

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF ARMENIA

MODELS OF COEXISTENCE OF ARMENIANS AND  
AZERBAIJANIS IN GEORGIA

---

A MASTER ESSAY SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE SCHOOL OF  
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
FOR PARTIAL FULFILLEMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS

BY  
GRETA AVETISYAN

YEREVAN, ARMENIA

APRIL 2014

SIGNATURE PAGE

---

Faculty Advisor

Date

---

Program Chair

Date

American University of Armenia

APRIL 2014

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would not have been possible to write this Master's thesis without the help and support of the people around me, to only some of whom I give particular mention here.

Above all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my Faculty Advisor Dr. Vahram Ter-Matevosyan for the continuous support of my study and research, for his patience, motivation, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me in all the time of my research and writing of this thesis. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my Master's essay. The good advice, support and friendship of my supervisor have been invaluable on both an academic and an individual level, for which I am extremely grateful.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the Program Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Affairs Dr. Shumavon for his guidance, for his help during the whole process of doing the research and writing the Master's essay. I also want to thank him for always reminding us about the coming deadlines for submitting each chapter and keeping us in the track.

Furthermore, I want to express my special thanks to the whole faculty and staff of the School of the Political Science and International Affairs for the support and the encouragement that I got during these two unforgettable years. The atmosphere, the smiling and friendly faces that one can find at AUA are invaluable and make you not simply study, but also enjoy every moment spent in the campus.

I owe my deepest gratitude to my colleges, the staff of the European Integration NGO, for their support, their positive atmosphere and their encouragement to believe in me and write a good Master's essay. My heartfelt appreciation goes to Karen Bekaryan, the president of the European Integration NGO, for his advice, guidance and the help to do my survey in the Marneuli region in Georgia.

Special thanks to my friends and my mentor Madlene Minasyan for always being with me, encouraging me and giving me helpful advice. I also want to thank Arthur Atanesyan for helping me to develop my survey questionnaire.

Finally, I want to thank to all the experts interviewed for the research for patiently answering my questions and for having their contribution in having a quality paper, as they opened a lot of aspects of my research that would be difficult or even impossible to find in any literature.

## Contents

Abstract.....	6
Introduction.....	7
Literature Review.....	9
Methodology.....	21
<b>Chapter 1: Protection of the Rights of Minorities and Georgia’s Politics towards its Ethnic Groups.....</b>	<b>23</b>
1.1 Minority Rights .....	23
1.2 Minority Rights in Georgia.....	29
1.3 Georgia’s Politics towards Minorities .....	33
1.4 ENP Progress Reports.....	36
<b>Chapter 2: Primary Data Analysis.....</b>	<b>39</b>
Conclusion.....	51
Bibliography.....	54
Appendix1.....	59
Appendix2.....	64
Appendix3.....	65

## **Abstract**

Georgia is a multi-ethnic country with the largest minority groups being Azerbaijanis and Armenians. These national minorities are mainly concentrated in two regions: Kvemo Kartli, where the majority of the population is Azerbaijanis and Samtskhe-Javakheti – Armenians constituting the majority. This study puts its main emphasis on the Marneuli region in the Kvemo-Kartli region where both Armenians and Azerbaijanis live, though Azerbaijanis are the majority, comprising 80% of the population, and Armenians comprising 5%. The aim of the paper is to find the factors that have given rise to the model of peaceful coexistence of these two minority groups irrespective of the conflict between the two nations over Nagorno-Karabakh.

The purpose of the present Master's essay is to find the factors that contribute to the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region in Georgia. The ultimate aim is to find and explore the models which help both Azerbaijanis and Armenians live next door to each other without any conflict and to prove that these two people are able to get along fine.

The topic studied is quite relevant nowadays for several reasons. First of all, everyone knows that tensions between Azerbaijanis and Armenians still continue and these tensions come from the conflict that arose about 26 years ago. Many people in Artsakh cannot imagine themselves living with Azerbaijanis in the same territory. This is because of their historical memory and because of the bad implications associated with Azerbaijanis. Still president, Robert Kocharyan also in one occasion expressed such an opinion that Armenians and Azerbaijanis are genetically incompatible. However, in the Marneuli region in Georgia there are Armenians and Azerbaijanis who live together without any conflict. Besides, little research has been done on finding the factors that have contributed to the maintenance of the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region in Georgia.

## Introduction

The Master's essay reviews what has been done different scholars so far on finding out the models of peaceful coexistence in different parts of the world, also of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region. To have a full understanding of those factors, the paper gives the definitions of nationality and ethnicity by different scholars, then concentrates on the Georgian politics, constitutional and legal provisions concerning the protection of the rights of national minorities and their possible integration. Special attention is paid on the administrations of the presidents of Georgia and the differences of their policies. The aim of putting a special emphasis on the policies of the presidents is to see whether their policies have had any impact on the lives of the people living in the Marneuli region and whether their administrations have played any role in the formation of the model of peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Finally, the paper concentrates on the Marneuli region and with the help of the survey done among the people living in this region and the interviews with experts tries to give a full picture of the model of coexistence and the factors that have contributed to it.

*H1: The peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region of Georgia has been ensured by the strong central administration and the belief of the ethnic groups that politics should be kept away from their places of residence.*

To prove this hypothesis, the following research questions should be answered:

*RQ 1: What were the policies of the three Georgian presidents towards the ethnic groups of the country?*

*RQ 2: What are the factors that have contributed to the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region in Georgia?*

*RQ 3: What role have the central authorities and the self-governing bodies of Georgia played in ensuring the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region?*

*RQ 4: What are the perceptions of Armenians and Azerbaijanis concerning the fact that despite the existence of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, they can peacefully live together?*



## Literature Review

### *Nationalism*

Nationalism was one of the most important and the most powerful concepts of the twentieth century and it still remains so. This concept can be considered revolutionary in the international politics. It has been the cause of the collapse of the European empires; it has ended colonialism, and has eroded the basis of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia (Barrington, 2006).

Brubaker (2011) considers the language of nationalism to be an international discourse that has been adapted to the new settings and has sometimes been mixed with different traditions. All these, according to him, form a kind of a package that has both organizational and cultural components. The organizational component contains the main characteristics of the bureaucratic territorial state that is governed by a direct rule and through a bureaucratic administrative staff. By saying the cultural component Brubaker means the collective idea of peoplehood, nationhood and citizenship, and those people that are ruled by the state are not the subjects of that state but the citizens. Citizens in this case are understood in the form of collectivity, a nation that possesses common features and characters (Brubaker, 2011).

There are various definitions of nationalism, but these definitions are mainly overlapping and stress the importance of understanding the concept of the nation before passing to nationalism. Smith (2010) posits that while defining the concept of the nation one should not forget to make a distinction between the objective factors, like language, territory, religion and subjective ones – attitude and perception. Stalin (1954) in his work “Marxism and the National Question” gives the objective definition of nation by stating that “A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture” (Stalin, 1954, p. 306). He also suggests distinguishing between a national community

and a state community as the former cannot be perceived without a common language, whereas the latter does not necessarily need to have a common language (Stalin, 1954). The subjective definition of the nation is given by Benedict Anderson (1991) who defines a nation as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson, 1991, p. 6).

Barrington gives the definition of nationalism by stating that “Nationalism is the pursuit – through argument or other activity – of a set of rights and privileges for the self-defined members of the nation, including at a minimum, territorial autonomy or independence” (Barrington, 2006, p. 10). As in the case of nation, nationalism is also about people and not a state, thus it has nothing to do with ethnic politics and ethnic conflicts. Barrington states that ethnic politics which is about “political mobilization of people based on ethnicity” (Barrington, 2006, p. 8) cannot be the same as nationalism, though it can be considered as a basis for it. He also posits that nationalism is about territorial control, and as there is still the use of the concept of nation-state, nationalism is very often being associated with patriotism, which should not be the case (Barrington, 2006).

Another debate about nationalism is whether it is a belief or a movement. The definition of nationalism as a belief is given by Haas, who states “nationalism is a belief held by a group of people that they ought to constitute a nation, or that they already are one” (Haas, 1986, p.727). For some other scientists nationalism is a movement or an action that is formed from the perceptions of the groups to take control over their homeland (Barrington, 2006).

## **Ethnicity**

While speaking about nationalism, it is also important to speak about ethnic groups to understand the roots of the nationalist movements. Giving a full understanding of the roots of

nationalist movements is indispensable for this paper as it was the rise of nationalist movement which led to the independence of Artsakh and made the relations of Armenians and Azerbaijanis even tenser.

According to Brubaker (2004) there are two types of ethnic groups: one type is that ethnic groups are formed due to migration and are territorially dispersed and the other is the ethnic group that is formed by the movement of borders and not people. The latter type of ethnic group is territorially concentrated. The first type is characteristic to the Western Europe and the second type to the Central and Eastern Europe. The people belonging to the second type believe that they belong to a certain ethnic group and also to a certain nationality that is different from the people living in the same territory, whereas in the Western Europe not all ethnic claims can be considered as national claims (Brubaker, 2004).

Jenkins brings up some important features of ethnicity. First of all, he posits that “ethnicity is not fixed, it is situationally defined” (Jenkins, 2008, p.19), and he also mentions that there are ethnic boundaries when there is an interaction between “them” and “us”. Modood and Berthoud (1997) also mention about the boundaries between “them” and “us”, but they also posit that these boundaries are recognized by both sides. Thus, they consider ethnicity to be multi- faceted one including in itself physical appearance, culture, religion, stereotypes and social exclusion (Modood and Berthoud, 1997). The aspect of culture-bearing of ethnic groups has been developed by Barth (1969), who states that the classification of people belonging to this or that group should depend on the demonstration of concrete traits of culture. By referring to the traits of culture Barth does not only mean the fact that these traits show the history of adapting to this or that environment, but as well the fact that it also shows the external circumstances that influence to the ethnic groups and make them become accommodated. However, he also argues that though cultural traits are important in the case of ethnic groups, they cannot be considered to be very objective sum of differences or

similarities, as it is the members of the group that identify the level of significance of those traits. Some of these traits may be used as a signal for differences, while others for this or that reason may be ignored (Barth, 1969).

In this regard it is necessary to mention about ethnic markers that are identified both by Barth (1969) and by Horowitz (1985). Barth speaks about two orders of cultural traits of ethnic groups, the first group representing the signals that are used to show identity, such as language, dress and the second group more concentrated on moral standards to show the performance of ethnic groups. Horowitz also distinguishes between two types of ethnic markers, but in spite of Barth he puts the signals such as dress and language in different groups. He differentiates visible and non-visible ethnic markers, visible ones being dress, gestures, bearing and non-visible ones being different forms of language and culture (Barth, 1969; Horowitz, 1985).

Besides different characteristics of ethnicity and different markers, ethnicity can also be explained through different theories. Rudolph (2006) explains ethnicity through primordialism, constructionism and structuralism or instrumentalism. According to the primordial theory “ethnicity is a natural trait rooted in the individual’s birth into an ancestral gene pool or shared cultural network,” (Rudolph, 2006, p. 4). Constructionist theory views ethnicity as an evolving concept. It is concentrated on the durability of ethnic identity. Instrumentalist theory defines ethnicity as the utility of ethnic identity. According to this theory ethnicity is used to achieve personal goals (Rudolph, 2006).

Thus, the paper by comprehensively explaining the concepts of nationalism, ethnicity and ethnic groups, illustrating their characteristics, the main features and introducing different approaches, prepares a further platform for showing the differences and similarities of Armenians and Azerbaijanis living in Georgia. Regarding the content and the scope of the research the following definitions of nationalism and ethnicity will be considered to be

relevant: “Nationalism is the pursuit – through argument or other activity – of a set of rights and privileges for the self-defined members of the nation, including at a minimum, territorial autonomy or independence” (Barrington, 2006, p. 10) and “Ethnicity is aspects of relationships between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive” (Eriksen, 2002, p. 4).

The justification of choosing these definitions for the paper is that in the case of the conflict over Nsgorno-Karabakh Republic, everything started from the right of the Artsakh people to self-determination and for acquisition of independence. In the case of the definition of ethnicity, the reason for choosing this one is that Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region in Georgia regard themselves and are regarded by others as being culturally distinctive.

Understanding ethnic markers suggested by Barth and Horowitz will also help to delve deep into the relationships between Armenians and Azerbaijanis and find the existing models of their coexistence.

### *Coexistence*

In international relations the term coexistence started to be used in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and referred to the peaceful, but limited relations between states, while the term “peaceful coexistence” started to be extensively used after the Cold War and mainly in the context of the US and the USSR relations. Using this term for the relations for these two states was first a cover for aggression towards each other, but later the term started to be used as a means for the rapprochement of the two countries (Berns and Fitzduff, 2007).

In 1980s the term peaceful coexistence according to Weiner (2000) was based on such principles as “nonaggression, respect for sovereignty, national independence, and noninterference in internal affairs” (Weinner, 2000, p. 15).

While in the 20<sup>th</sup> century coexistence mainly referred to the relations between two states, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century this term started to be more widely used when speaking about the relations between groups within a state. This change was due to the escalation of the tensions in the Balkans, India, Sri Lanka, the Middle East, Nigeria, Indonesia, etc. Thus, the diversity within states brought about cultural, religious, ethnic conflicts between different groups (Berns and Fitzduff, 2007).

Therefore the definition of coexistence that is to this new reality was given at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are a lot of definitions of coexistence referring to this new reality, but this paper will build its arguments on two definitions: “Coexistence is recognizing each other’s status and rights as human beings, developing a just and inclusive vision for each community’s future, and implementing economic, social, cultural or political development across former community divides” (Babbitt, 2002, p. 17) and “Coexistence is a state in which two or more groups are living together while respecting their differences and resolving their conflicts nonviolently” (Khaminwa, 2003, p. 1). The choice of this two definitions for the paper is based on the fact that these two are the ones that are very close to the topic researched and they two complement each other by giving a full picture of what the term coexistence means.

At the center of coexistence is the perception of the fact that groups differ from each other by class, religion, ethnicity, language, etc. However, the policy of coexistence decreases the possibility of conflict between the different groups and helps them leave in peace. Berns and Fitzduff (2007) state, that the term coexistence puts diversity into a positive context and considers the use of weapons against each other not possible. They argue that while speaking

about the relationships between ethnic and religious groups one should go beyond the scope of the notion of “tolerance” and refer to coexistence which presupposes equality and interdependence (Ibid).

Khaminwa (2003) differentiates between two types of coexistence – active and passive. She calls active coexistence the one where different groups within a country accept their diversity; respect the right of equal access to resources and to all aspects of life. This kind of coexistence that is based on equality, inclusion and justice contributes to the peace in the region where different ethnic groups live. In the case of passive coexistence, Khaminwa states that in contrast to the active type of coexistence, there is little interaction between different ethnic groups and there is little equality as well. Though she argues that this lack of equality and justice does not necessarily mean that there should be violence in the society, it is also unlikely that this type of coexistence can contribute to resolution of any kind of conflict that may exist in that society (Khaminwa, 2003).

The table shown below given by Khaminva suggests the tools of coexistence that will help to reduce and eliminate violence and will take the societies into higher integration levels.

<b>Category</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Conflict prevention:	Disarmament, conversion
Conflict management:	Peacekeeping
Conflict resolution:	Mediation, negotiation, dialogues
Post-conflict reconstruction:	Refugee return, combatant demobilization and reintegration, restorative justice, reconciliation
Educational programs:	Diversity initiatives, multicultural and peace education, and minority rights awareness
Policy:	Integrating social justice and diversity in institutions

*(Khaminwa, 2003, p. 2)*

Thus, we see that she suggests six tools for peaceful coexistence, the first being conflict prevention and the last suggestion being those kinds of policies that would integrate diversity in institutions.

Besides these tools suggested by Khaminwa, Conflict Research Consortium (1998) suggests two approaches of coexistence: the first approach according to this Consortium is the ignorance of differences between ethnic and religious groups, thus seeking to minimize the existing diversity and the second is accepting the differences, respecting the uniqueness of the groups and also recognizing their equality and their rights. Conflict Research Consortium calls the first approach “melting pot”, bringing the example of America, where different cultures, languages and religions were blended to form one national identity that is Americans. Till 1970’s there was a kind of trend among minority groups that wanted to be melted with white society. This period of “melting pot” is best characterized by the famous speech of Martin Luther who said: “I have a dream that little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character” (Analytic Technologies, 1963). These words mean that Luther was suggesting treat everyone in the same way not paying attention to their color, national origin or race (Margolis, 2010; Analytic Technologies, 1963; Conflict Research Consortium, 1998).

After 1970’s many scholars started to question the concept of “melting pot”, suggesting that the American society should be considered as a society of different ethnic groups, thus giving rise to the concept of multiculturalism. This meant that every people had the right to have the same opportunities as all people, have equal right to use their own culture, language and religion in the country they live. However, many scholars consider that the rise of multiculturalism gave rise to conflicts within states (Conflict Research Consortium, 1998; David, 2010).

Between these two approaches of coexistence, Conflict Research Consortium (1998) states that there are a lot of other approaches, one of them expressing the idea of respect for diversity, but at the same time stressing the importance of unity (Conflict Research Consortium, 1998).



To prove that the term “peaceful coexistence” is not just a theory and it is really put into practice, the paper brings the example of Bosnia-Herzegovina and shows that even during the days of war there were cities where people belonging to different religion and ethnicity were living together peacefully and doing everything in order not to let their cities to be destructed. During the Bosnian War (1992-1995) there were cities across Bosnia and Herzegovina where the inhabitants, despite of the differences of religion and ethnicity, came together not letting the war aggression divide them into parts. The efforts of the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina belonging to different ethnic and religious groups, contributed to the creation of diversity within the united communities, thus serving as a good example for peaceful coexistence of different ethnic groups (Telibečirović, 2009). Burg and Shoup (1999) state that the reason why Bosnia-Herzegovina was an example of multiethnic coexistence before the war erupted was the fact that the authorities had managed to exercise control over the ethnic communities and to assure them that they were completely secured in Yugoslavia (Burg and Shoup, 1999).

However, it was not only the pre-war period that one can speak about the peaceful coexistence of the people living in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Stuebner (2009) brings four factors that have contributed to the peaceful coexistence of the people living here till nowadays. The first one that she brings is the fact that before 1945 the three major religions – the Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church and Islam – during the different periods of the Bosnian history have been close to the ruling authorities, thus being given special status. However, during the rule of the Yugoslav Communist Party that was from 1945 to 1990, religion had no influence over the people, as the role of it was underestimated by the authorities and considered not to be important (Stuebner, 2009).

The second factor contributing to the peaceful coexistence of different religious groups in Bosnia was the absence of the religious education during the Communist Party rule. The

third factor was the politically not active clergies, because of the separation between the state and the church. Stuebner (2009) argues that the fourth reason why people belonging to different religions live in peace is because of the historical memory, when once all of them had a common enemy – the Communist Party (Ibid).

By giving this example of the peaceful coexistence of different religious groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and explaining the factors that have contributed to it, the paper shows one type of peaceful coexistence stating that this term is not only used in theory but as well have been put into practice. As the paper progresses the next subtitle already passes to the main topic of the research and shows how Armenians and Azerbaijanis live in the Marneuli region in Georgia and illustrates their peaceful coexistence.

### *Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Georgia*

According to the recent survey conducted by the Caucasus Resource Research Centers in Armenia and Azerbaijan, 70 percent of Armenians and 97 percent of Azerbaijanis said that they couldn't have friendly relations with each other (Caucasus Resource Research Center, 2010). This is not a big surprise, as since 1989 there have been hostile relations between these two countries because of the disputed question of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

Everything is quite different in Georgia, where ethnic Armenians and Azerbaijanis live side by side very peacefully. In the 1990's when Armenia and Azerbaijan were fighting against each other, in Sadakhlo where 13,000 Azerbaijanis live and which is near the Armenian border, a market was established, which became a source of income for many Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Georgians. Banfield, Gunduz and Killick (2006) argue that Sadakhlo market was a place where Armenians and Azerbaijanis trusted each other and even at the peak of the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian and Azerbaijani traders continued their good relations. To support their argument as an

example they quote the words of an Armenian trader, who said “It wasn’t us ordinary people who started the conflict, so why should we stick our nose in it?” (Banfield, Gunduz and Killick, 2006, p. 539).

It is not only Sadakhlo in the Kvemo-Kartli district where Armenians and Azerbaijanis have lived and still live without any conflict. There are a lot of villages in the Marneuli region where the Armenian and the Azerbaijani children study in the same class, play with each other, etc. In these villages intermarriages are also common.

In their article Krikorian, Janmmamadova, et al (2011), bring a lot of examples of Armenians and Azerbaijanis living together in Marneuli region. For the people living in that region the fact that Armenians and Azerbaijanis live and work together is not a surprise and is a usual thing. These authors bring an example of the two villages where both Armenians and Azerbaijanis live: Tsopi, where the majority is Azerbaijanis and Khoudjourni, where the majority is Armenians. They posit that for the people living in these villages the war over Nagorno-Karabakh has never happened and they continue living in the same land and share similar traditions and culture. The words of a woman from Khoudjourni give a full picture of the relations between these two nations: “You cannot separate a nail from your finger without bleeding and causing yourself severe pain. We cannot do without the other. This is how we were and how we will always be.” (Krikorian, Janmmamadova, et al, 2011, p. 18).

Thus, the aforementioned studies of the authors brought above confirm that the administrations of the Georgian presidents had played their role in the concentration of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region as during the periods of the three presidents the national minorities were not given much chance to integrate into their country. In spite of some policies for the protection of the rights of the minorities, they have been largely ignored. Ethnic groups have not been given a chance to become a part of Georgia’s political and cultural structure. Concerning the peaceful coexistence of these two minority

groups, it becomes obvious that for ordinary Armenian and Azerbaijani people living in Georgia the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh does not exist, they are less concerned with politics and do not want to stick their nose in it. Sadakhlo market was an model of coexistence, which proved, that the peaceful coexistence of these two nations is more than possible.

As there are very few studies done on the regard of finding the factors contributing to the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Marneuli, and the authors brought above were the only ones who have referred to this topic, the paper further carries out content and document analysis and collects primary data in order to add a new insight into the research already done

## **Methodology**

For addressing the research questions and proving the hypothesis, mixed method – both quantitative and qualitative, is used in this Master’s essay. The explanatory design of the qualitative method is used for secondary data collection (statistical data, legislative documents, international organizations’ reports) to support the findings of the research paper. Also exploratory design of the quantitative method is used to analyze the survey conducted among the people living in the Marneuli region.

Content analysis of different books, legislative documents and International organizations’ reports are conducted to find about the policies of Gamsakhurdia’s, Shevardnadze’s and Saakashvili’s administrations towards the national minorities of the country, the legal documents that they have ratified concerning the minority rights protection. The analysis of the European Neighborhood Policy Progress Reports from 2004 to 2012 is also carried out to see the progress and also the drawbacks of the Republic of Georgia concerning the protection of the minority rights.

The survey was conducted in the Marneuli region in Georgia in 5 villages, where both Armenians and Azerbaijanis live (Budyonovka (163 people live, 34 % are Azerbaijanis and 55 % are Armenians), Norgyugi (567 people, Azerbaijanis – 22 %, Armenians – 63 %), Khoudjourni (842 people, Azerbaijanis – 21 %, Armenians – 78 %), Tsopi (746 people, Azerbaijanis – 62 %, Armenians – 34 %), Shulaveri (1787 people, Azerbaijanis – 53 %, Armenians – 23 %, Georgians – 21 %)) (State Statistics Department of Georgia, 2003). 60 survey questionnaires were filled in during a week (March 14-21), as the villages chosen were far from each other and the collection of data was quite difficult. The above mentioned villages were chosen among other villages, as these are the ones where both Armenians and Azerbaijanis live. The questionnaire was both in Armenian and in Azerbaijani. The aim of the survey was to find out the perceptions of Armenians and Azerbaijanis towards each other

and also towards the role of the central authorities of Georgia for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Georgia.

Four in-depth expert interviews were conducted to support the findings from the primary data collection. The interviewers are: Vahe Sargsyan (expert of Georgia in “Mitq” analytical center), Johnny Melikyan (expert on Georgian affairs), Sergey Minasyan (political scientist, the head of the Caucasus Media Institute (CMI)) and Hrant Melikyan (expert and researcher on Georgian Armenians in the Caucasus Media Institute).

Certain indicators are developed to measure the influence of the factors that contribute to the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region in Georgia.

The indicators are the following ones:

- the role of the central authorities of Georgia
- no political influence of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan on the Marneuli region
- the sense of Armenians and Azerbaijanis for the importance of the peaceful coexistence

All these indicators should be met to answer to the research questions and prove the hypothesis.

# ***Chapter 1: Protection of the Rights of Minorities and Georgia's Politics towards its Ethnic Groups***

## ***1.1 Minority Rights***

Despite the fact that the whole international community very often emphasizes the importance of the protection of minority rights, there is no universal definition of the word “minority”. According to Geldenhuys and Rossouw (2001) the absence of the universally acceptable definition of this word is because it gives many countries an opportunity to have an excuse for not dealing with the issues connected with the minorities of their country, claiming that they do not have minorities (Geldenhuys and Rossouw 2001).

Though there are a lot of definitions of the word minority, the paper gives and uses the definition suggested by Francesco Capotorti, Special Rapporteur of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities: “A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members - being nationals of the State - possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language” (Capotorti, 1979, p. 96). This definition is chosen for the paper as it fully describes the word minority and falls under the framework of the research.

The protection of minority rights goes back into history. Firstly it was mainly based on the religious affiliation of minority groups and the first treaty for the protection of minority groups concentrated on this affiliation dates back to 1555. This treaty is called the “Peace of Augsburg”, which was signed between the Roman Imperial Majesty and the Electors, Princes and Estates’ of Germany. According to this treaty religious freedom was given to the Protestants and the Roman Catholics of the country (Geldenhuys and Rossouw 2001).

The next treaty that again came to protect the rights of the religious groups was the Peace of Prague signed in 1635, which gave freedom to the Protestants. However, the force of this treaty did not last long. After that, in 1648 the Treaty of Westphalia, signed between the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France, restored the possessions of the church and gave freedom to the use of religion (Ibid). In the document it says: “who shall demand it, shall have the free Exercise of their Religion, as well in public Churches at the appointed Hours, as in private in their own Houses” (International Relations and Security Network, 2008, p. 7).

Another one that is worth mentioning and can be considered a step forward for the protection of minority rights is the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna of 1815. This Final Act spoke about the preservation of the nationality of Poles, and this was the first time that the word “nationality” was used in that kind of document (Gilbert, 1999).

The next important treaty including a part that protects the rights of minority groups is the Treaty of Versailles signed in 1919 and putting the end of World War I. According to Article 86 and 93 of this treaty obliged Czechoslovakia and Poland respectively to protect the interests of those who had different race, language and religion (Geldenhuis and Rossouw, 2001).

In the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 the mandate of minority protection was given to the League of Nations. On February 8 on the sixth meeting of the Commission the question of minorities was raised and it eventually entered the Paris Peace Conference, and the documents adopted were the so called Minority Treaties. These treaties are considered to be the first systematic protection of minority rights. The aim of these treaties was to guarantee equal rights to the members of the minority groups and to ensure the maintenance of the traditions and the main characteristics (Fink, 2004). The Treaty with Poland in 1919 became a model for the other Treaties of minorities adopted by the League of Nations. This Treaty



distinguished between inhabitants, nationals and religious, ethnic and linguistic minorities. According to this Treaty those living in Poland but not belonging to that nationality were given the right to choose their nationality, also they were given the freedom to choose their religion (Akermark, 1997). Though this Treaty did not give many rights to non-nationals it became a kind of a milestone for other documents on minority rights protection.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations also refers to the minority rights by stating that “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status” (United Nations, 1949, p. 5).

An exact international recognition of the minorities and their rights appeared in the recommendation of the United Nations Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minority Rights in 1954. According to this recommendation those ethnic or religious groups that differed from the rest of the population, were given the right to have their own schools (Geldenhuis and Rossouw, 2001).

The 1957 document on Indigenous and Tribal Populations went beyond the recommendations of the United Nations Sub-commission and described minorities not only from positive perspective and gave them certain rights but also urged the majorities to do steps for protecting the rights of minorities. This document is a recommendation to Independent Countries urging them to recognize the rights of indigenous and tribal populations on land ownership, the right to work and protection against discrimination in the workplace. The recommendation also has some points concerning the right of indigenous and tribal people for receiving health services and education: “Scientific research should be organized and financed with a view to determining the most appropriate methods for the teaching of reading and writing to the children belonging to the populations concerned and

for the utilization of the mother tongue or the vernacular language as a vehicle of instruction” (International Labor Organization, 1957, p.6).

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adopted by the UN in 1966 is the first treaty that exactly prohibits discrimination of the groups that differ from others with race, ethnic origin or color, thus recognizing the rights of the minorities (United Nations, 1966).

The 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the United Nations more exactly defines the rights of the minority groups, as well as the individual that belongs to that group. The Article 27 of this Covenant says: “In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language” (United Nations, 1976, p. 179).

Another positive step towards the protection of the minority rights was the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act by the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in 1975. This Act declares that the states participating should respect the rights of the minorities that live in their territories, give the minorities equal rights with the rest of the population and give opportunities for fundamental freedoms (CSCE, 1975).

The Resolution of 1987 on the languages and cultures of regional and ethnic minorities in the European Community is considered to be a big step forward towards minority rights protection. With this Resolution the European Parliament declared the need for the EU member countries to give legal basis to the use of minority languages in the parts of the country where they are mostly concentrated, allowing them to receive education in their language. The European Parliament also recommends the use of regional and minorities’ languages on the road, public signs and product labeling. The Resolution also has a part

concerning mass media, where the member states are encouraged to take steps for “granting and making possible access to local, regional and central public and commercial broadcasting systems in such a way as to guarantee the continuity and effectiveness of broadcasts in regional and minority languages” (The European Parliament, 1987, p. 3).

It was after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 that the attention for protecting minority rights increased, especially in the Balkans, in the Central and the Eastern Europe (Gilbert, 1999). The Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Copenhagen Document put the basis for strengthening the international law on minority protection. The developments in the Central and the Eastern Europe in the mid 1989 changed the essence of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and transformed it into a major actor in the new European context. In 1990, the “Document of the Bonn Conference” was adopted in the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe. Due to this document the relationship between economic progress and political pluralism first entered into the format of the CSCE. Primarily for this new format the CSCE achieved good results in the sphere of human rights protection. The latter’s results were recorded in the document of the Copenhagen on the human dimension adopted during the conference in Copenhagen that took place from 5 to 29 June 1990. (Bloed and Dijk, 1991).

The Copenhagen Document puts the emphasis on the respect of national minority rights prerequisite for democracy promotion. It illustrates the rights that minorities have, particularly it says that national minorities have the freedom of expression, their own religion, language and culture. Point 31 of the Copenhagen document says: “Persons belonging to national minorities have the right to exercise fully and effectively their human rights and fundamental freedoms without any discrimination and in full equality before the law” (CSCE, 1990, p. 18).

However, the first treaty that dealt only with minority rights and can be considered to be more complex and comprehensive continuation of the Copenhagen Document, was adopted in 1995 proclaimed by the Council of Europe. This document, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, takes into account the fact that the situations in which minorities live, differ from country to country and need different approaches. For this purpose the Convention is mainly about the obligations of states, and not simply the enumeration of the rights of minorities. It encourages the states to adopt appropriate policies that would create conditions for the minorities “to express, preserve and develop their identity” (Council of Europe, 1995, p. 1). The document also stresses the importance of tolerance and dialogue that would give rise to cultural diversity that would not be a dividing factor but would enrich the societies of each state. Article 14 of the Convention refers to the language and education rights of minorities, particularly it says: “The Parties undertake to recognize that every person belonging to a national minority has the right to learn his or her minority language. In areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if there is sufficient demand, the Parties shall endeavor to ensure, as far as possible and within the framework of their education systems, that persons belonging to those minorities have adequate opportunities for being taught the minority language or for receiving instruction in this language” (Council of Europe, 1995, p. 2).

These two documents illustrate the start of the increased process of the protection of minority rights.

The paper by introducing the development of the rights of minorities, their institutionalization by different documents, tries to give a full understanding of the fact that minorities and minority groups have not always been given rights for expression, the use of their language and the freedom to belong to this or that religion. This was quite a long and a

difficult process the product of which was the adoption of international laws that protect the rights of minorities throughout the world. Of course, this is not to say that every single country equally follows these international laws. This mainly depends on the constitution, on the legislation of a particular country and also on the fact whether they have signed these international laws or not. Among the documents, presented above, Georgia has ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Copenhagen Document and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

As the paper tries to find the factors contributing to the coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Georgia, the next part of the paper examines the policies of the three presidents' administrations towards its minorities to find out whether their policies have had any contribution to the factors that make the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis possible. To support the findings international reports on Georgia that contain parts on the protection of minority rights are interpreted which show the progress on the protection of minority rights from the years of Gamsakhurdia to Sahakashvili.

### ***1.2 Minority Rights in Georgia***

In countries, which are ethnically divided, in spite of the fact that there is political plurality, the power is in the hands of several ethnic groups, while others do not have equal participation in the political system. In such countries electoral competition is restricted, as there may be special rules for registering parties, some legal thresholds in the electoral law, etc. To these types of countries belong Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, etc. (Zollinger, 2011).

Since its independence till 2003 Georgia has been a country that had a high level of corruption, the country was highly centralized and little attention was paid on the protection of minority rights of the country. After the Georgian Rose Revolution in 2003, a lot of

reforms took place in different fields of the political system. The Rose revolution occurred mainly because of the corruption and the criminalization of the country and it put emphasis on the freedom and democracy building in Georgia (Cornell, 2007). In 2005 under Presidential Decree number 639 the National Concept for Tolerance and Civic Integration was developed, the main aim of which was the promotion of democracy and consolidated civil society based on common values. This concept also considers diversity as the strength of the country and gives its citizens the right to maintain their own identity. This concept was included in the Constitution of Georgia and marked the start of the reforms (Civic Integration and Tolerance Council; Administration of the President of Georgia, 2008).

The most significant progress after the reforms according to OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report was recorded in the electoral process (OSCE, 2004). Other reforms, besides in the electoral process, took place in the sphere of civil integration as well. This reform was intended for the protection of national minorities in Georgia and was based on the Constitution of Georgia (Akerlund, 2004).

Article 14 of the Constitution of Georgia states: “Everyone is free by birth and is equal before law regardless of race, color, language, sex, religion, political and other opinions, national, ethnic and social belonging, origin, property and title, place of residence” (The Parliament of Georgia, 2006, p. 4). Article 38 of the Constitution also states that the exercise of the minority rights should not contradict to the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Georgia (Ibid).

Thus, marking the start of the reforms on civil integration, in 2004 the State Minister for Civic Integration Issues took the responsibility of the national minority policy. However, in 2008 it was passed to the State Minister for Reintegration Issues (later this Ministry was renamed State Ministry for Reconciliation and Civic Equality ) (Sordia, 2009). In 2005 Georgia ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

(FCNM) (Akerlund, 2012). Article 6 (1) of this Convention says “The Parties shall encourage a spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue and take effective measures to promote mutual respect and understanding and co-operation among all persons living on their territory, irrespective of those persons' ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity, in particular in the fields of education, culture and the media” (The Council of Europe, 1995, p.2).

The Parliamentary Committee for Regional Policy, Self-Government and High Mountainous Regions, according to Sordia (2009), also play great role in protecting the rights of the minorities in Georgia. He mentions that though this Committee does not directly deal with the issues of minorities, its main task, that is the local self-government, can be in the interests of the minorities living in this or that region. In 2005 the Organic Law on Local Self-Government was adopted by the Georgian Parliament, according to which local self-government bodies were formed and given some freedom of activities. This was a kind of decentralization reform which gave the minorities of the country to be more represented in the local governance and take part in the decision-making process (Sordia, 2009).

Reforms also took place in the education system in Georgia. However, in regard to the protection of the rights of national minorities in the country and their integration some drawbacks can be found in the reforms undertaken. According to the policies on the education system in Georgia, besides the knowledge of the official language, which in the case of the national minorities is compulsory for their integration, they also have the right to be taught in their mother tongue. Nevertheless, this right to be taught in the mother tongue is not completely fulfilled as they are not given the true chance to do so (Mirzoev, 2008). It is important to note that in the Constitution of Georgia there is nothing mentioned about the right of minorities to receive education in their mother tongue.

According to the Law of Georgia on General Education adopted on April 8, 2005 the official language of education is Georgian, but Articles 4 (3), 7 and 9 also say that national minorities can receive primary and secondary education in their native language. There are non-Georgian language schools and also mixed schools in different regions of Georgia. In 2006 there were totally 456 mixed and non-Georgian language schools, whereas in 2008 the number was reduced to 408 (out of which 140 were Armenian language and 124 Azerbaijani language schools) and in 2013 this number, according to the Ministry of Education and Science, was reduced even more reaching to 290 (117- Armenan and 85- Azerbaijani language schools) (Mekhuzla and Roche, 2009; Tabatadze and Gorgadze, 2013).

The graduates of this non-Georgian language schools usually do not know Georgian that well, especially in the parts of Georgia, where mainly national minorities are living. In Georgia this regions are Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli, where the majorities are Armenians and Azerbaijanis respectively. Even in these regions the proficiency of the Georgian language differs in towns and in villages. In the former the graduates know Georgian better than in the latter. The main reason is the lack of professional teachers of the Georgian language and the fact that there are very few or almost no Georgians in these villages, so that people could more or less become integrated (Mekhuzla and Roche, 2009).

Consequently, the problem becomes larger when dealing with the system of higher education in Georgia. While entering a university in Georgia, one should have a good command of Georgian, which becomes an obstacle for some minorities. In 2008, to give everyone in Georgia an opportunity to receive higher education, the ministry of Education and Science of Georgia, started the State Language Program, which gave 390 university entrants in Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli opportunities to learn Georgian language. In that year the first time in the history of the Georgian education system, the exams on



general skills were also conducted in Armenian and Azerbaijanis (Mirzoev, 2008; Mekhuzla and Roche, 2009; UNA Georgia, 2008).

### ***1.3 Georgia's Politics towards Minorities***

As mentioned above, after the Rose revolution several reforms took place in Georgia for liberalizing the system, however, the president is the main holder of the power and the country's system is more vertical, rather than horizontal. Control over institutions is very weak and personal networks are strongly expressed for gaining power (Zollinger, 2011).

Georgia is a multiethnic country, the 13 % of which are non-Georgian speakers. According to the 2002 Census the largest minority groups in Georgia are Armenians and Azerbaijanis, 5.7 % and 6.7 % of the population respectively. The vast majority of Armenians lives in Javakheti and some narrow majority live in the Kvemo-Kartli region. Azerbaijanis are mainly concentrated in the Kvemo-Kartli region. Both Armenians and Azerbaijanis do not have a good command of the Georgian language, which according to Mekhuzla and Roche (2009) hinders them to be fully integrated and puts some obstacles for their education. The authors also state that this problem of integration comes from the political system of Gamsakhurdia and Shevardnadze, which ignored the minorities of the country. Gamsakhurdia used an ethnocentric policy of discriminatory nature and created some inconveniences for the national minority groups (Zollinger, 2011; Wheatley, 2009; Mekhuzla and Roche, 2009).

Gamsakhurdia called ethnic groups as “illegitimate inhabitants who, taking advantage of lawlessness... and the helplessness of the Georgian nation, became second occupiers. They include Armenians and Azeris, and there are Ossetians and Abkhaz - people of various nationalities who are hostile to Georgians” (Cultural Survival, 1992, p. 2). This kind of aggressive ethno-nationalist rhetoric that emerged mainly because of the separatist movements of Abkhazians and Ossetians, distorted the majority-minority relations. During Gamsakhurdia's presidency the “Georgianization” policy started. The movement of Georgians

into the parts of the country which were mainly dominated by ethnic minorities was encouraged. Georgians and non-Georgians were given financial assistance by the government, for the former to go and live in the regions where minorities were, and to the latter, to emigrate. The media was describing ethnic minorities as foreigners putting special emphasis on those ethnic groups that were non-Christians. A law also was adopted that restricted the rights of the non-Georgians to form political parties thus almost excluding them from taking part in the country's politics (Cultural Survival, 1992).

Eduard Shevardnadze's period of presidency (1992-2003) was a time when almost no intervention was made in the life of the national minorities in Georgia. The state council of Georgia drafted a decree of the integration of minorities in Georgia, but it was not signed. Because of the weak infrastructural power, the Georgian language was not proliferated among national minorities as a state language (Sordia, 2009). Broers (2008) mentioned about the politics of Shevardnadze and named it as "politics of omission: omission of any concerted attempt to promote policies for either integration or minority rights" (Broers, 2008, 282). This problem was particularly expressed in the regions where the concentration of minorities was larger. The existence of few programs for teaching Georgian to ethnic minorities led to the limitation of the communication between Georgians and the minorities and the integration issues was put into question (Wheatley, 2009; Broers, 2008). The only real step done towards minorities during Shevardnadze's presidency was the adoption of the "Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Georgia" in 1993, which granted citizenship to all residents of the country regardless of their ethnic origin, religion and language. Article 3 of this law states that "A citizen of Georgia shall be deemed a person who permanently resided on the territory of Georgia at least for five years and resides as of the date of entry into force of the present law, unless within six months" (Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Georgia, 1993).

Changes took place when Mikheil Saakashvili came into power in 2004 after the Rose Revolution. It became clear to the Saakashvili administration that there were problems with the Georgian civic identity and they started a process for the integration of national minorities. The administration stressed the importance of learning Georgian in the schools where pupils were mainly minorities. The administration also organized some youth camps to bring together young people representing different ethnic groups. Also more power was given to the local governors so as minorities can be more integrated into the political system and the structure of the country. It was during Saakashvili presidency that the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities was ratified in 2006. According to this Convention national minorities were given right of expression and equality (Broers, 2008; Wheatly, 2009).

Despite all these positive steps towards the integration of national minorities in Georgia under the Saakashvili presidency, there were some drawbacks that hindered minorities for their further integration. These drawbacks are: precondition of Georgian language for political and economic integration (this precondition came from Gamsakhurdia and did not change much during Saakashvili administration) and one more step that made the non-Christian minorities feel discriminated. According to Tonoyan (2010) the introduction of the new Georgian flag, with five crosses that is the symbol of Christianity, was understood as discrimination towards some national minorities. He states that it "reaffirms Georgia's Christian legacy" (Tonoyan, 2010, p. 293).

Concerning the problem of political integration of the minorities during the Saakashvili administration, the report by the International Crisis Group published in 2006, gives the whole picture of the minority representation in the decision-making processes of that time. This report mentions that though during the last years a lot of reforms have been undertaken to improve the lives of minorities in Georgia (a lot of investment for the road building and

infrastructure rehabilitation in the regions of minorities, creation of the ministry for civic integration, special trainings for minorities and the ratification of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities), there is a lack of representation of the largest minority groups – Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the decision-making processes of the country. Though it was mentioned that Saakashvili made some reforms concerning the local governance – in 2005 the law on self-governance was adopted and in 2006 elections for new municipalities were held, decentralization did not happen in a large scale. According to the International Crisis Group data of 2006 out of 225 members of the Parliament of Georgia only 11 were minority representatives (Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Ossetians and Jews). In the Ministry of Internal affairs out of 15.000 workers, there were 80 and 234 minority representatives: ethnic Armenians and ethnic Azerbaijanis respectively. According to the same source there were no Armenians and Azerbaijanis appointed in the post of the governor in Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli regions. Concerning the representation in the municipalities, in Samtskhe-Javakheti out of 86 seats Armenians won the 44 seats, and in Kvemo Kartli region 25 ethnic Azerbaijanis won seats in the municipalities out of 54 seats. In the Marneuli region (in the Kvemo Kartli region), where Azerbaijanis comprise 83,1% of the population, the rest being Armenians, in the municipalities 16 of 28 seats were won by Azerbaijanis, the rest being Georgians (Wheatley, 2009; International Crisis Group, 2006).

#### **1.4 ENP Progress Reports**

The presidential administrations of Georgia have played a unique role in the lives of minorities in Georgia. From the above mentioned facts it became obvious that it was during the Saakashvili administration that the country started paying more attention to the minorities and protecting their rights. To have a more objective picture of the reforms taken during the Saakashvili presidency concerning minority rights protection the paper analyses the ENP

progress reports of Georgia from 2004 to 2012 to see if there was any progress in regard to the protection of the minority rights.

In 2004 together with the enlargement of the European Union, the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) was launched, the main aim of which is security, stability and well-being of its neighbors. On 14 June, 2004 the ENP was offered to Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan by the Commission (Commission of the European Communities, 2005).

Every year the Commission publishes a report showing the progress of the country under the framework of the ENP. Georgia also has annual progress reports and the comparison of these reports will show the progress concerning the minority rights protection. According to the Commission in 2004 there was no protection of religious minorities and they were many times attacked by some orthodox groups. The report also stressed that Georgia had not signed the Council of Europe's Framework Convention on National Minorities and signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which would lead to the strengthening of the protection of minority rights. This progress report also mentioned about Armenians and Azerbaijanis living in Georgia, stating that these communities are isolated from the rest of Georgia and that the government should start a civic integration strategy (Commission of the European Communities, 2005).

The progress reports of 2008 and 2009 stress that in 2007 and 2008 the government of Georgia has started its civic integration program which has improved the lives of minorities and has created favorable conditions for investment in road and infrastructure rehabilitation in the parts of the country where mainly minorities live. In the both year's reports the Commission mentions that there has not been any progress towards signing the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, whereas in 2008 the draft of the National Concept for Tolerance and Civic Integration was introduced and already in 2009 it was adopted (Commission of the European Communities, 2008; Commission of the European

Communities, 2009). This adoption was highly valued by the Commission in the 2010 progress report, however it is also mentioned that this Charter was not fully implemented and the integration of the minorities have remained a question of concern (Commission of the European Communities, 2010). The progress of 2011 according to the Commission was the amendment of the law on Securities market, which secured the rights of the shareholders belonging to minority groups. As a still remaining drawback the report mentions the lack of representation of the minorities in state administration (Commission of the European Communities, 2012). The amendment of the civil code, which gave the religious minorities the right to register as legal entities of public law, is another big progress reported by the Commission in the 2013 progress report. However, it is also mentioned that there has been a slow progress in the abolition of linguistically-segregated schools, and that Georgia has not ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Commission of the European Communities, 2013).

Thus, from the progress reports of 2004-2012, it becomes obvious that the adoption of the National Concept for Tolerance and Civic Integration and the several amendments in the laws have contributed to the integration and the protection of the rights of the minorities. However, still there are many problems, the biggest ones being the underrepresentation of the minorities in state administration and the problem of languages of schools that need to be tackled.

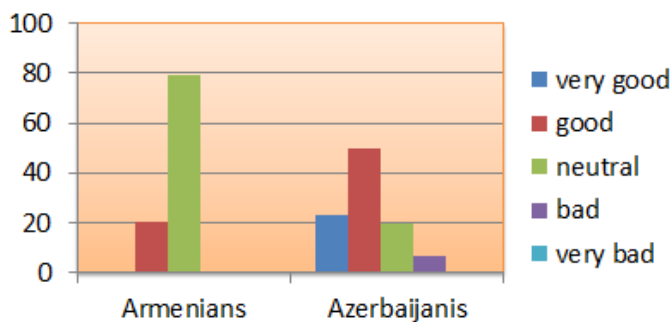
## Chapter 2: Primary Data Analysis

An independent sample t-test was conducted to compare the perception of Armenians and Azerbaijanis towards the relations that exist between them (in the independent sample t-test Armenians are considered to be the first group, Azerbaijanis– the second group). The model of the t-test gives the following picture:

There is a difference between the first group - Armenians (M=2.79, SD= 0.412) and the second group (M=2.10, SD= 0.845) –Azerbaijanis in their perception of their relations. This result suggests that Armenians living in the Marneuli region think that they have more neutral relations with Azerbaijanis living in the same region, whereas Azerbaijanis are more inclined to perceive these relations as being good or even very good. In the model  $t(57) = -6.126$ ,  $p = 0.000$ , which illustrates that the difference between the groups is significant.

The chart below shows the percentages of the respondents – both Armenians and Azerbaijanis to the question discussed above:

**Chart 1.** *If you are an Armenian, in what relations are you with Azerbaijanis/ if you are an Azerbaijanis in what relations are you with Armenians?*



This chart supports the results of the independent sample t-test and shows that Armenians are in more neutral relations with Azerbaijanis. 79,3 % of the Armenian respondents have answered to this question neutral, and only 20,7 % of them has said that they are in good relations with Azerbaijanis. The picture is different with Azerbaijanis. Only 20 % of them have said that they have neutral relations with Armenians, whereas 23,3 % and 50 % of

Azerbaijanis have claimed that they are in very good and good relations with Armenians respectively. It also should be mentioned that 6,7 % have said that they are in bad relations with Armenians, whereas no single Armenian said that he/she is in bad relations with an Azerbaijani.

Concerning this question, the results of the expert interviews conducted with four people specialized on Georgian affairs, show the following: all four experts state that the facts that Azerbaijanis and Armenians live in the third country and have a long history of living together, ensure the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region. Besides, the respondents of the survey were mainly at the age of 40 to 60, which means that they were living in this region peacefully during the Soviet times and this peaceful atmosphere, as a historical memory, continued after the collapse of the Soviet Union and even in the presence of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

Moreover, Vahe Sargsyan posits that such attitude of Azerbaijanis towards Armenians speaks about the fact that they do not have much in common with the nowadays Republic of Azerbaijan. In the consciences of Azerbaijanis living in the Kvemo-Kartli district the enmity towards Armenians is not rooted, as they have nothing to do with the politics of Azerbaijan and only the propaganda from the Azerbaijani side may draw some dividing lines between the relations of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region. He considers that some tribes live in Azerbaijan and some other tribes in Georgia. Azerbaijanis that live in Georgia are the representatives of the Borchalu and the Kyamal tribes. According to him the main thing that interests Azerbaijanis in Georgia is their lands, their sheep. They are even not interested in education and in cultural things.

According to Johnny Melikyan Azerbaijanis that live in Georgia are different from those in the Republic of Azerbaijan. They are more moderate, opener and much more common people than those living in Azerbaijan. Sargsyan states that the only conflict that can

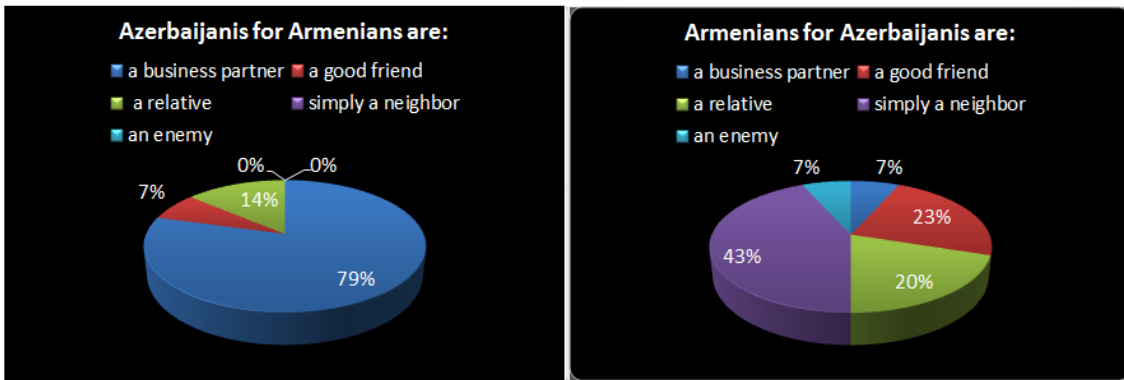


arise between Armenians and Azerbaijanis of the Marneuli region can only be because of land, as it is the agriculture that is developed in this region. However, as there are not so many Armenians left in Marneuli and the majority is Azerbaijanis, such conflicts actually do not arise. All four experts also express the opinion that the cause for Armenians to be more neutral towards Azerbaijanis is because they do not see any reason to become enemies, however, they are also very cautious as in the case there is an instability in Georgia, the Republic of Azerbaijan will strengthen its positions and while strengthening its position, Azerbaijan will also strengthen its anti-Armenian propaganda, which will put Armenians into a bad situation. Sargsyan considers that the population of this part of Georgia, which is not well-educated and is not highly-conscious, can be easily influenced by the Azerbaijani propaganda and can, in the case of the weakness of the Republic of Georgia, become a tool in the hands of the Azerbaijan.

For Hrant Mikaelyan the model of the coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis is a historical one. Even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century one could see Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Kvemo-Kartli district living peacefully and this the trend continues by now.

Another question of the survey which says “If you are an Azerbaijanis, an Armenian for you is.../ if you are an Armenian an Azerbaijanis for you is...” has different responses among Armenians and Azerbaijanis living in the Marneuli region. The chart below shows the differences of the responses of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in percentages:

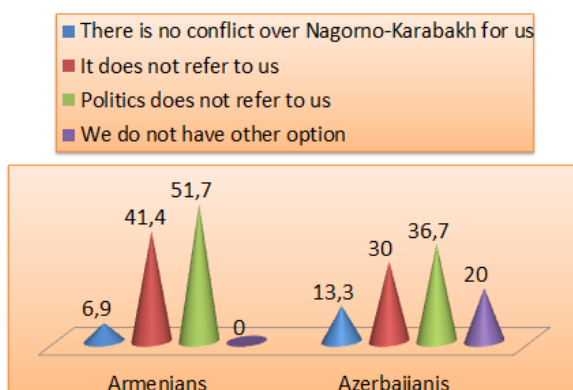
***Chart 2:** If you are an Azerbaijanis, an Armenian for you/ if you are an Armenian, an Azerbaijanis for you*



The Chart shows that about 79 % of Armenians consider Azerbaijanis to be their business partner, 7 % a good friend and 14 % a relative. In the case of Azerbaijanis there is a great difference. The 43 % of them perceive Armenians as simply a neighbor, 23 % and 20 % as a good friend and a relative respectively. If in the case of Armenians we do not have any person who has said that perceives Azerbaijanis as their enemies, the latter, about 7 %, have given this answer. Thus we see a common trend. In the *Chart 1* 6,7 % of Azerbaijanis has said that they are in bad relations with Armenians and in this chart almost the same percentage of Azerbaijanis has said that they perceive Armenians as their enemies.

It is also important to note that both Armenians and Azerbaijanis in general consider it a usual thing that they can live peacefully together when the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh is not over.

**Chart 2:** *How do you think that in the presence of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians and Azerbaijanis can live peacefully side by side?*



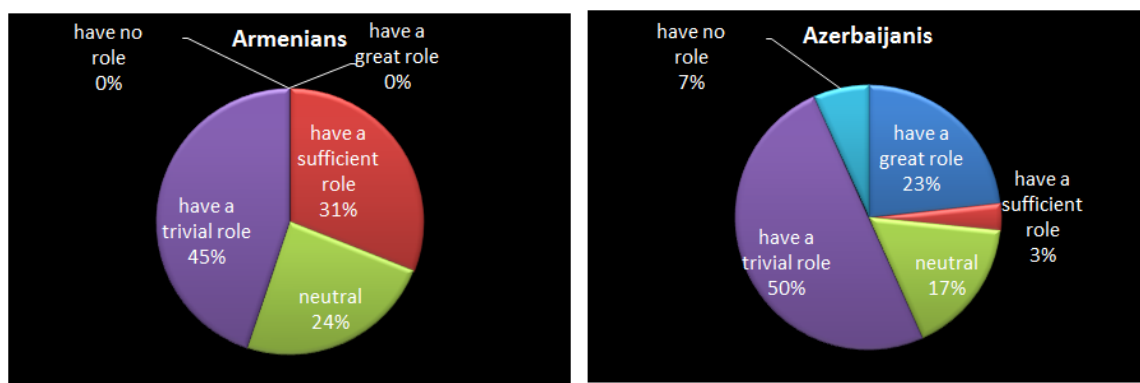
The Chart shows that Armenians and Azerbaijanis are more inclined to consider that the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh and the politics does not refer to them. The big difference in this question arises in the variant “we do not have other option”, when no Armenian considered this as a factor for the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region, whereas 20 % of Azerbaijanis chose this variant.

One of the experts interviewed, Vahe Sargsyan, posits that Armenians have the consciousness that it will not be in the scope of their interests to have bad relations with Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region, as they are minority there. According to him Armenians were able to balance the situation in this region in such a way so as not to bring the atmosphere of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh to the peaceful reality of the villages. He brought an example of a person called Vardan from the Marneuli region who had participated in the war and had fought against Azerbaijanis, but coming back to his village, he continued living peacefully with his neighbor Azerbaijanis.

Hrant Mikayelyan thinks that Armenians and Azerbaijanis live in a third country and in the beginning of the 1990s when there was a war between Armenia and Azerbaijan this could not have its influence on the people living in the Marneuli region, because this war would not change any condition for them, it was not their war. Mikayelyan states that if people answered that politics and the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh did not refer to them, it is because they did not want to give sincere answers. According to him they have their opinion concerning the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh and these opinions will not be the one that they have expressed while filling in the questionnaire, but they do understand that for avoiding any conflict that can arise they should avoid expressing what they think concerning this question. They want to maintain these relations as it is in the interests of both ethnic groups.

After understanding the attitudes of Armenians and Azerbaijanis towards each other and towards the fact that they live peacefully side by side despite the existing Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, it is also important to understand their attitude towards the role of the central governments for the preservation of the model of peaceful coexistence. The data collected from the survey is used and analyzed to understand people's perceptions in how the politics of Gamsakhurdia, Shevardnadze and Saakashvili had been towards the ethnic minorities of the Marneuli region and whether those policies had their role in ensuring the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

**Chart 3:** *How would you evaluate the role of the Georgian central authorities for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?*



The Chart shows that almost the half of the surveyed Armenians and Azerbaijanis consider that the central authorities of Georgia have had a trivial role for ensuring their peaceful coexistence. 31 % of Armenians think that the authorities have a sufficient role and 23 % of Azerbaijanis consider that the central authorities have a great role. If we sum up the results, then we can say that for almost 1/3 of both ethnic groups the central authorities have their role or their contribution for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the ethnic groups in the Marneuli region.

Correlation conducted in this paper, comes to support the frequency analysis discussed above and also helps to answer one of the research questions of the paper: *Did the central*

*authorities and the self-governing bodies of Georgia have their role in ensuring the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region?*

**Table 1:**

<b>Correlations</b>			
		How would you evaluate the role of the self-governing bodies for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?	How would you evaluate the role of the Georgian central authorities for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?
How would you evaluate the role of the self-governing bodies for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	1	,779** ,000
	N	59	59
How would you evaluate the role of the Georgian central authorities for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	,779** ,000	1
	N	59	59

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The SPSS analysis shows significant, positive correlation between two different variables (“How would you evaluate the role of the self-governing bodies for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?” and “How would you evaluate the role of the Georgian central authorities for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?”). The table shows positive significant (2-tailed) correlation at the level of 0.01. The correlation shows that the percentage of the surveyed people, who think that the self-governing bodies of Georgia have a role in ensuring the peaceful coexistence between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, also think the same way concerning the role of the Georgian central authorities.

Another research question of the paper that will help to accept or reject the hypothesis, is the following: *What were the policies of the three Georgian presidents towards the ethnic groups of the country?* To give an answer to this question and to see the responses of Armenians and Azerbaijanis surveyed, SPSS frequency analysis is conducted.

**Chart 4:** *How would you evaluate the politics of Gamsakhurdia, Shevardnadze and Saakashvili towards the ethnic minorities in Georgia?*

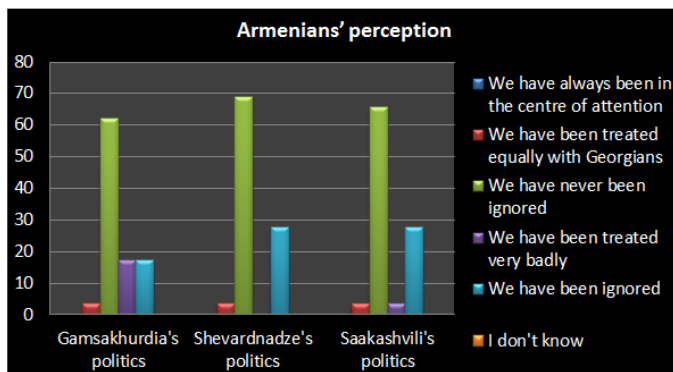
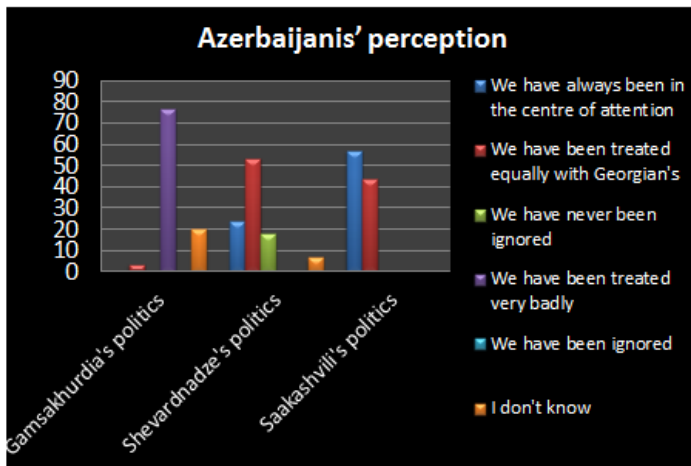


Chart 4 shows that the majority of the surveyed Armenians consider that they have never been ignored during the three presidents' administrations (62,1 %, 69 % and 65,5 % respectively). However, a significant amount of Armenians have also said that they have been ignored (17,2 %, 27,6 % and 27,6 % respectively). It is during the presidency of Gamsakhurdia that 17,2 % of Armenians have said that they have been treated very badly.

**Chart 5:** *How would you evaluate the politics of Gamsakhurdia, Shevardnadze and Saakashvili towards the ethnic minorities in Georgia?*



The picture is different with Azerbaijanis. For them the worst years have been during the Gamsakhurdia's administration (76,7 %), whereas during Shevardnadze's and Saakashvili's periods they have said that Azerbaijanis have been in the centre of attention and have been treated equally with the Georgians.

The big difference between the percentages of the answers of Armenians and Azerbaijanis concerning the politics of Gamsakhurdia towards the minority groups, Vahe Sargsyan explains by the fact that after the collapse of the Soviet Union when the privatization of the lands started, the majority of the lands that were used by Azerbaijanis was privatized by Georgians. Besides, due to the national politics of Gamsakhurdia "Georgia for Georgians" many Azerbaijanis have been removed from their homes. So why have only 17,2 % of Armenians said that they have been treated badly and did not this politics had its influence on Armenians as well? The reason, according to Sargsyan, is that the majority of the villages, where Armenians live, is in the border with Armenia and as it is in the southern mountainous part of the region, Armenians did not have problems for privatising lands for developing agriculture. Besides, Armenians are minority in the Marneuli region and that is why, they have not been much influenced by the politics of Gamsakhurdia.

Thus, we see that both Armenians and Azerbaijanis have said that during the politics of the Georgian presidents the ethnic minorities have not been treated badly (except the period

of Gamsakhurdia's administration towards Azerbaijanis, and to some extent also toward Armenians). However, these answers do not give much information for understanding whether the politics of Gamsakhurdia, Gevardnadze and Saakashvili had their role in ensuring the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region. Expert interviews conducted come to shed light on this issue and to give a more detailed explanation of the role of the three presidents' administrations.

All four experts consider that the politics of Georgia has a great role in the relations of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Georgia, as they consider that it is during the time of the weakness of the Republic of Georgia, that such concepts like nationalism arise. Whereas in the case when the country is strong, everything is under control and people live peacefully.

Vahe Sargsyan states that during the time of Gamsakhurdia's politics, nationalism arose and there were slogans like "Georgia for Georgians", and during this time Armenians and Azerbaijanis did not live well, but this lasted several months. According to him the period of the Gamsakhurdia's administration was the period of anarchy, and the country almost did not have any control over its different districts, on the other hand the politics of Georgia was moving towards the direction of integration of the minorities, as the Georgians thought that only Georgians should live in Georgia (especially during the years of Saakashvili, as during the administration of Gamsakhurdia the country was in such an anarchy that this was not seen much). Sargsyan believes that during the Saakashvili administration the country became much stronger, the cases of provocation by different countries declined and the national security agents started to have a strong control over the country, especially in those parts where minorities are concentrated. Those agents excluded any possibility of conflict between the minorities. He said that security is very important for Georgia but this control also did not let the minorities to develop their national peculiarities. Sargsyan posits that on one hand this is bad, especially for Armenians as they are not given a



full freedom to use their culture and their language, on the other hand he states that maybe this is good because it somehow restricts Azerbaijanis, does not let them raise their nationalistic features, which can be directed against Armenians.

Minasyan's position towards the role of the politics of the three presidents' administrations for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis is similar to Sraghsyan's position. However, he also added that during the Saakashvili years when the real state building started, Georgian attributes were intensively instituted into the regions where minorities lived, in the Kvemo-Kartli region as well. Minasyan Sergey thinks that this was one of the cases when both Armenians and Azerbaijanis came together to deal with those questions that could have emerged because of the politics of Georgia. He said that this does not mean that they joint together against the Georgian government, rather they joined for solving problems that referred to both of them. He even brought examples of NGOs consisted both of Armenians and Azerbaijanis, who have formed that NGOs to try to solve this or that common problem together. Minasyan considers this as one of the factors that lessens the possibility of a conflict between them. Minasyan also said that during the Saakashvili administration people started to live in better conditions and this referred to the minorities as well. The fact that now Azerbaijanis and Armenians live in better conditions than in the 1990s, also has its contribution for maintaining and even strengthening the model of peaceful coexistence, as, according to him, those ethnic groups that are living in good conditions are less radicalized and less inclined to conflict.

For the experts Saakashvili's administration has always tried to have a balanced politics towards all parts of the country. They consider that Georgia is the third neutral country and even during the Soviet years, this model formed and Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region were equal and this continues till now. Besides both sides have to live together peacefully as there is the control of Tbilisi and there is the central power that have a

great role in the regions where minorities live. Melikyan also thinks that the reason why Azerbaijan does not influence in this region is because it does not want to worsen its relations with Georgia, as it is an important partner for Azerbaijan.

Hrant Mikayelyan also added that the central authorities of Georgia are afraid of separatism and they pay a lot of attention to the parts where minorities live. Another factor, according to him, for the maintenance of the model of peaceful coexistence is also due to the fact that now mainly middle-aged and elderly people live there. According to him in our days it is the youth that is more inclined to conflicts and to separatist movements. He states that the sense of nationalism and the inclination for separatist movements are less in the villages in the Matneuli region.

Thus, taking into consideration the results of the survey and also the data collected from the expert interviews, one can conclude that both Armenians and Azerbaijanis live peacefully side by side because they live in a third country which is not much influenced by the politics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, and by the anti-Armenian propaganda from the Republic of Azerbaijan. Another important factor for maintaining the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis is the role of the central authorities of Georgia that have a control over all parts of the country and pay special attention to the elimination of those things that can give rise to any conflict or to any separatist movements within the country and destabilize it.

## Conclusion

To sum up, it becomes obvious that there are different factors that have contributed to the maintenance of the model of peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region in Georgia.

If one goes through the policies of the three presidents of Georgia, it finds out that during the short period of Gamsakhurdia's presidency, "Georganisation" policy adopted by his administration was putting a lot of restrictions for the ethnic groups in Georgia not giving them an opportunity for free expression, free use of their language, culture and religion. Almost the same picture was during the Shevardnadze's presidency. During these years the politics of Georgia was again moving towards the direction of integration of the minorities, as the Georgians thought that only Georgians should live in Georgia. However, this politics was not that much expressed in these years, as during the administration of Gamsakhurdia the country was in deep anarchy. His politics can be called "the politics of omission".

The picture changes after the Rose Revolution, when Saakashvili came into power. Due to his policies the country has become much stronger than it was before and a lot of reforms took place that gave a lot of freedom and rights to the minorities of Georgia. During his presidency Georgia ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, also the Organic Law on local Self-Government was signed by the Parliament of Georgia, which gave the minorities of the country an opportunity to be more represented in the local governance and take part in the decision-making process.

Thus, it is obvious that the administrations of Gamsakhurdia and Shevardnadze and the weakness of the country during their presidency could not have their contribution for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region. On the contrary, the results of the Rose Revolution and the politics of Saakashvili made the country stronger and by ratifying some documents and conventions started to give more

freedom and rights to the ethnic groups of the country and to have more control over them. Here a question arises: How could this have helped to ensure the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the country? The answer is very simple: the strength of the country and the control over the regions where minorities are concentrated are one of those factors that endures this peaceful coexistence. Georgian politics was concentrated on not letting any conflict arise on nationalistic bases, thus eliminating the possibility of any separatism.

However, the strength of Georgia and its intense control over the regions where mainly minorities are concentrated are not the only factors that have contributed to the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis. If this was the case, then before the Saakashvili's presidency conflicts would have arisen between these two ethnic groups, when the country was weak. The survey and the interviews conducted in this paper reveal that the good relations of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region have a long history and this is one of the reasons why the conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh has not had bad influence on their relations. They are leaving in a third country and the politics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, their propaganda does not influence these people. They do understand the importance of keeping the politics far away from their villages for the benefit of both ethnic groups.

Moreover, the geostrategic reasons also should be mentioned. The Marneuli region is a crossroad for Armenia and Azerbaijan and has an important geostrategic role for both countries – for Armenia this region is important in regard to communication with Tbilisi. For Azerbaijan the Marneuli region is important for its energy security, as the Azerbaijani oil pipeline passes through this region. So it is obvious, that the instability of this region would not be of any interest for the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Thus, all of the facts and the arguments brought above come to prove the hypothesis of the paper, which is the following:

*H1: The peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region of Georgia has been ensured by the strong central administration and the belief of the ethnic groups that politics should be kept away from their places of residence.*

## Bibliography

### *Primary Sources*

- Caucasus Resource Research Center. "Social Science in the Caucasus: Will You Be My Friend? Gauging Perceptions of Interethnic Friendship in the South Caucasus." *Social Science in the Caucasus*. Last modified October 11, 2010. <http://crcc-caucasus.blogspot.com/2010/10/will-you-be-my-friend-gauging.html>.
- Civic Integration and Tolerance Council , and Administration of the President of Georgia. *National Concept for Tolerance and Civic Integration*. Civic Integration and Tolerance Council; Administration of the President of Georgia, 2008. Accessed January 27, 2014. [http://diversity.ge/files/files/National%20Concept\\_Eng.pdf](http://diversity.ge/files/files/National%20Concept_Eng.pdf).
- Conflict Research Consortium. "Coexistence and Tolerance." University of Colorado Boulder. Last modified 1998. <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/tolerate.htm>.
- Council of Europe. "Council of Europe - ETS no. 157 - Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities." Council of Europe - Treaty Office. Last modified February 1, 1995. <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/157.htm>.
- CSCE. "Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE." Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe | OSCE. Last modified 1990. <http://www.osce.org/node/14304>.
- CSCE. "Helsinki Final Act." Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe | OSCE. Last modified 1975. <http://www.osce.org/mc/39501?download=true>.
- International Labor Organization. "Indigenous and Tribal Populations Recommendation." Last modified June 26, 1957. <http://www.kekidatabank.be/docs/Instrumenten/ILO/R104%20Indigenous%20and%20Tribal%20Populations%20Recommendation.pdf>.
- OSCE. "Georgia: Extraordinary Presidential Elections." Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe | OSCE. 4 January 2004. OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report . Last modified February 28, 2004. <http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/georgia/24600>
- State Statistics Department of Georgia. *Basic Results of the First General Population Census of Georgia. Volume II. Rural population*. Tbilisi 2003.
- The European Parliament. "Resolution on the languages and cultures of regional and ethnic minorities in the European Community." Osservatorio sulle Politiche Comunitarie in

tema di Minoranze (OsPCoM). Last modified October 30, 1987.  
<http://ospcom.files.wordpress.com/2011/10/lc4.pdf>.

The Parliament of Georgia. "The Constitution of Georgia." Parliament of Georgia. Last modified January 27, 2006.  
[http://www.parliament.ge/files/68\\_1944\\_951190\\_CONSTIT\\_27\\_12.06.pdf](http://www.parliament.ge/files/68_1944_951190_CONSTIT_27_12.06.pdf).

UNA Georgia. "Diversity.ge | National Integration and Tolerance in Goergia." USAID. Last modified 2008. <http://www.diversity.ge/eng/resources.php?coi=0%7C11%7C12>.

United Nations. "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 1966." Migration Citizenship Education - Home. Accessed March 31, 2014.  
<http://www.migrationeducation.org/17.2.html?&rid=212&cHash=e061164c4edc7a5fe0cde54f09a20746>.

United Nations. "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." Refworld | The Leader in Refugee Decision Support. Last modified 1976.  
<http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/3ae6b3aa0.pdf>.

United Nations. "United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948." Watchlist. Last modified 1949. <http://watchlist.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Universal-declaration-of-human-rights.pdf>.

47 Countries - 820 million citizens - Council of Europe. Accessed February 1, 2014.  
[http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/nationality/National%20legislation/Georgia%20Law%20on%20Citizenship\\_ENG.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/nationality/National%20legislation/Georgia%20Law%20on%20Citizenship_ENG.pdf).

### ***Secondary Sources***

Akerlund, Tobias. *National Minorities and the Media Situation in Georgia*. European Center for Minority Issues, 2012. Accessed December 9, 2013.

Analytic Technologies. "Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1962 Speech." Analytic Technologies. Last modified 1963. <http://www.analytictech.com/mb021/mlk.htm>.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. London, The United Kingdom: Verso, 1991.

Babbitt, Eileen F. *Imagine Coexistence – Findings and Recommendations for UNHCR*. Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2002. Accessed March 13, 2014.

Banfield, Jessica, Canan Gunduz, and Nick Killick. "Between Pragmatism and Idealism: Businesses Coping with Conflict in the South Caucasus." In *Local Business Local Peace: The Peacebuilding Potential of the Domestic Private Sector*, 517-546. International Alert, 2006.

- Barrington, Lowell W. *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States*. The United States of America: The University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- Barth, Fredrik. *Ethnic groups and boundaries : the social organization of culture difference*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1969.
- Berns, Jessica, and Mari Fitzduff. "Complementary Approaches to Coexistence Work What is Coexistence and Why a Complementary Approach?" Graduate School for Social Policy and Management | The Heller School at Brandeis. Last modified July, 2007. <http://heller.brandeis.edu/academic/coex/pdfs-docs/whatiscoex.pdf>.
- Bloed, A., and P. van Dijk. *The Human Dimension of the Helsinki Process: The Vienna Follow-Up Meeting and Its Aftermath*. Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1991.
- Broers, Laurence. "Filling the Void: Ethnic Politics and Nationalities Policy in Post-Conflict Georgia." *Nationalities Papers* 36, no. 2 (2008): 275-304. Accessed December 10, 2013.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Ethnicity without Groups*. The United States of America: The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2004.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Modernity*. Italy, 2011.
- Burg, Steven L., and Paul Shoup. *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999.
- Capotorti, Francesco. *Study of the Rights of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities: Study*. New York: United Nations, 1977.
- Cornell, Svante E. *Georgia After the Rose Revolution Geopolitical Predicament and Implications for U.S. Policy*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2007.
- Cultural Survival. "Indigenes and Settlers: Minorities in Georgia are seeking the same pluralism ethnic Georgians long sought | Cultural Survival." Cultural Survival | Partnering with Indigenous Peoples to Defend their Lands, Languages, and Cultures. Last modified 1992. <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/azerbaijan/indigenes-and-settlers-minorities-georgia-are-se>.
- David, Gabrielle. "Multiculturalism: Beyond the Melting Pot." The IAAS : Promoting Multicultural Literature & Literacy. Last modified 2010. [http://theiaas.org/gd/pdf/beyond\\_meltingpot.pdf](http://theiaas.org/gd/pdf/beyond_meltingpot.pdf).
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, 2nd ed. London: Pluto Press, 2002.



- Fink, Carole. *Defending the Right of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878 - 1938*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Gilbert, Geoff. "Religio—nationalist minorities and the development of minority rights law." *Review of International Studies* 25, no. 3 (1999): 389-410. Accessed January 26, 2014. doi:10.1017/S0260210599003897.
- Haas, Ernst. "What is Nationalism and Why Should We Study it?" *The MIT Press* 40, no. 3 (1986): 707-744. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706824>.
- Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- International Relations and Security Network. "Primary Resources in International Affairs." Veřejné služby Informačního systému. Last modified 2008. <http://is.muni.cz/el/1423/podzim2008/MVZ430/um/Treaty-of-Westphalia.pdf>
- Jenkins, Richard. *Rethinking Ethnicity*, 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2008.
- Khaminwa, Angela. "Coexistence." Beyond Intractability. Last modified July, 2003. <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/coexistence>.
- Krikorian, Onnik, Aygun Janmammadova, and Nigar Hacizade. "Alternative opinions and Views on Armenia-Azerbaijan Relations and the War over Nagorno-Karabakh." *Caucasus Conflict Voices* 11 (2011): 1-63. Accessed October 26, 2013.
- Mekhuzla, Salome, and Aideen Roche. *National Minorities and Educational Reform In Georgia*. Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), 2009. Accessed December 10, 2013.
- Margolis, Jonathan. *Becoming American: Beyond the Melting Pot*. Washington, DC: United States Department of State, Bureau of International Information Programs, 2010.
- Mirzoev, Agit. "Ethnic Minorities in Georgia: Current Situation." Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe | OSCE. Last modified October 1, 2008. <http://www.osce.org/odihr/33813>.
- Modood, Tariq, and Richard Berthoud. *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage*. London: Policy Studies Institute, 1997.
- Rudolph, Joseph. *Politics and Ethnicity: a Comparative Study*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism*, 2nd ed. The United Kingdom: Polity Press, 2010.
- Sordia, Giorgi. *Institutions of Georgia for Governance on National Minorities: An Overview*. Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), 2009. Accessed December 9, 2013.

- Spiliopoulou Akermark, Athanasia. *Justifications of Minority Protection in International Law*, 2nd ed. London: Kluwer law international, 1997.
- Stalin, Joseph V. "The Nation." In *Marxism and the National Question*, 300-381. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1913.
- Stuebner, Renata. *The Current Status of Religious Coexistence and Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2009.
- Tabatadze, Shalva, and Natia Gorgadze. *Intercultural Education Research in Primary Grades of Georgia*. Tbilisi: USAID Georgia, 2013. Accessed January 27, 2014.
- Telibečirović, Amir. "The Bosnian example of coexistence by Amir Telibečirović." Common Ground News Service. Last modified February 10, 2009. <http://www.commongroundnews.org/article.php?id=24821&lan=en&sp=1>.
- Tonoyan, Artyom. "Rising Armenian–Georgian Tensions and the Possibility of a New Ethnic Conflict in the South Caucasus." *Demokratizatsiya* 18, no. 2 (2010): 287-308. Accessed December 11, 2013.
- Weiner, Eugene. *Coexistence Work: A New Profession.* In *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence*. New York: The Abraham Fund, 2000.
- Wheatley, Jonathan. *The Integration of National Minorities in the Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli provinces of Georgia: Five Years into the Presidency of Mikheil Saakashvili*. Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), 2009. Accessed December 10, 2013.
- Zollinger, Daniel. *Minority representation in a semi-democratic regime: the Georgian case*. Zürich: Center for Comparative and International Studies, 2011.

# Appendix 1

## Questionnaire

I am Greta Avetisyan. I study at the American University of Armenia in the department of Political Science and International Affairs.

In the framework of my study I am writing a thesis, the aim of which is to find out the factors that have contributed to the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region in Georgia. That is why I ask for your help to make my thesis more complete and thorough.

I would be very grateful if you take 5-7 minutes to fill in this questionnaire. Thank you in advance. I assure you, that this will help me to write a quality paper. Note, that this survey will be anonymous and the results will be used only for academic purposes.

I should add, that the term ethnic minority in this questionnaire refers to the groups, that consider themselves belonging to different religious, national or cultural group and are regarded by others as being so.

1. Gender
  - male
  - female
  
2. Age
  
3. Education
  - primary
  - secondary
  - high
  
4. To which ethnic group do you belong?
  - Armenian
  - Azerbaijanis
  - other \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. Your birthplace (country, village/city)

6. If your birthplace is not Georgia, in which years have you come to Georgia? *(If your birthplace is Georgia, pass to the 7th question)*

- Untill 1988
- 1988-1991
- 1992-2003
- 2003-2013
- other

7. Which period do you consider to be more favorable for the protection of the rights of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Georgia?

- Untill 1988
- 1988-1991
- 1992-2003
- 2003-2013
- other

8. If you are an Armenian, in what relations are you with Azerbaijanis/ if you are an Azerbaijanis in what relations are you with Armenians?

- very good
- good
- neutral
- bad
- very bad

9. If you are an Armenian, then Azerbaijanis for you/ if you are an Azerbaijanis, then the Armenian for you

- Is a business partner
- Is a good friend
- Is a relative
- Is simply a neighbor
- Is an enemy
- other

---

10. How do you think that in the presence of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians and Azerbaijanis can live peacefully side by side? *(you can choose more than one answer)*

- There is no conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh for us
- It does not refer to us
- Politics does not refer to us
- We do not have any other option
- other

---

---

---

11. How do you feel about the fact that despite the existence of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, here the children of Armenians and Azerbaijanis learn in the same class? (*you can choose more than one answer*)

- our children are very good with each other
  - we want our children to learn together
  - children should be kept aside from the politics
  - we do not have any other option
  - other
- 
- 
- 

12. What kind of relations do you consider acceptable for Armenians and Azerbaijanis living here?

- friendship
- neighborhood
- working relation
- common business
- intermarriages
- no relations
- it is difficult to answer
- other \_\_\_\_\_

13. Does the belonging to different religious believe have any influence on your relations?

- It completely does not have any influence
  - It does not have influence
  - neutral
  - have a little influence
  - have a great influence
- 
- 
- 

14. In what language do you speak with each other?

- Armenian
- Azerbaijanis
- Russian
- Georgian
- other

15. How would you rate your knowledge of Armenian?

- I command it freely
- I speak it freely
- I understand, but do not speak
- I do not command it

16. How would you rate your knowledge of Azerbaijanis?:

- I command it freely
- I speak it freely
- I understand, but do not speak
- I do not command it

17. How would you rate your knowledge of Georgian?

- I command it freely
- I speak it freely
- I understand, but do not speak
- I do not command it

18. Do you consider the knowledge of Georgian has a great importance for having a representative in the self-governing bodies in Georgia?

- It completely does not have any importance
- It has no importance
- neutral
- It has an importance
- It has a great importance

19. How would you evaluate the role of the self-governing bodies for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?

- they have a great role
- they have a sufficient role
- neutral
- they have a trivial role
- they have no role

20. How would you evaluate the role of the Georgian central authorities for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?

- they have a great role
- they have a sufficient role
- neutral
- they have a trivial role
- they have no role

21. How was the politics of Gamsakhurdia towards the ethnic groups of this region? (*you can choose more than one answer*)

- We have always been in the centre of attention

- We have been treated equally with Georgians
  - We have never been ignored
  - We have been treated very badly
  - We have been ignored
  - I don't know
  - other
- 

22. How was the politics of Shevardnadze towards the ethnic groups of this region? *(you can choose more than one answer)*

- We have always been in the centre of attention
  - We have been treated equally with Georgians
  - We have never been ignored
  - We have been treated very badly
  - We have been ignored
  - I don't know
  - other
- 

23. How was the politics of Saakashvili towards the ethnic groups of this region? *(you can choose more than one answer)*

- We have always been in the centre of attention
  - We have been treated equally with Georgians
  - We have never been ignored
  - We have been treated very badly
  - We have been ignored
  - I don't know
  - other
- 

24. Where are you going to live in the future?

- Georgia
  - Armenia
  - Azerbaijan
  - other
- 

*Thanks for filling in the questionnaire*



## Appendix 2

### Interview Questions

1. The survey done in the Marneuli region among Armenians and Azerbaijanis shows that Azerbaijanis have a better perception of Armenians defining them as good friends and business partners, whereas Armenians were more neutral, and said that Azerbaijanis are their business partners or just neighbors. What is the reason of the differences of the perceptions?

2. During the years of presidency of Gamsakhurdia, Shevardnadze and Saakashvili Armenians in the Marneuli region have answered that they have never been ignored, whereas Azerbaijanis has said that during the period of Gamsakhurdia's administration they have been treated very badly, but during Shevardnadze's and Saakashvili's administration they have been treated equally with the Georgians. What do you think, was the case with Armenians and Azerbaijanis?

3. Can you name factors or events that have contributed to the peaceful coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Marneuli region?

4. Can you remember factors or events that have put in threat this peaceful coexistence or have hindered to it?



### Appendix 3

**If you are an Armenian, in what relations are you with Azerbaijanis/ if you are Azerbaijanis in what relations are you with Armenians**

To which ethnic group do you belong?			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Armenian	Valid	good	6	20,7	20,7	20,7
		neutral	23	79,3	79,3	100,0
		Total	29	100,0	100,0	
Azerbaijanis	Valid	very good	7	23,3	23,3	23,3
		good	15	50,0	50,0	73,3
		neutral	6	20,0	20,0	93,3
		bad	2	6,7	6,7	100,0
		Total	30	100,0	100,0	

#### Independent Samples Test

##### Group Statistics

	To which ethnic group do you belong?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
If you are an Armenian, in what relations are you with Azerbaijanis/ if you are Azerbaijanis in what relations are you with Armenians	Armenian	29	2,79	,412	,077
	Azerbaijanis	30	2,10	,845	,154

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	t-test for Equality of Means								
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
If you are an Armenian, in what relations are you with Azerbaijanis/	Equal variance assumed	6,185	,016	3,982	57	,000	,693	,174	,345	1,042

if you are Azerbaijanis in what relations are you with Armenians	Equal variance s not assume d			4,025	42,382	,000	,693	,172	,346	1,041
---	---	--	--	-------	--------	------	------	------	------	-------

**If you are an Armenian, then Azerbaijanis for you/ if you are an Azerbaijanis, then Armenian for you**

To which ethnic group do you belong?		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Armenian	Valid	is a business partner	23	79,3	79,3
		is a good friend	2	6,9	6,9
		is simply a neighbor	4	13,8	13,8
		Total	29	100,0	100,0
Azerbaijanis	Valid	is a business partner	2	6,7	6,7
		is a good friend	7	23,3	23,3
		is a relative	6	20,0	20,0
		is simply a neighbor	13	43,3	43,3
		is an enemy	2	6,7	6,7
Total	30	100,0	100,0		

**How do you think that in the presence of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians and Azerbaijanis can live peacefully side by side?**

To which ethnic group do you belong?		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Armenian	Valid	There is no conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh for us	2	6,9	6,9
		It does not refer to us	12	41,4	41,4
		Politics does not refer to us	15	51,7	51,7
		Total	29	100,0	100,0
Azerbaijanis	Valid	There is no conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh for us	4	13,3	13,3
		It does not refer to us	9	30,0	30,0
		Politics does not refer to us	11	36,7	36,7
		We do not have any other option	6	20,0	20,0
		Total	30	100,0	100,0

**How was the politics of Gamsakhurdia towards the ethnic groups of this region?**

To which ethnic group do you belong?			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Armenian	Valid	We have been treated equally with Georgians	1	3,4	3,4	3,4
		We have never been ignored	18	62,1	62,1	65,5
		We have been treated very badly	5	17,2	17,2	82,8
		We have been ignored	5	17,2	17,2	100,0
		Total	29	100,0	100,0	
Azerbaijanis	Valid	We have been treated equally with Georgians	1	3,3	3,3	3,3
		We have been treated very badly	23	76,7	76,7	80,0
		I don't know	6	20,0	20,0	100,0
		Total	30	100,0	100,0	

**How was the politics of Shevardnadze towards the ethnic groups of this region?**

To which ethnic group do you belong?			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Armenian	Valid	We have been treated equally with Georgians	1	3,4	3,4	3,4
		We have never been ignored	20	69,0	69,0	72,4
		We have been ignored	8	27,6	27,6	100,0
		Total	29	100,0	100,0	
Azerbaijanis	Valid	We have always been in the center of attention	7	23,3	23,3	23,3
		We have been treated equally with Georgians	16	53,3	53,3	76,7
		We have never been ignored	5	16,7	16,7	93,3
		I don't know	2	6,7	6,7	100,0
		Total	30	100,0	100,0	

**How was the politics of Saakashvili towards the ethnic groups of this region?**

To which ethnic group do you belong?			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
--------------------------------------	--	--	-----------	---------	---------------	--------------------

		We have been treated equally with Georgians	1	3,4	3,4	3,4
Armenian	Valid	We have never been ignored	19	65,5	65,5	69,0
		We have been treated very badly	1	3,4	3,4	72,4
		We have been ignored	8	27,6	27,6	100,0
		Total	29	100,0	100,0	
Azerbaijanis	Valid	We have always been in the center of attention	17	56,7	56,7	56,7
		We have been treated equally with Georgians	13	43,3	43,3	100,0
		Total	30	100,0	100,0	

**How would you evaluate the role of the Georgian central authorities for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the people in this region?**

To which ethnic group do you belong?		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Armenian	Valid	They have a sufficient role	9	31,0	31,0	31,0
		neutral	7	24,1	24,1	55,2
		They have a trivial role	13	44,8	44,8	100,0
		Total	29	100,0	100,0	
Azerbaijanis	Valid	They have a great role	7	23,3	23,3	23,3
		They have a sufficient role	1	3,3	3,3	26,7
		neutral	5	16,7	16,7	43,3
		They have a trivial role	15	50,0	50,0	93,3
		They have no role	2	6,7	6,7	100,0
		Total	30	100,0	100,0	