

# Caucasus Conflict Culture

First Symposium on Anthropology  
and the Prevention of Conflicts  
in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia

Tbilisi, 31.10.2011 – 05.11.2011

Venue: Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Department of Ethnology  
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University  
Tbilisi (Georgia)

Association of Anthropologists of Georgia  
Tbilisi (Georgia)

Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology  
Institute for Comparative Cultural Research  
Philipps-University Marburg  
Marburg/Lahn (Germany)

This symposium is funded by the **German Federal Foreign Office** inside of the initiative “Konfliktprävention in der Region Südkaukasus / Zentralasien und Moldau” of the **German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)**. The applicant was Prof. Dr. Ernst Halbmayr (Marburg).

Organisers of the conference:

Stéphane Voell (Marburg)

Ketevan Khutsishvili (Tbilisi)

Organising team:

Giorgi Cheishvili, Elke Kamm, Tea Kamushadze,  
Satenik Mkrtchyan, Natalie Wahnsiedler

Cover picture:

Sergey Parajanov. Collage (1989) from the series “Several Episodes from Gioconda’s Life”. Sergey Parajanov Museum, Yerevan. Printed with the grateful permission of the Sergey Parajanov Museum.

Venue:

Tbilisi State University

October 31: TSU Building V,

I. Chavchavadze Ave. 36, Room 313

November 1 - 5: TSU Building XII,

Ketevan Tsamebuli Ave. 55

## Program

Monday, October 31

18:00 Constitution of the student working groups

20:00 **Opening Ceremony**

*Welcome Address*

Darejan Tvaltvadze (Dean of the Faculty)

*Welcome Address*

Ketevan Khutsishvili (Tbilisi)

Ernst Halbmayer (Marburg)

*Why and How should We Think and Study*

*Citizenship in the South Caucasus? (keynote speech)*

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann (Halle/Pardubice)

Reception

Tuesday, November 1

10:00 **Introduction**

*Against Essentialism (introductory speech)*

Stéphane Voell (Marburg)

**Interethnic Relations between and in Villages**

Chair: Ketevan Khutsishvili (Tbilisi)

Rural Transcaucasian Trade before and  
after National Borders

*Artak Dabaghyan, Mkhitar Gabrielyan (Yerevan)*

11:00 Coffee break

11:15 Kyzyl-Shafag and Kerkenj: History of a Village Swap  
under Karabakh Conflict

*Sergey Rumyantsev (Berlin/Baku)*

Perspectives for the Integration of Minorities in a  
Multicultural Region (at the example of Kvemo Kartli)

*Natia Jalabadze, Lavrenti Janiashvili (Tbilisi)*

Discussant: Susanne Fehlings (Tübingen)

12:15 Lunch break

- 14:00 **Self-Conception and Construction of Ethnic Groups**  
 Chair: Gayane Shagoyan (Yerevan)  
 The Problem of Ethnic Identity among  
 Local Groups (Case of Lazs)  
*Manana Tsereteli, Giorgi Cheishvili (Tbilisi)*  
 Ingiloer: Ethnicity and Identity of a Minority in Azerbaijan  
*Nino Aivazishvili (Halle)*  
 The Role of Traditional Culture and Mentality in  
 Conflict Resolution on the Abkhazian Territory  
*Khatuna Ioseliani, Giorgi Mamardashvili (Tbilisi)*  
 Discussant: Elke Kamm (Marburg)
- 15:30 Coffee break
- 16:00 **State Policy and Ethnic Groups**  
 Chair: Satenik Mkrtchyan (Yerevan/Tbilisi)  
 Cultural Policy and the Specificity of Institutionalization  
 of Ethnic Communities in Azerbaijan  
*Ilham Abbasov (Baku)*  
 Practicing Citizenship: Georgian Migrants in Russia  
*Teona Mataradze (Halle)*  
 Discussant: Nino Abakelia (Tbilisi)

Wednesday, November 2

- 10:00 **Conflict and Collective Memory**  
 Chair: Sergey Romyantsev (Berlin/Baku)  
 "Witnesses" and "Memorizers" of the Conflict  
 and the Occupation in Karabakh  
*Parvin Ahanchi (Baku)*  
 The Knowledge and Perceptions of Collective/Historical  
 Memory and Conflict Resolution Process in the Caucasus  
*Harutyun Marutyan (Yerevan)*
- 11:00 Coffee break
- 11:15 Armenia-Georgia Relations (1918-1921), as Reflected in  
 School Textbooks: "Wars or Dialogue of Memories"?  
*Satenik Mkrtchyan (Yerevan/ Tbilisi)*

Reminiscence to the Future: three Ways of Regaining  
Homeland through Historical and Religious Monuments  
*Yulia Antonyan (Yerevan)*

Discussant: Sylvia Karl (Marburg)

12:15 Lunch break

14:00 **Political Protests**

Chair: Natia Jalabadze (Tbilisi)

The Karabakh Movement Rallies of 1988 as a Model  
for Modern Protest Events in Armenia

*Levon Abrahamyan, Gayane Shagoyan (Yerevan)*

Rustaveli Boulevard: Spatial Organization  
and Emotional Landscapes

*Madlen Pilz (Berlin)*

Gene Sharp: Non-violent Action and the Rose Revolution  
– About the Influence of a Theoretical Approach

*Philipp Naucke (Marburg)*

Discussant: Oliver Reisner (Tbilisi)

15:30 Coffee break

16:00 **Ethnicity and Conception of Space**

Chair: Susanne Fehlings (Tübingen)

Ways of Conceptualizing the Past: the Place of Socialist  
City in the National History of Georgia

*Tea Kamushadze (Tbilisi)*

Ethnic Minorities in Interethnic Conflicts:

Armenians in Baku

*Melanie Krebs (Berlin)*

Urban Cosmopolitanism versus Ethnic Particularism:

Concomitant Identities and Contradictory Patterns  
of Belonging of Armenians in Soviet Baku

*Milena Baghdasaryan (Halle)*

Georgian Map and August Conflict

*Irakli Pipia (Tbilisi)*

Discussant: Natalie Turabelidze (Tbilisi)

Thursday, November 3

- 10:00 **Expressions of Conflict**  
Chair: Madlen Pilz (Berlin)  
Presenting Symbols of Identity around the Artsakh/Karabagh in Tourist Art (Yerevan Vernissage)  
*Hamlet Melkumyan (Yerevan)*  
Food and Politics in the South Caucasus:  
“Fights” for National Cuisines  
*Ruzanna Tsaturyan (Yerevan)*
- 11:00 Coffee break
- 11:15 Inner Conflict of a Person and Tradition: Divine Calling in the Mountainous Part of Eastern Georgia  
*Nino Mindadze (Tbilisi)*  
Discussant: Nino Ghambashidze (Tbilisi)
- 12:15 Lunch break
- 14:00 **What comes after the Conflict?**  
Chair: Melanie Krebs (Berlin)  
Conflicts in Post-conflict Societies? Victims, Perpetrators, Frictions and Violence in Transitional Justice Processes  
*Sylvia Karl (Marburg)*  
“Azerbaijan! Azerbaijan! Cherished Land of Valiant Sons”: Refugees, IDPs and the Cultural Construction of Family and Nation in Times of Conflict  
*Sascha Roth (Tübingen)*  
Post-conflict Problems of Identity Definition Using the Example of the Akhagori Region  
*Khutsishvili Ketevan (Tbilisi)*  
Discussant: Levon Abrahamyan (Yervan)
- 15:30 Coffee break
- 16:00 **Plenary Session**  
Chair: Ernst Halbmayer (Marburg)  
*Final discussion round*

Friday, November 4

10:00 **Plenary Session**

Chair: Natalie Wahnsiedler (Marburg)

Tea Kamushadze (Tbilisi)

*Presentation & discussion of student working groups*

12:00 Lunch break

14:00 Guided Tour:

The Giorgi Chitaia Open Air Museum of Ethnography

20:00 Student party

Saturday, November 5

10:00 Guided Tour:

Excursion to Gori (incl. Stalin Museum)

and cave monastery Uplistsikhe

18:00 Traditional Georgian banquet (*supra*)

## Abstracts

---

### **Cultural Policy and the Specificity of Institutionalization of Ethnic Communities in Azerbaijan**

*Ilham Abbasov*

In the post-Soviet period there is a certain specificity inherent in the policy towards ethnic minorities in Azerbaijan which is influenced by the heritage of the Soviet Union, the adherence to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (UN) and by the apparently inevitable nation-state policy in regard to ethnic and cultural homogenization of its population. This specificity constitutes the social space in which ethnic identity is constructed and various ethnic organizations in Azerbaijan are institutionalised. In the context of this policy, the official statistics are designed to present the country as largely homogeneous in its ethnic composition (90,7% of the Azeris), while activists on behalf of various ethnic groups are often challenging this data claiming that the real strength of their group has been downgraded. However, publications in mass media, as well as expert analysis tend to assess the role of an ethnic minority not only by their size but also according the place in which they are living, like for example in the border areas of the country. In such cases, one finds discourse around risk and potential conflict zones. In the paper will be discussed how ethnic groups are living in Azerbaijan in relation to the construct "divided nation" between Lezgians, Talyshs and Russians.

### **The Karabakh Movement Rallies of 1988 as a Model for Modern Protest Events in Armenia**

*Levon Abrahamian, Gayane Shagoyan*

The Yerevan rallies related to the Karabakh Movement (1988-1990) will be discussed from an anthropological perspective as a ritualized festival with specific archaic characteristics. These rallies were thought to be opposed to the Azerbaijani ones, which in their turn were born in response to the Armenian rallies. Some similarities and differences (in the level of word, symbol and deed) between the two rallies will be analyzed. In late 2007 and 2008 a new wave of rallies took place on the Freedom Square in Yerevan in relation to internal political problems (presidential elections). However, the leader of the



rallies (the former first president of Armenia) took the 1988 rallies, which he once has headed, as a model for the new protest rallies, i.e. demonstrations during day and night, specific slogans or dances etc. We will show how these rallies differed from those of 1988 and how the “ghost” of 1988 was received by younger protesters. Some new trends in modern protest movement will be observed (political walks, flash mobs) and their effect on the “old” protesters, contemporaries of the passed times of conflict.

### **“Witnesses” and “Memorizers” of the Conflict and the Occupation in Karabakh**

*Parvin Ahanchi*

This paper is based on narrative interviews with the Azerbaijani Internally Displaced Persons/People (IDP) resettled after the Karabakh conflict. The respondents were adult women and men of different age groups. I have divided them into two groups: (1) The “witnesses” or those who were adults when the conflict started in the late 1980s, and (2) the “memorizers” or those who were born later outside of Karabakh in relocated families and who are considered, and consider themselves, as IDP. I am interested in comparing the narratives of these two groups and how their members consider possible venues for resolving or transforming the Karabakh conflict. The members of the first group have direct experience of having peaceful relations with the Armenians of Karabakh, but the members of the second group do not. The interview questions were mainly biographical, but the emphasis was on the direct experience of the conflict and the following displacement. I will discuss relationships between collective and individual memory, examine approaches to collective memory and look at the interrelations between memory and history. In the presentation will be argued that the role of both individual and collective memory of the IDP from Karabakh is to transmit information from the past to the present and to transmit notions of responsibility. It will be provided a perspective to discuss and imagine ways for peaceful reconciliation and transformation of the conflict area.

### **Ingiloer: Ethnicity and Identity of a Minority in Azerbaijan**

*Nino Aivazishvili*

The aim of my presentation is to give some information about the Ingiloer, an ethnic group in Azerbaijan, which has been so far rela-

tively neglected in anthropology. Most studies have been carried out with a special emphasis on policy by Georgian and Azerbaijani historians. In the pre-fieldwork phase I examined particularly this literature. During the initial period of my fieldwork, I was surprised by the internal incoherence of the group. It is generally known that the Ingiloeer live in Northwest Azerbaijan as a minority with Georgian origins and that their religion is partly Christian and partly Muslim. Only during after my nine-month fieldwork I could observe that because of the religious and linguistic affiliations strong demarcations and self-designations of “social groupness” can be found. The complexity of the Ingiloeer identity expresses itself already in numerous self and external ascriptions, which I will explore in my presentation. I shall illustrate how the “emic” and “etic” categories of the self and the other are built, how the definitions of the “correct” name for the group are used and then creatively interpreted and managed by the Ingiloeer themselves.

### **Reminiscence of the future: three ways of regaining homeland through historical and religious monuments**

*Yulia Antonyan*

A case study of three villages of the Mountainous Karabakh (Nor-Aygestan, Seisulan, and Hovtashen) demonstrates how people construct their present and future through reanimating the past in monuments. Three mentioned villages emerged as a result of the Armenian-Azerbaijani war of 1991-1994. Current inhabitants of Nor-Aygestan fled from the Armenian-populated village Chaylu, which remained in the territory of Azerbaijan. The population of Seisulan moved left the village, which is located at the fire line of the Armenian and Azerbaijani troops. The third village, Hovtashen, has a mixed population consisted of refugees from different places of Azerbaijan and Karabakh, and few recently arrived migrants from Armenia. The villagers have passed through a difficult period of adaptation, organization of a new life space, and construction of a new community. All three villages have marked symbolic centres of their space with monuments. These fulfil multiple functions and play multiple cultural roles, both secular and religious ones. The history of the erection of these monuments correlates to the cultural and historical specificities of each of these three villages, although all of them are aimed at the memorisation of the tragic events that led to the crucial changes in people's lives. People believe that the monuments have

linked their past to their future, thus providing virtual continuity of two different images of the homeland.

### **Concomitant Identities and Contradictory Patterns of Belonging of Armenians in Soviet Baku**

*Milena Baghdasaryan*

After the Soviet Union was torn by ethnic conflicts many authors emphasized that Soviet nationalities policies promoted differential treatment of citizens according to their nationality. Many dismiss the Soviet internationalism and the concept “friendship of peoples” as mere propaganda. Discussing the case of Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan’s capital Baku, I suggest that in some cases “internationalism” connected to urbanity was part of Soviet citizens’ everyday experiences. Internationalism was meaningful to the Armenians in Baku prior to their fleeing and could be considered as an inseparable part of their identity. Baku is remembered by many as a cosmopolitan town for whose residents “nationality did not matter”. I suggest that even if nationality played a crucial role in structuring inequalities among residents of Soviet Baku, it was not nationality alone which served as a basis for people’s shared perception of belonging; they also felt they belonged as urban-cosmopolitan Bakuians (*Bakints*). Further on I suggest that the experience of violence in Baku challenged the sustainability of cosmopolitan belonging and defined Armenia as “the only safe haven for Armenians” in refugees’ eyes.

### **Rural Transcaucasian Trade before and after National Borders**

*Artak Dabaghyan, Mkhitar Gabrielyan*

The post-Soviet period highlighted the patterns of social and economic development of the Caucasian nations since the age of early modernization and urbanizations. The realities of the Sadakhlo-Bagratashen transborder marketplace bear the marks of the postponed economic, political and cultural developments in the pre-Soviet and Soviet periods, as well as the nationalizing present of the neighbouring communities, observed in this paper by means of ethnographic research, adding a few reflections on the similar processes along the former “Iron Curtain”.

## **The Role of Traditional Culture and Mentality in Settlement of Conflicts on the Abkhazian Territory**

*Khatuna Ioseliani, Giorgi Mamardashvili*

The investigation of conflicts on the territory of Abkhazia from the anthropological viewpoint is of great importance. Based on available ethnographic, printed and electronic press materials, we want to discuss that in the settlement of this conflict it is important to consider the sensible and proper use of still existing remains of traditional relations, unity of culture and mentality. The available material concerning the relations at the pre- and post war time on the territory of Abkhazia seems diversified and radically opposite – merciless and hostile and friendly and human relations of each party. The war that was advantageous neither for Georgians nor for Abkhazians did not utterly break the relations between Georgians and Abkhazians. This is clearly confirmed by the post-war period. According to the materials received from different respondents it is established that these relations are still going on. However, during this period that can be called the “period of estrangement” there grew a new generation that is deprived of traditional diversity of relations and, as one might say, is in the “information vacuum” and in purposeful “information terrorism”. All this well described on internet sites. On the basis of the available material we can draw a very important conclusion: as long as there exists the generation that establishes the traditional style of life, almost common culture, social-economic and family relations and at the same time were the participants and confronting parties in this groundless conflict, it is still possible to settle this conflict. We think this message must be taken into account by the political elite in order to bring conflicts unleashed in the interests of other states into the framework of consensus and to calm down the situation in the Caucasus, which is of great geopolitical importance.

## **The Perspective of Integration of Minorities in Multicultural Region (at the example of Kvemo Kartli)**

*Natia Jalabadze, Lavrenti Janiashvili*

As a result of intensive migrations since ancient times, Kvemo Kartli (Southern Georgia) has become ethnically the most diverse region, where Georgians and different ethnic groups (Azeris, Armenians, Greeks, Russians, etc.) live in a common neighbourhood. The socio-political cataclysms by the end of the XX century and the related

dissolution of inter-cultural communication in the region provoked intergroup contradictions. Such contradictions hinder the process of civil integration of the minorities, especially in the districts where the Georgians are in the minority. Two strategies of acculturation, integration and isolation, are observed in the region. On the one hand, exchange of cultural elements, increase of contacts, probability of bilingualism and mixed marriages could serve the basis for further integration. On the other hand, the tendency of preserving ethno-cultural specificities is evident. In terms of integration the situation in these areas could not be assessed as favourable, although some positive dynamics of inter-cultural dialogue is present.

### **Ways of Conceptualizing the Past: the Place of Socialist City in the National History of Georgia**

*Tea Kamushadze*

Re-considering the history and its re-conceptualization is one of the issues of current importance for the Post-soviet space. This issue seems to be especially sensitive in the regions the origination and functioning of which have direct bearing on the Soviet period. The foundation of the City of Rustavi dates back to 1948. The post-war period, industrialization of the country and a historical settlement is the resource that can be found in the historical memory of Rustavi. The first large South Caucasian metallurgical factory is associated with this city. Despite the endeavours of the socialist government to associate the city's historical image with the great Georgian poet Shota Rustaveli, the issue of identity of the city remains acute. Irrespective of its national branding, the socialist face of the city still appears to be dominating and even creates various problems after collapse of the Soviet Union. In my presentation, I consider the case of the competition "Nation and History" that took place between various Rustavi public schools in November 2010 to evaluate their knowledge in the history of Georgia. I participated in this conference as a member of jury. Through the method of participant observation I had a possibility to clarify a number of issues relating to identification of Rustavi vs. the history of Georgia. Using this case, I will try to discuss dependence of the residents of Rustavi on the socialist segment of the history and its place in the national history of Georgia.

## **Conflicts in Post-conflict Societies? Victims, Perpetrators, Frictions and Violence in Transitional Justice Processes**

*Sylvia Karl*

Societies after war and violent conflict turn to different mechanisms to come to terms with past crimes. A growing number of governments in post conflict societies implement global norms of transitional justice in order to promote justice, truth and memory for victims of past conflicts. Following a global tool-kit different mechanisms such as truth commissions, war crime tribunals or memory projects are installed locally. But can the implementation of global norms resolve local conflicts and do justice to victims groups? Using the anthropological concept of “transitional frictions” (Hinton) this presentation will show quite the contrary. It will discuss discrepancies between local practices and global norms and the social, cultural and political dynamics that can result in new conflicts due to transitional justice processes. The presentation is based on an empirical case study of the transitional justice process in Mexico focusing on the victims of enforced disappearance. It will argue that locally embedded cultural codes of impunity, new dynamics of violence, re-victimization processes and shifting boundaries between victims and perpetrators are part of transitional frictions between the local and the global. An anthropological perspective on local processes sheds light on conflicts in post conflict societies and dissents from the overall optimism of global policy makers of transitional justice.

## **Post-conflict Problems of Identity Definition Using the Example of the Akhalgori Region**

*Khutsishvili Ketevan*

The research was carried out among the IDPs from Akhalgori region. Akhalgori is situated in East Georgia and is considered as a part of Mtskheta-Mtianeti administrative region. The municipality of Akhalgori consists in more than hundred villages and the town Akhalgori itself. Until 1917 it was a part of the province (*guberniya*) of Tiflis. After the foundation of the South Ossetian Autonomy Akhalgori was also incorporated and between 1934 and 1990 it was called Leningori district. After the events of August 2008 the municipality of Akhalgori is controlled by the South Ossetian and Russian military troops. The population of Akhalgori region was ethnic Georgian and Ossetian, but primarily there were Georgians. After the conflict the

majority of the population left the region. One part of them had been resettled in specially built refugee camps and others moved to their relatives in different parts of Georgia. My aim was to study the problem of identity among these people and define which markers of identity are changed and in which directions. According to the research data the markers of ethno-cultural identity of the displaced people are changing on different levels. The most important markers seem to become geographical-territorial and religious identities. The various objective and subjective factors are influencing this tendency and exactly these markers are turning into meeting points between the ethnic Georgian and Ossetian population. In the paper will be discussed the reasons of the growing religiosity and the problems regarding the fact, that IDPs are not able to have a permanent physical contact with their sacred places and cemeteries.

### **Ethnic Minorities in Interethnic Conflicts: Armenians in Baku**

*Melanie Krebs*

Until 1990 Baku was home of a large Armenian community with own churches and quarters but was furthermore deeply integrated in the "Baku cosmopolitanism". This situation shaped a distinct identity as Baku Armenians who in general felt they belonged as much to their native city as to an Armenian community. The end of this Baku Armenian community in the last years of the 1980s led to the need of developing new self-definitions. In interviews I asked how (or whether) Baku Armenians changed their attitude towards their two identities in the last twenty years. Based on these interviews I want to discuss some questions about the role of members of ethnic minorities who developed multiple identities: Which geographic, political or biographical situations can lead to the development of multiple identities? How they react in conflicts where their different identities are challenged? And which role can they play in solving these conflicts?

### **The Knowledge and Perceptions of Collective/Historical Memory and Conflict Resolution Process in the Caucasus**

*Harutyun Marutyan*

In the overwhelming majority of cases the pictures drawn by local historians of the Caucasian countries in respect to the histories of their own people do not corresponds with each other, actually out-

right contradict each other. That is to say that the agreement in professional circles is absent. As it can be seen from the processes of the creation of the national history in the Caucasian countries and the unsuccessful attempts of the establishing Transcaucasian history textbooks professional circles hardly find any consent about the same periods of the national histories in their neighbouring countries. At the same time, the factor of the past and its comments has a very significant role in the creation and in the process of ethnic and juridical conflicts in Caucasus. These means, that the realization of the true reconciliation between Caucasian people will remain unreal for a long period of time. In my presentation I will propose concrete suggestions regarding the steps to undertake which in the course of time will be able to promote to the formation of the process of reconciliation.

### **Practicing Citizenship: Georgian Migrants in Russia**

*Teona Mataradze*

In this article I focus on the question of how the conflict (2006-2007) between Georgia and the Russian Federation affected the lives of Georgian citizens living and working in Russia: I examine the broader context of international relations and how citizens constantly search individual ways to avoid the harsh state policies or to minimize the negative influence. During my anthropological fieldwork in 2006-2007, which I conducted in a village in Tkibuli district (West Georgia) the political conflict between the states escalated and became a concern for Georgian migrants in Russia and their families in Georgia. While economic and social factors define the migration process, in the case of migrants to Russia, political and legal policy of the receiving state became overwhelming at some point. The level and kind of being disappointed or satisfied with the state and where one sees the state's responsibility seems to be the key issues here. Migrants, by becoming absent citizens (Dudwick 2008) fulfil the state's role for providing social and economic support for the villagers. At the same time, they allow themselves to be partly manipulated by the states of sending and receiving countries, by being 'taken hostage' in international politics, but also by avoiding those states in every possible way of manipulating citizenship, passport and visa regimes.



## **Presenting Symbols of Identity around the Artsakh/Karabagh in Tourist Art (Yerevan Vernissage)**

*Hamlet Melkumyan*

Traditional symbols of Armenian culture and identity in Yerevan Vernissage-souvenir market will be in the focus of this presentation. I will discuss the main trends in representation of the Armenian national culture and “Armenianness” through symbols of identity at the new Vernissage. The Vernissage is considered as a micro-environment, which exposes symbols of Armenian traditional culture as art for tourists. The Vernissage artisans perceive this cultural space in the same way. However, most of them are not mainly involved in re-using the traditional symbols, but rather in their re-shaping and re-interpretation. The majority of the symbols and themes used in souvenirs reflect and represent the most important periods and key events, monuments, manuscripts, personae of Armenian history and culture. Recently, after the Karabakh war in the 1990s, one may come across in the Vernissage with the souvenirs’ assortment which tend to involve some rare symbols about Artsakh (Karabagh) landscape and identity. This somehow plays a role both as symbol of “Armenianness” and in the presentation of Karabakh as a separate, independent republic. Here will be discussed the choice of the themes and symbols (representing the so-called Artsakh/Karabagh Republic) to be sold, and how those artefacts representing Artsakh/Karabagh are circulating in tourist art through the inner and the outer globalization of Armenian symbols realized by the Vernissage. The other point is to show the ways how symbols of Artsakh/Karabagh are setting up a general picture of Armenianness and Armenian culture.

## **Inner Conflict of a Person and Tradition: Divine Selection in the Mountainous Part of Eastern Georgia**

*Nino Mindadze*

It is known that a human being is a “conflicting creature”. It is carrying in itself a inner resistance, which often causes inner conflict. The inner conflict of a person is sometimes revealed as a mental disease. In my point of view such type of a mental disease is connected with the traditional religious institution of prophecy. In the mountainous part of the Eastern Georgia the prophet is the intermediary between the divinity and human society and is considered as called by the

deity. Labouring for a deity was a very serious and responsible duty. Unlike the other tribesmen the prophet depended more on a deity and was responsible towards it. The local population considered him as a prisoner of the deity and as a troubled person. The selected person always felt fear towards his duty. For some definite period of time he even didn't obey the wish of the deity. There was a resistance between the deity and the person. In reality the resistance arose in the wish of a person in contrary to his sense of duty, thus the inner conflict was forming, which might become the cause of his/her mental disease with which the chosen one was suffering before becoming a prophet.

### **Armenia-Georgia Relations (1918-1921), as Reflected in School Textbooks: “Wars or Dialogue of Memories”?**

*Satenik Mkrtchyan*

The presentation is going to overview how the “clashes” between the first Republics of Armenia and Georgia (1918) have been presented in the recent history textbooks of secondary schools in both countries. I will present preliminary references to the assessments of post-Soviet historiography and first conclusions in relation to reforms in history teaching as a part of wider educational reforms. The broader theoretical concept is M. Ferro's therapeutic versus militant function that history and history teaching might have, which will be applied to the representation of the conflict in recent school textbooks of Armenia and Georgia. It will be presented the case of the “Tbilisi Initiative” of the Council of Europe, launched in May, 2000 and discussed the declaration adopted at the regional Conference of Ministers of Education.

### **Gene Sharp: Non-violent Action and the Rose Revolution – About the influence of a theoretical approach.**

*Philipp Naucke*

The political scientist Gene Sharp published a book in 1973 called *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, which was immediately proclaimed a classic in the literature on nonviolent resistance. This work of three volumes provides a pragmatic political approach for the overthrow of governments by political oppositions and/or democratic movements. It was three decades later that the Rose Revolution in Georgia preceded a series of colored revolutions in Eastern Europe, in which

Sharp's ideas and approaches appeared to become reality in an impressive way. As with the current "Arab Spring" the news coverage points to the "Clausewitz of nonviolent warfare" as the spiritual father and intellectual author of the political upheaval. His ideas gained such prominence that there is no way of bypassing Gene Sharp when dealing with contemporary political protest. The lecture traces Sharp's impact using the example of Georgia. It is shown that Sharp not only inspires political protest, but also initiates it. In doing so, he (actively) shapes the empirical realities of his theoretical approaches.

### **Rustaveli Boulevard: Spatial Organization and Emotional Landscapes**

*Madlen Pitz*

Location: South Caucasus, Georgia, Tbilisi, Rustaveli Boulevard. Since the first half of the XIX century the "Rustaveli" Boulevard has been representing dominant (colonial) political and cultural power, first the Russian then the Soviet power. Even today the "people's boulevard" with the parliament building remains the main parade-route for political celebrations/representations on national holidays. New is its connotation as a national space of commemoration of Georgia's Independence. In April 2009 the boulevard was transformed into a zone of protest for the fourth time in the last twenty years. The occupation of the space, which, following de Certeau, "played" with a temporal recoding of space of "The Others" by building up an improvised "City of Cells" with its own infrastructure on the boulevard, lasted three months. This provoked a reorganization of the city's space and life – original infrastructure, every day routines collapsed. It turned into a space of controversial negotiation about how past and future are perceived by different actors and how certain democratic values and "good life" are defined. The spatial occupation and redefinition, an outburst of peoples dissatisfaction with the actual political and economic living conditions, I will conceptualize here as a "social drama" in structure and content. I will focus on the construction and perception of space and the appropriation and movement of bodies in this space, competing with the meaning inscribed by the surrounding architecture.

## **Georgian Map and August Conflict**

*Irakli Pipia*

During the Soviet era a contemporary Georgian map was shaped, which is still present in Georgian people's memory. I will focus on the recognition of maps and their association to Georgian people. If you show a map from the XII century to Georgians they do not express emotions towards it, although the XII century is known as the Golden Age in Georgia. On the contrary, people immediately recognize the contemporary map, because it turned into the logo of Georgia and became part of national identity. In the presentation I will show the perception of maps of Georgia in relation to the last conflict in August 2008.

## **“Azerbaijan! Azerbaijan! Cherished Land of Valiant Sons”: Refugees, IDPs and the Cultural Construction of Family and Nation in Times of Conflict**

*Sascha Roth*

In this paper I want to highlight an approach to understand the dynamics of conflict situations and identity construction in the South Caucasus. In Azerbaijan the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is deeply interwoven with the consolidation of post-soviet national identity. Until today the conflict remains unsolved and frozen in its liminal status. I concentrate on the symbolic meaning of the conflict and its relation to local ideas and conceptions of identity that play a major role in mobilizing loyalties and solidarities of individuals, groups and nations. These processes are considered insufficiently by most approaches to conflict solution. Azerbaijani refugees and IDPs most directly affected by the conflict are the focus of my argument. By applying the concept of relatedness (Carsten 2000) as an alternative approach to the study of kinship I argue that cultural notions of family and nation refer to common norms and values expressed through certain metaphors that serve to establish continuity and solidarity but are also matters of change and manipulation by different actors.

## **Kyzyl-Shafag and Kerkenj: History of a Village Swap under Karabakh Conflict**

*Sergey Rumyantsev*

The main goal of the project was to study mechanisms and practices of a peaceful division of the population under the Armenian-Azerbaijani Karabakh conflict (1988-94). According to the opinion of the participants in the project, ethnic groups are effectively always described by researchers as “homogenous communities that unite people sharing ethnic stereotypes” and images of “historical enemies”, etc. As a result of this kind of approach, the picture of inter-ethnic relations in the South Caucasus is constructed and presents ethnic communities, which have lost diversities of peaceful contact and conflict-free intergroup relationships. The project participants, on the contrary, proceeded from the view that peaceful intergroup contact and relationship are no less (and, probably, even more) frequent than conflicts. For this reason, the case of a peaceful collective village swap between Azeri and Armenian rural communities under the unfolding Karabakh conflict was chosen for the research. As a result, it was possible to collect materials demonstrating the history of the implementation of a voluntary collective civil project as the main condition for the success of which was peaceful cooperation between the Azeri and Armenian rural communities. Although this peaceful cooperation, whose goal was to move collectively from their village and settle elsewhere, did emerge during the conflict and forced rural exodus, it was successful because of a habitual system of peaceful relationship which formed over many years of neighbourhood.

## **Food and Politics in the South Caucasus: “Fights” for National Cuisines**

*Ruzanna Tsaturyan*

The affect of food on the construction or demonstration of national and cultural identity as well on nationalistic aspirations is shown in various researches. In the South Caucasian countries the idea of national culture, as well as national food (cuisine) became key topics in the political and public discourse in the context of the ongoing processes of nation building and construction or transformation of national identity. Especially in recent years many discussions in the internet about the importance of national cuisines’ protection as well as on the origin of some national dishes were stimulated in the South

Caucasus countries. These discussions often repeat the political agenda, as in the Armenian- Azerbaijani case, or sometimes provoked new controversies, as in the recent Armenian-Georgian “food battles” in mass media thus confirming the thesis of the importance of food as a bio-political tool.

### **The Problem of Ethnic Identity among Local Groups (Case of Lazs)**

*Manana Tsereteli, Giorgi Cheishvili*

The historical past of the Lazs (georg. “Chan”) are closely related to the history of ancient Colchis. “Chan” was later changed to “Laz”, but both terms are preserved in written sources and folklore. In nowadays Lazistan (or Lazeti, Chaneti) the existence of Georgian cultural elements like those that can be observed in all historical-ethnographic parts of Georgia are evident. Especially obvious is the similarity of dwellings and economic buildings, economic tools and artefacts and some terminologies. For centuries Lazistan was under different ethno-political influences. Because of this reason the identity formation was highly influenced by all political processes taking place in the region. Lazistan is a very interesting region for studying problems of identity. Latter did change during the centuries. Until today the Lazs consider themselves as having as being a “we-group”, but the ideas of what means to be a Laz are differing in relation to age groups and social groups and their geographic location. According to the current ethnographic data several “levels of identity” can be distinguished and the tendency of creation a new ethnic identity is going on.

### **Against Essentialism**

*Stéphane Voell*

While researching in the Caucasus and working on topics like identity, tradition and conflict I did encounter two extreme positions: On the one hand there are positions that claim that ethnic groups or cultures have mentalities and appear as monolithic blocks. I have problems with this perspective but I have to admit that after working extensively together with some colleagues in the Caucasus it became clear to me that “mentality” is not conceived as an unchangeable and fully obliging structure. On the other hand I found theoretical perspectives, mostly of foreigners working in the Caucasus, in

which culture is a disposable quantity in the political economy of “rational” acting people. The political factor in ethnic relations is an obvious factor, not only in the Caucasus. Only few would disagree with it. But in these materialist perspectives one can get the impression that ethnic groups are in this case pure ad-hoc inventions to mask political claims. I see both positions as essentialist. They explain only poorly the interrelation between continuities and political economies, because they are only taking one of it into consideration. I will suggest a different position, based on the anthropology of space in order to incorporate a relative durability of “culture” and its use in political processes.

### **Why and How should We Think and Study Citizenship in the South Caucasus?**

*Lale Yalçın-Heckmann*

Citizenship as a theme for research has been in general underdeveloped in the Caucasus studies. This lecture aims to explore why it is important to study citizenship, especially from the perspective of social anthropology and sociology, and how this could be carried out. The examples derive from the projects of the research group at Max Planck Institute and the lecture will highlight the value of the ethnographic 'approach from below' as well the relationship of this approach to other general, legal, political and historical studies of citizenship.

## Participants

---

**Abbasov, Ilham:** Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law at the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, Baku.

[ilgamnovator@yandex.ru](mailto:ilgamnovator@yandex.ru)

**Abrahamyan, Levon:** Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan (Armenia). [levon\\_abrahamian@yahoo.com](mailto:levon_abrahamian@yahoo.com)

**Ahanchi, Parvin:** Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography at the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, Baku. [parvinahanchi@gmail.com](mailto:parvinahanchi@gmail.com)

**Aivazishvili, Nino:** Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg and Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale (Germany). [aivazishvili@eth.mpg.de](mailto:aivazishvili@eth.mpg.de)

**Antonyan, Yulia:** Department of Cultural Studies, Yerevan State University, Yerevan (Armenia). [yulyusha@yahoo.com](mailto:yulyusha@yahoo.com)

**Baghdasaryan, Milena:** Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg and Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale (Germany). [baghdasaryan@eth.mpg.de](mailto:baghdasaryan@eth.mpg.de)

**Cheishvili, Giorgi:** Department of Ethnology, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi (Georgia). [gicheishvili@gmail.com](mailto:gicheishvili@gmail.com)

**Dabaghyan, Artak:** Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan (Armenia). [dabagart@gmail.com](mailto:dabagart@gmail.com)

**Fehlings, Susanne:** Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen (Germany). [susanne.fehlings@ethno.uni-tuebingen.de](mailto:susanne.fehlings@ethno.uni-tuebingen.de)

**Gabrielyan, Mkhitar:** Chair of Archaeology and Ethnography, Faculty of History, Yerevan State University (Armenia). [mkhitar2003@yahoo.com](mailto:mkhitar2003@yahoo.com)

**Ghambashidze, Nino:** Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology (Tbilisi), Georgia. [nino\\_gambashidze1955@yahoo.com](mailto:nino_gambashidze1955@yahoo.com)

**Halbmayer, Ernst:** Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Philipps-University Marburg (Germany). [halbmayer@uni-marburg.de](mailto:halbmayer@uni-marburg.de)

**Ioseliani, Khatuna:** Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology (Tbilisi), Georgia. [xatuna825@mail.ru](mailto:xatuna825@mail.ru)

**Jalabadze, Natia:** Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology (Tbilisi), Georgia. [natia\\_jalabadze@posta.ge](mailto:natia_jalabadze@posta.ge)



**Janiashvili, Laventi:** Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology (Tbilisi), Georgia. [kinotijan@yahoo.com](mailto:kinotijan@yahoo.com)

**Kamm, Elke:** Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Philipps-University Marburg (Germany). [elke.kamm@uni-marburg.de](mailto:elke.kamm@uni-marburg.de)

**Kamushadze, Tea:** Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and Ilia State University, Tbilisi (Georgia). [ttritina@yahoo.com](mailto:ttritina@yahoo.com)

**Karl, Sylvia:** Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Philipps-University Marburg (Germany). [karls@uni-marburg.de](mailto:karls@uni-marburg.de)

**Khutsishvili, Ketevan:** Department of Ethnology, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology, Tbilisi (Georgia). [ketevan.khutsishvili@tsu.ge](mailto:ketevan.khutsishvili@tsu.ge)

**Krebs, Melanie:** Institute of European Ethnology, Humboldt University, Berlin (Germany). [melanie.krebs@staff.hu-berlin.de](mailto:melanie.krebs@staff.hu-berlin.de)

**Mamardashvili, Giorgi:** Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology (Tbilisi), Georgia. [g.mamardashvili@caucasus.net](mailto:g.mamardashvili@caucasus.net)

**Marutyan, Harutyun:** Department of Current Anthropological Studies, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, Yerevan. [hmarutyan@yahoo.com](mailto:hmarutyan@yahoo.com)

**Mataradze, Teona:** Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale (Germany). [mataradze@eth.mpg.de](mailto:mataradze@eth.mpg.de)

**Melkumyan, Hamlet:** Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan (Armenia). [h.melkumyan@yahoo.com](mailto:h.melkumyan@yahoo.com)

**Mindadze, Nino:** Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology, Tbilisi (Georgia). [nmindadze@gmail.com](mailto:nmindadze@gmail.com)

**Mkrtchyan, Satenik:** Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan (Armenia) and Department of Ethnology, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (Georgia). [satenikm@yahoo.com](mailto:satenikm@yahoo.com)

**Naucke, Philipp:** Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Philipps-University Marburg (Germany). [nauckep@uni-marburg.de](mailto:nauckep@uni-marburg.de)

**Pilz, Madlen:** Institute of European Ethnology, Humboldt University, Berlin (Germany). [madlen.pilz@staff.hu-berlin.de](mailto:madlen.pilz@staff.hu-berlin.de)

**Pipia, Irakli:** Department of Ethnology, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (Georgia). [ipantro@yahoo.com](mailto:ipantro@yahoo.com)

**Reisner, Oliver:** European Commission Delegation to Georgia, Tbilisi (Georgia). [reisner@yahoo.de](mailto:reisner@yahoo.de)

**Roth, Sascha:** Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen (Germany). [sascharoth82@gmail.com](mailto:sascharoth82@gmail.com)

- Rumyantsev, Sergey:** Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law, National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, Baku (Azerbaijan) and Institute of European Ethnology, Humboldt University, Berlin (Germany). [sergnovator@yandex.ru](mailto:sergnovator@yandex.ru)
- Shagoyan, Gayane:** Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan (Armenia). [gayashag@yahoo.com](mailto:gayashag@yahoo.com)
- Tsaturyan, Ruzanna:** Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan (Armenia). [ruzantsaturyan@yahoo.com](mailto:ruzantsaturyan@yahoo.com)
- Tsereteli, Manana:** University of Georgia, Tbilisi (Georgia). [tsereteli\\_manana@yahoo.com](mailto:tsereteli_manana@yahoo.com)
- Voell, Stéphane:** Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Philipps-University Marburg (Germany). [voell@uni-marburg.de](mailto:voell@uni-marburg.de)
- Wahnsiedler, Natalie:** Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Philipps-University Marburg (Germany). [wlatie@hotmail.com](mailto:wlatie@hotmail.com)
- Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale:** Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg (Germany) and University of Pardubice (Czech Republic). [yalcin@eth.mpg.de](mailto:yalcin@eth.mpg.de)