

Ethnos und Demos in Tbilisi (Tiflis) - Armenier, Georgier und Russen in den Stadtdumawahlkämpfen 1890-1897

Oliver Reisner

„Im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen dem neuzeitlichen Staatsbürgerbegriff als Definition politischer Gleichheit und der Verschiedenheit anderer sozialer und kultureller Solidaritätsgruppen einer Gesellschaft, von Ethnien, Religionen, Klassen usw. liegt der Kern der Minderheiten- und Nationalitätenproblematik“, beschreibt R. Lepsius den Widerspruch zwischen der Ebene des politisch verfaßten *Demos* und der des historischen, vielgestaltigen und (un-)interpretierbaren *Ethnos* einer Abstammungs- oder Kulturgemeinschaft. Zu Recht gibt er die Priorität dem verfassungsmäßig konkret definierten *Demos*.¹ Ebenso ist der Aussage zuzustimmen, daß ethnische Zugehörigkeit nicht immer das angemessenste Prinzip sei, nach welchem man soziale Aktivitäten oder Identitäten organisiert. Ethnizität kann nur unter bestimmten situativen Bedingungen als Ressource (v.a. als Deutungsmuster von Realität) einer sozialen, kulturellen oder rassischen Gruppe zu ihrem Vorteil mobilisiert oder zu einem Hindernis werden.²

Wie komplex und problematisch sich das Verhältnis von *Ethnos* und *Demos* in einem extrem multinationalen Umfeld ohne kohärente, homogene Gemeinschaft mit gegenseitig abhängigen Interessen entfalten kann, soll im folgenden am Beispiel der Kaukasusmetropole Tiflis im späten Zarenreich aufgezeigt werden. Wir konzentrieren uns dabei auf die drei größten ethnischen Gruppen der Armenier, Georgier und Russen und auf die Frage ihrer politischen Repräsentation in der Stadtduma. Denn gerade die Einführung demokratischer Prinzipien der städtischen Selbstverwaltung erforderte notwendigerweise die Definition dieses neuen Souveräns. Gleichzeitig werden mit demokratischen Institutionen erstmals auch Elemente des Wettbewerbs und der Unterstützung von Gruppen eingeführt, da der Zugang zu politischer Macht - wenn auch lokal und beschränkt - gerade vom Grad ihrer Mobilisierung abhängt. Wahlen sind deshalb auch nichts anderes als der Kampf um Unterstützung und Wettbewerb zwischen verschiedenen Gruppen. Ethnische bzw. nationale Definitionen bieten hierfür eine einfache und offensichtliche Basis, um Gruppenunterstützung her- bzw. sicherzustellen. Und damit wird auch - gewollt oder ungewollt - deren Politisierung ausgelöst.³

Auf den Rahmen des Zarenreiches kann hier nur bedingt eingegangen werden. Insofern die Konzentration der Kräfte im Zentrum und ihre Zersplitterung an der Peripherie typisch sind, können ethnische Grenzen „Sollbruchstellen“ dieser Zersplitterung werden, wenn sie mit sozialer Ungleichheit korrespondieren und von intellektuellen Eliten entsprechend als solche gedeutet werden.

¹ M.R. Lepsius, „Ethnos“ oder „Demos“. Zur Anwendung zweier Kategorien von Emmerich Francis auf das nationale Selbstverständnis der Bundesrepublik und auf die Europäische Einigung, in: ders., Interessen, Ideen und Institutionen, Opladen 1988, S. 247-255, hier S. 250.

² S. Wallman, Foreword and Introduction, in: ders. (Hg.), Ethnicity at Work, London/Basingstoke 1979, S. IX; zit. nach Fr. Heckmann, Ethnische Minderheiten, Volk und Nation. Soziologie innerethnischer Beziehungen, Stuttgart 1992, S. 32.

³ Siehe die Analyse des Verhältnisses von Demokratie und Nationalismus beim georgischen politischen Philosophen Ghia Nodia, Nationalism and Democracy, in: Journal of Democracy 3 (1992), H. 4, S. 3-22 und die Kommentare dazu von Francis Fukuyama (ebd., S. 23-28) und Shlomo Avineri (ebd., S. 28-31). Siehe dazu auch das Beispiel des Deutschen Reiches bei Stefan Inanierfall, Wahlverhalten und Parteiensystem im Kaiserreich: einige quantitative Befunde, in: Heinrich Best (Hg.), Politik und Milieu. Wahl- und Elitenforschung im historischen und interkulturellen Vergleich, St. Katharinen 1989, S. 34-59, hier S. 35 (Hist.-Sozialwiss. Forschungen, Bd. 22).

Ethnos Und Demos

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Ethnos Und Demos:

Jahrbuch des Offentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart. Neue Folge Peter Haberle, 1996-12-31 *Governing Modern Societies* Hubert Heinelt, 2010-02-25 Is the golden age of democracy really over due to the pressures of globalisation and the erosion of the nation state Within this book Heinelt seeks to address the democratic deficit in political systems linked to limited Citizen Participation reflecting on the notion of democracy and participatory governance and how they relate to each other Exploring democracy beyond the governmental structures and focusing on participatory governance in particular this book demonstrates that common notions of democracy have to be re conceptualised without neglecting its key ideas By arguing that it is a political task to turn the inevitability of governance into a participatory form Heinelt develops a model of different worlds of democratic actions which shows that democratic political systems have to be considered as a complex and broad web of various forms of interest articulation and intermediation as well as decision making Making an important contribution to the third transformation of democracy this book will be of interest to students and scholars of governance democracy policymaking European studies

Discursive Construction of National Identity Ruth Wodak, 2009-01-19 How do we construct national identities in discourse Which topics which discursive strategies and which linguistic devices are employed to construct national sameness and uniqueness on the one hand and differences to other national collectives on the other hand The Discursive Construction of National Identity analyses discourses of national identity in Europe with particular attention to Austria In the tradition of critical discourse analysis the authors analyse current and on going transformations in the self and other definition of national identities using an innovative interdisciplinary approach which combines discourse historical theory and methodology and political science perspectives Thus the rhetorical promotion of national identification and the discursive construction and reproduction of national difference on public semi public and semi private levels within a nation state are analysed in much detail and illustrated with a huge amount of examples taken from many genres speeches focus groups interviews media and so forth In addition to the critical discourse analysis of multiple genres accompanying various commemorative and celebratory events in 1995 this extended and revised edition is able to draw comparisons with similar events in 2005 The impact of socio political changes in Austria and in the European Union is also made transparent in the attempts of constructing hegemonic national identities

Radical Ethnic Movements in Contemporary Europe Stefan Troebst, Farimah Daftary, 2004-11-01 Nation states and minorities resort more and more to violence when safeguarding their political interests Although the violence in the Middle East has been dominating world politics for some time now European governments have had their share of ethnic violence to contend with as this volume demonstrates And as the case studies show ranging as they do from the Basque Country to Chechnya from Northern Ireland to Bosnia Herzegovina this applies to western Europe as much as to eastern Europe However in contrast to other parts of the world instances where political struggles for power and social inclusion between minorities and majorities lead to full fledged inter ethnic warfare are still

the exception in the majority of cases conflicts are successfully de escalated and even resolved In a comprehensive conclusion the volume offers a theoretical framework for the development of strategies to deal with violent ethnic conflict

Ethnic Stratification and Economic Inequality around the World Max Haller in collaboration, Anja Eder, 2016-03-03 The modern world is characterised by pervasive economic inequalities Strong economic growth in some developing countries has contributed to a degree to a reduction in the levels of inequality between nations yet inequality within nations remains high and in some cases continues to increase Ethnic Stratification and Economic Inequality around the World investigates the reasons for these striking differences exploring the coincidence and interaction between economic stratification and ethnic differentiation Drawing on extensive international survey and statistical data the author develops a new theory and concrete hypotheses concerning the conditions which lead toward extreme inequality and those which tend toward greater equality A systematic examination of the interaction between class structures social stratification and ethnic differentiation this book sheds light on the manner in which the resulting social structures produce different levels of economic inequality offering a fivefold typology of patterns of ethnic stratification which can be applied to present day world regions Drawing on the work of Max Weber to provide a rigorous investigation of inequality around the world it demonstrates what sociology as a science of social reality can significantly contribute to our understanding of global economic stratification The book is relevant for a wide social scientific audience particularly for sociologists economists and political scientists working in a comparative perspective

The Future of Representative Democracy Sonia Alonso, John Keane, Wolfgang Merkel, 2011-03-31 The Future of Representative Democracy poses important questions about representation representative democracy and their future Inspired by the last major investigation of the subject by Hanna Pitkin over four decades ago this ambitious volume fills a major gap in the literature by examining the future of representative forms of democracy in terms of present day trends and past theories of representative democracy Aware of the pressing need for clarifying key concepts and institutional trends the volume aims to break down barriers among disciplines and to establish an interdisciplinary dialogue among scholars The contributors emphasise that representative democracy and its future is a subject of pressing scholarly concern and public importance Paying close attention to the unfinished two centuries old relationship between democracy and representation this book offers a fresh perspective on current problems and dilemmas of representative democracy and the possible future development of new forms of democratic representation

Toward a European Nation? Max Haller, 2019-10-25 This text presents the work of scholars from all over Europe who examine processes of integration and disintegration at the level of nation states federations regions and Europe overall

Struggles for Belonging Dieter Gosewinkel, 2021-11-04 Citizenship was the most important mark of political belonging in Europe in the twentieth century while estate religion party class and nation lost political significance in the century of extremes This is shown by examining the legal institution of citizenship with its deciding influence on the limits of a political community on inclusion and exclusion

Citizenship determined a person's protection, equality and freedom and thus his or her chances in life and very survival. This book recounts the history of citizenship in Europe as the history of European statehood in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. It does so from three vantage points: as the development of a legal institution crucial to European constitutionalism; as a measure of an individual's opportunities for self-fulfilment ranging from freedom to totalitarian subjugation; and as a succession of alternating, often sharply divergent political regimes considered from the perspective of their inclusivity and exclusivity and its justification. The European history of citizenship is discussed in this book on the basis of six selected countries: Great Britain, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Russia. For the first time, a joint history of citizenship in Western and Eastern Europe is told here from the heyday of the nation state to our present day, which is marked by the crises of the European Union. It is the history of a central legal institution that significantly represents and at the same time determines struggles over migration, integration and belonging. One of the central concerns of this book is what lessons can be learned when it comes to the future chances of European citizenship.

Questioning Play Henning Eichberg, 2016-07-01

What is play? Why do we play? What can play teach us about our life as social beings? In this critical investigation into the significance of play, Henning Eichberg argues that through play we can ask questions about the world, others and ourselves. Playing a game and asking a question are two forms of human practice that are fundamentally connected. This book presents a practice-based philosophical approach to understanding play that begins with empirical study, drawing on historical, sociological and anthropological investigations of play in the real world, from contemporary Danish soccer to war games and folk dances. Its ten chapters explore topics such as play as a practice of search, playing, learning and progress, the light and dark sides of play, playing games, sport and display, folk sports, popular games and social identity, play under the conditions of alienation. From these explorations emerge a phenomenological approach to understanding play and its value in interrogating ourselves and our social worlds. This book offers a challenging contribution to the interdisciplinary field of the philosophy of play. It will be fascinating reading for any student or researcher interested in social and cultural anthropology, phenomenology and critical sociology, as well as the ethics and philosophy of sport, leisure studies and the sociology of sport.

Law, Lawyers and Race Mathias Möschel, 2014-09-15. Critical Race Theory (CRT) is virtually unheard of in European scholarship, especially among legal scholars. Law, Lawyers and Race: Critical Race Theory from the United States to Europe endeavours to fill this gap by providing an overview of the definition and consequences of CRT developed in American scholarship and describing its transplantation and application in the continental European context. The CRT approach adopted in this book illustrates the reasons why the relationship between race and law in European civil law jurisdictions is far from anodyne. Law plays a critical role in the construction, subordination and discrimination against racial minorities in Europe, making it comparable, albeit in slightly different ways, to the American experience of racial discrimination. Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, anti-Roma and anti-Black racism constitute a fundamental factor, often tacitly accepted in the

relationship between law and race in Europe Consequently the broadly shared anti race and anti racist position is problematic because it acts to the detriment of victims of racism while privileging the White Christian male majority This book is an original exploration of the relationship between law and race As such it crosses the disciplinary divide furthering both legal scholarship and research in Race and Ethnicity Studies *German Unification and Its Discontents* Richard T. Gray, Sabine Wilke, 1996 A chronological collection of speeches television addresses essays treaties and statements documenting the circumstances and events surrounding German unification from the grassroots movements in the GDR to the merger of the two states in October 1993 Incorporates the official political position *Anti-Racist Movements in the EU* Stefano Fella, Carlo Ruzza, 2012-11-14 Based on extensive primary research including interviews with movement and policy actors across six European countries this book examines anti racist movements throughout Europe focusing on how they influence culture and government policy at national and EU level shedding light on the nature of racism and responses to it across Europe **Tocquevillian Ideas** Zbigniew Rau, Marek Tracz-Tryniecki, 2014-04-01 This book offers a new European centered approach to Tocqueville's thought Although Tocqueville is often revered as a classic writer on the subject of American democracy this book focuses on the multifaceted importance of his ideas within a European context This collection of essays presents Tocqueville's vision of a diverse and united Old Continent exploring his ideas of liberty virtue religion patriotism greatness civic participation and democracy These thoughts are analyzed not only in the context of Tocqueville's output but also in the light of their potential to describe the dilemmas of contemporary Europe and to offer remedies for its problems The Changing Face of Europe Bülent Kaya, 2002-01-01 This study examines all aspects of migration its different flows and types such as economic forced and ethnic as well as its impact on economics demography and social and cultural life National policies on integration and naturalisation and how they are conditioned are examined and compared From a variety of sources maps statistics first person accounts of migration life novels films and surveys a web of causes and effects emerges depicting migrant life today In this way the reader gains an overview and the beginning of a deeper understanding of this complex subject **Central European Crossroads** Pieter C. van Duin, 2009-05-01 During the four decades of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia a vast literature on working class movements has been produced but it has hardly any value for today's scholarship This remarkable study reopens the field Based on Czech Slovak German and other sources it focuses on the history of the multi ethnic social democratic labor movement in Slovakia's capital Bratislava during the period 1867 1921 and on the process of national revolution during the years 1918 19 in particular The study places the historic change of the former Pressburg into the modern Bratislava in the broader context of the development of multinational pre 1918 Hungary the evolution of social ethnic and political relations in multi ethnic Pressburg a tri national city of Germans Magyars and Slovaks and the development of the multinational labor movement in Hungary and the Habsburg Empire as a whole **The Condition of Citizenship** Bart Van Steenberghe, 1994-03-04 This innovative volume explores ways in which

the idea of citizenship can be seen as a unifying concept in understanding contemporary social change and social problems. The book outlines traditional linkages between citizenship and public participation, national identity and social welfare and shows the relevance of citizenship for a range of rising issues extending from global change through gender to the environment. The areas investigated include the challenge of internationalization to the nation state and to national identities, the contested nature of citizenship in relation to poverty, work and welfare, the implications of gender inequality and the potential for new conceptions of citizenship in response to cultural and political change.

We, the People of Europe?
 Étienne Balibar, 2009-01-10
 Étienne Balibar has been one of Europe's most important philosophical and political thinkers since the 1960s. His work has been vastly influential on both sides of the Atlantic throughout the humanities and the social sciences. In *We the People of Europe* he expands on themes raised in his previous works to offer a trenchant and eloquently written analysis of transnational citizenship from the perspective of contemporary Europe. Balibar moves deftly from state theory, national sovereignty and debates on multiculturalism and European racism toward imagining a more democratic and less state-centered European citizenship. Although European unification has progressively divorced the concepts of citizenship and nationhood, this process has met with formidable obstacles. While Balibar seeks a deep understanding of this critical conjuncture, he goes beyond theoretical issues. For example, he examines the emergence alongside the formal aspects of European citizenship of a European apartheid or the reduplication of external borders in the form of internal borders nurtured by dubious notions of national and racial identity. He argues for the democratization of how immigrants and minorities in general are treated by the modern democratic state and the need to reinvent what it means to be a citizen in an increasingly multicultural, diversified world. A major new work by a renowned theorist, *We the People of Europe* offers a far-reaching alternative to the usual framing of multicultural debates in the United States while also engaging with these debates.

Rethinking Democracy and the European Union
 Erik Oddvar Eriksen, John Erik Fossum, 2013-06-17
 While the Lisbon treaty was meant to clarify the European Union's role and political identity, it remains a challenge for politicians and decision makers to define. *Rethinking Democracy and the European Union* looks at both the concept of the EU as a political system and analyses the meaning and status of democracy in Europe today. This book draws upon leading scholars and practitioners from the RECON project, Reconstituting Democracy in Europe, to frame and analyse a range of institutional realms and policy fields including constitutionalisation, representative developments, gender politics, civil society and public sphere, identity and security and globalisation. Drawing together these strands, the book questions whether EU politics require a new theory of democracy and evaluates the relationship between union and state and the possible future of post-national democracy. Lucid and accessible, this book is at the forefront of the intellectual debate over the character of the EU, presenting research, theory and analysis on a critical political issue of our time. *Rethinking Democracy and the European Union* will be of interest to students and scholars of democracy, European Union politics and international relations.

Negotiating Identities Riva Kastoryano, 2021-08-10 Immigration is even more hotly debated in Europe than in the United States. In this pivotal work of action and discourse analysis, Riva Kastoryano draws on extensive fieldwork including interviews with politicians, immigrant leaders, and militants to analyze interactions between states and immigrants in France and Germany. Making frequent comparisons to the United States, she delineates the role of states in constructing group identities and measures the impact of immigrant organization and mobilization on national identity. Kastoryano argues that states contribute directly and indirectly to the elaboration of immigrants' identity in part by articulating the grounds on which their groups are granted legitimacy. Conversely, immigrant organizations demanding recognition often redefine national identity by reinforcing or modifying traditional sentiments. They use culture, national references in Germany, and religion in France to negotiate new political identities in ways that alter state composition and lead the state to negotiate its identity as well. Despite their different histories, Kastoryano finds that Germany, France, and the United States are converging in their policies toward immigration control and integration. All three have adopted similar tactics and made similar institutional adjustments in their efforts to reconcile differences while tending national integrity. The author builds her observations into a model of negotiations of identities useful to a broad cross section of social scientists and policy specialists. She extends her analysis to consider how the European Union and transnational networks affect identities still negotiated at the national level. The result is a forward-thinking book that illuminates immigration from a new angle.

Citizenship Bryan S. Turner, Peter Hamilton, 1994

SECTION 2 THE CLASSICS

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