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Documentation of the Summer School

Conflict and Transformation in the South Caucasus:
State Building between National Identity and Europeanization

6 – 10 October 2009
Bakuriani, Georgia



The Institute for Political Science / Chair of International Relations and Development Policy

The Institute for Political Science at the University of Duisburg-Essen is one of the major German university departments covering a wide range of research fields and teaching, offering one Bachelor and two Master programs. At the Institute for Political Science, the Chair of International Relations and Development Policy focusses on research in the field of International Relations and also holds regional expertise, mainly for Sub-Saharan Africa.



The Institute for Development and Peace (INEF)

The Institute for Development and Peace (INEF), which was founded in 1990, is an Institute of the University of Duisburg-Essen (Faculty of Social Sciences). INEF is the only German research institute working on questions at the intersection of peace and development and combines basic with applied research and public policy consulting. It closely collaborates with the Development and Peace Foundation (SEF), Bonn, established on the initiative of former German chancellor and Nobel peace prize winner Willy Brandt in 1986.



Regional Office South Caucasus of the Heinrich Böll Foundation

The Heinrich Böll Foundation, affiliated with the Green Party in Germany, is a legally independent political foundation. The regional office for the South Caucasus was opened in 2003. Its main objective is to contribute to the forming of free, fair and tolerant societies in the region. Therefore it supports and facilitates cooperation of individuals and organizations throughout the region that, based on the principle values of human rights, search for the change of undemocratic and intolerant attitudes in societies and politics, for the transformation of ethno-political and territorial conflicts into the direction of fair and non-violent solutions and for the sustainable development of people and communities.



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Introduction

The summer school “Conflict and Transformation in the South Caucasus: State Building between National Identity and Europeanization”, which took place from 6 to 10 October 2009 in Bakuriani, Georgia, focused on central questions revolving around the political and social transformation processes of the three countries of the South Caucasus: Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Due to the “non-settlement” of the “frozen conflicts”, e.g. the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict or the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, political and social transformation remains either blocked or deficient. State building continues to be a fragile process, in which the significant question of national identity is continuously exploited and monopolized by interest groups. A functioning statehood could hence not only contribute to the solution of ethno-national conflicts, but also induce the transformation of conflict potentials within society, which, for example, become apparent in social disparities and the marginalization of refugees or dissidents.

To embrace the characteristics and inner dynamics of “frozen conflicts”, peace, conflict and transition studies have to interlock. Thereby ethnicity is not considered as the reason of the conflict, but as a mobilizing category and source of legitimacy for the use of non-civilian instruments. An alternative is offered by the consolidation of statehood and the development of a nation based on citizenship. Here, Europe constitutes a central framework of reference. Presumably the “frozen conflicts” will only be transformed, if they can be imbedded in the changed normative and political context.



The summer school was geared towards up-and-coming young scientists from the South Caucasus as future opinion-makers and decision-makers of the region. Assuming a mediating function between the state institutions, international actors and societal organizations they play a key role in the transformation process and conflict management in the region. The main objective of the summer school was to bring together empirical findings and fieldwork in the societies and politics of the South Caucasus with broader theoretical frameworks and comparable research from other regions. The summer school brought together twenty participants from academia but also from the NGO-sector with experts from the region as well as from Germany, Russia and the Netherlands.

The event was jointly organized by the Institute for Political Science/Chair of International Relations and Development Policy and the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University of Duisburg-Essen as well as the Regional Office South Caucasus of the Heinrich Boell Foundation. It was funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) within the program on “Conflict Prevention in the South Caucasus, Central Asia and Moldova”.

The following documentation outlines the program of the summer school and highlights the major comments and findings made during the panels and roundtables.



Lado Vardosanidze



Viktor Voronkov

Day 1: Tuesday, October 6, 2009: Introduction and Methods

Opening Address and Introduction of Participants

During their opening address, Iris Kempe and Nino Lejava (Regional Office South Caucasus of the Heinrich Boell Foundation (HBS)) welcomed the participants and experts and introduced them to the major fields of activity of the HBS. They also highlighted the scholarship program of the HBS which promotes young social scientists in the fields of contemporary history, sociology and sustainable urban development.

In the following, Iris Kempe especially underlined the broader international outreach of the summer school due to the cooperation with the University of Duisburg-Essen. Providing the possibility of exchanging ideas and experiences and bringing together people from different countries and regions and offering them a unique possibility to acquire and discuss the newest findings from peace, conflict, transition, European and regional studies constituted a major objective of jointly organizing the summer school.

Tobias Debiel (University of Duisburg-Essen) also welcomed the participants and pointed to the broader context of the summer school and elaborated on the subject areas that were to be addressed during the following five days: methods of social sciences, national identity and social transformation, political transformation and state building, conflict and conflict management and the Caucasus and Europe(an integration).

The opening address was concluded by Corinne Heaven (University of Duisburg-Essen) who introduced the participants and experts to the detailed program of the summer school.

Tobias Debiel and Nino Lejava then moderated the interactive session “World Café” during which the participants got to know each other and were able to introduce themselves.

Panel Session “The Caucasus: Conflict, Transformation and National Identity” – Alexander Iskandaryan, Caucasus Institute, Yerevan / Sergey Rumyansev, Institute for Philosophy and political-judicial Research, Baku

The keynote speech of the summer school covered the main topic and both speakers aimed at bringing together findings on the above-mentioned issues and providing an overview on the current state of research.

Alexander Iskandaryan started his statement with the question whether the reasons for the conflicts in the South Caucasus are to be found in either Nationalism or in Failing States. With comparison to the Baltic States, where similar conditions regarding, for example, ethnic diversity, can be found – but no outbreak of large-scale violence has occurred – he proposed several possible solutions, ranging from a rather “everyday” nationalistic discourse with simplistic explanations to those that consider Russia the explaining factor for the conflicts in the region to theories on conspiracy. However, as Alexander Iskandaryan argued, none of these explanations hold true, it is rather that the conflicts are based on ethnic grounds – and

then turned into ethno-political conflicts which are hardly comparable to other conflicts in other regions of the world. However, the foundation of building a Georgian state based on ethnic nationalism, despite also being a legitimate process, causes overlaps in the ethnic projects (especially territorial overlapping), and this key question demands attention for scientists, policy-makers and civil society alike. Concluding, Alexander Iskandaryan posed the important question how the shift away from the ethnic foundation of the countries in the South Caucasus might be possible.

Sergey Rumyansev reminded the participants about the Soviet policy that did play a major role in the South Caucasus and also for the establishment of the three states. In a thought-provoking statement, he also argued for a different usage of the word “nationalism” that is neither to be seen as purely “bad” or “good”, but should be rather used in a pragmatic way. This is due to the fact that “ethnicity” is often considered by people as their basic foundation in everyday life which is differently used at the intellectual level or within the scientific discourse.

Panel Session “Methods of Social Sciences – An Introduction & Politization of the Social Sciences” – Gayane Shagoyan, Institute for Archaeology and Anthropology, Yerevan / Viktor Voronkov, Centre for Independent Social Research, St. Petersburg

Briefly outlining the “History of Science”, Gayane Shagoyan drew upon the most important historical cornerstones to sketch out the meaning of science and how scientific disciplines actually form cognitive knowledge (or cognition). She also elaborated an interesting example referring to the 19th century. This time may be called a period of formation of national states and narration took place in archives, since the past was influenced by scientific research and as such history had to serve as explanation why states formed in the way they did, crossing the line between science and fiction, which was lastly also very important for the formation of identity. Gayane Shagoyan also raised the question whether science could be called a search for truth which led to a heated and controversial discussion whether truth can be found at all and which understanding of truth and reality social scientists actually have.

Viktor Voronkov’s contribution was guided by the question whether science can be neutral at all, whether the researcher can distance him- or herself from his/her position as a certain citizen of a certain state. His basic answer reads as follows: since sociology cannot remain neutral, since the researcher is always restricted by the economic and political world, there are two possibilities: you can either pretend your results are neutral or you have to take sides. Drawing upon the current situation in Russia he exemplified the problems which occur when scientific research is financed by the government, arguing that science should be rather based on the principle of solidarity than serving certain interests and means for the ones that finance scientific research.

Panel Session “Remembering Communism – Making Sense of Post-Communism: An Analysis of Discursive Strategies in Post-Soviet Textbooks Accounts” – Barbara Christophe, Georg Eckert Institute, Braunschweig



Panel Session “Remembering Communism”

During the final panel session of the day, Barbara Christophe presented a research project that is currently conducted at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. Focusing on the institutionalization of cultural meaning, the research project analysis the representation of Socialism in Post-Soviet textbooks and questions the reception and effectiveness of Post-Soviet patterns of interpretation from a comparative perspective. Thereby, two research questions guide the work: Firstly, it is analyzed how the selection and interpretation of textbooks shapes the memory and secondly, how their own life experience shapes history teachers in the way how they approach the subject of Socialism. Textbooks are seen as an instrument shaping identity, however, they only become effective through teachers themselves.

Pan-European Culinary Dinner

A lively debate on the issues presented before was continued during the Pan-European Culinary Dinner – to which the participants contributed some of their national or regional specialties.



Pan-European Culinary Dinner

Day 2: Wednesday, October 7, 2009: National Identity and Social Transformation

Panel Session “Change of National Identity” – Wim van Meurs, Radboud University Nijmegen / Levan Gigineishvili, Ilia-Tschawtschawadze University, Tbilisi

After having introduced major methodological approaches, the following day was directed towards two of the central themes of the summer school: national identity and social transformation. To begin with, these topics were addressed by Wim van Meurs and Levan Gigineishvili in the first panel of the day “Change of National Identity”.

Levan Gigineishvili spoke about the changing Georgian national identity with a special focus on ethnocentrism: he reminded the audience about the fact that ethnicity played a minor role in creating identity compared to both, religion and language, before Georgia became a part of the Russian empire. Then, a different concept than religion was needed to be able to differentiate oneself so that a new national identity combined with a new social status was created. In describing this newly emerging ethnocentrism, Levan Gigineishvili also referred to important authors and poets that contributed to creating this new heroic image of Georgia and Georgians.

Making special reference to the up-and-coming scientists and stakeholders of the region who are still advancing their scientific careers, Wim van Meurs pointed out some “pitfalls” of studying national identity. He firstly drew the attention to the fact that, since researchers



Wim van Meurs

themselves always carry an own (national) identity, there is the risk of reconfirming nationalism whilst studying it itself.

In a second step, he also argued that national identity should never be the sole explanation for conflicts in the South Caucasus (and also elsewhere): rather, Wim van Meurs made the suggestion to focus research on other explanatory concepts: firstly, one should think about ethnic entrepreneurs that “cause”

nationalism, mobilizing the population and instrumentalizing ethnicity for other means, secondly, one should

also keep in mind that nationalism can function as an overall discourse, causing the outbreak of violent conflicts.

Thirdly, he reminded the participants to critically reflect their own role in academia as historians, sociologists or political scientists and in what way they themselves might contribute to creating certain discourses on nationalism and national identity.

Discussion of Research Studies on the topic “Change of National Identity”

Against the background of the afore-mentioned facts on current research objectives and questions, the participants joined together in small working groups to discuss their research papers they had written prior to the summer school. Participants were asked to write a short paper on their current research projects respectively on the topics of the summer school. They then presented the papers, whilst in the following a debate on central issues of each paper was moderated by one of the attending experts. This important practical exercise aimed at furthering methodological and practical skills and offering the participants the opportunity to discuss their ongoing research projects in a broader context. In general, theoretical, empirical and methodological aspects of the papers were discussed, suggestions for further reading were made and helpful comments for the refinement of the research studies were made. In the following, the research studies focusing on “Change of National Identity” are listed below:

- Concept and perceptions around nation states within the history text-books in Armenia and Georgia (Satenik Mkrtchyan)
- Peace through Civil Identity – Civil Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Georgia (Tamar Iakobidze)
- Presenting Armenian Traditional Culture in the Yeveran Vernissage (Hamlet Melkumyan)
- The Role of Urban Space in Townsman Identity Construction (Shushanik Yepiskoposyan)
- Homosexuality in the Tbilisi Urban Culture – a non-defined subculture (Shorena Gabunia)
- The Peaceful Dialogue between Georgian and Abkhazian Representatives of Youth (Ia Melkadze)
- The European Union’s Role in the Conflict Resolution Process – Cases of Georgia and Moldova (Sophio Barbakadze)

Panel Session “Social Transformation” – Ingrid Oswald, Humboldt University, Berlin / Viktor Voronkov, Centre for Independent Social Research, St. Petersburg

Closely related to the first topic of the day, the second panel session was directed towards questions of social transformation. Both speakers shortly referred to the most important theoretical concepts and theories in the field of social transformation, especially emphasizing the role of the public sphere as an important factor for social transformation.

Discussion of Research Studies on the topic “Social Transformation”

After the panel session the participants again assembled in small working groups and discussed the following papers that focused on “social transformation”.

- Social Status for the Children with Special Educational Needs in Class (Teona Lodia)
- Socially and Culturally Constructed Motivations of Georgian Women’s Migration (Tamta Melashvili)
- Democratization: Experiences and Challenges (Metin Asger)
- Key Problems of Georgia (Mariana Menteshashvili)
- Conflict Prevention, Conflict Management (Jon Cathshoek)
- External Actors and EU Security Governance in the South Caucasus (Esther Ademmer)
- State Building-Process in Georgia (Gvantsa Abdaladze)
- Conflict and Conflict Management, Political Transformation and State Building (Hovhannes R. Nikoghosyan)

Chat at the campfire: The Russian-Georgian war in August 2008: Between Emotion and Analysis – Iris Kempe, HBS Tbilisi / Alexander Iskandaryan, Caucasus Institute, Yerevan / Paata Zakereishvili, Centre for Development and Cooperation, Tbilisi / Viktor Voronkov, Centre for Independent Social Research, St. Petersburg

The day was concluded by a “chat at the campfire” – an informal round of talks about the Russian-Georgian war in August 2008. The main speakers reported from their personal experiences during the war. All of them jointly agreed on the fact that making personal statements about emotions and sentiments felt during this time were difficult to formulate and communicate to other persons. However, their personal impressions nevertheless illustrated how the war was perceived in different countries and cities of the region. Together with the participants, the speakers agreed on the fact that, although guilt was also seen on Saakashvili’s side, Russia was seen as the main responsible party for the war. Concluding, the participants were united in the wish that such horrible wars ought to be prevented in the future.

Day 3: Thursday, October 8, 2009: Political Transformation and Fragile Statehood

Panel Session “Political Transformation and Fragile Statehood” – Paata Zakareishvili, Centre for Development and Cooperation, Tbilisi / Marietta König, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, Hamburg

The day was directed towards questions of political transformation and fragile statehood. During the first panel, Marietta König and Paata Zakareishvili briefly introduced the participants to the main concepts and terms for political transformation and fragile statehood used in social sciences. Paata Zakareishvili provided ample food for thought by stating that Georgia got stuck in the process of modernization. Whilst, as he recalled, we usually have federalism in mind when talking about political transformation, he cited Ghia Nodia when stating that Georgia may be called a “hybrid regime”. Thus, whilst political competition usually takes place in formal institutions, it proceeds in informal institutions in Georgia. The Georgian periphery additionally finds itself in a constant competition with the Russian centre, which also leads to deficient or blocked political transformation.

Marietta König gave a brief overview on the so-called “Drei-Elemente-Lehre” (which defines a state, according to Georg Jellinek, as the combination of territory, nation and sovereignty) in order to underline the basic understanding of the state to which the debate on fragile statehood refers to. Whilst the interdependence of overcoming fragile statehood and solving (ethnic) conflicts is widely acknowledged, it is usually held reasonable to firstly establish a stable statehood in order to then overcome the unsolved conflicts. However, Marietta König made a thought-provoking thesis to firstly overcome the conflict and secondly establish stable statehood, thus, solving a secessionist conflict by making the state more “attractive” to the secessionist region. The subsequent debate turned on the question which concepts and terms of the social sciences would be helpful to think about such a solution. Critical voices were also raised that this idea might not be applicable in reality although there was broad agreement on the fact that the current status is characterized by a considerable deadlock.



Marietta König

Roundtable “Political Transformation and State Building: The South Caucasus and European Experiences – Marietta König, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy / Paata Zakareishvili, Centre for Development and Cooperation, Tbilisi / Heinz-Jürgen Axt, University of Duisburg-Essen / Andrea Gawrich, University of Kiel / Malchaz Saladze, Ilia-Tschawtschawadze University, Tbilisi

In the following roundtable, moderated by Tobias Debiel, the two speakers were joined by Heinz-Jürgen Axt, Andrea Gawrich and Malchaz Saladze. The latter underscored the current problem that most of the transition theories are not able to explain the outcome of the prolonged transition period in the countries of the South Caucasus and that the question how the institutional set-up is designed remains open. Together with a majority of participants he agreed on the fact that civil society and the strengthening of the latter will play a major role in the political and social transformation in the South Caucasus. With reference to other European experiences, Heinz-Jürgen Axt recalled the Macedonian name dispute and the impact the European Union has given towards the resolution of the conflict. Lastly, Marietta König also made the important remark that regionalism should also lie in the centre of attention, since the political system ought to represent the interests of regions and minorities in a much better way than it is the case today.



Roundtable “Political Transformation and State Building”

Paata Zakareishvili finally opened up the discussion with posing the visionary question about Georgia’s future 25 years from now – which led to a number of different answers and visions about the future of Georgia and also Armenia and Azerbaijan. The discussion then centered on the state-society relation of the countries of the South Caucasus. It was argued that it is difficult to characterize, for example, Georgia’s civil society as such; rather it ought to be referred to as the third sector. Furthermore, it was argued that politics are purely seen as political decision-making processes rather than a ways to express opinions and influence decision by a majority of the population. With regard to civil society, Andrea Gawrich also pointed out that a reason for the weak form of civil society, at least for Poland, is based on

the fact that during Soviet times, civil society was directed against the state, however, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, civil society had to re-invent itself, since it was supposed to work alongside the state now.

Excursion to the Borjomi-Kharagauli National Park



In the afternoon, the participants joined together for an excursion to the Borjomi-Kharagauli National Park. Being one of the largest national parks in Europe, it covers more than 76.000 hectares, a large area of mountainous forest in its pristine and virgin state. The national park is also home to a number of endemic and relict species of flora and endangered species of fauna that can be found in the forests as well as among the sub-alpine and alpine meadows. Together with a national park guide, the participants hiked a trail along the national park, being informed about the flora and fauna, vegetation zones, traditional land use and the like. The hike also allowed the participants to get to know each other, to chat informally and to continue discussions on questions that were raised during the several panels of the summer school so far. Bringing together the

participants in the beautiful and inspiring surrounding of the national park allowed them to establish friendly relations among them.



Participants of the Summer School

**Screening from the festival “Nationality: Human”: Movie “Bridge over the Wadi” –
Subsequent debate moderated by Giorgi Gvakharia**

After the excursion to the national park, the day was finally concluded with the screening of the movie “Bridge over the Wadi”, a documentary directed by Barak and Tomer Heymann about a bilingual school called “Bridge over the Wadi” located in northern Israel that co-educates Arab and Israeli children. The school teaches bilingually, each class has two teachers, an Arab and Israeli, and the whole school holds an equal number of Arab and Jewish pupils. The documentary illustrates the daily life at school, how the children play together in their free time and how the parents of both sides come together to discuss concerns and problems that arise in the course of time.

During the following round of talks which was moderated by Giorgi Gvakharia, who had also introduced this film on other occasions, the participants mainly talked about their personal feelings whilst watching the movie. Strikingly, the majority of participants shared the impression that the parents of the children attending this school were having more difficulties in accepting and dealing with each other and were overburdening their children with prejudices and unresolved hostilities that are not able to be solved by the children alone. Additionally, a heated discussion arose on the question whether such a project would make sense in general, that is, as to whether children should be forced to spend time together and make friendships, when later in life they might meet again as “enemies”.

Yet, it was also argued that such projects should be supported and may also function as a role model for other conflicts and regions in the world. It was also stated that educating younger generations seems to be one of the starting points to solve conflicts in the long run. However, this question finally remained unanswered even after a long and lively discussion among the participants of the summer school.

Day 4: Friday, October 9, 2009: Conflict and Conflict Management

Panel Session “Conflicts and Democratization” – Andrea Gawrich, University of Kiel / Marietta König, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, Hamburg



The fourth day was opened up by a panel on “Conflicts and Democratization”, offering Andrea Gawrich and Marietta König the possibility to speak about the relevant concepts and debates in the social sciences. Whilst Andrea Gawrich informed about the definitions used to describe democracy and democratization, Marietta König referred to several definitions used to describe the notion of conflicts.

Introducing the Program: Andrea Gawrich, Tobias Debiel, Marietta König

Additionally, she offered a brief overview on the history of external intervention in the South Caucasus, describing the missions of the most important international actors such as the United Nations, the European Union and the OSCE. Referring to her own research, she also argued that one of the problems of the United Nations Observer Mission to Georgia was that it was faced with people on the ground that were not willing to come to a compromise.



Panel Session “Conflicts and Democratization” Andrea Gawrich

Discussion of Research Studies on the topic “Conflict, Flight and Expulsion”

After the panel session the participants again assembled in small working groups and discussed the following papers that focused on “Conflict, Flight and Expulsion”.

- Raising Awareness of the Need and Problems of the IDPs from the Zkhinvali Region and the Ways of Overcoming them (Ekaterine Tsereteli)
- Adaption of returnee families in Armenia (Alina Pogosyan)
- Return Migration and its Input in Origin Country Development (Ketevan Krause)
- European Neighborhood Policy, Migration Process and Labour Markets of the neighboring countries (Rufat Efendiyev)

Panel Session “European Integration: Political and Normative Framework for Change” – Heinz-Jürgen Axt, University of Duisburg-Essen



The day then continued with a presentation by Heinz-Jürgen Axt on “European Integration: Political and Normative Framework for Change”: He primarily focused on the question whether conflict settlement may be achieved through Europeanization. Thereby he elaborated on the basic logic underlying this assumption, namely that the logic of European integration is transferred to the Europeanization of neighboring countries.

Panel Session “European Integration” Wim van Meurs, Heinz-Jürgen Axt

In the following, Heinz-Jürgen Axt presented results from his ongoing research project at the University of Duisburg-Essen: the projects examines whether the continuously increasing interweaving in the sphere of politics and economy also promotes the peaceful and regulated forms of conflict-management, commonly accepted in the EU, in that way contributes to a new culture of discussion in further growing Europe.

Roundtable “The Eastern Partnership and the South Caucasus: The EU between Exclusion and Inclusion” – Heinz-Jürgen Axt, University of Duisburg-Essen / Andrea Gawrich, University of Kiel, Alexander Iskandaryan, Caucasus Institute, Yerevan / Iris Kempe, HBS, Tbilisi / Badri Kochoradze / Institute for European Studies, Tbilisi

Andrea Gawrich, Alexander Iskandaryan, Iris Kempe and Badri Kochoradze joined Heinz-Jürgen Axt for the final panel session of the day focusing on the EU and the Eastern Partnership that was launched in 2009. Heinz-Jürgen Axt opened up the debate with the statement that the European enlargement policy has to be seen as the most successful policy – despite the fact that the deepening of the EU has clearly failed and improvement of institutions, decision-making and democratization of the EU remains open until today. With special regard to the Eastern Partnership, Iris Kempe brought to mind the fact that the EaP firstly offers a new toolbox of bilateral agreements and secondly also brings in civil society. However, as Alexander Iskandaryan argued, there are also countries where the vast majority of the population is not informed about the EaP at all or has hardly heard anything about the European Union itself. Hence, once more it was argued by the speakers and also the participants to pay more attention to the emergence of a strong and informed civil society. Also, as Andrea Gawrich mentioned, the local perception of the EaP in the neighboring countries comes into play and has important consequences for the successful implementation of the Eastern Partnership and its instruments. Badri Kochoardze finally argued again in favor of the EaP which was created as a continuation of the European Neighborhood Policy with the successful instrument of conditionality.

Day 5: Saturday, October 10, 2009: The Caucasus and Europe

Interactive Session “External Democracy Promotion” – Andrea Gawrich, University of Kiel

The concluding day was again directed towards one of the central themes of the summer school. In an interactive session on “External Democracy Promotion”, Andrea Gawrich firstly presented major concepts of external democracy promotion. In doing so, she offered general definition of democracy promotion, meaning the attempt by external actors trying to influence and change the political order and the structures of political decision-making processes in certain states in such a way that they correspond to a minimum of democratic



Interactive Session “External Democracy Promotion”

standards. Andrea Gawrich also referred to the definition of democracy, based on the contributions of Bernhard Frevel. In a second step, the participants discussed questions in small working groups and presented their results to the plenary later on. The main question addressed was to which extent the EU is perceived as an “external democracy promoter” in the three countries of the region and whether there are any imaginable alternatives to the EU or Europeanization and the ENP, e.g. by other regional organizations. Interestingly, the majority of participants largely agreed on the estimation that indeed the EU was seen as the major framework for political and social transformation in the South Caucasus and also for democracy promotion in the region. The participants themselves also felt as belonging to the future generation contributing to the creation of a more democratic and tolerant political culture in the South Caucasus.

Ending of the Summer School

After having discussed this matter of reflection, the participants came together for the final remarks made by Tobias Debiel. He briefly summed up the central themes and core results of the summer school, pointing out the importance of bringing together researchers and young scientists from both, Germany and the South Caucasus, to create better understanding and a closer network for the exchange of ideas on the topics discussed during the summer school. He also underscored the fact that the young scientists are to take over an important part in the processes of political and social transformation in the South Caucasus, hoping that by way of attending the summer school the participants were able to gain insights into the current findings in the field of peace, conflict, transition, European and regional studies. He thanked the organizers of the summer school, that is, Iris Kempe and Nino Lejava on behalf of the Regional Office South Caucasus of the Heinrich Boell Foundation and Corinne Heaven on behalf of the University of Duisburg-Essen. At the end, he warmly thanked the experts and participants for their involvement and commitment and finalized the summer school wishing the participants well for their future personal and professional lives.



View towards the village of Bakuriani

Annex

Program

PROGRAM OF THE SUMMER SCHOOL:
CONFLICT AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS:
State Building between National Identity and Europeanization

Day 1 (Tuesday, October 6, 2009): Introduction and Methods

10.00-10.30	Opening and Introduction to the Program		Tobias Debiel / University of Duisburg-Essen, Iris Kempe and Nino Lejava /HBS, Tbilisi
10.30-11.30	Interactive round of introductions		
12:00-13.30	The Caucasus: Conflict, Transformation and National Identity		Alexander Iskandaryan / Caucasus Institute, Yerevan, Sergey Rumyansev / Institute of Philosophy and political-judicial Research, Baku
15:00-17:00	Methods of Social Sciences – Introduction Politization of the Social Sciences		Gayane Shagoyan / Institute for Archaeology and Anthropology, Yerevan Viktor Voronkov / Centre for Independent Social Research, Petersburg
17:30-19:00	Remembering Communism - Making Sense of Post-Communism: An Analysis of Discursive Strategies in Post-Soviet Textbook Accounts		Barbara Christophe / European University Viadrina Frankfurt Oder
19:30-20:30	Paneuropean Culinary Dinner		

Day 2 (Wednesday, October 7, 2009):
National Identity and Social Transformation

10.00– 11.00	Change of National Identity		Wim van Meurs / Radboud University Nijmegen, Levan Gigineishvili /Ilia- Tschawtschawadze University Tbilisi
11:00– 12:00	Discussion of Research Studies on the topic „Change of National Identity” (1,2)		
	Working group 1	Concept and perceptions around Nation-states within the history text- books in Armenia and Georgia - Satenik Mkrtchyan Peace through Civil Identity – Civil Integration of Ethnical Minorities in Georgia - Tamar Iakobidze	Moderated by Levan Gigineishvili
	Working group 2	Presenting Armenian Traditional Culture in the Yerevan Vernissage - Hamlet Melkumyan	Moderated by Wim van Meurs
12.30-13.30	Discussion of Research Studies on the topic “Change of National Identity” (3,4)		
	Working group 3	The Role of Urban Space in Townsman Identity Construction - Shushanik Yepiskoposyan Homosexuality in the Tbilisi Urban Culture: a	Moderated by Lado Vardosanidze

		non-defined subculture - Shorena Gabunia	
	Working group 4	The Peaceful Dialogue between Georgian and Abkhazian Representatives of Youth - Ia Melkadze The European Union's Role in Conflict Resolution Process – Cases of Georgia and Moldova - Sophio Barbakadze	Moderated by Wim van Meurs
15:00-16:00	Social Transformation		Ingrid Oswald / University of Munich, Viktor Voronkov / Centre for Independent Social Research, Petersburg
16:00–17:00	Discussion of Research Studies on the topic „Social Transformation“ (5,6)		
	Working group 5	Social Status for the Children With Special Educational Needs in Class - Teona Lodia Socially and Culturally Constructed Motivations of Georgian Women's Migration - Tamta Melashvili	Moderated by Ingrid Oswald
	Working group 6	Democratization Experiences and Challenges - Metin Asgar Key Problems of Georgia - Mariana Menteshashvili	Moderated by Malkhaz Saldadze
17:30-18:30	Discussion of Research Studies on the topic „Social Transformation“		

	(7,8)		
	Working group 7	<p>Conflict Prevention, Conflict Management - Jon Catshoek</p> <p>External Actors and EU Security Governance in the Southern Caucasus - Esther Ademmer</p>	Moderated by Barbara Christophe
	Working Group 8	<p>State-Building Process in Georgia - Gvantsa Abdaladze</p> <p>Conflict and Conflict Management, Political Transformation and State Building - Hovhannes R. Nikoghosyan</p>	Moderated by Tobias Debiel
20:00-21:30	The Russian-Georgian war in 2008: Between emotion and analysis: Chat at the campfire		<p>Iris Kempe / HBS, Tbilisi, Viktor Voronkov / Centre for Independent Social Research, Petersburg, Paata Zakareishvili / Centre for Development and Cooperation, Tbilisi, Alexander Iskandaryan / Caucasus Institute, Yerevan</p>

**Day 3 (Thursday October 8, 2009):
Political Transformation and Fragile Statehood**

10:00-11:30	Political Transformation and Fragile Statehood		Marietta König /IFSH Hamburg / Paata Zakareishvili /Centre for Development and Cooperation, Tbilisi
12:00-13:30	Roundtable: Political Transformation and State Building: The South Caucasus and European experiences	Heinz-Jürgen Axt / University of Duisburg-Essen, Andrea Gawrich / University of Kiel, Marietta König / IFSH Hamburg, Malchaz Saldadze / Ilia-Tschwtschawadze-University Tbilisi), Paata Zakareishvili / Centre for Development and Cooperation, Tbilisi	Moderated by Tobias Debiel
15:00-19:00	<i>Excursion Borjomi-Kharagauli National Park</i>		
20:30-22:00	Screening from the film festival „Nationality: Human: “Bridge over the Wadi” and subsequent debate	<i>Israel, 2006, 55 min., Director: Barak and Tomer Heymann</i>	Introduction: Giorgi Gvakharia

Day 4 (Friday, October 9, 2009): Conflict and Conflict Management

10:00-11:30	Conflicts and Democratization		Andrea Gawrich / University of Kiel, Marietta König / IFSH Hamburg
12:00-13:30	Working groups on Research Studies on the topic „Conflict, Flight and Expulsion“ (9,10)		
	Working group 9	Raising Awareness of the Need and Problems of the IDPs from Zkhinvali Region and the Ways of Overcoming them - Ekaterina Tsereteli Adaptation of the returnee families in Armenia - Alina Pogosyan	Moderated by Viktor Voronkov
	Working group 10	Return Migration and its Input in Origin Country Development - Ketevan Krause European Neighbourhood Policy, Migration Process and Labour Markets of the countries neighbours - Rufat Efendiyev	Moderated by Tobias Debiel
14:30-15:30	Reports from the working groups		Moderated by Tobias Debiel
15:30-16:00	Coffee break		
16:00-17:00	European Integration: Political and		Heinz-Jürgen Axt / University of Duisburg- Essen

	Normative Reference Framework for Change		
17:00-18:30	Roundtable with subsequent discussion: The Eastern Partnership and South Caucasus: The EU between exclusion and inclusion	Heinz-Jürgen Axt / University of Duisburg-Essen, Andrea Gawrich / University of Kiel, Alexander Iskandaryan / Caucasus Institute, Yerevan / Iris Kempe, HBS, Tbilisi, Badri Kochoradze / Institute for European Studies, University Tbilisi	Moderated by Tobias Debiel

Day 5 (Saturday, October 10, 2009): The Caucasus and Europe

10:00-11:30	External Democracy Promotion		Andrea Gawrich / University of Kiel
11:30-12:20	Evaluation		
13:30	Departure		

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