two nations. The challenges of the globalization era put extra pressure on the aspects of identity associated with one's culture/nation. Some scholars suggest that to counteract tendencies towards homogeneity, one of the main features of globalization, a tendency toward localization has emerged. This translates into an intensification of some nationally unique characteristics in identity structure.

The study will investigate the development of identity in individuals aged 18-22. We consider studying personal identity which refers to goals, values and beliefs associated to different aspects of life (occupational choice, moral standards, sexual and dating styles, family relationships, political preferences and etc.) Based on the recent literature (Schwartz, et al., 2012), we suggest that cultural/national identity may be approached as one of the domains of personal identity (occupational choice, etc.) with associated goals, values and beliefs. Our research aim is to study the impact of living and studying abroad on identity content and structure with special emphasis on cultural/national aspects.

Our hypotheses are:

1) changes in content: as a result of new experience the change will occur in the content of goals, beliefs and values - especially some cultural/national elements of identity will become salient – the aim is to investigate the general pattern of content change (if any). 2) changes in structure – we suggest that experience of living in a new culture will make the structure of personal identity – goals, values and beliefs more differentiated. 3) salience of uncertainty and ambiguity themes regarding some domains of identity will increase in the situation of living on the interface of two cultures.

The research will be conducted on 60 participants aged 18-22. One group of the adults should have spent at least 1 year abroad. They will be chosen from the database of educational exchange programs between Georgia and the USA in 2011-2012. The second group will be made from those who have not experienced international education or other kind of contacts. The groups will be equivalent otherwise - age, gender and etc. The same groups of participants will be involved in both parts of the research. The method will be in-depth interview and the instrument McAdam's life-story interview.

The research will increase understanding of personal identity development in the situations where cultural/national identity is changing or in flux and specifically its impact on identity content and structure.

6.5 Maia Mestvirishvili and Khatuna Martskhvilshvili, Tbilisi State University

Dispositional and Attitudinal Predictors of National Identity

The present research explores dispositional and situational factors that contribute to the construction of National Identity.

The researchers who study identity agree that identities are social constructed. On the one hand, social, cultural and historical factors contribute to the identity construction process. On the other hand, personality traits also influence identity formation. Consequently, a person is not a passive agent but a rather quite functional, active one on the way of identity construction. Personal attitudes are among dispositional factors and therefore have significant influence on social categorization process. The present study is oriented on religiosity and nationalist/patriotic attitudes in order to gain in depth understanding of attitudinal influence on identity. In terms of situational factors this study focuses on individualism/collectivism – as an important cultural construct.

Study Objectives / Research questions

The goal of the proposed research is to determine the effects of (1) cultural constructs of self-identification, (2) patriotic/ nationalistic attitudes and (3) dimensions of religious belief system on National Identity representation in individuals. The study aims to address the following research questions:

- Do cultural orientation and personal attitudes predict representation style of National Identity? And if so, which one of these two is the more robust predictor?
- Whether and/or how the personal dispositions such as religious and patriotism/nationalistic attitudes contribute to the National Identity representation?
- How are individualism and collectivism related to the representation style of National Identity?

Participants/Methodology/procedure

We plan to use a self-administrative questionnaire, which consists of five parts:

First is the Citizenship Questionnaire adapted from Vanbeselaere (2007) and Meeus et al. (2010). This questionnaire is assessing three styles of national identity representation: ethnic, civic and cultural. Second is a Patriotism/Nationalism Questionnaire adapted from (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). It is followed by Individualism /collectivism (IC) scale (Fisher, 2009). Fourth part of questionnaire is assessing style of religious orientation. And last one is demographic section.

The sample size is 750 , consisting of BA and MA students aged between 19 and 24. The sample is drawn from eight universities in four cities of Georgia. All students will participate in study as in class activity.

Expected result

Upon the completion of the study we expect to know which is the most often selected citizenship style among the youth in Georgia and whether/how this style is related to cultural constructs, religious orientation and attitudinal predispositions.

6.6 Shota Khinchagashvili, Ilia State University

Policing the Past: Memory as Security in Post-Socialist Georgia

The paper tries to address the dynamics in the realm of politics of memory in contemporary Georgia. As the coming of Saakashvili government brought about the reforms in most of the key spheres of institutional life, re-addressing the totalitarian past saw a number of problematic manifestations in political and cultural life in post-Soviet country. Several cases, - like the Museum of Soviet Occupation, debates around so called Lustration law and the State Commission for Establishing the Historical Truth, - will be offered as illuminating examples how Communist past is prioritized by the political power and perceived of as a genuine national security issue (in a broad sense).

Although not a policy paper, the research is aimed at revisiting the general 'securitizing' paradigm of approaching the totalitarian communist past. The paper deals with the research problem in the light of contemporary studies in collective memory and is informed by a comparative perspective vis-à-vis the Eastern European experiences and expert analysis related to Baltic States.

Hence, the problem is discussed in the context of contending grand-narratives splitting Eurasian space in Western European, Post-Soviet Russian and Newer European zones of memory politics. There will be examined the hypothesis which presumes Georgia attempting to join counter narrative of Central and Easter European politics

6.7 Peter Kabachnik, City University of New York

The Performative Power of the Memorialized Landscape: Contested Practices and Competing National Narratives of the Stalin Monument in Gori, Georgia

Symbolically, Stalin represented Georgian identity in contrast to the Soviet Union and its control. Thus Georgia was the only place where Stalin monuments remained after the denunciation of Stalin. Later, Saakashvili re-signifies the Stalin monument, associating it with Russia, and the past, something that does not fit in a modern independent state of Georgia. Just after midnight on June 25, 2010, the Stalin monument in Gori, Georgia was surreptitiously removed. Its removal reveals greater geopolitical narratives (Russian imperialism and decolonization) operating at the local scale. The destruction of monuments, moving monuments, and constructing new monuments are all important facets of nation and state building and indicates important shifts in the social imagination and political order. Things in the landscape aren't just traces of the past, but are active co-constructors of meaning in the present. Cultural performances are not just limited to human actors, but can be places, buildings, monuments, etc. Not only do the meanings of monuments change over time but they vary by place. Monuments to Stalin illustrate this as they can elicit quite different meanings and engender variable practices depending on the place where the monument is located, for example in Georgia or in Hungary.

In this presentation, I will offer an overview of the role that the Stalin monuments played in the parallel revolts that took place in Georgia and Hungary in 1956 against the Soviet Union. The Stalin monument is abound in narratives and symbolism regarding Georgian and Soviet histories, Georgian identity and nationalism, geopolitical struggles between Russia and Georgia, and the Georgian government's post-Rose Revolution westward re-orientation. These 'stories' captured in memorialized landscapes can act to strengthen or weaken identification with ethnic/national groups, stir emotions like sadness, fear, or anger, and encourage resistance to or defense of the status quo, all of which point to the performativity of landscape. To address these issues, it will be necessary to produce a biography of the Stalin monument by outlining its historical geography, tracing its commission, design, and reception in 1952, to its role as a site of resistance in 1956, and then its eventual secretive removal in 2010. The monument's performative power in 1956 compelled people to act, protest, and risk their lives to defend what had been seen as an attack on Georgian identity, and provided a symbolic locus for resistance and became the central gathering place for the movement itself.

6.8 Ana Kirvalidze, Ilia State University

The (Re) Creation of Collective Memory and National Identity in Post-Soviet Georgia

Memory has become a key concept for the analysis of the self-perception of a given society. Jan Assmann's theory of "memory culture" is based on the interconnection of memory and identity: societies become "visible" in the way they remember – especially in the way a traumatic past is commemorated (or neglected). Since achieving independence, Georgia has started a process of rethinking its history, reconstructing historical and collective memory, and constructing a national identity. Such processes are typical for any society undergoing crucial changes, and usually reconstruction of collective memory and national identity depend upon and support each other. Reconstruction of collective and historical memory can be carried out either by "repairing" old narratives or by creating a new narrative about a specific event or historical period and distribution of this narrative in the society. Such a new narrative about the soviet period that fundamentally differs from the Soviet narrative has been created and distributed in the textbooks on the history of Georgia and world history, in mass media, commemorative practices, etc. This paper analyses the transformation of Georgian memory since the independency period. The sources of this study are 60 individual in-depth interviews (among them biographic interviews also) and 5 focus groups. Respondents were selected from two different age groups in all regions of Georgia (except South Ossetia and Abkhazia). Analysis of interviews shows the evolution of narratives about the soviet memory between different age groups.

What characterizes collective memory of young and old people? And how do these narratives influence their national identity? Empirical study shows that youths' collective memory of the soviet period events is not rich in content, and in many cases is grounded in stereotypes. In the youths' collective memory of the soviet period there are even more various "voices" than in official memory, despite of adult's collective memory which is often contested and even opposite as well as grounded in myths. Usually young people do not consider the most particular events of soviet period to be an event belonging to Georgian history and try to distance themselves from it. Empirical data also show that the majority of youth do not want to learn more about the events, considering this information traumatic and troublesome and pushing it to the periphery of their memory. As a result, collective memory of the soviet period does not noticeably influence the national identity of the majority of young people in Georgia.

About ASCN

The ACADEMIC SWISS CAUCASUS NET (ASCN) is a programme aimed at promoting the social sciences and humanities in the South Caucasus. Those involved in the programme believe that their participation encourages constructive debate on society, which in turn contributes to the region's transformation process. The programme's different activities foster the emergence of a new generation of talented scholars in the South Caucasus. Promising junior researchers receive support through research projects, capacity-building trainings and scholarships. The programme emphasises the advancement of individuals. Emphasis is also placed on international networking, thus promoting sustained cooperation among scholars based in the South Caucasus and those based in Switzerland.

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